

MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

"YES, I WAS A HOUSE SLAVE; I SLEPT UNDER THE STAIRWAY IN THE
CLOSET." SLAVE HOUSING AND LANDSCAPES OF TENNESSEE
1780-1860: AN ARCHITECTURAL SYNTHESIS

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

MICHAEL STRUTT

MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE

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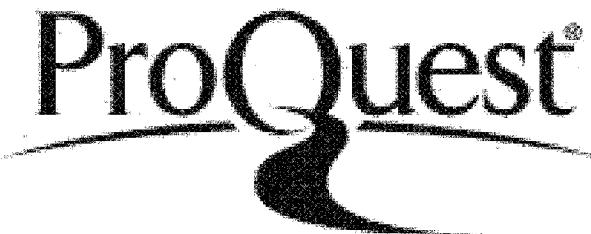
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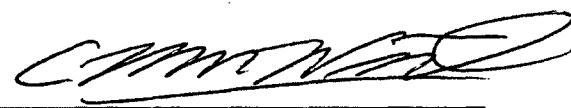


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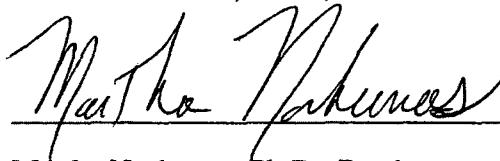
Michael Strutt

APPROVED:



Date 11/12/12

Carroll Van West, Ph.D., Chair



Date 11/12/12

Martha Norkunas, Ph.D., Reader



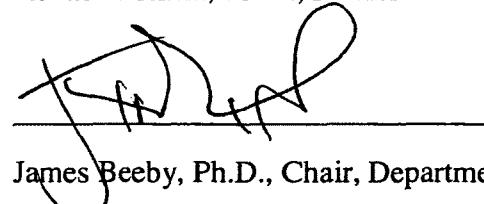
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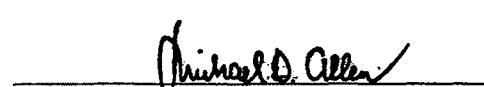
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Kevin E. Smith, Ph.D., Reader



Date 11/12/2012

James Beeby, Ph.D., Chair, Department of History



Date 12/17/12

Michael D. Allen, Ph.D., Dean of Graduate Studies

Dissertation Abstract:

"Yes, I was a house slave; I slept under the stairway in the closet."
Slave Housing and Landscapes of Tennessee 1780-1860:
An Architectural Synthesis.

By
Michael Strutt
Department of History, Middle Tennessee State University

This dissertation synthesizes the architectural, documentary, and archeological information known about the living conditions of African-American slaves in Tennessee. The author conducted an architectural survey from 1999-2002 and recorded 62 sites with 75 buildings, 27 rooms within mansions, and 7 wings with 18 rooms, totaling 171 rooms for slave living and work. Many are small single-pen log houses, some are brick, a few frame, and one stone building can be found in appendix 1 of the dissertation. The fact that most Tennessee slave owners held 10 or fewer bondsmen made Tennessee's living conditions different from the cotton plantation districts of the Deep South. To be sure, Tennessee had its plantations, the most well-known Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, serves as an example of how a large group of enslaved people lived in the state. But many slaves actually lived within their white masters' homes, or in wings attached to the mansion. The survey recorded a total of 45 rooms in mansions or wings, which is more than half the number of separate standing structures recorded.

Tennessee's landscapes also suggest closeness with 37 of 75 houses sitting within 100' of the "big house." The architectural evidence begs the question of what constituted a "community" among the enslaved. Archeological evidence demonstrates black and white lived together during the frontier period. And later because so many people did not reside on large plantations with family and friends living in the same quarter, the few people living on house lots or small farms had to broaden their area of familiarity to create a network and community support system. An example is the Joseph Brown house in Greeneville where 7 apparently unrelated, mostly teenagers, lived in one house in 1860. This sobering example should give historians pause to think about how we define community among enslaved groups. This information from Tennessee can be extended to other parts of the upland South where slave holdings were small. Scholars investigating the lives of enslaved people in that context should consider the wider connotations of what it meant to create "community" away from the property a person knew as "home."

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Ed Johnson, wherever you are, your love of architectural investigations was contagious.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Southern studies scholars have long recognized that there was no monolithic South in the antebellum period.¹ Tennessee with its three “grand divisions” certainly reflects that reality (Figure 1.1). The three divisions of the Volunteer State cut across several southern geographical regions. From East Tennessee with the Appalachians, to the fertile Middle Tennessee central basin and the Mississippi Delta in the west, Tennessee exhibits three major physiographic sections. Yet as a whole the state rests firmly within the upland South, a region distinct from the Atlantic Coast, or the Deep South. Those areas had different agriculture, and therefore, culture history during the antebellum period.



Figure 1.1 The three Grand Divisions of Tennessee.
East – Pink
Middle – Maroon
West – Black

Each of Tennessee's grand divisions employed different economies during the period of slavery in the South. These regional economies created political differences that nearly split the state during the Civil War. However, most of Tennessee saw slaves used as a labor force for agriculture, and industry. In each division various types of crops dominated; specifically tobacco and corn in the East, cotton and some tobacco in the West, and cotton, corn, livestock, and tobacco in the Middle region.² Middle Tennessee also supported a vigorous iron industry that relied heavily on slave labor.

This dissertation explores the question of whether or not the agriculture and industries of Tennessee's three regions significantly affected slave housing size, styles, or placement on the landscape. How did the regional differences affect slave's lives through the kinds of living spaces they had given the fact that disparate agricultural systems held sway in these geo-political divisions of the state? Answers to this question will be sought through an analysis of slave houses and living spaces in Tennessee.

Primary sources for this analysis are the houses and living spaces themselves, the historic landscapes of slavery, census records, slave owners' diaries and the Tennessee slave narratives, particularly those conducted by Fisk University. The decision to use only Tennessee narratives is a very conscious one because they relate to the people and the peculiarities of Tennessee as opposed to any other southern state. Throughout this research I will make use of other primary documents only from Tennessee, which underscores and solidifies the conclusions because the recorded experiences are place related. Previous

researchers have used documents, particularly the narratives, from all over the South to make various points, but in this discussion it merely makes sense to use only historic sources from inside the state.

A second reason to use the Fisk narratives is the nature of the information contained within them. In 1929 and 1930 Ophelia Settle Egypt, and students from Fisk University conducted interviews with former slaves across the state of Tennessee. Ms. Egypt had received her degree from Howard University and worked in the Social Sciences Department at Fisk. As a black professional woman conducting the interviews it appears she and the student were able to gain the confidence of the interviewees. Titles of the Fisk interviews and the amount of stories about whippings and abuse demonstrate that the interviewees felt comfortable telling how difficult it was to be a slave. An example is; “Every Thursday Was Whipping Day for the Slaves,” the narrator went on to say that “They had men hired to do the whipping; everybody got one on Thursday whether you had been bad or not during the week.”³ By contrast the WPA interviewers were generally white females and the interviewees may have been more guarded in their relating of events under slavery. The interviewers lived in the same regions and towns as the former slaves who depended on government assistance to live. Their more guarded interviews are likely a fear of losing the financial assistance.⁴

The architectural analysis is based upon the evidence of standing slave houses gathered through field survey conducted from 1999-2002 throughout the state. At the outset of the research and fieldwork I postulated a few questions

regarding the nature of slave housing in Tennessee. First, are there any similarities or differences between the regions because of the socio-economic variation within the state? Second, can “Africanisms” or African architectural templates, such as style or sizes, be discerned from the standing buildings? Third, are there any cultural differences in architectural patterns due to either the white settlers’ ethnicities, or from influences outside the state? For instance a pattern of French Creole architecture emanating from Louisiana might be found in the Delta region near Memphis. The eastern division may have fewer extant houses because slavery was not as prevalent in that area. Might those houses all be small or was their placement on the landscape different from a plantation because the holdings were smaller? In Middle Tennessee where both large plantations and medium-sized farms held slaves will the sizes of the holdings make a difference in the types of houses recorded? Lastly, does time play a role in the types of houses found in the three regions recognizing that time and opening of the frontier were factors in both black and white settlement patterns and housing types.⁵ Given the overarching framework of agricultural, economic, political and cultural elements, slave housing will be explored to understand the physical surroundings and culture of enslaved African-Tennesseans and how that culture was reflected in housing, using architecture, documents, and archeological evidence.

Why study slave housing? Houses were the largest personal objects that had meaning to the enslaved. Dwellings had meaning both as places where people acted out their private lives in relative freedom, and also purely as shelter, a place to hide from the sun, rain, snow, heat or cold. Home was where families came

together and created some semblance of community with each other. It is important to remember that slaves had little freedom outside of their homes. The private lives of enslaved people are typically absent from the historical record. Where written information is available it is typically skewed by the biases of the writer, usually a male, and white. Despite the paucity of written testimony from Tennessee slaves, we must view them as having taken an active role in their lives. In understanding that idea we need to see slaves as controlling their spaces and houses are the spaces most closely associated with their personal lives, and the African-American culture of the slave community. In that sense understanding a little-studied aspect of slaves' lives (houses) takes us one step closer to understanding their world.

Houses were a part of the overall southern landscape of slavery. Landscapes are the glue that bind buildings together and created a cultural context.⁶ Buildings are intimately connected to the landscape and we must understand the relationships between buildings and the rest of the scene being one part of the manipulated intent. The concept here of landscape must include the idea of a "system of connected artifacts and human actions."⁷ In the contested landscapes of slavery buildings are manipulated spaces – but manipulated by both the master and slave. Owners built slave houses and the rest of the farmscape to fit their needs. Slaves modified the houses by building shelves on the exterior, swept the yards around them, (which owners objected to) and in symbolic ways added meanings through hidden personal items within the walls of houses. The houses themselves, their styles or design functioned to create avenues of

surveillance for the master, or could be the only places the enslaved felt at ease, and the landscape setting of the houses played an even larger role in surveillance, repression, or freedom of movement.

The landscape whether designed or vernacular, consisted of houses, sheds, barns, public buildings, fences demarcating ownership, and all connected via roads. The elites' perception of the landscape differed from the slaves. In the slaves' world the farm buildings, fields, forests, and streams were their places to inhabit and gave them places to meet surreptitiously. On plantations the slave quarter was a place for development of family ties and community enhancing development of the African-American culture.

Undeniably there was a culture in the slave quarter. The cultural world of slaves is a deeply complex topic layered with meanings typically only fully understood among the slave community. Objects such as houses are imbued with those meanings. Researchers need to examine the material culture of others as the users viewed it, how *they saw their world*.⁸ The objects they owned, the houses they lived in, and the interactions with others from different African cultures all serve as markers of that amalgamated African-Tennessean culture. Such a viewpoint allows us to understand the meanings imbedded in objects such as houses.⁹ A final thought on slave houses is that they were more prevalent on the antebellum southern landscape than the mansions of slave owners, a situation that is significantly reversed today. From an historic preservation perspective it is important to record a vanishing cultural resource.

Architectural historians, archeologists, and historians explore various

clues about slave life that the few standing slave houses can tell us. Incorporating data from all three fields above is necessary to extract all the information possible from slave houses. As Edward Chappell has written;

However complete and evocative surviving buildings appear, they provide just as fragmentary a portrait of past life as do the more conventional documentary sources, though fragmentary in different and therefore useful ways. In fact, archeological excavations probably hold the greatest promise for detailed information about the material lives of most preindustrial workers, including . . . slaves.¹⁰

The scholarly literature regarding slave housing and the architecture of slavery follows several main themes: 1) finding “Africanisms” or African and African-American culture in architecture either through house styles or architectural patterns; 2) determining the location of slave quarters in relation to the master’s home and how that spatial relationship evolved over time; 3) investigating how slaves experienced the landscape differently than whites; and, 4) how urban slavery differed from rural plantation slavery. Each of the four approaches examines evidence from slave housing in different ways.

The initiative to recognize African “survivals” dates to the Civil Rights era when historians began to realize that enslaved African-Americans had a culture and community of their own, separate from the white world. This scholarly finding was in opposition to earlier researchers who thought that the middle passage destroyed the African culture and the white way of life dominated.¹¹ Anthropologists had looked for and studied African “survivals” since Melville Herskovits’ ground-breaking book *The Myth of the Negro Past* in 1941. This book demonstrated that indeed many aspects of African culture survived and even flourished still in the New World.¹² Archeologists too have long searched for

African survivals in the material culture excavated from slave sites. Architectural historians and some archeologists discuss such survivals of patterns in housing. House and room sizes in particular have received much attention going back as early the first years of the twentieth century. The earliest analysis of slave housing comes from the pen of the black historian W.E.B. DuBois written in 1901.¹³

Dubois noted that slave housing evolved through several stages and with it the culture of slavery itself. The stages mark changes in how not only houses functioned within the landscape, but also how slavery itself functioned in colonial and antebellum Southern culture. Noting the different kinds of housing is a critical step because the landscape in which those houses functioned set a tone for freedom of movement, quality of life, repression, and surveillance as much as the houses themselves did. DuBois stated “In speaking therefore of the houses in which the slaves lived we must discriminate between conditions and phases of development.”¹⁴ The development and evolution of slave housing has received attention from researchers since DuBois’s time. Architectural historian Carl Anthony first proposed that early slave houses reflected African architecture. Anthony noted that eighteenth-century architecture in Tidewater Virginia has an element of African influence in many extant slave houses and utilitarian outbuildings.¹⁵

Though DuBois recognized that many exceptions existed to his suggested rules, his housing types proved a useful tool for research. The evolution of slavery’s phases occurred in Tennessee as it progressed from the old southwestern frontier into a state populated by many hundreds of thousands of whites and

blacks in cities, on farms, plantations, working in mills, iron mines or the railroads. The evolution of the slave house mirrored in some ways that of the whites as they settled then moved up the social ladder. However, as this dissertation will point out slave housing always had the element of direct service to the white masters. Early on, slaves lived and worked side by side with their owners in the same houses. And they most likely lived in the same houses or attached lean-to kitchens within fortified villages on the early Tennessee frontier.¹⁶

DuBois describes the first phase of housing as wattle and daub structures constructed by Africans who had recently survived the Middle Passage. He states these were post-in-the-ground buildings, 10' x 15' in size with a head-height of five or six feet. These structures in some ways mimicked buildings the Africans knew at home. On this side of the Atlantic they often served as places for gangs of men to sleep in. DuBois does not give reference to where his information originated.

Archeologists have discovered the remains of buildings described by DuBois in Virginia and South Carolina. Wall-trench structures at Yaughan and Curiboo plantations in South Carolina may have been wattle and daub structures similar to those Africans constructed at home before the Middle Passage. Additionally, archeologists in Virginia found examples of this first phase in slave housing at Kingsmill.¹⁷ No such buildings survive in Tennessee today, and they only would have existed in East Tennessee and possibly a few of the frontier sites in Middle Tennessee if they were built at all. But it is likely none were

constructed in Tennessee as the frontier there came a century after the first tenuous steps in the Virginia wilderness, and a progression of housing types had already occurred.

DuBois's next phase, known as the patriarchal group, allowed slaves to live in buildings close to the master, mostly log cabins clustered together in a group. These groupings of buildings could seem like "small villages" but in fact were the new way of organizing a plantation in the early eighteenth-century.¹⁸ DuBois states that these houses could be larger than buildings in previous decades measuring 15' x 20' feet and over six foot in height, with a dirt floor, clay chimney, and a wooden shutter over a glassless window. DuBois states that over time close relationships evolved between masters and a select group of slaves who became domestics, and their homes received more attention from the master than those of the field slaves. Some of the domestics lived in tidy little houses near the mansion, while others actually lived with the master's family. But as we shall find in later chapters there could also be a complete lack of housing for the domestics.

This second phase should also be considered very transitional for the architecture of both black and white in the colonial period. This type of housing reflected both African and European architectural traditions. The houses replicated European building techniques in the use of horizontal log construction, or frame on a foundation. The log homes tended to have packed dirt floors similar to what could be found in parts of Africa.¹⁹ At the same time the creation of separate buildings for activities such as cooking began to create boundaries between black and white as slaves occupied the kitchens and began to live in

them. The clear separation of task areas also created separation of the races both physically and socially. By the middle of the eighteenth-century the races became increasingly separated through architecture. Partly due to this and other factors slavery took on a new dimension and become more socially ingrained, especially in the Chesapeake. Owners began to think of the enslaved workers as simply people who worked for them, rather than part of their household because they were no longer within the house.²⁰ The new design of outbuildings containing workspaces kept master and slave at a distance and apparently the slaves out of the masters' more private spaces.²¹

DuBois called the next housing phase the “detached group” in which most slaves lived in the “quarters” somewhere out of visual and auditory range of the big house. In many cases an overseer lived within or near the quarter. Examples of this of living arrangement can be found extant in Tennessee. Problems abounded for slave society in the detached group according to DuBois. Rape and violence occurred, scarring people, and the entire concept of family struggled for survival.

Dubois's last phase he called the “absentee landlordism” group. This housing style reflected the full evolution of slavery in the cotton south where truly large plantations developed and slaves lived on holdings with no masters but toiled under the watchful eyes of one or more overseers. DuBois says this type of living arrangement represents the basest elements of chattel slavery in America.

Not all of the phases were noted in Tennessee's extant housing stock because of the time dimension. But for the architectural historian the evolution

must be kept in mind because as DuBois argued; “It is always difficult to discuss questions connected with American slavery in a scientific spirit because that institution varied so in different places and periods and because the term connotes such different facts in different minds.”²² Tennessee represents some of those differences, reminding any researcher that there was no single slave residence type.

One question researchers investigate regarding slave houses concerns West African architectural mental templates and the retention of African cultural elements usually referred to as “Africanisms.” Some authors see African architectural patterns and cultural continuities rooted in the way enslaved African Americans built and used their homes. Specifically, there is a presumed standard ten or twelve-foot square room or house size based on West African traditions.²³ A number of historians have attempted to verify this pattern. Archeologist James Deetz in discussing the Parting Ways Site in Plymouth, Massachusetts, noted a house 12 foot square and when added on to, the additional rooms also measured 12 foot square.²⁴ Parting Ways was a small a free black enclave of only a few homes during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries, probably constructed on mental plans by the owners, with an African-American design aesthetic. Deetz believed the houses were neither typically African or European, but a creolization.²⁵ In an interesting departure from this assumed standard size Andrew Jackson’s slave quarters at the Hermitage Plantation mostly measure a 20 feet x 20 feet room size.²⁶ Yet, in terms of house designs a well understood pattern may have existed by the end of the slavery period when freed, ex-slaves at

a Contraband camp in the Alexandria, Virginia, built for themselves nearly 1000 one-and two-room houses. It was an architectural pattern very familiar to them if not efficient for size and cost.²⁷

Africanist anthropologist Merrick Posnansky states that there is no single universal measure of an African “house” or room size. Sizes depended on several factors including building methods and transportation of materials.²⁸ Because most West African house-types included more than one individually separate room within a compound the single room slave houses of Tennessee had to be used differently than what an African would have known. Most slaves in Tennessee were removed from Africa at least one generation, meaning they did not know their African roots directly. The use of space and understanding how space was conceived descended from Africa, while the materials and sizes of houses and in the nineteenth-century “slave streets” may be European. Indeed, European precedents are valid, and one that I have not seen explored in regards to Southern slave architecture is Spanish. According to at least one researcher, the Spanish introduced African slavery and the plantation system to the Caribbean in the sixteenth-century and their influence on Southern plantation architecture has not yet been adequately explored.²⁹

In an article on the eighteenth-century Virginia landscape architectural historian Dell Upton maintains that slave houses and those of poor whites had spatial similarities and offers sizes of a median 232 square feet dwelling, and a mean of 218 square feet dwelling for both documented and recorded slave houses. He also offers that less wealthy white farmers of the period lived in similar sized

houses. The Perkins family of Chesterfield County, for example lived in a 168 square foot home in the late eighteenth-century. Upton emphasized that only the middling and elite planters lived in larger homes.³⁰ In a similar way Vlach noted that in Louisiana two-room slave houses with deep porches mirrored the homes of poor Cajuns.³¹ Other studies of poor whites in Kentucky and North Carolina demonstrate that at least some continued to build small houses of standard sizes similar to that of nineteenth-century slave houses. While the authors do not necessarily stress that comparison, it is one that begs being made.³² That is not to say that slaves lived equal to or free as poor whites, but their houses appear little different. The material culture within the houses would have been different however. This comparison is important for the idea of understanding architectural templates and where the patterns come from.

In Tennessee slaves also lived in small dwellings, similar to the pattern found in Virginia and South Carolina documented by archeologists and in the written record.³³ Does the pattern of small houses matter? The immediate answer is yes, with the pattern suggesting African cultural survivals.³⁴ Yet, the small houses might as easily be a reflection of how owners perceived their enslaved; placing them in a hierarchy on the property, thereby having more control on house form and sizes. As architectural historian Steven L. Jones states:

...architecture should be seen as the product of a kaleidoscopic diffusion of influences that are manifested in various manners. When it comes to the African impact on American culture, this diffusion has been offered at times in terms of plan, spatial definition, materials used, and form.³⁵

In 1995 Vlach stated that the design for slave houses came mostly from Anglo building traditions, and mostly because it was what the white property owners

knew and wanted on their property.³⁶ In terms of that concept we must also realize that to an African, a small “hut” is not a house to be lived in, but rather a space to sleep and retreat from the weather when necessary. African-American slaves lived *around* their houses, not so much in them, and that is a concept researchers need to keep in mind when studying plantation landscapes.³⁷

Steven L. Jones points out that plantation designs and layouts served to control slaves and their expression of culture through an arrangement of the large houses in a position of ascendancy over the small slave houses. Indeed influential antebellum writer James DeBow urged slave owners to design their farms and plantations by building their “big houses and quarters using this hierarchical arrangement because slaves seemed to be controlled better with this plan.”³⁸ Fairvue Plantation in Middle Tennessee reflects Debow’s model with the large main house serving to subjugate and remind that the master ruled absolutely on his plantation. The main house is not only positioned at the head of the quarter, but it sits on a hill overlooking it, with an overseer’s house in the middle of the quarter reiterating the position of white authority.

Yet, within the plantation landscape advocated by DeBow, the concept of the separate slave quarters may be both a statement of power, and a reflection of African tradition. In West African villages the ruler’s home sat at the head of a small cluster of houses for wives and attendants.³⁹ Researcher Carl Anthony believes that early eighteenth-century Southern buildings probably represent not only a formative stage in southern architecture, but also an “intermediate step before the disappearance of African building traditions in North America.”⁴⁰ Why

Africans did not have more influence on architecture stems from several issues, not the least of which was that dominant whites controlled the design of houses and public buildings. Outbuildings were the chief realm of black builders. "A primary hindrance to blacks infusing more of their traditions into the built environment seems to have been a lack of opportunity."⁴¹ Their sphere of influence controlled the buildings whites cared little about. Carl Anthony emphasized this point by saying that slaves'

systematic exploitation modified and curtailed whatever creative role they might have played in shaping the New World environment to their own needs. But a fuller appreciation of the interaction between the African slave and the ruling class might help us to understand the unique American variant to European architectural forms in the South."⁴²

Scholars sometimes depict a monolithic West African culture, but groups living in that region were not homogenous so there is no one "West African culture" to help explain southern architecture.⁴³ African houses differ in size, shape, and material because of ethnic, economic and environmental factors. To say that a house type is West African is an oversimplification. A wide range of African house types and building materials exist based on many variables.⁴⁴ Indeed since African houses were generally not a singular structure, researchers of slave housing must not think of "houses" in the same European mindset as the enslavers. Courtyards and yards were more important spaces than the square footage of a structure. The building existed mostly for sleeping and storage, activities occurred outside unless the weather prohibited it. How southern slaves and their African ancestors partitioned outside space and lived around the buildings is just as important, if not more so, than how they lived within them.⁴⁵

Archeologists studying two South Carolina plantations found that housing forms changed from more African derived construction techniques to British-American.⁴⁶ The archeological evidence shows the early houses dating from the 1740s exhibited wattle-walled structures set in shallow trenches and covered with a mud plastering, whereas houses dating from after the Revolution into the 1820s were wood frame buildings. In one case a frame structure was superimposed over an earlier wall trench building. None of the slave houses had interior fireplaces. Interestingly, a site interpreted to be an overseer's house had one wall constructed in the wall trench style and the rest was a frame building. The authors note that the change over time "supports the idea that an architectural shift took place through time in which West African styled mud-walled huts were replaced by more familiar Euro-American style frame buildings."⁴⁷

As historians and architectural historians continue to discover new information about slave housing the debate about their meaning in the slave community and in the plantation system continues. Some researchers have stated that the typical log slave house is no more than a reflection of what the masters wanted for their bondsmen, which therefore really do not reflect any Africanisms so sought after by researchers.⁴⁸ However, other researchers stress that the house is only one component of a greater landscape that slaves used and understood on different terms than whites.⁴⁹

The concept that landscapes are experiential is a major theme in studying not only slave housing, but the vernacular built environment, as the work of Dell Upton and Bernard Herman underscores. Upton argues that slaves perceived the

landscape differently than whites, especially the wealthy whites.⁵⁰ They did not see the control mechanisms of architecture and landscape as connected and systematic, rather they perceived the world as a patchwork of disconnected places to which they could and could not go.⁵¹ And yet where they could go was into the “big house” without the more circumscribed set of permissions required of lower status whites. Architecture was at the root of this contrived landscape. While Upton concentrates on the eighteen-century in Virginia, the same comparison can be made for Tennessee in the nineteenth-century because the same involved and contrived landscapes appeared surrounding the mansions of the larger Tennessee planters. Small houses need to be studied and understood as a piece of the larger cultural world. Upton emphasizes;

Thus, a thorough understanding . . . requires concurrent analysis of both the gentry world and the overlapping lower-class sphere, for gentry, poor whites, and slaves often shared the same physical structures but constructed very different mental landscapes from them.⁵²

This is very good advice to historians of the antebellum South. However, in this particular study the slave houses will be only compared to each other across the various regions of the state, and in some cases also to the homes of their masters. A comparison to all white homes of the nineteenth-century would be a separate survey altogether.

Several scholars have pointed out that the permanence and quality of slave housing improved in the three decades prior to the Civil War.⁵³ Other scholars state that such was the case only for those slave owners who saw it as their duty, and in their self interest to take good care of their slaves.⁵⁴ James Breeden’s 1980 publication of advice letters slave owners wrote in Southern agricultural

newspapers has heavily influenced this research.⁵⁵ Many of those letters advocate improving slaves' living conditions. As Chappell points out, the extent to which slaves benefited from enhanced housing has not been studied in a systematic manner.⁵⁶ But houses certainly can be used as indicators for basic implications of comfort, family stability, and treatment including social control.⁵⁷

A final concept in slave housing research is how urban and small town slaves lived in a condition referred to as "living out." Slaves on contract to another person typically did not return home daily to with their masters, and in many cases did not live in a typical house provided for by the lessee. Contracted slaves sometimes lived in sheds or basement rooms, even in Tennessee's cities.⁵⁸ Their imprint on the landscape would be minimal and difficult to document today. The fluid lodging arrangements of contract slaves differed from most urban slaves who lived in compounds where a level of control and surveillance existed that was as great or greater than found on the large plantation landscapes.⁵⁹

The research for this survey of Tennessee slave housing included a few basic assumptions for each region of the state regarding architectural form. An African architectural mental template may exist across the state, however, in opposition to that theory each of the regions may exhibit different architectural phenomena. In West Tennessee, which opened to slavery later than the other two regions, planters may have imposed their own kind of architectural hierarchy on the slaves' houses. For decoration they may have used a readily apparent Greek Revival style, which was fashionable toward the end of the antebellum era. Also, a potential for French Creole influence coming upriver from Louisiana may be

present with hipped roofs and deep wide porches. Conversely, in East Tennessee which opened to slavery in the 1770s, slaves may have had more vernacular houses with no identifiable regional pattern due to its frontier status (if any buildings from that early period exist). Later buildings may appear less rough and have more of a formal look due to the fact that East Tennessee was not entirely sympathetic to slavery and owners may have constructed more generous buildings for their enslaved to justify the ownership of people. In Middle Tennessee where large plantations existed alongside smaller farms a combination of African and vernacular Anglo houses might be noted. One previous researcher found that as many as nine different house types existed across the South by the middle of the nineteenth-century.⁶⁰ This survey will determine a baseline of what existed for house types in Tennessee. The full range of types may never be known because so many are no longer extant and records of their construction have not been located.

The recent scholarship in studying slave housing includes a volume of essays published in 2010 from Yale University Press titled *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*.⁶¹ Five reprinted essays out of a total of 12 demonstrates that research on housing of slaves is not a crowded field. The authors come from various disciplines including architectural history, archeology, geography and American studies. Prior to publication of *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*, a few works that analyzed slave housing and offered a synthesis included Vlach's *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*.⁶² Vlach is the most prolific author on slavery and housing, with his book *Back of the Big House* being his largest synthesis.

Tennessee is barely discussed in most of these sources. In the case of *Back of the Big House* all of the information is taken from photographs and files at the Historic American Buildings Survey in Washington, D.C..⁶³ The lack of information on Tennessee in the major synthesis of slave architecture points out the dearth of data collected in the Volunteer State by historical architects and historic preservationists.

Vlach had difficulty making definite conclusions in *Back of the Big House* because of the many regional variations in slavery. He cast his geographical net from Maryland to Texas. Not only are there extremely different environments, but also very different types of economies existed in that large expanse of antebellum territory. Additionally, the amount of regional variation in slave architecture makes drawing conclusions difficult for a study that wide ranging.⁶⁴ Vlach's contribution was to demonstrate the tremendous variation in slave housing, especially on a regional scale.

Examples of regional slave housing studies are few and far between. However, an excellent example of regional research is George McDaniel's *Hearth and Home; Preserving a People's Culture*.⁶⁵ McDaniel's study stands above others because he studied a single region (southern Maryland) and demonstrated the kind of housing indicative of that region. McDaniel followed other researchers of the time and calculated the square footage of slave houses in an attempt to determine if an African pattern of room sizes existed in the buildings he studied. He determined that none of the houses recorded fit the supposed standard West African model of ten or twelve foot square.⁶⁶ McDaniel also studied the houses

of freedmen and white yeoman farmers, concluding that, for at least southern Maryland, poor whites and slaves lived in similar sized houses.⁶⁷ He made a second comparison to English vernacular building techniques of the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. He points out that British architectural historians recorded dirt floors as a common feature in English cottages of the period. That being the case the dirt floors of slaves, also well known in Africa, were little different from what Englishmen would have known when they arrived on Maryland's shores.⁶⁸

Working in the 1970s McDaniel also had the incredible luxury of speaking to older informants who knew former slaves and/or were familiar with the houses when occupied by former slaves. One informant born in 1878 of former slaves, lived in such a house. These testimonies about houses add a richness to the survey and level of data obtained by McDaniel, including the fact that most houses had stick and mud chimneys, a very different construction technique from the extant structures when recorded. Another feature of the houses the informants discussed is the “upstairs” or loft. These “rooms” within the houses served mostly as sleeping areas, with an occasional partition of boards or just a blanket, but the most important element is that they are unheated. As will be demonstrated in the Tennessee survey many buildings have either unheated lofts or second rooms downstairs. This is an important factor in comfort and health. Sleeping in an unheated space in the dead of winter, even in southern West Tennessee can be a cold experience. For those who “lived out,” sleeping in sheds and barns, winter must have been a difficult time. Autobiographical data from the nineteenth-

century suggests that even if a house had a floor and fireplace they could be drafty. "Many of those thin houses in Nashville were cold. Floors were not close, nor was the ceiling. A plenty of pure cold air was pouring through into the big fireplace. With a big fire in front of you, you would have to keep turning around to get warm on both sides."⁶⁹

McDaniel compiled a list of statistics on the buildings he recorded including construction materials, and size. He also borrowed statistics from a dissertation at the University of Maryland which compiled building types for landowners, tenants, and slave quarters in St. Mary's County from the census records of 1780 through 1840. McDaniel recorded 37 buildings definitely or very probably slave houses. Of that number 20 are frame, 13 log, three brick, and one stone. From this accounting it would seem that frame houses predominated, but from his research log definitely was the most common construction type. The St. Mary's data shows that log construction predominated early on, waned at the end of the eighteenth-century to 40% but by 1840 became the only construction type in the county for slave houses.⁷⁰ None of McDaniel's informants mentioned brick slave houses, nor did any of the WPA narratives for the study area. He recorded only three brick and one stone house, so masonry buildings were very rare. McDaniel notes that frame houses, brick and stone were the exception in southern Maryland. He deduces this more through the informants, historical records, and WPA narratives than from his survey. Therefore at least in this part of the slave South horizontal log houses were the norm. Because log rots quicker than the other types the numbers showed more frame than log buildings extant at the time

of his survey. He points out that the numbers do not reflect historical reality, an important caveat for the Tennessee survey.

A significant point McDaniel makes is that Africans did not build log houses, but neither was it a standard English design concept (Englishmen being the dominant white settlers of the northern Chesapeake). Horizontal log construction came from Swedes living in the Delaware Valley. However, horizontal pole construction, a slightly different technique, is found in Africa. The log house in southern Maryland and the rest of the South became a fusion of African and European designs and served not only slaves but many whites as well.

After demonstrating what slave houses looked like and how black occupants conceive of space, McDaniel then proceeded to illustrate how emancipated slaves changed their houses and the way freedmen held family and community together within a new set of circumstances. He points out that the African-American perception of space is very different from that of whites. He interviewed former occupants of a black tenant farmer's house the Smithsonian Institution had on exhibit. His oral history aimed at determining how the families used the small building. He discovered that white researchers made assumptions on space use based on their own cultural values, but that black families did not have the same values or perception of space. In a four room plan with two up, two down, the small room downstairs researchers interpreted as the kitchen. The former occupants informed him otherwise. The larger room served as the kitchen, dining space, and family gathering room. The smaller room then, was the parlor,

which as a family grew also doubled as a bedroom.⁷¹ The two unheated rooms upstairs served as bedrooms.

In her study of North Carolina's slave housing Patricia Samford researched questions similar to those posed by this study of Tennessee. Samford wanted to know if different regions and agricultural economies made a difference in the types of houses slaves received in Carolina. She studied two regions, the Piedmont and Coastal Plain, which itself is divided into northern and southern sections. She did not search for African patterns in architecture, but instead what kinds of houses were available to North Carolina's enslaved population. Her study included archeological evidence as well as extant structures. Samford found that the sample divided almost equally between the regions with 42 houses from the Coastal Plain and 44 from the Piedmont. Of the 21 log structures in her database all but one of them stand in the Piedmont region, although traveler's accounts suggest that log buildings were once common in the Coastal Plain as well. Her conclusions include the fact that single pen houses were more than twice as common in the Piedmont than coastal plain, possibly because a tobacco and grain economy supported smaller slave populations and therefore the owners did not feel a need for larger house types. She also concludes that while records indicate houses with dirt floors predominated, most of the extant log houses, and all the frame ones have wooden floors. She attributes the better housing stock to the improvements made due to the abolition and reform movements. Samford suggests the upgrades started in the 1830s in Carolina. She also found that frame buildings were twice as common in the Coastal Plain and more likely to be a

duplex structure, though she also found multiplexes. Some of the larger houses consisted of four rooms, two up two down. Less than 20% of the houses in Coastal Plain are single pen, while in the Piedmont 40% are single pen. While she did not tally the numbers Samford also mentions at least three brick houses in her database. She did not record any stone houses.⁷²

McDaniel and Samford's work is the scholarly standard to which other researchers should strive in studying slave architecture. The information from McDaniel and especially Samford is compelling data to compare with Tennessee. Samford's data may be more relevant to Tennessee because many settlers came from North Carolina. McDaniel and then Samford have set the bar and the rest of us conducting analysis of slave architecture should follow their lead.

The architectural and cultural questions this survey seeks to answer revolve around cultural identity which may or may not have existed in houses as the entire system of southern slavery revolved around domination and control. Did the slaves retain much of their African culture after the Atlantic crossing, then coming over the mountains from North Carolina and Virginia to Tennessee, and will those supposed African traditions be reflected in houses? And did the agricultural and socio-economic differences between Tennessee's three grand divisions make a difference in housing design?

What if no substantial differences in slave housing exists between Tennessee's three regions? A likely scenario is that slavery had become such an entrenched institution by the second quarter of the nineteenth-century, when most of the recorded houses were built, that a prevailing standard for housing slaves

existed. In vernacular architecture this is known as a “grammar,” or a way of conceptualizing a building. Much of the comfort in living conditions depends on building size and number of people who lived in each house. But, we must remember that the people being analyzed were of African descent and they conceptualized space differently from their Anglo-American masters. It is no simple matter to just “read” a slave house the whole landscape needs to be analyzed.

The contributions to historical inquiry that this dissertation will make occur on several levels. First is the contribution to vernacular architecture in recording a number of structures and slave living spaces across a state that represents several geographic regions of the antebellum South. The range of recorded houses and living spaces will make a contribution to our understanding of not only slave housing but also the vernacular architecture of antebellum farm and plantation landscapes. This is one area not discussed in any of the historical literature of slavery in the state. Houses bring an immediacy to the interpretation of slavery, and that will be the second contribution, a fuller understanding of the slave experience in Tennessee. In the end this dissertation will explain more about housing than has ever been examined in Tennessee because these basic kinds of questions do not exist in the literature. No one in Tennessee historiography has focused on where slaves lived.

The third contribution is to historic preservation and public history. To date our efforts to record and assess the significance of the antebellum landscape has mostly ignored these buildings. Slave houses need to be integrated into our

assessments of significance. For instance, in the nomination for National Historic Landmark status the slave buildings at Fairvue Plantation in Gallatin are not nearly as well described as the main house. The antebellum South was entirely a landscape of slavery, but to describe, preserve, and interpret it based mostly on grand mansions leaves out a majority of the players in a slave society.

The following chapters demonstrate the integration of this research into the scholarly literature of vernacular architecture, slave culture, and Tennessee history. The chapter-by-chapter organization for the rest of this dissertation will present the social and cultural characteristics of African-Tennessean slaves, the survey of slave housing, interpretations gained from the analysis, and the educational aspects of this study which may be used at sites that interpret slavery in Tennessee.

Chapter two poses questions on the nature of African-Tennessean life based on the general literature of African American culture written over the last forty years. Archeological questions and interpretations of slave sites investigated in Tennessee will be included here. The chapter will also include the social history and characteristics of slavery in Tennessee and set this history in a context of the upland South. Chapter two will serve as the conceptual launch for the survey as it unfolds in the next three sections.

Chapters three, four and five are the survey of slave housing in East, Middle, and West Tennessee respectively. Chapter six uses the Tennessee slave narratives and other primary documents to discuss upland South slave life explaining the landscape of slavery, power relations, and planter ideologies. The

chapter will also deal with how slave housing represents the creolization process and Southern culture becoming an amalgamation of different cultures from Africa and Europe.⁷³

Answers for the questions and assumptions about slave housing and slavery in Tennessee will be addressed in the final chapter. For instance what are the patterns and differences among houses on farms of one to ten slaves, ten to twenty slaves, or twenty plus slaves? This information will be related to both vernacular architecture studies and the social conditions of slaves, attempting to relate the worldview of owners and how that potentially affected the lives of slaves as seen through material culture. This chapter will also relate Tennessee slave housing to other states and discuss how Tennessee fits into the known patterns for other parts of the antebellum South. Conversely a lack of patterns in the houses will be examined in the context of an entrenched institution over two hundred years old by the Civil War. This final chapter will summarize the important findings made in this study. Any patterns recognized, or if no patterns emerge will be relevant to how historians and interpreters at historic sites interpret slavery to the general public.

This chapter will be the most important part of the dissertation as it makes an attempt to show the usefulness of this kind of study to the understanding of slavery by the general public. Plantation museums attempt to create a sense of place to enable understanding of the past through material culture, landscapes, and architecture of slavery. How sense of place is created at plantation museums will be explored.⁷⁴ I will also focus on how this one building type can assist in

that conception by creating an authentic feeling and setting, to create meaning and a sense of place. The hope is that educators and public historians at plantation museums will find this information useful in their work. Interpretation of the “peculiar institution” has received a good bit of critical scholarly attention over the last few decades and that topic will be the last explored in the dissertation, both through a sense of place and simple imparting of information, or lack of it. I will explore the production of historical narrative and the politics thereof. Power in the hands of the storyteller makes a difference in the information the narrative imparts. This idea includes purposeful forgetfulness of some stories yet the full availability of a rich heritage that can be told, also the difficulty of wrestling with a complex topic interpretively. This set of ideas is variously called “historical production,” “cultural memory,” or “public memory.”⁷⁵

Fieldwork for the dissertation took place from 1999 through 2002. It began slowly at first as I felt my way through both the literature and an understanding of architectural recording. In 2001-2002 I received grants from the Tennessee Historical Commission (THC) and the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA), in Winston Salem, North Carolina. To those institutions as well as the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation, which served as offices for the project, I owe a great debt of gratitude. As I found sites to survey I initially limited my interest in buildings constructed specifically as slave houses. But as I traveled throughout the state I began to realize that there are many places, just “spaces” really, in which slaves “lived.” I intentionally use quotations around “lived” because it is difficult to define what living under a

closet or in a four-foot high loft really means. I suspect that some of these places meant no more than a place to lay your head at the end of the day. Some sites I returned to several times because I learned my way through architectural drawing on the fly, and in the realization that other things needed to be recorded. I also realized that enslaved people lived in very diverse settings, not all were neat little houses in a row “back of the big house.” Many slave living accommodations were basement rooms, garrets above a kitchen, or a house the white family lived in previous to building a larger home, and the slaves inherited the owners’ former house.

The methodology for creating the database on which the interpretations in this dissertation will rest consisted of recording standing structures through measured drawings and photographs in three mediums; black and white prints, color slides, and color digital images. In addition, the database includes measured drawings of floor plans, and in some cases the elevations of buildings. The drawings, photographs, and field notes/observations constitute the graphic record of the survey database. Each 5" x 7" black and white print has the site name, date, direction of the photo, and region of the state written on the back. Each slide has all but the region on the slide cover. All photos were taken with two, Minolta Maxxum 7000 35mm cameras owned by the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation. The Center served as the administrative offices for the survey.

I took the digital photos with a Sony Mavica MV90 digital camera, with 1.6 megapixels capability set at the highest resolution. The camera saved all the digital images in jpeg format. The images now reside on CDs at the Center for

Historic Preservation and on a personal computer. Each region of the state has a separate file folder, and within those folders each site has its own folder. Within the site folders reside the pictures themselves. Each image label has an abbreviation of the site name, and the direction or historical elements shown. Because of the nature of computer file labeling, space is limited so each image does not have the same amount of information as written on the back of the photographs.

I completed all the field drawings on site in pencil and then later constructed them on a computer in Intellicad software, a computer assisted drawing (CAD) program available for purchase on the Internet. This software mimics Autocad 14 in format and function. Drawings can be imported/exported to either program. The elevations and floorplan drawings are basic outlines of the buildings with major elements such as door and window locations. On the elevation drawings I made no attempt to draw individual structural elements such as logs, weatherboards, or brick courses. To do so would have taken much more time than available to conduct the fieldwork. The drawings simply serve to provide the viewer a sense of scale and proportion, but do not record every trait of the buildings. Photographs serve to record the basic details and in the case of buildings with decorative elements close-ups of those special features can be found in the files. I inspected each of the buildings to determine how much historic fabric remains. A set of field notes with that information and any other architectural observations for each site complete the database. The architectural descriptions of each building are an integral part of the field notes. These notes

and graphic images constitute a major contribution of this survey to the preservation of slavery's architectural legacy in Tennessee.

In most cases I interviewed the property owners to learn what information and/or family oral traditions they knew about the houses such as age, the slave owner's name, and if known, the number of slaves living in the house, and on the property. I copied all documents the owners had related to the buildings which became one component of the historical analysis for each building recorded. In some cases the numbers of enslaved people who lived on the property at the 1850 and 1860 census is available, which assists with the analysis.

I entered the synthesized survey information in a spreadsheet database, written in Microsoft Excel. The information entered includes the site name, county and/or city, date of construction if known, domestic or field laborer inhabitants, distance to the main house, size of the building, room size/s, and square footage of the rooms. In addition, the house-type such as single or duplex, the material such as log, frame, or brick, foundation material, number of doors and windows, the presence of a loft, interior finishes, and comments on the structure are recorded. These categories can be found across the top of each page of the spreadsheets. Each section of the state has its own set of spreadsheets and the sites are listed alphabetically within each region. Individual buildings are divided by floors, the number of rooms within the building, and labeled by floor and cardinal direction.

The nature of slave housing in antebellum Tennessee varied greatly, from small log buildings to long brick houses, wings attached to the back of mansions,

to multi-room duplexes, triplexes and quads, to rooms within the basement of mansion houses. The survey located and recorded a total of 63 sites representing 75 separate buildings, 26 rooms within the "big house" and seven wings with slave spaces, accounting for 169 separate rooms for slave living and or working. These totals do not include lofts found in many of the separate houses. While lofts may be considered individual rooms, many of them are no more than unheated, windowless, low, spaces. It is assumed that children were the main occupants of the lofts since the head height of most are rather short. In some cases the lofts did have a height tall enough for a 6' 4" surveyor to stand up in. However, making the qualitative assessment of which lofts constituted a living space as opposed to simply a sleeping space is a difficult task without primary documentation. For this reason the lofts have been noted and recorded, but are not included in the statistics as separate rooms for living.

Conversely, second floors or half stories such as those in the houses at Fairvue Plantation in Middle Tennessee do count as living spaces and are recorded as such in the inventory. These rooms have stairs leading up to them, windows, and most have or had fireplaces, making them more than just sleeping spaces. Likewise, the buildings referred to as a kitchen/cook's house I also included as living spaces. The assumption is that though the kitchen functioned as a work area, and as such a more corporate space, at least that would have been the master's concept of it. Slave women on the other hand used these rooms to watch their children during the day, and because the cooks spent so much time in them the kitchens by default became a slave space. This is especially true of buildings

that included domestic rooms such as at Clifton Place and Magnolia Manor in Middle and West Tennessee. An exception to this is the kitchen at the Dickson-Williams house in East Tennessee. It also served as the Dickson family dining room. I included measurements of kitchens where the building has not been too altered to obscure the antebellum architectural arrangement. In some cases the rooms were drastically modified in the twentieth century, and consequently left out of the database.

This dissertation sets out to understand slave houses in the larger perspective of Tennessee and its place in the antebellum South, while keeping in mind the potential pitfalls of this type of research. The most obvious limitation is the number of extant buildings. Most of the surviving slave houses examined stood near the main house, which typically indicates slaves who served as domestics. Balancing these buildings are those of field slaves which stood a little more removed from the master's residence. Also, a few industrial slave houses are incorporated into the study. Tennessee's iron industry employed slaves and two houses standing in Middle Tennessee represent that part of the economic spectrum.

Another potential bias is the late dates of extant houses. Very few buildings from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth-centuries actually survive. Combining historical, architectural, and archeological studies only partially solves the statistical problem of physically examining mostly the late antebellum period. However, the complementary nature of this evidence allows this research to begin building an interpretive framework for Tennessee layer upon layer like a child's

house made out of Lincoln Logs. Each piece can stand alone, but put together, a more substantial package is created, much like the log houses this study analyzes.

While the scholarly interest in slave architecture has increased in the past several decades, this study is timely because destruction and slow deterioration has caused the loss of most slave-related buildings extant at the time of the Civil War. Slave houses were at one time more ubiquitous on the Southern landscape than the mansions of their masters. The few that remain though can be found behind the mansions or in back lots, cut off by the subdivision of farms from the larger landscape of which they were once a part. Some are found in fields used for hay storage, others abandoned and empty, while some are displayed “behind the big house” at plantation museums. The slave houses at museums typically sit with a few pieces of period furniture inside, a spinning wheel, or things one assumes are supposed to represent slaves’ knickknacks. These things tend to perpetuate some myths about slavery and slave life. Generally the interpretation of these houses is poorly done or non-existent. In some cases the museum staff rarely even looks in the slave buildings. They open them for visitors to peer inside, but the contents are a mish-mash of items left over from school-group tours of plantation life.⁷⁶ To improve the meager interpretations of slavery that the visiting public receives, scholars must reach deep into their investigative toolboxes and examine slave life from all sides, and in all regions of the South. I propose that the slave houses themselves are a good place to start, and those discussed in the following chapters represent one such set of houses from the upland South.

ENDNOTES

¹ Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America," *American Historical Review* 85, no. 1 (February, 1980) : 44-78; Susanna Delfino, "Many Souths: Changing Social Contexts and the Road to Industrialization in Antebellum Tennessee," *Southern Studies* 22, (Spring 1983) : 82-96; W.E.B. DuBois, "The Home of the Slave," reprinted in *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes in North American Slavery*, eds. Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg (New Haven: Yale University Press: 2010), 17; Robert T. McKenzie, "From Old South to New South in the Volunteer State: The Economy and Society in Rural Tennessee, 1850-1880." (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1988); Robert T. McKenzie, *One South or Many: The Plantation Belt and Upcountry in Civil War Era Tennessee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*; John S. Otto, *Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era, 1860-1880* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1994); Ulrich B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1929); Mark Wetherington, "Beyond the Plantation: Researching Southern History," *History News* 51, no.3 (summer 1996) : 24-28; Donald L. Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmer: Antebellum Agriculture in the Upper South* (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1994).

² While certain crops dominated, each region grew a diversified set of agricultural products, for instance, though West Tennessee is known for its cotton, especially in the area surrounding Memphis, the northern half of the section grew a more diversified set of crops including tobacco, grain and stock. See; Bette B. Tilly, "The Spirit of Improvement: Reformism and Slavery in West Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. 28 (1974): 25.

³ Ophelia S. Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery: Autobiographical Accounts of Negro Ex-Slaves* (New York: NCR Reprint edition, 1968), 111.

⁴ Andrea Sutcliffe, ed. *Mighty Rough Times I Tell You* (Winston-Salem, NC: John Blair Publishers, 2000), viii-xi.

⁵ Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society," 44-78. Berlin makes the point that African American culture evolved over time and space in North America and in much the same way housing changed through time as explicated by W.E.B. DuBois, "The Home of the Slave."

⁶ James Deetz, "Landscapes as Cultural Statements," in *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology*, eds. William M. Kelso, and Rachel M. Most (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 1-4.

⁷ Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 278, 280.

⁸ Anne E. Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 293.

⁹ Patricia Davison, "The Social Use of Space in a Mpondo Homestead," in *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, vol. 43, no. 148 (Dec., 1988) : 100; Rhys Isaac, "Ethnographic Method in History: An Action Approach," in *Material Life in America 1600-1860* ed., Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 39-62; For a treatise in understanding the symbolic nature of culture see Henry Glassie in the same volume, "Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths: The Artifact's Place in American Studies," 63-94. Charles E. Martin, *Hollybush: Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 6.

¹⁰ Edward A. Chappell, "Museums and American Slavery," in *I Too Am America: Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, ed. Theresa Singleton (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 240-258.

¹¹ John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976); Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in 'Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925'* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976); Herbert G. Gutman, "Afro-American Kinship Before and After Emancipation in North America," in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, eds. Hans Medic, and David Warren Sabean (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 241-265.

¹² Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), original published in 1941.

¹³ DuBois, "The Home of the Slave."

¹⁴ Ibid., 17.

¹⁵ Carl Anthony, "The Big House and the Slave Quarters, Part II: African Contributions to the New World," *Landscape* 21 no. 1 (1976): 9-15; Author Bradford C. Grant, in "Accommodation and Resistance: The Built Environment and the African-American Experience" in *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices*, eds. Thomas A. Dutton and Lian Hurst Mann (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), on page 204 Grant discusses the historiography of slave architecture stating that Carl Anthony in his article "The Big House and the Slave Quarters" was the first to recognize that slave's had an influence on Southern architecture. For instance the steeply pitched pyramidal roofs of outbuildings in the Virginia tidewater suggest African forms. Anthony also thinks the way small buildings are grouped form an African village scene, as well as the small size suggesting African architectural patterns. Grant says that

Anthony was also the first historian to suggest the porch as an African Architectural element brought to the Southern colonies by slaves.

¹⁶ Anita S. Goodstein, *Nashville 1780-1860: From Frontier to City* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989), 78; Anita S. Goodstein, "Black History on the Nashville Frontier, 1780-1810," in *Trial and Triumph: Essays in African American History* ed. Carroll Van West (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 5. Goodstein mentions that a slave woman lived with the Robertson family in Fort Nashborough.

¹⁷ Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 63-68; William M. Kelso, *Kingsmill Plantations 1619-1800: Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia* (New York: Academic Press, 1984); Thomas R. Wheaton and Patrick H. Garrow, "Acculturation and the Archaeological Record in the Carolina Low Country," in *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*. ed. Theresa A. Singleton (New York: Academic Press, 1985), 239-258.

¹⁸ Hugh Grove, "Virginia in 1732: The Travel Journal of Hugh Grove," eds. Gregory A. Stiverson and Patrick H. Butler III, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 85 (1977): 26, as quoted in John M. Vlach, "Plantation Landscapes of the Antebellum South," in *Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South*, eds. Edward D.C. Campbell, Jr. and Kym S. Rice (Richmond: Museum of the Confederacy, and the University Press of Virginia, 1991), 25.

¹⁹ Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 69.

²⁰ John M. Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 43.

²¹ Carter L. Hudgins, "Robert 'King' Carter and the Landscape of Tidewater Virginia in the Eighteenth-Century," in *Earthpatterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 67.

²² DuBois "The Home of the Slave," 17.

²³ Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 73; Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 104; John M. Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978), 124.

²⁴ James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Press, 1977), 145.

²⁵ James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Press, expanded and revised edition 1996), 218.

²⁶ Larry McKee, “The Archaeological Study of Slavery and Plantation Life in Tennessee,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. LIX, no. 3 (Fall 2000) : 188-203, esp. 193.

²⁷ Gutman, “Afro-American Kinship,” p. 250.

²⁸ Merrick Posnansky, “West Africanist Reflections on African-American Archaeology,” in “*I Too Am America*”: *Archaeological Studies in African-American Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 21-38.

²⁹ Anthony, “The Big House and the Slave Quarters,” 188, at least as far as I can discern no researchers have published on Spanish influences on plantation architecture.

³⁰ Dell Upton, “White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia,” in *Material Life in America 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 357-370; Dell Upton, “Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape,” in *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology*, eds. William M. Kelso, and Rachel Most (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 71-88.

³¹ John M. Vlach, ‘Snug Li’l House With Flue and Oven’: Nineteenth-Century Reforms in Plantation Slave Housing,” in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture V*, eds. Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 118-129, esp. p. 124.

³² Charles E. Martin, *Hollybush: Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community* (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1984); Michael Ann Williams, *Homeplace: The Social Use and Meaning of the Folk Dwelling in Southwestern North Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991).

³³ Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 73; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, esp. 112, fn.13; Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, 104-130.

³⁴ Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 25; ,” John M. Vlach, “Not Mansions . . . But Good Enough: Slave Quarters as Bi-Cultural Expression,” in *Black and White Cultural Interaction in the Antebellum South*, ed. Ted Ownby (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 89-124.

³⁵ Steven L. Jones, “The African-American Tradition in Vernacular Architecture,” in *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton (New York: Academic Press, 1985), 195-213, quoted 195.

³⁶ Vlach, “Snug Lil Houses with Flue and Oven,” 123.

³⁷ Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 68-73; Garrett Fesler, “Excavating the Spaces and Interpreting the Places of Enslaved Africans and Their Descendants,” in *Cabin Quarter Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*, eds. Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 27-50; Julius F. Gluck, “African Architecture,” in *Peoples and Cultures of Africa: An Anthropological Reader*, ed. Elliot P. Skinner (Garden City, NY: Museum of Natural History, 1973), 230-246; Barbara Heath, “Space and Place within Plantation Quarters in Virginia, 1700-1825,” in *Cabin Quarter Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*, eds. Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010) : 156-176; Richard Westmacott, *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 30; Thomas R. Wheaton, “Colonial African American Plantation Villages,” in *Another’s Country: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on Cultural Interactions in the Southern Colonies*, eds. J.W. Joseph and Martha Zierden, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 30-44, esp. 38-39.

³⁸ Jones, “The African-American Tradition in Vernacular Architecture,” 196.

³⁹ Anthony, “The Big House and the Slave Quarters,” 188.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 188.

⁴¹ Jones, “The African-American Tradition in Vernacular Architecture,” 196. However there is some disagreement on this point. Bradford Grant states that “In a perverse way, the most active period of African American involvement in design and buildings was during the period of slavery. African craftsmen-slaves were the primary builders of the South, usually under the strict control of a ‘master’, yet often in a role of ‘supervisor-designer-builder.’ Based on their superior skills, freed slaves also were involved in much building of the North during this period.” Grant, “Accommodation and Resistance,” 202.

⁴² Anthony, “The Big House and the Slave Quarters,” 188.

⁴³ Christopher R. DeCourse, “Oceans Apart: Africanist Perspectives on Diaspora Archaeology,” in “*I Too Am America*”: *Archaeological Studies in African-American Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 132-158; Posnansky, “West Africanist Reflections on African-American Archaeology,” 27; Brian W. Thomas, “Source Criticism and

the Interpretation of African-American Sites," *Southeastern Archaeology*, 14, no. 2 (winter 1995) : 149-157.

⁴⁴ Susan Denyer, *African Traditional Architecture: An Historical and Geographical Perspective* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1978); Abimbola O. Asojo, "Traditional African Architecture and its Impact on Place Making: Case Studies from African and African-American Communities," in *Places of Cultural Memory: African Reflections on the American Landscape*, Conference Proceedings, May 9-12, 2001, Atlanta Georgia.

⁴⁵ Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, 72; Olaudah Equiano, *The Life of Olaudah Equiano*, ed. Paul Edwards (Essex: UK, The Longman Group, 1988), 6-7; Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 69-71; Natalie P. Adams, "'In the Style of an English Cottage' : Influences on the Design, Construction, and Use of South Carolina Slave Houses," paper presented at the Southeast Archeological Conference, Chattanooga, Tennessee November, 2001; Posnansky, "West Africanist Reflections on African-American Archaeology," 28.

⁴⁶ Thomas R. Wheaton and Patrick H. Garrow, "Acculturation and the Archeological Record in the Carolina Lowcountry," 239-249.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 245.

⁴⁸ Bernard L. Herman, "Slave Quarters in Virginia: The Persona Behind Historic Artifacts," in *The Scope of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of John L. Cotter*, eds. David G. Orr and Daniel G. Crozier (Philadelphia: Occasional Publication of the Department of Anthropology, Temple University, 1984), 253-283.

⁴⁹ Larry McKee, "The Ideals and Realities Behind the Design and Use of 19th Century Virginia Slave Cabins," in *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz*, eds. Anne Elizabeth Yentsch and Mary C. Beaudry (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 1992), 195-213; Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia;" Upton, "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape."

⁵⁰ Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia," 361; Upton, "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape," 71.

⁵¹ Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia," 364-367; Upton, "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape," 73.

⁵² Upton, "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape," 72.

⁵³ Chappell, "Museums and American Slavery," 243.

⁵⁴ Thomas Reinhart, "A Gem on the Farm: The Slave Quarter at Blandair Farm," *Heritage Matters* (June 2004) : 6-7; Vlach, "Not Mansions, But Good Enough" 89-124; Vlach, 'Snug Li'l House With Flue and Oven,' 118-129.

⁵⁵ James O. Breeden, *Advice Among Masters: The Ideal in Slave Management in The Old South* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1980).

⁵⁶ Conducting such a study is beyond the bounds of this dissertation. It would have to include a number of pre- 1830 slave houses, or excavations of them, to compare with post-1830 houses. This survey located very few houses dating prior to 1830, but such a comparative study could build on the information gathered for this dissertation.

⁵⁷ Terrance Epperson, "Constructing Difference: The Social and Spatial Order of the Chesapeake Plantation" in " *I Too Am America: 'Archaeological Studies of African-American Life* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 159-172, esp.164; Jones, "The African-American Tradition in Vernacular Architecture," 196; Vlach, "Snug Li'l House with Flue and Oven," 118.

⁵⁸ Marius Carriere Jr., "Blacks in Pre-Civil War Memphis," in *Trial and Triumph: Essays in Tennessee's African American History*, ed. Carroll Van West (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 23-37, esp. 26; Lisa Tolbert, "Murder in Franklin," in *Trial and Triumph: Essays in Tennessee's African American History*, ed. Carroll Van West (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002); Lisa Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); John M. Vlach, "'Without Recourse to Owners': The Architecture of Urban Slavery in the Antebellum South," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 6 (1997) : 150-160, esp.158.

⁵⁹ Catherine W. Bishir, "Urban Slavery at Work: The Bellamy Mansion Compound, Wilmington, North Carolina," *Buildings and Landscapes*, vol. 17, no.2 (Fall 2010) : 13-32; Bernard L. Herman, "The Embedded Landscapes of the Charleston Single House, 1780-1820," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VII*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 41-57,esp. 53-54; Bernard L. Herman, "Slave and Servant Housing in Charleston, 1770-1820," *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 33, no. 3 (1999), 88-101; Gregg D. Kimball, "African-Virginians and the Vernacular Building Tradition in Richmond City, 1790-1860," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IV*, eds. Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 121-129; Vlach, "'Without Recourse to Owners'" 150-160; John M. Vlach, "The Plantation Tradition in an Urban Setting," *Southern Cultures* 5 no. 4 (Winter 1999). In this article Vlach argues heavily that many urban slave holdings used architecture to reinforce power relationships between white and black.

⁶⁰ Vlach, "Snug Li'l House with Flue and Oven," 126.

⁶¹ Ellis and Ginsburg, eds., *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*.

⁶² Vlach, *Back of the Big House*.

⁶³ A count of the HABS electronic data files yielded only seven slave buildings recorded in Tennessee. I searched the website by using a query for “slave houses,” “slave cabins,” or “slave” and “Tennessee.”

⁶⁴ Brenda Stevenson, “Commentary on Vlach,” in *Black and White Cultural Interaction in the Antebellum South* ed. Ted Ownby (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993). 116; Daniel L. Fountain, “Historians and Historical Archaeology,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XXVI, no. 1 (summer, 1995) : 74. In a separate essay Vlach even admits that the story of slave housing stretches over 400 years, “...diverse region settings, and the production of different commodities,” and that it is difficult to draw any solid conclusions over wide ranging regions. For that reason I am supposing that he focused his analysis of reforms on a short period from 1830-1860. Vlach, “Snug Lil House with Flue and Oven.”

⁶⁵ George W. McDaniel, *Hearth and Home: Preserving a People's Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982).

⁶⁶ Ibid., 56-58.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 53-56.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 70-72.

⁶⁹ Loren Schweninger, ed. *From Tennessee Slave to St. Louis Entrepreneur: The Autobiography of James Thomas* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 63.

⁷⁰ George W. McDaniel, *Hearth and Home*, 54-55.

⁷¹ Ibid., 27.

⁷² Patricia Samford, “‘Buildings So Numerous As To Seem A Village’: Housing North Carolina’s Enslaved Peoples During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” paper presented at Society for Historical Archaeology Conference, Mobile, Alabama, January 1998.

⁷³ Ronald W. Anthony, “Tangible Interaction: Evidence from Stobo Plantation,” in *Another’s Country: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on Cultural Interactions in the Southern Colonies*, eds. J. W. Joseph and Martha Zeirden (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 45- 64, esp.45; Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, 218; Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 150.

⁷⁴ Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996).

⁷⁵ Associated Press, "Bed and Breakfasts Criticized for Dressing up Slave Quarters," *Reading Eagle*, March 17, 2002; Joe Baker, "Haunted History: Slavery and the Landscape of Myth at America's Civil War Sites," *Common Ground* (Fall 2005) : 14-27; Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999); David Carr, *The Promise of Cultural Institutions* (Walnut Creek, CA.: Altamira Press, 2003), esp. chaps. 3,7,9; Jennifer L. Eichstedt and Stephen Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002); George M. Fredrickson, "The Skeleton in the Closet," *The New York Review*, (November 2, 2000) : 61-66; Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Joseph E. Holloway, ed. *Africanisms in American Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); James H. Horton and Johanna C. Kardux, "Slavery and the Contest for National Heritage in the United States and the Netherlands," *American Studies International*, vol. XII nos. 2&3 (2004) : 51-74; Charles Johnson, Patricia Smith and the WGBH Series Research Team, *Africans in America: America's Journey Through Slavery* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1998); Brian D. Joyner, *African Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Africanisms* (Washington D.C.: Office of Diversity and Special Projects, National Center for Cultural Resources, National Park Service, 2003); Barbara Burlison Mooney "Looking for History's Huts," *Winterthur Portfolio* 39, vol. 1 (2004) : 43-68; Martha K. Norkunas, *The Politics of Public Memory: Tourism, History, and Ethnicity in Monterey, California* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); John M. Vlach, "Confronting Slavery: One Example of the Perils and Promises of Difficult History," *History News* vol. 54 no. 2 (1999) : 1-4.

⁷⁶ This was the case of the three slave buildings standing at the Sam Davis Home in Smyrna, Tennessee. A staff member admitted to me that they rarely ever examined or used these buildings except for children's programs. The same is true of the one slave building at the Carter House in Franklin, Tennessee.

⁷⁴ Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996).

⁷⁵ Associated Press, "Bed and Breakfasts Criticized for Dressing up Slave Quarters," *Reading Eagle*, March 17, 2002; Joe Baker, "Haunted History: Slavery and the Landscape of Myth at America's Civil War Sites," *Common Ground* (Fall 2005) : 14-27; Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999); David Carr, *The Promise of Cultural Institutions* (Walnut Creek, CA.: Altamira Press, 2003), esp. chaps. 3,7,9; Jennifer L. Eichstedt and Stephen Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002); George M. Fredrickson, "The Skeleton in the Closet," *The New York Review*, (November 2, 2000) : 61-66; Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Joseph E. Holloway, ed. *Africanisms in American Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); James H. Horton and Johanna C. Kardux, "Slavery and the Contest for National Heritage in the United States and the Netherlands," *American Studies International*, vol. XII nos. 2&3 (2004) : 51-74; Charles Johnson, Patricia Smith and the WGBH Series Research Team, *Africans in America: America's Journey Through Slavery* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1998); Brian D. Joyner, *African Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Africanisms* (Washington D.C.: Office of Diversity and Special Projects, National Center for Cultural Resources, National Park Service, 2003); Barbara Burlison Mooney "Looking for History's Huts," *Winterthur Portfolio* 39, vol. 1 (2004) : 43-68; Martha K. Norkunas, *The Politics of Public Memory: Tourism, History, and Ethnicity in Monterey, California* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); John M. Vlach, "Confronting Slavery: One Example of the Perils and Promises of Difficult History," *History News* vol. 54 no. 2 (1999) : 1-4.

⁷⁶ This was the case of the three slave buildings standing at the Sam Davis Home in Smyrna, Tennessee. A staff member admitted to me that they rarely ever examined or used these buildings except for children's programs. The same is true of the one slave building at the Carter House in Franklin, Tennessee.

CHAPTER II

“Yes, I was a house slave; I slept under the stairway in the closet”: The Historiography of Slavery Studies

Chapter two examines the historiography of slavery studies based on the general literature of African-American culture and the history of slavery written over the last forty years. It examines both the white settlers of Tennessee and the slaves they brought with them as settlement began in the state during the late eighteenth-century. It also considers the geographical context of the upland South, a part of the antebellum South Tennessee rests firmly within. The chapter will define this significant sub-region both culturally and in areal extent.

White settlement of the state began in East Tennessee in the late 1760s, and Middle Tennessee in 1780. Slaves were included in the early settlers, but historians are not certain of their numbers.¹ During Tennessee's early period slavery grew slowly and steadily until the opening of the western territory in 1819. Then between 1820 and 1840 the number of slaves doubled in the state. By 1860 slaves constituted almost 25% of the total population. But the distribution at that point was very uneven. In East Tennessee the ratio of slaves to whites was approximately one to twelve, and some counties held ratios of about one to sixty. In the West Tennessee counties of Haywood and Fayette by contrast, in both the 1850 and 1860 censuses slaves outnumbered whites. The same was true for Williamson County in Middle Tennessee in 1860. At that time slaves made up

9% of the population in East Tennessee, 29% in Middle, and 34% in West Tennessee.²

In 1850 and 1860, 94% of the slave holders in East Tennessee were also landowners. But two-thirds of those landowning slave holders held five or fewer slaves. In Middle Tennessee, more than two-thirds of slave owners held fewer than ten slaves while only 5% held or more. Middle Tennessee also held more landless slave owners than in the Eastern section, but they were only about 10% of the slave owning population, compared to 6%.³

Since it was agriculture that made slavery profitable it is relevant to look at what the state produced in agricultural products. In 1860 Tennessee ranked third in the nation in tobacco production behind only Virginia and Kentucky. In 1860 every county in the state produced some tobacco. At the same time Tennessee was third in swine raising, fifth in corn, seventh in livestock value, eighth in cotton, and thirteenth in wheat production. Cotton, tobacco and corn required the most labor of the products mentioned above. Cotton dominated in the lower section of West Tennessee, tobacco in the upper section and in the northern Middle Tennessee counties as well. Cotton and corn dominated the lower Middle Tennessee area, while corn and wheat dominated in most of East Tennessee with some counties producing quantities of tobacco. Yet historian Chase Mooney demonstrates that it was the small farmers, slave owners and non-owners alike that increased their production the most in the decade from 1850 to 1860. In nearly every agricultural product the larger slave owning producers with 30 or more slaves dropped in percentage of production output in that decade.⁴

Mooney's figures, which demonstrate that small farmers increased their production faster than the large slave holders, suggests that the general pattern of slavery and agricultural production in Tennessee was one of a land dominated by neither the large planter, nor the poor yeoman farmer. Instead, during the antebellum era Tennessee held a population of mostly middle-class farmers who had a number of slaves to work their fields, and they approached self sufficiency in their agricultural operations. Slavery then may have been more of a cultural imperative than an economic one, at least in the Middle and East Tennessee divisions. For the larger operations in West Tennessee slavery should still be viewed as a large-scale economic system of forced labor.

The majority of Tennessee slave owners held fewer than 10 bondsmen, which differentiated the Volunteer State from her Deep South neighbors.⁵ Accordingly, scholars do not generally classify Tennessee a plantation state like Mississippi or Alabama.⁶ Also, most of the agricultural enterprises in Tennessee were smaller than the typical acreage of a plantation. Middle Tennessee had a larger percentage of slave ownership than the two other divisions of the state, but also showed the greatest decrease of ownership in the decade immediately prior to the Civil War.

Many scholars have studied the nature of slavery and/or African-American culture in the Old South. The contributors to this research come from history, anthropology, archeology, folklore, and architectural history. While a great deal of scholarship exists for slave life, work, legal status, family and community creation, most of this work is either general and considers Tennessee very little or

focuses on one state or a part of the South that does not include the Volunteer State. Some of the historical works are far reaching and make considerable contributions to our understanding of the general patterns in slavery. These major works however rarely spotlight Tennessee; indeed many barely mention the state.

Much of the historical literature focuses on the eighteenth-century Tidewater plantations of the Chesapeake region, the Deep South, or the Lowcountry of Georgia and South Carolina.⁷ Some of these works have become classics in their own right because of the amount or type of information presented such as Kenneth Stamp's *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South*, which dispelled several myths about slavery while explaining the evolution of the institution and, most importantly, broke with historical traditions that considered slavery a benign paternalistic institution. Stamp's take on the concept of paternalism declares that only a certain class of slaves, the domestics, received any consideration within the system of slavery. Stamp was also the first scholar to recognize slavery's institutionalized brutality. Or consider Eugene Genovese's *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, which examined the master/slave relationship from the Marxian perspective and insisted that both slaves and masters understood and used the paternalist system, though using it to their own distinct advantages. However, *Roll Jordan Roll* only superficially discussed Tennessee; the book primarily considers east coast states from Virginia to Georgia.⁸ Genovese highlights slaves' creation of a separate culture within the overall setting of the South, while also contributing heavily to the larger southern culture. In his treatment of slave laws he states that South Carolina's laws on

emancipation became more stringent in 1841, and then declares that “Even states like Tennessee followed the same path.” The offhanded remark is indicative of the general lack of attention that Tennessee receives in large scale, over-arching historical research on slavery.⁹

Genovese’s study of slavery was far reaching and spanned nearly two centuries. However, his analysis of slavery really did not recognize the time-depth of the subject. We now know that slavery changed form and had several guises in various regions of the South. Hence a study such as this one for Tennessee focuses on a smaller area and pays attention to time and the evolution of the institution. *Roll Jordan Roll* examined slavery and the culture of the enslaved from many perspectives including that of the master, in the context of small farms, and how whites thought of slaves in a paternalist society.

Taking a different analytical position, historian James Oakes interprets whites as being “oblivious” to the complexities of African-American life. All white men of the South who desired upward mobility needed black slaves to reach that goal, and understanding the African-American’s culture or point of view was not necessary.¹⁰ Despite that lack of understanding and vision, Oakes sees southern culture as a mixing of white and black cultures, fusing to become one over time. However that process was not necessarily predicated on close personal relationships; rather forced relationships were the norm because the nature of slavery compelled black and white to live in close proximity to one another.

Oakes’ study focused on the slaveholders themselves. He maintains that slaveholding did not necessarily create enormous wealth in a very few people.

Although a few slaveholders did indeed amass tremendous wealth, the regime created a large class of smallholders who held relatively few slaves. To create his statistics Oakes examined 10 counties across the antebellum South, including two from Tennessee, Sullivan in East, and Weakley in West Tennessee. While these two counties can in no way be considered slave counties in the same category as southwest Tennessee's Fayette County, they do fall into Oakes' average for median number of slaveholdings with four and five respectively. As for the South as a whole Oakes stated;

In 1850 half the slaveholders owned five bondsmen or fewer. Small holdings were not only the rule among the foreign-born but among the native-born white, Indian, and black slaveholders as well. In cities, on farms, in the old slave states of Virginia and North Carolina and in the frontier states of Missouri and Texas, the typical slaveholder did not own more than ten slaves. Three out of four masters owned fewer than ten in 1850. Even in the extraordinarily wealthy rice-producing counties of the South Carolina Lowcountry, nearly half of the masters owned ten slaves or fewer. Statistically, at least, the typical slaveholder was not even a planter, much less an aristocrat." To further make his point Oakes later stated; "Thirty six percent of Southern white families held slaves in 1830, thirty one percent in 1850, and twenty six percent in 1860.¹¹

This information would seem to place most of Tennessee in the same category as the majority of slaveholders across the South, not vastly wealthy, but prosperous enough to own a farm and a small number of enslaved people. Oakes' research demonstrates that the Deep South had larger plantation districts while Tennessee's included only two counties in the west division and one in Middle Tennessee. On the whole Tennessee's slave holdings were smaller than the coastal and Deep South states. It had comparatively fewer counties with majority black populations.

Oakes also observes that many slaveholders moved in and out of that group as they regularly bought and sold one or two people as their needs changed

or economic position allowed. Others simply hired slaves as needed. While this information is valuable for Oakes' analysis of the slaveholding class, it points out where a large gap in the architectural material culture of slavery exists. Where does one find evidence of those enslaved individuals who lived with a white family in groups of two, three or four, or hired out for part of a year? How do we substantially confirm their living environment? Those people are just as invisible in the physical record as someone who lived on a plantation, but had no place to call home, living, or more properly just sleeping, in the rooms of the master or mistress, or like the boy who as a house slave at least had a small space to call his own, though he too is undetectable from the architectural record: "Yes, I was a house slave; I slept under the stairway in the closet. I was sorta mistress' pet, you know."¹² Unless we know exactly where that closet is, his living accommodations, his personal space, - (home!) would not appear as such in an architectural inventory; he is invisible.

Another classic in the historical scholarship, *Time On The Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* examines slavery from a purely economic aspect and unfortunately reduces a system of exploitation to a numbers game.¹³ The authors, Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman argue in their epilogue that the book is meant to demonstrate that black history, as written up to the early 1970s, ignored the fact that enslaved people had a culture of their own and contributed to the wealth of the South with their hard work and ingenuity. Despite this cogent recognition of black contributions to southern culture the authors received much criticism for their cliometrics. Their thesis might have been better served if they

had expounded on the information in their epilogue on black culture, industry, and health; then the data in the following chapters used to support the thesis. The book can appear to be somewhat of an apology for slavery in general. Tennessee receives only two mentions in this book.

The omission of Tennessee is also noteworthy in many of the most-cited historical works on slavery and slave life. An examination of the indexes in *The Slave Community*, *Many Thousands Gone*, *The World They Made Together*, and *Slave Counterpoint*, resulted in few to no references for Tennessee. John Blassingame's *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* covers slave society and its influences on southern white culture, and while he mentions Tennessee in several places, the state is not emphasized. Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* makes mention of Tennessee only in the context of westward expansion and separation of slave families in the overland slave trade. This particular book's great contribution rests in the explanation of how slavery developed and evolved from a society with slaves to a slave society in various parts of the South during the first two hundred years of America's history. By his definition Tennessee fits in the category of a society with slaves, even considering the full florescence of the institution within the state because most parts of Tennessee saw small slaveholdings. Berlin's companion volume *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* continues his explanation of slavery's evolution and the fact that the century of greatest change in the peculiar institution occurred not before the Revolution but prior to the Civil War. That is the century of

Tennessee's growth, and yet it still remained a society with slaves despite its cotton production. Because of the state's topography and climate King Cotton reigned only in pockets within her borders. Meanwhile in the Deep South massive plantation districts grew slave societies in the Mississippi Valley.¹⁴ Berlin's works do not place much emphasis on Tennessee, but explains to a great extent the development of slavery and thereby Tennessee's position in the antebellum South, which seems marginalized in works of historical synthesis.

Philip Morgan's *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* also notes the westward movement of enslaved people, stating that families emigrating from Virginia settled Tennessee and Kentucky. Hence, the slave culture of frontier Tennessee had its roots in the Chesapeake slave society formed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries.¹⁵ Tennessee's slavery is not examined in any detail, or used more than to support a single point. This is not to criticize Morgan since his title explicitly states the focus of his work is on Virginia and South Carolina. The book is one of the best analyses of slavery in the last twenty years partly because it focuses on two regions of the South rather than attempting to make conclusions about the entirety of Southern slavery. Morgan's book points out the importance of understanding slavery in the context of the South's different sub-regions.

Mechal Sobel's book *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth Century Virginia* is a penetrating discussion on the creolization of black and white cultures during slavery and deals almost exclusively with Virginia. Sobel's book however contains a chapter on slave

houses that is very useful to this research on Tennessee's dwellings. Sobel states that slaves had a culturally determined architectural pattern of size and space use. She found 12' square to be the most common dimension of slave houses in her study.¹⁶ Both Sobel and Morgan make note of the fact that slaves usually built their own houses, determining size and space use. Both authors give documented examples of slaves who built their own homes. These studies differ from author John Vlach who asserted that whites determined the sizes and design of slave houses.¹⁷ The difference likely rests in the time periods under consideration. In the eighteenth-century slaves may have had more latitude to build houses of their own design. But by the nineteenth-century the situation had changed. Sobel also argues that blacks thought about space differently than whites. The area immediately outside of a house served as an extension of the living area, and internal divisions, if any existed, do not necessarily mean private and public spaces. Her insights are important to analyzing slave houses in Tennessee.

Historian Anthony Kaye published a study of slave neighborhoods in the region of Natchez, Mississippi. Kaye studied the concept of neighborhoods in the plantation district of five counties along the Mississippi River. By analyzing primary documents which described how slaves moved about their neighborhoods Kaye determined how slaves partitioned and organized the landscape mentally and physically. Kaye considers space a cultural construct, both architectural space and the partitioning of a landscape. Slaves and masters considered the landscape in different ways. Slaves hid out in the forests and swamps, while the elite whites knew little of those places. Houses overlap with the landscape because they were

the places where slaves were at home with their families and their own culture, and as places where the master class could and sometimes did invade at will. Yet many houses, and indeed whole slave quarters, sat at the edge of the farm or plantation near the fields and woods where a person could hide from white domination.

In the 1980s and 1990s research and insights from women's studies made significant contributions to southern history. In the realm of slavery studies several authors produced works specifically analyzing women and the effects of slavery on both black and white women. Deborah Gray White's book, *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female slaves in the Plantation South* demonstrated that women of the master class had a power over enslaved women specifically because they were white. However, the two races existed within plantation households in relationships of interdependence. Nevertheless, each experienced sexism and racism from white males differently, making their reactions to both the men, and each other, proscribed within a set of cultural bounds that neither had any control over.¹⁸ White women dealt with jealousy of pretty young female slaves fearing their husbands and sons would take sexual advantage of them. It is a common story and one that created tensions across both black and white culture.¹⁹

White's book was among the first to really delve into the lives of enslaved women using primary sources from both the women themselves and plantation records. In the 1999 edition White discusses the fact that publishers and reviewers did not readily accept her research because of a bias against such sources. However, the book won awards and has become a touchstone for other authors.

White's research ranged over two centuries to paint a picture of life for enslaved women that opened the eyes of many historians. The book is successful because it was among the first to make statements about living conditions specifically for enslaved women. It is that context which makes it a benchmark for slavery and women's studies. For Tennessee specifically there are very few references in the book except for a citation about a male slave who ran away from James Polk's Mississippi plantation to be with his wife on the Tennessee plantation.

In the same genre as White's book, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* examines the relationships of women on plantations. The female owners of large plantations rarely did any of the menial tasks around the home, but had the responsibility for all the activities of cleaning, washing, cooking, and providing for the comfort of their families. Because housekeeping meant slaves worked and lived in the house valuable items and food stayed under lock and key. Some white women lamented the responsibility of keys and having to oversee the female slaves in the house and kitchen.²⁰

This weighty tome covered the whole South though mostly confining itself to the very wealthiest of white women and their slaves. Genovese's analysis included the diary of Kate Carney, a young white girl who lived in Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Carney's diary entries serve as support for various interpretations of white, female life in the antebellum South. None of Carney's diary entries that Genovese used will support a discussion of slavery in this dissertation however. Carney's diary might have been more profitably used for discussions on slave life,

but most of the entries Genovese used came from Carney's teenage years when she concerned herself with fashion and being a Southern Belle. But as with White's book, Genovese's contribution to women's studies and particularly slave women can be found in her discussion of relationships between the races.

Kirsten Wood's *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War*, narrates the stories of women in both the planter class and smallholders. Like many of the previously discussed volumes, this book rarely mentions Tennessee, but focuses on Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia. Wood concludes that life for slaves under ownership of a woman was not necessarily benign compared to male ownership.²¹ Other historians' research in this realm likewise either range widely across the South or study other locales. Tennessee does not merit much attention in women and slavery studies much like the general treatises on slavery.

During the Great Depression writers with the Works Progress Administration (WPA) compiled several books of narratives by former slaves. One of the most popular of those books, *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery*, has only a few entries from former slaves in Tennessee, and no real descriptions of life in the state.²² A similar volume published much later by the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution titled *Remembering Slavery: African-Americans Talk About Their Personal Experiences of Slavery and Emancipation* has no references to Tennessee slaves in the index.²³ The WPA comprehensive series of narratives edited by George Rawick in the 1970s contains a set from Tennessee ex-slaves, but because it has relatively few entries

this information resides in a volume with several other states. However, a similar volume published by Fisk University contains only Tennessee slave narratives. Several other volumes containing narratives or writings from people enslaved in Tennessee have merit and will be cited throughout the research in this manuscript.²⁴ Another important source is autobiographies by former Tennessee slaves, which have some interesting insights to offer. The autobiographies detail the lives of Louis Hughes, an emancipated man born into slavery in Tennessee, and another by James Thomas, who after freedom became a wealthy entrepreneur in St. Louis, Missouri.²⁵ The Tennessee narratives and sources such as the autobiographies are invaluable to this research on slave housing. This research will use only historical sources or research done on, and in, Tennessee. In that way the interpretations will be firmly grounded in data from the Volunteer state and will not stray into other sections of the South to find supporting evidence. Tennessee differed from other states, especially its Deep South neighbors with its regional economies, relative lack of large plantations, and small slave holdings.

African-American history and genealogy is also a fruitful source of evidence. The path breaking work was *Roots* by Alex Haley, whose boyhood home is in Henning, West Tennessee. The book brought nation-wide attention to southern slavery and African-American history written by an African-American writer. *Roots* received world-wide acclaim and became a hugely popular television mini-series. Haley's book propelled him to national attention and over the course of decades still stands as a major achievement in literary work. A second book of this genre is Dorothy Spruill Redford's personal journey into

finding ancestors from Somerset Plantation in Washington County, North Carolina. The book entitled *Somerset Homecoming: Recovering a Lost Heritage* also received national attention and has a forward by Alex Haley.²⁶ Another interesting and pertinent study comes from Tennessee. John F. Baker's *The Washingtons of Wessynton Plantation: Stories of My Family's Journey to Freedom*, like *Roots* and *Somerset Homecoming* is a very personal account of researching a family's history during enslavement.²⁷ While this book has not received the acclaim of the first two, it is research specific to Tennessee and as such has relevance to this dissertation for context. A final study is Edward Ball's *Slaves in the Family* published in 1998.²⁸ This book broke ground on several fronts including the fact that it became a national best seller and won a National Book Award, bringing African-American history written by a white person to the public's attention. Ball's emphasis is an analysis of his own family's ownership of slaves. These four books demonstrate that research into African-American life during slavery reaches more than just an academic audience.

Caleb Patterson's book published in 1922, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865*, is the earliest academic book that specifically concentrates on slavery in Tennessee. Patterson's thesis involved discovering the social status of African-Tennesseans, and slaves in particular, from an economic, social, religious, and legal point of view in the antebellum period. Patterson's chapter titles engage each of these topics in some way. It may seem unusual to investigate the social and economic status of slaves, but it must be remembered this book represents an early foray in the scholarly study of not only slavery, but the study of African-

Americans in Tennessee and the South.²⁹ An interesting point Patterson makes is that he studied Tennessee because scholars considered her a “border state,” and as such he wanted to discern if slaves received better or different treatment than in other southern states. Patterson notes that East Tennessee did not have a high proportion of slaves in comparison to Middle and West Tennessee. He also notes the state’s white society did not politically agree on slavery, and that many abolitionists came from the eastern division where fewer slaveholders lived. Tennessee at one time had 25 manumission societies operating in the state, and in 1825 held more societies than any other southern state except North Carolina.³⁰ In his discussion of enslaved people’s legal status Patterson argues that slaves existed in two realms. The law considered them chattel property, but also a real person. These differing legal statuses came from civil law, legally making enslaved persons property of another, and common law which gave enslaved people the possibility for emancipation, and once freed having certain legal rights.³¹ But after 1800 and especially after 1831 new laws changed slaves’ legal status as slaveholders began to emphasize the property value of slaves over their humanity. The dual legal status is an interesting dichotomy because it is exactly that humanity and agency which compelled Gabriel Prosser and Denmark Vessey to incite revolts, which in turn influenced the passing of stricter slave laws across the South.

Patterson’s book unfortunately is an apologist’s view of slavery, and he viewed Tennessee’s version as a relatively benign institution. For instance his comment on the management of plantations begins with the statement; “Plantation

life in Tennessee was more humane than generally supposed. Great care was taken in establishing the Negro quarters.”³² Patterson uses primary sources to make his point. *The Practical Farmer and Mechanic*, a journal published in Tennessee, apparently contained many useful articles on the care of slaves and the management of a plantation. Patterson’s use of many passages describing how comfortable slave houses should be with their siting to take advantage of breezes would suggest that Tennessee farmers all constructed such houses. Unfortunately for the veracity of his argument it can be demonstrated by the extant quarters recorded for this research that such an ideal did not exist uniformly across the state. An interesting factor which limited Patterson’s research at the time was the fact that primary sources in the state existed in an appalling condition. Tennessee did not as yet have a state archives, and many county records sat in damp basements, uncared for and essentially decaying.³³

Similar to Patterson’s discussion on the legal status of slaves several later authors also explored this point as a political and economic issue deriving from the laws of North Carolina, which Tennessee had been part of until 1790.³⁴ During the frontier and early statehood periods Tennessee did not adjust its slave codes. The old Carolina laws regulating slavery essentially allowed for slaveholding, proscribed against gatherings for fear of fomenting revolt, and made slaves a taxable property.³⁵ Slaves accompanied early travelers and traders to what became Tennessee, and as whites began settling the region slaves came with them. Living conditions on the frontier required blacks and whites to live and work together. Isolation, danger of attacks from Native Americans, and a need to

cooperate may have produced a symbiotic way of living between blacks and whites on the Carolina frontier.³⁶ These early conditions, even after statehood, may have led the state's leaders to leave the slave laws alone.

During the 1930s Frank Owsley directed graduate student theses and dissertations on the topic of slavery at Vanderbilt University. Chase Mooney's 1936 masters' thesis discusses slavery in Davidson County and provides a good synopsis with an accounting of slave owners and numbers of bondsmen. One of his more important contributions rests in his analysis that Davidson County did not support many large plantations. He studied the slave and free censuses from 1850 and 1860, discovering an average slaveholding of only 6.87 people. Related to this discovery Mooney dispelled the notion that Nashville had long served as an overland slave trading center. Slaves within the county apparently did not find themselves being sold "downriver" rather; most sales remained within the county. Mooney states that it was not until the 1850s that slave trading became established in the county. Prior to that time he found only a handful of interstate sales, the majority being intrastate and within the county or region.³⁷

Mooney's doctoral dissertation, later published as a book in 1957, analyzes slavery across the state. He used plantation records and census data for his analysis. Mooney did not analyze census records for each and every county to arrive at the statistics he provides in the book however. Rather, he projects regional figures based on a sampling of counties within each grand division.³⁸ Mooney made a major contribution to our knowledge of Tennessee's slaves, and his work remains the best treatise on slavery for the state as a whole.

Mooney states that the slave policies inherited from North Carolina were fairly liberal, though the laws became more stringent as time went on. In 1806 Tennessee changed the old North Carolina law governing slave patrols, yet owners only followed the law requiring passes when it suited them, or not. The new legislation increased the number of night-time patrols and continued allowing searches of slave quarters. In this instance not even the homes of the enslaved population were private. Mooney points out that, much like the other southern states, Tennessee strengthened its slave laws after 1831 when the abolition movement gained strength and deadly revolts in Virginia and South Carolina struck fear in white southerners.³⁹ The new laws made slavery more constricted, so in Tennessee it became a more legally ingrained institution.

Mooney's statistics made it possible to compare landowners to slaveholders and the average size of holdings across the state. His statistical analysis of the slave census schedules provided evidence that previous studies of slavery had not attempted. He called his statistics a "radical departure from previous analyses of slavery."⁴⁰ Granted, his figures are averages based on a sample of counties across the state, but the only figure that I perceive might change significantly by tallying every county would be in East Tennessee because he only used 3 counties, whereas he used 6 for Middle and 6 for West Tennessee.⁴¹ However, Mooney's significant statistical statement that two-thirds of the slaveholders held fewer than 10 people in both 1850 and 1860 would probably not change significantly by including additional Eastern counties. Mooney also found that in the decade preceding the Civil War non-slaveholders

increased in number and in the size farms they worked, thus contradicting an apparent myth from 60 years ago that slave owners were pushing the small free-holders onto marginal lands.⁴² Mooney also dispelled the prior assumption that slave owners produced most of the cotton. To the contrary, Mooney found that by 1860 they produced more of the corn and less of both cotton and tobacco than the small non-slaveholding farmer.⁴³

A later Owsley student, Robert Corlew, studied slavery in Dickson County. One of the largest slave holders in the state from the 1820s through 1850s made his fortune in the Dickson County iron region. Montgomery Bell held 83 slaves in the county in 1820, but by 1850 he held 332 people in bondage and hired many others.⁴⁴ Yet Dickson County did not support a large agricultural economy and most owners held five bondsmen or less.⁴⁵ Bell on the other hand held so many people in bondage he is noted for an incident when he did not even know one of his own slaves, several mules, and a wagon on the road and asked the enslaved man who owned the mules because he wanted to buy them.⁴⁶ Corlew's thesis and Dickson County are important to this dissertation because extant slave quarters were recorded in the county.

Lester Lamon's *Blacks in Tennessee 1791-1970*, discusses African-Tennessean life during slavery and beyond. The book is a general synthesis of African-Tennessean history.⁴⁷ Lamon makes some comparison between slavery in the state's divisions noting that early in East Tennessee's history slaves lived and worked with their owners, so he suggests that familiarity and "family relationships" with personal attachments developed.⁴⁸ A number of works

summarized here assert the belief that slave and master developed a bond simply because they shared the same space and worked the same fields together.

Lamon references the slave quarter as the area where slave culture developed. In the quarter news of current events on the plantation and of the larger world circulated among the community. Storytelling, communal cooking, socializing, and Sunday meetings served as social outlets away from the whites, and provided times for the enslaved to engage in their own cultural beliefs. These brief glimpses demonstrate that the quarters were the center of slaves' personal lives. Here they actually had a life of their own and the authority of the master lessened, if only somewhat, when the enslaved were alone among themselves. Since it is more than thirty years old, Lamon's study has a limited theoretical and cultural outlook compared to most research published today.

One of the few African-American historians of Tennessee, Dr. Bobby Lovett of Tennessee State University, has published several books on African-Americans in the state. While they do not specifically concentrate on slavery the books do discuss the topic, but only in a general way and without discussing slave housing.⁴⁹ Lovett's works do not emphasize slavery or slave housing and therefore are of limited value for this dissertation.

Today's scholars of African-American history emphasize studying subdivisions of the South or specific groups to gain a clearer understanding of the complexities in southern culture. Economic and agricultural conditions in the South ranged widely from the Atlantic to the Gulf Coast. Authors such as James Oakes and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese have realized that southern towns reflected

the personality of the South as much, or more so, than the cities. In towns, not cities, slaveholders conducted most of their business because towns held the churches, courthouses, and markets where people met.⁵⁰

Tennessee historian Lisa Tolbert addresses the topic of small town slavery in her book, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee*. By examining the interplay of black and white worlds in four Middle Tennessee county seats Tolbert demonstrates that slaves played a role in the making and re-making of townscapes during the decade preceding the Civil War. Tolbert, like Oakes and Fox-Genovese, also demonstrates that towns reflected southern culture as much as the agrarian countryside which historians tend to focus their attention upon.⁵¹

Relevant to this dissertation is Tolbert's discussion of small town slavery's physical expressions. Those enslaved African-Tennesseans experienced a different kind of slavery from city slaves, or plantation workers. She asserts that town and urban slaves tended to live either in kitchen buildings directly behind the masters' residence or practiced what is known as "living out," renting an outbuilding somewhere in town.⁵² The practice of living away from the master's direct supervision gave enslaved people a little more autonomy and sense of control in their lives. But for those who lived in town simply to be of service to a white family enslavement meant close proximity to whites and constant supervision as well as toiling for the master class.

Tolbert used Kate Carney's diary more fruitfully than Fox-Genovese to explain slave life in a small town. In several passages Carney states that "all the

"whites" were asleep in the house. In other passages she notes that a maid slept with her and sister Rosa, or that a trusted nurse had taken her baby sister Jennie to help her get to sleep while everyone else in the house was already asleep, so she "must follow my own color's suit."⁵³ The implication in these statements is that the house slaves still worked after the Carney family went to bed. Where these domestics "lived" is a question scholars have touched upon, but not addressed in any great detail. Tolbert makes it explicit that many of these people did not have a place to live so much as a place to sleep. We can find this not only in Kate Carney's musings, but the slaves themselves mention it in their narratives.⁵⁴ This begs the question, how and when did these African-Tennesseans spend time within their own culture? As we have seen from Blassingame and others, slaves certainly had a culture of their own and a sense of community. But that may have existed on the plantations more-so than the small town and urban individuals who lived in sheds, or had a space to sleep under the stairs in a closet.

In 2002 a compendium of articles on African-Tennessean life edited by Middle Tennessee State University's Carroll Van West covered slave life through seven of its 22 chapters.⁵⁵ The chapters originally appeared as articles in the Tennessee Historical Quarterly over the last 40 years. The chapters variously concentrate on the cities of Memphis and Nashville, small town slavery, rural slavery in Madison County, or a single individual. Others discuss the lives of Baptist slaves, or those of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage Plantation community. In these chapters historians highlight what editor West calls "reclaiming neglected voices" of Tennessee's slave era. The first article by Anita Goodstein explicated

several important aspects about slavery that warrant special attention. The first is that the frontier slave experience was very different from later years when the state became more settled. The second point is that urban slavery differed from rural experiences. Goodstein has stated that slave quarters in early Nashville were closer to the white's homes than those in rural areas. This dissertation will demonstrate that proximity between black and white was always close, no matter the setting. It is that subtlety in slavery that the architecture reveals.

Histories of slavery in Tennessee have tended to follow the theoretical lines and tone of the broader profession. The early works tended to be what are generally termed apologists views of slavery. These early works also assumed that the middle passage and being tossed on America's shores with people of many backgrounds, amalgamated and broke the individual African's culture, being taken over by the dominant Euro-American culture. The early works viewed slavery as benign and in some ways positive for the enslaved people. Tennessee scholars such as Patterson followed suit. His work falls in line by analyzing the laws to say that though they became more strict through time, the original laws inherited from North Carolina were fairly lenient, gave the enslaved a potential for emancipation, and therefore able to gain rights as a citizen. The patrol laws increased because of revolts in Virginia and South Carolina, but application was relaxed. As time and historians progressed authors such as Genovese viewed slavery as a patriarchal system in which both slave and master vied for position with each other. This viewpoint gives slaves some level of autonomy and agency.

Through the social history movement of the 1960s and 1970s we see a

flourish of authors such as Blassingame insist that slaves had a culture separate from the whites and demonstrated how families stayed together through time. Historians began to realize that in places like the Lowcountry slaves outnumbered whites in many counties. This gave them a relative freedom of culture and historians used terms like creolization to describe how Africans of many cultures came together to form an African-American culture. By the 1990s and early twenty-first century historians began to examine smaller portions of the South and pointed out that slavery, work, culture, and living conditions varied not only through time, but also in different parts of the South. Scholars began to understand that slaves could control some aspects of their lives, or attempted to, despite the commodification of their labor. Historians wrote about resistance and agency, or acting on one's own behalf, as aspects of slave life, giving us a more detailed understanding of everyday actions among the enslaved.⁵⁶

Similarly Tennessee historians demonstrated the complexities of enslaved life and culture by examining the different ways slaves experienced bondage. Chase Mooney demonstrated that Tennessee slaves lived in smaller groups than the larger plantations of the Deep South and therefore their experience differed from neighboring states such as Mississippi or Alabama. Lisa Tolbert followed the trend of the 1990s by illustrating that small town slaves had a different experience than urban, plantation, or small farm slaves. Anita Goodstein explained that slavery on the frontier differed drastically from that of the plantation or farm, which many slaves had recently left to accompany their masters in carving out the Tennessee wilderness. These historians followed both

the larger historical trends, and paved new directions in Tennessee's historical scholarship.

ARCHEOLOGY OF SLAVE LIFE IN TENNESSEE

Archeological research into African-American life in the South began in the early 1970s and has evolved from basic description or looking for very particularistic aspects of culture known as "cultural markers" or "Africanisms," to answering much broader questions about life and culture under the yoke of bondage.⁵⁷ Through the course of time the field has returned to looking at specific material culture representing aspects of African-American culture. Patricia Samford's study of root cellars as religious shrines in colonial Virginia exemplifies this kind of study.⁵⁸ Not only did she examine a specific kind of material culture but she focuses on a specific African group, the Igbos, which may have brought the practice to Virginia's shores. This is a completely new twist on a feature found on slave sites in Virginia and Tennessee, but not the Lowcountry. Samford's work places the root cellar within the context of a specific African group which colonial Virginia planters preferred because of their experience with tobacco planting. Igbo people were not preferred in the cotton and rice growing areas of the Lowcountry. She builds her study on an amazing piece of historical scholarship by Lorena Walsh which traced some Virginia slaves to the specific part of Africa they came from, many of them being Igbos.⁵⁹ With the northern half of Middle Tennessee being a tobacco growing region the significance of this

research for Tennessee is clear. The combination of these studies demonstrates the dynamic nature of the field, historians and archeologists addressing each other's data. In this way scholars can examine specific aspects of African-American culture and understand them from many different perspectives. Adding all that information together yields a better picture of life and culture than through just one field of analysis. This research also underscores the fact that African-American culture is a mix of many different constituent parts (see chapter 1).

Part of the evolution within African-American archeology involves the concept of "race" and the challenge of finding racism in the archeological record. Scholars examining slave sites have a dispassionate database of "stuff," the detritus of former lives, but by combining historical evidence with material culture and anthropological theory, many authors have moved towards a broad discussion of African-American culture under slavery. Some of this work is based on recognizing patterns in the archeological record which signify specific ethnicities and tying that information to historical data demonstrating class differentiation.⁶⁰

A second focus of archeological research known as African Diaspora Studies entails explaining ethnicity, identity formation, slave life and markers of African and African-American culture.⁶¹ Some scholars see a need to include an activist approach to this research. This kind of work involves local descendant communities and creating research designs of relevance to the community today. The interpretation of the sites then becomes part of the community narrative and locals embrace it as part of their heritage.⁶²

A very good synthesis of archeological research is the edited volume “*I too Am America*”: *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, a collection of essays edited by Theresa Singleton and published by the Smithsonian Institution Press in 1999. While the book makes little mention of slavery in Tennessee it is as a very strong compilation of theory and interpretation of slave life as discovered through archeology.⁶³ An earlier, work from 1985 compiled by Singleton likewise has no mention of Tennessee slavery, concentrating on the east coast slave states.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, both of these volumes stand out as benchmarks in the advancement of theoretical underpinnings in African-American archeological research. A comparison of the two volumes’ discussion of slave architecture demonstrates the progression in understanding of how culture can be discerned through architecture and archeological evidence. Of particular importance to this dissertation is the chapter by Stephen L. Jones in the earlier volume and Terrance Epperson’s chapter in the second volume. Jones and Epperson explain how architecture can be a reflection of African-American culture, or demonstrate a blending of the African-American and Euro-American cultures.

A number of scholarly archeological works discuss slavery in Tennessee. In addition, data can be found in the “grey literature” of the profession such as reports produced for transportation or construction projects required by state and federal law. However, these projects generally do not have the time to conduct a full analysis of the plantation landscape or write a comprehensive history of a site, so their data can sometimes be limited.

A number of journal articles present excellent information on archeology conducted in the Volunteer State. While the professional archeology journal for Tennessee tends to concentrate on prehistoric aspects of the state, several articles provide information on excavations at African-American sites. A final source of data comes from masters' theses and doctoral dissertations on African-American sites, most of it coming from the University of Tennessee. The majority of these graduate research projects concentrate on East Tennessee because the university has sponsored numerous excavations and field schools in the region.

University of Tennessee archeologist Charles Faulkner excavated a number of sites in Knoxville from the frontier period, 1786 to 1815.⁶⁵ Faulkner's conclusions do not support popular notions of life on the late eighteenth-century frontier in television shows and movies. Excavations in Knoxville show that settlers brought their fine china with them and they did not all wear buckskin clothes.⁶⁶ The evidence of slave and master living and working side by side begs the question; did both slave and white occupants on the frontier live comparably in terms of material culture, food, and shelter?

Excavations at the Blount Mansion in Knoxville attempted to answer the above question. William Blount lived on the property from 1792 to 1800 and served as the Territorial Governor. A thesis written on the Blount slaves by E. Brooke Hamby describes slave life on the East Tennessee frontier as evidenced by the archeology and architecture of the property.⁶⁷ Hamby sought to answer questions related to slave life at the site and by extrapolation in early nineteenth-century towns on the Tennessee frontier. Excavations and architectural

investigations discovered the site of a slave house behind the mansion, which later became a one-room wing attached to the west side of the mansion. Archeologists excavated the remains of a building interpreted as housing Governor Blount's slaves measuring approximately 20' x 15'. According to a 1992 architectural investigation the slave house had two doors and four windows. The doors sat on the north façade and the east gable end. A window flanked the east door and another flanked the north door. Two windows sat symmetrically on the south elevation.

If this building indeed had that many windows it was a rarity for not only slaves, but also anyone else on the frontier.⁶⁸ Perhaps because of Blount's political post he desired that all the buildings on his town lot reflect his importance and status, so his bondsmen benefited with a frame house having two doors and four glazed windows. No mention is made of interior partitions, but the house had a fireplace on the west gable end of the building. Hamby's historical research indicates that a minimum of ten people lived in the building from 1792-1804, and from 1804-1824 between 6 and 21 people lived in the house. However, historian Anna Oakley states that some enslaved individuals also lived in a kitchen building and an attic space of the main house; thereby relieving the slave house some of the crowding.⁶⁹

The Blount slave house was unusual for a frontier slave experience because of Blount's status as territorial governor. However, while the slave house was beyond the norm architecturally, the fact that some slaves lived in an unheated space in the attic and others quite probably slept on the floor with the

Blount family, those living arrangements place their experience closer to a plantation living condition. So the question of where they “lived” or acted as a family unit can probably be answered best by looking at the slave house and kitchen as the two main areas where African-Tennesseans interacted only with each other on this property. Those who worked and slept in the main house would have lived in both the black and white worlds on a consistent basis, while those who worked and lived above the kitchen had regular interaction with the Blounts, but had a “space” of their own.

Analysis of the artifacts from the slave house excavations shed some light on the material culture of slave life in late eighteenth-century Knoxville. Hamby concludes that ceramics, which can act as a marker for status, show that the slaves had both expensive and inexpensive ceramics in almost equal quantities.⁷⁰ She makes the case for the enslaved people living at the site having a creolized culture because of a mixture of Euro-American artifacts and objects such as trade beads. Jewelry such as beads represent luxury items for slaves on the frontier and Hamby interprets their presence as demonstrating a continuation of African adornment customs.⁷¹ In the end Hamby argues that life in late eighteenth-century Knoxville was less harsh than plantation slavery.

A thesis by Carey Coxe which examined the diet of slaves at Blount Mansion using faunal remains from archeological excavations constitutes the first study of African-American diet on the East Tennessee frontier.⁷² A substantial artifact deposit associated with the slave structure dates from the late 1790s through the mid nineteenth-century. Coxe hypothesized that the Blount slaves

would have had a better diet than rural slaves in Knox County because they lived with their master in town. The proximity and supposed lack of room for slave gardens would have necessitated them having access to the same resources as the master. Coxe also theorized a reciprocal dietary implication of a perceived more amiable attitude of upland South small-scale planters toward their enslaved workers in comparison to coastal planters who owned large groups. Coxe postulated that upland slaves had better diets than their coastal counterparts in the same time period. He also emphasized that in the upland South slaves were generally treated better than in coastal regions.⁷³ He even goes so far as to suggest that this attitude would have been expressed in the quality of slave housing, though he does not state how that may have translated architecturally. Coxe also contends that because of close proximity between slave and master in towns, a bond formed between black and white occupants on small urban lots.⁷⁴ Coxe needs to prove these points, both the general pattern and the application to architecture, especially if we remember that they were there for a single purpose, to serve the white family.

Coxe used faunal analysis as his method to prove or disprove the hypothesis that upland South slaves received better food and treatment than those on lowland populations. What he found in comparing the Blount assemblage to others from Tennessee runs contrary to his thesis, the Blount slaves "did not fare better than rural slaves of the upland South in terms of the quality of pork and beef in their diet." The Blount slaves ate more pork and a larger percentage of chicken than beef.⁷⁵ He also found that the Blount slaves ate more fish than those

on other sites, perhaps because of the close proximity to the Tennessee River. This information shows that Blount's slaves supplemented their rations through their own agency, and demonstrates that they not only felt the desire or perhaps need to supplement, but also that someone had the time, or perhaps the money, to do so.

Anna L. Oakley's master's thesis at Middle Tennessee State University is an historical analysis of the Blount slaves during the frontier period. Oakley's thesis in combination with architectural analysis and archeology conducted over a period of several years makes the Blount Mansion the most well understood slaveholding property in East Tennessee's frontier period.⁷⁶ Oakely emphasizes the duality of slave life in East Tennessee, as created by the laws discussed previously. Slaves existed as both real property, and as persons that could be freed and obtain rights. As property an enslaved individual could be moved from place to place and as a person they were someone protected by the law. Oakely states that enslaved people made up half of Knoxville's population in 1800.⁷⁷

By analyzing documents Oakley was able to name ten enslaved individuals who served Blount during his time on the property. Because the house served as the territorial capital while Blount was the governor, its significance to the state cannot be overstated. The slaves' tasks of making the Blount family appear respectable in the eyes of the citizens by cooking the food, cleaning the house, moving furniture and preparing for political meetings and events played a crucial role in creating the early state. For Blount a show of wealth, and therefore authority, was important to his position. His slaves, whom the public would have

seen working about the mansion reflected Blount's status as well. Despite what other research postulated and interpreted as upland South slavery being less harsh than that of the coastal plantations Oakley points out that a female slave named Amy ran away in 1795. It is clear in Amy's case she did not like something about upland slavery either.⁷⁸

These theses collectively give us insights into African-Tennessean life on the East Tennessee frontier, a transitional period for slaves who moved from the eastern seaboard states who may have known plantation work regimens, but the frontier conditions shaped somewhat different relationship with whites, if even for a short thirty years before settlement here too created more of an agricultural-based slavery system. Yet, we can see at Blount Mansion, probably because of the owner's elite status, those enslaved individuals living on his town lot experienced slavery not very different from towns in the older states. A good comparison would be to excavate Blount's Knox County farm and determine if similarities or differences between the two sites.

The concept that East Tennessee slavery existed as a less harsh system than plantation slavery of the eastern seaboard appears in the archeological and historical literature. Some researchers have assumed that slaves on farms worked side by side with their masters and may have lived with them in their homes, though they were not the grand mansions of the elite planter class. Archeologist Henry McKelway wanted to test the hypothesis whether or not slaves and masters on upland South farms and plantations had closer relationships and shared a similar living experience. Archeological and historical research can test the

suggestion that the East Tennessee had “kinder, gentler” masters.⁷⁹ McKelway wrote a Ph.D. dissertation and later published a report on excavations at the Mabry Plantation site in Knox County that fit the test case for an East Tennessee farmer with slaves.⁸⁰ George Mabry owned an agricultural operation of approximately 1000 acres. Census records show Mabry owned 18 slaves in 1850 and eight in 1860. McKelway’s excavations located the two slave houses listed in the census records. Slave house number one measured approximately 18’ x 36’ and slave house two measured approximately 18’ x 24’. Broken flat glass suggests both houses had windows and at least house one had an interior partition wall dividing the house into two rooms. Artifact analysis demonstrates the dates of occupation for the slave houses to be 1830 to 1860. McKelway interprets the archeological data as demonstrating house number one as a log building and house two a frame building, built very close together.⁸¹

McKelway compared the ceramic assemblages from the Mabry house and the slave quarters using them to demonstrate social constructs such as the ability to acquire goods, wealth, and status because ceramics are a purchased commodity. A comparison of the assemblages from both the Mabry house and slave quarters shows that the enslaved workers had a greater diversity of wares, styles, and colors, whereas the Mabry household had matched colors though not necessarily matched sets of patterns. Interestingly, the Mabry and slave collections have duplicate patterns. Perhaps the Mabrys handed down chipped pieces to the slaves. The diversity of the slave’s ceramics probably demonstrates a varied pattern of acquisition. Some pieces they probably purchased; others they received as hand-

me-downs from the Mabrys.⁸² McKelway concluded that social distance between master and slave as demonstrated by the ceramics was a narrow gap compared to larger plantations in the lowland South.⁸³

One of the more interesting conclusions McKelway makes from the archeological data is that the diet of George Mabry's slaves appears similar to their master from the recovered food remains. Both slave and master alike relied on domesticated pigs, and ate the same cuts, but both consumed quantities of the same wild game. The diets of the slaves and master did not differ markedly according to McKelway.⁸⁴ The Mabry site information suggests daily life for slaves rather dissimilar to that found in plantation areas where a very solid color line demarcated slave and free, black and white. Despite that, it is important to note that slaves and master did not necessarily have close personal relationships simply because they had similar access to food items, or ceramics. Slaves existed in the white world for service to the whites.

The white settlement of Middle Tennessee began only a decade after East Tennessee so some comparisons between the two areas can be made in regards to frontier life and settlement. Kevin Smith of Middle Tennessee State University has excavated the frontier settlement of Bledsoe's Station in Sumner County. Smith's research questions include; determining what life was like for both blacks and whites, where each lived within the fortified compound, what they ate, and the material culture of both enslaved blacks and free whites. Frontier conditions may have influenced changes to African-American culture, if so, how?⁸⁵ The few documentary records about the station indicate that the ratio of black to white

stood at one third to one half, with upwards of twenty enslaved people living within the fortified station by 1787.⁸⁶ While the archeological research has not identified houses specifically occupied by slaves, neither has it found the typical evidence of African or African-American religious practices commonly found at so many slave sites across the South.

The occupation of Bledsoe's Station dates from 1784-1795 with upwards of seven families and their slaves. The structures appear to be log buildings measuring approximately 16 feet x 20 feet, with stick and mud chimneys. The measurement and construction techniques are very similar to southern slave houses, only in this instance both black and white occupied them, and likely at the same time. The archeological evidence does not suggest racial demarcation in the frontier diet. The majority of meat came from domesticated pigs at 16.3%. Interestingly, cattle at 4.6%, is just slightly lower than duck at 4.7% but much less than squirrel at 11.6%, and opossum at 9.3%. Large game such as deer, bear and possibly bison together represent less than 5% of the total meat consumed. Yet the settlers ate off fine china plates such as decorated creamware, pearlware, and porcelain. A second kind of ceramic found in abundance comes in the form of teaware. Sitting down to afternoon tea on the frontier may seem implausible, but obviously that was one part of the Anglo-American culture the Bledsoes did not want to leave behind. Smith states that the documentary record shows blacks and whites worked side by side, defended themselves from Native American attacks, hunted, and traveled together and separately between stations and farms. Clearly slaves went about the countryside armed. That in and of itself may seem

contradictory to public perceptions of slavery, but both on the frontier and later in Middle Tennessee slaves clearly had firearms.⁸⁷ Despite a good deal of artifactual evidence the archeology has not yielded definitive evidence of any single individual, or of a household as specifically black or white. The lack of evidence may suggest that the groups did not live separately. What were the social relations between black and white on the Middle Tennessee frontier? Smith concludes that the exigencies of frontier living placed black and white in a living situation where the slave owners could not “highlight their superior position in the social hierarchy through stark contrasts in housing or activities.”⁸⁸

Much of how we know about African-American lifeways today comes through a subset of historical archeology called “plantation studies.” Despite the fact that Tennessee slavery typically receives short shrift from historians, archeologists have studied a number of sites in-depth over the last four decades. Many reports can be found which describe some level of excavations and therefore knowledge about slaves living on a particular property.⁸⁹ But to put that kind of work into full context and really come to know the people being studied requires much more than a testing phase or single season of excavation work on a site. It also requires a collaboration of historical and archeological data. Doing that is the true nature of plantation studies.

The most well researched slavery site in the state, and one of the most studied in the country, is Andrew Jackson’s Hermitage Plantation. In 2000 Larry McKee, the former Director of Archeology at The Hermitage, published an essay in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, which reviews several decades of

archeological research at the historic site.⁹⁰ McKee stated that since the 1970s archeologists have uncovered twenty slave houses across the property. He feels that this is the extent of housing when the slave population reached its height of 140 individuals on the plantation.⁹¹ The houses Andrew Jackson provided for his slaves after about 1820 came as standard 20' x 20' in size. In terms of diet Jackson supplied his bondsmen mostly with pork, it being between 70-90% of their diet. That is a big difference from less than 50 years previously at Bledsoe's station. Much of the artifactual evidence of slave life comes from root cellars excavated into the ground inside each of the houses. The root cellars differ in size and shape, some have brick lined walls and floors, others not lined at all. McKee emphasizes that despite the intense regularity of the house sizes irregularity of the root cellars hints at personal control of a family's space.⁹²

A dissertation by Brian Thomas from the State University of New York at Binghamton addresses the topic of community among the Hermitage's enslaved population.⁹³ Thomas states that the construction methods and layout of slave houses at the Hermitage suggests a different community living pattern than the hierarchical one usually described by historians and archeologists. A common perception of slave communities places the house workers at the top and the field slaves at the bottom of a plantation pecking order. But Thomas asserts that Andrew Jackson built the same size and same kind of dwelling for each family or group. Moreover, he explains that the material culture excavated from the sites shows cooperation among the community. Documentary evidence points to a caste system within Tennessee plantations. One former male slave commented,

“We house slaves thought we was better’n the others what worked in the field. We really was raised a little different, you know...”⁹⁴ Other quotes related to this point show that some whites purposely created divisions among the slaves, “They taught us to be against one another,” and a second said, “...and no matter where you would go you would always find one that would be tattling and would have the white folks pecking on you.”⁹⁵ These interviews are in direct opposition to Genovese’s conclusion that such was the case of only a few who “broke ranks,” but that generally slaves as a group tried not to betray one another.⁹⁶ It also suggests that Thomas’s discoveries at the Hermitage are unusual for Tennessee.

An important contribution to the study of African-Tennessean culture by the Hermitage archeology program is the recognition of artifacts related to spirituality. Enough information has come out of the ground related to the slaves’ spirituality and folk practices that another dissertation and an article in the journal *Historical Archeology* focuses on this topic.⁹⁷ Author Aaron Russell concentrated specifically on slave ritual practices as seen through artifacts recovered from several of the Hermitage sites. Russell concludes that African-American religion persisted in places such as slave quarters despite the masters’ attempts to exterminate such vestiges of their African past. The patterns of slave life associated with housing help us to understand that even though masters such as Jackson tried to bend slaves to their will, home life gave the enslaved a sense of community and continuity in their culture. The religious artifacts found associated with slave houses demonstrates a level of autonomy in their private lives.

A comparative case study for Hermitage slavery can be found at the Gowen Farmstead in Davidson County just ten miles from the Hermitage.⁹⁸ At the Gowen farm archeologists found two slave houses, one measuring 22' x 18' probably built of log and another 45' x 20' with a limestone foundation and center fireplace interpreted as a kitchen and slave house. The property owned by the Gowen family encompassed 400 acres and had 15 enslaved people living there. This site offers an intriguing answer to the question of whether or not slave and master had different material culture on smaller holdings. A number of recovered items such as blue beads, a pierced coin, and mollusk shells typically found on southern slave sites highly suggest that the two buildings separated from the main house served as slave dwellings. But the surprising contrast is that the Gowen family was black. William Gowen can be found in the 1792 records as a free mulatto, while his son James was falsely arrested as a runaway in 1804. The archeological collection associated with the Gowen residence displays none of the customarily recognized artifacts from slave sites, such as those found just a few feet away. In this case a differentiation can be found between master and slave, at least in material culture on this property.⁹⁹ The fact that Gowen was of African-American descent suggests that he did not want to appear “black” in his material culture. Whereas the people he enslaved had material culture markers representing their African heritage. In a theoretical position paper on southern plantation systems, authors Susan Andrews and Amy Young contend that the definition of plantation that most historians and archeologists use is too confining.¹⁰⁰ They state that most plantation research uses the size of one

thousand acres and twenty to thirty or more slaves as the lower limit for what constitutes a plantation. That definition is mostly based on eighteenth-century southeast coast plantations, typically tobacco or rice being the cash crop. Andrews and Young contend that this definition should be broadened to include:

Any agricultural entity that is characterized as consisting of two groups: the owners of the means of production; and a subordinate group (slaves or tenants). We suggest that there is no magic number of how many slaves (or tenants) were needed to make up a group, but certainly 15 or 20 is enough. The definition of plantation is broad and can encompass many different agricultural entities in different time periods. The Upper South plantation, described here, is just one type of plantation.¹⁰¹

Additionally, Andrews and Young argue that the ethno-historical evidence used in defining a plantation mostly comes from late antebellum abolitionist sources or post emancipation slave narratives, limiting its value. The authors call for a regional model of plantations, including a slaveholding unit with mixed agriculture and services. These self sufficient plantations produced their own food and goods consumed on the plantation. A surplus of one or more agricultural products allowed the owner to participate in the market economy. Services offered at these plantations included milling grain or lumber, blacksmithing, or shoe making. The number of slaves owned depended on the amount of agricultural acreage and types of crops raised. This model, they feel, circumvents the potential problems of using a definition of plantation employed by most scholars that they deem too confining.

A regional model also provides archeologists and historians with a clearer context for individual sites. Andrews and Young argue that because a pro-slavery mentality dominated southern life so fully, using a definition of plantations too

rigid in terms of slave numbers and acreage;

can be misleading to scholars interested in reconstructing slave lifeways and understanding the social relationships between masters and slaves on smaller agricultural entities. In fact, scholars forced to pigeonhole specific farms and plantations into such rigid definitions may be led to a biased view of conditions of slave life.¹⁰²

The labor system was neither gang nor task on most upland South plantations. According to Andrews and Young owners divided slaves into groups of about six, who worked various jobs throughout the day. As the seasons changed the routines changed to work various crops. Individuals would have worked both in the house and in the fields as needs dictated. Owners hired-out skilled slaves to neighboring plantations. The authors state that because mixed-use plantations were a complex undertaking, owners personally supervised large tasks such as harvesting the cash crop. Less labor intensive tasks may have had little or no supervision.

Tennessee slave masters such as Montgomery Bell, who owned the state's largest iron works, could also fit into Andrews and Young's definition of a plantation.¹⁰³ Bell owned the means of production (iron furnaces), but his slaves also grew crops to support the workforce.¹⁰⁴ Whether or not the iron masters can be included in the model for an upland South plantation, it would at least seem so on the surface. An interesting corollary to the idea of housing styles and hierarchy of industrial slaves comes from the Virginia Iron Industry. In his book on the Buffalo Forge historian Charles Dew illustrates the differences between domestic slave and iron workers with a picture showing domestic slave houses of brick, while the workers received log houses.¹⁰⁵

Archeologist Douglas Sanford also argues for clarity in plantation modeling. He calls for a regional and local historical context to be built for any study of a plantation slave community, stating;

It is essential to define the contextual and processual framework at both the local and regional levels in order to arrive at a more comprehensive picture of a slave plantation system than is usually available. . . One advantage of this method is that it integrates the plantation site, often the archeologist's point of reference, into a larger frame of analysis, that of regional history and historical anthropology.¹⁰⁶

Clearly, slavery research needs a distinctly defined set of southern sub-regions that incorporate the owner's economic system as well as the size of slave populations on each plantation or farm to make meaningful contextual statements about the institution of slavery and slave culture. Additionally, we must not ignore industrial, urban, and small town slavery to get a glimpse of what the differing physical environments of slavery actually entailed. How does the difference between a West Tennessee cotton plantation and an East Tennessee tobacco farm translate into slave architecture and space use? Did slaves in the iron industry of Upper Middle Tennessee have very different or similar living conditions to those of nearby plantation slaves?

THE UPLAND SOUTH

Most people recognize the term "antebellum South." But the region can be divided into sub-regions for greater historical clarity and context, as Sanford argues. For decades scholars have used the term upland South to describe a portion of the colonial and antebellum South.¹⁰⁷ Historians, cultural geographers,

folklorists, and archeologists all use the term upland South. Scholars from these disciplines have attached different meanings to the term and apply definitions with different cultural elements and boundaries to an area that is only vaguely understood by practitioners in the other disciplines. Frederick J. Turner, the well-known historian of the American frontier initially used the term and defined the region he considered the upland South.¹⁰⁸ Turner's definition speaks to the mid-eighteenth century before whites settled Tennessee, so it extended from the falls of rivers along the Atlantic coast to the Allegheny Mountains.

After Turner's definition of the term, it did not gain much attention for several decades.¹⁰⁹ In the 1960s cultural geographer Fred Kniffen resurrected the concept of the upland South in two seminal papers on folk housing.¹¹⁰ For Kniffen, the upland South existed as a region as well as a set of cultural identifiers. His definition includes the cultural elements of close kinship ties, building in log, and diversified agriculture with a near self-sufficiency, and a single cash crop for income. Kniffen's distinction between the upland South and the middle Atlantic is difficult to discern, but essentially he includes all the area south of Pennsylvania, west from the Virginia Blue Ridge (although he bends the line sharply east in North Carolina to include all of the state except the extreme eastern Tidewater), south along the Atlantic coast and then west along the Gulf coast to the middle of Louisiana where it turns sharply north and the map ends. For the Deep South states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, he includes the vast majority their boundaries except the extreme coastal zones.

In 1967 cultural geographer Terry Jordan borrowed Kniffen's concept of a cultural boundary between the earliest settled portions of the South and the inland states with an article discussing the economic differences between these two sub-regions.¹¹¹ Jordan focused on the differences in the agriculture and economies of what he called the upper South and the lower South. Whereas Jordan did not use the term "upland South," he did establish a northern boundary for his upper South region. Using Kniffen's idea of southeastern Pennsylvania as the area where migration into the upper South started - known as the "cultural hearth" - Jordan's northern boundary encompasses the hilly southern sections of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. His eastern and southern boundaries encompass the piedmont of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and then juts north into Tennessee to place all of Mississippi and west Tennessee into the lower South. The line then runs south along the Mississippi River into southern Arkansas to put the lower third of that state also in the lower South and the northern portion into the upper South. The line continues into Texas - Jordan's point of reference for the article - and he places the Texas Hill Country into the upper South, while the southeastern one-third of the state lies in the lower South.

Jordan's article made one point that has since been viewed as oversimplified. He claimed that slaveless yeoman farmers settled the upper South.¹¹² The fact is a slave economy existed as an element of the upland South from the very beginning. Jordan's major contribution to the concept of the upland South is that, while he did not use the exact term,¹¹³ he defined a northern

boundary and made modifications to the southern one as well recognizing the topographical differences between the upper and lower South.

In 1974, cultural geographer Milton Newton expanded on the theme of the upland South in an article dedicated to defining the areal and cultural extent of this region.¹¹⁴ Like Kniffen, Newton's definition relies heavily on cultural traits. To Kniffen's list of regional traits Newton added; the county unit with the courthouse square as the cultural and political center for the inhabitants, dispersed settlement, Protestantism, and an open class system. Newton expanded upon Kniffen's map of the upland South. Starting from the Blue Ridge Mountains the northern border extends from northern Virginia through what is now West Virginia into central Ohio, Indiana, up through northwestern Illinois, much of Iowa, and even into northeastern Nebraska, where it bends south through the eastern third of Kansas, Oklahoma, and up to the Texas plains. The southern boundary bulges into Texas near Corpus Christi and includes the northern half of Louisiana. His southern line puts the eastern third of Texas and the coastal regions of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia in the lower South. Interestingly because his definition relies heavily on cultural traits, he includes central Florida because of mixed agriculture and cattle farming practices in that state. Newton's upland South is a huge swath of the eastern one-third of the country. It is also important to note that he used the term upland South, not upper South.

Neither Kniffen nor Newton mentions the practice of slavery in their definition of this region. Both researchers were looking for adaptable cultural traits that led to conquest of the frontier. Their assumption was that slavery was

not a trait necessary to settle new lands. However, it is clear from historical records that settlers brought slaves with them from the very beginning of westward movement. Nor did they think of the South in the common perception of "the Old South" in the context of the novel *Gone With The Wind*. They researched an area that happened to be in the South, but was part of the continually shifting western frontier.

In 1984, historian Sam Hilliard published the most influential work for scholars of the upland South.¹¹⁵ His study is an atlas of antebellum Southern agriculture with maps presenting the various crops grown, livestock, and the percentages of black and white population from 1830 to 1860. Hilliard did not address the upland South geographical debate, but he produced a map of physiographic sub-regions that other researchers refer to when specifically emphasizing the upland section. Hilliard recognized that there were "mini-regions" within the antebellum South, but he stated that his intention was not to "challenge the concept of the South as a region but rather to show that a cultural-political region may exhibit striking agricultural variation within its own boundaries."¹¹⁶ Hilliard's maps also displayed a countywide percentage of slaves for the thirty years prior to the Civil War, leading to his conclusion that "the most outstanding trait was a strong dependence upon slaves for labor, but also notable was the tendency toward large landholdings."¹¹⁷ Hilliard emphasized the one truly defining element of the South - slavery.

While Hilliard did not technically define a distinctive boundary for the upland South as a region, others took his work in that direction. John Otto

produced articles in the *Southeastern Geographer* and *The Journal of Southern History* that explained more fully Newton's idea that upland Southerners were well suited to settle the frontier because of their ability to farm in woodland areas.¹¹⁸ Although Otto did not produce a map of the region, he made a general boundary description as the "uplands and highlands between the Appalachians and the Texas plains."¹¹⁹ "With the exception of the lower Mississippi Valley and the coastal fringe, uplands and highlands predominated in trans-Appalachia, earning this region the appellation of "upland South," Otto argued.¹²⁰

Like Kniffen and Newton, Otto identified key cultural traits including;

A diffuse settlement pattern of scattered farmsteads and rural neighborhoods, which allowed fewer persons to claim more territory; commonly practiced techniques of horizontal log construction, which permitted rapid assembly of houses, churches, and courthouses; an easily replicated economic, religious, and political infrastructure of crossroads hamlets, independent churches, and courthouses; and a generalized stockman-farmer-hunter economy with a productive and adaptable food-and-feed complex and an extreme adaptability with regard to their commercial crop.¹²¹

Further, Otto noted that these settlers were slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike, thereby completing a working definition of the upland South.¹²² Others have used Otto's definition in conjunction with Hilliard's map of Southern physiographic regions ever since.¹²³

Under the tutelage of Charles Faulkner, several graduate students in the anthropology department of the University of Tennessee have used Hilliard's and Otto's scholarship to refine region's boundaries. Faulkner also emphasized the upland South tradition as a model for the settlement and growth of Knoxville, and that slaves were among the first settlers in East Tennessee.¹²⁴ Henry McKelway's

study of the Mabry farmstead in Knox County adapted Hilliard's physiographic map and used Otto's definition to define the upland South.¹²⁵ McKelway adapted Otto's work to extend the boundary to include the Piedmont Plateau from Virginia to Georgia.¹²⁶ From the Piedmont, McKelway includes all of the upland regions of the Virginias, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and the northeast corner of Mississippi. He places West Tennessee in the lowland South as part of the Mississippi River Delta topography, but includes the western half of Arkansas in the upland South boundary. McKelway stops at the Arkansas border whereas Otto and others extended the region south into Texas and north to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. McKelway's northern boundary does not include any of those states, instead running along the West Virginia and Kentucky borders. He did not explain his reasons for leaving out Maryland, Missouri and Texas though they are on Hilliard's maps, which influenced McKelway's analysis.

Archeologist Mark Groover compared upper South plantations in South Carolina, Tennessee, and Illinois. Groover analyzed artifact patterning and many of the same cultural identifiers that geographers use to define the region. However, Groover discovered that this supposed cultural tradition cannot be archeologically defined through inter-site artifact comparisons.¹²⁷ Part of the difficulty that Groover encountered is that much of the definition of the upland South rests on cultural traits that are not necessarily represented by portable objects such as ceramics and cutlery. Groover acknowledges this problem and states that it underscores the inherent limitations of the archeological record and portable material culture to define a cultural tradition.¹²⁸

Historian Robert McKenzie also used the concepts of this region in two of his works. In a 1993 article discussing the economic effects of the Civil War on the slave-holding elite of Tennessee, McKenzie referred to the state as part of the upper South.¹²⁹ However, in his 1994 book discussing southern diversity during the pre-war decades, he refers to Tennessee as part of the upcountry South while not specifically using the term upland South. To confuse the issue even more he states that the western counties of Fayette and Haywood produced upland cotton, relating that part of Tennessee to northern Mississippi, to which he also refers to as upland.¹³⁰ Every other author discussed to this point refers to the entire West Tennessee division as part of the Gulf Coastal region, or the Delta South, taking their cue from geographers and geologists.¹³¹ To be fair to McKenzie he did not set out to define the upland South, but like Otto to demonstrate what he calls "inter-regional diversity."¹³² He did this using agriculture and slavery as his markers. Otto too places the entire state in the upland region without giving credit to the rich agricultural lands along the Mississippi River.

Another author who used Tennessee to demonstrate that the antebellum South consisted of several different regions is historian Stephen Ash.¹³³ His work focuses on Middle Tennessee and the distinctiveness of that grand division to demonstrate how diverse the antebellum South really was. In like manner archeologist Larry McKee discussed the nature of Middle Tennessee in the antebellum period to emphasize the fact that, though a part of the South, it definitely differed in several ways from East and West Tennessee, as well as the lower South.¹³⁴ Ash used the term upper South in referring to Middle Tennessee,

whereas McKee used upland South. Nevertheless, McKee expressed dissatisfaction with the vagueness of the term. McKee's report is significant because he focused on how regional differences played a role in the structure of plantation life, especially for slaves. Ash too elucidated the role geography and topography of Middle Tennessee played in creating an enclave of counties that were mostly agricultural, relied on slavery, and was neither among the fabulously wealthy, nor the Yeomen class poor. In addition, according to Ash these counties shared a "genuine regional identity and community of interest."¹³⁵ These two studies are important because Ash and McKee demonstrate that, like the antebellum South as a whole, the upland South can be divided into discernible units, such as Middle Tennessee, which was different from Appalachian East Tennessee. Yet, these divisions within one state share similarities and cultural traits that separated them from the Deep South or Tidewater South plantation districts. Among those differences are wealth and relative dependency on slavery. To be sure, there were large plantations in various parts of the upland South. In Middle Tennessee numerous examples existed, not the least of which was Andrew Jackson's Hermitage plantation. In the Piedmont region that some researchers omit, Thomas Jefferson held landholdings of over 10,000 acres on two plantations.¹³⁶

One more published source deserves mention here, and that is an article by Susan C. Andrews and Amy L. Young, both students of Charles Faulkner at the University of Tennessee.¹³⁷ Andrews and Young set out to refine the definition of a plantation by relating the fact that upper South plantations had characteristics

that were different from those of the coastal regions. They felt the need for a new definition because scholars use the coastal South model when explaining the behaviors of both slaves and masters in the upland region. The authors contend that the coastal plantation does not serve as a useful exemplar because of the differences between the upper and lower South. The plantations were smaller, the slave work forces smaller, and the work routine neither gang, nor task system oriented. Despite these differences the authors felt that many Tennessee and Kentucky farms (that by some historians' definition of at least 1000 improved acres and 20 or more slaves) would not be considered a plantation, yet operated as such in the upland manner. Hence, their definition of a planter uses as a benchmark owning 15 or more slaves and control of production. Their definition is based on the social relations of the master and slave, and between masters, rather than acreage and number of crops grown. The authors feel that this definition is more useful for understanding the variety within the southern plantation system. Their point is well taken in that the typical upland farming operation did not look and operate like a cotton plantation of the Deep South. Andrews and Young did not set out to define the upland region, but to underscore the point that there were regional differences in the South, and some agricultural operations in Tennessee and Kentucky should be considered plantations.

This historical examination of the term upland south is not meant to be comprehensive, but demonstrates the variation with which the term is used.¹³⁸ It must be pointed out that the upland South is a region with diversity, and no agreement exists among scholars on how to define its boundaries. There is no

such thing as an ideal upland farm or plantation. Nor is there "typical" upland topography, it varies from the highest peaks of the southern mountains to the relatively flat Central, and Blue Grass Basins. Yet, scholars of different disciplines use the term, and concept, of the upland South to explain a major portion of southern culture. Archeologists typically use the term upland South, and so too do many geographers, though they use the terms upcountry and backcountry just as often. Historians on the other hand mostly use upper South. Perhaps the difference is a result of the cultural ecology and environmental determinism schools of theory prevalent in archeology and geography during the 1970s. The terms upland, upcountry, and backcountry are descriptive and fit in the mold of cultural ecology studies. It must also be pointed out those geographers who prefer the terms backcountry and upcountry generally confine their studies to the colonial period when "the west" meant the Shenandoah Valley and western portions of the Carolinas. It would appear that the cultural ecology and environmental determinism theoretical perspectives did not heavily influence historians because they generally choose the term upper South. The problem is that it is variously used for Virginia and Maryland, or Kentucky and Tennessee. There does not seem to be any consistency with a geographical location for the term upper South.¹³⁹

Archeologists use the upland South model as a contextual statement for the sites they study and relating artifact patterns to this model. For an archeologist the upland South "tradition" helps to explain the cultural traits they uncover. Geographers use the term to explain how a group of people came to inhabit a

huge swath of the United States and the kinds of material culture still seen on the landscape today. They do this by concentrating their questions on why major cultural patterns begin where they do, and how and why they spread geographically, and to other peoples. Historians on the other hand have concentrated their questions on the cultural and especially economic structure of the antebellum South while typically using the geographically undefined term upper South.

Over time the definition of the upland South has variously included and omitted the Piedmont Plateau. It has also extended as far north as central Iowa and west to Texas, including parts of Kansas and Nebraska. Cultural geographers have waged the most battles over where this region actually exists. Historians have left the argument up to others since the days of Turner, and have been somewhat reticent in using the term, although it was first coined by one of their own. Rather than redefining the upland South every few years as cultural geographers have done, archeologists are satisfied with borrowing the term from the other discipline. However, most use it in a vague undefined way, except one researcher noted here, Henry McKelway. His definition and map shows the most refinement and borrowing from the disciplines of history and cultural geography.¹⁴⁰

My own definition of the upland South borrows from Turner, Kniffen, Hilliard, Otto, and McKelway. Most importantly I see the upland South as a geographical region that is distinct from other parts of the South based on topography, agricultural production, and a general pattern of slave holding. The

topography is uplands and highlands as described by Otto, but includes the Nashville and Blue Grass Basins of Tennessee and Kentucky. I also include the Piedmont region of the Atlantic Coast. Diversified farming and livestock raising generally marks the region's agricultural production with staples of corn and wheat, adding some cash crops for market. Those cash crops might be tobacco, wheat, hemp, or cotton. The general pattern of slaveholding in this region is smaller units than those found in the coastal South, with the majority of owners holding ten or fewer slaves. But, large plantations did exist within the upland area as noted earlier about parts of Middle Tennessee.

The boundaries for my upland South definition begin in the east at the Piedmont Plateau of the Atlantic coast, along the fall line. This includes the uplands sections of Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Along the southern edge, moving west the line then includes the uplands of Alabama, and northeastern Mississippi. The line then pushes north into Tennessee, up to the northwestern two counties, to place much of West Tennessee in the Mississippi Delta region. The line then runs south along the Mississippi River and then west into Arkansas, placing the western two thirds of that state in the upland section. The line then drops south into north central Louisiana where Hilliard's map of cotton production in 1860 shows an area of little to no cotton output.¹⁴¹ The north boundary line comes out of northern Virginia into Maryland at the Great Falls of the Potomac River and runs north to the Pennsylvania state line. From there the line runs west across the northern borders of West Virginia and Kentucky into Missouri where it cuts across the middle of that state encompassing its southern

uplands. The line then bends south along the Missouri uplands western edge and that of Arkansas to meet up with the southern line in north central Louisiana.

Most Tennessee researchers place the northwestern corner of the state with the rest of West Tennessee in the coastal plain. Typically, they have done so based on topography, following the lead of topographic geographers who place the entire western division in the coastal plain. However, if we look at the agricultural economy of the northwest corner of the state we see that farmers there produced corn, livestock and tobacco.¹⁴² Additionally, cultural geographer Jordan places this corner of the Volunteer State in the upper South region.¹⁴³

Terry Jordan also includes the Texas hill country in the upper South, but that part of Texas exists as a small section unto itself and slavery was not a major part of its antebellum economy. For Jordan that part of Texas fits his definition because of the ethnic makeup of its white settlers and a tendency to build log structures. However, I include southern Missouri because slavery played a role in its agricultural economy.¹⁴⁴

The northern boundary of my definition rests entirely on slavery. Whereas geographer Robert Mitchell stated that "no cultural geographer would regard the Mason-Dixon Line as defining a northern boundary, because of the penetration of Pennsylvanian or Midland characteristics into the southern interior," I use this historic line because it demarcates where slavery essentially ended.¹⁴⁵ Some geographers want to extend the northern line as far northwest as central Iowa. Others continue the western line as far as Nebraska. This points out the differences in the way cultural geographers and historians look at the same

cultural ideas, and demonstrates the various ways this term is used. However, my boundaries are less about cultural hearths than about upland geography dictating a specific kind of agricultural economy, and a level of slave ownership different from the lowland South plantation regions.

The definition I propose here may or may not satisfy historians of economic or agricultural history, and definitely would disappoint cultural geographers. However, for scholars of southern slavery this definition places my work in the context where others have worked for decades, but refines the concept and area of the upland South. This definition also demonstrates that Tennessee is an important state to study because it cuts across three divisions of the South, two of which are part of the upland South in agricultural, geographic and archeological terms. To be sure, this definition ignores some of the cultural geographers' and folklorists' list of traits and the mechanisms of cultural change as discussed by author Robert Mitchell. However, I use the term more descriptively and view the upland South as including the geographers' cultural traits, but dictated by topography, slavery and agriculture.

The importance of this discussion is that the upland South is the largest sub-region of the South. The public vision of slavery is one of large gangs working on massive cotton, tobacco, rice, or sugar plantations. However, the upland South is larger in areal extent (if not in slave population), than the lowland South, meaning that as an institution, the conditions of upland slavery were more widespread than the lowland plantation system. Therefore, in terms of a public image this research demonstrates the fact that a large number of slaves lived in

different conditions than the commonly held perception. Historian Lisa Tolbert explains that the upland South pattern of slavery involved fewer slaves, and in small towns many lived in outbuildings rather than in the plantation villages the public commonly thinks existed everywhere.

To put this research into a different light, one must look at the white settlers of Tennessee and the enslaved people they brought with them. Immigrants from different states settled the separate sections of Tennessee during the antebellum period. East Tennessee saw migrations from the states of Virginia, North and South Carolina during the middle and late eighteenth century. The new East Tennesseans farmed the rich bottomlands around the rivers and the more level upland areas that supported corn and tobacco.¹⁴⁶ Since tobacco had been the major cash crop in both Virginia and North Carolina they looked for land similar to what they left behind because they knew how to farm it. Yet this region could only support small farms and not the plantations known in the coastal states.

Initial immigration to Middle Tennessee occurred during the late eighteenth- century. Many of the new settlers came up the Cumberland River from western Virginia and North Carolina. This area became an agricultural heartland with corn and cotton the predominant cash crops. The migrants to the region also came from the eastern piedmont, and found Middle Tennessee's clay soils and limestone bedrock to be equal to those with which they were familiar. However, the Middle Tennessee region with its rolling hills better supported farming than the eastern uplands and mountains. Historically Middle Tennessee had two other economic enterprises that required slave labor. Those were the iron

furnaces in what are now Dickson, Houston, Humphreys, Montgomery, and Stewart counties, and tobacco in the region around present day Clarksville.

Southern West Tennessee with its flat Delta is part of the Black Belt of the Deep South. Here we find larger plantations with cotton as the cash crop. This region saw migration from both the eastern and middle divisions of the state after the first quarter of the nineteenth-century. These farmers sought out new lands for the booming cotton market. They migrated there after the end of the Creek Wars and the expansion of Tennessee's border to the Mississippi River. The northern half of West Tennessee did not support cotton's needs, so tobacco and corn became the dominant crops there. The frost line running through approximately the middle of the state essentially prevents cotton growing north of it, while cotton can be supported to the south of the frost line. This does not mean slavery did not exist in that part of the division. The Lauderdale County census records show several hundred slave owners in both 1850 and 1860.

So while the new Tennesseans continued a farming tradition, the eastern uplands generally supported operations of up to ten slaves, the fertile central basin of Middle Tennessee supported plantations with up to fifty slaves, while the Delta with its rich soils produced the truly large plantations that grew short staple cotton with over one hundred slaves. These figures place East and Middle Tennessee in the context of the upland South and lower West Tennessee in the context of the lowland South.

In a larger sense these divisions of Tennessee can also be used to represent even larger sub-divisions of the antebellum South. East Tennessee can serve as a

model for the piedmont uplands region, extending into Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. Middle Tennessee is part of the fertile basin region extending into Kentucky, and Alabama. Southern West Tennessee will serve for the Delta South, stretching into Mississippi and Louisiana. Not only are there possible differences between the regions within Tennessee, but we can also explore the potential linkages and influences from the broader regions to the divisions of Tennessee. For instance a pattern of French Creole culture and architecture emanating from Louisiana might be found in the Delta region near Memphis. Given this overarching framework of agricultural, economic, political and labor elements, slave culture can be explored in each of Tennessee's grand divisions.

One goal of this study is to determine the exact nature of slaves' physical surroundings in Tennessee. The type, size, construction material, doors, windows, and floor types all say something about the physical comforts of the people who lived in these houses. Making comparisons across the three grand divisions of Tennessee may be revealing in the types of houses that the masters allowed their slaves. Andrews and Young have suggested that it may be racist to "imply or assume that lives of slaves of smaller planters or farmers were any more or less debilitating, physically or mentally, than the lives of slaves of large planters."¹⁴⁷ But those are the kinds of information this study will elucidate. An even more interesting comparison may be between slave houses and poor white housing in the same regions. Charles Martin and Michael Ann Willams in their studies of folk housing in Kentucky and North Carolina have found that the log single-pen

house was not only common, but the preferred house type in some regions well into the twentieth-century.¹⁴⁸ Williams even noted that occupants of log houses commonly mentioned that the holes in the roofs and the sides of the house let snow inside. So many people told of waking to find snow covering their blankets that she interprets this as a common occurrence.¹⁴⁹ Dare we make interpretations that slave housing might have been merely average for all the housing in a region except for the elite? How will such statements go over in the scholarly community? Much more important is the fact that slaves made a community for themselves in an atmosphere of oppression. This will be illuminated by the combination of architectural, archeological and documentary evidence.

ENDNOTES

¹ Paul H. Bergeron, Stephen V. Ash, and Jeanette Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 30-32.

² Bergeron, Ash, and Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History*, 122; Richard Warwick, "Williamson County in Black and White," *Williamson County Historical Journal*, Special Bicentennial Edition, no. 31 (2000) : 10.

³ Chase C. Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1957), 94, 100, 114-115. Mooney uses the number of 30 slaves to define a plantation, though he does not suggest an acreage

⁴ Ibid., 127-146.

⁵ Ibid., 100, 114-115. Bergeron, Ash, and Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History*, 111-112.

⁶ Ibid., 100. Mooney considers thirty to be the threshold number of slaves for an operation to be considered a plantation.

⁷ General treatises include Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998); Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003); Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (New York: Norton Books, 1989); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll, The World The Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976); Kenneth M. Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964): Those sources that focus on a particular region of the South include: Anthony E. Kaye, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Charles Joyner, *Down By The Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Champagne: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton Books, 1975); Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth- Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Anne Elizabeth Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1994): Historical studies which focus on slave culture or African-American culture include: John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Lawrence W.

Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984). Obviously this list is not exhaustive.

⁸ Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*. My comment here does not mean that Genovese does not use evidence from Tennessee throughout the book, indeed he does, but typically in a supporting role. Genovese seemed to concentrate his focus on the eastern states and the Deep South.

⁹ Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 51.

¹⁰ James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), xx – xxi.

¹¹ Ibid., 39, 229.

¹² Ophelia S. Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery: Autobiographical Accounts of Negro Ex-slaves* (Nashville: Fisk University, 1936; reprint, Washington, D.C. NCR, 1968), 111.

¹³ Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time On The Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989).

¹⁴ See for instance Anthony E. Kaye, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

¹⁵ See, Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*; John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community*; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*; Sobel, *The World They Made Together*.

¹⁶ Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, 112.

¹⁷ John M. Vlach, “‘Snug Li’l House With Flue and Oven’: Nineteenth-Century Reforms in Plantation Slave Housing,” in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture V*, eds. Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 118-129.

¹⁸ Deborah G. White, *Ar’n’t I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 4-7, 27-46.

¹⁹ White’s research follows in the footsteps of others who noted the problem of miscegenation in Southern households, see: James Hugo Johnston, “Miscegenation in the Ante-Bellum South” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1937).

²⁰ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1988.), 119.

²¹ Kirsten E. Wood, *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution Through the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

²² B.A. Botkin, ed. *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989).

²³ Ira Berlin, et. al. eds., *Remembering Slavery: African-Americans Talk About Their Personal Experiences of Slavery and Emancipation* (New York: The New Press, 1998).

²⁴ John W. Blassingame, ed. *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977); Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery*; Lowell H. Harrison, "Recollections of Some Tennessee Slaves," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 33 no. 2 (1974): 175-190 Harrison states that of the 25 Tennessee interviewees only 24 were actually slaves. It must be pointed out that former Tennessee slave narratives can be found in volumes of other states because they moved elsewhere after emancipation; George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, vol. 16 (Westport CT.: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972);, The Federal Writers Project, *Tennessee Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in Tennessee from Interviews with Former Slaves 1936-1938* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2001).

²⁵ James Thomas, *From Tennessee Slave to St. Louis Entrepreneur: The Autobiography of James Thomas*, ed. Loren Schweninger (Columbia: University of Missouri Press: 1984) and Louis Hughes, *Thirty Years a Slave, From Bondage to Freedom* (Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing Co. 1969).

²⁶ Dorothy S. Redford, and Michael D'Orso, *Somerset Homecoming: Recovering a Lost Heritage* (New York: Doubleday, 1988).

²⁷ John F. Baker, *The Washingtons of Wessyngton Plantation: Stories of My Family's Journey to Freedom* (New York: Atria Books, 2009).

²⁸ Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1998).

²⁹ Caleb P. Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1922; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968).

³⁰ Ibid., 211.

³¹ Ibid., 56.

³² Ibid., 64.

³³ Ibid., 7.

³⁴ George M. Apperson, "African-Americans on the Tennessee Frontier," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* vol. 59 (Spring 2000) : 2-19; Edward Michael McCormack, *Slavery on the Tennessee Frontier* (Nashville: Tennessee American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1976).

³⁵ McCormack, *Slavery on the Tennessee Frontier*, 7.

³⁶ Ibid., 10, 21.

³⁷ Chase C. Mooney, *Slavery in Davidson County, Tennessee*, (M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1936), 38.

³⁸ Chase C. Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 3-6.

³⁹ Ibid., 10-14, 182.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 183.

⁴¹ Ibid., 3-6.

⁴² Ibid., 185.

⁴³ Ibid., 186.

⁴⁴ Robert E. Corlew, *Some Aspects of Slavery in Dickson County, Tennessee* (M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, April 1949), 17-18.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 32.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 43; Robert E. Corlew, "Some Aspects of Slavery in Dickson County," in *Plantation, Town, and County: Essays on the Local History of American Slave Society*, eds. Elinor Miller, and Eugene D. Genovese (Urbana, University of Chicago Press, 1974), 114.

⁴⁷ Lester C. Lamon, *Blacks in Tennessee 1791-1970* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981).

⁴⁸ Ibid., 6-7.

⁴⁹ Bobby L. Lovett, *Profiles of African-Americans in Tennessee* (Nashville: Conference on Afro-American Culture and History, 1996); Bobby L.

Lovett, *The African-American History of Nashville Tennessee 1780-1930: Elites and Dilemmas* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

⁵⁰ Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 5-6; Oakes, *The Ruling Race*, 92-93.

⁵¹ Lisa Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

⁵² Ibid., 120.

⁵³ Ibid., 204.

⁵⁴ Frankie Goole narrative, The Federal Writers Project, *Tennessee Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in Tennessee from Interviews with Former Slaves 1936-1938* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2001), 19.

⁵⁵ Carroll Van West, ed. *Trial and Triumph: Essays in Tennessee's African-American History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002).

⁵⁶ Anthony E. Kaye, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Walter Johnson, *Soul By Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Boston: Harvard University Press: 1999); Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History*, 37.1 (2003) : 113-124; Anthony W. Neal, *Unburdened By Conscience: A Black People's Collective Account of Americans Antebellum South and the Aftermath* (New York: University Press of America, 2010), esp. 67-68.

⁵⁷ For the very earliest works see: Adelaide K. Bullen and Ripley P. Bullen, "Black Lucy's Garden," *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society*, vol.6, no. 2 (1945) : 17-28; Robert Ascher and Charles H. Fairbanks, "Excavation of a Slave Cabin: Georgia, USA," *Historical Archaeology* (1971) : 3-17.

⁵⁸ Patricia M. Samford, *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007).

⁵⁹ Lorena Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Tidewater Virginia African-American Community* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997).

⁶⁰ For an example of this kind of work see: David W. Babson, "The Archaeology of Racism and Ethnicity on Southern Plantations," *Historical Archaeology* 24, no.4 (1990) : 20-28; John S. Otto, "Race and Class on Antebellum Plantations," in *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America: Afro-American and Asian American Culture History*, Robert L. Schuyler ed. (Farmingdale, NY: Baywood Publishing, 1980), 3-13; John S. Otto, *Cannon's*

Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South (New York: Academic Press, 1984); For a discussion on how this kind of analysis should be folded into archeological research, see: Charles E. Orser, "The Challenge of Race to American Historical Archaeology," *American Anthropologist* 100 no. 3 (1999) : 661-668.

⁶¹ For an example of this kind of research see: Patricia Samford, "The Archaeology of African-American Slavery and Material Culture," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, vol. 53, no. 1 (January 1996) : 87-114; Maria Franklin and Garrett Fessler, eds. *Historical Archaeology, Identity Formation, and the Interpretation of Ethnicity* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Publications, 1999).

⁶² For examples of this kind of work see: Maria Franklin, "Power to the People: Sociopolitics and the Archaeology of Black Americans," *Historical Archaeology*, 31, no. 3 (1997) : 36-50; Carol McDavid, "Descendants, Decisions, and Power: The Public Interpretation of the Archaeology of the Levi Jordan Plantation," *Historical Archaeology*, 31, no. 3 (1997) : 114-131; Drake M. Patten, "Cheers of Protest? The Public, the Post, and the Parable of Learning," *Historical Archaeology*, 31, no.3 (1997) : 131-139; For an insightful criticism of some of the works cited above see; Terrance W. Epperson, "Critical Race Theory and the Archaeology of the African Diaspora," *Historical Archaeology*, 38, no. 1 (2004) : 101-108.

⁶³ Theresa Singleton, "*I Too Am America*" *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999).

⁶⁴ Theresa Singleton, *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life* (New York: Academic Press, 1985).

⁶⁵ Charles H. Faulkner, "'Here Are Frame Houses and Brick Chimneys' Knoxville, Tennessee in the Late Eighteenth-Century," in *The Southern Colonial Backcountry: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Frontier Communities*, eds. David Colin Crass, et. al., (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 137-161, esp. 138; Amy L. Young, "Developing Town Life in the South: Archaeological Investigations at Blount Mansion," in *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes*, Amy L. Young, ed. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000), 150-169, esp. 152; Charles H. Faulkner, "Knoxville and the Southern Appalachian Frontier: An Archaeological Perspective," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. 59 (Fall 2000) : 158-173.

⁶⁶ Faulkner, "Knoxville and the Southern Appalachian Frontier," 159,162, 166.

⁶⁷ Erin B. Hamby "An Archeological and Historical Investigation of the Blount Mansion Slave Quarters" (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1999).

⁶⁸ Anna L. Norwood Oakley, “Interpreting the Frontier Slave Experience: Slavery at Blount Mansion, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1792-1800”, (M.A. thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1993), 14; James Patrick, *Architecture in Tennessee, 1768-1897* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 16-17.

⁶⁹ Oakley, “Interpreting the Frontier Slave Experience,” 55, 60.

⁷⁰ Hamby “An Archeological and Historical Investigation of the Blount Mansion Slave Quarters,” 42.

⁷¹ Ibid., 56-59, 80.

⁷² Carey L. Coxe, “Urban Slave Diet in Early Knoxville: Faunal Remains from Blount Mansion, Knoxville, Tennessee” (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1998); Charles H. Faulkner, “Knoxville and the Southern Appalachian Frontier,” 166.

⁷³ Coxe, “Urban Slave Diet in Early Knoxville,” 12-13.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 17.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 147.

⁷⁶ Faulkner, “Knoxville and the Southern Appalachian Frontier,” 166.

⁷⁷ Oakley, “Interpreting the Frontier Slave Experience,” 38.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 49.

⁷⁹ McKelway references the following authors in their view of a less harsh East Tennessee slave experience: Cecil L. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southeastern United States to 1860* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution, 1933); Lester Lamon, *Blacks in Tennessee 1791-1970*, 1981; Chase Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee*, 1954.

⁸⁰ Henry S. McKelway, *Slaves and Master in the Upland South: Data Recovery at the Mabry Site (40KN86) Knox County, Tennessee* (Nashville: Tennessee Department of Transportation, 2000), 223.

⁸¹ Ibid., 81-82.

⁸² Ibid., 139.

⁸³ Ibid., 154.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 199-200.

⁸⁵ Kevin E. Smith, "Bledsoe Station: Archaeology, History, and the Interpretation of the Middle Tennessee Frontier, 1770-1820," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. 59 (Fall 2000) : 174-187.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 180.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 184.; Larry McKee, "Archaeological Study of Slavery and Plantation Life in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. 59, (Fall 2000) : 194-195.

⁸⁸ Smith, "Bledsoe Station," 185.

⁸⁹ For examples of this work see: Dan S. Allen and Christopher M. Hazel, *1997-1998 Field Sessions at the Bowen Farmstead: Archaeological Data Recovery at Site 40 SU21, Sumner County, Tennessee*, report submitted to the Bowen-Campbell Association and the Tennessee Historical Commission, (1999); David W. Babson et. al., *Families and Cabins: Archaeological and Historical Investigations at Wessyngton Plantation, Robertson County, Tennessee*, report submitted to the Tennessee Historical Commission by the Midwestern Archaeological Research Center, Illinois State University (1994); Henry S. McKelway et. al., *Archaeological Excavations at Belle Meade, 1989*, Report to the Tennessee Humanities Council (1989); Steven D. Ruple, *Archaeological Excavations of Two Outbuildings of Carnton, A Plantation in Williamson County, Tennessee, (40WM92)*, report prepared for the Carnton Association, 1988; Michael Strutt, Alan Longmire, and Dan S. Allen, *Fairview: The Isaac Franklin Plantation A National Historic Landmark Gallatin, Sumner County, Tennessee*, report prepared for Lake Properties of Gallatin, Inc. December, 2002.

⁹⁰ Larry McKee, "Archaeological Study of Slavery and Plantation Life in Tennessee." In addition McKee produced a number of field reports describing archeological discoveries over the years. McKee's greatest contribution to African-American archeology lies in his journal articles, several of which are cited in chapter one.

⁹¹ Ibid., 192.

⁹² Ibid., 196.

⁹³ Brian W. Thomas, "Community Among Enslaved African-Americans on the Hermitage Plantation, 1820s-1850s" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 1995).

⁹⁴ Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery*, 112.

⁹⁵ Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery*, 4, 56

⁹⁶ Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 623.

⁹⁷ Aaron E. Russell, "Material Culture and African-American Spirituality at the Hermitage," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1997) : 63-80.

⁹⁸ Guy G. Weaver, et. al., *The Gowen Farmstead: Archeological Data Recovery at Site 40DV401 (Area D), Davidson County, Tennessee*, Report produced by Garrow and Associates, Memphis Tennessee, report on file at the Tennessee Division of Archeology, 1993.

⁹⁹ McKee, "Archaeological Study of Slavery and Plantation Life in Tennessee," 198-199.

¹⁰⁰ Susan C. Andrews and Amy L. Young "Plantations on the Periphery of the Old South: Modeling A New Approach," *Tennessee Anthropologist* 18, no. 1 (1992) : 1-12.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 2.

¹⁰² Ibid., 3.

¹⁰³ Robert E. Corlew, "Some Aspects of Slavery in Dickson County," in *Plantation, Town and County: Essays on the Local History of American Slave Society*, eds. Elinor Miller and Eugene Genovese (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 103.

¹⁰⁴ Multiple Properties Nomination, National Register of Historic Places, Multiple Property Documentation Form, The Iron Industry on the Western Highland Rim, 1790s – 1920s, E5.

¹⁰⁵ Charles Dew, *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge* (New York: W.W Norton and Company, 1994), 230-231.

¹⁰⁶ Douglas Sanford, "The Archaeology of Plantation Slavery in Piedmont Virginia: Context and Process," in *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, eds. Paul A. Shackel and Barbara J. Little (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 115-130.

¹⁰⁷ Researchers use the term but rarely define it well, and few have used it concisely as a basis for studying slavery. The vagueness and ambiguities in use will be illustrated. By doing this I believe that the definition and boundaries suggested here will have more meaning and relevance to the study of slavery both in Tennessee and elsewhere within the sub-region. Having demonstrated the context in which the term is applied by other researchers, I then propose my own definition of the upland South. That definition will serve as context for interpretations of slavery, slave life, and African-American culture in Tennessee.

¹⁰⁸ Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Harry Holt Co., 1920), 46, 86, 116, esp. 164-165.

¹⁰⁹ Three of historian Frank Owsley's works, which concentrate on Southern settlement (and to an extent, Southern regionalism) do not use upland South. Instead, he uses the term upper South. See Frank L. Owsley, "The Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier," *Journal of Southern History* XI (1945), 147-176. *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949); *The South: Old and New Frontiers, Selected Essays of F. L. Owsley*, ed. Harriet C. Owsley (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), 4.

¹¹⁰ Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: The Key to Diffusion," *ANNALS of the Association of American Geographers*, no. 4 vol. 55 (December 1965) : 549-577; Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States : A Time-Place Perspective," *Geographical Review* 56 (1966) : 40-66; see also, Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968).

¹¹¹ Terry G. Jordan, "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South on Mid Nineteenth-Century Texas," *ANNALS of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 57 (1967) : 667- 690. Also see, Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

¹¹² Jordan, "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South," 669.

¹¹³ In his later work with Kaups they did use the term upland South to describe the southern frontier in the late eighteenth century, see; Jordan and Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier*, 9, 10.

¹¹⁴ Milton Newton, "Cultural Preadaptation and the Upland South," in *Geoscience and Man, Volume V*, ed. Bob F. Perkins (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, School of Geoscience, 1974), 143-154.

¹¹⁵ Sam B. Hilliard, *Atlas of Antebellum Southern Agriculture* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984).

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 2.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 1.

¹¹⁸ John S. Otto, and Nain E. Anderson, "The Diffusion of Upland South Folk Culture 1790-1840," *Southeastern Geographer* vol. 22, no. 2 (November 1982) : 89-98; John S. Otto, "The Migration of the Southern Plain Folk: An Interdisciplinary Synthesis," *The Journal of Southern History* vol. 51, no.2 (1985) : 183-200.

¹¹⁹ John S. Otto, *The Southern Frontiers, 1607-1860: The Agricultural Evolution of the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Westport, Ct : Greenwood Press, 1989), x.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 82.

¹²¹ John Otto, "The Migration of the Southern Plain Folk," 186.

¹²² Ibid., 185.

¹²³ It is interesting to note however that Otto himself does not use the term upland South in a later work when referring to the settlement of the area that would become Tennessee, Kentucky, and Arkansas. He uses the term upper South when referring to Tennessee and prefers the term trans-Appalachia when referring to the settlement of this region in chapter one "The Southern Frontiers and Southern Agriculture (1607-1860)" of his book *Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era, 1860-1880* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994).

¹²⁴ Faulkner, "Here are Frame Houses and Brick Chimneys," 137-161; Faulkner, "Knoxville and the Southern Appalachian Frontier," 158-173.

¹²⁵ McKelway, *Slaves and Master in the Upland South*.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 27.

¹²⁷ Mark D. Groover, "The Upland South Tradition as an Archeological Model: A Comparison of Sites in Illinois, Tennessee, and South Carolina." *Ohio Valley Historical Archeology* vol. 10 (1993) : 7-16.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 14.

¹²⁹ Robert T. McKenzie, "Civil War and Socioeconomic Change in the Upper South: The Survival of Local Agricultural Elites in Tennessee, 1850-1870," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* vol. 52 (Fall 1993) : 170-184.

¹³⁰ Robert T. McKenzie, *One South or Many: Plantation Belt and Upcountry in Civil War-Era Tennessee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7.

¹³¹ Harry L. Law, *Tennessee Geography* (Chattanooga: Harlow Publishing Co., 1954), 12, 19; Ralph O. Fullerton, "An Atlas of Tennessee" (Ed.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1971), 21.

¹³² McKenzie, *One South or Many*, 8.

¹³³ Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

¹³⁴ Larry McKee, *The Archeology of Slavery in Middle Tennessee: Region and Culture, 1993*. mss. on file at the Hermitage.

¹³⁵ Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed*, 12.

¹³⁶ Keith Adams, *Documentary Research on Land Use and Landscape at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest, 1998*. mss. on file at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest.

¹³⁷ Susan C. Andrews, and Amy L. Young, "Plantations on the Periphery of the Old South: Modeling A New Approach," *Tennessee Anthropologist* vol. 17 (Spring, 1992) : 1-12.

¹³⁸ Several other studies variously use the term upland and upper South. The essays and books cited above are intended as a base from which to gauge the evolution and use of the *concept* of the Upland South. The majority of the essays presented here are ones that I see as being the most influential either in the general realm of southern studies, or related to Tennessee specifically. For reviews on how the concept of the backcountry has evolved in archeological and geographic circles see the following two essays; Robert D. Mitchell, "The Southern Backcountry: A Geographical House Divided," and Michael J. Puglisi, "Muddied Waters: A Discussion of Current Interdisciplinary Backcountry Studies," in *The Southern Colonial Backcountry: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Frontier Communities*. eds. David Colin Crass et. al., (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998). Other works that use the terms and concepts discussed here include; John C. Inscoe, *Mountain Masters, Slavery, and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 8, 9, 103; Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States*. rev. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992). Zelinsky has used the term upland South since his original volume in 1973; Lisa Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999). Tolbert actually used both terms, upper and upland South in her book, see pages 1 and 6; Melissa Walker, *All We Knew Was to Farm: Rural Women in the Upcountry South, 1919-1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). Relevant theses and dissertations from the University of Tennessee include; Amy L. Young, "Slave Subsistence at the Upper South Mabry Site, East Tennessee: Regional Variability in Plantation Diet of the Southeastern United States" (M.A. thesis. University of Tennessee, 1993); Justin Lev-Tov, Continuity and Change in Upland South Subsistence Practices: The Gibbs House Site in Knox County, Tennessee (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1994); Carey L. Coxe, "Urban Slave Diet in Early Knoxville: Faunal Remains from Blount Mansion, Knoxville, Tennessee" (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1998);

Judith Patterson, "Dietary Patterning at an Upland South Plantation, The Ramsey House Site, Knox County, Tennessee" (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1998). Patterson never defined an upland South plantation, nor does she reference McKelway, who earlier wrote a good definition of the upland South; Todd M. Ahlman, "An Examination of Upland South Farmsteads Using An Evolutionary Ecology Approach" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tennessee, 2000). Ahlman used a map very similar to McKelway's 1996 map of the upland South.

¹³⁹ Tolbert uses upper South in reference to Tennessee whereas John Schlotterbeck uses it in reference to Virginia. See John, T. Schlotterbeck, "The 'Social Economy' of an Upper South Community: Orange and Greene Counties, Virginia, 1815-1860, in *Class, Conflict, and Consensus: Antebellum Southern Community Studies*. eds. Orville V. Burton, and Robert C. McMath (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 3-28.

¹⁴⁰ McKelway, *Slaves and Master in the Upland South*, 27-29.

¹⁴¹ Hilliard, *Atlas*, 71.

¹⁴² McKenzie, *One South or Many*, 8.

¹⁴³ Jordan, "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South," 668.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 670.

¹⁴⁵ Mitchell, "The Southern Backcountry," 8.

¹⁴⁶ Frank L. Owsley, "The South: Old and New Frontiers: Selected Essays of Frank Lawrence Owsley," ed. Harriet Chappell Owsley (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1969), 20; Chase C. Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee*, 42.

¹⁴⁷ Andrews and Young, "Plantations on the Periphery," 3.

¹⁴⁸ Charles E. Martin, *Hollybush: Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984); Michael Ann Williams, *Homeplace: The Social Use and Meaning of the Folk Dwelling in Southwestern North Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991).

¹⁴⁹ Williams, *Homeplace*, 18.

CHAPTER III

THE EAST TENNESSEE SURVEY

East Tennessee's first settlers came from Virginia in the late 1760s. From that time onward, the northeastern corner of the state saw pioneers come over the mountains from North Carolina and Virginia, first in small groups, then in larger waves as they settled towns such as Jonesborough and Knoxville. The mountainous section of Tennessee did not lend itself to large farms and plantations as easily as the Virginia and North Carolina coastal regions. Some slaveholders did develop farms along the river valleys, particularly along the Nolichucky and Holston Rivers where flat land grew tobacco and corn well. These river valleys held farms that hugged the bottomland of the floodplains in a linear fashion, as opposed to the larger spread-out plantations of Virginia. The river bottomlands provided good soils for growing cash crops and establishing large enough operations that slavery proved profitable.

Many slave houses can still be found in the flat bottomlands despite the destruction left in the wake of the Tennessee Valley Authority's river projects in the mid-twentieth-century. Many houses in East Tennessee lie in the broad undulating plain between the Unaka Mountains and the ridges of Clinch Mountain in the Nolichucky, French Broad, and Holston river valleys between Kingsport and Knoxville. A few houses are located south of this valley near the Great Smoky Mountains. East Tennessee's mountainous topography would, on the

surface, seem like an area not very conducive to slavery, however, the recorded properties include some that could be considered plantations. Wheatlands built in 1825 included over 3,000 acres of land in Sevier County. John Chandler constructed the main house with a rear ell in about 1825 on land inherited from his father. In 1850 Chandler owned 700 improved acres, 3,000 unimproved acres, and 14 slaves. In 1860 he owned 32 slaves.¹

The northeastern-most houses in the survey are located on the Ramsey farm in the small town of Arcadia, northeast of Kingsport in Sullivan County. The property is so far in the northeast corner of Tennessee that it lies within one mile of the Virginia state line in hilly terrain. Despite the topography, the farm contains two slave buildings located near the main house. The farm complex of six buildings sits within a few yards of a nineteenth-century turnpike, now U.S. Route 11W.

In the mid nineteenth-century the Fain family originally settled the farm currently known as the Joe Ramsey place according to county historian Dr. Nancy Acuff.² The farm includes the main house, the kitchen that doubled as a slave quarters, a smokehouse, a second slave house, a grain barn, two other barns, and the springhouse. Two log slave houses stand very close to the brick main house. The kitchen building is within 30', behind and to the side of the main house. The second building sits within 30' to 40' from the west side of the main dwelling's rear ell, and above a spring at the bottom of the hill on which the farm buildings sit. Between the two slave houses is the log smokehouse directly behind the rear ell of the house. An interesting difference between these three log buildings is that

the smokehouse and smaller of the two slave houses have half dovetail notching, suggesting an early nineteenth-century date, and the larger slave house/kitchen has V-notched corners, commonly dated circa 1800. The construction evidence suggests that these buildings date to different periods of expansion on the farm.



Figure 3.1 The Ramsey farm kitchen and slave house in Arcadia, Sullivan County.

The kitchen and cook's house is a story and a half, single pen structure, measuring 18' 2" x 16' on the exterior. It sits on stone and brick piers and has V-notched corners. The roof has a standing seam metal covering attached with wire nails. The brick chimney sat on the east wall, but at the time of the survey it sat dismantled and the bricks piled beside the house. The building has two doors, one each on the front and rear (south and north sides of the building respectively), and

three windows. A six foot opening would have allowed for a four to five foot wide fireplace, large enough for cooking, and the additional square footage in the loft both speak to the likelihood of this building having served as a kitchen and slave residence.

The south or front façade faces the rear of the main house. The front door is constructed with five plain tongue and groove boards attached to interior battens with cut nails. The door may be an original element, the decorative trim on the door frame is held with cut finish nails with some wire nails used in repairs. A twentieth-century shed addition used for equipment storage runs the full length of the north side. A door sits on the center of the north wall, but it is only 5' tall and narrower than the south door, which suggests it is a later alteration probably for access to the shed addition on the north. The doorway cutout is uneven and the frame does not fit into the opening very well. Nothing about the north doorway matches the south door, which by all appearances is an original feature.

One window sits to the right of the front door and one above it while a third window resides on the west wall, and a fourth is located in the east gable where the chimney formerly. That window obviously cannot be an early element of the building, but probably came later, perhaps after the chimney no longer functioned and the owners removed a part of the stack to a height allowing a gable-end window. The west window retains parts of a pair of shutters hanging on either side of the frame, but no louvers exist as the frames are decayed and broken, barely hanging on the building c. 2000. The shutters are attached with

long strap hinges with the hand wrought pintles driven into the window frame. No evidence of shutters could be found on the south side windows, either on the first floor or the loft. The two first floor windows have six-over-six double-hung wood sashes constructed with pegs and cut nails. The loft window frame has no decoration and is very plain compared to the first floor window frames, which have decorative trim attached with cut nails.

The interior of the building stood in a somewhat dangerous condition at the time of recording. The floorboards are 6" tongue and groove planks held with cut nails. The first floor sleepers run on 2' centers. The loft floorboards are 5" to 6" tongue and groove boards, some are band sawn, and others circular sawn. The joists exhibit saw marks on the sides and hew marks on the bottoms. The saw marks are either sash saw or band saw, it was difficult to determine. The stairs, constructed with cut nails, are in the northeast corner but resemble a ladder more than stairs. They sit nearly up against the north wall and have a steep pitch making access difficult for an adult. The loft was not entered for safety reasons. The stairs are not well attached to the wall and the building leans to the side where the stairs sit. The floor is also rotting and floorboards broken in several places.

From exterior evidence it appears that the upper space is more of a half-story than a simple loft. It has four logs above the floor level representing approximately 5' of wall height. With the added several feet of the roof ridge it is obvious that an adult could stand up inside the loft. The upper level probably did not have a fireplace as there is no evidence for one in the east wall where the

chimney previously sat. The loft, and possibly even the lower room, probably served as living space for the cook and her family.

The walls of the building are all constructed of 11 logs measuring between 7" and 12" in height. The chinking between the logs is partly Portland cement, and partly lime mortar. The 11 rows of weatherboards on each gable are held with cut nails, and have a 6" exposure. The building sits on a single course continuous stone foundation. The general state of the unoccupied building is one of slow decay. Removal of the firebox and face board caused several logs on the east gable to slip out of place. Consequently the house began collapsing at the northeast corner, and the logs decaying at that location.

The second slave house sits within 30' to 40' to the west and beside the rear ell of the main house. Downhill from this second log house sits the spring house. The people who lived above in the slave house probably had the task of drawing water from the spring for all the occupants of the property, black and white. The house sits on the edge of a slope and takes advantage of its position with a five-foot tall cellar-space beneath the house. This house is interesting because it may have served a dual purpose. The short cellar probably served as a root, or storage cellar. The building formerly had a continuous stone foundation leveling it against the hillside. A door in the west foundation wall shows that the lower space was accessible historically. The door sits to the south side of the chimney base. At the time of recording, the cellar space had trash piled up inside including a wooden barrel. The north wall sat mostly dismantled allowing access

to the cellar and unfortunately allowed erosion of the soil around the foundation into the cellar area.

This house is smaller than the first at 16' x 14' on the exterior. It is a single pen, gable front, one-story with a loft building sitting on a continuous stone foundation. The roof has a standing seam metal covering attached with wire nails. The corners exhibit half dovetail notching with the brick fireplace and chimney on the west wall and a stone foundation. Ten logs make up the north and south walls from sill to plate. The gables have nine logs. The east gable has eight rows of weatherboards with 8" to 9" exposure. The west gable has seven rows of weatherboards with a similar exposure, and the boards are held in place with cut nails. The house has one door and two windows. The door sits on the east wall, which faces the rear ell of the main house. The windows sit in the center of the north and south walls balancing each other on those facades. Both windows have the remains of shutters constructed with cut nails.

The front door consists of five tongue and groove boards attached to interior battens with cut nails. It has two rim locks, one of which is broken and probably the earlier of the two locks. Two screws extracted from this lock both have gimlets suggesting that the lock dates sometime after 1846. The interior of the door frame has decorative trim with beveled edges and constructed with cut nails. The exterior of the door frame is also decorated and appears similar to the kitchen.

An interior inspection revealed a short loft above a single room with a small fireplace on the west wall measuring only 3' wide and 2' 6" high. A mantel

stands in front of the fireplace constructed with pegs and cut nails. It is not currently held in place, and is really just a decorative frame as it has a very narrow shelf on top. Since the logs have a flat face carved to accept a mantle of this size, cut nail holes in the logs in the same locations as the nails currently protruding from the rear of the mantel, the assumption is that the piece belongs attached to the wall in that location.

The loft has a head height of 5' 6" which is enough for children if not adults to stand upright. The stairs mirror those in the kitchen building, being more of a ladder than stairs. The stairs have cut nails and tongue and groove boards. The stairs rest nearly up against the east wall behind the door making access very difficult. The loft floorboards are tongue and groove and held with cut nails. As opposed to the kitchen this building has true loft with only two logs above the floor level, making the space too short for an adult. At the time of recording the building was in a poor condition. The north wall logs have tremendous decay problems, some have begun to slip out of position, and the northwest corner has begun to fail. The chinking is almost completely missing. The stone foundation is crumbling and missing in many places and the southwest corner has no support.

A few miles to the southeast of the Ramsey Farm stands the Grass Dale farm on the north side of Kingsport. Both the Grass Dale and Ramsey Farms are located alongside U.S. Highway 11E known locally as Bloomingdale Pike. This road bisects the farm and separates the main house from the slave house. The slave house sits on the south side of the pike approximately 200 yards from the main house. In 2002 the owners used it as a grain shed. The building is a small

log gable-front structure, one pen and one story in height. It sits on stone corner piers and has one door. It measures 15' x 13' on the exterior and has no windows. A small jib door exists above the main door, but this is a modern addition.

According to Mrs. Rita Groseclose, the owner, her parents moved the building to its current location sometime in the 1940s. Previous to that time the building had served as a slave house and then as a storage shed.³ The notching technique used in this building consists of a combination V-notch and square notches suggesting either an early date of construction or perhaps reuse of logs from another building. It has a modern tin roof attached with wire nails, and a shed addition on the west side.

The designation of this building as a slave house is somewhat problematical in that it does not have the look and feel of a typical log slave house. It is very small, and has no fireplace or chimney and no evidence that one ever existed. Additionally, no window or any features that indicate a window once existed could be found. A fire damaged the north face of the building harming many of the vertical gable boards. On the south side the gable boards run horizontally. This building has obviously gone through a number of alterations through the generations. The fact that it exhibits two different notching techniques suggests that it has parts of two different buildings. It may have started out as a slave house and when moved, cut down to its current size and configuration. The building was not entered for safety reasons and evidence for a loft was not investigated.

East of Kingsport lies the small town of Blountville, named after one of the state's early pioneers and the seat of Sullivan County. In the center of town sits the Deery Inn, a late eighteenth century frame stagecoach inn and tavern. Oral tradition states that slaves lived in the inn while attending to the owner's children, though no specific rooms connected with this belief could be determined. A number of outbuildings associated with slavery sit on the inn's property. The building immediately to the east of the inn, known as the Rutledge House, reportedly served as a residence for Deery's slave workers at the inn. This two-story log structure with a frame addition could not be entered because of an ongoing restoration project, but the rear of the building, exposed by the project, revealed its architectural design. The second building reportedly associated with slavery is a single-pen log building.⁴

In the 1940s the owner of the inn, Mrs. Virginia Caldwell, moved several early buildings from other lots in town as a way to preserve them from destruction. Some of these may potentially be slave houses.⁵ These outbuildings sit in a line along the western edge of the lot and behind the inn. The Sullivan County Historical Preservation Association owns and interprets these buildings. At the time of this survey all of the buildings stood in a state of decay. They all had padlocks on them therefore interior details could not be recorded.

The 21' x 15' 2" log building identified as a slave house sits attached via a single roof, to a brick building called the kitchen and weaving house. The attachment between the buildings creates a 10 foot wide breezeway. Signs on both buildings state that Caldwell moved them onto the site in 1941. The log building

appears to have had at least an historic domestic purpose. It has a fireplace on the north wall, rebuilt at an unknown date; it is impossible to determine the size of the original. The building exhibits fairly well executed V-notched corners, and sits on a continuous stone foundation that was installed when Caldwell moved the buildings. Its east and west walls have two doors and four windows. The window frames and windows appear to be replacements from the 1941 rebuilding program. It is impossible to determine if all of the fenestration date to the building's original construction.

Down slope and approximately 8' to 10' away sits another domestic log structure. This building has a stone fireplace and stone foundation with Portland cement, obviously installed circa 1940. The logs are massive measuring up to 2 ½' in height are the largest of any structure recorded in the database. A more common size is 6" to 7" each. The east and west consist of only five logs each. The sill log is not as large as the others and is probably a twentieth-century replacement. The notches are constructed in the half-dovetail technique and they are very finely carved notches with the logs fitting close together. Since the logs are so massive the assumption is that it dates to the late eighteenth century, probably as a settler's cabin. The original location for the building is unknown.

According to local oral tradition, the house to the east of the Deery Inn, called the Rutledge House, served as the kitchen and slave quarters for the Inn.⁶ The lower floor served as the kitchen and the upstairs as living quarters. How many rooms originally were on these two floors is not known since it was not open and available for inspection. Architectural evidence points to the building

having at least two major construction episodes. The eastern two-thirds of the building are log, and likely the oldest section. A frame addition on the west probably dates to the time of the Rutledge family's ownership in the mid-nineteenth-century. A sign says the house dates to 1798, which would date the log section only.⁷

The log section of the Rutledge house is a two story structure that could have either one or two rooms on each floor. The notching on this house has an interesting combination of V-notches and half dovetail notching. The changes in notching could be the result of repairs through the centuries. It sits on a continuous stone foundation installed in the twentieth-century that has a crawlspace access on the rear of the house. The current roof is a standing seam metal covering. The logs all measure 8 ½" in thickness, and between 12" to 16" in height. The north or rear of the building has a central door flanked by two windows on the first floor and two on the second. The front or south side of the building has three additional windows, one on the second, and two on the first floor. In addition there are two more doors on the south side, one on each floor. A second story porch must have been attached to the southeast corner of the building to gain access to the second story door at that corner. That door may have originally been a window and converted to a door later in the nineteenth-century. The porch is now missing, but evidence of it can be found on the front of the house. An additional door on the first floor can be found on the east gable of the house. The ages of all the window and door openings are unknown. In each

case, the windows are six-over-six double-hung wood sash windows. The fireplace(s) are on the west gable end, though the sizes are unknown.

On the west side of Kingsport, and located in Hawkins County, sits Rotherwood, a brick nineteenth-century mansion house sited on the bluffs above the Holston River. The mansion, now within the city limits of Kingsport, was at one time the center of a plantation of several hundred acres when it was constructed sometime in the 1840s. The builder, David Ross, had the house constructed as a wedding present for his daughter. According to the Sullivan County historian and the homeowner in 2002, the house consists of two, two-story houses placed side by side with a space between. Supposedly Ross connected the two houses by adding what became an entrance hall between the houses and a third floor added to the middle section of the structure. The third floor is only as wide as the space between the two original structures and consists of two rooms, one at the back of the house and one at the front. The current owner relayed the local oral tradition which testifies that the third floor served as living area for slaves and those rooms continued to house the freedmen from emancipation until the early twentieth- century.⁸ Interestingly, neither room has a fireplace. The continuing oral history states that in the early twentieth-century a black family, who worked for the owners, lived in the two rooms on the third floor. But when the woman became pregnant the owner built them a brick tenant house beside the main house so that she would not have to climb stairs to the third floor. The third floor rooms measure 15' 10" x 11' 10" each. Although neither room has a fireplace, each does have a large four-part Venetian or Palladian style window.

While a Palladian window and a balcony view out the front may seem lavish for rooms intended for slaves, the features decorate the exterior of the house and the intention was to impress viewers from the outside rather than inside.

In addition to the third floor chambers, a basement room in Rotherwood could have served as a slave living or work space. The room is immediately to the right of the small stair hall which enters the basement from the main hall above. A fireplace breast wall below the parlor fireplace appears to have a closed-in fireplace. The fireplace appears to be filled with brick, and the face of the wall is parged with a thin coat of concrete. The size of the firebox is estimated at 4' 1" and the cheeks or sides of the firebox are each estimated to be 1' 4" wide. The room measures 19' x 17' in size. There are two doors to this room, but no windows. This is not the only house in the database with probable slave rooms in the basement, and several have no windows for light.

Continuing south in Sullivan County, below the South fork of the Holston River on U.S. Highway 11E, is the Devault-Masengill Farm that has an extant log slave house. Reportedly the building originally served as a settlers cabin constructed around 1800, then used as an overseer's residence and finally as a slave house. Different owners over the years made alterations, including a total makeover in 2001 when the owners began using it as a rental cottage.⁹ The house is a single story single pen dwelling with a loft, and V-notched corners. It sits on stone piers at the front and rear, with a continuous stone foundation along the sides. The roof has modern wooden shingles for covering, mimicking an historic look. The stone chimney and fireplace sit on the west wall of the building and it

has received a full restoration, if not entirely rebuilt. A porch added to the front and a frame addition on the rear with a small bathroom and kitchen add considerably to the house's square footage. It measures 18' 10" x 15' 6" on the interior excluding the additions.

Two doors and two windows make up the architectural details on the building. The doors balance each other on the front and back walls, and the windows flank the front door on the south side. All the door and window frames date to the most recent, twenty-first century rehabilitation. The rear doorway appears to be a recent cut-through dating to the twenty-first century alterations to access the new addition at the back. The door and window frames are pegged and constructed to mimic nineteenth-century construction techniques. The porch floor uses modern cut nails to secure the boards, also mimicking older technology.

An interesting construction technique of this building is that the gables extend out from the walls approximately six to eight inches. However, this does not add any space inside the loft area. This extension may be to shed water better. The extension outward is added above the level of the first floor ceiling. The gable studs appear to be nineteenth-century elements as they are toe-nailed with cut nails, and notched into the top of the false plates which create the gable extensions. Since these appear to be older elements the extension may be a nineteenth-century design detail of the building.

The loft area is tall enough for an adult, with over 7' of headroom. The roof rafters are round saplings but have modern lumber as reinforcement against the sides of the rafters for added stability. Each rafter sits on the edge of the plates

and is toe-nailed with cut nails. In many places the top of the plate and bottom of the rafters are decayed from years of contact and moisture. The rafters visibly extending beyond the walls today are the modern 2" x 4" lumber added as reinforcement and extensions for the rafters. The roof boards and shingles are modern additions. Modern collar ties span the narrow gap between the new rafters approximately 1 ½' below the roof. A doorway with a 2' square opening sits in the east gable with its framing members pegged together and nailed to the studs with cut nails. The small door has wire nails in its frame, but it is held in place with an old and large L-shaped hinge. The hinge has a combination of cut and wire nails attaching it to the door frame. The hinge may be an early feature.

The second floor joists appear to be turned upward, suggesting that they are not in their original positions. Each joist has a notched end to rest on the plate though the notch is facing upward. Despite this (probably modern) alteration, there would still be more than 7' of headroom on the first floor even if the logs were turned right-side up. Perhaps this was done to relieve the logs from stressing in one direction after sitting in the same position for 200 years. The loft has tongue and groove floorboards measuring between 7" and 8" wide. Cut nail holes in the tops of many of the boards suggest reuse. This may be a nineteenth-century floor reused in this location, perhaps the original first floor boards. The first floor today is a modern knotty pine board floor.

The Brooks-Schumaier Farm is located outside of Elizabethton in Carter County. This is a modern name for the property as the National Register lists the property with the historic name of the Rueben Brooks Farmstead. Historically the

property functioned as a slave-owning farm where a single brick slave house still stands behind the main house. The house and outbuildings date to circa. 1820.¹⁰ The slave house is a single story, single pen brick building measuring 20' 1" x 16' 2" on the exterior. The house has a five stretcher course common bond. It has one door and three windows, however, the windows on the north, south and west sides appear to be later additions. Only the east window, balancing the front door, appears to be an original feature. In 1979 owners restored the house, adding windows. The interior also received a major facelift, including a small bathroom in the northwest corner. While the firebox apparently remained the same size, the fireplace was entirely re-pointed. The interior walls received a coat of plaster. The original surface treatment is not known. The roof has a wooden shingle covering added in the 1970s. This slave house is the only one located in Carter County, a very mountainous county with the exception of the Watauga River valley where the farm is located.

Washington County has a number of slave houses concentrated near the historic town of Jonesborough, the county seat. Just outside the town stands the Bowling Green Inn, an early nineteenth-century stagecoach inn. The Inn currently serves as a residence, but it once operated as both an inn and residence. South of the Inn, approximately 200' to 250' stands a brick and stone spring house that according to oral tradition housed and served as a workspace for slaves. The Inn is no longer owned by the family that built it in the early 1800s; however, the last member of that family who owned the property in the 1990s reported the family's oral tradition which states that slaves worked, held gatherings, and probably lived

in the small building. The fact that there is no fireplace in this structure does not totally preclude living in the building, as one may have existed at one time, though no evidence of one could be discerned during the inspection.

The building is a two story, single pen, brick structure with a full stone foundation, which serves as the spring house. Cut and rubble limestone blocks make up the first level, and the second level is brick in a five stretcher course common bond. It measures 25' x 16' 3" on the exterior. It has a north facing gable-front entrance on the second floor. Another entrance on the first level enters the spring house on the east side. The door on the second floor is a replacement constructed with wire nails, and the first level doorway had a sheet of plywood covering the opening at the time of the survey. Windows on the south, east and west elevations are all twentieth-century replacements. The standing seam metal roof dates to twentieth-century. The date of construction for the building is not known. However, the first section of the Inn dates to 1800, and the spring house likely dates sometime shortly thereafter. An interesting characteristic of the building is the fact that it sits against the hillside out of which the spring flows, but rising two stories with the creek bed and a limestone ledge surrounding it essentially isolates the second floor without a bridge built across the gap from the limestone ledge to the gable end door. A second door had no access, but time did not allow for inspection of porch or stair evidence.

North of Jonesborough, approximately five miles, stands a log slave house on the Deakins Farm. The building stands two stories in height, a single room wide, constructed with V-notched corners, and standing on stone piers. The long

walls and gable ends contain 14 logs from sill to plate. The house has several modern wood frame additions on three sides. The date of construction for the house and additions are not known. This building underwent a complete modernization in the late twentieth-century and currently serves as a residence. The owner allowed recording of the building, though the second floor was not inspected. The house measures 20' x 16' 6" on the exterior, and has a massive stone chimney on the north gable wall, though the firebox itself is rebuilt and mostly in-filled with brick. Two doors balance each other on the east and west walls. The doors themselves are modern elements but the openings may be historic. In the north gable two small one-over-one modern windows balance each other on either side of the chimney. Invasive investigations would be necessary to determine if door and window openings are original.

The slave house stands several hundred yards to the side and in front of the main house on the opposite side of Olde Boones Creek Road. The current owners stated that oral history suggests that the slave house served as the plantation kitchen. However, it is a very long way from the main house. Cooking for the white family was probably done in another structure closer to the main house or within the house itself. However, the log slave house could have served as a central kitchen for the slave population. The main house has a basement as evidenced by a door on the side, but access was not granted to inspect for a basement fireplace, which would have potentially signaled a slave living space.

Several miles south of the Deakins Farm, and just a few miles northwest of Jonesborough, sits the Allison Farm. This small farm complex has two log

slave buildings standing on the property which has remained in the family of the original settler since the early twentieth-century. The Allison Farm slave houses represent both one of the "typical" buildings in the database and one of the more interesting buildings with a dual function. The first log house sits in its original location near the farmhouse. The building stands two stories high, with each floor serving different functions. The log upper portion of the building served as a slave dwelling, while the stone first level sits over a spring and functioned as the spring house and dairy for the farm. The main house continues to get its water from the spring, which has never run dry according to the current owner, an eighth generation descendant of the original settler. The main house dates to 1831 but according to family tradition the slave house/spring house was built sometime before 1830. Perhaps the log building stood as the family home before the family completed the brick house in 1831. The original settler cleared the farm in 1800 as a 600 acre land grant from the state of North Carolina for Revolutionary War service. The descendants do not know the number of slaves owned by the Allisons during the antebellum period.

The family oral history states that the last female slave, known as Aunt Sally, who lived in the building had a loom in the southeast corner of her home. Sally served as the weaver to the Allison family and other slaves, weaving flax for linen. Her house is a single pen, log building sitting on a high, continuous stone foundation. It is a gable front, v-notched structure measuring 16' x 14' on the exterior. Access to the interior was not granted for the survey. The remains of a stone chimney sit on the east long wall, as opposed to either of the gable ends.

The south gable serves as the front with the door at the southwest corner. The north gable end holds the entrance to lower level spring house. The roof has a standing seam metal cover attached with wire nails, and dates to the twentieth-century. The front porch is a modern construction with wire nails. A window on the north side has a double-hung six-over-six wooden sashes constructed with cut nails and pegs. Hand wrought pintles on the edges of the frame indicate it once had shutters. The building sits on the edge of a steep slope allowing ground level entry to the upper and lower floors without stairs.



Figure 3.2 The Allison farm slave house/spring house, with the Allison house in the background. Jonesborough vicinity, Washington County.

The front gable has eleven rows of weatherboards all held with cut nails. The north gable has ten rows of weatherboards with 6" exposures all held with cut nails. Both gables have 4" barge boards. The walls all consist of eight logs from sill to plate. The floor, as seen from below in the spring house, consists of 6" to 7" sash sawn, tongue and groove boards. The floor joists are hewn, though measurements were not taken of the joist sizes. The door to the spring house is a four-board door, each being between 10" and 12" wide with the exception of one spacer board being 2" wide. Narrow grooves in the boards indicate they are hand planed. Two very long strap hinges at the top and bottom of the door probably are early features. The hinge pintles are wrought and driven into the door post and may be original elements. The boards are held to the battens with cut nails and the strap hinges are held with large round headed rivets. The right hand door post is a hewn heavy framing member, measuring 16" wide and 2" thick. It is pegged to the lintel. The left hand post is a modern replacement of two boards nailed together and toe nailed to the lintel.

A vent opening in the spring house sits in the upper southeast corner of the stone walls. The frame is pegged with wooden bars across the front. At the time of inspection it had plastic sheeting on the exterior. Each of the bars fit into a hole in the sill and lintel. The bars are obvious replacements; however, the vent opening may be an original feature of the building.

The front door frame has decorative molding and beaded edges. The window on the lower level also has decorative beadwork trimming. The front door is constructed with five, 8" hand planed, tongue and groove boards held with

cut nails. Remnants of white paint on the door and many of the logs demonstrate that the house had a coat of paint at one time. The door handle is a decoratively curved metal handle with thumb latch. The date of this feature is not known. Both the doors and north window have cut nails and probably are original elements. A few boards nailed on the logs to cover the spaces between logs suggest a level of weather proofing not seen in many of the log houses in the database. Some of the boards are tongue and groove similar to the door and floor boards. The boards covering the exterior are attached with cut nails. Nail holes in the logs suggest that most of the chinking spaces were covered at one time. Some of these boards also have the remains of white paint on them. It appears that not much of the building has changed except for the front porch.

This building is in a state of slow decay. The chimney stands only a few feet above grade and the fireplace is missing. At the time of survey the hole in the wall where the chimney once stood had a plywood and old lumber covering. The lumber and logs in that location are severely decayed. The window on the north side sits broken, letting in the elements. The chinking needs repair or replacement all around the building. The owner began some repairs to the building in the spring of 2002, but it was obvious the neglect had gone on for some time. The tin roof was only a few years old in 2002 and the front remains in good condition except for the weatherboards in the gable.

The second slave house on the Allison Farm sits in a field approximately one-quarter mile south and on the opposite side of the road from the first slave house. The owner stated that this building originally sat two miles away,

suggesting that it housed field slaves. When moved, the building functioned as a tobacco barn and had done so for several decades. At that time it had a tin roof and the chimney had severely deteriorated. The current chimney is a reconstruction with all the stones found at the location, but the original firebox size is unknown. Black tenants lived in this house until the 1920s and then white tenant farmers lived in it until just after World War II. The owner stated that according to family oral tradition, this building was constructed sometime in the 1840s. The current owner of the Allison Farm and his father moved the house to its current location in the mid 1970s to be used as a hunting and fishing cabin by the family and their friends.

The house is a single pen, story with a loft log building constructed with half dovetail notching. The first slave house has v-notched corners suggesting the two buildings date to different construction episodes, which the oral tradition corroborates. The loft is an original feature of the house according to the owner. It has a composite shingle roof added in the 1970s, and sits on a cinder block and stone pier foundation. The building measures 18' 8" x 16' on the exterior. The house has three doors, one on the front (south), one on the rear (north) and one on the west gable. The west door is slightly shorter than the others and probably is an addition from the period when the building served as a tobacco barn. The saw marks for cutting the doorway are clearly visible at the top of the opening. These types of marks are not visible in the two other doorways. The front door opening is most likely an original feature from its use as a slave house. The doorway on the back of the house may also be an original opening. There are two windows

flanking the front door. It is not known if those features are original to the structure, as all the window frames date to the 1970s. The roof-rafters are modern lumber but, according to the owner, the roof height remained the same after being moved. At the time of the survey the building stood in an excellent state of repair.

South and east of the Jonesborough in the small community of Lamar stands the Cox-Blair house. A small brick slave house sits behind the brick central passage house with modern ell. The date of construction for these two structures is unclear. A written history of the Lamar community insists that the house dates to the winter of 1814.¹¹ However, an inspection of the building uncovered no early construction techniques nor wrought nails in any of the woodwork. While the house is brick, inspections of wood framing members in the attic, under the floorboards, and in several closets, found no evidence that confirms the 1814 date. Only fully perfected machine cut nails were found in these locations. That being the case, the main house dates to no earlier than 1830 and the brick slave house probably dates to around the same time.

The slave house sits approximately 30' to 40' behind the main house facing the rear entrance. It stands one story with a single pen, constructed of seven stretcher course common bond and measures 18' 2" x 16' on the exterior. It has a single door on the front and one window on the back. The front door faces east towards the main house. Although a doorway opens on the rear of the house an examination determined that originally this opening held a window. The standing seam metal roof, the roofing members, and cement floor all date to c.1970. Attached to the south side of the house and running for a distance of 28' stands a

1970s addition for which a doorway was cut through the south wall. The addition spans a gap between the slave house and a two story brick smokehouse, part of the farm buildings ensemble. The 1970s addition created more space to convert the smokehouse and slave house into a residence. The slave house itself is in fair condition overall. Some loose bricks and joints needing re-pointing on the exterior mark the building's age. The firebox has suffered some damage, but overall is in fair condition and could be repaired to its original size with little trouble. The house stood empty at the time of the survey in early 2002.

South of Lamar and the Cox-Blair house stands a likely candidate as a slave house beside a mansion known as the Byrd-Brown house. The property apparently serves as a weekend retreat for the owners who could not be located. Recording took place but the slave house interior could not be inspected. The building is a semi-detached brick outbuilding standing 6' from the main house attached with a porch roof between the two buildings, creating a narrow dogtrot. The county historian called this building the washhouse.

The house has sequential six, seven, eight, and nine row stretcher course brick common bonding. The building appears to be a single story, one or two pen house with a root cellar beneath. It has an irregular inset shape with the east gable end of the house being narrower than the rest of the building. It is only 12' wide whereas the rest of the building stands 18' wide. If the eastern section has an interior partition wall the east room measures approximately 12' x 12'. The exterior measures 30' x 18' wide, except at the inset, which measures 12' wide. The inset does not appear to be an addition to the house. The brick bonding

matches running across the front, south facing walls, and the rear, north wall does not have a joint showing an addition onto the house.

Currently the house has a standing seam metal roof attached with wire nails. The front façade has one six-over-six double-hung, wood sash window. On the rear, two windows match the front in construction and size. The rear windows balance each other in size and distance from the corners. All windows have projecting wooden sills and wood lintels. Two doors enter the building, one on the south facing narrow front wall, and one on the inset wall facing east toward the main house. The existence of the second entrance possibly indicates that the east portion of the building functions as a separate room and may not be connected with an interior access door to the rest of the building.

A door to the root cellar can be found beside the chimney on the west side farthest away from the main house. The root cellar was not entered, but an exterior observation showed a low ceiling just less than 6' tall. The cellar is an excavated space below the building. The building stands in good condition. The brickwork has no noticeable failures, though the metal roof is rusting heavily. A concrete porch attaches the building to the main house in the dogtrot. The chimney does not measure large enough for a typical five foot wide kitchen fireplace, suggesting that cooking occurred in another location. If that is the case then the oral tradition of this structure being the washhouse seems plausible.

Just outside the limits of Johnson City the Tennessee Historical Commission operates an historic museum property called The Tipton-Haynes House. The extant slave-associated room is a basement kitchen built below the

log building as an original element of its construction in the late eighteenth-century. Curators at the site estimate the construction date as 1784. Records indicate that Colonel Tipton brought at least two slaves with him from Woodstock, Virginia when he moved to East Tennessee. He paid a poll tax on two slaves in the late 1780s and that is the evidence the site uses for interpreting the number of slaves living here. As there were no other known outbuildings at the time, historians at the site interpret the room below the house as a slave living space as well as the kitchen. The Tipton-Haynes kitchen room is the earliest slave associated structure in the Tennessee database.

The room measures 16' x 17' and currently has a brick floor, though it is not historic brick; the original floor surface is unknown, but suspected to have been dirt. The room's walls of cut and rubble limestone serve as the foundation for the 35' x 25' log, two pen house above. The building received a restoration in the mid 1970s and unfortunately masons completely rebuilt the fireplace at that time. No plans for the "restoration" of the fireplace were made available so its original size could not be determined. It has a large stone hearth projecting upwards from the floor several inches that may or may not be an original feature. The fireplace opening stands 6' wide, 3 ½' tall, with a working pot crane and other implements. The room is interpreted as a space for slave living and work. A bed and table indicate the fact that someone lived in this room. An interesting feature of this room is the fact that it has no windows. The only natural light would have come from the open door. The current door does not have a window in it. During cold weather the fireplace and candles would have provided the only

light. Checking on a meal in a boiling pot with a candle must have been a difficult experience. What if the cook spilled candle wax into the pot unknowingly? No natural light and no air circulation may have required the cook to keep the door open a majority of the time. The exterior access for the room has a flight of stairs leading up to the lawn and from thence the cook had to carry food to a rear door for service in the dining room. The current door to the basement appears to be a modern replica board door attached to interior battens.

An 1857 woodcut from *Harper's Magazine* shows the Tipton house with a small domestic looking structure beside it. Site historians believe the small structure to be a slave house. Just prior to recording the property in 2002 the state purchased a log house locally and began its restoration as a place to interpret slavery. The house is not an historic slave residence however. The basement kitchen is an interpreted slave space, The only one in East Tennessee. The only museums in this part of the state are Tipton Haynes and the Deery Inn. At the time of the survey the Deery Inn buildings had little interpretation.

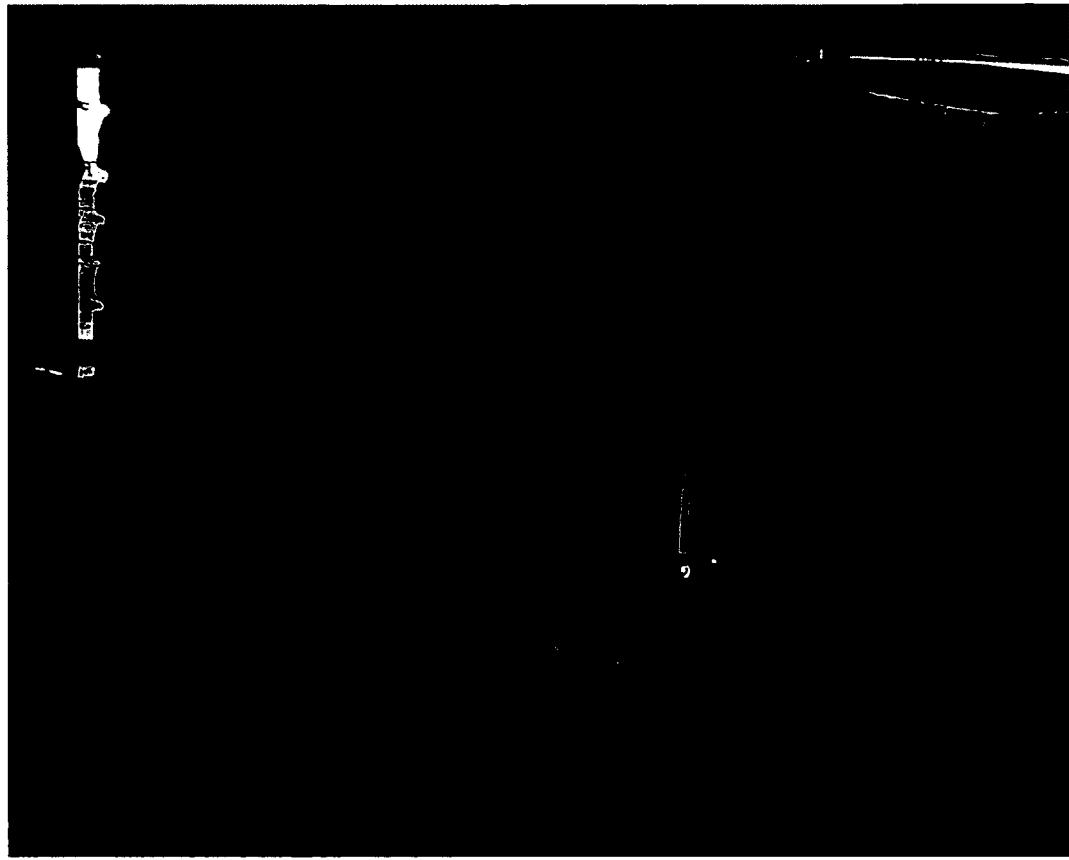


Figure 3.3 The Tipton-Haynes house basement kitchen. The floor is a 1970s brick installation. To facilitate interpretation the museum installed recessed lighting because the room does not have a window.

In Greene County a number of slave houses can be found within the broad Nolichucky River Valley between the Unaka Mountains and the ridges of Bays Mountain. A few miles south of the Washington County line lies the Henry and Peter Earnest farm house on Route 351, approximately one-half mile south of the village of Chuckey. The farm house sits on the south bank of the Nolichucky River, just across the Route 351 bridge. Operated by the same family since the late eighteenth-century, the farm is listed in the National Register of Historic Places as part of a multiple properties nomination complex of buildings and farming landscape.¹²

The Earnest Farm house is a large rambling brick structure consisting of two parts, a central block I-house constructed about 1820 and a rear ell, the oldest portion of which dates to 1800.¹³ The two-story ell sits on a hill and it steps down to follow the slope. The earliest portion of the wing sits attached to the rear of the main house with an 1850s addition attached down slope. The ground level room farthest from the main house served as a slave living space, according to Wilhelmina Williams, a descendant of the builder.¹⁴ The date of construction for the slave room in the wing is sometime in the 1850s as it is part of the 1850s addition.

The slave room measures 19' x 18' on the interior and has a 7' 3" covered porch on the front, or east side. The seven stretcher course common bond walls sit on a brick foundation. The floor is also made with brick. Two windows light the room, each balancing the other, one on the east and one on the west wall, or the front and rear walls. The west window has two-over-two double-hung wooden sashes. The sashes appear slightly too large for the frame, suggesting that they are replacements. The glass appears to be early twentieth-century since it has a few waves but no bubbles. Above the window frame sits a cement lintel, therefore it too is a twentieth-century replacement. The east window frame has pegged construction, though it is missing its sashes and glass. The opening had a plastic covering at the time of inspection.

The single door into the rooms sits at the southeast corner along the east wall. The door frame has pegged construction matching the windows and is probably an original element. The door itself has 12 vertical boards, and they

appear to be hand-planed. The door is also probably an original feature. The fireplace sits in the center of the north wall. It measures 3' high and 3' wide, too small for a kitchen fireplace, but large enough to heat the space adequately. Above this space sits the meat curing room where meat was salted and smoked for the Earnest family. The salt trough still sits along the east wall and the wooden floor is suffering tremendous decay and efflorescence from salt buildup. The fireplace in the slave room below served as the source of smoke through a set of holes in the chimney breast wall of the upper room. This feature is an interesting example of vernacular design where a domestic fireplace also served to cure meat. It also meant constant tending of the fire for smoking rather than cooking purposes.

Beside the slave room to the south is a second room that may have served as a domicile for slaves. Williams stated that slaves may have lived in both ground-floor rooms. Though the second room was not accessible, a chimney on the end wall of that room potentially indicates a fireplace in that room. Unfortunately entry was not permitted. Documentary research shows that in 1850 Peter Earnest owned at least 8 slaves and by the 1860 census he owned 14 and held 3 slave houses.¹⁵ Earnest might also have had individuals living in the main block of the house for service to the family while others lived in houses near the fields.

Less than 10 miles south of the Earnest farm, and also on Route 351, sits the Snapp-Ricker house. The Snapps were a prominent family in Greene County during the antebellum period. The slave house is a brick, two pen, single story,

gable front building sitting within 50' behind the main house. It measures 31' 10" x 14' 8" on the exterior. The 5 stretcher course common bond walls sit on a brick foundation. At the time of inspection the building had recently received a new standing seam metal roof. The chimney stands on the south wall, or rear of the building. A small modern porch addition at the south-east corner protects a door at that location. The building has three doors and two windows all of which have modern frames or are completely new elements. Only the north gable wall entrance is an original opening, and served as the only door into the house. The building underwent a full rehabilitation in 2000 and all the major elements of the house are replacements except the walls. William Ricker, the current property owner stated that the previous owners used the building as a garage. Ricker opened the two doorways on the east and west sides, historically they were windows. The fireplace and chimney received complete rebuilding, but on the same plan as the original elements.¹⁶ The fireplace measures 30" across, making this a small fireplace used primarily for heating.

The recent rehab work included plastering and painting the interior walls. An interior dividing wall between the pens is an original element to the house according to the owner. The north room measures 14' 3" x 13' 2' and the south room 15' 4" x 13' 2". The form of the original windows is unknown as all window openings have modern frames in them. The arrangement of one fireplace and an interior door of communication suggests a single family lived in this house in a hall and parlor design. The front door faces the main house approximately 30' away which in turn suggests house slaves lived here.

West of the Snapp-Ricker farm, approximately eight miles, stands the Fermanaugh-Ross farm on the east side of Route 93 near Fairview, and approximately 6 miles northwest of Greeneville. The Fermanaugh-Ross farm has a single building related to slavery standing within 30' of the main house. According to the Tennessee Century Farm application for the property, William Ross built the main house in about 1820.¹⁷

The kitchen/cookhouse is a braced frame, single pen, single story gable front structure on a continuous stone and brick foundation. Stone lies under the front and sides of the building, but the rear foundation is all brick. Part of the framing system can be seen at the northwest corner where the weatherboards are missing. A 1' wide and 1' thick sill with 4" to 6" posts, and a 4" corner brace could be viewed. Some of the weatherboards are attached with cut nails with some repaired or replaced with wire nails. Most boards have a 5" exposure. The roof has a modern standing seam metal covering attached with wire nails.

The building has 2 doors with the south door facing the main house 30' away. That doorway probably served as the main entrance. The door itself has 8 tongue and groove boards attached with cut nails to interior battens. Long hinges on the inside of the door may be original features. The door frame construction has both cut and wire nails. The doorway on the east side has a 6 board tongue and groove door constructed entirely with cut nails.

The building has 2 windows, 1 on the rear at the northwest corner facing a log smokehouse, which stands only a few feet away, and another window to the right or north of the door on the east side. Both have six-over-six double-hung,

wood sash windows. The window frame on the west side is constructed with cut nails with some wire nail repairs. Some of the glass appears to be older panes. The window frame on the east is constructed entirely with wire nails and the glass is all modern. This window may not be an original feature.

The chimney has a brick stack with a stone fireplace and base. The firebox stands 4' tall and 4' 8" wide. The historic information available for the property suggests that the building served as the kitchen and cook's home. The large fireplace supports that supposition. It is larger than the typical domestic fireplace, which generally are only a few feet wide. The building measures 20' x 16' 3" on the exterior, with 6" walls making the interior 19' 6" x 15' 9". Much like the Snapp-Ricker house the slaves who lived in this building probably spent part of their time working as domestics, or if a family lived here, the wife probably cooked and worked in the main house, while the husband worked in the fields. While the historic information states the main house dates to 1820, the fully perfected machine cut nails in the small frame house construction date this building to after 1830.

South of the Fermanaugh-Ross farm in the town of Greeneville stands the stately brick Dickson-Williams mansion, a large and imposing brick structure begun in 1815 and completed by 1821 for Catharine and Alexander Williams. Catharine's father had the mansion constructed to be a showplace and as a wedding present for the couple.¹⁸ Currently the property serves as an historic house museum. An attached half-width wing on the south gable end of the house contains several rooms dedicated to slave living and work. The brick wing stands

three stories tall, has 3 bays with a single end chimney on the south gable wall. The ground level has an entry on the front and two, six-over-six double-hung, wood sash windows on the rear. The second, or main floor, has a door and 2 widows on the front. The door sits on the northeast corner closest to the main house and opposite a duplicate door on the rear wall. The rear door also has a 3 light transom above the doorway, which the front door does not. The front and rear elevations have 2 windows each that balance each other with six-over-six double-hung, wood sashes. The third floor has 3 windows each on the front and rear facades with six-over-three wooden sashes. Two additional windows sit beside the fireplace on the gable end with six-over-three wooden sashes. Many of the windows and doors in the building are replacements dating from a full restoration of the house which started in 1986. The building had earlier served as a school, a tobacco factory, a hospital, and a hotel.

The second or main level of the wing served as the kitchen and Williams' family dining room, according to the museum's interpretation. The museum's director stated that the third floor served as a slave living space.¹⁹ While it is an atypically large room, measuring 42' x 15' 8", it may have served as living space for more than one family or a number of female domestic slaves. The museum displays this room with several beds and a yarn wheel. A 3' wide fireplace stands in the north gable wall. The information pamphlet available for the house also describes a landscaped garden with "a row of servant houses beginning at the main house led to the icehouse on the corner."²⁰ The pamphlet and museum staff had no evidence of how these houses looked or their construction type.

A small room on the third floor in the house's main block also likely served as a slave living space, or just as a sleeping space to take care of the white family's needs in the night. This room sits between the parents' bedroom and one of the children's rooms. It is smaller than the others, though unfortunately measurements were not allowed, and it does not have a fireplace. While the curators admit that this room probably had a slave purpose, at the time of inspection the museum displayed the space as a sitting room with a daybed and curtains. The house has other spaces that might prove to be slave living or work spaces within the Williams' home. The attic has gable end windows lighting that space and the basement of both the main block and the wing have exterior doors and windows suggesting these spaces could have either housed slaves or served as work spaces. Unfortunately staff did not grant access for an inspection of those areas in the house. The room in the hallway and the slave living space in the wing are too gentrified with ornate architectural details and frilly daybeds. While the Williams family certainly had the means to live well, the functional spaces, and especially slave related spaces, in a house of the early nineteenth-century likely had no pretense on decoration. The slave room's architectural details are all wrong. At the time of recording it had a classically decorated mantelpiece with brass candlesticks and a clock, an electric chandelier, painted baseboard molding, painted walls, modern curtains and window shades. The beds in the room were an eclectic arrangement of vernacular and formal styles with a side table and a mirror. Of the slave interpreted spaces in the state this one is without a doubt the most egregiously incorrectly appointed. About the only thing in the room a former

occupant might have recognized is the unfinished wood floorboards. Returning to the thought of how the enslaved may have lived on this property it must be noted that historic records indicate a row of slave houses sat nearby. While this house existed as a showpiece rather than a plantation seat, the lives of the enslaved in the house included a wider circle of people living in a small quarter attached to the formal landscape.

Also in the town of Greeneville stands the Joseph Brown home, an antebellum estate, now surrounded by twentieth-century development. The main house is a large brick structure which has a single frame slave house standing approximately 75' beside it. Construction of the house started in the early 1850s and was completed by 1855. The slave house probably dates to the same period. The current owner, Wylie Milligan, is a descendant of the builder. Milligan has several historic photographs of the house and the slave house dating to the late nineteenth-century. Two photographs show the slave house in about 1895. The photographs depict the slave house with a wood shingle roof, though, at the time of inspection, it had a metal covering that resembled shingles. The historic photographs also show the roof of an icehouse, which once stood several feet in front of the slave house. That area is now the Milligan's driveway.

The slave house stands as a one-story with a loft, two-pen, frame building painted white. The house sits on corner piers and measures 20' 5" x 16' 5" on the exterior. The building has three exterior doors and two windows on the first floor. Two doors reside on the front and back (west and east walls), and one on the north side facing the main house. The west side is interpreted as the front and the

door on that wall is a twentieth-century replacement. The north door has board and battens construction with a rim lock, and may be an original element. A third doorway on the rear, or east wall, likely also dates to the twentieth-century. Its opening measures 3" larger than the other two doors. While the opening may be an original element, only invasive investigations can determine that fact. Two windows can be found on the front or west façade balancing the doorway. The windows have six-over-six double-hung, wooden sashes. The historic photograph shows these same windows demonstrating that they date at least to 1895, if not earlier. A brick chimney stands at the south end of the house in both photographs, and retains its original location. The house currently has a porch on the rear or southeast side, with an additional room attached at the northeast corner. These additions date to the late twentieth-century. The additional room is not accessed from inside the house, rather from an exterior entrance on the rear porch.



Figure 3.4 Joseph Brown slave house, Greeneville, Green County. One of the few frame slave houses in the survey database.

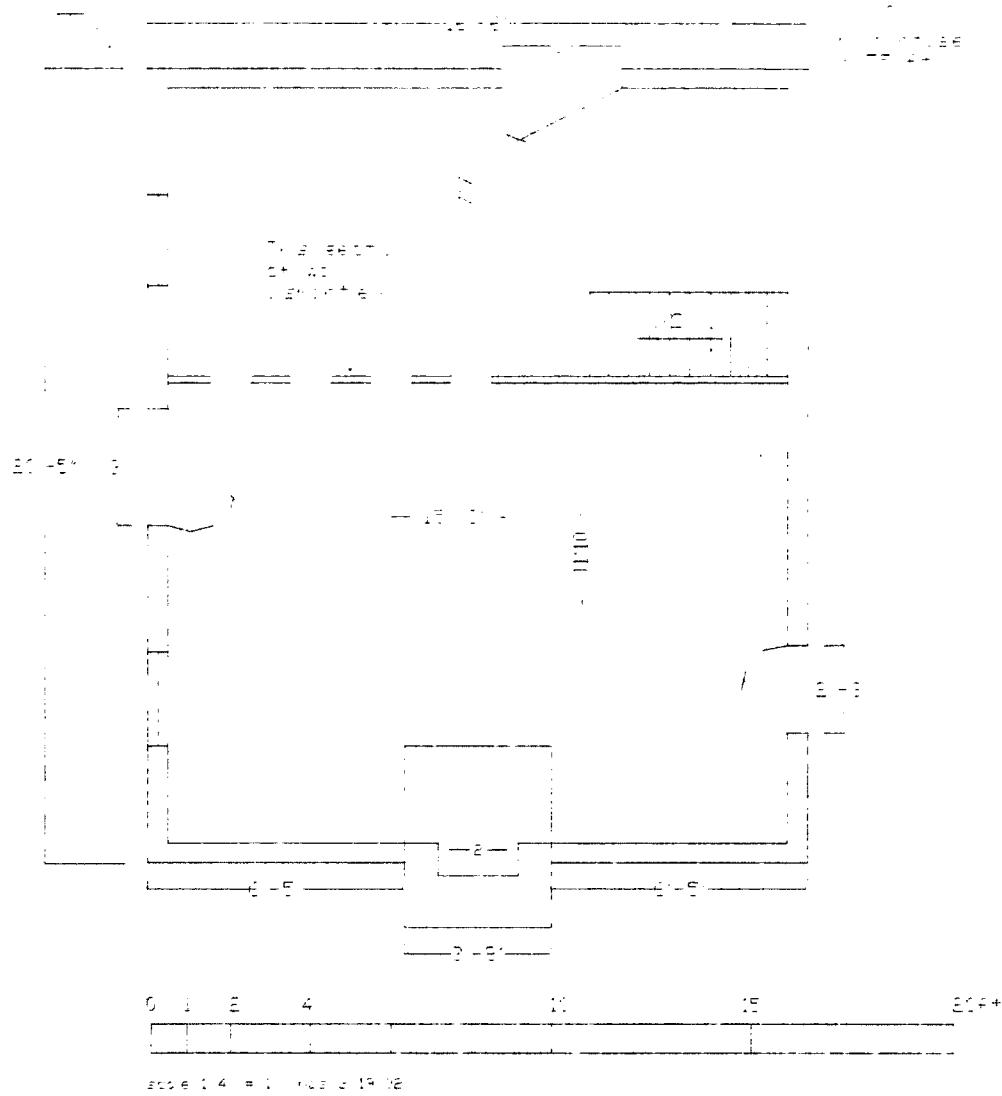


Figure 3.5 Planview of the Joseph Brown slave house, Greeneville, Green County. The house has a hall and parlor design with one heated room.

On the interior, a wooden plank partition wall divides the house into two rooms. Currently only half of the wall survives on the east side. This wall has tongue and groove boards, 12" to 14" wide, attached with cut nails. According to Milligan, the wall at one time spanned the full length of the building and had a doorway between the rooms. The exterior walls are covered with hand-planed

horizontal weather boards held with cut nails that average 10" to 12" in width.

Brick nogging located in the south wall near the fireplace adds insulation though this was the only location it was found during a renovation of the house several years prior to inspection.

The north room does not have a heat source and measures 7' 7" wide, while the south room with a fireplace measures 11' 10" wide. Both rooms measure 15' 3" long. The fireplace in the south room received rehabilitation work, but the size appears to be original. It is a coal-burning fireplace, as are all the fireplaces in the main house. The mantel over the fireplace has wire nails in its construction, making this a later addition.

The south room has a tongue and groove board ceiling constructed with cut nails. Though the boards are not as wide as the partition wall, the ceiling is probably an early element of the house. The north room does not have a ceiling, the floor joists of the loft are left exposed, and the bottoms of the loft floorboards visible. The north room contains a set of stairs immediately adjacent to the partition wall, which accesses the loft. The loft is a single large space without any heat source. Two windows light the room, one in each gable facing north and south. They are four light, single-sash casement windows. However, the historic photo does not show the window in the south gable, indicating these are later features. There is enough headroom for an adult to stand up inside the loft at the peak of the roof. The stairs appear to be in their original location, and while some treads have been replaced, many retain their original positions with cut nails.

The uncovered walls and joists in the loft expose several construction details of the building. The house is constructed with 5 ½" x 3 ½" wide studs, mortised and pegged into the plate. The plate is a 6" x 4" single piece of lumber. No evidence of any interior wall boards could be found in the loft; only the exterior weatherboards exist for insulation. The rafters extend beyond the plate and are boxed-in. The rafters have cut outs to fit over and rest on the plate. The loft floorboards are tongue and groove, held in place with cut nails and measure up to one-foot wide. Floorboards on the lower level are also tongue and groove, between 6" and 12" in width and held in place with cut nails. The basement of the main house contained a kitchen in the antebellum era, which included a dumb waiter. That room has since been converted into a modern kitchen. This is another good example of a room in the basement of the main house where slaves worked and possibly lived. The basement room was not measured or photographed as It has been altered in size and shape, no longer appearing as it did historically. Milligan does not know either the number of slaves that lived on this property or the size of the farm. His ancestors who settled this property came from North Carolina, probably with a Revolutionary War land grant. The property today is just a few acres in size. However, the 1860 census data shows that Joseph Brown (also listed as John) held seven slaves and one slave house.²¹ The ages of the individuals and the fact that one is listed as mulatto and the rest as black demonstrates that they were not all related. One person, a 40 year old male appears to have hired-out, as a notation in the column for name of slave owner states; "employer." The others range in ages from a 20 year old female, a 16 year

old male listed as mulatto, a 14 year old male, a 12 year old male, and two female children 10 and 4 years of age. They may not have all lived in this one house; someone may have stayed in the main house. Given the ages of the enumerated individuals the occupant(s) of the main house likely would have been the teenaged boys.

Research into bills of sale in Greene County show that Brown purchased a male slave name Sandy in 1852, but the deed does not list his age. More importantly, John Brown and a William R. Brown purchased a female slave named Betsy and her 27 month old child Mary also in 1852. The deed lists Betsy's age as 32 meaning she would have been approximately 40 and Mary approximately 10 at the 1860 census.²² Neither of them appear in either John or William's 1860 roles. The people living on Joseph Brown's property appear to be different individuals. The enslaved who lived with Brown were mostly young and may or may not have been related. The single house available for all the individuals has more square footage available than many other houses in the survey database, but this example may be how most enslaved lived in Tennessee in a smaller holding all living in a single building.

In Jefferson County along the Holston and French Broad River valleys the survey located two slave houses. The first resides on the John Fain farm near the town of Dandridge, and less than one mile from the French Broad River. The Fain house contains several rooms in the basement that likely housed slaves and a four room slave house stands approximately 75' behind the main house.

John Fain constructed his dwelling in 1843 as a two story double pile central passage I-house with an attached wing.²³ Separate stairs within and outside the house suggest that the wing served as a living space separate from the main part of the house. Perhaps it served as home for one of Fain's grown children and family. The main block has a basement with four rooms, (the wing does not have a basement). The central room in the basement mirrors the long entrance hall above, with two rooms on the west and one to the east. Separate exterior entrances on the east and west access the basement rooms, as well as an interior set of stairs entering the hall. The southwest room has a fireplace on the west wall, an exterior entrance, and two windows on the south wall, which is the front of the house. The room measures 19' 8" x 16' 6". The exterior door is a modern aluminum door and was locked, which prevented inspection of the opening and determination if the opening is historic or not. The windows on the south wall are modern replacements with a two large panes. The interior entrance door on the east wall leads into the central stairway hall. The dividing wall between this and the northwest room is constructed of brick and appears to be a load-bearing wall. At one time a doorway created access between the two rooms, but it has since been partially in-filled to create a window between the two west rooms.

The northwest room has an entrance from the stair hall, but no windows or fireplace. Against the west wall reside two thin support piers for the fireplace in the room above. It appears that a doorway formerly accessed the exterior in the northwest corner of the house, but has since been in-filled. This room had a door to the southwest room, now partially filled to create a window into the other

space. The fact that a door existed between the west rooms suggests that this unheated space may have served as a work space, or perhaps a children's sleeping room.

On the east side of the house the room spans the full width of the building to create a single room measuring 31' 2" long by 13' 4" wide. This room has a fireplace along the east wall, 4' from the southeast corner and two widows along the south wall. An exterior entrance opens on the east wall, 5 1/2' to the north of the fireplace. This entrance has an interior opening door to a set of six stone steps leading up to an exterior door in an 8' shed addition. The exterior door is an historic element. It is a board and batten door constructed with eight tongue and groove boards and attached with cut nails to the support battens. The interior door is a modern aluminum replacement. Also along the east wall in this room, and north of the exterior entrance, stands what appears to be the support base for a fireplace in the room above. The windows in this room are modern replacements. The openings measure 3' 8" long, and currently have two or three panes of glass. The interior entrance for this room is on the west wall and leads into the central hall containing the stairway. The presence of fireplaces in the basement suggest slave living and work in the basement. The two-story house above has bedrooms for the white family. It is interesting to note the exterior entrances to the basement rooms, allowing movement in and out of that part of the house without interruption of activities upstairs. The basement rooms all have concrete floors today; the historic flooring is not known.

Approximately 75' to the southeast of the main house stands a one-story, four-pen brick barracks-like slave house. This structure, probably constructed at the same time as the main house in 1843, has twentieth-century modifications but retains several rooms in the nineteenth-century design. The building has an alternating five and six stretcher course common bond, and sits on an east-west axis. It had a standing seam metal roof at the time of inspection. The front of the house faces to the south towards a work yard area behind the main house. Each pen had a fireplace, one window, and one door. The window openings are all on the north or rear wall and the doors on the south or front wall. The door openings have iron lintels integrated into the brick. Modern owners converted the east pen into a garage, but the other three retain their historic design including the fireplaces. The west pen was not accessed however. Only the two central pens could be accessed for measurements and photographs. The third pen from the west has a root cellar under the floorboards. Ground hog disturbance had uncovered a low brick wall just to the south of the fireplace which appeared to be the side of the cellar.

Each pen had a fireplace, though the chimneys have been removed and the entire east pen fireplace dismantled. Much of the framing elements in the windows are post 1880 as they are constructed with wire nails. The wooden sills, however, could be original elements as they are integrated into the brickwork. On at least one of the windows a visible a line of green paint indicates that an earlier window treatment using green paint existed. This line could also be a result of painting shutters that are no longer extant; however, I did not see conclusive

evidence of shutters. The woodwork in the doorway of the west pen may be an original element. It is pegged with a metal lintel above the door. The brickwork above the door appears to be original; the same is true for the doorway in the second pen, but not true for the third pen from the west, which received modern re-working.

The room interiors have a plaster coating on the brick walls. The date of the plasterwork is not known. Graffiti in the second pen from the west has a date of 1843, the construction date for the main house and probably the slave house as well. The fireplaces in the second and third pens from the west exhibit evidence that each had a mantel at one time. The plaster stops above the firebox in a straight line and nailing blocks exist on both sides of the fireplace. Evidence of interior doors between the pens could not be found. An interesting architectural detail of this building is that it has penciling on the mortar joints on all sides, a decorative element not usually found on slave dwellings. The smokehouse, which stands about 50' to the east, has penciling on the two longest walls and the main house has penciling on all sides. Penciling on work buildings such as a slave house and a smokehouse demonstrates that John Fain considered them important aesthetic elements in his estate's landscape.

According to the current owners John Fain made his fortune as a merchant in the Dandridge area during the 1840s and owned more than 700 acres of land. Deborah German, a graduate student at the University of Tennessee wrote a paper on standing slave houses in east Tennessee and reports that Fain owned 62 slaves in 1850.²⁴ While other Fains appear in the 1860 census, John does not. However,

62 people would have been a very sizable slave holding in east Tennessee. How many other slave houses existed on the property are not known, but the four pens in the standing house and two potential rooms in the basement only adds-up to 6 rooms. If that were the extent of living space available it would have meant 10 or more people per room. Fain likely had other houses, though where on the property is not known.

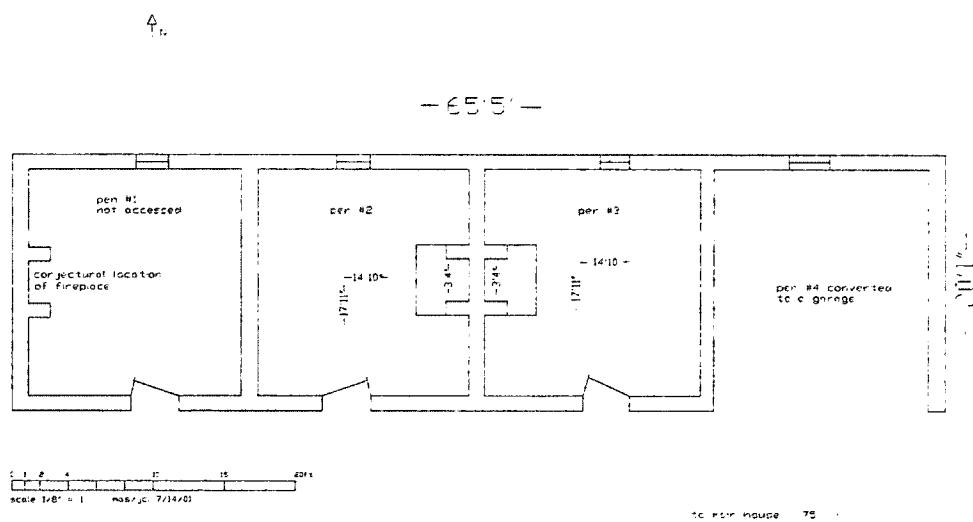


Figure 3.6 Planview of the John Fain slave house, Dandridge, Jefferson County.

To the west of Dandridge and the Fain house lies Highway 11, the main road through the valley until construction of interstate 81 in the 1970s. Near the town of New Market and on Highway 11 stands the only remaining vestige of the Brazelton plantation. It is a brick slave house standing only a few yards from the road. Three other houses like this one along with the main house fell to the bulldozers when the highway came through town in the 1970s.²⁵ The slave house stands approximately 200' to the south of the New Market post office. The owner could not be located so interior access was not possible. It is a one and a half story

brick building and measures 30' 3" x 26' 2" on the exterior. Two small windows in each gable on either side of the chimneys suggest the presence of a loft. Two doors and two windows on the front of the house suggest that it is a two-pen building. It has a six stretcher course common bond construction. A standing seam metal roof, which at the time of inspection had a coat of red paint, covers the house. Deborah German also recorded the Brazelton slave house, and although she too did not gain interior access, she estimated the interior room measurement.²⁶ German estimated that each room measured approximately 18' x 14', or 252 square feet. A chimney sits at each gable end of the structure, along with a single window on the main level and 2 windows in a loft.

The front porch roof and framework postdate the antebellum period as they have wire nails in their construction. That is not to say that a porch did not exist during slavery. The porch base and floor construction of brick, similar to that used in the house, suggests this could be an early feature. If this particular porch is not original it is probable that a previous porch existed, as the door thresholds stand more than 1' above grade, necessitating either a stoop or a porch to enter the house.

The rear wall of the house building has a decorative stepped cornice with molded ogee curved bricks. The fact that a similar cornice on the front does not exist, lends further credence to the supposition that a porch existed on the front initially. The presence of a porch makes a stepped cornice difficult to build around and the cornice would not have been visible except when standing on the porch. Other decorative elements on the house included board and batten shutters,

which at the time of inspection sat closed, therefore it was impossible to determine if the window sashes are original or not. The shutters have holdbacks, but their nailing blocks apparently were installed after initial construction of the building, as the holes are carved out of the bricks. They are not integrated with the brick courses. The blocks have round holes for large screws attaching the holdbacks, which suggest the holdbacks are later additions.

A door at the southwest corner of the house is a later alteration. The opening originally served as a window. Bricks on the lower half of the doorway had to be broken to enlarge the opening, whereas those on the top create a smooth line the size of a window. In addition, the entire south side of the opening shows signs of alteration, while the north side has numerous repairs. However, the window was not at the same height as its paired window to the north. The brickwork above the opening does not appear reworked, which demonstrates the window opening is an original element of the house. The window on the north side is three courses down from the cornice and the top of the door is four courses from the cornice. The width of the opening is 2' 10" which is narrower than the other window openings, which all measure 3' 9"; however, it appears that the opening experienced several stages of alteration. The house has decorative penciling on the front and back, which, along with the cornice demonstrates that Brazelton intentionally decorated his slave houses and likely incorporated them into his landscaping scheme.

Deborah German's research discovered that William Brazelton constructed his mansion in 1832. We can assume then, that the slave house also dates to the

early 1830s. In 1850 Brazelton owned 48 slaves and in 1860 he owned 56, indicating that several more slave houses existed on this plantation.²⁷ According to Beverly Townsend, a resident of Nashville and a descendant of the Brazelton slaves, the main house had several rooms in the basement where slaves lived. One of her older brothers visited the site before the state Department of Transportation demolished the main house and told of seeing the slave rooms in the basement.²⁸

In the French Broad River Valley of Sevier County, southeast of Knoxville sits a nineteenth-century plantation house near the village of Boyds Creek, built by John Chandler around 1825. At the time of construction Chandler's plantation, Wheatlands, had over 3,000 acres, but today what remains is a single family residence with only 12 acres. Chandler constructed the main house with rear ell wing on land inherited from his father. The first floor of the wing holds the kitchen and dining room while upstairs two slave rooms reside on the second floor. The north room sits above the dining room and closest to the main block of the house. The south room sits above the kitchen, furthest away from the house. The south room holds the only entrance to the second floor of the wing. A set of narrow stairs ascends to the southeast corner of the room from the kitchen. Later owners cut an entrance through the back wall of the house to the north room.

The current design of the wing's second floor has two bedrooms and a bath that the current owners surmise received a reconfiguration in the 1960s. They speculate that originally the second floor of the ell contained only one room; however, the dining room chimney rises through the second floor and could have

provided a fireplace and a dividing wall to create two rooms. That wall is now the back of a shower and is covered with modern wallboard. Without destructive analysis it is impossible to determine if a dividing wall existed historically, creating two rooms. The kitchen chimney rises up along the back wall of the south room and could likewise have provided a fireplace for that room. A modern closet constructed of wood frame and wallboard now covers that wall. However, the fact that the modern feature is frame, and has no brick surround, suggests that a fireplace did not exist in the south room. Perhaps because of heat rising out of the kitchen, the builder did not consider it necessary to put a fireplace in the south room.

The drawing of the ell's second floor reflects a two-room plan based on the fact that the dining room chimney created an easy room division and may have given the north room a fireplace. Each room had one window on the east wall and the south room probably had two on the west, while the north room had just one window on the west wall. The modern window configurations of two-over-two double-hung wood sash windows probably date to the 1960s. The second floor room(s) of the ell probably served as living space for domestic slaves. In 1850 John Chandler owned 700 improved acres, 3,000 unimproved acres and 14 slaves. In 1860 he owned 32 slaves, according to the census records, placing him in the planter rank of Tennessee slaveowners.²⁹

In Loudon County, near the Little Tennessee River stands the Albert Lenoir plantation house. The house sits on a rise above the river a few miles west of the town of Loudon. The Lenoir house is a large brick home with a Greek-

Revival portico on the main facade. Behind the house, approximately 100' stand two barracks-like brick slave houses. The main house and slave houses reportedly date to 1857.³⁰ The two slave buildings face south towards the rear yard of the house and do not face the house directly.

The west slave house stands furthest from the main house and currently serves as a rental residence. The east house has experienced rough treatment in recent years. Previous owners demolished the rear wall of the east half of the building to create a garage and storage shed. The former gabled roof was modified to a shed roof, sloping to the rear of the structure. Despite these changes to the roof and one half of the building, the two western pens retain a great deal of historical integrity. The door frames and windows in the western half appear to be original fabric. In addition, the fireplaces and interior doorways remain unchanged.

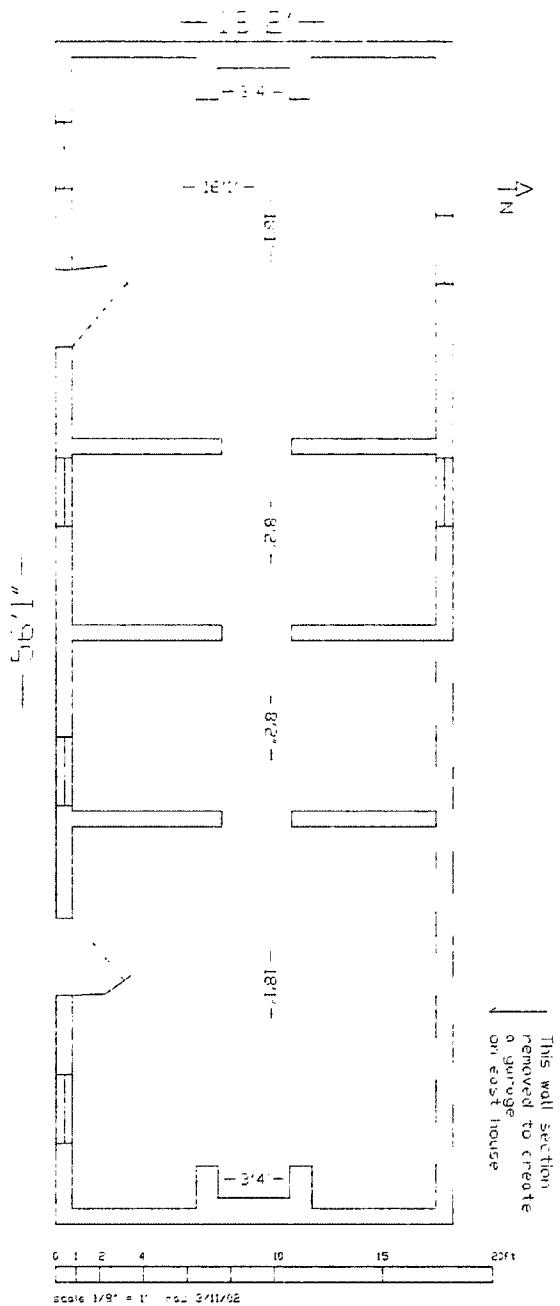


Figure 3.7 Planview of the east slave house at the Albert Lenoir plantation, Loudon vicinity, Loudon County.

The two slave houses have very similar plans. The single difference is that the west house has a partial basement beneath the west side of the building. The following description reflects the east house design, but according to the owner,

the west house had the same design before the twentieth-century alterations. The buildings are long rectangular structures sitting on an east-west axis to the north, or rear, of the main house. They both measure 56' 1" x 18' 2" on the exterior. Before alterations the houses had symmetrical six-bay fronts with two doors and four windows. On the north, or rear sides, sit four windows. The west house has an additional door and window on the lower level north side and an additional door to the basement on the south, or front. Each house has three interior partitions creating four rooms and a fireplace on each gable end. All of the partitions have a central doorway allowing passage between the rooms. The two interior rooms do not have fireplaces and are much smaller than the end rooms, measuring 8' 2" long and 16' 1" wide. The end rooms measure 18' 1" x 16' 1". The interior rooms have windows on the north and south walls, with the north windows being centered in the rooms. The south windows are offset near the west wall in the west room and the east wall in the east room. How the central unheated rooms were used is not known, but probably as sleeping spaces.³¹ If each building held two families, the question arises, of why a door between the small rooms exists. Those doors would have given access to others' living space. The south doors each open into single rooms with a fireplace on the east and west ends of the buildings, which likely functioned as the main living space for a family or group of people. The fireplaces sit centered on the east and west gable end-walls. Each room has a window on the south, beside the door, and each end room has a window on the north wall.

The doors and windows remaining on the east house appear to be original fabric. The west house has replacement doors but potentially original window sashes. The east house retains much of its original features despite the fact that no maintenance occurs on the west rooms. The windows have 16-over-12 double-hung, wood sashes. All the windows in the east house are missing the glass and many of the muntins as well, though the window frames appear to be original features. The doors are hand-planed double-paneled doors. The west house has replacement doors, an asphalt shingle roof and a modern porch on the south front. The east house currently has a standing seam metal roof and a modern roof frame constructed when the building received a severe remodeling that lowered the back wall several feet.

The west house has a basement room beneath its west end. The room has exterior doors on both the south and north sides and a window on the north or rear of the building. The fireplace sits on the west wall. A visual inspection of the north, or rear, wall determined that the bricks around the window and door have received considerable reworking, changing the sizes of the openings. The current window frame either is several inches narrower or has moved to the west several inches, or possibly both. A clear line in the brickwork reveals the former eastern edge of this opening. The current window has a single sash with 16 lights. In addition, the opening has a heavy wooden upper lintel not seen in the other windows, which have a simple brick header-course lintel. This window probably mirrored the rear windows of the east building, which were also single-sash, though now only the openings survive. The basement room is slightly shorter than

the upstairs rooms measuring 17' 11" x 16' 1" and it has a brick floor. The fireplace in this room has received several modifications and an HVAC system sits in front of it. Both houses have air vents on the rear walls with approximately 2' centers. The openings vented a space beneath the floors. The east house also has vents on the east gable wall. The south wall has joist pockets on approximately 2' for a former porch. The west house has a few remaining air vents on the west gable and rear walls, but repairs have closed a number of the vents.

At the 1860 census Albert Lenoir had 27 slaves, 13 males and 14 females.³² While census data does not show family groupings the ages and genders suggest between 3 and 5 families. If that is the case then it is possible that all or most of the people lived in these two houses. If Lenoir used each house as a duplex with a family or group each having one end room and a middle room, and adding the lower room in the west building, these houses held five living units. Combining the unheated small rooms with the larger heated spaces in a hall and parlor arrangement yielded 416 square feet of living space, well above the average seen in the rest of the database. With approximately five people in each family or group, these buildings might have served all the living needs of the 27 people owned by Lenoir. In addition, the main house has a large basement which included the kitchen and dining room.³³ It is possible that the cook and her family, or chamber maids, lived in the basement. Unfortunately those rooms received alterations in the twentieth-century and no longer appear as they did historically.

Given that Lenoir owned 27 people it seems logical to conclude that the two houses served as home for both field and domestic slaves.

Lenoir built two brick houses with solid-wood paneled doors behind his mansion. The houses each have symmetrical 6 bay fronts and had front porches. Apparently he wanted these houses to reflect a measure of his wealth and status because he built outwardly refined looking buildings. The houses sit facing the rear of the mansion approximately 100' from the back door. Obviously Lenoir incorporated the aesthetic of these two buildings into the overall landscape of his property.

Also in Loudon County along U.S. Highway 11 near the small town of Philadelphia stands the William Blair house. The present owners, the Hein family, have lived in the house for 45 years. Mrs. Hein's grandfather purchased the property in 1909. The builder of the home, William Blair, probably constructed it and the nearby slave house in 1845.³⁴ Beside the main house stands a brick slave house within 50' of the mansion.

The Blair slave house is one of a handful of brick houses with notable decorative architectural touches. It is a single story, two pen, brick building constructed in a five header course common bond and rests on a brick foundation. The house sits approximately 50' to the west side and slightly behind the main house. Each pen has a gable-end brick chimney. Each pen also has a window in the gable and one in the rear wall of the building; however, the gable end windows are not original openings. The builder broke the bricks in creating the opening. The building measures 36' 2" x 18' 2" on the exterior. The two pens

have slightly different lengths with the south pen measures 16' 9" x 16' 2" and the north pen measures 16' 5" x 16' 2". A stepped cornice on the front and back of the building mirrors a similar decorative treatment on the main house. The chimneys likewise have a decorative four course corbelling on the top, which also matches the main house. The mortar joints have penciling to match mortar joints of the main house. William Blair obviously intended his slave quarter to be an integral part of his estate's landscape scheme.

Each room has an entrance door on the east, or front façade. All the door and window frames in the building appear to be replacements, being constructed with wire nails; however, the doorway openings appear original. The door on the right, or north, room has two large strap hinges and hinge pintles driven into the door post. These are probably original hardware, as are three of the four door boards, which measure almost one foot in width. The south pen door is a replacement. There is also a doorway in the dividing wall between the two pens. The door itself is a later element constructed with wire nails, as is the door frame. The age of the door opening could not be determined. The current roof covering is a standing seam metal roof. At some time in the twentieth-century someone applied a Portland cement parging on the first 6" to 1' of the exterior walls which was probably intended to act as a waterproofing measure.

The ceilings in both pens have narrow tongue and groove boards attached with wire nails, probably a twentieth-century addition. The original ceiling treatment, if any existed, is unknown. The floorboards generally measure 4" wide and are attached with wire nails. The floors appear to be replacements, possibly

done at the same time as the ceilings or at the very least the boards taken up and re-attached with modern nails. The interior walls have a parging on them made up of lime mortar, which may be an original wall treatment. Each fireplace has a mantle, but whether these are original elements was not determined; the wall parging stops at the mantle pieces however. Since the parging is lime mortar based, the mantles probably date prior to 1880. Owners added a bathroom addition to the rear of the north pen constructed sometime prior to 1957. It has a brick exterior and modern wood interior. The floors and ceilings in both the north and south rooms may have been remodeled worked at the same time.

The slave house is in a poor state of repair. Large cracks exist in both gable walls and the front wall. A one-foot diameter hole in the front wall near the north pen's door allows moisture into the building. In addition, the north door frame has two cracks at its base. Although the walls have a parging along the bottoms, this layer is peeling away from the building demonstrating that it did nothing but trap moisture between it and the face of the brick walls. While the roof appears to be in decent shape, the floors are rotted and prevented fully entering the rooms as they have collapsed in both pens. The windows on the back of the north pen and the bathroom addition have no glass and the frames are broken or decaying. I measured the fireplace in the south pen and it serves as a model for the north pen fireplace in the drawings. At the time of the survey the building served as storage and the owners had no plans to restore it. The northern pen has a root cellar underneath the room, which takes advantage of the fact that

the building sits on a slope. The cellar could be seen through the collapsed floor, but was not entered for safety reasons.

The slave houses and living spaces of East Tennessee date from between 1784 and 1855. While most consist of separate houses, the survey also recorded six rooms within mansions, 3 wings with 4 rooms, and 22 individual houses, totaling 49 rooms for slave living. The construction materials nearly split evenly between brick and log, with 11 brick and 9 log, but only 2 frame examples. This part of the state has 14 individual buildings, 6 rooms within mansions and 2 in a wing which appear to be single-family/group living units. In terms of design, three duplex buildings, one triplex, and one quad building can also be found in the region. These buildings in all likelihood served multiple families or groups, as each room has its own fireplace. In addition, four other buildings could be either single or double family dwellings. The undetermined types could not be discerned because the interiors were not accessed. The buildings that stand out in this division are the Fain and Lenoir slave houses. All are brick and each housed multiple families/groups in them. The Lenoir houses have an interesting double, hall and parlor plan with connecting doors. The design suggests Lenoir intended for people to communicate or socialize between families while in the building.

Many recorded slave houses can still be found in the flat bottomlands despite the destruction left in the wake of the Tennessee Valley Authority's river projects in the mid-twentieth-century. All slave buildings were not agricultural however. Two taverns contain buildings and/or rooms attributed to slave living

spaces. Both were in small town settings. Bowling Green Inn and Deery Inn demonstrate that the cooption of enslaved labor could be found in many forms.

ENDNOTES

¹ Robbie Jones, *The Historic Architecture of Sevier County, Tennessee* (Nashville: The Smoky Mountain Historical Society, 1996), 24.

² Nancy Acuff, Ph.D. Sullivan County historian, personal communication with the author, March 9, 2002.

³ Rita Groseclose, owner of Grassdale Farm, personal communication with the author, March 10, 2002.

⁴ Nancy Acuff, March 9, 2002.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷The Sullivan County Historical Preservation Association purchased the property in 2001 and began a restoration of the buildings. Websites referencing the property variously date the Rutledge house from late eighteenth-century to the early nineteenth-century. Apparently a verifiable date of construction has not been determined for this building.

⁸ Nancy Acuff, Ph.D., and Lenita Tibault M.D., personal communication with the author, March 15 and 16, 2002. The design of the house is unique, however it probably is not two houses brought together, or even the design of two houses built back to back with space between. If that were the case the individual houses are only one room deep. The roof, a hipped design, appears proportional over the entire structure. The report of a third floor addition does not appear in the brick details of the house either. It appears from a purely visual examination that the house's design, while different, could be the original intended appearance.

⁹ Audrey Masengill, owner of the Masengill Farm, personal communication with the author, March 10, 2002.

¹⁰ Nathan Kinser, "Brooks-Schumaier Farm, Carter County, Tennessee" National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Tennessee Historical Commission, 2000, 7-1.

¹¹ Billy Hugh Campbell Jr., *Rich Without a Cent*, (self published volume, Chuckey, TN, private, 1997), 73.

¹² Jennifer Stoecker, and Carroll Van West, "The Settlement and Development of the Nolichucky Valley, 1770-1950," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Form, Tennessee Historical Commission, 2001.

¹³ Ibid., 7-2.

¹⁴ Wilhelmina Williams, owner of Earnest farm, personal communication, March 15, 2002,

¹⁵ 1850 and 1860 Census of the United States, Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants.

¹⁶ William Ricker, owner of Snapp-Ricker house, personal communication with the author, March 19, 2002.

¹⁷ Jennie King-Coffman, "The Fermanaugh-Ross Farm," Century Farm application, 1976, Tennessee Century Farm Files, Middle Tennessee State University Center for Historic Preservation, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

¹⁸ The historical information on the Dickson-Williams house comes from an informational pamphlet available from the Dickson-Williams Historical Association, Inc.

¹⁹ Richard Harrison Doughty, personal communication with the author, March 19, 2002.

²⁰ Informational pamphlet, Dickson-Williams Historical Association, Inc.

²¹ 1860 Census of the United States, Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants.

²² Greene County Bills of Sale of Slaves and Other Property, 1847-1860. Book 1, page 178, 283, Book 2 page 83, 214, 216.

²³ A date of 1843 is inscribed on the front façade of the house.

²⁴ Deborah L. German, "Seven Old Houses: A Preliminary Inventory of Possible Slave Quarters in East Tennessee," paper written for Seminar in Historic Architecture, University of Tennessee, 1992. 25, manuscript in author's files.

²⁵ Ibid., 18, 20.

²⁶ Ibid., 15.

²⁷ Ibid., 18.

²⁸ Beverly Townsend, personal communication, July 2, 2002.

²⁹ Jones, *The Historic Architecture of Sevier County*, 24.

³⁰ Joe E. Spence ed. *Landmarks of Loudon County: Its History Through Architecture* (Gloucester Point, VA: Hallmark Publishing Co., 1997), 34.

³¹ Bernard L. Herman, "The Embedded Landscapes of the Charleston Single House, 1780-1820," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol.7 *Exploring Everyday Landscapes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 41-57, Herman notes that slave apartments in Charleston have unheated sleeping rooms.

³² German, *Seven Old Slave Houses*, 33.

³³ Spence. *Landmarks of Loudon County*, 34.

³⁴ Ibid., 70.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIDDLE TENNESSEE SURVEY

Middle Tennessee settlement occurred after 1780 when white settlers founded Fort Nashborough on the banks of the Cumberland River. Middle Tennessee land beckoned the small farmer and wealthy planter alike. While the southern portion of the division produced cotton, wheat, and hemp, farmers in the northern area grew tobacco and corn, much like their Virginia and North Carolina predecessors. Large-scale plantations developed alongside of smaller slave-holding operations and yeoman farmers. By the middle of the nineteenth-century Middle Tennessee had grown a very strong regional economy and came to the forefront of the nation with two Middle Tennessee sons entering the White House, Andrew Jackson, and James Polk. Historically Middle Tennessee had several economic enterprises that required slave labor. The first obviously is agriculture, and the second is the iron industry along the western Highland Rim west of Nashville. While Middle Tennessee had a number of operations considered plantations, it also supported mid-sized farms with smaller enslaved workforces. Although this division had a larger percentage of slave ownership than the other two, it also showed the greatest decrease of ownership in the decade immediately prior to the Civil War.¹ Despite this historical fact, Middle Tennessee holds the most standing slave-related buildings in the survey.

Middle Tennessee grew as a rather distinct area of not just the South but also as a separate section of the Volunteer State. The Nashville basin edging the Cumberland River is a fertile farming region bordered on the east and west by the hardscrabble lands of the Highland Rim. Tennessee historian Stephen Ash defines Middle Tennessee during the antebellum era as a "third South" somewhere between the ". . . egalitarian, non-slaveholding South of the yeoman farmer and . . . the plutocratic, plantation South of the cotton nabobs."²

Slavery came with the earliest European settlements in Tennessee including the initial settlements in Middle Tennessee. The James Robertson and John Donelson parties, which settled the Cumberland Region, included several slaves. Indeed the first fatality of the Donelson flotilla was a slave who died on March 6, 1780 from complications of frostbite.³ From those beginnings slavery grew and eventually flourished in Middle Tennessee.

One of the largest Middle Tennessee plantations, Wessyngton Plantation in Robertson County, is located in the northern half of the section. To the rear of the main house stands a two story attached kitchen building. The second floor rooms of this building likely served as living quarters for the cook and her family. However, access to the building was not granted and no measurements could be made. In an interview with John Baker, a descendant of former slaves, he mentioned that a "slave street" with log cabins lining one side of the road existed during the antebellum era. None of those houses survive today, though the site likely has tremendous archeological potential.⁴ A photograph dating to the 1890s

shows four buildings with chimneys that historians assume all date to the antebellum period and were used as slave housing.⁵

To the east of Robertson lies Sumner County where the survey identified several properties with extant slave houses. Outside of the city of Gallatin sits one of the truly large plantations of Tennessee's antebellum era, Fairvue plantation, owned by Isaac Franklin a prominent slave trader of the early nineteenth-century. He was a partner in the firm of Franklin and Armfield, one of the largest overland slave trading companies, with offices in several Southern cities. In 1836 he quit the slave trading business to become "a more respectable" planter. Franklin had Fairvue built as his home and showpiece. The plantation contained a large brick mansion and up to as many as 20 brick slave houses.⁶ He added a wing to the house in 1839 and subsequent owners added others. The original block of the house has a basement with 6 rooms, several of which have fireplaces. Today 3 of the brick slave houses survive, with an overseer's house, a carpenter's shop, and a spring house, which, along with the main house constitutes the largest assemblage of slave-associated buildings recorded by the survey. Originally each of the slave houses mirrored the others in plan, though each received alterations through the years. Fairvue is listed as a National Historic Landmark, and until the year 2001 continued to operate as a farm of over 1000 acres. After that year developers began subdividing the land, building houses and a golf course. The main house and slave quarters have remained as part of this planned suburban community.⁷

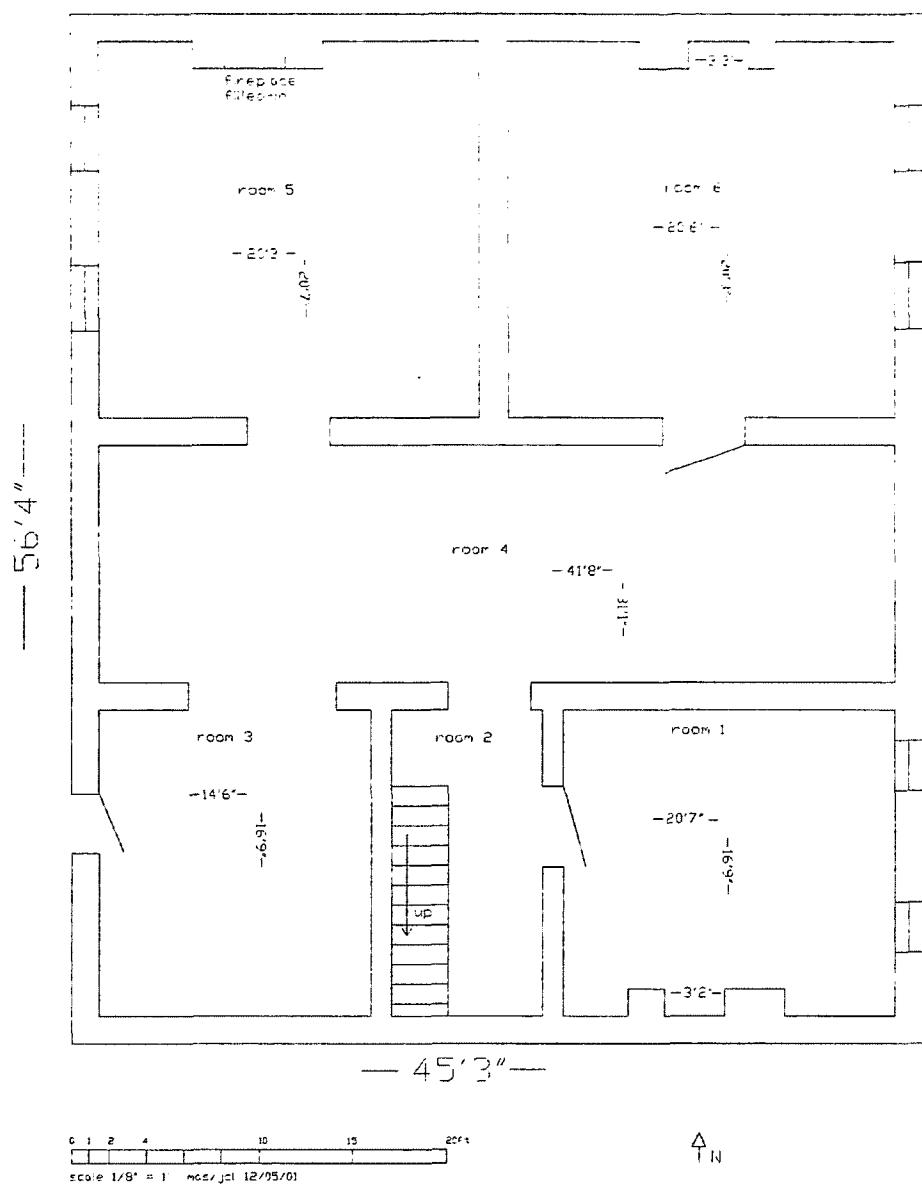


Figure 4.1 Planview of Fairvue Plantation basement, Gallatin vicinity, Sumner County.

The main house stands two stories over a full English basement, with a half-story attic space which received major changes after a tornado destroyed the roof sometime in the mid-nineteenth-century. The basement contains six rooms,

several of which likely served as slave dwelling or work spaces. For the survey database each room in the basement received a number and those with fireplaces or that potentially had a slave association will be discussed in sequence in which the room would be encountered coming from the stairs.⁸ The first room to the right at the bottom of the stairs in the southeast corner of the house is numbered room one. It has a fireplace on the south wall, two windows on the east wall, and measures 20'7" x 16'9". The room has a dirt floor and a cabinet in the northwest corner with doors that may date to the antebellum era. The doors exhibit hand-planed and peg construction techniques. They have four horizontal panels and are made of solid wood. Although the cabinet itself is a twentieth-century piece of furniture, the paneled doors may have originally sat in an upstairs doorway. Franklin had slaves skilled as carpenters according to his 1847 estate inventory.⁹ The doors could be the work of a skilled carpenter who lived on the plantation. The doorway to room one has its original pegged door frame intact, which could also be the work of a slave carpenter. The fireplace in this room received a partial in-filling with an addition to the left side. Each cheek appears to have measured 1'11" in width originally. An odd feature of this fireplace is the back wall made of stone blocks rather than brick as seen in the rest of the firebox. Other fireplaces in the basement have a brick facing.

West of room one, room two functions solely as the stair hall and measures 28'8" long. This room occupies the south-central section of the basement. The stairs have cut nails in the construction and the backside of the stairs shows evidence of plaster and lathing. Perhaps the plaster deadened the

sound of walking on the steps, but it is an interesting refinement not usually found in a slave space. This room has a modern concrete floor.

Room three contained the boiler and air conditioner unit at the time of inspection, and also has a concrete floor. This room resides at the southwest corner of the house and measures 14' 6.5" x 12'11". Room three has an exterior doorway, the frame for which has wire nails in the construction. A stairwell outside on the current front (west side) of the house leads down to this doorway. Portland cement in the brickwork and the wire nails in the frame indicate the opening dates to 1880 or later. The doorway and stairwell probably date to the years the Wemyss family owned the house (from the 1934 to 2001). In the antebellum era the only entrance to the basement came via the stairs from the first floor. This essentially meant that Isaac Franklin could detect all slaves moving in and out of the house.

Room four, the largest basement room, lies below the main hall mirroring it in size and, measures 41'8" long by 13'1" wide. In the twentieth-century the Wemyss family excavated a center aisle approximately 3' deeper than the original dirt floor. The center aisle has a concrete floor and the sides of the excavation received cement walls, creating a walkway down the middle of the room with steps up into the adjacent rooms, one and six. The deeper aisle extends into rooms three and five, which also have partially excavated floors as well. Part of the door frame to room four from room two remains despite the damage done during excavations of the floor and expansion of the frame. The early frame elements have peg construction at the corners. Intact sections of the lintel and the east

framing member can be seen in this door frame. There may or may not have been an actual door in this opening, no evidence of hinges could be found. However, it must be noted that the opening appears to have been widened, probably in the twentieth-century during floor excavations, and no evidence of hinges remain.

Room five in the northwest corner of the house most recently served as the coal bin and furnace room. It measures 20' 7" x 20' 3". The floor here also received a deep excavation, probably to accommodate easier movement of coal in and out of the room. The sides of the un-excavated areas have concrete retaining walls, and the floor has a modern concrete surface. Two platforms on the sides of the room where the earth has not been excavated probably mark the original level of the dirt floor in this room. A fireplace sits on the north wall and two windows can be found on the west wall. The fireplace has a twentieth-century in-fill, probably done at the time of the coal furnace installation.

The final basement space, room six, measures 20'6" x 20' 3" with a fireplace on the north wall and two windows on the east wall. This room has its original dirt floor and door frame still intact. The pockets for hinges in the door frame are clearly visible, but the door is missing. The fireplace received a restoration with Portland cement, probably in the early twentieth-century by the Wemyss family. It is difficult to determine if there has been an addition to the original opening as seen in room one, but there appears to be an iron lintel above the firebox. The re-pointing may have been necessitated by continual use and decay.

The intact doorways of rooms one and six are very short, being only 5' high, but almost 4' wide. The other rooms likely had short doorways originally also. The floor excavations extended the doorways to rooms, two, three, and five. What the architectural details of the floor tell us is that the basement height and particularly the doorways were very short. The domestic slaves (or anyone else for that matter) walking through the doorways had to bend to enter and exit the rooms. Other researchers might consider this a literal “bowing” as if to recognize their enslaved condition and the dominant status of Isaac Franklin.¹⁰

Studying the original elements of these rooms leads to a few scenarios for how the basement may have looked and functioned in the antebellum period.

When someone came down the stairs they were presented with a doorway in front of them leading into room four, essentially the hallway for the basement. If this door was locked and the person did not have a key the only accessible space would have been room one. This room has its early door frame intact and it may have been possible to lock this room as well. These were more than just storage rooms because most of them have fireplaces and windows; they were intended to be used for domestic purposes. It is also obvious that with dirt floors these rooms were probably damp in the winter.

Several rooms on the third, half-floor, of the main house could also have served as slave living or working spaces. The rooms sit on either side of a wide hallway, and the third floor has no architectural adornments. At the time of recording the entrance to the hallway had a partition made from a set of tall paneled doors. They may be the doors to the double parlors on the first floor, and

the mates to the two doors found in basement rooms five and six. The rooms on the third floor are mostly small windowless spaces. The only natural light on the third floor comes from four dormer windows, and two gable end windows which light the hallway. Narrow openings between the rooms allow light from the dormer windows into the hall.

These third floor rooms might have served as slave work spaces, or perhaps the small rooms functioned as storage and the main hallway served as a slave working area. Each room has a doorway, though no windows or fireplaces. The roof framing and wall joists were exposed at the time of inspection, but ghosts of plaster and lathing demonstrates that the rooms had a finish at one time. The wall framing in each room contains cut nails, but whether or not the carpentry dates to the early period of the house is unknown.

The third floor contains eight rooms each measuring approximately 7' wide and they range from 7' to 11' long. John Lancaster, a former curator from Belmont Mansion in Nashville, stated that during the ownership of Adelicia Franklin a tornado blew the roof off the house of Fairvue, after Isaac's death. It is possible that this arrangement of rooms on the third floor is a product of the rebuilding after the storm. The now missing roof had a flat center where Adelicia had a rooftop garden.¹¹ The new roof profile is a straight gable design. In order to create the rooms on the third floor carpenters constructed a knee wall to make the sidewalls of each room. The knee wall could be viewed at the back of the rooms under repair at the time of the inspection.

The main house at Fairvue stands on a hill overlooking the former slave quarter across a small creek named Rankin Branch. In 2000 the remainder of the slave quarter included three brick duplex slave houses each built on the same plan, the overseer's house, the carpenter's shop, and the springhouse. The slave houses stand one-and-a-half stories with a fireplace in each pen on the first level. At the time of recording they all had a modern standing-seam metal roof painted red. Although numerous alterations have changed the buildings, survey analysis determined that initially each house had one door, one fireplace, and two windows for each pen. Doorways between the pens and a single set of stairs to the second half-story make up the major features of these houses. The second floors all have modern plasterboard ceilings and walls. Each building has two upstairs windows in each end wall, one on either side of the chimneys, but no fireplaces on the upper floors were noted. Without conducting invasive investigations it was impossible to determine if the second floors had more than one entrance, or if they had interior dividing walls.

At the time of the field survey in 2000 the houses sat in what was a quadrangle with the overseer's house at the head. During the antebellum era the quarter was arranged more like a village with the overseer's house in the middle of approximately 12 to 20 houses. Today only the three houses remain. When the survey took place each house had a number on the front of it and the inventory here follows that numbering scheme.¹² To the west of the overseers house and facing each other stand houses numbered three and four. House four sits on the south side of the quadrangle, and house three on the north side. They sit

approximately 50' apart and face each other. House two sits approximately 100' to the east of house three, and closer to the main house. In the antebellum era a house balanced it on the south side of the quadrangle.



Figure 4.2 Fairvue slave quarter with overseer's house in background. Gallatin vicinity, Sumner County.

House number two stands a story and a half tall, two pens wide and one deep. It has a 5 stretcher course American common bond brick pattern and sits on a brick foundation. The structure measures 36' 4" x 18' 4" on the exterior. The first floor rooms have slightly different measurements due to the placement of the partition wall and modern wall board coverings. The east room measures 16' 4" x 15' 2" and the west room measures 16' 3" x 15' 3". The house differs from the others in that it has a wood frame addition on the rear southeast half of the building. The addition only covers the east half of the rear façade and served as a

twentieth-century pantry, kitchen, and rear entry to the house. The interior has a modern kitchen with plasterboard walls. Despite the addition, the basic two-pen plan of the brick dwelling remains intact. Both fireplaces have modern brick infill and woodstove inserts. The east fireplace appears to be completely rebuilt with modern bricks and a brick hearth. The west fireplace is entirely in-filled with brick and a stovepipe inserted above the firebox. The floors appear to be original five inch wide boards on the ground floor running east-west. Interestingly, the floor pattern breaks at the doorway in the partition wall, suggesting a later alteration. An enclosed and locked stairway to the second story sits in the east room against the brick partition wall.

A doorway on the north side of the house entering the west room has an aluminum frame storm door and a modern wooden door opening inward. A modern shallow brick stoop sits in front of the doorway. This location initially served as a window opening, but later received the doorway expansion. A second door offers entry to the house on the south side, which in the antebellum era stood as the front, facing the quadrangle. That door now leads through the frame addition in the east pen. Presumably the large window on the south wall in the west pen initially served as a doorway. However that was not entirely evident in examining the brickwork, too much change has occurred to that opening. The current window opening is larger than the others with a six-over-six double-hung, wooden sash window. The other windows on the north wall have four-over-four double-hung wooden sashes. All the windows and frames in this house are modern replacements, though the north side openings appear to be original sizes.

At the time of recording the second floor could not be entered. However, the conditions report of 2001 states that the floor appears to be the original 5" wide boards which run continuously across the building. Four windows appear on the gable ends of the building to light the upstairs. One small window sits on either side of the chimneys. The windows have a single pane of glass. It is not known if the openings are historic features. However, the building had a second half-story in the antebellum era and windows to light that space would have been necessary. The other houses each have the same window openings on the second floor.

House 3 sits directly east of house 2 and to the west of the overseer's house within the quadrangle. It stands one and a half stories tall, two pens wide and one deep. It has two rooms downstairs and a single room on the second floor. It has a 5 stretcher course American common bond brick pattern and sits on a brick foundation. A modern brick stoop rests in front of the 2 doors on the south side of the house. The building measures 36' 4" x 18' 4.5".

Two doors reside on the south wall, one opening into each pen and facing house four. Each doorway has a modern brick stoop. The doorways have modern wooden doors with single pane windows in the upper portion. Each door opening has what may be original stone sills, currently covered with a wooden threshold and hidden by the brick stoop. A window lights the east pen from the south wall, but this is a modern feature with an aluminum frame. The brickwork in the opening shows obvious evidence of being clumsily broken to make the opening. The north wall contains three windows and one door which enters into the west

pen. The door was initially a window as evidenced by the jack arch matching those of other the windows now above the door. Originally each pen had 1 door on the south wall and 2 windows on the north.

On the interior the west fireplace has modern brick in-fill and metal covering with a modern gas heater installed. While the later owners also remodeled the east fireplace the size of the firebox could be discerned in the brick pattern. The west fireplace likely matched the east in dimensions. For the drawings the east fireplace dimensions served as the model for the west. A modern partition wall divides the east room and partially hides the in-filled fireplace, but its segmented arch and wooden lintel are clearly visible.

An original interior brick partition wall divides the house equally into two square rooms measuring 17' 1" x 17' 1". An investigation of the interior doorway determined that the brick are neatly faced and have lime mortar in the joints underneath the door frame. This evidence suggests that the interior doorway could be an original feature to the house. It could also suggest that at least this house was intended for only one family, or an extended family as the interior door led to another family's living space if the house functioned as a duplex. An enclosed box staircase sits at the northeast corner of the west room. The staircase has cut nails in its construction and could be an original feature.

The second floor stands as one large open space with the stairs in the middle of the room. Five inch wide board floors run the length of the building. Windows on the east and west gable walls flanking the chimneys light the large space. The walls and ceiling have modern plasterboard coverings. Without

invasive investigations it is impossible to determine if a dividing wall existed in the antebellum era. The floor joists for the second story are exposed on the first floor allowing an examination of these historic features. The joists have a combination of sash saw and adze marks, which suggests they likely date to the antebellum period. The beams all measure 3" in width and sit on 26" centers. Modern tongue and groove boards make up the floors.

House 4 sits directly opposite house 3 and west of the overseer's house. It stands one and a half stories tall, 2 pens wide and 1 deep. It has a 5 stretcher course American common bond brick pattern and sits on a brick foundation. The building measures 36' 4" x 18' 4.5". The first floor contains two rooms while the second floor has several rooms including a modern bath.

Two doors enter on the north side of the house, one in each pen with a shallow stone slab stoop. The west room also has a window on the north wall, but this is a modern addition. Three windows on the south wall light the two rooms. In addition, a door enters the west pen from the rear of the building. The doorway however is a modern alteration of an historic window. The evidence for this is the fact that above the door sits the jack arch for a window, which matches the other window arches.

The fireplace in the east pen is large with an opening 4' 7" high and 5' 5" wide with a segmented arched opening. It has a 2' deep firebox, a 2' wide hearth, and a cast iron lintel with the hook for a kettle-crane still in place. It also has a deep fire shelf. Even with a gas stove insert it is the only fully intact fireplace in the 3 slave houses. The west fireplace has brick in-fill, but the opening and arch

can be seen, and it has the same dimensions as the east fireplace. Both rooms measure 15' 6" x 14' 8". The second floor has numerous alterations including modern wall divisions and a modern bathroom, making it impossible to determine its original layout without invasive investigations. Two small windows on either side of both chimneys light the second floor rooms.

The large size of the fireplaces in these houses suggests they were intended for familial cooking. Interestingly a large cast iron sugar pot sits in the yard beside house number 3, and since the houses face each other, it is possible the location marks where communal cooking, and/or laundry for the quarter took place. Perhaps Isaac Franklin assumed each family would cook their own meals and their houses had large enough fireplaces for that task, but they may have practiced communal cooking.

The symmetry of these houses with entrances facing each other created a village effect. Also the fact that entrances did not appear on the back of the buildings demonstrates that access was intended to be controlled, and the social dominance component of the quarter is emphasized through architecture. The overseer's house and the main house both overlook the quarter. Isaac Franklin obviously attempted to set an atmosphere of communal life through architecture, but also control by the layout of the quarters with the overseer's house in the middle of the village. The large pot sitting beside house 3 might be evidence of how well the communal aspect worked if used for large-scale cooking, or laundry. As such it would have been a place for gathering and socializing. A final note about the buildings is that no fireplaces were noted in the lofts, although in

several cases modern wall coverings hide the chimney breasts. As mentioned previously a carpenter who worked on the plantation during Franklin's ownership mentioned that there were 12 to 15 houses with 25 to 30 rooms. This evidence possibly indicates that each house was intended to be a duplex. At his death Franklin held 137 slaves at Fairvue.¹³ Using the low number of houses (12), holding therefore 24 rooms and adding the 3 rooms in the main house amounting to 27 rooms, an average number of people living in each room equals 5.07.

Two other buildings in the quarter have slave-associations as work spaces. The carpenter's shop, in which slaves worked, stands on the northern edge of the quarter. While historic evidence demonstrates that Franklin employed white workmen including a carpenter, he also had slaves training and working beside the white laborers. The final building is the springhouse. The two-story springhouse was locked and not available for inspection during the survey. However, the conditions report written in 2001 states that slaves used the second floor room with the fireplace as a workroom to make shoes and other leather goods.¹⁴ This room certainly served at least a working function due to it having a fireplace. It is not unusual that the work spaces such as the carpenter's shop stood near the quarter making work and home easily available for the enslaved. At least that is how Isaac Franklin would have viewed the landscape. The slaves probably created mental divisions between the work spaces and their living places even given the close proximity. A final interesting facet is that apparently the entire enslaved population of Fairvue lived in close proximity to each other and Franklin. The quarter sits only a few hundred yards from the main house, wherein

at least a few domestic slaves lived in the basement rooms. These extant buildings at Fairvue plantation stand as a solid reminder of the landscape of slavery on a large-scale plantation in Middle Tennessee.¹⁵

Also in Sumner County, near the small historic settlement of Castalian Springs, sits one of the finest late eighteenth-century Georgian manor houses of Middle Tennessee, named Cragfont. Revolutionary war General James Winchester began construction of the mansion in 1798. At its completion in 1802 Cragfont became one of the finest homes in Tennessee. A local organization called Historic Cragfont Incorporated now operates the property as a house museum.

The T-shaped house constructed of local sandstone has several rooms in the rear ell related to slave use. The first is a ladder-accessible small space above the kitchen. Measuring approximately 25' x 14' and lighted by single window, the space is merely a loft or storage area with a head height of only 3'1." According to site staff an oral tradition states that female slaves used the loft to sleep or rest between chores in the kitchen. While one could argue that such a space would have only served as storage, the Winchester family tradition is that slaves used the space to rest between cooking duties. The room has cut limestone block walls and a wooden floor. Most of the walls have a lime mortar plaster coating, suggesting that the space was intended for more than simple storage.

Site staff also explained that nine slave houses existed in the west lawn a few hundred feet from the main house, but that the loft above the kitchen is the only space used by slaves still extant. A family recollection of the property

recorded by a granddaughter states that the slave quarters for the field hands were constructed of brick while two log houses for domestic slaves sat near the house. The field quarters apparently stood in a connected row with a fireplace between each room. Each family had one room and a loft, and a garden area behind the quarter.¹⁶ According to site staff, if there were rooms within the house that slaves lived in or used no known records of those locations survive.

Basement rooms within the main block of the house have windows but no fireplaces. The west room is interpreted as a weaving room and used as such historically according to oral tradition.¹⁷ The other rooms in the basement include a center room accessed from the west room, and an east room accessed off the east porch from the rear ell. While it is not known exactly how these rooms were used they all had windows to light the interiors so they likely served as more than mere storage. Slaves may have worked in the rooms or even possibly lived in them, though without fireplaces that is a less likely option. The wing has two rooms in the third half-story with fireplaces. The site staff does not know how these rooms were used. The third floor rooms are interpreted as children's bedrooms by the site curators. If these were indeed rooms for Winchester's children since there are fireplaces children likely did not stoke those fires, more than likely it was the responsibility of a trusted slave who probably also slept in the room with the children. Conversely these may have served as slave living spaces for the cook and her family. The house is a large structure with a number of rooms in which slaves could have lived and worked. While no documentation is known for the use of the rooms on the third floor slave living should be

considered. Site staff interprets the basement rooms as slave work areas and that seems appropriate from the architectural evidence.

South of Cragfont approximately four miles in the small river-town of Cairo, James Winchester operated a general store starting in 1802. Reputedly Winchester held slaves in the basement of this store that he bought and sold on the Cumberland River. The river runs just a few yards east from the store. The building became a private residence in the twentieth-century when several additions including a cantilevered second floor bedroom gave the building more floor space. Initially it had a four room, two story configuration with a large fireplace in the west room on the first floor. The basement serves as storage and a laundry room for the residence.

The basement's stone walls serve as a foundation for the building. At the time of recording the basement existed as a single long room, but part of a stone wall sat in the middle and appears to be what remains of a partition wall. Today only 6' 4" of that wall survives along the south wall jutting northward into the room. If the center stone wall was indeed a full width partition wall, then two nearly equal sized rooms existed historically. The east room has a fireplace on the east wall and exterior access on the north wall, while the west room had two windows on the west wall. Enslaved people held in the rooms had either no heat or little natural light. The fireplace is constructed of brick laid against the stone wall. The entire basement had a dirt floor at the time of recording. A door on the north wall, 9' 4" from the northeast corner is the single entry into the basement. On the west wall two enclosed window openings, 2' wide, formerly provided light

into the basement. Two jack arches above the former openings are clearly visible on the exterior of the building. While Winchester probably did not permanently house enslaved people at the store it serves as a reminder of the possibility any slave could be sold away from his or her family.

A second frontier era mansion in Sumner County called Rock Castle sits outside of Hendersonville, along the Cumberland River (now the Old Hickory Lake reservoir). The home of General Daniel Smith, a Revolutionary War soldier and Tennessee settler, now functions as a State Historic Site interpreting the life of Smith and the frontier era of Middle Tennessee. The large house, and rear ell constructed of Tennessee limestone, has two rooms potentially associated with slave use and living. The first is the basement room, a large open space which site staff interprets as a winter kitchen. The room is quite large measuring 47' long and 18' wide. The floor has a concrete surface, though it probably had no more than a dirt floor in the late eighteenth- century. No known records indicate what this room was used for, or if any slaves lived there. However, the large fireplace at one end implies it was at least a workspace and may have served as the Smith's kitchen prior to construction of the rear ell in the 1820s, with a new kitchen. The cook may also have lived in the basement room.

The second space associated with slaves is a small unheated garret above the dining room in the ell. Oral tradition states that a slave named Alfred lived in the room which sits opposite the family sleeping quarters. The garret room measures 16' 6" x 13' and has a doorway with short stairs leading to the dining room, and a door on the opposite wall that leads to a passage and the second-floor

bedrooms of the Smith family. Although at the time of inspection no windows existed in the garret, historic photos show two dormers on either side of the room. The dormers and doorway to the second floor were removed during a 1970s restoration.

A brief written history of the house states that the property at one time boasted twenty-five or thirty log slave houses.¹⁸ However, that number seems to be high, as Sarah and her son George Smith owned only 54 slaves at the 1820 census.¹⁹ Daniel had died in 1818. A few photographs of slave houses have survived and in 2001 were part of an interpretive display at the site. Curators labeled one with the caption “Sharecroppers’ homes 1910.” It shows a double-pen wooden frame building with a central brick chimney. The house has two front doors and a full-length porch. It has no windows visible on the front. A similar undated picture donated to this project by Rock Castle staff shows a similar building. This house is raised several feet off the ground by stone piers. It does not have a full-length porch. Instead, only one door has a small porch over it. While it is impossible to date these buildings from photographs it is very possible that they were slave cabins which continued in use after emancipation. Those two buildings no longer exist.

In Trousdale County lies the Crenshaw Farm with one stone slave house. The historic Crenshaw house no longer exists, but a single slave house remains from the farm. Near where the Crenshaw house stood are two large cypress trees that were once part of the home’s landscaping. It is said that the two sons of Mr.

Crenshaw brought the two saplings with them when they returned from serving in Virginia during the War of 1812.²⁰



Figure 4.3 Crenshaw farm slave house, the only stone building recorded by the survey. Hartsville vicinity, Trousdale County.

The slave house on the Crenshaw farm is the only all-stone slave house found in the state during this survey. According to John Oliver, president of the Trousdale Historical Society, the property had four stone slave houses in the antebellum era.²¹ Crenshaw slaves reportedly built the stone houses and a picture survives of one other house besides the extant building.²² The single-pen one-story slave house is constructed of cut limestone blocks from foundation to gable. It has a loft, with one door and one window, though the frames are replacements.

The lintel over the door contains a cut nail and could be the only antebellum element left in the door frame.

A single window on the back or south side has peg holes in the frame, which appears to be original. The window sash has wire nails obviously making it a later replacement. The size of the opening, however, suggests the original window had a double-hung wooden sash. Parts of the roof framing contain pole beams which might be antebellum, but modern dimensioned lumber make up the other rafters. The roof is a standing seam metal covering held with wire nails. The 6" to 7" wide tongue and groove floorboards may be original. No nail heads could be found because the house is used for storage and access was difficult. The interior walls have a lime plaster coating. Modern additions include a bead board ceiling and an interior partition wall constructed with wire nails. The condition of the loft was not safe enough to inspect. The door frame has remnants of blue paint, which may be an African American cultural trait. In the slave spirit-world blue beads and blue painted doors and windows ward off evil and bad luck.²³ The only other house recorded with blue paint is house number one at Ames Plantation in West Tennessee.

The Crenshaw slave house has several structural issues including the total loss of the west gable, and a leaning chimney on the east gable. Several holes in the fireplace and chimney add instability. Throughout the building much of the mortar has leached out of the joints and needs replacing. For the most part, the walls still stand straight, but the gables need attention. The chimney could

collapse and destroy a large section of the roof. The current owners only use the building for storage.

Also in Trousdale County, overlooking Tennessee Highway 25 is the Vineland-DeBow House, a late nineteenth-century name for this historic property, which is commonly known as the James DeBow House. An historic marker in the front yard claims that DeBow, began construction in 1854, but did not finish until 1870. The current owners question the marker's accuracy, since local oral tradition has it that Debow lived in another house on the property until completion of the present mansion after the Civil War. A small wood-frame slave house sits approximately 50' behind the brick mansion.

The slave house stands one-story with a single-pen resting on stone piers with a stone fireplace and brick chimney on the east gable. Its date of construction is unknown. The building measures 16' 4" x 16' 2" and has vertical board siding. The roof is covered with a combination of standing seam metal roofing and corrugated tin. Two windows light the interior, one on the rear or north side, and one on the east wall. Both window frames have wire nails, making these late alterations to the building. However, the openings could be original elements and the frames changed when owners added new siding in the late nineteenth or early twentieth-century. The board and batten siding has wire nail attachments.

The interior walls consist of vertical hand-planed tongue and groove boards. Some of the boards measure as much as 15" and most are at least 12" wide. The interior boards have paint and several layers of wallpaper on them, but at least some of the boards have cut nail attachments. The floor could not readily

be analyzed because at the time of inspection it had a layer of plastic sheeting on top of it. The fireplace was also covered and could not be viewed because of stabilization measures being undertaken at the time.

Attached to the front of the slave house stands a frame addition constructed with wire nails and board and batten siding, which adds several feet in width and length to house. This addition is not included in the dimensions noted above. The addition probably came at the same time the main part of the structure received new siding. A small porch on the front covers the front door and probably dates to the same time period.

The current owners related an interesting historical anecdote about the slave house. When the previous owners purchased the property in the early 1920s an older African-American man named Blue Bill Franklin came out of the slave house to greet them. He apparently "came with the property," having lived there since the days of slavery. Franklin wore only a pair of overalls, no shirt or shoes. Because it was February and cold, the new mistress of the house asked her husband to give Franklin some of his older clothes to keep him warm. Franklin apparently lived in the small house until his death. An older woman who identified herself as one of the children who witnessed the scene related the story to the current owners.²⁴

The Cullom Mansion in the town of Carthage, Seat of Smith County, rises above the surrounding suburban development on a hill in the middle of town. The design of a large brick central passage I-house with two levels over a basement allowed for slave living space within the home. It also has a rear ell wing with

four more rooms, two upstairs and two down. The owner and builder, General William Cullom, was a prominent figure in Carthage and Smith County. The current owners stated that Cullom had the house built over a five-year period from 1838 to 1842. Architectural historians have written that the building dates as late as the late 1850s, however, no source is given for either set of dates.²⁵ Cullom's birth in 1810 means he would have been aged 28 in 1838, and by the late 1850s in his early 40s, so either date is plausible from the standpoint of Cullom's age. Oral tradition maintains that the family lived in the basement during the last year of construction.²⁶

The basement has five rooms, four of which have fireplaces. The house rests on a foundation of cut limestone blocks, which make up the basement walls. All of the rooms have a lime-based plaster on some or all of the walls. Each room also has plaster and lath ceilings. The ceilings and wall covering possibly date to the year the Cullom family lived in the basement while workmen finished the house. The basement has an English cellar design, meaning that the rooms lie only partially below grade allowing for windows in each room. Three entrances access the lower level entering into different rooms, though none of the entrances access the interior of the house. Slaves living in the basement had to go upstairs and outside to enter the main level. Slaves reportedly lived in the basement after construction finished and the Cullom family moved upstairs. For descriptions of the basement I numbered the rooms one through five starting from the easternmost room beneath the ell, and progressing westward toward the main block of the house.

The first two rooms sit below the rear wing while rooms three, four, and five reside below the main block of the house. Room one measures 17' 9" x 17' 6" and has a fireplace in the west wall. In the early twentieth-century a coal burning furnace occupied this room and remnants of it remain. It now serves as the laundry room and has a modern concrete floor. The fireplace has modern brick in-fill and a water heater sits in front of it. The left cheek is partly visible and measures 1'8" across. The width of the firebox is not known, but the cheek and breastwall match that of the fireplace immediately opposite in the other room which measures 3'10". Four windows light this room, two on the north wall, one on the east, and one on the south, now covered by a porch. All the rooms in the basement have windows measuring between 4' 1" to 4' 3" wide. All basement windows have modern wood or metal sashes and modern glass in them. The property owner stated that at one time all the basement rooms had brick floors, though this room now has concrete. One of the stairways enters this room from a stairwell outside the plane of the house through the east wall.

Room two measures slightly larger than room one at 21' 2" x 17' 9" and according to the owner it served as the historic kitchen. The fireplace sits in the middle of the east wall abutting the fireplace in room one. Its massive lintel is a single piece of fine-cut limestone spanning the full distance of the breastwall and measures over 1' 6" in thickness. This room also has a concrete floor. Three windows light the room, two on the north wall, and a third on the south near the southwest corner. In the southeast corner of the room a second stairway enters the basement leading down from the back porch. While these stairs lead outside

anyone using them to access the house would have had cover as the stairs lead to the porch and a back door on the first floor. The doorway from room one enters through the east wall. Against the south wall stands an antique cabinet that the owners say is an historic cabinet used in the Cullom kitchen. It is a vernacular piece of furniture over 6' high, with two front doors and several shelves inside. A quick inspection of the piece located cut nails in the construction as well as a few wire nails in repairs. The face of the piece has faux finishing or graining, but much of that has faded or now covered by an unfortunate paint job. Against the north wall stands a lowboy cabinet with spindle legs that appear to be replacements. The lowboy reportedly also served as part of the antebellum kitchen furniture, but the doors have wire finish nails and the legs appear to be replacements.

Room three sits below the main parlor and measures 20' 4" x 18' 4" which is the largest room in the basement. The doorway from room two enters through the east wall and the door to room four through the south wall. The fireplace sits on the north wall, the gable-end of the house. Two windows on either side of the fireplace and a third one on the west wall below the front porch add light to the room. This room has several interesting facets and oral history surrounding its use. In the southeast corner of the room a stud partition enclosure occupies approximately 1/6th of the room that the owners call the nurse's dispensary. It measures 8' x 7' 2" wide with a doorway and windows on the north and west walls. Inside the enclosure several rows of shelves run along the south and east walls. During the Civil War, owners believe this room served as a dispensary for

sick and wounded soldiers. The partition's construction has the look of reused lumber with windows and a narrow door, but an inspection of the construction details discovered that it is built with cut nails. This evidence alone does not date the small room to the Civil War, but sometime pre-1880.

Two wrought-iron bolts hang from the ceiling on the south side of the fireplace. The bolts sit approximately 4' 10" apart. In addition, an L-shaped wrought hook hangs 3' 4" away from the west bolt. The plaster appears to be applied around this hook. The plaster around the bolts is pitted, but that may be from age and use as opposed to the bolt having been inserted into the plaster. In other words the installation of these three pieces of hardware appears to have occurred before the plaster application. A chain hangs on the hook, which the owners stated is a set of slave shackles. Another story widely known in Smith County is that during the Civil War prisoners were held in the basement with these chains.²⁷ Al Gore Jr. used the house as a location for television appearances during his presidential campaign of 2000 and took well-known television news personalities into the basement to show them the "shackles." The story bears a different flavor in a popular publication which relates Cullom shackling prisoners, not slaves, in his basement. Cullom served as a county prosecuting attorney and the implication is that his profession led him to have prisoners.²⁸ However, the chain does not have the thickness or rings of shackles. Folded metal rod forms several of the links. In addition, a metal plate with three holes drilled in it hangs on the end of the chain with a loop ring on a swivel. A plate such as this is not a typical element to slave shackles. The owners stated that at one time as many as

four such chains hung in the basement. Investigation into the chain discovered that they are part of a single-tree trace chains used in hooking a horse to a cart. At the time of recording a small to medium sized harness hung over the fireplace in room 2, suggesting that animal tack has hung in the basement rooms for a long time.

The oral tradition of slave shackles hanging in the basement demonstrates an odd quirk of southern culture. Over the course of this research I heard several oral histories telling of whites keeping slaves chained in the basement of large antebellum homes. The juxtaposition is jarring; that kind of story versus the fact that many homes have obvious slave living and working spaces within them. The stories likely stem from those slave living spaces within basements, and over time the oral history evolved to become basements were places of punishment instead of slave living spaces.



Figure 4.4 Trace chains hanging in the basement of the Cullom house, Carthage, Smith County.

Room 4 measuring 13' 7" x 18' 4" is narrower than the other rooms in the basement. Its size reflects the narrowness of the central passage above it. This room does not have a fireplace and the two windows on the west wall measure only 2' 6" long. The window on the east wall measures 4' 3". The room has a brick floor, and doors enter through the north and south walls. The historic use may have been storage or simply just as a passage since it does not have a fireplace.

Room 5 sits at the south gable-end of the house and has its fireplace in the south wall. Like the other fireplaces it has a massive lintel of fine-cut limestone. The room measures 20' 4" by 18' 4". The third entrance to the basement enters through the south wall and exits the rear of the house via a set of stairs below the back porch. The room has part of its brick floor, but much of it was taken up several years ago to patch the exterior of the chimney on this side of the house. The room has four windows, two on either side of the fireplace, one on the west wall beneath the front porch, and one on the south side below the back porch.

A set of exterior stairs on the back porch accesses the north bedroom on the second floor. The previous owners called these "servants stairs." The current owners enclosed the north stairs. Inside the stairway appears to be ghosts of boards with large nail holes on the exterior brick wall of the house, outside the bedroom. The attachment holes in the brick demonstrate that whatever use the board served, it is not part of the initial design of the house. The current owners speculate that slaves may have hung clothes on hooks on the boards since it is an enclosed space. This is an odd location for slaves to have hung clothes; it more likely would have been a Cullom family member hanging clothes there. Though the location would have been under cover it still was on the exterior of the house in the antebellum period. A more likely explanation is that the ghost represents a design change to the bedroom.

The Cullom House has several interesting architectural characteristics of note. The most obvious is that most basement rooms have fireplaces. The only other house in Middle Tennessee with this many basement rooms is Fairvue, but

only half the rooms there have fireplaces. All but one room in the Cullom house has a heat source. Each of the rooms has historic plaster and some have older paint on the walls. In most cases the plaster is peeling away and does not exist on the lower portions of the walls. All rooms have a plaster and lath ceiling; according to the owners all had brick floors. These refinements typically are not found in slave dwellings, even in basements of mansion houses. The reason for such refinement can be explained by the oral tradition that the Cullom family lived in the basement for at least a year with the upper portion of the house under construction. Cullom may have anticipated slave use of the basement along with his own and planned for slaves living within the house. At the 1850 census Cullom owned 22 slaves and by 1860 he had 38 with seven slave houses recorded. These numbers suggest family groups living in separate houses, and probably at least one family living in the basement of the main house. The refinements of the basement served the Culloms while they lived there temporarily, but the slaves who lived there later-on benefited from the expense. The opposite side of this equation is the closeness of the races in the slavery system. The families or persons living in the basement were probably at the beck and call of the Culloms at all hours of night and day.

A poignant personal history at the Cullum house comes from Nashville resident Gloria Ballard. Ballard's great, great Grandmother named Tennessee, enslaved by William Cullum, worked as a maid in the main house. Ballard discovered the connection between her family and the house in the late 1990s. She and her sister drove to Carthage to see if the house was still standing. When they

found it they ventured to speak to the property owner who invited them in to see the first floor. They did not see the basement where Tennessee probably lived, but the women were excited about the opportunity to see the house where an ancestor lived and worked as a slave. Gloria Ballard said of the experience;

The link to the past is tangible when you are walking on the same floors that one of your great grandmothers walked on. People look for something to connect them to the past and we are hoping that this is it for us. It is a strange feeling, and a good feeling in a way, not that our ancestors were slaves, but that you can make that connection.²⁹

Ballard has a picture of Tennessee's daughter Ann, who may also have lived as a slave in the basement of the house.



Figure 4.5 Tintype of Ann Cullom who as a slave may have lived in the basement of the Cullom house in Carthage, Smith County.

Outside the town of Carthage stands the Waggoner Farm, which has one log slave house sitting approximately 100 yards from the main house. Jacob Waggoner built the frame farmhouse sometime in the 1830s, and by 1838 he began buying slaves. In 1850 he held seven people, and 10 years later had more than doubled his slave holding to 16. In addition, the 1860 census lists three slave houses. Waggoner's farming included a cash crop of tobacco, but he practiced mixed use farming with wheat, corn, beans, peas, oats, potatoes, cattle, swine, and sheep.³⁰

The remaining log slave house on the farm measures 16' x 16' and has a metal roof. It stands one and a half stories, with a single pen and two later frame additions. It sits on stone corner piers and has a cut stone fireplace with a brick chimney on the west gable end. A modern porch added to the front of the building has a wooden floor with step-up to access the front door on the north side. The core of the house is the log structure though much added to in the twentieth-century with a loft, two rear frame rooms, electricity, dropped ceiling, and carpeting. The front door sits in the center of the north wall and a window flanks it a few feet to the west. The window frame has wire nails and a four-over-four double-hung, wood sash. While the opening may be historic the frame dates to the twentieth-century. Another window opening pierces the center of the east wall. A second door in the south wall opens to one of the rear additions. This may or may not be an historic opening.

Access to the loft comes from a set of exterior stairs entering a low doorway on the west gable beside the chimney. The current stairs actually rest on

the chimney shoulder for support. The loft and stairs appear to be late additions to the building. The house has a combination of vertical and horizontal board siding. On the north wall a combination of wide and narrow planks cover the wall. The wide planks flank the door on the east side and the narrow ones on the west. The east side has vertical board siding of various widths. The individual boards run the full height of the wall. On the south side a modern addition covers the rear wall. All the siding members date to the twentieth-century.

The overall condition of the house is poor. Many of the roof panels are missing or loose. The front porch has a severe case of rot and is unsafe to walk on. The loft stairs also suffer from rot, making them dangerous to use. The stones and brick of the chimney suffer from weathering. Much of the lime-based mortar has leached out of the joints. The frame additions on the back are rotting and the siding is rotted in many places. One advantage of the siding is that it seems to have protected the logs and that part of the structure may be in good physical repair. However, the corners of the sills are exposed and have begun to rot.

In 1850 Waggoner's slaves may have included one family grouping or potentially one married couple. A male aged 21, and of two females ages 23 and 19, one of whom could have been a wife to the male. Juveniles ages 5, 9, 14, and 16 complete the small group of enslaved people on the farm. The five year old could be a child to the oldest male and female, but the others are too old to be their children. Records indicate Waggoner bought two females in 1838 and 1844, and he obviously also purchased the older males who appear in the 1850 census.³¹

By 1860 Waggoner held 16 people in bondage and owned three slaves houses.³² From the ages and skin color notations in the census data it is apparent that he continued to buy people as well as experienced growth through births. Ten of the individuals were children or juveniles under the age of 12, two teenagers ages 13 and 16, and three adult females ages 20, 28, and 35, with one adult male age 34. Clearly these individuals were not all one family, and with only 3 houses how did the groupings separate out? It is a question that cannot be answered with the facts at-hand. Yet this information begs the question of what constituted a “slave community” on a small farm such as this. Small holdings were the norm in Tennessee. Perhaps, these individuals saw their community in a broader view, encompassing other farms in the area. But that assumes they were allowed to travel off the farm. Such a small group could easily be monitored by Waggoner while on the farm.

The most visited slave-holding historic site in Tennessee is the Hermitage in Davidson County. The home of former president Andrew Jackson held a workforce of up to 130 slaves. Today the Ladies Hermitage Association operates the property as a plantation museum. Typical of the larger plantations in this study several slave houses can be found on the property as well as rooms in the basement of the main house. In addition, the Hermitage is one of the most well researched antebellum plantations in the country with many examples of slave houses excavated archeologically.

The basement of the main house has two rooms that slaves worked in, and may have also have used for living spaces. The rooms sit below the front and rear

parlors of the house, with a bulkhead entrance below the back porch. The first room has a large fireplace on the south wall standing 4'6" wide and 4' high. The room measures 19' x 18', and has whitewash on the upper half of the walls. This room does not have any windows, so a fire, candles, lanterns, or the open door would have been necessary for light. Tony Guzzi, a curator of the Hermitage stated that the staff assumes the room was no longer used after 1831 when Jackson added wings to the house.³³ The room size and shape remain as cues to the original house design constructed in 1821. While the Hermitage basement kitchen apparently served the Jacksons until the kitchen building and wings made it a redundant space, the staff theorizes that perhaps the wings added in 1831 covered windows on the north or south sides of the room. No obvious in-filled window opening could be found during the recording. Invasive investigations might determine otherwise. This room currently holds the HVAC system for the house.

The next room, immediately adjacent and below the front parlor also has no windows, nor a fireplace. However, curator Guzzi feels that Jackson used this room for food storage. Here again, the room has whitewash on the upper parts of the walls but not the lower half. Staff does not know the reason for the odd painting scheme. The room measures 19' x 17' 6." Prior to 1831 the room may also have served the domestic needs of a slave cook, and her family. Only invasive investigations will determine if windows in the north and south walls became covered by the additions in 1831. Archeological excavations below the concrete floors may produce evidence of activities in these rooms. However, the

lower portions of the walls have a deep concrete base which suggests that the rooms were excavated deeper by several feet and a concrete footing placed beneath the walls. If that is the case then all archeological evidence of historic room use is now gone.

The staff of the Hermitage surmises that the room with the fireplace served as a summer kitchen, thinking that it would be cooler to work down there than in the kitchen building in the summer. However, I question the idea that Jackson had concern for the cook's well-being as opposed to the Jackson family's comfort, unless documentation of it can be found. Heat rising out of the basement would have made it less comfortable in the parlor upstairs. Whereas using the room as a kitchen in the winter would allow heat to rise into the parlor when it was wanted.

Historical and archeological studies of the plantation show that prior to 1820 slave housing varied in size and comfort level at the Hermitage. Houses built before that date were constructed of logs and probably sat directly on the ground surface. After 1820 Jackson had only brick houses built with limestone foundations. These buildings served both field hands and domestic slaves. Apparently Jackson felt it necessary to house all his slaves in the same manner.

Interestingly, all the extant slave houses at the Hermitage are log buildings. The East and West cabins and a house known as Uncle Alfred's cabin sit within one hundred yards of the main house. The West Cabin, though it served as a slave house, was not initially built for slaves. These two buildings are the remnants of what is known as "the first Hermitage," a collection of buildings

constructed in 1804 to house both Jackson and his domestic slaves. The Jacksons lived in the West Cabin and the East Cabin functioned as the kitchen and housed the cook and her family. It must be noted that the term "cabin" is a misnomer with regards to the "West Cabin." It initially stood as a two-story four or five room log farmhouse where Andrew and Rachel Jackson lived for nearly 20 years. The When the Jacksons moved into the brick mansion in 1821 the West and East Cabins became slave residences. The West Cabin served several purposes, including a guest house, slave house, and simply storage. The East Cabin, constructed from 1805-1806, served as the plantation kitchen from that time until 1821, and then became solely a slave house.³⁴

After moving to the brick mansion, Jackson had the first floor of the West Cabin removed sometime between 1821 and 1830, likely building another house from the logs.³⁵ At the time of recording the interior configuration included hand-planed board partition walls dividing the building into three rooms, with one large room on the south and two smaller ones on the north side of the house. While this internal design appeared to make the West Cabin a "Penn plan" house, common in early Tennessee, it must be remembered that these rooms existed as the second floor of Jackson's home and do not reflect the typical Penn plan design.³⁶ It must also be noted that a three-room plan is not a typical slave house design in Tennessee. Architectural investigations revealed the walls and the room divisions to be original features dating to Jackson's occupation.³⁷ One of the rooms contained the stairs, which continued to be used as an access to the former attic, later converted into a two-room loft. While this is the only slave house in the

survey wherein an entire room is given over to a set of stairs, it must be noted that the building was not designed for slave use. It only became a slave dwelling through the evolution of the plantation based on the rise in Jackson's fortunes.

The original logs in the dwelling have half dovetail corner notching, and rest on stone piers.³⁸ The notches overhang several inches beyond the plane of each wall. The building measures 26' 10" x 24' 5" on the exterior. On the interior the largest room takes up the entire south half of the structure. The other rooms divide the north half equally. The south room contains the fireplace, though the chimney is a rebuilt feature. The building has three windows, two on the west wall and one on the north gable end. The only door exists near the southeast corner along the east wall. Because this was originally the second floor the door is probably not a feature dating to 1804, but more likely dates to post 1821.³⁹ It has a gable roof frame structure with weatherboards on the exterior. At the time of recording the majority of the weatherboards were held in place with wire nails. However, later architectural investigations noted the placement of wrought nails demonstrating the original weatherboards measured approximately 5" each.⁴⁰

A major renovation in the 1970s changed a number of the building's features. The chimney received a total reconstruction in 1979, and a new floor installed in 1980. Other twentieth-century replacements involved a number of logs including the sills, the summer beam, the door frame, the window sash and frames, and the box cornices. Much of that work was undertaken to stabilize the building. Since the time of recording the West Cabin underwent another major

renovation during the early twenty-first century and is now displayed as a slave house, as it was after 1821.⁴¹

While the West Cabin housed a slave family or families they left clues to their occupation through artifacts lying beneath the house. The West Cabin also had root cellars beneath it; the north room had 2 cellars, while the south room had one. Archeologist Larry McKee thinks Jackson used these cellars initially, citing architectural evidence that one of the cellars runs under a dividing wall. That wall, now part of the first floor, would have been in the second story until the building was lowered after 1821. But when Jackson lived in the house the first floor was one large open room which would have given full access to both cellars.⁴² After Jackson moved to the mansion, slaves used the cellars and their artifacts came to light through archeology.

Approximately 40' to the east of the West Cabin stands the East Cabin, a single-story, double-pen log building with a loft and square notching at the corners. The building rests on corner piers, and has massive end chimneys of stone. The East Cabin served as the plantation kitchen and cook's home while the Jacksons lived in what is now known as "The First Hermitage."⁴³ After Jackson moved into the brick mansion in 1821 he likely converted the East Cabin to a duplex slave dwelling. It measures 29' 9" x 18' 4" on the exterior and has two rooms.

A log partition wall divides the East Cabin into two nearly equal sized rooms. The central wall is square-notched and integrated into the main walls. A door in the partition allows access to both rooms, which makes sense

architecturally when the building served as the kitchen and cook's house. The cook would have had entry into either room through the central doorway. Interestingly, historical architects think the central doorway could have been cut after Jackson converted it to a two-family slave house.⁴⁴ If their assumption is correct then that architectural detail belies a level of familiarity between the occupants of both sides of the building. The north room measures 17' 4" x 14' 6", and the south 17' 4" x 14' 1". An exterior door enters each pen through the east and west walls but it has no windows to light the interior spaces.⁴⁵ The hewn logs making up the walls are yellow poplar and walnut. Dendrochronology verifies that the building construction dates to 1805-1806.⁴⁶ The building has a gable frame roof structure with weatherboards on the gables. Much of the roof framing is a modern replacement. At the time of recording most of the gable boards were attached with wire nails. Since that time the building received a major restoration and re-opened to the public in 2005.

The notching technique on this building does not match the West Cabin as it has square notches at both the corners and the center partition wall. The West Cabin has half dovetail notching. The difference in notching technique demonstrates that the east building served more mundane purposes than the West Cabin. Square notching is not as refined a construction technique as the half dovetail on the farmhouse, however it served the purpose and has lasted over 200 years as a service building. The tasks which the East Cabin served the Jacksons include the kitchen, and probably the scullery and laundry.⁴⁷ During the 1950s the Ladies Hermitage Association completely rebuilt parts of the East Cabin

including the stone chimneys, and the hearths and fireplaces were again rebuilt in 1980.⁴⁸ The original sizes of the fireplaces are not known.

The East Cabin represents several generations of known enslaved individuals who lived on The Hermitage plantation. The Jacksons' cook Betty lived in the building after 1805 and her son Alfred was born there around 1813.⁴⁹ Considering the period of construction, when Middle Tennessee sat on the edge of the frontier, the character of the building is notable. Architectural historian and former Director of Preservation for The Hermitage, Robbie Jones noted;

Since this building was intended as a workspace and slave quarters, the overall quality of the craftsmanship was mediocre in comparison to the farmhouse. However, the building was substantial, stout, and the masonry limestone chimneys were of superior quality. When viewed in the context of frontier slave quarters, the quality of the building was remarkable.⁵⁰

Perhaps the most interesting historical aspect of this building is that it served as a slave house for nearly 60 years and is one of the oldest purpose-built slave buildings in the Tennessee database.

The enslaved inhabitants of the East Cabin added their own domestic touches to the building during their occupation. Several brick-lined root cellars came to light through archeological excavations.⁵¹ Slaves constructed the cellars with bricks made on the plantation. One cellar had a wooden floor and the others had brick or simply dirt. The artifact assemblages of bone, metal, ceramics, and glassware indicate a material culture within the slave quarter fairly rich in household objects.⁵²

Part of the First Hermitage complex, though now no more than archeological remains, is a building known as the South Cabin. Archeologist Sam

Smith's excavation of the site in the mid-1970s discovered the foundation of a building, probably constructed of log, sitting to the south of the East and West Cabins. The building measured 40' x 20' 6" overall. Smith noted that its size is larger than any of the other structures associated with the First Hermitage complex, though it is very close in size to Alfred's Cabin.⁵³ The structure probably stood as a log house with a stone foundation and two end chimneys on the gable walls. It likely was a double-pen log structure with rooms on the north and south ends, each measuring approximately 17' x 17'. The south room fireplace measured 4' in width and the north fireplace likely matched it in size. The chimney consisted mostly of brick, but from the amount of stone also found in the rubble pile Smith deduced that it had stone in fair portion of its construction.⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that the South Cabin had a full foundation, while the East and West Cabins sat on piers. The difference in foundations suggests that it dates to a different, probably later, time. Archeological information indicates the building stood until approximately 1848.⁵⁵ The earliest date for the building, as revealed by the archeology, is approximately 1813 which would date the South Cabin as part of the First Hermitage complex.⁵⁶

A final building, also known only through archeology, stood within the First Hermitage compound and is known as the Southeast Cabin. Archeological excavations in 1999 revealed the remains of a stone chimney base to the southeast of the other buildings in the area. While no definitive evidence of the building's size or number of rooms came to light, the artifacts associated with the structure place its occupation at the same time as when the Jacksons occupied the West

Cabin. Archeologist Larry McKee concluded; “evidence suggests that the structure that once stood here served as a dwelling probably contemporaneous with the Jackson occupation, and was most likely home to one or more African-Tennessean slave families.”⁵⁷ While the archeological work did not uncover the entire building, the remainders of the structure and the artifacts associated with it paint a picture of slaves living there.

During the Jacksons time in the West Cabin the First Hermitage area included at least four buildings; the two-story West Cabin, the double-pen kitchen/cooks’ house East Cabin, the South Cabin, and the Southeast Cabin. Sometime after 1821 when the Jacksons moved to the brick mansion the South and Southeast Cabins were dismantled and the first floor of the West Cabin removed, possibly to become other buildings somewhere on the plantation. Archeological research at the Hermitage has helped round-out this knowledge of buildings within the First Hermitage complex. Three buildings only known through archeology housed slaves at the First Hermitage, though the number of occupants has not been determined. However, this archeological and architectural research has shed light on the fact that a number of enslaved African-Tennesseans lived in close proximity to the Jacksons at the West Cabin. During the Jacksons' tenure on this part of the property the First Hermitage complex would have been a lively center of the plantation's activities with the black and white inhabitants living within a few hundred feet of each other.

Directly behind the mansion stands a log slave house known as Alfred's Cabin. Alfred Jackson, born into slavery in the East Cabin, lived in bondage on

the plantation for many years, staying in this log house after emancipation.⁵⁸ The house contains two rooms with a central fireplace and stone chimney. The building measures 39' 1" x 19' 8" overall and has interior room dimensions of 18' 8" x 18' 7." Opposing doors on the east and west walls access the north room, but the south room has a door only on the west with a window balancing it on the east wall. Investigations revealed that the door on the west side originally stood as a window enlarged some time later, which would indicate that at first the house had a single door into each pen on the east wall.⁵⁹ According to Hermitage records the house received a general restoration in 1896, with a new shingle roof, foundation repair and re-chinking.⁶⁰ Other restoration and repair work undertaken in the early twentieth-century included scraping and staining the logs on the interior to "resemble a smoked effect."⁶¹

Archeological and documentary research concluded that the house dates to approximately 1849, built after Andrew Jackson's death in 1845.⁶² However, a dendrochronology study of the building determined the logs were cut in 1843, and the house likely constructed at that time or shortly thereafter. The researchers drilled 100 cores from several logs in order to obtain a sufficient sample for the study.⁶³ Because Alfred's house was designed specifically for slave living, it and the East Cabin are the only such buildings still standing on the plantation. It is interesting to note that although the house reportedly served only Alfred Jackson and his wife, no interior door between the two rooms exists. This design feature suggests the building may have originally housed more than one family. Another intriguing facet is the fact that the logs of the long walls are cut to half length,

spanning the extent of just one pen. This feature may also indicate that the building is a combination of two other buildings dismantled and re-assembled in this location. Several candidate buildings existed in the First Hermitage area discussed above.⁶⁴ The three-way notching to create the intersection of the north and south pens with the central wall is a well crafted modified half dovetail notching not seen elsewhere at the Hermitage. The modified notching may be a result of logs already having the half dovetail notches and the carpenter simply modified them to create the new building. Other architectural historians who have studied the Hermitage also noted the notching style as unusual, not just for this property, but in southern architecture.⁶⁵ The only other dual pen log structure constructed with half-length logs is the west building at Riverside in Wilson County. There the carpenter used simple lapped square notches to intersect the three log walls. Most of the double pen houses in the database have logs that span the length of the long walls or were constructed as saddlebag or Cumberland-style houses, or with dogtrot. A final consideration is the central chimney in Alfred's Cabin. This is the only log slave dwelling on the property constructed with a central chimney all other standing buildings and those known through archeology have, or had, end chimneys.

Archeologist Larry McKee makes the interesting point that Alfred's Cabin resides just outside the formal landscape in the farthest corner of the yard from the mansion.⁶⁶ It sits near the intersection of fences delineating the formal yard from the more vernacular farm landscape beyond. This is one area where I see elite Tennessee plantations as different from their Virginia predecessors, especially

those investigated by other researchers.⁶⁷ The Virginia plantations had large landscaped gardens and most of the slave houses sat out of sight or hidden by plantings and other features. But at the Hermitage, home to arguably Tennessee's most famous son in the nineteenth-century, the formal yard was not very large. Several slave dwellings stood within sight of the mansion including Alfred's house.⁶⁸ One extremely important facet of this building is that as an extant house associated with a known slave family this building is very important in Southern history. Because of their association with Alfred and his mother Betty, Alfred's house and the East Cabin have connections to historically identifiable people known by name and photographs. The progression of Alfred Jackson's life can be seen and touched in these two buildings. A relationship between a standing building and known enslaved people is rare. There are few other such buildings in the Tennessee slave housing database.

To the south of Alfred's cabin approximately 30 yards archeologists discovered the remains of another log structure which became known as the "yard cabin." The remains included a limestone chimney foundation and a brick lined root cellar along with deposits of artifacts associated with the building. While the excavations did not uncover the entirety of the building the archeologists surmise that it stood as a duplex log structure with each pen measuring 20' x 20.' An assessment of the artifactual evidence suggests that the building stood from the 1820s until it apparently burned in the 1870s.⁶⁹ If the dating is correct, then this building, along with Alfred's and the triplex, stood well within sight of the

mansion.⁷⁰ The triplex seems to date from 1821 or soon thereafter until at least the 1840s.⁷¹

The triplex was a brick building measuring 20' x 60' and two of the pens had brick lined root cellars.⁷² It had a cut limestone block foundation similar to the main house, which distinguished it from Alfred's Cabin, which sat nearby. The triplex had two end chimneys for each end pen, and a fireplace on the rear wall for the center room.⁷³ These last buildings in the yard, and very close to the mansion, contain the 20 foot increments also seen in the Field Quarter buildings Jackson had constructed in 1821. It seems that after this point Jackson devised the 20 foot square as the optimal house/room size for a slave family. Even the South Cabin in the First Hermitage area, which was log, held those dimensions.

Far from the maintained landscape approximately 650 yards north of the main house lay the remains of five more buildings in an area that has come to be known as the Field Quarter.⁷⁴ Archeological excavations there from the 1970s through the 1990s uncovered a tremendous amount of information on slave life at the Hermitage. Included in the discoveries are the remains of four brick duplex buildings on continuous limestone foundations, and earlier remnants of a log structure with pit cellars. The brick duplex houses each contained two rooms measuring 20' x 20'. The houses sat aligned roughly in an east-west direction approximately 50' apart in a quadrangle. Of these buildings, named cabins one through four, only cabin one appears to have been occupied after emancipation.⁷⁵

The architectural evidence of two rooms in each house without a connecting doorway in the central dividing wall suggests that two families

occupied each building. Archeologically the quarter dates to the early 1820s, which indicates that Jackson had these houses built about the same time, or shortly after the mansion's completion in 1821. It was in this period that Jackson's financial fortunes rose and the slave population of the plantation grew from 44 at the 1820 census to nearly 100 at the 1830 census.⁷⁶ McKee estimates that between 50 and 90 people lived in these buildings between the 1820s and 1850s.⁷⁷ It would have been a very busy place where the majority of the slave community at the Hermitage lived. The fifth structure at the quarter, known as building KES, pre-dates the other buildings. Archeological evidence demonstrates that it was torn down in favor of the four new buildings in the early 1820s. Archeologists found it difficult to determine exact measurements for KES, but estimate a size of perhaps 12' x 12' to 15' x 15'.⁷⁸ Artifacts dating to the very early nineteenth-century make KES, along with the East Cabin, the earliest known slave houses on the plantation.

From KES in the early years of the nineteenth-century to the brick field quarters and duplex or triplex buildings near the mansion, archeology has discovered the evolution of slave housing at the Hermitage. The earliest building measures 15' square at best, or 225 square feet. Jackson's standardization of 20 feet square added another 175 square feet, but did little to compensate for the fact that upwards of 90 people lived in the field quarter at its height. Each "house" in the quarter, a room really, would have served as tight living space during the waking hours if everyone in a family stayed indoors. As discussed previously, and discovered archeologically, at the Hermitage, African-Tennessean life generally

centered on the outdoors during good weather. But in the winter small houses would become crowded.

This research has brought out the question of a cook possibly living in the basement of the mansion for a time. While archeology and invasive architectural investigations could perhaps answer that question, it begs another. Who “lived” in the upstairs with the Jacksons? As pointed out in previous chapters it was common practice for slaves to “live” within the house and be available for any need at all hours of the night and day. Documentary evidence may yet be uncovered which demonstrates who that might be. While house slaves may have seemed privileged, being on call 24 hours a day leaves one with little time for yourself or family. This is an area of slave history needing more attention, not just at the Hermitage, but in the South in general.

Archeological investigations in and around the quarter set out to discover how the yard areas of the buildings were used during and after emancipation. One goal was to find out if evidence of African-American cultural practices existed in the archeological record. Several interesting facets of the quarter came to light through this work. The archeologists developed a working hypothesis that the yard areas surrounding each cabin might yield clues to the function of each building.⁷⁹ External cooking hearths and activity areas can be delineated through archeological excavation. Indeed, that kind of information came from the north yard surrounding cabin three. In that area a concentration of cow and pig bones representing near complete individuals suggests the area functioned as a slaughter yard prior to construction of the cabin, and served the earlier KES slave building.

Archeologists uncovered evidence that the space between the rows of cabins may have served as a "commons" with fewer artifacts in that area than immediately adjacent to each building. Artifact densities and the thickness of accumulated layers demonstrate that the south side of Cabin 3 was probably the "front" where the entrance to the building could be found. That being the case, all the buildings probably had their doors on the side facing the commons area.⁸⁰ In all of the buildings brick lined root cellars sat just in front of the hearth.

Most of what is known about slave life at the Hermitage comes from archeological excavations and the material culture found in root cellars. The data shows that Jackson supplied his enslaved workers with mostly pork, but that each family had the opportunity to supplement the rations with their own food, raising chickens, ducks, and geese. They also hunted wild game. The remains of fish, shellfish, ground hogs, opossums, raccoons, and turtles were found in the root cellars.⁸¹ While Jackson, like all large slave owners of the time, attempted to control the housing and diet of his chattel, archeological evidence proves the resourcefulness of the slave community.

Mercury and sulfur found in small vials within the quarters hints at the medicinal needs of the plantation community. Mercury was the major chemical component found inside several vials uncovered in the South Cabin. Smith suggests that the mercury was probably used in calomel, a mild mercurous chloride, for the treatment of many ailments.⁸² These medicines could have been used by either the Jacksons or the slaves, but the fact that they were found in the South Cabin root cellar suggests that the vials were intended for slave use. While

each cellar within the community yielded slightly different kinds of artifacts, and the occupants of the Yard Cabin had some more expensive ceramics, the overall patterns demonstrate that the entire slave population had similar access to household materials.⁸³

Archeologist Brian Thomas conducted historical research to supplement the interpretation that all the slaves had equal access to material goods, and a supposition that no hierarchy within the slave community existed. Thomas's research into Andrew Jackson's farm journal demonstrates that marriages across the occupations occurred frequently, supporting the idea that no caste system existed between house and field slaves. Historian Eugene Genovese equally demonstrated similar patterns in slavery in general stating;

Yet, apart from the status-bound great plantations - apart, that is, from a small elite - house servants regularly married field hands with no suggestion of loss of caste. The three-quarters of all slaves who lived on units of fifty or less slaves could hardly afford such pretensions, for the staff of house servants did not reach a size appropriate for inbreeding; and even on the largest plantations the status lines appeared only in some cases, probably not nearly a majority.⁸⁴

Genovese's implication here is that there *was* a caste system among some slave communities, especially on the larger plantations, and it existed in the minds of the planters too.⁸⁵ Indeed there is some oral evidence that it existed in the minds of some slaves. In the most telling of slave narratives edited by Ophelia Settle Egypt, and transcribed by researchers at Fiske University, several former Tennessee slaves told of how they felt being raised in the "big house." One female stated; "Yes, I got treated better'n any of them 'cause I stayed in the house; but sister had to work in the field and she wasn't treated any better."⁸⁶ One male said;

"The white folks would eat in the dining room, and the hands would eat in the kitchen. I think they treated the house slaves a little better than they did the others."⁸⁷ Finally, another male house slave testified; "We house slaves thought we was better'n the others what worked in the field. We really was raised a little different, you know; fact is, I kinda think I'm better'n most folks now, he, he, he, he. Yes'm, we was raised; they, that is, the field hands wasn't."⁸⁸ While it was probably true to some extent that a division existed between house and field hands, the necessity of having a coherent community of enslaved persons probably eschewed too much of that, as Thomas's research shows for the Hermitage. He demonstrates that both the documentary and archeological evidence displays a commonality among the population.⁸⁹

Archeologist Sam Smith made the interesting comment that because of the varied nature of slave housing and the fact that several types of buildings were spread about the Hermitage landscape, he stated that "there is no single area of the Hermitage that can be defined as *the* slave quarters."⁹⁰ Even after Jackson standardized the size and makeup of his slave houses with brick, Alfred, the person most well known to history of the African-Tennessean community at the plantation, lived in a log house behind the mansion. As well, a cook may have lived in the basement of the mansion between 1821, when the house was built, and 1834 when a new kitchen building went up just outside the rear porch. Another possibility is that the cook then moved into the former kitchen room in the basement and lived just below the new kitchen building. Of course the Yard Cabin and the triplex dwelling are not very far from this area and either could also

have served as the cook's residence. A good candidate building would be the Yard Cabin where slightly better cuts of meat and some porcelain teaware were found archeologically.⁹¹ The cook would have had access to those kinds of materials working in the kitchen and main house.

The First Hermitage archeological excavations, spanning over 30 years, have recovered a number of artifact types generally linked to slave culture. The major categories include glass beads, buttons, smooth stones, semi-precious stones, pierced objects used for adornment, and objects with carving on them. Sam Smith's excavations in 1976 recovered a total of 52 glass beads.⁹² While beads were used in a number of ways including ladies purses and lampshades, faceted blue beads had symbolic meaning in the African-American slave community and were used for adornment.⁹³ Archeologists recovered numerous blue beads at the First Hermitage sites. Researchers have also noted smoothed or waterworn stones in slave contexts throughout the South, and several were found during excavations. Related to smooth stones are crystals, and Smith found an amethyst and quartz crystal at the South Cabin site. One West African belief is that water originates all life. Water worn stones may represent connections to that belief.⁹⁴ Crystals and other shiny objects could be found in pouches worn around the neck called spirit bundles or nkisi/minkisi which was "good medicine."⁹⁵ Crystals or clear objects are thought to represent the presence of ancestors in a place, and so the crystals found at the Hermitage may have held the same meaning for slaves there.⁹⁶

Other objects which had meaning in the African-American community include a utensil handle, probably a spoon, which was pierced to hang by a string from the neck. Several pierced coins dating from the 1830s also hung the same way as a talisman to ward off evil spirits. Also found was a marble with an X carved into it. The X, or a cross, carved into various artifacts, archeologists interpret as representing the Bakango cosmogram. One line of the emblem symbolizes the boundary between the world of the living and the dead, while the other line represents the pathway of power from earth and the world of the dead, or above and below.⁹⁷ Historian Robert Farris Thompson says of the African-American cosmograms; "Written on the earth these cosmograms reemerged precisely where persons influenced by the life and lore of Kongo lived and thought."⁹⁸

Another group of artifacts highly suggestive of African-American ritual symbolism is that of fist charms made of copper alloy. Archeologists have recovered four of these small charms from slave sites at the Hermitage. Archeologist Aaron Russell posited a number of symbolic representations for these objects.⁹⁹ However, the archeological contexts and lack of any related documentary information cannot connect these items to specific cultural practices. Along with the other objects discussed above they do suggest the existence of an African American religious culture in the slave quarters.¹⁰⁰ This important interpretation demonstrates clearly that slaves had enough room to maneuver within the oppressive regime of slavery to participate in their own culture. It also

demonstrates that they had the economic wherewithal to obtain objects such as blue beads and commercially manufactured charms.¹⁰¹

All these objects and architectural features - root cellars, crystals, water worn pebbles, pierced coins, blue beads, spoon handles, fist charms, etc. - represent a group of people establishing their own cultural presence on the Hermitage. While it was home to one of America's Presidents, and an influential early nineteenth-century family, it was also home to a larger group of enslaved people who, through various mechanisms, placed meaning on the landscape and circumstances in which they lived and worked. The Hermitage slave houses and African-Tennessean community have received a great deal of architectural, documentary, and archeological attention. As such they are the most well recorded and studied slave dwellings in Tennessee. Despite this fact there is a dearth of documentary evidence regarding the use of them, or about the everyday lives of those who called those places home.¹⁰² However, through the combined research avenues of traditional history, architectural history, and archeology a picture of slave life on one Tennessee plantation has emerged.

Approximately one-half mile east of the Hermitage mansion stands Tulip Grove, the house Jackson built for his nephew in-law Andrew Jackson Donelson between 1834 and 1836. The property consisted of the main house, approximately 1,200 acres and nearly 70 slaves.¹⁰³ Donelson served as the personal secretary to Andrew Jackson during part of his presidency. The Hermitage operates Tulip Grove as part of its collection of historic buildings. The house sits on a full

English basement and several rooms in the lowest level have windows and one has a large fireplace suggesting use other than storage.

A set of stairs and doorway on the gable end of the house enter the basement from the outside. The Hermitage staff interprets the first room on the east side of the house, as a summer kitchen. The room measures 20' 6" x 15' and has a 4'9" wide fireplace with a high arched opening along the east gable wall. The fireplace received a brick in-fill sometime in the twentieth-century, but the stonework is distinctive enough to gather measurements. Two windows flank the fireplace giving the room direct sunlight. Both window openings measure 3'7" across. At the time of recording the room served as a modern kitchen, with a stove, sink, and modern countertops. It has a brick floor laid in herring bone pattern, though it post-dates the Donelson occupation. In the nineteenth-century the room likely served as a winter kitchen, laundry, or scullery. A kitchen outbuilding stands behind the main house with direct access to the main level, so this room likely served another utilitarian function. The size of the fireplace indicates service rather than for merely heating a domestic room.

Adjacent to this room is another chamber with two windows, but no fireplace. With a window on the east and another on the south wall, the room measures 16' 6" x 14' and could have served as the living space for a chamber maid, laundress, or other domestic slaves, perhaps even a family. The windows match those of the kitchen in size and shape. No evidence of shelves, either ghost lines, or paint lines could be found which would suggest a storage function. Tulip Grove has a similar layout of rooms in the basement as the Hermitage with a

room having a large fireplace adjacent to another without one. While these non-fireplace rooms could have served as simple storage spaces, the fact that both basements have rooms adjacent with large fireplaces suggests that the rooms without fireplaces were used for some domestic function. Although the adjacent rooms may have been mere storage, a more likely scenario is that at The Hermitage the cooks lived there, when the kitchen would have been in use, and at Tulip Grove the basement room could have served as a second kitchen seasonally, or more likely a laundry. The adjacent room should be considered a candidate for domestic slave living quarters.

The Hermitage staff interpret Tulip Grove's basement kitchen as a summer kitchen thinking that it would be cooler to work below ground than in the attached kitchen building in the summer. However, I question the thought that there was concern for the cook's comfort as opposed to the Donelson family's. Heat rising out of the basement would have made it uncomfortable for the family upstairs. Whereas using the kitchen in the winter would allow heat to rise into the front parlor when it was wanted. According to curator Tony Guzzi a number of slave houses stood to the east of the main house approximately 20-30 yards.¹⁰⁴ That area is now a parking lot. It would have taken several houses like the four brick structures at The Hermitage's field quarter to house the approximately 70 people of Tulip Grove's slave population.

At 1900 Belmont Boulevard, west of downtown Nashville stands one of the grand mansions of Tennessee's antebellum period, called Belmont. While Belmont was not a major agricultural plantation, it was more of a suburban

showplace, it did encompass 175 acres, and 32 slaves lived on the property.¹⁰⁵

Adelicia Acklen and her husband Joseph contracted with Nashville architect Adolphus Heiman to construct the house and it was completed between 1850 and 1852. By 1853 they occupied the house and spelled the name Belle Monte.¹⁰⁶

Adelicia's first husband Isaac Franklin (the master of Fairvue Plantation in Gallatin) had died in 1846 and she married Joseph Acklen in 1848. At the time of its completion Belmont stood out among the finest homes in all of Tennessee.

Built in the Italianate style with three levels the house contains a large basement with rooms likely occupied by slaves. However, Belmont University, which owns the mansion, has converted much of the basement into offices.¹⁰⁷ In its original configuration the basement contained numerous rooms, though the complete layout is unknown as no drawings of the period are known to exist. In the twentieth-century the college transformed half of the basement into modern office spaces. Despite the changes several rooms retain their original layout, and one in particular is recorded in the database.

The Belmont museum staff interprets a room on the northeast corner of the basement as the cook's room. They deduce this use from the fact that the historic kitchen sat just to the north, near the stairs. The kitchen no longer exists, but its former location is known through documents.¹⁰⁸ The cook's room has a fireplace, an interior door, an exterior door, one window, and measures 18' x 16' 10." The window is a six-over-six double-hung, wood sash. In addition, the room has a 4' wide fireplace, a feature that not all of the extant historic rooms in the basement share. A room on the northwest side of the house mirrors the cook's room in

features and dimensions. Access was not granted to this room but this second room most likely also served as a slave living space. Several other intact historic rooms in the basement have shelving units, brick floors, and windows suggesting that they were used for storage or work activities which the slaves likely performed in the basement. It is unlikely that that Acklen family themselves entered those rooms very often.

Slavery and slave work at Belmont likely did not mirror that of Fairvue, Adelicia's home while married to Isaac Franklin. In part this is due to the fact that Belmont did not become a large crop producing plantation. Instead it functioned as the seat of a very, very, wealthy family who owned plantations in Tennessee, Louisiana and land in Texas.¹⁰⁹ Adelicia and Joseph Acklen at one time owned upwards of 750 slaves spread across a number of plantations.¹¹⁰ Belmont served as a Belvedere, a grand Italianate mansion in a landscaped garden.

While slaves were needed to tend the massive landscaped gardens and agricultural acres, it was not as cotton or tobacco hands. Still, the enslaved African-Tennesseans living at Belmont numbered 32 with 10 slave houses at the 1860 census.¹¹¹ Mostly they tended to the farm animals and the few crops grown on the 175 acres for household consumption.¹¹² In the first years of the home the Acklens only used the house as a summer residence.¹¹³ The slaves working the gardens, orchards, and fields worked under the supervision of an overseer, and the household staff worked under a housekeeper.¹¹⁴ In the basement rooms would have lived the cook and probably a helper or a maid. Research by site staff has found that Adelicia had visiting quarters constructed in the basement for those

slaves traveling with visitors to the house.¹¹⁵ By the mid-1850s the Acklens made Belmont their permanent Tennessee home, while Joseph spent part of his time managing their plantations in Louisiana. The difference in daily life for those enslaved people working the Mississippi River plantations and the slaves at Belmont probably would have been striking. Though contemporaries and historians credit Joseph Acklen with a humanitarian touch in his approach to slaves,¹¹⁶ work on a cotton plantation in the deep South was much more exhausting labor than tending to cattle and corn at Belmont. Where the slave houses stood on the property is not known, but intense twentieth-century development of the area surrounding Belmont has likely obliterated evidence of them.

To south of downtown is one of the oldest houses in Nashville, Travellers Rest, constructed by early Tennessee pioneer John Overton in 1799. It is open to the public as an historic house museum. The Federal style hall and parlor two-story house has several rear wing additions dating from the nineteenth-century. Beneath the c. 1799 dwelling are two cellar rooms, one with a bulkhead door entrance to the exterior on the east gable end, beside the chimney. No fireplaces appear in this cellar so it did not serve as a kitchen, but according to site staff one of the rooms functioned as Overton's early wine cellar.¹¹⁷ Both rooms have dirt floors and neither has a window so they likely did not serve as living spaces for slaves, but as storage rooms they were areas the domestic slaves had to enter to retrieve bottles of wine or other items Overton wanted.

An eight-room Greek Revival-styled wing added in 1828 included a basement room with a fireplace on the north wall.¹¹⁸ Site interpreters suspect that the fireplace may be part of an earlier kitchen building that stood immediately behind the house but later incorporated into the wing.¹¹⁹ A 1992 historic structures report states that the whole of the cellar in the addition functioned as service space with a kitchen. Each of the three cellar rooms could be locked separately. A second fireplace, now mostly filled in, sits at the southern end of the wing. The southern room is a large open space that later saw the addition of a coal-burning furnace along its west wall. Prior to construction of this wing in 1828 a brick kitchen building stood in the yard approximately 50' from the house. The wing incorporated some of that building, likely including the fireplace for the kitchen in the new wing.

The kitchen room measures 20' x 14' 10," has an exterior door, and a fireplace. The fireplace has been in-filled and it is difficult to determine the exact size but it appears to be 4' wide originally. This room could have served as a slave a living space as well as the kitchen/workspace after 1828. Two windows light this room, one on the west and one on the east wall. The windows each measure 2'4" wide and 2'4" high. To the south of the kitchen a narrow hall leads to the doorway of the wine cellar and on toward the south room. In the hallway and against the west wall a few feet north of the wine cellar stands a two-brick wide pier for a doorway that would have shut off the kitchen from the wine cellar. At one time a stairway lead down to this space from the rear of the house and through the west wall, though that space is now filled in.¹²⁰ At the foot of the west

wall a 4' wide section of stone rubble appears in the otherwise brick wall. On both sides of the stone sit brick piers, which suggest that the stairs were enclosed and would have led directly to the wine cellar doorway. The physical evidence indicates that sidewalls of the stairway had doors in them to allow passage to the kitchen area to the north, and the slave living/work space to the south. The historic structure report states that this was at one time an exterior entrance doorway, which was later closed-in so a stairway could be added above it on the first floor leading to the second floor. The new design necessitated closing off the stairs to the basement. At that time a hatch in the pantry floor was installed to access the wine cellar.¹²¹

The southern room measures larger than the kitchen at 35' 7" x 20' though its fireplace is smaller. Four windows light the room, two each on the west and east walls. This room abuts the wall to the original house cellar, and a passage between the two structures was opened in the twentieth-century. From this evidence it appears the south room did not have its own exterior entrance. The only way to gain access would have been through the door in the kitchen or through the doorway in front of the wine cellar. However, it is apparent from the extant fireplace that slaves at least worked in this room, if not lived there. Perhaps the cook and her family lived in this room as it was near the kitchen. The fireplace with a current opening of a little over one foot, but appears to have been somewhat larger suggests it served only as a heat source. However, for such a large room the heat would not have carried far. Later alterations to the breast wall

of the fireplace include what appears to be a stovepipe vent. If that is the case then heating this room continued to be a consideration well into the antebellum period.

The architectural evidence at Travellers Rest suggests that two slave-associated spaces could be found in the basement by 1828. The room at the south end is rather large at 35' 7" x 20' and it probably served as the cook's room. Because it is such a large space it may also have functioned as the laundry, the scullery, or cooking for other house slaves, though the currently visible evidence for the room's fireplace argues against these service functions. At his death John Overton had a large slave holding with 53 slaves according to his estate inventory of 1835, so it is very likely that Overton had slaves living in the house to serve him and his family.¹²² Secondary sources state that at least one brick slave house existed near the house initially, and in 1828 in addition to the wing Overton had several more slave quarters constructed, though their locations are unknown. The suggestion is that slave houses already existed on the property. The location of these buildings is not known.¹²³

South of downtown Nashville off the Nolensville Pike the Ogilvie-Holt house sits at 6700 Holt Road surrounded by modern development, the dwelling is a typical Tennessee central passage or I-house with rear ell wing constructed in 1832.¹²⁴ Beside the house approximately 35' away stand two log buildings that served as slave residences in the antebellum period. Only one remains as a standing structure, the other is a collapsed ruin with only a few courses of log walls still standing.

The extant log building stands as a single story, double-pen log dwelling with a continuous stone foundation. It sits on a north-south axis facing the side of the house. It measures 19' 5" x 11' 10" on the exterior, and has fine half dovetail corner notching. The north pen measures 9' 4" x 10' 10" and the south pen 8' 7" x 10' 10" on the interior. The interior partition wall measures a full 6" thick, and also has half dovetail notches cut into the center of the long walls. The building does not have a loft; the roof sits low on the building and the long walls only stand 4 to 5 logs high. The current covering is a corrugated tin roof which overhangs the sides of the stone chimney and has a 4' 2" overhang on the north gable. The reason for an extensive overhang on a gable wall without a chimney is not known. The front or west side does not have a porch. The doors open inward on the front side, and no windows exist to give natural light in the building. This is an unusual design feature for a single building in the database. While basement rooms without windows can be found, this is the only building without windows. It has a wooden floor, but whether it is an original feature is not known because it could not be inspected due to the amount of materials stored in the building.

A very interesting facet of this building is the fact that the gables consist of logs instead of framing, which suggests a very early construction date. The front and back walls have very large logs, some measuring up to 14" in height. The northern door also is an interesting feature. Each board is pegged to the two rear battens. The hinges are hand carved of wood and pegged into the door frame. Conversely the south door, is also board and batten, but constructed with cut nails, and has metal hinges. The interior partition wall has a doorway between the two

pens, but no door covers the opening. Because of the amount of materials stored in the house it was impossible to examine the door frame for hinge attachment type. The nearly total log construction, lack of windows, and pegged doors all suggest a very early construction date for Middle Tennessee. A newspaper article states that the building dates to 1799, and the owner also stated that oral tradition suggests the house dates to that year.¹²⁵ The oral tradition also contends that the building began as either a frontier station, or as a long-hunters cabin. Despite the uncertainty of construction date, the building has several features which traditionally date to the eighteenth-century in this part of Tennessee. Those include the pegged door and wooden hinge, the log gables, and the very large sizes of the logs.

Another interesting design aspect of this building is the fact that it sits on the very edge of a slope to the east. The building takes advantage of its position by having a cellar within the continuous stone foundation, which stands more than 4' high on the rear of the house. However, much of the stonework had collapsed, and one could see that several generations have used the cellar for trash disposal. The cellar feature is not unique, though it is rare for slave houses in this part of the state, especially outside of East Tennessee.

The north gable overhang on the Holt house appears to be a later addition as the metal roof is twentieth-century element. However, it covers an area between this building and the other log house, which remains only as a ruin several courses of logs high. The overhang may have met the roof of the second house to create a covered area between the buildings. The early elements and oral

history which contends the building began as a frontier station, or a settler's house would indicate the use as a slave living space is a secondary use of this house. In other words it was not designed for slave use, but evolved into that function.

At the time of recording the roof of the second building had collapsed into the house and the framework had nails protruding in many different directions. The walls leaned precariously and had a fairly dense covering of overgrowth, making entry a safety hazard. Therefore the measurements and observations come from outside the remains of this structure. The house stood immediately north of the first building on a north-south axis, facing the rear ell of the main house. It had a metal roof and half dovetail corner notches. The exterior measures 21' 9" x 11' 11". The north pen measures 8' 1" x 10' 9" and the south pen measures 11' 11" x 10' 9." The building has an interior partition wall with a central doorway, though the door is missing. Measurements for the central door opening are interpreted from the north door. No evidence of a fireplace or chimney could be seen, though it may have sat on the south gable wall which is almost entirely missing.

The present owner of the property stated that a number of years ago someone from the Tennessee Historical Commission inspected the standing log house. The Commission representative stated that the house probably began as a station or long-hunter's cabin, and that it has features of an eighteenth-century structure.¹²⁶ It may have become a slave house later in the nineteenth-century, but the log gables, the pegged door and wooden hinges indicate a building pre-dating the main house. The pioneer-like features of the log building highly suggest that it

is an earlier structure than the circa 1832 frame house just a few feet away.¹²⁷ The only other buildings with log gables observed during this survey stand in Rutherford County. One is now a barn, and the other remains as part of a residence in the Walter Hill area. Neither building has record drawings in the database, because they were not slave houses, but the author observed the buildings during the survey. In both cases the current owners stated that the oral tradition about the buildings tells us that each dates to the late eighteenth-century, but no evidence exists about them serving as slave residences.

The historic village of Cumberland Furnace in Dickson County once boasted several ironworks dating to late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries, with some staying in production up until the 1930s. Before and after emancipation the ironworks largely functioned with an African-American labor force.¹²⁸ Two slave houses can be found in the village, one occupying a piece of property on the north edge of town, and the other sits abandoned in the village beside Furnace Creek. These two buildings are the furthest west in the Middle Tennessee division database. They both stand as single pen log houses, one story with a loft with twentieth-century additions on the backs and sides, and both have front porches. Both houses remain in a fair state of repair, the porches need some work, but the log sections continue to be very sturdy. The dates of the two slave houses are not known. They could date to the ownership of Montgomery Bell, one of the largest slave owners in Tennessee in the antebellum period. As the largest iron manufacturer for a period of years from the 1820s through 1850s he held a very large slave labor force.¹²⁹

The house in the center of the village near the creek will be referred to as the creek house, as it has no known formal name. The house sits on the Old Road to Charlotte about 50 yards south of and on the opposite side of the road from the historic Hand House. According to Don Hall, a longtime resident of the Furnace area, the slave house is one of three that existed in that location. He remembers at least one of the other houses being torn down. The other two sat just to the north of the extant house. Apparently all three had the same plan and log construction details.¹³⁰

The creek house stands one story with a loft 16' 8" x 16' 8" with a stone fireplace, and a brick chimney stack. The loft was not inspected for safety reasons. At the time of inspection in 2001 the roof had a standing seam metal covering which probably dates to the twentieth-century. The house sits on corner piers of stone. The fireplace has a wood burning stove insert, consequently it was impossible to determine the original size of the firebox. The house stood abandoned at the time of inspection and had a thick layer of trash within the house. For that reason the floor could not be inspected.

The only window in the dwelling sits on the east wall near the northeast corner and beside the front door. Two other doorways pierce the west and south walls. However, those openings may not be original features. Most other log slave houses in the database do not have three doors. An enclosed box stair to a loft sits in the northwest corner, but the loft was not inspected for safety reasons. The box stair includes wire nails in the construction demonstrating a post 1880 construction. The half dovetail notching of the house is not as finely crafted as the

other log house in Furnace. Each log end projects upwards of 6" from the corner. However, the basic integrity of the logs and the joints make the house structurally sound. The floors however, were not and safety was a concern in examining this building.

The second log house will be referred to as the Smith house because the Smith family of Cumberland Furnace owned it at the time of recording in 2001. The Smiths use the house as a hunting cabin for family and friends. They live in the village and maintain the log house, though it does not have any utilities. The Smiths replaced the floor and ceiling to make the house more habitable in the 1990s. The house sits on a combination of stone corner piers and cinder blocks. A modern porch addition sits on the front or east side. The house probably had a porch originally because it perches on the side of a slope and the door sits several feet off the ground. While a loft exists in this house the roof structure is a total replacement making it difficult to determine if a loft existed as an original feature. The loft was not inspected. The exterior dimensions of the building measure 18' x 18'.

Exterior fenestration includes a door on the west façade and first story windows on the north and east walls with a loft window on the north and south gable ends. The brick chimney with stone firebox resides on the south gable end. A modern frame addition on the east or rear of the building was not measured. The notching technique of half dovetail is well constructed making for very tight log spacing. The log ends do not project beyond the plane of the walls, which

differs from the Creek House. While the modern additions are in a state of disrepair the log building appears very tight.

Windows on the first floor contain wire nails in the frames, demonstrating post 1880 alterations. As seen from the exterior the loft window frames on both gable ends contain wire nails also proving later additions. Though many of the elements of these two houses post date slavery, cut nails in the logs can be seen and the brick chimney stacks have a lime mortar construction demonstrating a pre-1880 date. Moreover, the local oral tradition states that both buildings served as slave houses.

A third building considered to be a slave house existed in the town until 1988. It too stood as a single story one room log house measuring approximately 18' x 18'. The building known as the Stark House has or had Dickson County resource number 336, and its existence is noted in the Tennessee Division of Archaeology's report on the Western Highland Rim iron industry published in 1988. A photograph of the building in the report shows a log house very similar to the Smith House with a cut stone gable-end chimney and a front porch addition. It appears to have a loft, and the report calls it a 1 ½ story building which local informants called the oldest house in town, and a slave house. The photograph shows a finely crafted half dovetail notching very similar to the Smith house.¹³¹ The Stark House mirrors the Smith house in size and notching technique. At the time of survey the two informants in town did not mention the existence of this house so it is assumed it is no longer extant.

The significance of the two slave dwellings lies in their association with the Highland Rim iron furnaces and their African-American labor force. Montgomery Bell, one of the largest iron masters in the Middle Tennessee iron region during the period from the 1820s to the mid 1850s, owned a tremendous number of slaves, and hired many more for his works. Sources estimate Bell owned 332 slaves at the 1850 census.¹³² Reportedly Bell owned and hired so many slaves that he did not know everyone he owned or employed. The story is told of Bell meeting a slave driving two mules and asked who owned them for he wanted to buy the mules. The man answered that the mules belonged to "Marse Bell." Neither slave nor owner recognized each other.¹³³ Not all slaves worked at the furnaces, many supplied the workers with food by working the fields. Bell's Patterson Forge is also listed as a farm in the 1850 agricultural census which produced corn, wheat, cows, pigs, and had sheep and horses.¹³⁴ Another local iron master, Charles W. Napier owned 70 slaves, 50 of whom worked in the furnaces and 10 in agriculture.¹³⁵ Women likely worked a combination of the fields and domestic chores besides rearing the children. Men worked many duties from skilled workers, to pure laborers at the furnaces, from teamsters to even overseers.

¹³⁶ One trusted slave of Bell's named James Worley accompanied Bell to Tennessee from Kentucky and remained with him until his death. Worley acted as an agent for Bell carrying money, and selling iron across the South.¹³⁷ The last furnace Bell had constructed he named the Worley Furnace in honor of James. By one estimate nearly half of Bell's slaves could be counted as descendants of Worley's.¹³⁸

Given that Worley apparently had quite a bit of autonomy could he have had a house of his own in the village of Cumberland Furnace? We might never know, but housing for the large slave force likely was a combination of barracks and family housing. The two houses in Cumberland Furnace probably represent something akin to married worker housing. Whatever the case, the nature of labor at a furnace required strict adherence to a schedule which slaves, hired laborers both black and white, and the owners needed to follow because when a furnace was in blast it needed to be fed until the iron melted and puddled. The same is true for making the charcoal which served as fuel for the furnaces. The fires had to be tended and burned the correct amount of time in order not to waste it.¹³⁹

Obviously the Tennessee iron industry created a different landscape of bondage from that of the typical farm or plantation. While the work required strict attention, it was not like a plantation where everyone went to the fields at daybreak and headed back to the quarter at sundown. A tremendous amount of variation occurred in where people went, to the furnace, to the forests to cut trees, to the charcoal yards to make charcoal, and the fields to cultivate food.

In Williamson County outside the town of Brentwood on Moores Lane stands the Owen-Primm house, a large two-story frame central passage I-house with a two-part rear wing. The property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The original house, now the back of the wing and covered with weatherboard siding, is of log construction and dates to 1806.¹⁴⁰ North of the main house several hundred feet stands a log dual-pen, or saddlebag slave house. The building has a two-pen saddlebag configuration with a wood shingle roof.

The estimated date of construction for the slave house is circa 1845.¹⁴¹ While it currently rests on a continuous stone foundation, the substructure has modern concrete in its construction, making it a modern addition. Each pen probably rested on piers originally, but in the twentieth-century the owners added a foundation to fully support the sills. The house sits on a north-south axis with the front facing east, the same direction as the main house.

Each pen has a door on the east, and a window on the west, or back. The two pens share a single stone chimney sitting between them. The chimney has modern concrete pointing suggesting either a re-build or complete re-pointing project in the twentieth- century. The space surrounding the chimney has not been filled-in to add useful interior space as was sometimes done with houses of this design. For instance the Jarman Farm slave house in Lascassas, Rutherford County, has closets on either side of its central chimney.

The building measures 39' x 15' overall, with the north pen measuring 15' x 14' 9" and the south pen measuring 20' x 15' on the exteriors. The north pen sits 2" offset to the eastward of its mate. Other dissimilarities include the fact that the doors open opposite each other. The north door opens outward and the southern door inward. However, the vertical board doors are similar and could be early elements. The rear window on the south pen is small at 2' wide, whereas the northern window is 3' 3" wide. The south window has a four-over-four double-hung, wood sash, parts of which have pegged construction. Some parts of this window may be original elements, but some of the frame also has modern replacement pieces with wire nails. At the time of recording the northern window

opening had a double shutter nailed closed, making inspection and analysis impossible. The building has square corner notching on both pens.

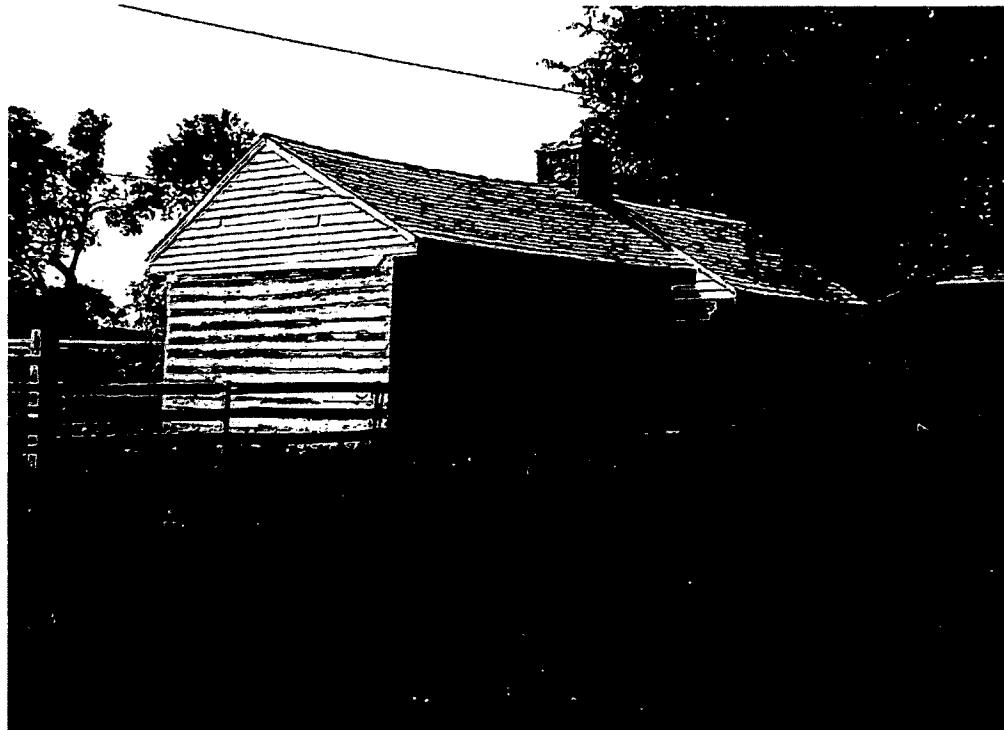


Figure 4.6 The Owen-Primm slave houses, Brentwood vicinity, Williamson, County. This is one of the few saddlebag houses in the survey database, however the two pens were built at different times.

Both log pens have wide plank floors and vertical board and batten doors. The boxed-in cornices however are constructed with modern lumber. The current owner, Charlie Primm, stated that he and his brother built the boxed cornices in the 1980s. They also painted the building white at that time. The architectural evidence suggests that this house was probably constructed in two stages since the pens differ in size and have differences in their features such as the window sizes. The two pens sit offset from each other, and the fireplaces do not align. The west outside face of the chimney angles 3" inward to meet the north pen. The cheeks of

the fireplace in the south pen measure the same width, but in the north they differ by almost one foot. A probable scenario is that the south pen came first with the northern pen added sometime later. The house is in a good and stable condition; it has no utilities and serves as a storage building. A late twentieth-century shed roof lean-to addition stood on the north gable end of the north pen at the time of recording.

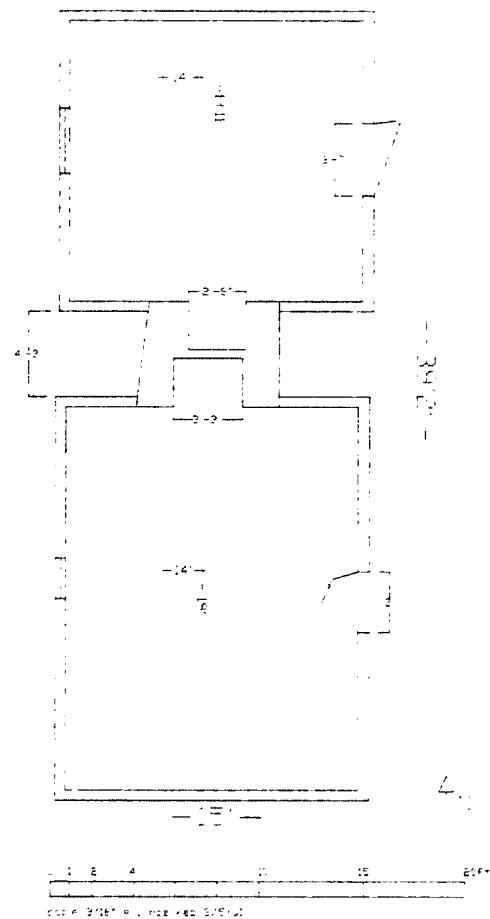


Figure 4.7 Planview of Owen-Primm slave houses, Brentwood vicinity, Williamson County

Also in Williamson County lies another National Register property called the Sherwood Green Farm, seven miles east of the Owen-Primm house. Sherwood Green came to Tennessee from North Carolina and built his farm in about the year 1800.¹⁴² The current owner Ben Green is a direct descendant of Sherwood Green. Beside the main house stands a small frame slave house, which is the smallest building recorded in the survey at 13' 2" x 9' 1." It also is one of the few frame buildings and the only gable front frame house recorded in the survey.

Ben Green does not know the age of the slave house, but stated that the building housed the black headman and was supposed to be nicer than the other slave's houses. In the antebellum era a farm lane ran parallel with the main house several yards to the west, and had eight to ten slave houses along it. The lane and houses are now gone, but Green surmised that the other houses were also of frame construction.¹⁴³

The slave house received modern modifications for conversion to a dairy in the early twentieth-century, and the interior could not be inspected. However, an examination of the exterior revealed that it probably post dates 1830 because a few exposed framing elements and many of the weatherboards have perfected machine cut nails in them. The chimney has been removed, but apparently stood on the back or west gable side of the building. It is a very small house with interior measurements probably no more than 12' 6" x 8' 5." It currently sits on a continuous stone foundation, though it likely only had corner piers in the antebellum era. Green stated that the window on the south side of the building is probably historic, while those on the front and east sides date to the twentieth-

century. A modern frame porch and concrete pad sit on the front of the building, both added when it was converted to a dairy.

Another interesting building, though unfortunately not drawn for this project, is a log kitchen building standing behind the main house. Green stated that the kitchen probably dates to 1800, the same time as the main house, but the family moved it to its current location in 1838 when owners added a wing to the main house. Prior to that time the log kitchen stood closer behind the main house.¹⁴⁴

The nineteenth-century plantation of Ravenswood stands in the Clovercroft area of Williamson County. Ravenswood, a National Register property, takes its name from the Cherokee moniker given to Sam Houston "The Raven."¹⁴⁵ Two brick slave houses stand several hundred feet to the west and rear of the main house. In addition a two-story brick kitchen building stands 25' to the west of the rear ell. The second floor mostly likely served as the cook's living quarters. According to the current owner during the antebellum era 13 slave houses existed on the plantation.¹⁴⁶ In 1860 the owner of Ravenswood, James H. Wilson, owned 17 slaves and 10 slave houses, a rather generous quantity of real estate for his enslaved population. However, the 1850 census shows Wilson owning 39 slaves. Perhaps the reason Wilson had 10 houses 10 years later is that the enslaved community needed that many houses in 1850.

The kitchen building stands two-stories tall, with one room on each floor. The building has an alternating 5:1 or 7:1 common brick-bond. The building sits on a cut limestone foundation and probably dates to 1825, the same time year as

the main house. The kitchen measures 22' 3" x 20' 4" on the exterior, and has a standing seam metal roof that dates to the 1970s.¹⁴⁷ The first floor has two windows on the west wall, and a single door on the east, or front of the building facing the main house. A third window once existed on the north gable side where the lintel can still be found in the center of the wall. The building underwent a near total rehabilitation in the 1970s and all the interior wood is replacement millwork including the windows, door, floorboards, joists, and stairs. The interior wood had to be replaced because the building served as a salt house and smokehouse after the Civil War. Most of the wooden members rotted and the owners discarded nearly everything. Only a single part of one joist remains near the present stairs, and that element has thick deposits of salt on it. The joists currently in the building exhibit sash saw and hewing marks, indicating that they are probably recycled from another historic building on the property. In addition, they have nail holes on the bottoms suggesting that they once held lathing. The stairs cover a former window on the north wall, which the owners have bricked-in. Ghost marks and nailing blocks on the wall demonstrate that the original stairs were much steeper, no more than a ladder really.

The first floor is concrete with linoleum covering, and a modern brick hearth was added in front of the fireplace. The walls have a modern plaster coating except for the chimney breastwall, which is not covered. However, that brickwork does have evidence of a former whitewash. The two west wall windows have four-over-four double-hung wood sashes, which match those on the second floor. The fireplace is massive, standing 7' 6" wide and 5' 6" tall

centered on the south gable wall. It probably stood taller in the nineteenth-century but the concrete floor and modern 8" high brick hearth reduces the opening height.

The second-story may have had a fireplace in the nineteenth- century, but no evidence of one could be seen. However, the upstairs chimney breast has a modern plaster coating, and at the time of recording a full length mirror covered most of the wall. It is possible that beneath the modern additions a fireplace, or the evidence of one, remains hidden. The windows on the second floor flank the chimney breast and have four-over-four double-hung wood sashes. The floor is modern wood and at the time of recording had a linoleum covering.

The two slave houses at Ravenswood stand several hundred feet to the west of the kitchen building in a pasture. The two houses represent the same construction plan and have the same measurements. Therefore, only the west house was drawn for the database, and it serves as a model for the east house. According to the owner both houses underwent major rehabilitation in the late 1970s, similar to the kitchen. The east house has a plastered interior and a plaster ceiling. It currently serves as a tack room for the horse breeding operation of Ravenswood Farm. The west building also has a ceiling but does not have plastered walls. It currently serves as storage. This building has a window or perhaps a short door to a loft on the east gable and at the time of recording had a board covering. Both buildings possibly had lofts as the roof pitch stands tall enough to accommodate one.

Both houses have full foundations of cut limestone and both have standing seam metal roofs installed in 1999. They each have one entrance on the south sides with a single window on the north sides. Each measures 20' 2" x 18' 8" on the exterior. Both have modern floors and plastered ceilings. An interesting construction detail is that the north and south walls measure 14" thick while the east and west gable walls only 8" thick. The fireplace on the west wall mostly sits within the building, but has a four-inch projection on the exterior. The door and window openings of both buildings have modern replacement parts including the frames. The four-over four wooden sash windows reside in the center of the north walls balancing the centered door on the south walls. Both buildings have boxed cornices, which date to the 1970s rehabilitation work. No pictures were taken inside of the two slave houses because both have completely remodeled interiors and contained too much furniture for photography.

Outside of Franklin, the Seat of Williamson County, is Carnton Plantation, a National Historic Landmark recognized for its association with the Civil War Battle of Franklin. The McGavock family of Carnton was prominent in Franklin and Williamson County during the nineteenth-century. The McGavocks raised livestock for their income as opposed to a cash crop of cotton or wheat. An 1843 probate inventory for Randall McGavock listed 50 pork hogs, 120 stock hogs, 3 yoke of oxen, 110 sheep, 75 cattle, 18 horses and mules, and just over 1000 acres. His inventory also included 114 plates, 25 dishes, 12 tumblers, and 12 wineglasses. Randall McGavock's wealth clearly put him in the category of plantation owner even though he did not raise a specific cash crop. At his death 22

slaves lived on the plantation. By the 1860 census the McGavock family held 39 slaves and 11 slave houses resided on the farm, which contained 640 acres.¹⁴⁸

The lone remaining slave house at Carnton is unique in the survey in that it is a two-story, four-room house apparently intended for four slave families, or at least each room functioned as separate living quarters as there are no interior doors of communication between them and each room has a fireplace. The two-story double-pen, brick slave house stands approximately 200' to the east of the main house. The building contains two rooms on each floor with its own fireplace, door and one window. The fact that no doors allow access between the rooms on either floor indicates not only single family living in each room, but also a moderate level of privacy. It has a full stone foundation and a standing seam copper roof installed in 1999. The chimneys stand on either gable end. A new porch was installed on the front of the building at the same time as the roof, and access to the second floor rooms comes from the porch. The main façade of the building faces west towards the back of the main house. The date of construction is interpreted as 1826.¹⁴⁹

The slave house is set into the edge of a hill making the first floor rooms partially below grade on the front of the building. The doors for the two first floor rooms reside on the back of the dwelling. These door openings pierce the stone foundation, which is several feet high on the rear of the structure, though it is less than one foot high on the front. The west façade, or front, has two doors on the second floor, and two windows on the first floor. The second floor doors sit centered on the wall and accessed by a porch with stairs emanating from each end

and running across the face of the building in the north and south directions. The east or rear wall has two doors for the first level rooms, and single pane wooden sash windows with nine lights on the second floor. One window lights each room. The windows in the first floor rooms have six-over-six double-hung, wooden sash windows. The woodwork in these windows is modern and constructed with wire nails.

At some point in the late nineteenth-century the slave house suffered a fire and subsequent rebuilding created a one story configuration. It remained that way until the mid 1980s when an investigation determined that it was built as a two-story building and it the Carnton Foundation restored it to that configuration.¹⁵⁰ Museum officials restored much of the building's appearance including installation of doors and windows.

A nineteenth-century wing stood attached to the east side of the mansion which contained a kitchen and several other rooms. The wing suffered severe damage during a tornado in 1909, and the owners demolished what little remained standing. Archeological investigations in the 1980s, and again in 2002 sought to determine the room layout of the former structure.¹⁵¹ The wing remains contain 1040 square feet of interior space. In 2002 TRC Company excavated approximately 815 square feet of the wing in order to understand the evolution of the structure.¹⁵² This wing originally served as the main house for the plantation and became an ancillary structure only after the current mansion was constructed in 1826. A surviving photograph shows the building as two-stories tall and archeological evidence demonstrates that it extended three rooms in width and

one deep. The kitchen, or center room, of the first floor measured approximately 18' x 16', while the adjoining rooms measured slightly less at 14' x 16'. The authors surmise that the east room may have served as a food storage area or possibly as living quarters for the cook.¹⁵³

If the upper story reflected the lower in layout then the building contained at least six rooms. This building, with however many rooms it had, likely served as a living space for domestic slaves once the mansion was built. Architectural evidence shows that the second floor of the wing had direct entry to the main house, a somewhat unusual feature.¹⁵⁴ While this connection came only after the construction of the main house, it must also be remembered that the wing initially served as the McGavock residence and its configuration more reflects white domesticity than as a service wing. Despite that fact the kitchen sat in a line convenient to the dining room with a covered passageway between the hearth and table. In an interesting twist of architectural design, with the exterior dining room door open a perceptible pecking-order is observable with the slave quarters standing down the hill from the mansion, and the wing just to the right in line of sight. Visually it established the master's table as the highest element in a social hierarchy created by bondage.



Figure 4.8 The dining room at Carnton with the remains of the wing just outside the door and the slave house beyond.

Within the mansion we also find architectural evidence for a slave presence. The northeast room of the basement contains a fireplace. Like so many of the other basements in the survey, this one has a dirt floor, and it is highly unlikely that the white McGavock family used the basement room for a sleeping quarters because their living areas reside upstairs in the main floors of the house. This room probably served as a domestic slave living space or at the very least a work space. During 2002 test excavations in two locations attempted to determine what activities took place there. This room is the only one of the several in the basement that has a fireplace. However the excavations found few artifacts and did not shed any light on the use of the room during the antebellum era.¹⁵⁵ It may have simply been a cold weather activity space for house slaves, or it may have

actually served as a living space for a small group. My interpretation here is that it likely served as a living space, and was intended as such because the room has a fireplace as an element of its initial construction. The room also has two windows suggesting McGavock intended for someone, or several someone's, to have natural light in their environment. The room measures approximately 17'6" x 19' 6". The southeast room also has two windows in it, and an exterior doorway, but no fireplace. This room also obviously had natural light for use and possibly living. Since the wing had the kitchen and probably the food storage the heated basement space fits a slave living scenario, and the unheated room could also have served as living space, even as simple spill-over use from the main room with the fireplace.

On the second floor of the house at the head of the stairs and centered on the hallway sits a small room between two of the family bedrooms. This small room has no fireplace, and its historic use is unknown. Museum interpreters furnish the room as if it were a ladies sitting or dressing room. Another possible and more likely use for the room is as a room for domestic slaves to sleep in to be near the family should they want anything at night. Linens and other bedroom furniture may have been stored there as well. However, during restoration no evidence of shelving was found on the walls to suggest such use.¹⁵⁶ My interpretation for this room is as a slave sleeping space. While the lack of a fireplace would make this room less than comfortable in the winter, it does not preclude a person sleeping there. The room is on the second floor where other

fireplaces would have burned through the night keeping that part of the house moderately comfortable.

The third floor of the house also contains two rooms that could have served as work areas within the main house. The east and west rooms of the third floor do not currently have fireplaces, though many changes to that level of the house could have obscured the evidence. The museum staff does not know how the McGavock family used the rooms. However, historic research into this question could provide interesting answers.

Carnton's main house and outbuildings represent a slave landscape for a medium sized plantation in Middle Tennessee. The 1860 census shows an imbalanced population heavily weighted toward males. The census lists 18 men between the ages of 14 and 50, while only 5 women over the age of 20. The women had 16 children between them. Realistically the numbers created 5 family groupings, leaving at least 13 or 14 single males needing housing separate from the women and children.¹⁵⁷ How they divided the living spaces on the plantation is not known. Assuming five family groupings and a minimum of 11 houses, 10 of which could have been single room structures, four individual living spaces in the one extant house, and the additional room in the main house basement adds up to 15 living spaces. That number actually makes for living arrangements with only a few people occupying a particular space. With five family groups potentially living in single rooms, either in the extant house, or other presumed single-pen buildings that leaves 10 more rooms for living accommodations. It is possible the two-story slave house served as a kind of men's barracks. The

locations of the other 10 slave buildings are not known at this time so we do not know for certain the number of rooms available, but the extant elements of the historic landscape certainly demonstrate a hierarchy of both architecture and the inhabitants. The view from the master's table out along the wing's walkway and down the hill toward the one extant slave house demonstrates a considered manipulation of not only the architecture and the view, but also people, and how those enslaved people had to view both their master and themselves within his world.

Another National Historic Landmark associated with the Battle of Franklin is the Carter House, which stands along the Columbia Turnpike, one of the main nineteenth-century thoroughfares of Middle Tennessee. Today the property functions as an historic house museum interpreting the Carter family and the Battle of Franklin. A log slave house sits on the property today, brought there from a nearby farm being demolished for development.¹⁵⁸ The slave house simply represents buildings the Carters may have given to their enslaved workers. It is appropriate to the site because the Carters owned slaves, though the location of the slave dwellings is not accurately known.¹⁵⁹

The slave house is a single-story log building with half dovetail corner notching, which sits on a modern cut limestone foundation. The wood shingle roof dates to when the building was moved to this location. The gables appear to be modern sawn lumber with wire nails. The building measures 18' x 15' 10" on the exterior, and has two doors centered on the front and back walls, with one window on the front. Much of the house appears to have been rebuilt or

“restored” when moved to this location. The stone chimney on the east gable wall is a modern reproduction. The door frames both have modern lumber and wire nails. It is impossible to say if both door openings are original features without doing some invasive investigations. The threshold on south door could be an older element; it is worn and appears older than the other elements surrounding it. While the front vertical board door is a modern feature, the rim lock and three strap hinges could be older elements from the original door. The rear door also dates to the twentieth-century.

The front or north side has one window, though all of it dates to the restoration with modern frame, wire nails, and modern glass panes. A few cut nails may be found in some of the window frame boards, but those are probably an attempt to make it look period appropriate. The front window currently has iron bars to prevent break-ins. The fireplace and chimney are recent constructions with modern concrete and the chinking is colored concrete. A log mantle piece rests above the fireplace and is inserted in the chimney stonework, but this is probably not an original element.

West of Franklin in Leipers Fork stands a slave house associated with the family of nineteenth-century political leader Thomas Hart Benton. The archeological remains of the Benton house, a well, and standing slave cabin make up this site. The main house of the Benton family where Thomas grew up no longer exists. Local oral tradition maintains that the log building is a slave cabin of the Benton era, although it is not known if it stands in the antebellum location. A county historian estimated the date of construction to be around 1800.¹⁶⁰

The house stands as a two-pen, one and a half story log structure with stone piers at the corners and in the middle of the sills. The logs have finely crafted half dovetail corner notching. The building measures 29' 10" x 17' 9" on the exterior. It has a modern standing seam metal roof, three doors, and four windows. The doors reside on the east and west sides with a later door on the north gable wall. Two windows can be found on the east side, one on the west, and one on the south gable wall. The stone chimney sits on the south side, and has been re-pointed with Portland cement. An obviously modern mantle sits over the fireplace.

The building sits on a north-south axis with the east elevation likely being the front as that side faced the main house. It has two pens on the north and south initially separated by an interior log wall, but a random width vertical board partition replaced the logs. The board wall has cut nails in its construction suggesting a nineteenth-century date for the re-arrangement. The exterior notches from the logs of the first wall are still clearly visible in the front and back of the house. The builders used V-notches for the center wall instead of the half dovetail seen at the corners. Interestingly, the new dividing wall kept the rooms approximately the same size. While the board wall has a doorway it is not known if the original log wall had an opening or not. However, the fact that the north pen has no fireplace makes it seem logical that the first wall had a door allowing communication and heat throughout the building.

The north pen measures 16' 5" x 14' 2", with two windows that balance each other on the east and west walls, and a single exterior door on the north

gable end. The south pen measures 16' 5" x 14' 5". Two windows light the room, one on the south gable wall and one on the east. Two doors enter into this room, one each on the east and west walls, though they do not balance each other. The east door sits directly adjacent to the window with their frames abutting each other, the only such example of a door and window combination identified in the survey.

Without invasive investigations it is impossible to determine which of the window and door openings date to the original construction scheme. However, a few observations can be made. The southeast window matches in width the two windows in the north room, while the window in the south gable wall measures 3" wider than the others. The gable window also stands 7" taller than the other openings with a four-over four double-hung wooden sash. The other windows have single wooden sash units that sit in a slider channel. The windows on the east side each have three rows of two lights. The west window has three rows of three lights each. The difference in these windows is that the west window has smaller panes of glass. On the interior a channel cut into the logs allows all the slider windows to slide open. Although the channels have modern hardware in them they could be original features. The slider windows appear to be similar to sliders in the Ogilvie house, also in Williamson County. That log house similarly dates to around 1800.¹⁶¹ If the slider window openings date to the original construction of the Benton house, the double-hung window on the south gable came later because it does not match the size and construction technique of the other windows.

The north door may be a later addition as it stands 3" wider than the other two doors in the building. The doorways in the south pen match each other in size, but the one in the north pen is larger than the others by 3" or more. The frames of all the windows and doors have wire nails making at least that part of the building elements late additions. The openings may or may not be original; only invasive investigations would determine the age of the openings.

Along the east wall stones placed beneath the sill mimic a continuous stone foundation. However, most of the stones do not actually support the sill. Inside the building has a random width board floor, of unknown age. Nail types in the flooring were not recorded. The ceiling likewise had random width boards and evidence of whitewash, which is also present on the interior partition wall. The loft consists of a single space above the two downstairs rooms. Whether or not the loft originally had a partition was not determined.

The east and west walls have nine logs from sill to plate, while the gable walls on the north and south walls have eight logs. At the time of recording the north wall had a vertical board and batten siding attached with wire nails, and the gable had a modern plywood siding. The south gable had similar modern additions, though the gable wall had no covering. At the time of recording the building sat empty. The structure is in fair condition, it has a good standing seam metal roof, but the logs of the south gable suffer from rot and are loose. It is evident that some logs have been replaced on that wall. Parts of logs on the other walls are also beginning to rot.

The plan of this house appears to fit the hall and parlor model. While the north pen does not have a heat source, the south pen does and it has what are probably the original door openings. While a hall and parlor plan slave house is not unique in the survey, the arrangement may reflect the fact that this building served the Benton family as the first home on their Tennessee property, only to become a slave house later.¹⁶² Architectural features that support this include the log partition wall, the hall and parlor plan, a tilted top plate and shaped rafter tails.¹⁶³ In any case, it probably did not serve as a duplex slave quarter as one room does not have a hearth. The two other examples of hall and parlor plan slave houses come from the Riverside Farm in Middle Tennessee, and the Snapp-Ricker House in East Tennessee discussed in chapter 3. The log slave house at Riverside Farm also has a log partition wall.

Southeast of Leipers Fork in the Bethesda area stand several historic properties with slave houses. The Irvin Farm complex at the corner of Bethesda and Bethesda-Arno Roads has two log buildings related to slavery. One, a kitchen building that may have served as a slave residence; certainly it was a slave work space. The second is a log slave house of similar construction. A third log building, a smokehouse sits beside the kitchen building completing the collection of outbuildings on this farm. The owner of the property in 2002, Ruth Taylor, had lived on this farm for nearly 60 years. Her deceased husband's family owned the property, though they were not the original settlers. The farm is named for William Dabney Irvin, who owned it in the mid-nineteenth-century.¹⁶⁴ Taylor does not know when the main house or the slave houses were constructed, but

according to family tradition, the log building closest to the house served as the kitchen. Both the kitchen and slave house currently function as storage buildings. The three buildings stand in a line from north to south approximately 25' east of the main house.

The kitchen building stands as a one story, single pen log building with half dovetail corner notching measuring 20' x 16' 2" on the exterior. The building sits on four corner stone piers. The roof has a standing seam metal covering attached with wire nails, obviously a twentieth-century addition. It has a stone chimney and fireplace 4' 6" wide, sitting on the south gable wall. The chimney is constructed of finely dressed limestone blocks. One door enters the building on the front or west side, facing the main house. The door appears to be a nineteenth-century feature, constructed with four tongue and groove boards and cut nails. Two windows light the interior, one on the west side and one on the north gable wall. Both openings are narrow, measuring approximately 2' wide. The windows have wire nails and Plexiglas in the frames. The openings may be historic features of the building, but the frames are not. The gable walls have nine logs and the long walls 10 logs each including sill and plates.

The south gable has 22 vertical boards of varying width, and 4" bargeboards, all held with wire nails. The north gable has 18 horizontal weatherboards with 5" exposure, and 4" bargeboards, all attached with wire nails. The building has sawn wind braces at the top of the log walls. These are just braces and not floor joists; there is no evidence that a floor ever existed for a loft. Inspection of the plate logs did not reveal any nail holes. However, boards could

have simply been laid on top of the braces to make a loft floor if necessary. The center height of a loft would have been approximately 6' 5", which is tall enough for an adult to stand only at the peak of the space.

The fireplace in this building stands 4" 6" wide and 4' high, which supports Taylor's contention that the building served as the kitchen for the farm because it is a large fireplace. The opening to the firebox has a 1" thick cast iron lintel with a graceful upward sweeping curve. An inspection of the entire chimney found that it still has lime mortar and does not appear to have ever been repointed with Portland cement. However, the chimney is leaning outward from the building. By contrast the chimneys on the main house are made of brick on short stone foundations. The cap of the chimney has a single projecting corbel course of stones adding a touch of design aesthetic to the building. The construction of the chimney and fireplace suggests fine craftsmanship for such a vernacular building.

In the northwest interior corner of the building sits a small room that Taylor referred to as the pantry. The walls are constructed of one-foot wide boards and attached with cut nails. The boards exhibit signs of circular saw marks, but also hand planing. The door on the north side of the room has a box lock secured with blunt-ended screws suggesting the room, and thereby the building, both date to pre-1846. The door is a fairly finely constructed feature made with wide hand planed boards, with beveled battens. The lock suggests security, possibly keeping out slaves who might have wanted the stored contents. If the interior room served as a pantry with food locked inside, the architectural evidence suggests the whites trusted the cook with the keys while she worked

within the building. In order to do her job she would have needed access to the stores.

The slave house sits south and behind both the kitchen and main house approximately 25' away. It stands as a single-story, single pen, log building on stone corner piers. It measures 19' 10" x 18' on the exterior with half dovetail corner notching. The roof has a standing seam metal covering attached with wire nails. A single door enters through the west wall. The door frame is constructed with cut nails and the door has cut nails as well as wire nails in it. The door has tongue and groove boards held on to rear battens with cut nails. A multi-pane horizontal window pierces the east or back wall of the house, however, its placement does not date to the antebellum period. The small sliding panes currently in the opening date to the twentieth-century. Several wooden window panes sit loose inside the house, and these at one time may have been installed in that space, but the current sashes are modern. The original opening may have been just the central portion, approximately 2' wide like that found in the kitchen, and at some point later expanded to its current size. The framework of the window has modern wire nails in it, and measures 8' 9" wide. Only a destructive analysis will discover the original configuration of the window opening.

The fireplace and chimney sit on the south gable wall which is constructed of dressed limestone. The fireplace has two massive cut stone blocks for its lintel, a very different construction technique from that of the kitchen fireplace with its graceful arching top. The fireplace in this building is much shorter than the one in the kitchen building. It stands at 3' high and 3' 4" wide, suggesting domestic use.

This building, like the kitchen, has sawn wind braces at the top of the walls, and like the kitchen, it does not appear that there was ever a floor for a loft, although the height of the roof measures 8' from ridge to the braces, so the space could have been used by adults standing upright if necessary. No evidence could be found of stairs or ladder and no nail holes in the tops of the braces for floorboards were seen. The roof framing may be original materials since the rafters are half round logs and the roof boards various sized junk lumber. Cut nails hold some of the roof boards and gable studs.

The south gable has 20 horizontal boards, with five-inch exposure, wire nails and four-inch bargeboards attached with wire nails. Many of the weatherboards are new. The north gable has 18 boards with 5" exposure, attached with wire nails, and 4" bargeboards. The east and west walls, each have 10 logs each, and the gable walls nine. The plates cantilever over the faces approximately 6." The ends of the top logs on the gable walls angle upward to meet the plates where they project outward. Interestingly this design element is not found on the kitchen. The fact that the fireplaces are different and the projecting plates on the slave house suggest a different builder, and perhaps different dates of construction for the two buildings. Listed in the 1850 census an M.D. Irvin owned 17 slaves. Listed in the 1860 slave census on the same page as his neighbor William Steele, M.D. Irvin is listed with 14 slaves and two slave houses. Unless one house is now missing, these two buildings constituted the entirety of the slave housing for the property. The numbers suggest approximately seven people living in each building. With the kitchen having essentially one-third of it locked space, that

building may have become rather crowded. If any domestic slaves “lived” within the main house is unknown.



Figure 4.9 Service yard at the Irvin farm, Bethesda vicinity, Williamson County. Behind the owners house stand from left to right, the slave house, kitchen/slave house, and smokehouse.

Just down the hill approximately one-quarter mile from the Irvin house is the William Steele Farm on the Bethesda-Arno Road. The owners in 2002 were Mr. and Mrs. Frank Bond. The farm is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. According to the National Register nomination the main house dates to 1855, and the slave building reportedly dates to 1850.¹⁶⁵ The slave house is a combination kitchen/quarters and sits approximately 100' to the side (northeast) and slightly behind the main house. In an interesting twist of landscaping three other outbuildings sit on the same north-south axis as the main house, but the

slave house sits canted to the northwest a few degrees. If the chimney on the building is original then the slave house has always sat at this odd angle. If the kitchen/quarters truly pre-dates the main house, that may explain the angularity. The main house may have been sited for the best views in the rolling landscape and to face the road, whereas the kitchen/quarters may have preceded it in time.

The log kitchen/quarters building stands one story with a loft and had half dovetail corner notching. It sits on stone piers at each corner, has a standing seam metal roof, and a stone and brick chimney on the east gable end. The fireplace has stone up to the shoulders where it becomes brick in the chimney stack. The structure measures 20' 5" x 18' 1". Unfortunately the building is suffering from decay and lack of maintenance. The west gable has lost many of its weatherboards, and the south sill is nearly collapsed at the southeast corner. The chimney is missing the top several feet, and what remains of the stack leans away from the building.

The south wall probably served as the historic front of the building as that side faces toward the side and rear of the main house. The north and south walls have nine logs from sill to plate and the side walls have eight logs each. The building has two doorways (north and south) on the first floor and one to the loft in the west gable. The south door on the main floor is a board and batten component with five boards held by cut nails. A six-board door on the north side is constructed in a similar manner. The door frames have mostly cut nails with wire nails in repair locations. Interestingly the building has no windows in either the main floor or the loft. To let light in, the occupants would have had to open

one of the doors. The fireplace opening spans only 3' wide, which is narrow for a kitchen fireplace, although it does stand nearly 4' high. However, oral tradition states that this building served as the kitchen during the antebellum era.

Upstairs the loft floor is in a good state of repair and the joists are sturdy. Many of the floorboards have cut nail attachments as does the first floor. A ladder along the west wall gives access to the loft. The ladder has cut nails for attachments. The door frame and components of the west gable have wire nails, meaning that the second level exterior door may have been added after emancipation. However, two rectangular notches in the bottom of the top log on the west side probably accepted the top of a stairs that led to the upper door, which may could indicate a set of stairs existed in the antebellum era. It was not possible to examine the notches to determine their age. The gable has approximately 11 weatherboards, some of which have cut nail attachments. The boards have an exposure ranging from 3" to 6" wide. The older boards have a larger exposure. The east gable has approximately 16 weatherboards held with a combination of cut and wire nails. The roof framing consists of full round, but debarked log rafters and collar ties. The framing might be original, but safety considerations prevented close inspection.

The building has obviously gone through several periods of repairs as indicated by the wire nails and a twentieth-century metal roof. However, the east wall is suffering from collapse with the logs falling away from the chimney. The overall condition of the building is poor. Many logs suffer from advanced rot and almost none of the chinking remains. The gables are open to the elements and the

doors do not seal fully. The owners currently use the building for storage. William Steele is listed in the 1860 census as owning 14 slaves and three slave houses. Obviously the remaining house is an important piece of the antebellum landscape.

Upon inspecting this building John Vlach suggested that this kitchen building is different from the one down the road at the Irvin Farm in a subtle but important way. It has a full loft which suggests that the occupants spent time upstairs as well as down. The first floor may have had a more “corporate dimension” in that more kitchen activities took place there than slave living activities. There might have been canning, and large tubs, barrels or other food preparation implements taking up the room on the first level. The Irvin Farm kitchen on the other hand did not have a loft and the kitchen itself was divided with the lockable pantry in one part of the room.

Also in Williamson County in the College Grove neighborhood stands the Ogilvie house, also known as Beech Hill Farm. William and Mary Ogilvie came to Williamson County in the late eighteenth-century to settle and farm the land. According to a newspaper article The Ogilvies initially settled on the Ogilvie-Holt property discussed previously, and moved to this property a few years later.¹⁶⁶ Beside the main house sits a log building that served as a slave residence. Elizabeth Battle, the farm owner and an Ogilvie descendant, age 75 at the time of the survey in 2002, did not know the construction date of the slave house. Her family's oral tradition is that the early part of the main house dates to 1796, and one might consider that the slave house could date as early as the late eighteenth-

century. However, the National Register nomination for this site lists the slave house as built in the 1830s.¹⁶⁷

The slave house stands as a single pen, one and a half-story log building with a beautiful cut stone chimney and half dovetail corner notching. It sits on four stone corner piers, and measures 18' x 18' 4" on the exterior. It has one door on the south side which faces the side of the main house. A window lights the first floor on the east gable wall, and another through the north wall immediately opposite and balancing the front door. The second floor has a single window in the east gable. The roof has a standing seam metal covering attached with wire nails. The logs range in size from 6" to 10" in height, and 6" in width.

An interesting construction technique of this building is that the east gable extends out over the wall 16". In order to achieve the depth of the extension the plate is an extra wide log measuring one foot in width. The gable-side top log sits out and away from the wall over 10", which makes a shelf-like extension past the wall. The round cedar post gable studs appear to be original elements of the building. This is the only such overhang on a non-chimney gable in a log building in Middle Tennessee, though a similar gable extension can be found on the log house at the Masengill Place in East Tennessee. Despite the large overhang this design does not add any floor space to the loft. Instead it necessitated the addition of a board nailed at an angle to the side of the top log almost in the fashion of a short knee-wall, to meet the interior gable face. The reason for this construction element is unknown.

The south plate has a notch cut out of the bottom on the west end. This end of the plate is also longer than it needs to be, extending past the end of the roof by almost one foot. This construction feature may mean that the log had been used previously in some other location, or that a now missing addition to the building attached with the notch. The roof frame is constructed of half-round cedar posts similar to the gable studs. They notch into the plate and meet in a mitered joint at the ridge. The rafters may be nailed, but it was difficult to tell with no ladder to reach the necessary height to examine the peak. The roof frame does not use collar ties. The roof boards consist of variously sized junk lumber and have cut nails protruding from the undersides, along with the wire nails holding down the current roof. Some of the roofing elements date to the nineteenth-century as indicated by the cut nails.

The tongue and groove floorboards in the loft measure between 5" to 7" and held in place with cut nails. The lower level floorboards measure the same size and also held in place with cut nails. The stairs in the northeast corner likely date to the nineteenth-century as it has cut nails in its construction. It has nine treads each measuring between 7" and 8" wide. Only the first tread has a modern replacement. The stairs enter the loft at the northeast corner of the building. The front door is a five board, tongue and groove, board and batten door constructed with cut nails. The door surround has pegs and cut nails in its construction. It may be an early element of the building.

The south and north walls of the house have 11 logs from sill to plate. The door threshold is cut into the second log necessitating a step up into the building.

The gable walls each have 11 logs although the west wall had no projecting top log as found on the other gable. The west gable has 15 weatherboards held in place with wire nails, while the east has 16 weatherboards, all attached with wire nails. Both windows in the building have wire nails in the frames, but at least one of these openings is probably historic for letting light into the house. While the roof is in need of replacement, the chinking is all solid and the general condition of the building is good. The owners restored the main house in the early 1990s and were eager to receive advice on maintenance and upkeep of the slave house.

On the interior circular sawn boards cover the spaces between the logs. Between one of these boards and the logs Elizabeth Battle found a wooden hand carved and whittled anthropomorphic figure. Folklorists Robert Cogswell of the Tennessee State Museum and John Vlach of George Washington University believe that this could be an Ashanti fertility, or good luck figure.¹⁶⁸ If the piece is indeed an Ashanti figure it represents another link in the material culture of African-Tennesseans and their African roots. It is not impossible that the figure dates to the very early nineteenth-century and came from the hand of a person of African birth. William Ogilvie began the farm in the late eighteenth-century having traveled to Tennessee from North Carolina. He could have brought with him an enslaved individual born in Africa.

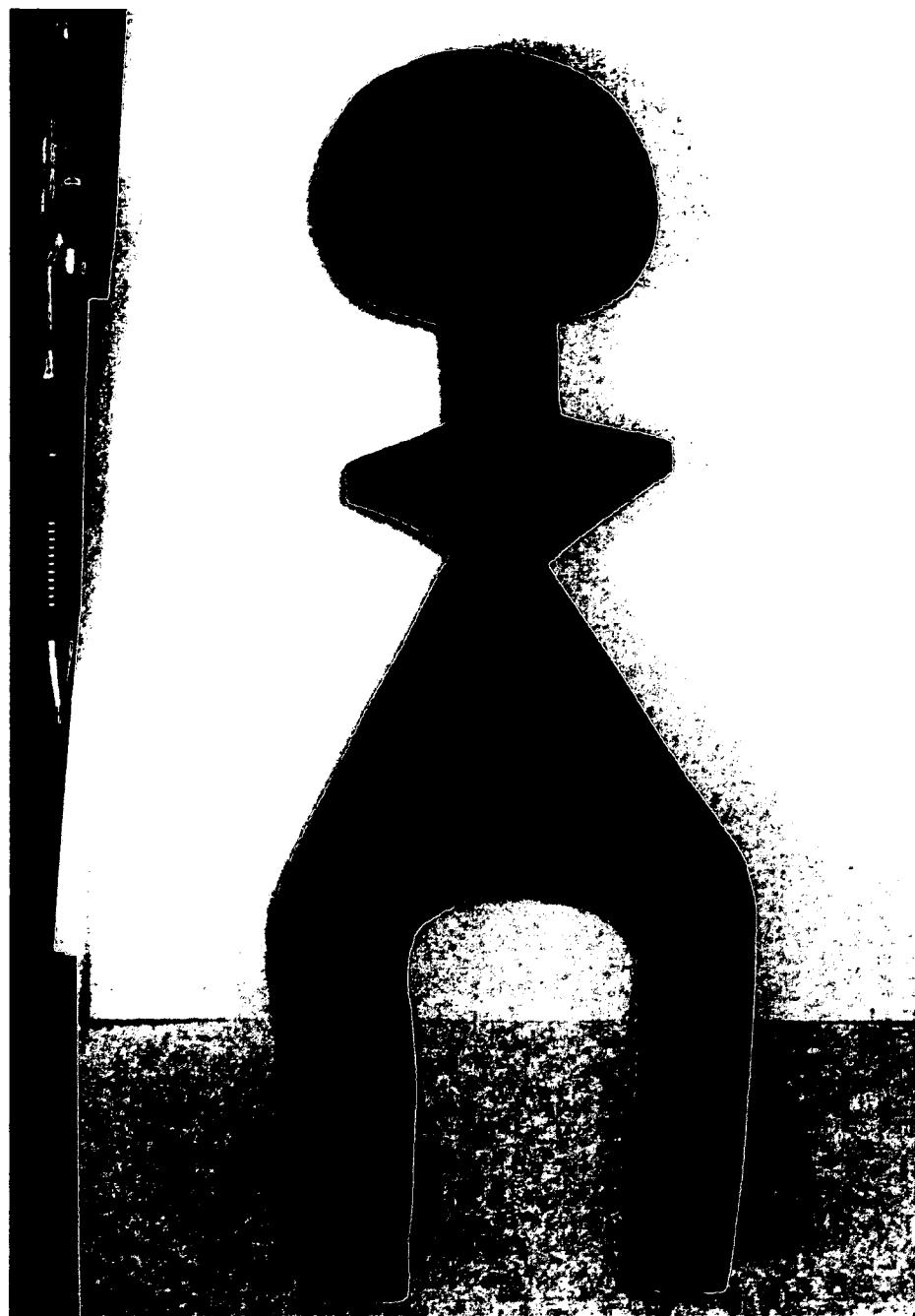


Figure 4.10 Possible Ashanti fertility figure discovered within the walls of a slave house at Beech Hill farm, College Grove vicinity, Williamson County. Mechanical pencil at upper left for scale.

In Rutherford County, near the town of Smyrna stands the Sam Davis Home, now a State Historic Site which has three log slave houses standing on the property. These three buildings however, initially stood on the Rattle and Snap

plantation in Maury County. Site curators moved the buildings to the Sam Davis Home sometime in the 1960s in order to save the buildings from destruction, and interpret slavery on the property.¹⁶⁹ The construction date of these log houses is not known. The buildings now stand in a row to the north and behind the main house approximately 150 feet. At the 1860 census Charles Davis held 51 slaves in 14 houses. Therefore, these houses represent less than one-quarter of the slave houses on this property at the time of the Civil War. According to site staff, the setting of these houses is not where the slave village sat in the antebellum era. That site is to the southwest a few dozen yards. Archeological excavations by Dr. Kevin Smith of Middle Tennessee State University in 2005 confirmed the locations of several of the former slave buildings.¹⁷⁰ The three log houses currently serve as interpretive exhibits for the property. A fourth building, a log dogtrot house stands in the row to the south of the slave houses. However, this building was not a slave house, but an historic farmhouse in Rutherford County. Curators moved it onto the property to save it from destruction. The Sam Davis Home does have one building directly associated with slavery on this property and a room in the basement that may have served as a slave living space. An overseer's log house stands approximately 30' to the north and rear of the main house. This building, while not a home for the enslaved people of the plantation, represents a side of slavery often overlooked. The only other overseer's house in the survey can be found at Fairvue plantation in Middle Tennessee's Sumner County. Each of the slave houses will be described separately below. Each house is numbered from one to three, moving down the row from south to north.

The first building stands as a one-story, single-pen log building with well executed half dovetail corner notching. It sits on four stone piers at the corners, and at the center point of the sills. On the exterior it measures 17' 9" x 15' 7" and has a stone chimney on the north wall. The chimney is obviously a new construction laid in Portland cement and sitting on a concrete pad. Similarly, the foundation piers are laid with modern concrete. The roof has a wooden shingle covering attached with wire nails, and dates to the time of the move. The roof framing consists of modern cedar posts left in the round. The building does not have a loft. The house has two doors, one on the west side and one on the south gable wall. A window on the east façade balances the door on the west.

Both door frames have modern lumber in their construction and probably date to the time of the move to this property. The doors are modern features being simple board and batten doors constructed with wire nails. Without invasive investigations it is impossible to determine which doorway opening, or if both, are original elements to the building. Likewise the window frame has modern lumber and nails. The window is a single wooden sash with six lights and modern board and batten exterior shutter.

The front and rear (west and east) walls have 10 logs from sill to plate, while the gable walls have nine. The north gable has 13 horizontal weatherboards with a 5" exposure and attached with wire nails. A few boards have beaded edges which suggest reuse from another less humble building. It also has 4" wide bargeboards. The south gable has 16 horizontal weatherboards, with a 5"

exposure, and all attached with wire nails. It also has 4" bargeboards on this gable.

The floor is all modern lumber attached with wire nails. Carpenters did not attempt to make the boards tight, so space between them is visible. This may have been an attempt to show the "crudeness" of slave houses from the nineteenth-century. A mantle over the fireplace appears to be a modern addition. Some of the logs in the building are new; the replacements probably occurring during the move. Both sill logs are replacements as they are sawn not hewed like the rest of the logs, and they have square corner notches. The building makes use of tie beams across the plates to protect it from wind shear, but it does not appear to have created enough space within the roof to make a loft.

The second house is a single pen log building with V-notching at the corners and rests on corner piers of stone. It also has stone piers at the center of the sills. It measures 17' 9" x 14' 7" on the exterior. The stone chimney sits on the north gable and is obviously a modern re-construction with Portland cement and sitting on a concrete pad. The roof has a wood shingle covering attached with wire nails. The house has one door on the south gable wall. It has two window openings though only one actual window on the east side, the opening on the west has only a shutter covering.

The door and window frames on this building all have modern lumber and nails installed at the time of reconstruction. The window has only one wood sash with six panes of modern glass. Both window openings have board and batten shutters constructed with modern materials. The door is also has a modern feature.

All these features appear to be replacements from the reconstruction. It appears that only the logs, and only some of them, remain from the historic period for house number two.

Six logs make up the gable walls and seven logs make up the east and west facades. The main sills are replacements as is the log above the fireplace on the north wall. Carpenters used a half dovetail notch at the northeast corner instead of matching the V-notches found throughout the rest of the building. The plate on the west side has several drilled holes facing outward possibly for pegs, though for what purpose is not known. The replacement logs are obviously sawn while the original are hewn. The logs on this building have suffered a good deal of weathering and rot. The log above the fireplace on the north wall is a replacement but is in an advanced state of decay.

The south gable has a small door for entering the loft just above the main door. This arrangement is an odd juxtaposition of entrances for the building. The upper doorway only measures 4' in height suggesting its intention was only for children, or small items for storage, though these are suppositions. One would need a ladder to access this space as no stairway exists inside. However, placing a ladder to enter the upper space would impede entering the lower section of the house, unless it was placed to run along the face of the building. But that would necessitate support attachment(s) and no evidence of one could be found on the south façade. The south gable has 20 vertical weatherboards of varying widths attached with wire nails and the north gable has 19 vertical boards of varying widths. Both sides exhibit 4" bargeboards.

The interior has a low ceiling measuring only 6'4" in height, this building stands lower than the others. The floor has a combination of old and new boards. Some have wormholes, and have cut nail attachments, while others are obviously new and attached with wire nails. The loft floorboards are tongue and groove, and all measure 4" wide. Their small, standardized width suggests they do not date to the initial construction of the building. The loft floor joists exposed from below exhibit beaded edges in some cases. These joists may have come from another building during reconstruction. Some are hand hewn and others circular sawn. Notches in the joists that have no apparent purpose also suggest reuse from somewhere else. Cut nail holes and ghosts of lathing can be seen on the bottoms of some. Most of the joists do not sit correctly in their pockets within the plate. They all rest on small blocks to boost them up several inches. This feature may be due to recycling lumber from other buildings creating design and fit issues at the time of relocation, or the loss of a log(s) from rot which necessitated raising the loft joists several inches to create headroom below.

The historic site curators currently interpret the building as a weaver's house. An interpretive sign inside building reads as follows:

Sam Davis Home slave cabins. This cabin houses tools to make cloth. Although ready-made cloth was available in the 1850s, Mrs. Davis would have woven her own cloth for sheets, clothes, or clothing for the family's slaves. The large spinning wheel in this cabin is called a walking wheel. Instead of sitting down with a basket of wool or cotton to spin, the spinstress would have walked backward while the thread was twisted with the turning of the wheel. When the thread was wound correctly she would then walk forward to wind the thread on a spindle or bobbin. The large weaving loom you see was put together from three different looms found in the basement of the Davis home. The piece of equipment you see in the corner is a hand-operated cotton gin. It removed the seeds from cotton that was just picked.

The site staff has the right idea in placing the weaving equipment in a slave house, but stating that “Mrs. Davis would have woven her own cloth...” is missing the point. Mrs. Davis certainly supervised the tasks, but is unlikely to have done any weaving herself.

The third slave house sits at the northern end of the row near the intersection of fences separating the manicured landscape from the farm fields. The building stands almost two stories tall, though the second half-story appears to have logs added-on to make the height. It is not known whether these logs date to the historic use of the building, or if carpenters took them from another building during their reconstruction of house number three. The corner notching changes from V-notches to square on some logs and the joints do not match well. Below the loft joists, well made notching creates a straight and neat corner to the building. From the loft upwards the notching becomes sloppy with the log ends projecting beyond the plane of the walls in some cases. In other locations the corner notching exhibits a combination of types including, square notches, half dovetail, and at least one round or saddle notch demonstrating that the logs came from a combination of at least two other buildings. The east and west walls have 13 logs from sill to plate while the south gable wall has 13 logs and the north only 12 logs. The top log on the north wall is an obvious replacement, as are many other logs on each wall.

The house stands as a single pen building measuring 18' 3" x 14' 9" on the exterior. It sits on stone piers at the four corners and the centers of the sills.

The roof has a wood shingle covering attached with wire nails. The stone chimney rests on a concrete pad on the north wall, and is constructed with Portland cement. The house has two doors and one window. A doorway opens in both the south and east walls. The east door and a window on the west balance each other, while the south door opens in the gable wall. The window and door frames have modern lumber and wire nail construction. The east door has all circular sawn boards and a built-up threshold constructed of modern lumber held together with wire nails.

The south gable has 22 horizontal weatherboards overlapped with a four-inch exposure. The north gable has 18 boards and each side exhibits four-inch wide bargeboards, all attached with wire nails. A small door to the loft sits directly above the main door on the south gable. The door is a modern board and batten feature constructed with wire nails. The door to the main floor is also modern. Similar to the loft door in house number two, the entrance location would have necessitated use of a ladder which would have been in the way of the door below. This opening presents another interesting juxtaposition with the interior stairs. Why have what essentially amounts to a hatchway door in the gable when the building has stairs?

Some of the floorboards may be historic as some have quite a bit of wear and wormholes. Others appear newer and all have wire nail attachments. The loft joists are circular sawn elements as opposed to the mostly hewn joists seen in the other houses. Marks in the wood suggest that the floor joists are reused from somewhere else. An enclosed box-stair constructed with wire nails and tongue and groove boards sits at the southeast corner of building. The second story

tongue and groove floorboards have wire nail attachments, though some boards exhibit cut nail holes.

An inspection of the south wall revealed that the upper logs appear to have weathered differently than those on the lower half. The combination of mixed notching types and differentially weathered logs highly suggests that this building is not in its original form. The west false-plate has a peg hole on the south end. If the plate were initially pegged into the lower log the hole should be centered over the top log in the south wall. However, the false-plate sits out from the plane of the wall 6" and the peg hole sits exposed and unused. Overall the building has a look of replacements and improper reconstruction when the move occurred in the 1960s.

An interpretive sign on the front of this house reads:

There were 14 slave cabins and 51 slaves on the Davis property in 1860. The four cabins you see today are not original to the site but are situated in roughly the same spot of four of the original cabins. The other 10 cabins were located further up our driveway, stretching horizontally from the main house, and stretching into the fields. We know only a few of the names here on this farm and almost nothing about their lives. This cabin has been restored to look like the home of a slave family that may have lived on the Davis farm. The furniture includes a bed, a table and chairs for dining, and a spinning wheel. The parents would have shared the bed while the children would have slept upstairs in the loft on cornhusk mattresses. They would cook their evening meal – often the only meal a slave family would eat together – over the open fire. After being released from work for the day by the master, the Davis slaves may have spent their evenings tending small garden plots, storytelling, making goods for their personal use, or just resting.

The sign mentions four buildings, but as discussed earlier the fourth building, a log double pen house with dog trot does not have a slave association, it was a white farmer's house from elsewhere in Rutherford County.

Only house one has a door facing the main house. The other two have doors in the gables and/or a door on the west side facing away from the main house. The site planning which placed all the chimneys facing north for a symmetrical look may have influenced the siting of the individual houses when they came to the Sam Davis property. All three buildings reportedly came from Rattle and Snap Plantation, but they may have come from different locations on that site¹⁷¹ since they have somewhat different characteristics. The third house appears to be the most drastically altered with replacement logs in several locations. The second floor may or may not be an original aspect of this building. The changes in notching techniques on the upper logs suggest changes to the structure which might have occurred during the re-building at the Sam Davis property. These buildings are in a good state of repair for the most part. The fireplace lintel in house number two is suffering from decay, but that is the only major conservation problem with these buildings.

The overseer's house stands within 30' of the main house, and is the only remaining outbuilding associated with slavery from the Davis era. It stands as a one-story, single pen log house measuring 16' square constructed with very fine half dovetail notching. It has interior measurements of 15' 4" x 15' 4" square. According to interpretive staff this house has always served as an overseer's residence and the construction dates to approximately 1820.¹⁷² The building sits

on stone piers at the four corners and has a brick chimney on the north gable. The roof is covered with modern sawn wooden shingles. One door and one window balance each other on the east and west walls. The door is a modern replacement, and the frame has wire nails in its construction. The window frame is also a replacement with wire nails. The window itself has a six-over-six double-hung, wood sash. The panes are blown glass, but they may be reproductions. A mantle sits over the fireplace, but the age of it was not determined. The chimney has Portland cement re-pointing. According to the museum staff the overseer's house predates the Davis ownership of the property. Charles Davis did not purchase the property until the early 1840s, and a few years later constructed the wing on the back of the main house as well as the separate kitchen building. He continued using the overseer's house as such when he purchased the property.

The interpretive sign inside the overseer's house reads:

The overseer was the person who ran the farm for Charles Davis, Sam's father. He was in charge of planting and harvesting the crops and giving the field hands their work orders. He also inspected the fields and slaves to make sure that all things were in order. In return for his labors the overseer received room, board, and a 550 dollar yearly salary. This cabin is original to the property. A few of the notable objects in this room are the large cotton basket, the hand operated cotton gin, and the portraits of Jefferson Davis (no relation to the Davis's here) President of the Confederate States of America and James Polk, 11th president of the United States.

The main house basement contains a room with a fireplace which is highly suggestive of slaves living and working within the house. The room has a dirt floor and because of that it is unlikely that the Davis family spent much time there.¹⁷³ The room sits below the east parlor and part of the entrance hallway which constitutes the earliest part of the house. It measures 28' 4" long x 17' 10"

wide. The earliest section of the home, constructed of logs on an English basement sometime before 1820, is two stories in height. A long slender window in the south wall allows a small amount of light into the room. The exterior door which opens to a stairway is a nineteenth-century board and batten door with beveled battens constructed with cut nails. The ghost of a large box lock and the remains of a second, later lock can still be found on the door. The weatherboards on the side of the house beneath the cellar entrance are also nineteenth-century elements as they all attach with cut nails. Parts of the entrance stairway received a re-siding project in the twentieth-century and the difference in lumber is very obvious.

The fireplace in the basement room resides on the east wall. It has a shallow firebox only 13" deep is only 2' 6" wide and stands less than 3' tall. However, evidence in the brickwork indicates that the fireplace is not in its original configuration, and was larger initially. The breastwall has an obvious seam on the south side, and potentially another on the north side of the fireplace. Some of the mortar joints have a lime mortar and others have Portland cement in them. The fireplace probably received a renovation in the twentieth-century when the property became an historic site, but it appears it also had an earlier change sometime before 1880. This earlier reworking is evident from the lime mortar in some of the joints within the patched area. An invasive investigation could probably determine the original size of the fireplace. The room may have served as the first kitchen in the early history of the log house sometime prior to the 1840s. Charles Davis would have discontinued use of the room as a kitchen when

he built the frame kitchen building on the west side of the house. If the basement room had its fireplace redesigned at that time, it suggests that Davis continued using the space, and needed a heat source. With the much smaller firebox it could no longer be used as a kitchen and probably did not heat the entire room in the winter, but could easily have warmed enough area immediately surrounding the fireplace to keep a few people relatively comfortable. If this scenario is true then the likely candidate for spending time in the basement is not the Davis family, but slaves. If the cook continued living in the cellar it was a bit of an awkward arrangement in that the only entrance is found on the east side of the house and the kitchen building sits on the west side behind the wing Charles Davis constructed in the 1840s. In any case, it appears from the changes in the fireplace that a heat source was still needed in this room an indication of domestic occupation. An interpretive sign on slave house two states that museum staff found three looms in the basement. Perhaps weaving occurred in the basement rather than one of the slave houses. This scenario makes sense when you consider that on average three to four people inhabited the houses, and looms take up a good deal of room.

This property has several very interesting architectural aspects. First and foremost the slave houses re-built on this site from another plantation may or may not be representative of the type and size houses Charles Davis had on his farm. On the other hand it is interesting to note that the square footage of the overseer's house is smaller than all the slave houses and nearly two times smaller than the basement room in the main house. This architectural evidence suggests that

Davis's overseer lived in smaller more cramped conditions than the slave families of another, larger Tennessee plantation.

A second interesting architectural feature is the basement room. Its size of 504 square feet places it among the largest rooms in the survey. While it would have been a cold space in the winter, the lower elevation in the summer probably made this cooler than any other interior space on the farm, which might have made it a somewhat privileged living space for that reason. Certainly working in that room weaving or doing other tasks would have been more comfortable than working in the fields.

The Sam Davis Home is notable in several ways. The property has a landscape of slavery in all its various guises. It contains a large main house, with probably a slave room in the basement, slave houses, albeit moved from another property, and an overseer's house within an agricultural landscape showing how a plantation such as this worked. A second important point is that this museum took the time and expense to save several slave houses in order to interpret slavery in the 1960s. That was forward thinking for the time. Most southern plantation museums did not begin thinking about interpreting slavery or really using their slave associated buildings until the late 1970s or early 1980s. The interpretation of those buildings can be improved significantly but all the elements are in place on this one property. As an interpreted property this collection of buildings is vitally important to the story of slavery in the state. Elsewhere in Middle Tennessee the most complete set of slave buildings in this division became golf rental cottages at Fairvue in 2006.

The three log slave houses currently standing on the Sam Davis property came from the Maury County plantation Rattle and Snap. Diary and family records of Lucius Polk, overseer for his absentee father William, at Rattle and Snap give us some brief glimpses into slave life at that property. In 1826 William sent between 80 and 90 slaves to his son Lucius.¹⁷⁴ William later asked whether the slaves had been housed “all in families.” Two years later another group of slaves arrived at the plantation from North Carolina. By 1830 Rattle and Snap was home to 132 adult slaves and 14 children aged one to six, living in 20 family units, and most of them were under middle age with only seven being aged 40 or older. The previous year Lucius had written his father that he was preparing to build new log houses for his slaves and wished to know what William wanted done for his. Are the three houses at Sam Davis the only remnants from that building campaign of 1829? We can only speculate at this time.¹⁷⁵

In the Walter Hill area in Rutherford County is the Riverside mansion, also known as the Pierce-Jones house. This National Register – listed property has a log slave building standing beside the main house. A member of the famous Randolph family from Virginia settled at this location in 1816, married, and started a farm. While the main house dates to the post-slavery period, c. 1870, a log slave house stands approximately 30’ from the mansion.¹⁷⁶

The structure is actually a pair of cedar, side-gabled houses with handsomely crafted half dovetail notches, joined by a breezeway and the entire length covered by a single roof. The sections, though similar in size are asymmetrical in relation to each other. The easternmost building is stouter, wider,

has the largest hearth, and is called the kitchen by the family descendants who continue to own the property. It probably served as a slave house/cookhouse during the antebellum era. The other section is longer since it was once a double-penned house. Unfortunately the partition has been removed to create one long interior chamber to suit the family's storage needs over the course of the years.

The original design of the west section can still be deciphered as a story and a half, two-pen, sawn log dwelling resting on cut-stone corner piers with finely made half dovetail notches. This type of construction is also known as a plank house, and while it first appeared in the South in the late seventeenth-century, the Randolph family came from Virginia and may have known this technique from there.¹⁷⁷ The building measures 28' 10" x 16' 6" on the exterior, and has a 10' 2" wide modern porch on the front (south) side running the full length of this and the eastern section of the building. Its logs measure between 3.5" to 4" in width, making these the thinnest log walls in the survey. Most of the recorded log walls measure 6" or more in thickness. Also, because the logs are sawn it is a unique construction technique for this survey. All the other log buildings exhibit hewn rather than sawn logs. Previously, the log interior partition wall divided the house into two equally sized rooms on the east and west. The ends of the partition logs can still be seen on the front and back walls. The partition wall exhibits a different notching technique than the corners of the building. It has square notches which integrate the front and back wall logs. The long-wall logs do not span the entire length of the house, but begin and end at the

partition wall in a square notch. The carpenter had to plan each log carefully because the corners have half dovetail and the opposite ends in a square notch.

The dwelling has one door and one window on the south wall. The door enters the west pen and the window lights the east pen. However, the window is a former door location for that room. The north wall has two windows, one in each pen. The window on the west is a former door opening. Initially each pen had a window on the north wall and a door balancing it on the south. Owners later converted the east pen door to a window. The window opening currently lighting the west pen shows evidence of having been a door opening at one time. However, the window to door, to window changes may be post-bellum alterations since the configuration of a door and window for each pen on the opposite walls created architectural balance. It will require an invasive investigation to determine the evolution of the opening on the north wall of the west pen. The now in-filled door opening is slightly wider than the two door openings on the front of the building suggesting the door opening is not an original feature.

A third door exists on the east wall exiting out on the breezeway, or dogtrot, from the east pen. However, this doorway is not as wide as the two south wall openings, and the frame has wire nails in its construction, making this likely a later addition. In the antebellum period the house probably had a door for each pen on the front/south wall and a window lighting each room on the back/north wall. Later alterations include a new door in the east wall, partially in-filling the east pen doorway and making it a window, and enlargening the west pen rear window to become a door, which later became a window once again. The second

iteration of the widow expanded the opening several inches upward. This section of the building probably housed only one family in the antebellum period as it has only one fireplace in the west pen, but two rooms for living space. In this way the building mirrors the Bentsen house, and the Lenoir, hall and parlor houses, discussed earlier. The loft for this building is accessed by a set of stairs in the kitchen building 10' to the east.

The kitchen stands a story and a half tall and rests on cut-stone corner piers. It shares its tin roof and porch with the other section to the west. The logs on this section measure slightly thicker at between 4" and 5" wide and have half dovetail corner notching. The building measures 18' 7" by 18' 5". A massive cut-stone chimney stands on the east wall, but this is not an historic feature. Owners rebuilt the chimney in 1981, but kept the antebellum era fireplace opening in the wall.¹⁷⁸ The kitchen has a door in the south wall and a window in the north mirroring the configuration of the west section. These could be original openings, although the door frame has wire nails. The frame could be a replacement because the doorway faces the main house and is the best location for a door to serve the Randolph family. A second door pierces the west wall, but the frame has wire nails in its construction. This door, like the one opposite it in the west section, probably is not an early feature since it stands much wider than the other doorways. An additional small window on the north side of the chimney, probably added sometime after 1880, adds light from the east. A set of stairs enters the loft in the northwest corner of the kitchen. While some of the stairs have wire nails, this is the historic location of the loft entrance according to the Jones family.

The double-pen house on the west and the kitchen share the loft, which was not entered for safety reasons, but a visual inspection made from the stairs. The roof frame has hewn 3.5" rafters attached with cut nails. The roof covering is a twentieth-century addition to the buildings, but according to Mr. Jones's grandson the loft always connected between the double-pen house and the kitchen. This suggests that a family lived in the two room house, used the loft, and possibly lived in the kitchen as well. The fact that only one room (west) in the double-pen house has a fireplace suggests that it served as a single-family residence, possibly the cook. Alternatively, the cook and her family may have lived in the kitchen and another family lived in the double-pen house, and the two families shared the loft. The owners do not have any records of how many slave families occupied the building/s. However, the only entrance to the loft enters through the kitchen and according to oral tradition it has always functioned in that manner. A probable scenario is that the cook and her family lived in the kitchen before construction of the west section. Since the kitchen retained the loft entrance, if the cook's family occupied the double-pen house she probably continued to use the kitchen as additional living space by watching her small children there during the day.

The owner's oral tradition maintains that his family constructed the east section in the 1830s as a kitchen building. Later, they erected the west building to house other slaves who served the family.¹⁷⁹ The architectural evidence certainly suggests that the two sections date to different periods. The sections sit offset with the west section being a few feet narrower than the kitchen. The top logs on the

east side of the west section project outward several feet to meet the plate for the dogtrot which sits flush with the front of the kitchen. That plate is not integrated to the tops of either building but instead rests on posts at the junctions. To support the dogtrot roof the carpenter used the top log projection on the west sections' west wall and the partition wall as well. And in each case he used either a diagonal brace or a post to support the dogtrot extension. These details do not appear on the kitchen. Add that to the different dimensions of the wall logs in the two buildings, and the architectural evidence strongly suggests that the two sections date to different times.

In the Lascassas community of Rutherford County the Jarman Farm sits along the Cainsville Pike just south of the Wilson County line, and eight miles northeast of Murfreesboro. The property, also known as the Maplewood Farm, has served as home to the Jarman family since 1850 when they constructed their Greek Revival-styled I-house. The farm holds the honor of listings as a Tennessee Century Farm and in the National Register of Historic Places for its architecture, history, and collection of nineteenth-century outbuildings. Approximately one-quarter mile further north and on the opposite side of the road from the main house stands a log saddlebag slave house dating c.1850. It is one of three slave houses known to have stood on this property.¹⁸⁰

The house is a double-pen saddlebag building with a central cut-stone chimney and rests on stone corner piers. It has a standing seam metal roof with a modern porch addition supported by rough-cut log columns on a raised wooden floor. The structure's north-south orientation faces front toward the Cainsville

Pike several yards away. The building measures 33' 9" x 17' without the frame addition on the back. The north pen measures 12' 10" x 16' 2" on the interior and the south pen 15' 10" x 16' 2" on the interior. Both fireplaces received in-fill for wood burning stoves. Consequently, the size of the fireboxes could not be determined. The building has four doors and three windows. Two of the doors sit on the front or west side and two on the east or rear. The rear doors do not measure the same width as the front and probably are modern alterations to access the frame addition constructed on the back sometime after 1880. Two of the windows reside on the gable walls, and one is on the front or west wall to light the south pen. The north opening has the remains of a four-over-six double sash window, and the south opening has no window sashes left; it is open to the elements. The west opening has a single four-light sash.

The owners enclosed the space between the two pens extending from the stone chimney to the front and rear walls for closet space sometime in the twentieth-century. The floors had modern carpets so it was impossible to determine if the floorboards date to the construction period of the house. The interior has modern electric fixtures, wallboards, carpeting, and appears to have served as a residence until the late twentieth-century.

The logs on this house display different techniques of preparation. For instance the north wall logs are not hewn, but left in the round, only the sill and plate on that side are hewn. The south wall logs are all hewn, but display a very crude technique. They do not have a fully squared profile. The front, or west logs, are all hewn. The corners have a combination of crude V-notching, and a saddle-

notch form. The fact that the walls exhibit different types of hewing technique may suggest that the pens date to different time periods. Which one came first is impossible to say without conducting invasive investigations. The fact that the south pen also has a window on the front and the north pen does not also suggests different dates of construction.

This is the most crudely built log house in the survey. Not only are the notches crude, but also the ends of the logs extend up to 1' beyond the plane of the walls. The ends are not sawn flat but roughly hewn in many cases. The gap size between the logs is substantial in some places as the notching is very crudely done. Most of the interstices have a modern cement chinking.

The condition of this house is very poor. It sits in a cattle pasture and cows rummage through it. Manure sits several inches deep on the floors. The porch floorboards are rotting and loose in some places and some of the joists are heavily decayed. Some of the wall logs suffer from decay and beginning to bow. While the roof is in good repair and appears to be watertight, the continual use by cattle and lack of maintenance are detrimental to its longevity.

In the southeastern corner of Rutherford County, on Tennessee Highway 99 lies the Murray-Jernigan Farm, listed both as a Tennessee Century Farm and in the National Register of Historic Places for its architectural and agricultural significance to Rutherford County. The farm lies approximately eight miles southeast of Murfreesboro. The main house, constructed in 1821, stands as a two-story, four-room log I-house covered in weatherboards. Secondary sources indicate the one extant slave house dates to 1850, though at one time as many as

10 such buildings stood on the farm.¹⁸¹ The former locations of the other nine houses are not known. This particular structure, being behind the mansion, probably housed domestics, most likely the cook. It sits in a south-southwest orientation to the side and slightly behind the main house approximately 50 feet. It faces the gable end and rear of the main house. The current owner, who is a sixth generation Murray, Martha Tucker, stated that this building was the kitchen, and that it also likely served as the cook's residence. Therefore this building is considered a kitchen/cook's house for the purposes of the survey.

The kitchen/cook's house is a one story, one pen, log building with half dovetail corner notching, and measures 18' 6" x 16' 4" on the exterior. It sits on stone piers at the corners, with others in the middle of the sills. It has a standing seam metal roof attached with wire nails. A cut stone chimney sits on the west wall. The front, or south side, holds the door, and the lone window opening resides on the north or back of the building, although the window and door do not balance each other in their positions on the walls. Cut nails project from the ends of the logs where a two-foot square window frame once sat, though the window and frame are now missing. At the time of recording the opening had boards covering it from the inside. The door frame has wire nails in its construction, making this a replacement piece. The door itself is a five board, tongue and groove, board-and-batten feature constructed with cut nails, though some wire nails can be found in repairs. The door attaches with what appear to be wrought hinge pintles driven into the door frame. An exterior door surround existed at one

time. A few remnants of thin boards held with cut nails on the north and south sides of the doorway existed at the time of the survey.

The tongue and groove floor has cut nail attachments, though some boards have been replaced and attached with wire nails. Most of the boards measure 6" to 7" wide. The building uses collar ties on top of the plates that could accommodate a loft floor, but no nail holes were found on the tops of those elements. However, it must be stated that at the time of the survey quite a bit of lumber sat on top of the ties and it was difficult to see the top surfaces of those members. The upper space does not have much head room for a loft with just under 6' between the roof peak and top of the braces. The lower section of the house also has little headroom at 5' 10" tall. Even the doorway is cut into the top of the sill approximately 3" to accommodate the door. All these features indicate that this structure was constructed with a short interior purposely.

The roof rafters are nineteenth-century if not original elements as they are held in place with cut nails. Many Middle Tennessee log buildings have common rafters that extend beyond the wall with a notch to seat them on the plate. But in this building they simply have beveled bottoms and sit on the top edge of the plate. Another idiosyncratic characteristic of this building is the way the collar ties fit into the structure. Usually the ties notch into the plate or between the plate and the first log. In this house the ties rest on top of the first log and the plate simply rests on top of the ties. This leaves a wide gap between the plate and first log. On both the main walls the gap does not retain any chinking and leaves a

expanded opening for weather, vermin, or anything else to enter the building. It still has some of its mud-mortar chinking, but most has eroded out over time.

The front and back walls have nine logs from sill to plate, and the sides have eight logs. The east gable has 11 rows of weatherboards, with approximately a 5" to 6" exposure, and held with cut nails. Likewise the west gable has 11 rows of weatherboards although some replacements have wire nails. This may not be the first covering for the gables but it likely dates to the nineteenth-century because of the cut nails. The west gable does not have barge boards like those found on the east.

In some instances interior boards covered the interstices between logs at the time of recording. Even so, much of the building is open to the weather. A few boards have cut nail attachments. Some of the boards appear riven, measuring between $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, which suggests they are shingles used as siding boards after a re-roofing renovation. Generally, the building is in a good state of repair, though some spots on a few logs have decayed, and with the loss of so much chinking the tops of the logs are starting to decay. A few of the gable weatherboards suffer from rot as well.

An artifact recovered from the southwest corner of the west gable in the space between the last two logs at the top of the wall may reflect the African-Tennessean presence in this building. It is a small female's shoe. It measures only 3" in width and approximately 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in length. The sole and upper of the shoe are leather, the heel being composed of six pieces of stacked leather. The sole is held with 12 small square nails, and it has five rows of eyelets for the lacing. The

interior fabric looks like burlap. The age of the shoe is unknown. African-American slaves sometimes hid shoes within buildings as a talisman for good luck.

One of the most interesting cultural aspects of this property is the fact that descendants of both the white and black families live in the area. The white Murray family continues to own the property while a black family with the Murray last name lives in Murfreesboro. I had the pleasure of meeting Neal Murray whose ancestor lived and worked in the kitchen. His great, great grandmother Lottie was enslaved on the property as the cook. Murray also stated that he feels the Murrays bred Lottie because she had 17 children, 16 boys and one girl.¹⁸² The Murray-Jernigan farm is one of a handful of slave houses in the Tennessee survey where we have family history of an individual who lived on the plantation.

Warren County holds the easternmost slave house in Middle Tennessee at the Northcutt plantation, southwest of McMinnville. This former plantation and National Register – listed property now has only the main house and one brick slave house on the farm. The slave house sits behind and to the side of the mansion house approximately 50 feet. According to the owners the plantation once encompassed roughly 5,000 acres.¹⁸³

The house is a one story, double-pen brick building constructed with a 7:1 American common bond. It sits on a north-south axis with rooms in the north and south ends of the building formerly divided by a brick partition wall. It has one door and one window opening for each pen on the front and back walls

respectively. The owner, Robert Stanford, dismantled the three-brick thick interior wall in early 1999. The original mason had integrated the partition into the main walls of the building and Stanford had to chisel out the end bricks leaving a telltale line of remnants on the main walls. The partition did not have an opening or doorway through it according to Stanford.

At the time of recording in August of 1999 the slave house had recently undergone a partial demolition and rehabilitation. The wooden roof had begun to collapse and the owners replaced it with a new framework and tin covering. The previous roof had hewn rafters, various width junk- wood planking and a corrugated tin covering. The owners also found some remains of a previous wood shingle covering. In the north pen a massive hewn main beam supported the rafters at the peak, while the south pen had no such support, but collar ties at the wall plates.¹⁸⁴ The building did not have a floor at the time of inspection. The dirt surface had scattered brick pieces and trash imbedded into the soil. The owner stated that he took several truck loads of trash out of the building including parts of the wooden floor.

At the time of recording the building had one interior brick chimney and the remains of another at each gable end. The fireplaces had received severe alterations, the north one being totally dismantled. The southern fireplace is partially intact, but because of alteration it was impossible to determine its original size. The firebox and chimney breast project into the room approximately 1' 6" and stand over 6' tall. It is evident from a projecting shelf on the breastwall that the top of the shoulder represents the ceiling height for the south room. It is

assumed that the north fireplace and ceiling height were identical.

Each room has one doorway opening in the front or east wall and one window in the west or rear wall. The owner removed historic board and batten doors in 1999. He stated that the doors hung on the exterior of frames and opened outward. There were no actual windows in the openings, only shutters, and frames.¹⁸⁵ A ledge around the lower perimeter of the east and west walls is assumed to have supported floor joists. The joists, then, would have run east-west and the floor boards north-south. The interior had a plaster finish at one time, though the age of it is not known. On the east wall patches contain two layers of wall finish. The top layer consists of a Portland cement coating, below which lies a lime based mortar pargeting. Whether or not the mortar layer dates to the earliest period of the building is unknown.

Staff from the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University made observations to establish a date of construction for the building based on saw marks, hardware, and construction techniques. Sash saw marks could be observed on the surviving fragments of wood framing and floor joists. No circular saw marks were observed on any of the wood fragments including one piece of roof sheathing. Since circular saws came into use in approximately 1850, the house probably dates to before that time. Nails in the wooden pieces were all perfected machine cut nails, which post date 1830. According to Stanford he has seen only blunt-end screws in the main house, which pre-date 1846. According to local oral tradition the slave house was built at the same time as the main house. Using the bracket dates of the nails and screws the slave house

probably dates from sometime between 1830 and 1846. Oral tradition asserts that the main house and slave house were both built in 1842, which fits well with the dating methods.

In Bedford County, southeast of Shelbyville lies the Moores-Ford farm on the Wartrace Pike. The slave house at this farm stands to the side and slightly behind the main house approximately 50 to 75 feet. Someone lived in the house at the time of recording and the resident did not grant interior access. The dwelling stands as a one-story, single-pen log building resting on a continuous stone foundation with half dovetail corner notching, measuring 16' 2" x 15' 5" on the exterior. It has a cut stone chimney on the north side, with a decorative belt course near the top, a door on the west and a window on the east. The door and window do not balance each other in their positions along the walls. The south side has a frame addition attached. The window on the west wall has a modern six-over-six double-hung, wooden sash. The front door is a modern replacement. The roof is covered with composite shingles and the rafter ends visible at the plate are modern lumber. Apparently the roof elements date to the twentieth-century. The chimney is re-pointed with Portland cement, but it does not seem to have adversely affected the stonework at this point. The width of the fireplace was not measured because interior access was not granted. It is unlikely that the building has a loft because it only stands 7' 5" from ground to top of the plate.

The current owner of the property, H. C. Tilford Jr., has a late nineteenth-century photograph of a black man named Uncle Cal (no last name is known) standing in front of a small log house that could be the building described above.

In the photo the building is covered with vertical siding, but the logs can be seen at the doorway. Cal was a former slave still living and working on the farm after emancipation. The picture dates to circa 1890, and has a caption written in the mid-1980s on the back. It explains that Uncle Cal lived in the log slave house in the picture, and died on the property in the 1920s.

Marshall County has the southernmost Middle Tennessee property in the survey database. The Davis-Wood house in the Cornersville area is reputed to be the oldest brick house in the Marshall County.¹⁸⁶ However, the owners do not know the construction date of the house. A potential clue to the age of the house is the fact that the brickwork is executed in Flemish bond, associated with mid-eighteenth through early nineteenth-century masonry. According to the owner, Pauline Wood, the builder of the home was probably Amos Davis (July 18, 1783 - October 16, 1834), and his wife Elizabeth Davis (April 27, 1793 - October 1867). The Davis family cemetery sits a few hundred yards to the south of the house on a small rise overlooking Tennessee Highway 129.

Residents of the house only allowed access to the basement room where slaves reportedly lived. The house design appears to be a story and a half expanded hall and parlor plan, further indicating an early date, probably before 1820. It has six bays with two doors and four windows, one room deep. The Flemish bond brick walls sit on a cut limestone English basement. Originally a chimney stood at each gable end, but the east chimney was demolished sometime in the 1980s. However, evidence of its base is clearly visible on the ground. Owners rebuilt much of the gable wall at that time. The gable on the west side is

original. A wooden porch with a concrete block foundation covers the front or south side of the house, and a brick addition sits on the back or north side.

Beneath the east pen of the house sits a room that served as a slave living space and kitchen, according to oral tradition.¹⁸⁷ The cellar sits mostly below ground with just the last 2' above grade, in the manner of an English basement. The entrance to the cellar room consists of low stone retaining walls on either side of four or five stone steps leading down to the doorway. The current property owner constructed the stone walls to the entryway in the late twentieth-century. The room measures 17' 6" x 15,' has three windows, and a large fireplace. The foundation's cut limestone blocks make up the walls of the room. The window openings had wooden dowels in the frames, some of which have survived to the present. Two of the windows sit on the south wall, and one on the north, each measuring 3' long. The doorway sits at the southeast corner of the room and the frame is a modern replacement. The door itself is also a modern replacement. The floor is dirt and apparently has always been a dirt surface. A probe inserted approximately 8" into the ground did not hit any hard surface.

This room probably served the dual purposes of slave living space, and kitchen. The fireplace is large, measuring 4' across, 2' deep and 3' 6" high. The flue was closed up in the twentieth-century, but the firebox is open and clearly visible. It is constructed with cut limestone blocks, and has a keystone. Two cast iron bars serve as the lintel. The owner stated that Amos Davis, the assumed builder of the house, had three slaves at the time of his death in 1834 and willed them to his wife Elizabeth. No slave houses are known to have existed on the

property.¹⁸⁸ The plan of a hall and parlor house with a basement kitchen and separate entrance matches the Tipton-Haynes house in Washington county.

Historian Ralph Whitsell described the Davis-Wood house in 1974;

The only other brick building, known simply as "the brick house" was the home of Amos Davis who died in 1834. The house was a substantial, attractive, story and a half with basement. It had two huge chimneys, one on either end. The house faces south with two doors and four windows across the front. The ceilings are low, especially in the second story rooms. The ceilings on the first floor are ten feet tall. The original woodwork still adorns the interior, with the staircase leading upward from the west front room. The kitchen stood to the rear and separate from the main dwelling. The house is still standing, empty and beginning to decay. It was damaged slightly when tornadoes hit the area on April 3, 1974. It is with regret that we see the old "brick house" in this state of repair.¹⁸⁹

Maury County in southern Middle Tennessee has several significant extant slave houses. Rippavilla plantation contains several hundred acres and two buildings associated with slave housing. General Motors owns part of the historic plantation and a non-profit historical association owns part of the land, operating the property as a plantation museum. Historically the Cheairs family owned the property and Nathaniel Cheairs Sr. constructed a small home there in the early 1820s.¹⁹⁰ The extant brick mansion constructed by slave labor dates to the 1850s. Oral tradition states that the walls were begun and taken down three times before Nathaniel Cheairs Jr. was satisfied with the design.¹⁹¹

Behind the mansion stands a wing, constructed in 1851-1852 which began its existence as a separate building with living quarters for the Cheairs family upstairs and a kitchen room on the first floor. While the main house was under construction the Cheairs lived in what was at that time a separate dwelling. The kitchen building initially stood as a two-story edifice with two rooms over two.

After 1855, when the mansion was finished, Cheairs converted the upper floor rooms to slave living quarters. The lower two rooms served as the plantation kitchen and a workroom. Entrance to the second story came through an outside stair on the north gable end of the building, which faces the main house. The stairs ran from the lower northeast corner to a door at the upper northwest corner. In the twentieth-century the building became a wing through a single story attachment between it and the main house spanning the distance of approximately 20' between the buildings.

In the 1920s extensive remodeling changed the shape and function of the kitchen building when owners placed an interior stairway in the lower south room. While the kitchen room remained essentially intact, the other rooms suffered dramatic changes. The second floor north room became a divided space. Owners added a bathroom along the west wall and made the north room much smaller. They partially enclosed the doorway to the exterior stairs, making it a window, and removed the stairs. They also filled-in the second floor fireplaces, consequently those elements do not appear on the drawings as their size and shapes could not be determined without invasive investigations. An interior dividing wall with the back-to-back fireplaces likely had a doorway on the east end that connected the two second story rooms initially, but after the alterations it became an open passageway. Remodeling work cut the wall back to approximately two-thirds its length with the remaining section on the west side of the building. At the same time, the kitchen building then became part of a wing attached to the main house by the addition of a single-story room filling the gap

between the house and outbuilding. On the rear of the main house a porch was added extending the depth of the house approximately 10'-12' which met the addition to the wing. The additional room became a modern kitchen. To the south of the kitchen building stood the smokehouse, and in the 1920s attached it to become part of the wing. Prior to that time approximately 10' had separated the two buildings. The space between became two new rooms. A line demarcating the attachment is clearly visible on the west façade beside a two-inch PVC pipe running up the wall. Prior to the 1920s alterations the kitchen building stood as a separate structure with rooms for cooking and slave living. The following is an architectural description for how the building probably looked during the antebellum era.

The kitchen building stood as a two story, double-pen brick building. It is a plain structure with no decorative elements. It rests on a continuous stone foundation and probably had a shingle roof. At the time of recording it had a standing seam metal roof. The interior brick chimney probably served four fireplaces. The main axis of the building sits in a north-south direction with the north gable facing the rear of the main house. On the first floor three doors, two on the east side and one on the west entered the building in different rooms. However, the southeastern door may have been a window up until the 1920s, but invasive investigations were not undertaken to determine so. The west door sits near the northwest corner of the structure and balances a similar door on the east façade. The second floor has four windows on the west façade and three on the east. The four windows on the west perfectly balance three windows and a door

on the first floor. In addition, two windows on the north wall face the main house on the second floor. However, the western window was the exterior door discussed previously. The east wall has two windows on the second floor, two on the first and a door accessing the kitchen or north room on the first floor.

The second floor north room measured approximately 18' x 18'. Two windows lit this room on the north, one on the east, and two on the west. The interior wall, which likely held a fireplace facing both into the north room and one in the south room, measures 3' 9" thick. If the fireboxes are 1' 6" deep there is a two brick thick divider between them. The south room measured approximately 18' x 16' 6". Two windows on the west and one on the east lighted this room. The south wall may have initially held windows lighting this room, but they were covered by the alterations in the 1920s. All the windows in the building are six-over-six double-hung, wood sash windows. Some of the panes appear to be original or at least early blown glass. The doors were not inspected to determine if they are original elements. However, with the amount of changes that occurred in the 1920s the doors are probably replacements.

Approximately 1/2 mile from the main house stands a one room frame slave house. This one and a half story, single pen frame house stands on corner piers of cut limestone and has a corrugated tin roof. The loft was not accessed during the recording as the entrance was blocked by a modern a ceiling. The building measures 20' x 18' 2" on the exterior. The house has two doors, one the north gable end and one on the front or west side. The brick chimney sits centered on the south gable end. Two windows light the building, one on the east side, and

one on the south beside the chimney. The south window has a single sash with four lights. This is a later addition constructed with wire nails. The east window has a four-over-four double-hung, wood sash. While parts of the window are replacements the opening is probably original.

The house has horizontal weatherboards on all but the south side, which exhibits vertical boards. Many of the horizontal boards have cut nails attaching them, suggesting that this is a nineteenth-century, and possibly original, sheathing. The boards on the south side all have wire nail attachments making these all replacement boards. The floor had a modern covering and could not be inspected.

This house stood in a former row of slave houses, and the chimney bases of the other missing ones could still be seen or felt on the ground surface in a line to the south. Examination and probing of the ground suggests that as many as four other buildings stood in the row to the south. A later farm manager's building (post 1880) stands several yards to the north of the slave house suggesting that farm laborers continued occupying this part of the property after the Civil War. According to oral tradition and a report on file at the property this was one of several slave houses in a row at this location. According to the report most of the other slave houses on the property were log construction.

Nathaniel Cheairs owned between 40 and 100 slaves who worked 1,100 acres of land growing corn, tobacco, and cotton.¹⁹² The 1860 census shows that he owned 74 slaves and 15 houses.¹⁹³ Cheairs was both a major slave owner and trader as evidenced by several extant bills of sale for slaves at the Maury County

Archives. For one skilled male carpenter Cheairs paid \$1,800, while a healthy male of 22 or 23 years cost \$550.¹⁹⁴ The extant slave house at Rippavilla likely represents a standardized slave house for the plantation, considering the fact that a row of houses existed here and physical evidence on the ground shows where the others stood. At 306 the square footage of this house is fairly close to those at Clifton Place, which generally measure 323 square feet, and it is approximately 50 to 60 square feet larger than the houses from Rattle and Snap now standing at the Sam Davis Home.

In the city of Columbia, at Tenth and Bridge Streets, stand two log slave houses, formerly part of the Foster farm, but now incorporated into the city limits. An 1870s map in the Maury county archives shows the Fosters farm but at the turn of the twentieth-century the family sold the property, a school stands where the house once existed, and a twentieth-century neighborhood developed on the former farmland.¹⁹⁵ The two log single- pen, one-story houses rest on partial stone foundations at the front, and full foundations on the back. They currently have standing seam metal roofs attached with wire nails. The west house is the smaller of the two buildings measuring 15' 6" x 13' 10" on the exterior. The door was locked, so access to examine interior details was not possible. A single door accesses the front of the house centered on the south wall. A single window lights the interior from the north wall which sits offset from the door slightly to the west. A cut stone chimney sits on the west side and is in very good condition. It has received re-pointing over the years including work with Portland cement, but that does not seem to have caused any major damage yet. The house sits on

the brow of a gentle slope and takes advantage of this position with a full rubble stone foundation at the rear (or north side) and the space below the house accessed by a short door in the foundation for a small cellar. The historic use of the cellar is unknown. At the time of recording the space had layers of trash in it.

The front door appears to be an historic feature, a board-and batten-door five boards wide. The interstices of the logs have chinking with modern Portland cement causing some separation of the logs and most likely causing decay beneath the chinking. The corners have half dovetail notching on wide logs, though the main walls stand less than 6' tall. The front and rear (south and north) walls stand six logs high. The east and west gable walls have only five logs each. Many of the logs are relatively large, measuring over 1' in height. The west gable has 17 weatherboards with an average of 5" exposure. The east gable has 18 weatherboards with a similar exposure.

The east house has modern frame additions on the east and north sides, and a porch on the south. It measures 16' 5" x 16' 2" on the exterior and unlike the west building has square corner notching. Access to the interior of this building was not granted. It had suffered a fire in 2001 and at the time of inspection sat boarded over and locked. A door on the front or south, and a window on the west wall are the only architectural features visible on the log section of the house. However, the door and window had plywood covering them making it impossible to describe the features. The top of a brick chimney stack is visible on the east wall, but its age could not be determined. The front or south wall is made up of ten hewn logs, and the west wall also has ten logs. The west

gable has a shingle covering with wire nails, but it was in a serious state of decay at the time of recording in February 2002.

The buildings are named for Elijah Foster, a descendant of slaves who lived in the east house and used the west house as storage for his grocery store which sat across the road on Tenth Street. The author participated in an interview of an older resident of the neighborhood, Lee Warfield who remembers Foster. Mr. Warfield stated that he was born in 1907 and remembers the story Foster told about how the property came into his family's ownership.

The first thing I will try to explain to you is that this property was slave property, these two houses, and that little spot across there (meaning the lot where the white frame building now stands across E 10th Street.). Old man Foster's granddaddy was a slave and when slavery was over the "man" give his granddaddy this property. It runs to the line right down where that tree is, is the end of the property. And he kept that house in pretty good shape. And after he died they just didn't do nothing about it much.¹⁹⁶

The two little log buildings sit unoccupied and boarded-up, slowly decaying. Warfield tries to keep up the lawn and does small repairs on the exteriors of the buildings, but he is not the owner and does not have access to the interiors.

In the Ashwood National Register Historic District, South of Columbia stands Clifton Place, a plantation which retains much of its historic character and several slave houses. This property has more remaining slave houses and living spaces than any other property in the survey. In that sense it retains much of the landscape of slavery from its days as a mid-sized plantation. Clifton Place boasts four standing log slave houses, a two-and-a-half story brick kitchen building, and a room in the basement of the mansion that housed slaves in the antebellum

period. Two different families privately own the various buildings discussed below. One family owns the main house and immediately surrounding outbuildings, including the kitchen and log cook's cabin, and another family owns the slave quarter several hundred yards from the main house complex.

Gideon Pillow, a prominent military figure in the Mexican-American War and a Confederate General in the Civil War, owned Clifton Place in the antebellum era. Pillow had the mansion constructed over a two-year period from 1838 to 1839. The dates of the log slave houses are not known, but probably date to the same time period. The main house sits on a hill commanding a view of the Columbia turnpike, with the slave quarter sitting at the edge of an agricultural field, nestled within the surrounding countryside. The three slave houses sit to the west and several hundred yards below the main house. A fourth log house sits behind the main house approximately 50 yards. The brick kitchen building sits approximately 50' from the rear porch of the house. In addition, a room in the basement of the house has a fireplace, and other features which suggest domestic use.

The room mentioned above resides at the southwest corner of the basement, and below the Pillow-era dining room. This room has a fireplace and three windows. Entrance to the room comes directly at the end of a stairs which descend beside the dining room doorway. Clifton Place had an extensive call bell system throughout the house. Though many of the wires are now missing, tracing the system from the dining room, discovers that a wire once ran through the rear wall, then across and down the wall to a pivot on the interior of the south window

frame in the basement room. This set of architectural elements highly suggests that a slave or slaves lived in that room and were expected to answer the bell. Numerous other pivots and portions of the wire system can be found throughout the basement. Reilly May, architectural conservator for the property, suspects that additional wires ran along the now missing porch that attached the house and kitchen building.¹⁹⁷

The basement room has several other interesting features. The entire room has a plaster finish, including the ceiling, which dates to the antebellum period. In addition, the three windows each have a splayed opening with finely constructed trim. The interior of the door has decorative graining in a manner similar to doors on other floors in the house. But it is only grained on the interior. Reilly May suggests that this indicates the door generally stood open so that anyone passing by the stairs on the first floor would see a finely decorated door in the basement.¹⁹⁸ In addition, the stairway has a decorative leaf motif stenciling along the top of the walls, and near the handrail. The basement room also has remnants of stenciling along the upper portion of one wall. These are unusually fine decorative features in an area intended for slaves, suggesting that the resident may have been a craftsman who carried out graining for the master's mansion. A similar example of decoration in a slave space can be found at the Mallory-Neely house in Memphis where a painted pattern can be found in the stairway leading to the basement. Clifton Place has several bedrooms on the second and third floors so the basement inhabitants were not likely the Pillow family members.

The current owners think this basement room served as a winter kitchen, but that interpretation seems unlikely because the fireplace is small and not very deep. It stands only 3' wide, 3' tall, and 18" deep. In addition, no evidence of attachments for a crane or other cooking apparatus were noted. In any case there would be no need for a winter kitchen since the kitchen building stands only 50' away and could easily have functioned year round. Additionally, a covered walk extended from the main house to the kitchen during the Pillow era and the ghosts of it are clearly visible in the north face of the kitchen building.¹⁹⁹

The basement room's square footage is larger than the slave houses measuring 21' x 20' but very similar in size to the rooms within the kitchen building. The combination of the fireplace size and the bell pivot in the window frame demonstrates that the room served as a living space for slaves instead of as a winter kitchen. The basement room therefore most likely functioned as a domestic room for individuals serving the Pillow family. Their room in the basement allowed for quick and easy access to a slave whenever the Pillows wanted something. When owners later added a back porch and side wings to the house, the remodeling covered the windows in the basement room. Probably at that time the builders framed-in the east side windows to make cupboards. Despite the later changes the room retains enough early details to strongly hint at slaves living within the white household.

The brick common bond kitchen building stands 50' to the south of the main house and rises two and a half stories including a half-basement. It contains five rooms, two each on the first and second floors, and a single room in a half-

basement on the west side. The house sits on the shoulder of a gentle slope and takes advantage of the topography by adding the basement room on the west. This room sits partially underground on the upslope side and is open on the downslope side with a door for exterior access on the west wall. The building measures 41' 6" x 22' 4" on the exterior and rests on a full stone foundation. The roof has a modern composite shingle covering, and the main façade faces north toward the main house. Several architectural details suggest that construction of this building occurred in two phases.

The north wall holds four windows and one door for entry to the first floor. The door sits at the northeast corner accessing the east room. The door itself is a modern element, with a screen door in the frame as well. The four windows on this façade light all the floors with two on the second floor, one on the first, and one for the basement room. The windows all appear to be historic features with nine-over-six double-hung, wood sashes. Similarly, the east gable wall contains four windows, two each centered in the rooms on the first and second floors. They also have nine-over-six double-hung, wooden sashes. The west gable wall has one door and one window for the basement room, with the door being near the southwest corner. A set of stone stairs with a cut stone retaining wall leads down to access the door. A chimney projects 1' from the face and centered on the west wall.

The south façade has one window for each floor, a door, and a chimney. However, literally the entire east half of the wall dates to the late twentieth-century because it sagged and needed rebuilding. The windows align one above

the other on the west side of the building, and the door sits just to the east of the first floor window. The door perches above the ground approximately 5' at its sill because of the slope on which the building sits. At the time of recording in 2002 the door lacked stairs to access it from outside.

The rebuilt chimney projects 1' from the face of the south wall centered on the east room. At approximately the midpoint of the wall a seam with new brick on the east and old brick on the west is clearly visible. The chimney and the eastern portion of the south wall are all rebuilt with modern bricks. However, a small patch of older brick incorporated into the modern masonry along the seam indicates the re-working did not come as a straight line down the wall, but retained historic coursework.

Evidence inside the structure supports the theory of two building phases. The lintel above the interior door between the two first floor rooms is shaped similar to the lintels over the windows in the east wall which have mitered edges sloping upwards. In addition, it is not long enough to be fully supported by the masonry in the doorway. It only spans the opening in the wall. Conversely, the lintels on the north wall span several inches beyond the opening, thereby gaining support from the brickwork. Because the lintel over the interior door is visible facing west (and outward) this doorway was probably a window originally, especially considering the fact that a height difference between the east and west rooms measures 26" in height. The west room sits higher, probably because it has the basement room below, and dates later in time than the east side of the

building. Further evidence is the fact that the bottom of the lintel has a deep bevel to give a few more inches of headroom as a person passes through the doorway.

Investigations inside a crawlspace below the east room revealed that the floor joists are reused pieces and each only spans half the distance of the room. Carpenters used modern lumber scabbed onto the historic joists to span the rest of the room's length. One of the joists has square nail holes and lath marks on it indicating it previously supported a ceiling, or perhaps an interior wall. While this evidence does not in-and-of itself fully support the theory of two construction phases, it demonstrates that there may not be much evidence of early period construction left in the crawlspace. The floor was probably dismantled and reinstalled using scabbed lumber in the twentieth-century when the south wall received its re-building.

The north wall of the kitchen shows evidence of the former porch that attached this building to the main house with a breezeway. Why there is no seam on the north side (like the one on the south wall) indicating the second phase of construction remains a mystery. Rilley May theorizes that the east half of the building was constructed first and that initially the gables faced north and south. When the west half of the building was added the east and west walls became gables.²⁰⁰ Supporting his theory is the fireplace on the south wall of the east half, which is an unusual placement. However, if that was initially a gable wall the placement makes more sense. Though that chimney is rebuilt, Mays emphasizes that masons reconstructed it based on preexisting features in the 1970s.²⁰¹

The kitchen building apparently started out as a two-story structure with a breezeway and porch attachment to the main house from its north-gable end. Its axis faced north-south toward the house. The first floor room served as the kitchen work space, and the cook lived on the second floor. Living space was always an intended function as the architect, Nathan Vaught, later recalled constructing the "fine two-story brick kitchen and servants dwelling."²⁰² The later addition supplemented both the work and domestic space in the building, and rearranged its axis to face east-west. Oral tradition suggests that the new basement room became the laundry. This room measures 19' x 20' making it nearly the same size as the others in the building. It has a separate ground level entrance, and stairs accessing the first floor. It may also have served as living space for the laundress and her family. An interesting facet of the addition is that the second floor west room does not have a fireplace, although one probably could have been placed within the chimney on the west wall. This evidence suggests that only one family lived on the second floor because only one room could be heated. Did the cook and her family live on the second floor? Several scenarios are possible for how this building was used as domestic space. One possibility is that the cook and her family lived on the second floor, while the laundress lived in the basement and first floor west room. As second scenario has the cook's family living on the first floor while another family lived on the second floor, and the basement room served solely as work space, or a family may have lived there as well. A final possibility is that the laundress and her family lived in the basement and perhaps first floor west room, while the cook's family lived on the second floor and the

first floor east room served exclusively as the kitchen, retaining a more corporate atmosphere, existing solely to serve the master. Adding the mansion's basement room to the scene places a number of enslaved people within the Pillows household and within 50' of it at all times of the day and night.

To the south of the kitchen building stands several other outbuildings including a log house referred to as the "cook's cabin." This log building measures 20' x 18' on the exterior and sits on stone piers, which in turn sit on brick bases. It has a standing seam metal roof attached with wire nails. The corner notching is half dovetail and the chimney sat on the east gable. The first inspection of the building occurred in 2000 and it was found to be in a bad state of repair with the sills spreading, and the east wall leaning. The chimney suffered from deterioration and leaned precipitously. A cinderblock addition to the rear, or south side of the building, added some stability in that direction. Access to the interior was not granted as it was locked and used for storage; thus the drawings of this building do not show the size of the fireplace.

A second inspection of the building in April 2002 found a different situation. At that time a full renovation of the house had begun. Restoration contractor Michael Gavin dismantled the chimney and the cinderblock addition. Gavin performed investigations of the building, and made a few hypotheses about its construction, decoration, and placement on the landscape. Gavin noticed numbering on the logs at the northeast corner. Carpenters etched numbers into the wood as single slashes making Roman numerals. Gavin deduced that these marks indicate the building was dismantled and moved at some time in the past. It

probably sat in the row at the foot of the hill where the other similar log slave houses currently stand. Gavin's theory is that the house was moved to its current location sometime after the Civil War. He bases that supposition on the grounds that Gideon Pillow built every outbuilding near his house in brick. A log building would have marred the aesthetic he created with all brick structures. Gavin hypothesizes that owners moved the log house sometime after the war when a different family owned the property. Gideon Pillow sold the property to his son-in-law and moved to Memphis in 1872.²⁰³ Though the question remains; why did they put the cook in the small log house when the kitchen building is a large structure that could have housed several families?²⁰⁴ Perhaps the name is a later, mistaken attribution.

Gavin suspects that the log house has gone through several stages of interior decoration. The interior has a coat of whitewash and several layers of newspaper and other wall coverings. Gavin thinks that initially the wall had a coating of whitewash applied when the building was first constructed. After the move to its present location the building received decorative wall coverings and many layers were added over time until, by the late twentieth-century, newspapers were used both as insulation and as interior decoration.

The set of three log slave buildings sitting at the bottom of the hill below the main house are part of a slave quarter that has seen numerous changes in its history. In addition to the log houses, two cinder block houses, and one two-story frame house, which dates after 1880, stand in a line along an agricultural field. All of the buildings face north-south in a row. When approaching from the east the

first building in the line is a cinderblock house of similar size to the three log houses. Next are the three log houses, another cinderblock house, and to the rear of it, the two story frame house. According to the current owner of the property, the first cinderblock house replaced a similar sized log house that burned sometime in the 1950s. The owner stated that each of the houses in the row had been occupied until sometime in the 1980s. The occupants were tenant farmers and renters, some being descendants of slaves who worked on the plantation.²⁰⁵ In the early twenty-first century one slave descendant still lived and worked on the farm. Frank Moss lives in a mobile home placed along the row between log houses two and three. Moss was born in the first log house in the late 1930s.

Each of the log houses received modifications and additions over time, but all retain much of their original character. Each has fine half dovetail corner notching. Initially these stood as single-pen, one-story buildings that may have had low sleeping lofts. Each had a door on the south and a window on the north wall. Today each house has a cinderblock addition on the south side, and a porch on the north. The interiors all have plasterboard walls and ceilings installed. In at least the first two buildings a loft exists as is evidenced by windows in the gables. The lofts were not accessed for the survey. Each building has a standing seam metal roof attached with wire nails. Each has a brick chimney on the east gable. All three houses have white paint on them, but it is not known if they were whitewashed or painted in the antebellum era. A photograph from 1938 shows one of the houses painted white. The photo also shows the house with a metal roof. However, they likely had wood shingle roofs in the antebellum period. The

main house still has a section of wood shingle roof protected by an added pedimented portico, which suggests the slave houses were similarly covered.²⁰⁶

The front porches on the north side of the buildings rest on cinderblocks or flat stones, but these are twentieth-century constructions. The owner has a 1940s photograph showing the north sides of the buildings as the back. Each building had a window on the north, later enlarged to become a door, when the porches were added. The cinderblock additions probably appeared at that time. The significance of this change is that it altered the direction of the houses from facing south, to facing north. Initially the houses faced away from the turnpike on the north edge of the property. The date of these alterations is not known exactly, but probably sometime in the 1950s.

The buildings are in a poor state of preservation. The first two stand completely open to the weather and the third is used for storage. In each case the gables appear to be nineteenth-century elements because some weatherboards use cut nails for attachments. Other boards obviously are replacements and in some cases missing boards undoubtedly causes water damage to the framing members. Two building sit on stone piers and in one case the sills rest directly on the ground, causing the logs to decay. The floors in the houses have an advanced state of decay, and for that reason the interiors were not accessed for the survey. However, a cursory view of the interiors determined that all three fireplaces received wood-burning stoves and the fireplaces in-filled to accommodate the stoves. Consequently the size of the fireplaces could not be ascertained. The

buildings' exterior measurements are as follows; building one, 18' 10" x 17'; building two, 20' x 18' ; building three 20' x 18.'

Two frame privies stand behind log house number three (the western most house). Each privy has wire nails in its construction dating them to the post emancipation period. However, it is possible even probable that these replaced earlier privies. The frame house standing at the west end of the row is in a very poor state of preservation and in serious danger of collapse. This house dates to the late nineteenth-century according to Moss, whose enslaved grandmother lived in the frame house after emancipation.²⁰⁷

Historically the plantation contained over 600 acres and Pillow owned numerous slaves who cultivated corn and raised cattle. His slave community grew in size from 22 people in 1843, to 62 in the 1850 census, and 81 in the 1860 census.²⁰⁸ In the first decade of the twenty-first century, although two families split the property, the antebellum landscape remained very much intact. The land surrounding the house and outbuildings complex remained rural and the acreage under cultivation. The five separate buildings associated with slaves probably represent a portion of such housing on the plantation in the 1840s when Gideon Pillow was master of the plantation.

Clifton Place Plantation is part of a National Register district known as the Ashwood Historic District which includes the homes the Pillow and Polk families, all of whom were wealthy plantation owners.²⁰⁹ Many of the plantation mansion houses still stand, but not all of the properties contain the amount of attendant outbuildings found on Clifton Place. The landscape of slavery extant at Clifton

Place approximates that of Maury County as a whole in the late antebellum era when slaves made up 40% of the county's population.²¹⁰ The district nomination lists 35 contributing features on Clifton Place for their historic significance. Of that group, 22 buildings or features played a role in the slaves' lives on the plantation. One interesting aspect to note is that the domestic space within the kitchen building at Clifton Place is not unusual for the Ashwood district. The kitchen buildings at Bethel Place, Pine Hill, and Hamilton Place also had rooms that housed slaves, and all were, or are brick structures.²¹¹ It is important to note that slave houses made up 14.67% of the house types in the district in 1988.²¹² While the average slave-holding farmer in the county did not come close to Gideon Pillow in wealth, the fact that slaves were nearly half of the population demonstrates that overall Maury County looked similar to Clifton Place's landscape of buildings and slave houses set amongst agricultural fields. The slaves knew those fields intimately from their daily labors there.

The Polk and Pillow families whose homes make up much of the Ashwood Historic District stand out among the state's slave holding class. Not only did they have the plantations in Maury County, but Lucius and William Polk held property in Fayette County, and Lucius in Mississippi as well. Lucius and his brothers Andrew and George held upwards of 60 to more than 90 slaves apiece. Their plantation operations consisted of diversified farming, with only Andrew growing cotton as a major cash crop, though he did grow corn and other foodstuffs. Given the number of slaves living on those properties and the number of slave houses enumerated in 1860 it is evident that the county represented a

plantation economy with large holdings in both acreage and numbers of enslaved workers. As such, the buildings recorded in the survey characterize the landscape of plantation slavery in Middle Tennessee.

Another building in the National Register district dating from the antebellum era with associations to slaves is a church. The Polk families constructed a plantation church, St. John's Episcopal, on a small hill at the corners of their four plantations. The church includes a balcony for the enslaved community to attend worship services with their white masters. Indeed the blacks outnumbered whites in the congregation.²¹³ Parish vestry records indicate that upwards of 116 slaves were baptized in the church between 1846 and 1848. In the churchyard, graves of many Polk family slaves can be found in the black section of the cemetery.²¹⁴ With all these elements the Ashwood area constituted a plantation district in the fullest sense of the word.²¹⁵

The Middle Tennessee portion of the survey located the highest number of buildings in the state. The number of separate dwellings 43 (with 69 rooms), 7 rooms within 3 wings, 18 rooms within mansions, including two holding rooms for slaves being sold, totaling 94 rooms. Of the separate houses 29 are log, 3 are wood frame, 1 is stone and 10 are brick. In addition, the rooms within the master's houses are mostly brick at 15, with four being stone. This division also has the greatest variety of building and landscape designs. Small farms with one or two buildings contrast with plantations at Fairvue, Clifton Place, and The Hermitage where number of buildings still stand or are known through archeology. Middle Tennessee provides examples of a few people living in a

building, or many as seen in several duplex buildings, a triplex and the quadraplex at Carnton. Middle Tennessee also has the distinction of having the only recorded slave pen in the state at the Winchester store. The full diversity of the slave landscape can be viewed in this one division

ENDNOTES

¹ Chase C. Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1957).

² Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Middle South* (Baton Rouge, LSU Press, 1988), xi, 9.

³ Paul H. Bergeron, Stephen V. Ash, and Jeanette Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 32.

⁴ John F. Baker, personal communication with the author May 20, 2002.

⁵ John F. Baker, *The Washingtons of Wessyngton Plantation: Stories of My Family's Journey to Freedom* (New York: Atria Books, 2009), 53.

⁶ Thomas B. Brumbaugh, *The Architecture of Middle Tennessee, the HABS Survey* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1974), 145; Margaret Slater and Valerie Birch, *Fairvue, The Isaac Franklin Plantation Gallatin, Sumner County, Tennessee: Existing Conditions Report*. (Nashville: DuVall and Associates, 2001), 9, 16; HABS Documentation, Fairvue (Isaac Franklin Plantation) HABS No. TN-80, p.10; Brumbaugh states "one dozen or so slave houses," while Slater and Birch on page 15 cite Margaret Lindsley Warden's 1977 book, *The Saga of Fairvue, 1832 - 1977*, as stating Franklin had "16 brick slave houses," (p.6), and on page 58 they state "It is claimed that at one time up to 20 cabins stood in the quarters," the HABS documentation however cites a Lewis T. White who worked for Franklin as a carpenter at Fairvue who described the slave quarters as "an overseer's house and smoke house, and from twelve to fifteen negro houses, containing some twenty-five or thirty rooms, all of brick laid off on the plan of a town, the overseer's house in the center." Mr. White's description is probably the best source for the number of houses in the slave quarter, although it equivocates as to the exact number.

⁷ The house remains in use as a private residence while the slave houses have become rental "cottages" for a golf course.

⁸ The HABS documentation states that originally there were four rooms in the basement "to accommodate the house servants," though it does not state how the original arrangement looked, or cite any historic sources. Room three does not have a fireplace and has a concrete floor. It has likely received several alterations in the years subsequent to Isaac Franklin's ownership. The HABS interpretation of four rooms might include rooms one, three, five and six in my numbering system. My count of six rooms includes the smallish stair alcove, and the very long central hall that bisects the basement north to south.

⁹ Brumbaugh, *The Architecture of Middle Tennessee*, 144.

¹⁰ Terrance Epperson, "Race and the Disciplines of the Plantation," *Historical Archaeology* Vol. 24. No. 4, 29-36. Dell Upton, "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape, in *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology*, William M. Kelso, and Rachel Most eds. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press), 71-86.

¹¹ John Lancaster, personal communication with the author, December 5, 2001; HABS Documentation, Fairvue (Isaac Franklin Plantation) HABS No. TN-80, 15.

¹² The numbering scheme used here is different than that used by the documentation team for a conditions report written in 2001. They listed the house furthest west of the overseer's residence as number one, the building immediately east as number two, and the building opposite two on the south as number three. However, the buildings had numbers on them at the time of this recording and I simply used that numbering system. The house east of the overseer's on the south side of the quadrangle is number four, to the immediate north is number three, and to the west is number two (building number one no longer stands); see Slater and Birch, *Fairvue, The Isaac Franklin Plantation*, 59.

¹³ Michael Strutt, Alan Longmire, and Dan S. Allen, *Fairvue the Isaac Franklin Plantation, A National Historic Landmark Gallatin, Sumner County, Tennessee: Phase I Archaeological Survey* (Franklin, TN.: Duvall and Associates, Inc., 2002), 31.

¹⁴ Slater and Birch, *Fairvue, The Isaac Franklin Plantation*, 54.

¹⁵ With the development of the property since 2002 the landscape of slavery is much more difficult to imagine today. However, historic images and aerial photographs reveal the landscape as it would have appeared during the height of its use as a plantation with an enslaved workforce.

¹⁶ Walter T. Durham, *James Winchester: Tennessee Pioneer* (Gallatin, TN.: Sumner County Library Board, 1979), 89.

¹⁷ Caretaker of Cragfont, personal communication with the author, 2001.

¹⁸ Willie McGee Ellis, *Historic Rock Castle: A History of Hendersonville, Tennessee and the Surrounding Area* (Nashville: The Parthenon Press, 1973), 25.

¹⁹ Fifth Census of the United States 1840, Sumner County, Photocopy in the archives of Rock Castle State Historic Site. This information is also contained on interpretive panels mounted in the visitors center.

²⁰ John Oliver, President of the Trousdale Historical Society, personal communication, April 20, 2002.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Pat Mayo, "Richard Burnley Honored As Oldest Famer," *The Hartsville Vidette*, September 19, 1985.

²³ Linda France Stine, et. al., "Blue Beads as African American Cultural Symbols, *Historical Archaeology* vol. 30, no. 3 (1996), 49-75; Charles Joyner, *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

²⁴ William Bates, Owner of Vineland, personal communication, January 27, 2002.

²⁵ Jim and Dolly Cowan owned the house at the time of survey in 2002. Mrs. Cowan is a lifetime resident of the area and visited the house as a little girl, listening to the stories surrounding its construction and the family living in the home; W. Calvin Dickinson, "Smith County Historical Homes," *Tennessee Anthropologist* vol. XVIII (Spring 1992) : 79-89; Carl F. Ledbetter, "The Cullum Mansion," *Current Lines* (The Upper Cumberland Electric Company, October-November, 1991) : 3-7. In addition to the stated dates above, in a personal communication from Calvin Dickinson he states that a National Register nomination for the house places the construction date at 1848, W. Calvin Dickinson, personal communication, July 9, 2002. A check of the National Register listings online did find the 1848 date.
<http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/tn/Smith/state.htm>. accessed November 25, 2011.

²⁶ Jim Cowan, personal communication, June 29, 2002

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Carl F. Ledbetter, "The Cullum Mansion," *Current Lines*, 4.

²⁹ Gloria Ballard, personal communication with the author, July 7, 2002.

³⁰ John Lodi, National Register Nomination for Waggoner Farm. April 6, 2001. Copy in author's files.

³¹ Ibid, 8-5.

³² 1860 Census of the United States Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants.

³³ Tony Guzzi, Curator for the Hermitage, Personal Communication, November 21, 2001.

³⁴ Samuel Smith et. al., *An Archeological and Historical Assessment of the First Hermitage* (Nashville, published jointly by the Division of Archeology, Tennessee Department of Conservation, and the Ladies Hermitage Association,

1976), 80, 83, 84; Robbie D. Jones, *The First Hermitage Restoration at the Hermitage, Home of President Andrew Jackson Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee Historic Structures Report* (Nashville: The Ladies Hermitage Association, 2006), 47.

³⁵ Douglas Reed, *The First Hermitage and Alfred's Cabin: A Partial Historic Structures Report* (Nashville: The Ladies Hermitage Association, 2000), 3-54; Jones, *Historic Structures Report*, 33, 47.

³⁶ For the definition of a Penn plan house see; Clifton C. Ellis, "Houses, Early Vernacular Plans," in *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, Carroll Van West ed. (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 439-440; Claudette Stager, "Architecture, Vernacular Domestic," in *Ibid.*, 23-25; James Patrick, *Architecture in Tennessee: 1768-1897* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 62-65.

³⁷ Reed, *The First Hermitage and Alfred's Cabin*, 3-55.

³⁸ Smith et. al., *An Archeological and Historical Assessment of the First Hermitage*, 113; Jones, *Historic Structures Report*, 44.

³⁹ Jones, *Historic Structures Report*, 52.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁴¹ Reed, *The First Hermitage and Alfred's Cabin*; Jones, *The First Hermitage: Historic Structures Report*. The *Historic Structures Report* by Jones details the history, investigations, and restoration of the building.

⁴² Larry McKee and Jillian Galle, *The 1999 Excavation Season at the First Hermitage Site: A Preliminary Report* (Nashville: The Ladies Hermitage Association, 1999), 5, 6.

⁴³ Jones, *Historic Structures Report*, 62.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 68. Jones

⁴⁵ However, according to the *Historic Structures Report* the east doors are former windows. See, Jones, *Ibid.*, 68.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 72, 73.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 67.

⁵¹ Larry McKee, *Earthwatch Field Report: A First Look at 1997 Field Discoveries at the First Hermitage Site* (Nashville: The Ladies Hermitage Association, 1997), 2. Two cellars were found beneath the north room, and one in the south.

⁵² Larry McKee, Ibid.; Larry McKee and Jillian Galle, *The 1998 Excavations Season at the First Hermitage Site* (Nashville, Ladies Hermitage Association, 1998); Larry McKee and Jillian Galle, *The 1999 Excavation Season at the First Hermitage Site: A Preliminary Report*, (Nashville, Ladies Hermitage Association, 1999).

⁵³ Smith et. al., *An Archeological and Historical Assessment of the First Hermitage*, 97.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 108, 109. Chimneys of stone up to the shoulders, with stacks made of brick can be found at the West Cabin and elsewhere in the database.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 160.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 287, Samuel Smith, "Plantation Archeology at the Hermitage: Some Suggested Patterns," *Tennessee Anthropologist* 2, (no. 2, 1977) : 153.

⁵⁷ Larry McKee, *The 1999 Excavation Season at the First Hermitage Site: A Preliminary Report* (Nashville: The Ladies Hermitage Association, 1999), 3.

⁵⁸ Larry McKee, *Summary Report on the 1994 Excavation Around "Alfred's Cabin" at the Hermitage*, (Nashville: The Ladies Hermitage Association, 1997), 3-4; Jones *Historic Structures Report*, 61-65.

⁵⁹ McKee, *Summary Report on the 1994 Excavation Around Alfred's Cabin*, 6, 24.

⁶⁰ Smith et. al. *An Archeological and Historical Assessment of the First Hermitage*, 81. It should be noted that the building does not have a foundation, but support piers. Stonework placed under the building in the 1970s gave it the appearance of a full foundation.

⁶¹ Transcription of The Ladies Hermitage Association meeting notes for April 4, 1928, manuscript in Hermitage files.

⁶² McKee, *Summary Report on Alfred's Cabin*, 4, 50.

⁶³ Robbie D. Jones, *Alfred's Cabin Dendrochronology Study: Final Report and Project Summary*, (Nashville: The Ladies Hermitage Association, 2006), 25-26.

⁶⁴ Jillian Galle, personal communication with the author, 2001.

⁶⁵ Reed, *The First Hermitage and Alfred's Cabin*, 4-27.

⁶⁶ McKee, *Summary Report on Alfred's Cabin*, 26.

⁶⁷ Terrence Epperson, "Constructing Difference: The Social and Spatial Order of the Chesapeake Plantation, in "'I, Too, Am America': Archeological Studies of African-American Life," Theresa Singleton, ed. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 159-172.

⁶⁸ The triplex slave house sat just to the rear and slightly north of the main house.

⁶⁹ McKee, *Summary Report on Alfred's Cabin*, 5, 46, 49, 50.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 43, McKee also found evidence of a building 35 feet west of Alfred's cabin that dates from the 1820s. It must be pointed out that Andrew Jackson died in 1845, but in the late 1840s when Alfred's Cabin was placed at its current location was well within the antebellum era, and demonstrates that even on large plantations in Tennessee slave houses stood within plain sight of the main house.

⁷¹ Larry McKee, "Sorting Out Occupation Dates at Complex Sites. Examples from The Hermitage" paper presented at the 1994 Society for Historical Archeology Conference, Vancouver, Canada.

⁷² Larry McKee, "Recent Archeological Investigations at The Hermitage" paper presented at the 1993 Society for Historical Archeology Conference, Kansas City, Kansas.

⁷³ Brian Thomas, "Power and Community: The Archeology of Slavery At The Hermitage Plantation" *American Antiquity* 64, (no.4, 1998) : 539.

⁷⁴ Larry McKee, "Summary report on the 1991 Hermitage Field Quarter Excavation" *Tennessee Anthropological Association Newsletter*, 18, (Jan.-Feb. 1993) : 1-17.

⁷⁵ Larry McKee, *Summary Report on the 1995 Hermitage Field Quarter Excavation*, (Nashville: The Ladies Hermitage Association, 1995), 6, 7, 12, 14, 25.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 4. McKee cites both census records.

⁷⁷ Larry McKee, "Summary Report of the 1990 Hermitage Field Quarter Excavation," *Tennessee Anthropological Association Newsletter*, vol. 16, (Jan.-Feb. 1991), 14; Larry McKee, *Summary Report on the 1991 Field Quarter Excavation* (Nashville: The Ladies Hermitage Association, 1992), 5; Larry

McKee, "Summary Report on the 1991 Hermitage Field Quarter Excavation," *Tennessee Anthropological Newsletter*, vol. 18, (Jan.–Feb. 1993) : 14.

⁷⁸ McKee, *Summary Report on the 1991 Field Quarter Excavation*, 5; Larry McKee, "Archeological Research on African American History: The Hermitage Slave Community," paper presented at the annual conference of the Southern Regional Honors Council, Nashville, Tennessee, March, 1993; Larry McKee, "Sorting out Occupation Dates at Complex Sites: Examples from the Hermitage."

⁷⁹ McKee, *Summary Report on the 1991 Field Quarter Excavation*, 22,23.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 6, 13, 15, 23, 30.

⁸¹ Larry McKee, "The Earth Is Their Witness," *The Sciences* (March/April 1995) : 36-41; Larry McKee, The Archeological Study of Slavery and Plantation Life In Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* ,49 (Fall 2000) : 194.

⁸² Smith, "Plantation Archeology", 172-175.

⁸³ Brian Thomas "Community Among Enslaved African Americans on the Hermitage Plantation, 1820s-1850s" (Ph.D. Dissertation, SUNY Binghampton, 1995); Thomas, "Power and Community"; McKee, "The Archeological Study of Slavery and Plantation Life In Tennessee," 193.

⁸⁴ Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage, 1976), 338.

⁸⁵ Also see; Elizabeth Fox Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 166-167.

⁸⁶ Ophelia S. Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery, Autobiographical Accounts of Negro Ex-Slaves* (New York: NCR Microcard Editions, 1968), 135, 136.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 148.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 112.

⁸⁹ Brian Thomas "Community Among Enslaved African Americans." esp. 86, 94, 102,103, 162,163, 164-180.

⁹⁰ Smith, "Plantation Archeology", 161.

⁹¹ Thomas "Community Among Enslaved African Americans" 87,102, 126.

⁹² Smith et. al. *An Archeological and Historical Assessment of the First Hermitage*, 237.

⁹³ Ibid., 238; Linda France Stine, Melanie Cabak, and Mark D. Groover, "Blue Beads as African-American Cultural Symbols," *Historical Archeology* 30 (Fall 1996) : 49-75.

⁹⁴ George Logan, "Archeology at Charles Carroll's House and Garden and of His African-American Slaves," interpretive pamphlet for sale at the Carroll House in Annapolis, Maryland.

⁹⁵ Margaret W. Creel, "Gullah Attitudes Towards Life and Death," in *Africanisms in American Culture* ed. Joseph E. Holloway (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 86; Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 110-115

⁹⁶ Logan "Archeology at Charles Carroll's House and Garden."

⁹⁷ Robert F. Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Random House, 1983), 117; Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 110-115; Leland Ferguson, "The Cross is a Magic Sign: Marks on Eighteenth-Century Bowls from South Carolina," in "I, Too, Am America": *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 116-131.

⁹⁸ Robert F. Thompson, "Kongo Influences on African-American Artistic Culture," in *Africanisms in American Culture*, ed. Joseph E. Holloway (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 153.

⁹⁹ Arron E. Russell, "Material Culture and African-American Spirituality at the Hermitage," *Historical Archeology* 31, (no. 2, 1997) : 67.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 63-80.

¹⁰¹ Archeologists have found similar charms in Tennessee at Wynnewood, in Virginia at Jefferson's Poplar Forest, and in Annapolis, Maryland. However as of 2012 researchers have not discovered where these items were manufactured, and why so very few of them have been found in such disparate places while the majority have been recovered in Middle Tennessee.

¹⁰² McKee, *Summary Report on the 1991 Field Quarter Excavation*, 5, 30; Larry McKee, "Summary Report of the 1990 Hermitage Field Quarter Excavation," *Tennessee Anthropological Association Newsletter*, 16, (Jan. - Feb. 1991) : 1.

¹⁰³ Paul Clements, *A Past Remembered: A Collection of Antebellum Houses in Davidson County* (Nashville: Clearview Press, 1987), 224

¹⁰⁴ Tony Guzzi, Personal Communication with the author, 2001.

¹⁰⁵ Clements, *A Past Remembered*, 72;), 15.

¹⁰⁶ Albert W. Wardin, Jr., *Belmont Mansion* (Nashville: Belmont Mansion Association, 2005), 8.

¹⁰⁷ Belmont University owns the mansion and the non-profit Belmont Mansion Association operates it as a house museum.

¹⁰⁸ Mark Brown, Personal Communication with the author, October 8, 2001. Mr. Brown is the Executive Director of Belmont Mansion.

¹⁰⁹ Wardin, *Belmont Mansion*, 31.

¹¹⁰ Mark Brown, "Slavery at Belmont Mansion, Life in the Big House," lecture delivered at Belmont Mansion, Martin Luther King Day, January 2003.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 1.

¹¹² Clements, *A Past Remembered*, 72.

¹¹³ Wardin, *Belmont Mansion*, 15.

¹¹⁴ Brown, "Slavery at Belmont Mansion, 3.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 4.

¹¹⁶ Wardin, *Belmont Mansion*, 7.

¹¹⁷ Desire Galbraith, Assistant Curator, Travellers Rest, personal communication with the author, September 11, 2001.

¹¹⁸ Phillips and Opperman, "Historic Structure Report: Prepared for Historic Travellers Rest Museum, Inc.," (1992), 9.

¹¹⁹ Desire Galbraith, personal communication with the author, September 11, 2001.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Phillips and Opperman, "Historic Structure Report, 8-9.

¹²² Information located in the research files at Travellers Rest, Slavery Folder, September 17, 2001. Original source cited as; Davidson County Wills and Inventories, Vol. 10, 1832-1836, Park I, 511-515.

¹²³ Brumbaugh, et. al. *The Architecture of Middle Tennessee*, 106.

¹²⁴ Janet Garey, "A Visit to the Holt House," *News Beacon*, July 11, 1991.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 14; Dan Covington, personal communication with the author, October 25, 2000.

¹²⁶ Dan Covington, personal communication with the author, October 25, 2000. Covington could not remember exactly who from the Tennessee Historical Commission inspected the log building, or when that occurred.

¹²⁷ Paul Clements, *A Past Remembered*, 124.

¹²⁸ Robert E. Dalton "Montgomery Bell and the Narrows of Harpeth," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. 35, (Spring 1976) : 3-29, esp. 6; This information can also be found in a brochure produced by the Dickson County Chamber of Commerce about the iron furnaces of the county.

¹²⁹ Dalton, "Montgomery Bell and the Narrows of the Harpeth," 24; Michael T. Gavin, "From Bands of Iron to Promise Land: The African American Contribution to Middle Tennessee's Antebellum Iron Industry," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. 44 (Spring, 2005) : 24-42.

¹³⁰ Don Hall, resident of Cumberland Furnace, personal communication with the author, December 17, 2001.

¹³¹ Samuel D. Smith, et. al., *Tennessee's Western Highland Rim Iron Industry, 1790s-1930s: A Cultural Resources Survey* (Nashville: Tennessee Department of Conservation, Division of Archeology, Research Series number 8, 1988), 130,132.

¹³² Robert E. Corlew, "Some Aspects of Slavery in Dickson County," in *Plantation Town and County: Essays on the Local History of American Slave Society*, eds. Elinor Miller and Eugene D. Genovese (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1974), 96-146, esp. 103; Robert E. Dalton, "Montgomery Bell and the Narrows of the Harpeth," 24.

¹³³ Corlew, "Some Aspects of Slavery in Dickson County," 114, FN 77.

¹³⁴ Smith, et. al., *Tennessee's Western Highland Rim Iron Industry*, 35.

¹³⁵ Corlew, "Some Aspects of Slavery in Dickson County," 109.

¹³⁶ Robert E. Dalton, "Montgomery Bell and the Narrows of the Harpeth," 24; Gavin, "From Bands of Iron to Promise Land," 26.

¹³⁷ Corlew, "Some Aspects of Slavery in Dickson County," 101, n 13.

¹³⁸ Dalton, "Montgomery Bell and the Narrows of the Harpeth," 25; Gavin, "From Bands of Iron to Promise Land," 28.

¹³⁹ Gavin, "From Bands of Iron to Promise Land," 34-37.

¹⁴⁰ Phil Thomason, National Register Nomination, Tennessee Multiple Property Form, Williamson County, "The Owen-Primm House," 1988, 1.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 1.

¹⁴² Jeri Hasselbring, ed. *National Register Properties of Williamson County, Tennessee* (Franklin, Tn.: Hillsboro Press, 1995), 154.

¹⁴³ Ben Green, personal communication with the author, May 17, 2001; *The National Register Properties of Williamson County* suggests that the house dates to 1840.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Jeri Hasselbring, ed. *National Register Properties of Williamson County, Tennessee*, 70.

¹⁴⁶ Reese Smith Jr., personal communication with the author, June 11, 2002.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Stephen D. Ruple, *Archaeological Investigations of Two Outbuildings of Carnton, An Antebellum Plantation in Williamson County, Tennessee* (40WM92), (Franklin, TN.: Report to the Historic Carnton Association, 1991), 16.

¹⁴⁹ Ruple, *Archaeological Excavations of Two Outbuildings of Carnton*, 41; In addition an interpretive sign outside the building attributes the construction date to 1826.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., the report recounts the investigations regarding the restoration. Though it must be pointed out that the stair configuration is merely conjectural. No evidence of how the stairs looked has ever been found.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., Larry McKee, et. al., *Archeological Investigations of the Mansion Yard and Kitchen Wing at Carnton Plantation, in Franklin, Williamson County, Tennessee, Volume I: Narrative Report* (Nashville: TRC, 2003).

¹⁵² McKee, et. al., *Archeological Investigations of the Mansion Yard*.

¹⁵³ Ibid., iv, 105.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 117,118,125; the wing at the Hunt Phelan house in West Tennessee also has a connection to the second floor of the white family's living quarters.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., iv, 46.

¹⁵⁶ James Redford, tour guide Carnton Plantation, personal communication to the author, October, 2007.

¹⁵⁷ This is assuming that all the women with children were married to men on the plantation. If they were married to men from other properties the number of single men at Carnton would be greater. The 14 year old may have lived with his mother and father on the plantation rather than separately. The men would need housing separate from the women with children. But this is supposition.

¹⁵⁸ Tom Cartwright, Executive Director, The Carter House, personal communication with the author, February 27, 2000.

¹⁵⁹ Cartwright stated that the building was moved sometime in the 1960s. It came from a property somewhere west of the Carter house location, but he did not know the site it came from, or exact date of removal. A review of the Historic American Building Survey data for the Carter House does not mention the log building. The property was surveyed in the summer of 1971, therefore the slave house was moved sometime after that. Cartwright theorized that the former location of the Carter's slave houses was where the visitor parking lot sat in 2000.

¹⁶⁰ Virginia Bowman, *Historic Williamson County* (Nashville: Blue/Gray Press, 1971), 170.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 33; Phil Thomason, National Register Nomination, Tennessee Multiple Property Form, Williamson County, "The Ogilvie House," 1988, 1. This is the main house, not the slave house that has slider windows.

¹⁶² Bowman, *Historic Williamson County*, 170, 171.

¹⁶³ Michael Gavin, personal communication with the author, February 20, 2002.

¹⁶⁴ Bowman, *Historic Williamson County*, 78.

¹⁶⁵ Phil Thomason, National Register Nomination for the William Steele Farm, 1988. Copy on file at the Tennessee Historical Commission; Hasselbring, ed. *National Register Properties of Williamson County, Tennessee*, 64.

¹⁶⁶ Janet Garey, "A Visit to the Holt House," *The News Beacon*, July 11, 1991, article in possession of the property owner.

¹⁶⁷ Hasselbring, *National Register Properties of Williamson County, Tennessee*, 107. It is interesting to note that the National Register information for the property states that the first part of the main house dates to 1786, while county historian Virginia Bowman states that the farm dates no earlier than 1800, Virginia Bowman, *Historic Williamson County*, 33; An historical marker on U.S Highway 31 also states that the early part of the main house dates to 1800.

¹⁶⁸ Robert Cogswell and John M. Vlach, personal communications with the author, 2002.

¹⁶⁹ Bethany Hawkins, Executive Director Sam Davis Home, personal communication with the author, May 24, 2000.

¹⁷⁰ Kevin Smith Ph.D., personal communication with the author, July 2005.

¹⁷¹ The owner of Rattle and Snap pointed out where the buildings originally resided on that property, though he was not owner of Rattle and Snap at the time of the move. A.C. Evans, personal communication with the author, 2001.

¹⁷² Bethany Hawkins, personal communication with the author, May 24, 2000.

¹⁷³ The author probed the dirt floor in front of the fireplace with a coring tool and found that there is a layer of accumulated debris from fires and activities within the basement.

¹⁷⁴ Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee*, 161-163

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 162.

¹⁷⁶ Caneta S. Hankins, *Hearthstones: The Story of Rutherford County Homes*, (Murfreesboro, TN.: Oaklands Association Inc., 1993), 29.

¹⁷⁷ Carl R. Lounsbury, *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 278.

¹⁷⁸ Claude Jones, personal communication with the author, August 14, 2000. Jones owned the property as the time of recording. He was 89 years old.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Hankins, *Hearthstones*, 23; Margaret Slater, National Register nomination for the Jarman Farm, Tennessee Department of Transportation, 1986.

¹⁸¹ Martha Tucker, personal communication with the author, Mrs. Tucker is a sixth generation owner of the property; also see, Hankins, *Hearthstones*, 51; *Hearthstones* also states that the farm was home to 20 slaves at the 1850 census.

¹⁸² Neal Murray, personal communication with the author, March 22, 2002.

¹⁸³ Mr. Robert Stanford, personal communication with the author, August 20, 1999.

¹⁸⁴ The roofing evidence is based partly on pictures taken prior to demolition and partly on Stanford's description of the building before he undertook the rehabilitation project, and partly from an inspection of the debris from the roof demolition.

¹⁸⁵ The door and window evidence is also based partly on pictures taken prior to demolition and partly on Stanford's descriptions.

¹⁸⁶ Maury Wood, personal communication with the author, April 11, 2002. Wood owned the house at the time of recording in April of 2002. The Wood family has heard this oral tradition from members of the community and former owners.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Pauline Wood, personal communication April 11, 2002.

¹⁸⁹ Ralph Whitsell, "Description of the Davis House," *Marshall County Historical Quarterly* Vol. V, no. 1 (Spring 1974), 1.

¹⁹⁰ Kevin Litwin, "Descendant Donates Rippavilla Artifacts," *Historic Maury*, vol. 33 (June 1997) : 56.

¹⁹¹ "A Remarkable Man: Maury County Pioneer, Patriarch, Civil War Veteran and Entrepreneur Dies in Texas," *Historic Maury*, vol. 33 (June 1997) : 52. The article is re-published from an un-cited Newspaper article dated December 13, 1913.

¹⁹² Mathew Rector, *Cheairs Slave House: A Report for Rippavilla Plantation Historic Site*, (Spring Hill, Tenn.: 2001).

¹⁹³ 1860 Census of the United State Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants.

¹⁹⁴ No Author, "The Nineteenth-Century Slave Trade From North Carolina to Tennessee: Unpublished Documents on the Acquisition of Slaves Containing Names, Dates, and Places." *Historic Maury*, vol. 33 (December 1997) : 146-147.

¹⁹⁵ Beers Map of Maury County, 1878, on file, Maury County Archives.

¹⁹⁶ Lee Warfield interview with the author and Bob Duncan, Maury County Archivist, February 2, 2002.

¹⁹⁷ Reilly May, personal communication with the author, May 22, 2002.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.; Richard H. Quin, *Ashwood: The Polks and the Pillows* (M.A. Thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1992), 45. Quin states that Pillow moved the building further from the house and expanded it in 1847-48, but does not cite any primary data for that interpretation. Likewise the National Register district nomination makes the same statement, Richard Quin, Philip Thomason, Wallace Hebert, and Paul Cross, *Ashwood Rural Historic District*, National Register District Nomination, (1988), 7-36.

²⁰² Quin, Ashwood: The Polks and the Pillows, 44; Quin, Thomason, Hebert, and Cross, Ashwood Rural Historic District, 7-35.

²⁰³ Robert L. Jolley *Archaeological Investigations at the Clifton Place Plantation Privy, Maury County, Tennessee*, Miscellaneous Paper No. 9. Knoxville: Tennessee Anthropological Association, 1983.

²⁰⁴ Michael Gavin, personal communication with the author, April 24, 2002. The National Register District nomination states that the building is part of a former row of slave quarters in this location, though the authors do not give any primary evidence for this statement. See, Quin, Thomason, Hebert, and Cross, *Ashwood Rural Historic District*, National Register District Nomination, (1988), 7-38.

²⁰⁵ Campbell Ridley Sr., personal communication with the author, April 24, 2002.

²⁰⁶ The wood shingles on the main house were discovered during an inspection of the attic space by the author and Reilly May.

²⁰⁷ Frank Moss, personal communication with the author, April 25, 2002.

²⁰⁸ Jolley, *Archaeological Investigations at Clifton Place Plantation*, 1; Richard H. Quin, *Ashwood: The Polks and the Pillows*, 131. Jolley cites the 1843 tax record and Quin cites the 1860 census records; 1850 Census of the United States Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants; 1860 Census of the United States Schedule 2,

Slave Inhabitants, unfortunately it appears the enumerator did not list the number of slave houses, though the copies are not very clear.

²⁰⁹ Quin, Thomason, Hebert, and Cross, Ashwood Rural Historic District, (1988); Richard H. Quin, Ashwood: The Polks and the Pillows. Quin's thesis is a documentation of the historic and cultural resources of the district, using much of the information from the National Register nomination.

²¹⁰ Quin, Ashwood: The Polks and the Pillows, 131; Richard Quin, Philip Thomason, Wallace Hebert, and Paul Cross, Ashwood Rural Historic District, 8-20.

²¹¹ Richard H. Quin, Ashwood: The Polks and the Pillows, 38. Of the properties mentioned Hamilton Place and Bethel Place were visited, but access limited to a brief visit to the main house foyers. These plantation houses also likely had rooms within them, like Clifton Place, where slaves lived during the antebellum era. However they are still private homes and access was not granted to inspect the buildings.

²¹² Richard Quin, Philip Thomason, Wallace Hebert, and Paul Cross, Ashwood Rural Historic District, Charts - 1.

²¹³ Ibid., 136-143.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 136.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 131.

CHAPTER V

THE WEST TENNESSEE SURVEY

In 1819 the Chickasaw Nation ceded their lands west of the Tennessee River and the western division of Tennessee was born. After the boundaries of the state pushed westward to the Mississippi River many settlers from the Middle division moved into the new territory looking for fertile land to feed a worldwide appetite for southern cotton. In southwest Tennessee they found flat bottomlands with rich black loam and a climate suitable for the fibrous plant. Memphis was founded early on by such prominent Middle Tennesseans as Andrew Jackson and John Overton. The city served as the transportation center for a growing West Tennessee economy. Immediately, the region surrounding Memphis became an ideal location for setting up large plantations. Only two ingredients were needed, land and slaves. In the northwest corner of the state the soil and climate were not as amenable to cotton production. That section never saw the large slave holdings, which became the hallmark of the counties surrounding Memphis. Instead, the northwest counties near the Missouri line grew tobacco on small to medium sized farms. Slavery existed there certainly, but not the extent it did in the southwest. In 1820 West Tennessee was essentially open territory, but by 1840 that section had seen a huge increase in both white and black settlers.¹ Eventually West Tennessee held two counties, Fayette, and Hardeman, with majority black populations.

However, even in those counties 31 percent of the slave owners held five or fewer slaves and 55.3 percent of them held 10 or less bondsmen at the 1850 census.²

West Tennessee has much fewer extant slave houses than either of the other regions with only eight properties and 11 buildings in the database. This pattern is exactly the opposite situation from the antebellum era. West Tennessee had the state's highest density of slave population. Many large cotton-growing plantations surrounding Memphis held larger populations of enslaved people than any other portion of the state. However, today the physical remnants of West Tennessee's plantation system are few. While this investigation should not be considered an exhaustive search, as much time was spent searching for West Tennessee slave houses as the other two sections of the state. Contacts were made with the county historians, the back roads traveled, and other researchers were queried for knowledge of standing slave houses, rooms within the main house, wings, or separate kitchen buildings. Despite that effort West Tennessee is under represented by standing buildings. A few mansions in Memphis likely have slave rooms in their basements, and one outbuilding appears to be a large kitchen building. However, owners of these properties were not interested in allowing access to their buildings. Other slave-related buildings probably exist in small towns such as LaGrange, and Somerville, though references were checked and the towns examined looking for such buildings.

Downtown Memphis has two antebellum mansions associated with prominent nineteenth-century citizens and their enslaved workers. The Hunt-Phelan home at 533 Beale Avenue has an entire wing dedicated to slave work and

living. Conflicting information for the date of construction exists, but an interpretive sign in the front yard explains that construction began in 1828 and completed by 1832. HABS documentation conducted in two stages also contains different dates. The first historical data compiled for the house in 1936 gives dates for the house from before 1830, but subsequent research including a chain of title to the land documents that construction began around 1840.³

The home is a large two-story, rectangular brick Greek Revival-styled building. In the 1850s owners added a two-story service wing as a rear ell, bringing slaves into contact with the white family's living space. The wing has a pantry, kitchen and laundry on the first floor, a common room and two living spaces on the second floor. The wing attached to the rear of a partly enclosed sleeping porch on the back of the house. Through this connection slaves could access the white living spaces on the second floor when the door between the wing and porch was not locked. A door in the north wall of the wing led to the porch and another door on the south wall of the house led into the second floor hallway. Since the wing is an addition, the doorway between wing and porch was built specifically to access the main house, which brought slaves into the second floor living area of the white family. According to William Day, owner at the time of the survey and a descendant of the antebellum owners, the access is an original characteristic of the wing.⁴ This feature demonstrates that late in the antebellum era the white and black families were tied physically through architecture.

The wing is a two-story four bay unadorned brick structure attached to the rear southwest corner of the sleeping porch. In plan the south bay of the wing is

narrower than the northern three-quarters of the building. It appears that the southern pen is an addition to a previously standing three bay building. Day suggested that the south pen is an addition, though he was not certain. A seam in the brickwork is clearly visible on the east and west exterior walls. The HABS information simply states that the wing is an 1855 addition, without noting the difference in width between the south pen and the rest of the structure. A book on local architectural history dates the wing to 1851, also without noting the difference.⁵ The physical evidence points to something different, but it would require both documentary and invasive investigations to establish a sequence of construction.

The wing's front, or west façade, has two doors placed asymmetrically between two windows on the first floor. These features sit in the north section of the wing, with no fenestration on the first floor south pen. The second-story west wall has three, six-over-six double-hung, wood sash windows, two of which reside in the northern section and one on the south. The two north windows align symmetrically over the two first floor doors. On the east side both the first and second floors exhibit four, six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash windows. On the northern section of the facade the windows are placed symmetrically above each other. The two windows on the southern pen are symmetrically placed above each other and within that pen, but not in sequential harmony with the other windows. Here again, these fenestration features exhibit a plan that suggests the north section is from a different construction period than the south pen.

While the wing's first floor interior has twentieth-century alterations including a modern kitchen, bathroom and an office, the second floor remains essentially untouched according to Day. The historic first floor rooms included a kitchen, scullery, and laundry room, though their dimensions could not be discerned because of the later alterations. However, the HABS information recorded in 1934 shows the rooms as a kitchen, laundry and pantry. A dog-leg stair ascends to the second floor from the middle room on the first floor, which the HABS drawings show as the kitchen, and verified by Day.

Day referred to the second floor middle room to as a "common room" for the slaves who lived and worked in the wing. He stated that house slaves used this room for sitting and socializing; it was not a private room. The other rooms include a living space for the cook and laundress in the south end, and a room for the head butler, a man named Nathan Wilson on the north. The description of room uses comes from William Day and relates to the years immediately prior to the Civil War. At the time of the survey the second floor rooms were empty and the first floor contained an office and other spaces used by the house museum.⁶

The private room for the cook and laundress appears to be an addition to the wing on the south gable end. All rooms have plastered walls painted white. Time did not allow for a close examination to look for evidence of a call-bell system. No pulleys or wire fragments were immediately apparent. If a call bell system existed in the house, perhaps the "common room" is where the bells rang. The room measures 17' 4" x 18' and has three windows, two on the east and one on the west.

The entryway into this room is an interesting feature in that the stairs have a hatch covering the stairwell. The hatch opens to the left (when ascending) and rests against the back of the fireplace wall in Nathan's room. This hatch is more than 9' long and weighs a considerable amount. A sliding bolt on the top of the hatch locks it from the inside, but that feature could not be dated from just a brief examination. The hatch could not be dated in the brief time allowed for inspection either, but the feature begs a question about black and white privacy. Was the hatch installed to give the slaves some privacy and quiet from below, or was it a control mechanism? It may have served as a way to keep the slaves in their quarters at night if it was secured from below and the hallway door locked from the house side. If in the past the hatch locked from below it would imply control. By locking both the door and the stair hatch the occupants would essentially be isolated from everyone else on the property. However, access to the house on the second floor does demonstrate that even if there were times both doors were locked, the white family wanted slaves to have access to their private quarters.

A "common room" is another unusual feature, this is the only one encountered in the survey. Why the room was used as common space as opposed to private quarters is not explained, and the evidence is simply the owner's recollection. It may be because the stairs enter the second floor in this room. Though it must be pointed out that building a wall on the south side could have isolated the stairs from the rest of the room. The HABS drawings from 1934 show the central room with a partition wall on the east creating a hallway which led to the north and south rooms. Thus, that space existed as a separate room in 1934,

and if the partition dated to the antebellum era, then the central space could have served as a separate room, albeit one without a heat source. The configuration as recorded does not have the central partition wall. As currently designed the “common” or central room contains the stairs along the north wall, a single window on the west, two windows on the east and measures 18' x 17' 4". Through the hallway past Nathan's room is a short set of seven steps and a door that opens onto the sleeping porch on the back of the main house. The attachment between the wing and the house is the frame porch.

On the north end of the wing sits a private room referred to as Nathan's room. According to Day, Nathan was the butler and coachman, among other things, for the family just prior to the Civil War. This room measures 14' 8" x 12', has a coal burning fireplace on the south wall, one window on the west wall, and is somewhat unusual in that it has a closet. The closet resides on the north wall and is constructed with cut nails suggesting it could indeed be an antebellum feature. Nathan may have dressed in fine clothes while working as the coachman or in the dining room, and that may explain his need for a closet. The room has a transom light over the door to borrow light from a window in the hallway opposite the door.

The south room for the cook and laundress has a small coal burning fireplace on the north wall and one window each on the east and west walls. The fireplace measures only 16 1/2" across. The room measures 17' 6" x 14' 3", and it does not have a transom light above the door as Nathan's room does. However, this room has two windows. The door has six horizontal panels matching the door

in Nathan's room. Oral tradition places only two women living in this room and not a family, or two women and their children. Perhaps none of the individuals who lived in these spaces had either spouses or children, or the families lived in one of the separate houses on the property. It is interesting to note that we do not have the names of the cook and laundress, whereas the coachman's name is known. Because we have a name and a living space apparently built specifically for him this room is important in Tennessee history because like Alfred's house and the Hermitage kitchen associated with his mother Betty, Nathan's room can be associated with a specific person, which is somewhat unusual.

Some of the architectural evidence points to the fact that the wing has a two-phase construction history. The north three-quarters of the building has symmetrically balanced windows and doors on the elevations. The south pen is narrower than the rest of the building and does not have balanced fenestration. The windows on the north section have wide sandstone lintels but the south section has none. The wing's second floor height does not match that of the house. A set of seven steps must be surmounted to reach the door onto the sleeping porch. What this architectural evidence suggests is that the north section of the wing initially stood as a structure separate from the house. At a later date the room on the south end was added and the porch access to the house opened. The dates of 1851 and 1855 already discussed may be when these changes occurred. Perhaps the initial construction dates to 1851, and the south pen added in 1855. When the attachment to the house was made is not clear.

William Day has a drawing of the property executed by one of his great uncles in the early twentieth-century that details what the property looked like in the late 1850s. This drawing shows at least five separate slave houses standing in the yard to the west of the main house. The slaves living there worked in the gardens and in the stables according to Day, and as a child he remembers those houses still standing.⁷ According to Day they were frame, clapboard sided, and one room in plan. I asked if they were about 14' x 14', and he replied "if that."

Day stated that the Hunt family held several hundred slaves on a plantation in Tunica, Mississippi. The Memphis property served as their city house, with 26 acres patented in 1823 and up to one hundred slaves according to Day. However, the Memphis holdings did not include just the house and its gardens. Day stated that the Hunt's also owned considerable property in what is now downtown Memphis. If there were as many as one hundred slaves living here they must have been working that other property as well. Though what they were doing is unclear. The land surrounding the house included 26 acres, circumscribed by what is now Danny Thomas Boulevard, over to Lauderdale Street, to Linden Street, and back to Beale Street, according to Day. The HABS title search places William R. Hunt and Giles L. Driver as the owners of the property in 1856. In the 1860 census records Hunt only owned one 27 year old male mulatto slave. Giles Driver was not found in the slave census data available online.

The HABS drawings show a bulkhead entrance to a cellar in the main house, but Day did not offer access into the cellar. However, he recounted a tunnel extended from the house to what was Wellington Avenue, now Danny

Thomas Boulevard. Several stories exist of tunnels underneath this house that slaves used to travel off the property. Day did not say that he ever saw the tunnel, but that family lore maintains that one existed. As I was not given access to the main house, confirmation or refutation of the existence of a slave tunnel beneath the house was not possible. This is an interesting juxtaposition conceptually. Why would the Hunts build a tunnel for slaves to move around hidden from their view? Later in the 1850s slaves could enter the white's most intimate living spaces, their bedrooms, from the wing.

The design of the Hunt Phelan wing is reminiscent to the attached wing at the Mallory-Neely house which is a city-owned house museum at 652 Adams Avenue, in Memphis. Isaac Kirtland, president of the Jackson Insurance Company built the house circa 1852. At that time it stood as a two-and-a-half story structure, and remained that way until the 1880s when owners expanded it to three full floors. Attached to the back of the house stands a two-and-a-half story wing which served as a workspace and housing for slaves, and includes a privy. The wing dates to the same time as the main house but initially stood separately as a kitchen and slave house. The house and dependency later became attached at an unknown date with a frame addition filling the gap between the two structures. The eight-foot space between the house and wing became an enclosed side entryway from which a person can enter either the house or the wing. With this new arrangement of access to the house he closed a set of stairs from the basement to the first floor great hall, inserting a stairway to the basement that entered through the newly enclosed side entryway. When the architectural

changes occurred is unknown. A pamphlet written for the house indicates that in the 1880s when the house's third half-story was converted to a full story a new stair configuration created a first floor landing which highlighted a new stain glassed window purchased for that location. This may have been the time that the basement entry was closed off from the great hall.

The wing is an unadorned two-and-a-half story, two-pen brick structure with a central stairway. Its axis runs north-south facing the main house to the south. The wing measures 46' x 18' 6" including a one story privy attachment on the north gable end. Without the privy the wing measures 35' 6" long. Not including the privy the west elevation has a four bay configuration. The building exhibits architectural symmetry with the door and window openings balancing each other on each façade.

The first floor has three symmetrically placed windows and one door, with the door entering into the north pen, and being the third bay to the north. The windows are four-over-six double-hung wood sash windows with stone lintels. The six-panel door has a single light transom window and appears to be historic if not original to the date of construction. The second story also has four symmetrically placed four-over-four double-hung wood sash windows with stone lintels. The third half-story has two symmetrically placed two-over-two single sash wood windows with stone lintels. The privy attachment has two doorways on the west side, but they are not original. Restoration drawings provided by the museum director show these openings as originally being windows.



Figure 5.1 Slave wing at the Mallory-Neely house, Memphis.

The east elevation has three doors on the first floor, though the two on the north were originally windows. Both north doors have single light transoms. The second floor has two centrally placed windows with four-over-four double-hung, wood sashes, and stone lintels. The third floor has two, two-over-two single sash wood windows with stone lintels. The north gable has a single window with a two-over-two double-hung, wood sash window and a stone lintel on the third floor. In addition, on the west is a shed roof porch, covering a walkway in back of the wing that attaches to a porch on the rear wall of the house. The date of the porch is not known.

The first floor rooms of the wing served as the kitchen and probably a laundry and/or scullery. The second and third floor rooms served as slave living

quarters. On the first floor two fireplaces have twentieth-century walls covering them and modern alterations mask these room's other historic features. A modern bathroom sits in the northeast corner of the north room, which once served as the laundry/scullery. This space also has a door and window on the east wall but 1980s restoration drawings suggest that the door is not an early feature; the door has a transom light. On the west wall the room has a window on the north and a door on the south ends of the room. According to the restoration drawings a door and window balance each other on the east and west walls. The south room, formerly the kitchen, has an exterior door on the east wall and another to the south facing the porch and main house. On the west wall this room has two windows, meaning the room does not exhibit the symmetry of the north room.

The second floor rooms, which each measure 15' 6" x 15' 6," have a fireplace in the center of the east wall and one window on that wall as well. Both rooms have two windows on the west wall. Each room is entered from a doorway in the central stairwell. Each room has a closet, and a preliminary inspection revealed cut nails in their construction dating these features to pre-1880. Both closets sit at an angle within corners of the room making their interior space a triangle. The north room closet is at the northeast corner, and in the south room it is on the southeast corner. Museum staff used the rooms as office space at the time of the survey. Therefore I took no photographs since furniture obscured the size and details of the rooms.

The third floor rooms each have a window on the east wall, but no fireplaces. Each room has only one window on the west wall, but the north room

has an added window on the north wall. The east and west windows are considerably smaller than the second floor windows as they sit almost at the roofline in this half-story. These windows are two-over-two single sash windows. The window in north gable wall however is the same size as the second floor windows. A closet in the north room encloses a space over the stairwell at the southeast corner of the room. A row of cut nails on a board along the back wall, probably served as pegs for hanging clothes. The south room does not have a closet and it measures 15' 10" x 15', the north room is 15' 10" x 14' 6". The third floor rooms are used as storage and work areas by the museum staff. Pictures were taken of the north room because it was the least cluttered.

The stairwell of the wing is an interesting feature. The stairs ascend to the second floor and doors on the left and right open into the two rooms. To get to the third floor one must walk through the south room to access the stairs ascending to the third floor. If this arrangement of stairs is original anyone coming down from the third floor entered the second floor south room, making it a not very private room.⁸ If the wing housed more than one family it is evident that they had to accept a certain level of intimacy with each other.

The basement of the main house contains six rooms, at least one of which also likely served as housing for domestics, certainly judging by the architectural details of the room. The basement rooms each received the same level of attention for recording and investigation as the wing. Each room received a number in sequence from the northeast corner moving south and west across the basement.

Room one in the northeast corner of the house sits below the morning or breakfast room, and has an opening in the north wall where the stairs from the enclosed entryway terminate. The room also has a bulkhead entrance and stone steps along the east wall of the house. A three-foot long window sits to the north and beside the stone steps. The bulkhead entrance is a twentieth-century addition and the masonry is executed in Portland cement. The seam between the house wall and the entrance is visible behind two wooden support posts and the walls to the entrance are constructed with Portland cement. That being the case, the only entrance into the basement during the early period came from the interior stairs. Longtime residents of the city have informed the museum staff that former owners installed the bulkhead in the late 1930s or early 1940s as a coal chute for the coal-burning furnace that formerly occupied the room below the Great Hall, (room four in this description). Room one measuring 17'9" x 16" has no windows and probably only served as storage in the slavery era.

Room two sits below the dining room of the first floor. The position of this room is in the middle of the east side of the house. It has a fireplace and two window openings in a three-sided bay at the east end of the room. The windows no longer have glass since twentieth-century owners in-filled the windows with concrete. Restoration drawings plan for the windows to be rebuilt, but apparently water infiltration became an issue throughout this room because a concrete parging covers the windows and along the lower portions of the walls to a height of 3 feet. The room has a brick floor and remnants of a call bell system can be seen on the joists in the ceiling of the room. An interesting feature is that the room

has no door frame or even ghost of a frame in the doorway. The room measures 28'6" x 15' 6" though it is irregular in plan. It is the only basement room that has a fireplace and as such it holds the greatest probability of having served as a slave living and or work space. The other rooms in the basement have windows and are obviously intended for use in some manner, perhaps in the summer slaves lived in the basement, but the winters would have been very damp and cold without a fireplace. The historic stairs leading down from the great hall terminate in front of the opening to this room suggesting that whoever lived there would have easy access to the stairs for service on the main floors of the house. The 1970s restoration plans show the bell board for the call bell system sat at the top of the stairs in the entryway.⁹ That evidence suggests a reason that room two has no door. Kirtland wanted the slaves to be able to hear the bells which were some distance away and a closed door would have made hearing them that much more difficult.

Room three sits at the southeast corner of the house, furthest away from the wing and below the sitting room. It has a full door frame made with cut nails, and the hinge cutouts in the frame are still intact, though the door is missing. The door frame height is low at only about 5 feet. The room measures 17' x 16' 6" and has a brick floor. The floor has a seven-brick wide path running down the center from the doorway to the back of the room, the use for which is unknown. The room has two windows, each measuring 3' in length along the south wall. Both are on the front of the house below the porch, which is the south side of the house. When initially constructed these windows would have let in more light because

the original porch did not have an enclosed front and sides according to historic photographs.

Room four is the room below the great hall and the biggest room in the basement. The room spans the entire length of the house and occupies the center of the structure, measuring 58' 2" x 12'. This room has the terminus of the original stairs which ended right in front of the doorway to room two. An interesting feature is that these stairs cut across the doorway to room one. Perhaps this evidence means that room one is actually an addition to access the basement after the wing attachment. The question remains though, why the stairs were not dismantled at least to a point where they are no longer in the way of the door to room one. Perhaps the family rarely entered the basement with only servants using the space.

Room five sits at the southwest corner of the house, below the double parlors. This is the second largest room in the basement measuring 36' x 17'. Centered along the west wall the room has a three-sided alcove with three windows. This feature anchors a three sided tower on the west side of the house. The openings no longer have windows in them, but could have held six-over-six double-hung wood sash windows. The window openings measure 3' in width, mirroring other window openings in the basement. Room five has two doorways that lead to and from room four in its east wall, and one that leads to room six in the north wall. The doorway to room six has evidence of a door frame. The other doorways do not appear to have any evidence of a frame.

Room six sits at the northwest corner of the house and is the smallest room in the basement measuring 17' x 13'7". It has one window on the west wall measuring 3' wide like all the other windows in the basement. The doorway to room five has the ghost of a door frame and the entrance to the hall has part of its door frame intact constructed with cut nails. Room six sits below the music room on the first floor. A 17" x 18" brick pier sits near the doorway standing almost 4' in height. The pier has no known use. Perhaps the room above had something heavy on the floor, such as a piano, and the pier at one time ran up to the floor joists to support the heavy object.

Room two with its fireplace and two windows most likely served as a living space. Rooms three and five have windows, and while they do not have fireplaces they could have served as workrooms during daylight hours. Room six may have been a secure storage room because both doorways have a frame or ghosts of one. Room two does not exhibit either a door frame or ghost of one. However, the fireplace has been used as there is soot in the flue. The walls have a whitewash, though the era of it is unknown. The room also has a brick floor. The termination of the stairs in front of this room, coupled with the fireplace and two windows suggests that slaves occupied this space. Remnants of the call bell system can be found in the ceiling of room two. Kate Dixon the museum's executive director stated that the whole bell system continued in use into the twentieth-century. In the dining room a foot lever beneath the table later replaced a hand lever on the wall.

If the stairway reconfiguration occurred during slavery the movement of slaves through the center of the house may have become an unwelcome intrusion. The new basement entrance brought foot-traffic up through the side entryway between the house and wing. While this new arrangement may have seemed less invasive to the white owners, it probably also allowed for more freedom of movement for the individual slaves who previously had to come and go through the great hall. They could now move out of the basement unseen by the master and enter the wing, or exit the house altogether. The paint scheme on the original stairs to the basement is somewhat unusual in that normally spaces not seen by guests or the family are not decorated. However, a painted fleur-de-lis pattern is carried all the way to the bottom of the stairs. The only other example like this is at Clifton Place, in Middle Tennessee, where a painted pattern in the stairway is also executed in a basement room. The plasterwork inside the stairs likely dates to pre-1880 as the lathing is held in place with cut nails. The exact date of construction and decoration is unknown, but 1852 when the house was constructed is the most likely date.

Does the Mallory-Neely house demonstrate a hierarchy of slaves living within the home? There is only one room with a fireplace in the basement and despite the fact that it is quite large and commodious it would not have been as comfortable a living space as the rooms in the wing above. Winters particularly would have been damp and cold. The call bell system and the lack of a door for this room suggest that the occupants were expected to be on call every minute of the day and night. Museum staff provided a list seven enslaved people owned by

the Kirtlands in 1855. The list does not give ages but gender and three names Mal, Catherine, and Lucinda. One other female and two males make up the rest of the list. If this is the full contingent of slaves living on the property the wing could have housed all of them even if they consisted of several unrelated groups.

At the Ames Plantation in Fayette County, one of the state's most productive antebellum cotton areas, stands two log slave houses in a recreated historic farming landscape. The two houses came from another part of this property approximately one-quarter mile to the south sometime in the late 1990s. The two buildings are interpreted as slave houses though the farm manager Jaime Evans has no actual documentation to that effect. They simply sat on the edge of a farm road on the plantation. The houses had frame additions on them, which staff dismantled before the log sections were moved. Evans stated that there was evidence on the ground that several more buildings in a line had existed with the two extant buildings at one time. He also stated that the houses had cut nails in them, which only dates them to pre-1880. These buildings obviously saw use into the twentieth-century as both had electric service in their additions. However, the landscape and position of the buildings suggested these buildings served as former slave houses in a quarter with other houses in a line. These houses probably became tenant farmer housing after the Civil War. Despite the lack of hard evidence for slave use, the locale they came from and the fact that they are log domestic buildings and were part of a farm in Fayette County is highly suggestive of slave use. The slave houses at Ames are now part of an interpretive village explaining the early history of West Tennessee settlement.



Figure 5.2 Log houses restored and interpreted as slave houses at Ames Plantation, Fayette County.

Building number one is constructed of Chestnut logs, another indication of a likely early to mid-nineteenth-century construction date. It has a new roof as well as all new framing for doors and windows. It is impossible to determine if the sizes of the doors and windows have been changed without doing some invasive investigations. Evans stated that one of the buildings (he could not remember which one) had indigo blue on the door frame when they dismantled it. This does not verify that it was a slave building, as the paint may not have been antebellum in date, but it is highly suggestive of African-American occupants using the color to ward off evil spirits and bad luck.¹⁰ Both houses have the size, look, and feel of other log slave houses recorded in the Tennessee database.

House number one is a single story, single-pen log house with a rebuilt gable-end brick chimney and fireplace on the east side. The rebuilt fireplace measures the same dimensions as found in the building prior to being moved. The house sits on brick corner piers and the main façade on the north has a full-length modern porch. Eleven logs make up the north and south walls of the house. Ten logs make up the east and west walls, or gable end walls. The house exhibits square corner notching and the exterior dimensions are 15'11" x 13' 10".¹¹ Doors reside in both the north and south walls and a window can be found in each gable end. The doors are not centered along the walls, but offset to the east. They do not align, as the south door sits very close to the southeast corner. The window on the east wall beside the chimney has new elements; the frame is all new materials. The general pattern noted during the survey is that windows on the chimney wall are typically later alterations. The window on the west balances the fireplace and is 2' wide. This could very well be an historic opening based on the way it sits on the wall, balancing the fireplace. The roof frame is all-new, built by Ames staff when the house was moved. The porch is entirely new; the building may or may not have had a one in the antebellum era. Both houses had porches when moved, but the age of those porches is unknown. They had tin roofs when moved, but Ames Plantation staff replaced them with wood shingles.

House number two is a single story, single-pen log building with rebuilt gable-end brick chimney on the east wall. According to Evans the fireplace in this house was not rebuilt to the same dimensions as the fireplace that existed before it was moved. The main façade on the north has a full-length modern porch and the

roof is covered with wood shingles. It sits on corner piers of brick and measures 15' by 17' on the interior. This building has square notched corners similar to the first slave house. There are two doors to the building on the north and south walls, which are nearly symmetrically opposite each other. It has two windows, one in each gable wall. The north and south walls are composed of eight logs and the gable walls of nine logs.

In the town of La Grange, also in Fayette County, stands the former plantation house known as Hancock Hall. Behind the large main house sits a frame, double-pen slave house. The antebellum owner of the plantation, a Dr. Pulliam, reportedly built the main house starting in 1857.¹² Historic American Building Survey records state that Captain William Franklin Hancock purchased the property in 1881, hence the name Hancock hall. HABS records also state that a chain of title for the property could not be found in the records of Fayette County.¹³

The difficulty in dating the slave building is its frame construction with circular saw marks and fully cut nails. In either 1857 or 1875 that was typical building technology. The owner's, Charles and Jill Cox, stated that they replaced the roof covering but did not change the profile of the framing. The roof, weatherboard exposure, and overall look and feel of the building are very similar to the smokehouse, which also reportedly dates to 1857. The slave house has a decorative cornice similar to the smokehouse. The front faces west and towards to the work yard where reportedly a kitchen building formerly stood.¹⁴ The fact that this domestic building mirrors the smokehouse makes a case for the two buildings

dating to the same time period, and since they look inwards to a work yard their form and layout logically helps make the argument.

The slave structure is a frame, single story, two-pen building with two windows and one door for each pen. The doors pierce the west, or front wall, and two windows can be found on the east. A second window lighting each pen lies in the north and south walls. Although the chimney no longer stands the remains of its base can clearly be seen beneath the center of the building. The hipped roof has a new standing seam metal covering installed in 2000. A small window on the front or west face is modern with aluminum frame and wire nails. During inspection the door frame on the north pen was exposed on the interior and has cut nails in the framework. The construction of the windows sashes has pegs and mortises. They are six-over-six double-hung, wood sash windows. The weatherboards are mostly attached with cut nails and have a five-inch exposure, similar to smokehouse. Twenty-three weatherboards cover the north gable with an eight-inch wide barge-board at the top before the cornice. This wide board continues all the way around the building. The east wall also has 23 weatherboards, as does the south, while 22 weatherboards appear on the west. This same method of exterior cladding can be found on the smokehouse. The brick piers have a lime-based mortar, but a cement parging coats the exterior of each pier.

Fayette County held one of the highest proportions of slaves of any county in the state and by the mid-nineteenth-century it produced four-fifths of the state's cotton crop. Eight out of ten farmers in the county not only planted cotton, but

owned slaves. Fayette County's proximity to Memphis, and its access to railroads and Mississippi River transportation allowed county planters to send cotton and Europe and beyond. In 1850 the slave population numbered 15,264 while the white population numbered 11,416.¹⁵ Despite the antebellum population figures, Fayette County today has very few physical remnants of the slavery system.

Several slave houses can be found in the small West Tennessee town of Bolivar, the Seat of Hardeman County. The former home of Tennessee State Judge Austin Miller, Magnolia Manor, at 418 North Main Street, has a slave house and one slave room in the basement. The large two-story brick home constructed in 1849 serves as a bed and breakfast and private residence today. The basement slave room sits below the original dining room, now a parlor. The room has two entrances, one on each on the main walls of the rear wing. One doorway enters through what is now an enclosed porch, along the south side of the wing. According to the current owners the wing dates to 1849, the same as the house. The enclosure of the porch, however, is a twentieth-century modification. The south door's wooden surround appears modern and has wire nails. It is impossible to determine if the doorway opening is original without conducting invasive investigations. The second entrance faces the slave house just 35' to the north. Both entrances have what appear to be period doors in them. The north door facing the slave house is a two panel solid wood door with cut nails.

The basement room measures 16' 6" x 21' 6", and currently has a modern concrete floor. On the east wall stands a chimney breast measuring 5' 9" with a firebox opening of 3' 6" across. At the time of the survey a platform for a stove or

furnace sat in front of the firebox. A round flue-hole in the chimney wall indicates a wood stove once heated the room, probably after the fireplace was filled in. The iron lintel of the firebox could clearly be seen above some of the brick placed in the opening. An additional room can be found immediately to the east and below the wing. The doorway to this room is just to the north of the in-filled fireplace. The bricks and brickwork in this room are different and the doorway is narrower than the two exterior doorways suggesting this room is not an original element of the house, therefore it was not measured. The date of its addition is not known. Interestingly, neither basement room has a window nor does either entrance come from inside the house. These design elements are worthy of note because they kept the slaves somewhat limited in access to the white living space above by making their entrance through the dining room, or the front of the house, and the lack of windows did not allow them to see anyone else from inside the basement. Contrast this living space with that of the basement room at the Mallory Neely house in Memphis with three windows and interior access to house.

Approximately 35' to the north of the main house sits a brick, one-story, two-pen three-bay building. This structure served as the kitchen and cook's quarters in the antebellum era. The east pen has the larger of the two interior spaces, which served as the kitchen. The west room likely served as a domestic space for the cook and her family, and has a smaller fireplace.

The building has two brick interior end chimneys and central doors on the south and north sides. The doors sit symmetrically centered on their walls, while four window openings, two on the north and two on the south balance each other

by flanking the doors. Both doors enter into the larger of the two interior rooms on the east, which in the antebellum era served as the kitchen. The building retains all four of its nine-over-nine double-hung, wood sash windows. Two other modern window openings are found on the gable walls. These windows on the east and west sides are small in size with twentieth- century aluminum frames, making them late additions. The north and south windows also appear to be original features of the building. The door and both windows on the south side have modern decorative aluminum awnings. The roof has a modern asphalt shingle covering. No evidence of an entrance to a loft or attic could be found, though the roof is tall enough for one. Modern alterations to the house may have closed off any entrances to that space. On the north side of the building sits a twentieth-century one-third-width porch with raised concrete floor. On the south is a simple stoop in front of the door.

The east room in the slave house apparently had a larger fireplace than the west room. The firebox has a modern plasterboard covering so the opening could not be measured. However, the chimney breast wall extends into the room and it is just over 7' wide. The breast wall in the west room is 5' wide and the firebox only 2'10" wide. One would expect the kitchen fireplace to be at least 3' wide given the width of the breastwall. A kitchen fireplace needs to be taller and wider than a simple heating fireplace because it must accommodate cooking apparatus such as cranes and multiple pots. An interior partition wall divides the building unevenly with the eastern room or kitchen measuring 19' x 18' 6" and the domestic room measures 12' 1" x 18' 6". At the time of recording the owners

used the building as a rental cottage for the Magnolia Manner Bed and Breakfast. The oral history of the site states that three or four slave houses resided on this property historically.¹⁶ The kitchen/slave house faces the side of the main house where a door to the pantry used to be. The pantry led to the original dining room.¹⁷ That space now serves as the modern kitchen, and the former door transformed into a window.

The census data on Judge Miller shows that he owned 12 slave houses at the 1860 census, though he is only listed as owning 27 people.¹⁸ The numbers suggest an average of just over 2 people per house, and if the basement room is included the average is even less. Judge Miller may have been the most generous owner in the database when it came to living space, however, more documentary research could be done to prove this out. The location of the other slave houses is not known. Miller may have had more acreage than what is extant today where the other slave houses might be found archeologically.

Also in the town of Bolivar, at the intersection of Union and Bills Streets, stands the home known as McNeal Place, a large Italianate private residence with three other separate buildings related to slavery. On the property stand two slave houses, and a kitchen/cooks house. The main dwelling house has a basement room that all likely housed slaves for a short period during the antebellum era. According to HABS information construction of the house and outbuildings began in 1860, and with the outbreak of hostilities between South and North progress slowed, but concluded in 1862 during the Civil War. Oral tradition states that an Indiana native served as the architect who wanted to leave before the

house was finished. But the owner, Ezekiel Polk McNeal, convinced the architect that if he stayed McNeal would guarantee safe passage across Confederate lines.¹⁹ If construction of the slave houses concluded in 1862 they were not used for very long as slave residences.

The two slave houses stand to the east and behind the main house approximately 100 to 150 feet. According to the caretaker, David Mills, in 2001, a third slave home stood opposite the northern one, making a quadrangle with the main house at the head. The houses face into each other and the east side of the main house. An icehouse formerly stood in front of where the third house used to stand. The third house burned at some time in the mid-twentieth-century. The three houses also face the kitchen building, which had a cistern between it and the main house just 25' away. A second cistern sits out in the yard south of the kitchen building approximately 50 feet. The complex of buildings behind the main house encloses a work yard with domestic and work buildings intermingled.

The two slave houses are single story brick houses constructed with American Common Bond of seven rows stretchers for every row of headers. They sit on brick foundations and each house has two end chimneys which project only nine inches on the exterior. The houses may have had accessible attic spaces. Each house has four gable vents, two in each gable, which probably served to cool the attics. However, the attics probably did not function as living or sleeping spaces, usually a half floor would have windows, though admittedly the vents could have had windows in them at one time. The roofs have modern asphalt

shingle coverings on them. Interestingly the roof projects nearly one foot beyond each of the chimneys, but this could be a modern feature.

Each house has four bay front and rear elevations, with dual central doors flanked by single windows. The windows are six-over-six double-hung, wood sash windows with many of the panes probably dating to the construction of the houses. Each room having two windows and a transom added to the amount of light in the rooms. The windows still have their shutters. The doors are modern replacements with screen doors as well, but each has a three-light transom. The architectural evidence indicates that these are original elements. Each door and window has a straight or jack arch in the same brick course. The mortar appears all the same in each feature which argues for original construction elements.

The owners only allowed access to the north slave house for interior measurements.²⁰ This dwelling has two pens with an interior door of communication between the pens. Each room is 16' 4" x 16' 11" in size. A fireplace sits on each gable wall, measuring 2' 11" wide and projecting 9" into the room. The fireplaces have simple but attractive mantels with scrolled brackets above them. But the owners had converted the house to a guest cottage and the decoration seems like a luxury McNeal would not necessarily have spent on slave quarters.

One decorative technique McNeal did apparently spend on these houses is corbelling on the chimney caps. A four-step corbel near the cap of the east house chimneys suggests McNeal wanted a somewhat decorative touch to the exteriors of the houses, not obviously for the sake of enslaved individuals, but for himself

and any white visitors. The decorative touches to his slave houses added style to the entire landscape. The north house does not have the corbelling, but counting the courses up from the roof it appears that the chimneys on that house no longer have the decoration because they are shorter, ending where the corbelling formerly started.

Access to the east house was not granted because at the time it served as living quarters for the caretaker and his family. The north and east houses are almost mirror copies except that the doors on the east house front are in the location where windows are on the front of the north house and vice versa. The east house has a frame addition on the back or east side. This frame addition is modern, being constructed with wire nails. Both buildings currently have modern heating, cooling, and plumbing. The east house chimneys have four courses of corbelled brickwork on the tops. The kitchen/cook's house building also has this decoration on its central chimney.

The kitchen/cook's house building stands approximately 23' away from the main dwelling. It has a covered walkway between it and the rear porch of the main house. The covered walk may or may not be an early element, though time did not allow an inspection of construction techniques. The walk leads to the kitchen door on the west wall of the building facing the main house. This single-story brick building may have had an accessible attic as vents exist on the gables to cool that space. The southern room functioned as the kitchen and the northern room as the cook's living quarters. The fireplace in the kitchen has been bricked-in, but large cracks in the brickwork made it possible to measure what appears to

be an opening at least 4' 7" across, and 3' 2" high. The HABS drawing of this building shows what appears to be an oven to the left of the fireplace. The fireplace apparently had become in-filled by the mid-1930s when architects prepared the HABS drawings.²¹ The rest of the wall they represented as a solid mass. Since that time the oven became filled-in. The kitchen room has three windows, one each in the east and west elevations and one in the south gable. This would have been a fairly well lit workspace.

The cook's room has a fireplace measuring 3' 7" across, which is larger than the 2' 11" fireplaces in the slave house, suggesting it served as a working fireplace. It may have functioned as the "kitchen" for cooking other slaves' meals. The cook's room measures approximately 14' 5" x 15' 10" in size, which is slightly smaller than the rooms in the two slave houses. The HABS drawing shows this room measuring 16' x 15'4". The discrepancy probably lies in the modern wall partitions and frame additions on the exterior walls. The room has three windows, one each on the west and east elevations and a large three-part window on the north gable. It is a six-over-six double-hung, wood sash window with two sidelights, each having a two-over-two double-hung wood sash. This large decorative element to a slave's living space was probably designed because it is the part of the building that faces the public road and would have been seen by anyone visiting or passing-by the property. The other windows are standard double-sash six-over-six windows. All of these windows still have their shutters intact. This building also has decorative scrollwork on the ends of its exposed roof rafters, and other pieces of woodwork and a barge board simply for

decoration on the gables. A privy sits on the northeast corner of the building. It is a frame addition and possibly an afterthought, but it has cut nails in its construction. This does not mean that the privy is not post emancipation, but it could be antebellum as well.

A large space below the cook's room appears to be a storage cellar that is mostly below ground. Although there is one window on the north wall it is small and allowed for only a small amount of light. This cellar has a set of stairs leading down to it, but also a trap door in the floor of the cook's room. One must ask the question; why build a trap door in the floor when right outside the door is a set of stairs under cover that lead to the storeroom. I suspect that the storeroom could be locked from the outside to keep slaves other than the cook from entering and taking food. The cook would not have needed a key to get in the storeroom, just access from her floor. If this scenario is true it probably also means that the cook's living quarters could be locked so that the McNeal family and the cook controlled access to the storage cellar.

The doorways to the cook's room and kitchen have four-panel hand carved solid wood doors and three light transoms over the doors with jack arches above. These decorative elements allow for more light into the living and working spaces, and mirror the east and north slave houses. The distance between the kitchen door and the pantry door where the cook served food to the main house measures 31 feet. Between the kitchen and dining room the cook had to climb a set of stairs and enter a rear door on the porch.

All of the service buildings, the kitchen/cook's house, and the two standing slave houses have decorative penciling in the mortar joints. The scroll work brackets on the kitchen/cook's house and corbelling on the chimneys add a decorative flair to the ensemble of outbuildings. Each of these structures also has vents under the houses as well as in the attic spaces to help cool them and prevent moisture buildup. These buildings served a combination of domestic and work related functions. A final functional building sat in the center of the quadrangle. It is a small semi-octagonal building in the middle of the work yard. The HABS documentation calls this building the laundry.

These are the most refined set of outbuildings in the survey, which suggests that McNeal planned and controlled the slaves' living area to the last detail. It also hints that whatever level of African-American culture played out in this quarter probably happened inside the houses. I interpret this because the buildings and manipulation of space indicate that McNeal wanted the yard area to look and feel the way *he* wanted it.

On the rear of the main house and wing stands a wooden covered porch that extends the length of the wing along its east side. In that wing are the dining room and a pantry, where according to oral tradition, the cook brought food from the kitchen. Outside and above the door to the pantry attached to the outside wall are 10 call bells. Two more can be seen above an exterior door to the south in the main block of the house. The interesting thing about these bells is that there were no apparent tags or any way of knowing which bell was ringing unless someone was close-by to see the bell moving. Perhaps each bell had a different tone or

would continue swaying for a minute or two after ringing. However, the existence of the bells suggests that someone was expected to always be near this porch to listen for the bells.

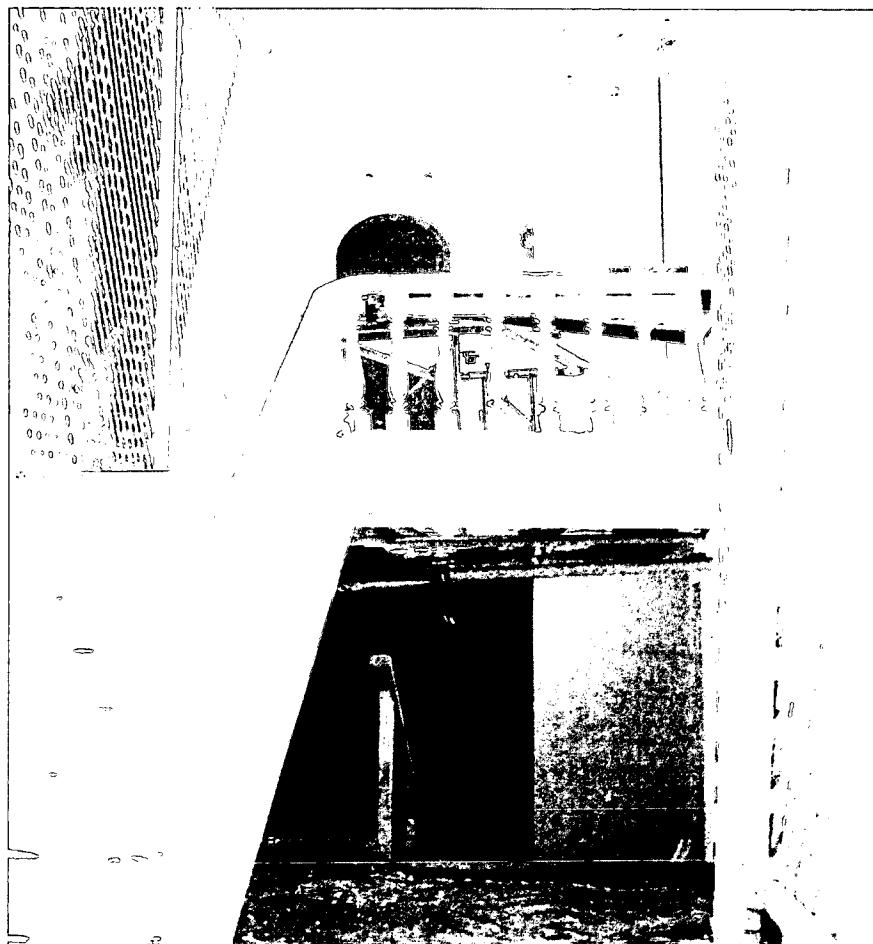


Figure 5.3 Call bells on back porch of McNeal Place and stairs leading to a basement room with a fireplace beneath the bells.

Below the dining room and just below the call bells is a basement room with a fireplace. This room probably was functioned as a slave work and/or living space. The fireplace is small, measuring only 2' 10" wide, which suggests it functioned only to heat this room rather than used for cooking, laundry, or other domestic activities. Those tasks probably occurred in the kitchen and/or cooks

room. The room itself is fairly large measuring 20' 9" x 18' 8" in size, and it has a 9' 6" high ceiling. If the cook lived in the room adjacent to the kitchen then perhaps McNeal reserved the basement room for slaves who served the family in other ways such as chambermaids. Two sets of bell swivels can be found on the porch floor joists outside the entrance to the room, which potentially suggests that the basement area had call bells as well. Time did not allow searching for more evidence of the call bell system in the lower level, although these eight swivels may have worked the bells outside the pantry door.

Considering how late in the era of slavery construction of this house started it is easy to assume that the houses served as home to slaves for only two years before emancipation. After that they probably became housing for paid servants, or as rental units. However, the important factor is the elaborate design of buildings to fit a vision of how master and slave could live together in a small town setting. In the 1860 census McNeal is listed as owning 68 slaves and 16 houses.²² Where the other houses stood in relation to these houses is not known. Likely they stood near agricultural fields so the slaves would be near the work areas. The construction materials of those houses are unknown, but they probably did not mirror the 3 close to McNeal's mansion in architectural details and neatness. Field housing tended to be log rather than brick and the architectural pretenses were dropped further from the manse.

The final property in Bolivar with slave buildings is the Washington Street home of John Houston Bills, called The Pillars. The Hardeman County chapter of the Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities operates the house

as an historic site. In 1837 Bills purchased the house, already called The Pillars, and over the years he made extensive additions to it. The slave building associated with this house is a two story kitchen building standing approximately 40' to the south of the mansion. The date of construction for this building is not known, but conjectured at pre-1831 when the previous owner John Lea built the house which John Bills purchased in 1837.²³

The kitchen at The Pillars stands as a two story, brick, side gable, two-pen building. It has a brick foundation and a six-course American Common bond. The roof has a modern asphalt shingle covering but it exhibits an ornate boxed cornice with gable returns. The gable sides have deep overhangs, measuring over two-feet. The only other decorative feature to the building is a four-step corbelled chimney cap. It has seven windows and two doors, four windows on the second floor and three on the first. On the south side four windows balance each other, two up and two down. The gable walls have no windows.

The east side has a one-story full width shed roof with rough cut wood support posts standing on brick piers, and asphalt shingles. The building retains historic doors and nine-over-six double-hung, wood sash windows. The building measures 34' 5" x 16' 3" on the exterior, and sits on an east-west axis with the north side facing the main house.

The north wall fenestration includes a single door entering the west room, a window lighting the first floor east room, and two windows lighting the east and west rooms on the second floor. The doorway has an arch of double row brick

vousoirs and heavy wooden lintel. An historic solid wood four-panel door remains in place in the north entryway to the west room.

The first floor east room served as the kitchen with a large fireplace measuring 5' 6" wide. The fireplace still has a crane attached, and the room measures 18' x 14' 2". The entryway in the east wall has an arch of double row brick vousoirs with a heavy wood lintel. Its five board-door exhibits several periods of lock placement with holes from several previous attachments. The room has what appears to be an historic brick floor. Stairs leading to the second floor occupy much of the room's east end. The stairs ascend from south to north running above the east doorway. The fireplace and a brick wall separate the east and west rooms with no door between them. At the time of the survey the room was full of clutter inhibiting measurements and photography.

A door on the first floor north wall opens to what oral tradition calls the cook's room on the western end of the building. This room has a small fireplace measuring 3' 3" at the mouth. The room measures 14' 2" x 13' and has a brick floor that appears historic. A stone hearth addition in front of the fireplace appears modern. The walls have a peeling white paint on them, as do all the other rooms in the building, but other than the fireplace and window on the south wall the room has few features.

The second floor east room measures 18' x 14' 2" mirroring that of the kitchen below. It does not have a fireplace, but perhaps it was warmed by heat rising out of the kitchen fireplace, which probably had fires burning 24 hours a day. However, the room has two windows, one each in the north and south walls.

The second floor west room has a fireplace measuring 2' 9" with a plain board mantle that may or may not date to the slavery era. The small size dictates that this fireplace only heated the room. Two flue holes in the breast wall indicate that wood burning stoves replaced the fireplace as a heat source. The room measures 13' 4" x 14' 2". A door between the two second floor rooms sits along the north wall beside the chimney. Each upstairs room has two windows. Both upstairs rooms have a plaster coating on the walls, representing a level of refinement not seen in the two rooms downstairs which merely have paint on the walls. These rooms probably served as living quarters for the cook and her family. The first floor room traditionally referred to as the cook's room may have served a more functional purpose such as a laundry, though its firebox is somewhat small for being a feature associated with housework.

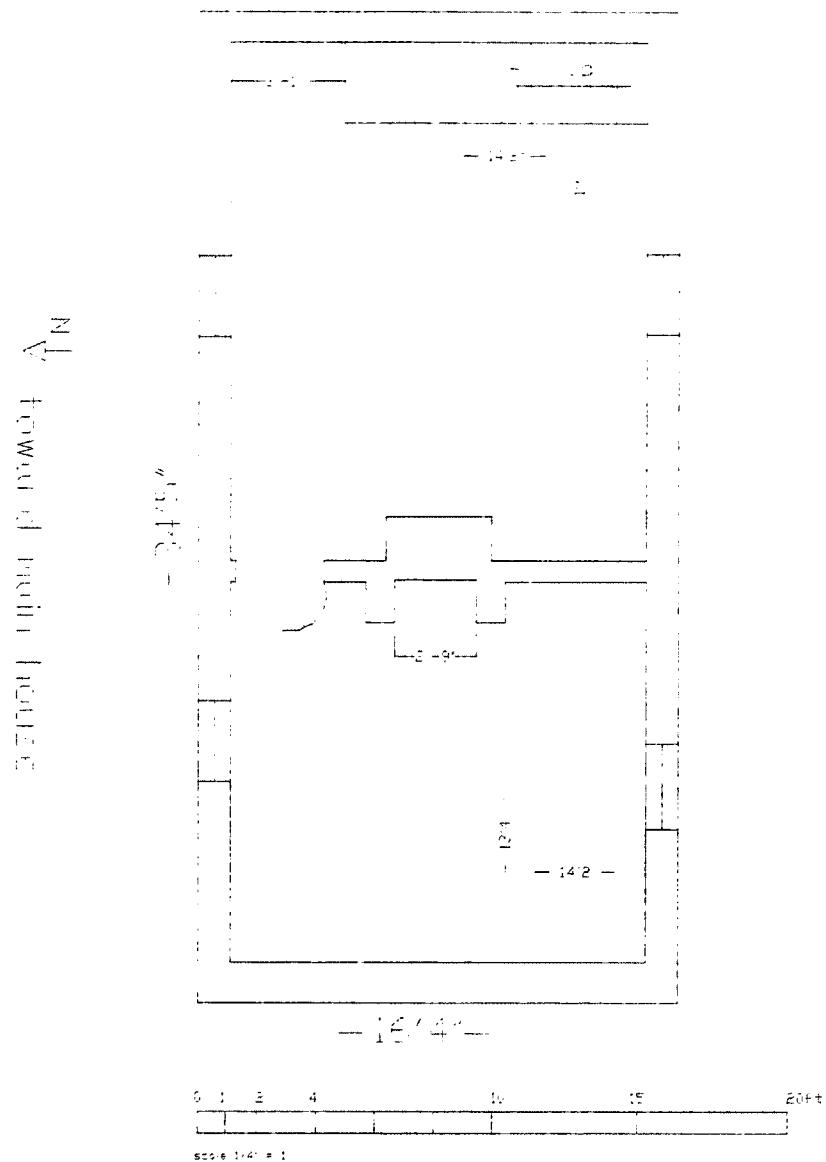


Figure 5.4 Floorplan, second floor of kitchen building at The Pillars, Bolivar, Hardeman County.

It is interesting to note that the door to the kitchen does not face the main house, but the west room door does. The building's design is odd in that the only access to the first floor west room is from the exterior; no interior doorway connects the first floor rooms. The design suggests that perhaps the west room functioned as a living space for someone other than the cook and her family,

allowing them some separation of space. If the intention of the west room was a functional space, such as the laundry, one would expect an interior access door between the two first floor rooms.

The main house has several features related to slave labor, which speaks to potential living conditions within or near the mansion. A bedroom on the north side of the house has a set of exterior French doors. Beside and above the doors hangs a single slave call bell on the exterior of the house. In the yard just to the north of the bedroom stands what is known as the Victorian Cottage. Three oral traditions about the cottage came to light during this research. Dunn Mask, caretaker for the property, related two of the stories. The first account relates that one of Bills' sisters lived in the house while her husband was away fighting the Civil War. Supposedly Bills had the cottage built just for his sister. The second story is that the sister in question, after being jilted at the altar, moved into the house. The third story comes from a 1981 Historic Structures Report written by the Historic Preservation Program at Middle Tennessee State University. The report quotes an oral tradition that Bills constructed the cottage for his daughter Evalina while her husband fought in the Civil War.²⁴ As of 2012 the house is interpreted as a cottage John Bills' built for his daughter Evalina during the Civil War. Her country home proved too unprotected from depredations so Bills' moved his daughter to Bolivar. An internet web page holding this information states that Mrs. Evalina Bills-Polk wrote in a memoir that her father requested that she move to Bolivar so Evalina "occupied the little cottage in his yard..."²⁵ The building in question has gothic trim and is a tidy little structure. If the information

about the frame house is correct the question remains of where a slave needed to be stationed in order to hear the bell outside the bedroom. Archeological research might find the remains of a slave dwelling on the north side of the main house, or conversely prove the cottage served as a slave residence and Mrs. Bills-Polk occupied another building which no longer stands. But the question remains of where a domestic slave needed to be in order to hear the bell for the bedroom.



Figure 5.5 Call bell outside north bedroom at The Pillars, Bolivar, Hardeman County.

Another call bell can be found on the exterior of the dining room, on its porch. The pull for that bell is in the dining room beside the fireplace. A third exterior bell, also on the porch, hangs outside the parlor on the exterior west wall of the parlor facing the courtyard south of the house. Where the slave or slaves needed to be positioned in order to hear these bells remains a question. But perhaps the two-story kitchen building less than 50' away is close enough for

someone to hear the bells if the west room door or the kitchen window remained open.

Yet another call bell can be seen inside the house against the wall beneath the stairs, which likely is the front door bell. A pull sits beside the front door, though it is no longer connected to the bell. The space beneath the stairs where the bell hangs is large enough for a person to sit in a chair waiting for orders or the bell to ring. The space is in the central hallway so a person may also have simply been stationed, or expected to be working near the hallway.

Beneath the house three rooms appear to have been used for storage and work. Two of the rooms have shelving and there are literally hundreds of broken jars on the dirt floors. Arched doorways between the rooms indicate an intentional design for entry and use even though the rooms have with only five feet of headroom, making access cumbersome. Small vents allow light into these rooms through the exterior walls. There are no fireplaces in any of these rooms, but the other architectural evidence demonstrates that slaves used this area. These were probably slave work and storage spaces, rooms that John Bills and his family probably rarely entered. These architectural features argue for a sizeable slave workforce at The Pillars. Several call bells on the exterior of the house may be heard in the kitchen building, but I suspect the bell outside the west bedroom could only be heard by someone stationed on that side of the house. The bells within the house also denote someone needing to be near those bells for service. Having to answer a bell at all hours of the day and night suggests slaves slept somewhere within the household.

In 1850 Bills owned 18 slaves, and in 1860 he owned more than 74 slaves and held 13 houses.²⁶ The kitchen building likely counted as one of those houses in the 1860 enumeration. However, the fact that call bells reside on the exterior of the main house point to the fact that service was expected in the house by someone hearing the bells from outside which may indicate that other slave houses existed close to the main house. Archeology might find evidence of a house or houses in the south courtyard. However, thirteen houses would not fit in the courtyard. Where the others houses might be located is unknown. Bills owned a plantation outside of town, perhaps there is where the 13 slave houses could be found in 1860.

In Chester County, a flat and fertile cotton producing area, the Hamlett-Smith property is can be found just east of Jacks Corner. This historic farm has two buildings potentially associated with slavery. One is a log building currently used for storage, and the other is a frame residence. Both buildings sit several hundred yards to the north of the main house, a frame dwelling whose date of construction is disputed. A National Register nomination for the home places the construction date to 1867, but oral history of the house and property date the construction to 1860.²⁷ This same oral information states that slave carpenters built the home.

The construction dates of the two houses reportedly associated with slavery are disputed. However, the property existed as an operating farm previous to construction of the present main house. The National Register nomination form does not mention the slave houses as such, but it was written in 1983 before

researchers paid much attention to these kinds of buildings.²⁸ A web site dedicated to the Smith family displays pictures of the buildings and refers to the frame dwelling as a slave house, and the log building simply as a barn. The owner at the time of the survey, David Pace, stated that the log building also functioned as a slave house, and that the local oral tradition maintains that the building served as such. He also stated that during the antebellum era when the Trice family owned the land there were as many as 12 slave houses on the farm. They grew cotton and plowed with mules.²⁹ The mule barn still stands behind the main house. During that time the property resided in Henderson County since state officials did not create Chester County until 1879. The National Register nomination states that the property originally lay in the fifth civil district of Henderson County and in 1860 John C. Trice gave it to his daughter Florina Trice and her husband Joel F. Hamlett who built the main house now standing on the property in the early 1860s. Neither Joel Hamlett, nor John Trice could be found as slave owners in the 1860 slave schedule for Henderson County, fifth district, though Trice is listed in the 1850 schedule as owning 22 slaves.³⁰ In any case, the description of the buildings below will outline the architectural elements that suggest use as slave dwellings.

The log structure is a single pen, single story, gable front building sitting on corner piers of stone. It has half dovetail corner notching, though not particularly well executed. The corners extend beyond the plane of the walls up to six inches in places. At the time of recording it had no loft, though the roof structure is a replacement, and it has a modern tin covering. The original shape

and size of the roof frame could not be determined. The building has wood and metal siding on the north and south sides covering some of the logs. On the north it has a combination of siding materials and on the south side it is covered only in wood. On the east and west sides stand lean-to additions covered with tin roofs. Neither the east nor west walls have siding, and most of the chinking had fallen out. However, the lean-to additions cover the sides from weather intrusions.

The architectural element that indicates this building served as a slave house is the opening for a fireplace on the south wall of the building. The fireplace and chimney no longer stand, but the hole in the wall for a fireplace is clearly visible, even with the exterior covered with wooden siding. If the building had served only a utilitarian purpose there would be no need for a fireplace. A second factor is the fact that the building stands 150 yards or more from the main house. A building that distance from the house with a fireplace speaks of domestic use.

The building sits on a north-south axis and the gable front faces north. The building is a perfect square measuring 18' 2" x 18' 2" on the exterior. The now missing fireplace and chimney balanced the front door on the south wall. The front door sits centered on the north façade while a second door on the west wall opens into a covered space between the building and a later frame chicken coop. A narrow window opening on the east, now boarded over, measures one foot nine inches wide, and may or may not be an historic feature. The elements of the frame could not be inspected for construction details as it had boards nailed over the doorway. Both door frames and doors are constructed with cut nails. The vertical

board doors have wide blade circular saw marks dating these elements to post 1850. The north door is exactly centered on the wall, but the west door is just slightly off center by two inches. The window on the east is not centered along the wall at all; it is offset to the south by approximately 15 inches. The floorboards inside the building are held with cut nails and exhibit circular saw marks. The floor joists appear hewn and have been left half-round on the underside. The north and south walls have nine logs while the east and west walls have eight logs each. The sizes of the logs vary from seven to twelve inches in height.

Approximately 75' to the northeast of the log building stands a double pen frame building that according to local oral tradition also served as a slave house in the antebellum era, though it only had one room at that time. In 2001 David Pace stated that several years previous a local African-American man told him that he lived in the building when it was a single pen house. Sometime later in the mid-twentieth-century a second pen was added, and then later a rear ell with a garage on the north side. In addition, a front porch sitting on a concrete block foundation came later in the twentieth-century. Which of the two pens is the early slave house could not be determined without invasive investigation.

The building is a two pen, single story house with an attic. It rests on a continuous foundation of concrete block. Measurements were not made within the building, but I took basic external measurements and the building measures 36' x 14' 2". It has a five bay front facade on the east side with two doors placed between three windows. The doors each enter one of the single pens. No chimney is visible on the structure, but it probably sat in what is now the middle of the

house, between the two pens. On the rear stands a full-length frame addition and a full-length porch sits on the front or east side. A single car garage on the north has an opening facing west. The curious architectural element at play here is the juxtaposition of both a frame and a log building remembered as slave houses. That's not to say that such a situation is not possible, certainly any plantation that stood long enough could have seen buildings erected at different times. But West Tennessee opened to slavery late in the era compared to Middle and East Tennessee. A possible explanation could be that the frame house served a headman or driver and the log building housed field workers, or the frame house dates from post emancipation and housed a tenant farmer and his family.

The west division has more brick than log buildings recorded during the survey, but the suspicion is that the majority of slaves in the division lived in log buildings placed in a quarters near the cotton fields they tended. The Hamlett-Smith and Ames Plantation houses are the only ones for the region recorded as homes for field slaves. The rest are houses sitting very close to a mansion suggesting domestic slave housing. We know that log cabins were a common slave housing form in this division not only from the few remaining examples, but documents as well. The diary of Harrod Clopton Anderson of Haywood, County discusses constructing cabins with wood floors in 1857. In that same year Anderson's slaves built a log house for an overseer.³¹

In the West section the survey recorded 10 buildings, with 18 rooms, 3 rooms in the mansion, and 2 wings with 7 rooms, totaling 28 rooms for slave use. Only 3 of the houses are log, 5 are brick with 3 rooms in the big house made of

brick, 2 brick wings, and 2 frame buildings make up the west division's inventory. The West region has three rooms in the master's house and six buildings that served as single-family dwellings. In addition, the separate kitchen/quarters building at The Pillars has three rooms besides the kitchen which could have served one, two or three families or groups. Additionally the region has three duplexes that probably served two families, and two wings. The wing at the Hunt-Phelan House is reported to have housed 3 people, while the wing at the Mallory-Neely house contains 4 rooms which could have housed two families. The Mallory-Neely wing is a two and a half story structure with the kitchen and scullery on the first floor. The second floor contains two rooms with fireplaces and may have served as separate quarters. The two third floor rooms do not have fireplaces and could have served as children's rooms, or perhaps used for daily living when the weather did not require a fire. An interesting addition to the architectural information here is that Isaac Kirkland held only 7 enslaved people on this property. Were they related individuals or did they live as a family unit even not being blood relations? As previously mentioned, Tennessee's slave holdings tended to be small with less than 10 individuals living on most properties. Were those people nuclear or extended families, or even related? It is impossible to say with any certainty without documentation. What the combination of architectural and documentary evidence tells us is that the typical living arrangement in Tennessee was very different from the plantation model seen in other parts of the South. Even here in West Tennessee the cotton growing

division of the state we can find small holdings and housing different from the plantation ideal.

ENDNOTES

¹ Paul H. Bergeron, Stephen V. Ash, and Jeanette Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 32; Chase Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1957), 128.

² Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee*, 115.

³ Historic American Buildings Survey information available from: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=hhdata&pageName=tn/tn0100/tn0135/data/hhdata&db&title2=DriverHuntPhelan%20House,%20533%20Beale%20Avenue,%20Memphis,%20Shelby%20County,%20TN&recNum=0&itemLink=D?hh:8:/temp/~ammem_XeGm accessed June 23, 2009. The house is called the Driver Hunt-Phelan House in the HABS database. Driver was the owner at the time of initial recording in 1936.

⁴ William Day, personal communication with the author, owner of the Hunt-Phelan house, December 18, 2001.

⁵ Perre Magness, *Goode Abode: Nineteenth-century Architecture in Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee* (Memphis: Towery Press, 1983), 55-57.

⁶ Since the time of recording the property has become an inn. Unfortunately all the original furnishings were dispersed at auction. Day noted that there had been a large collection of slave-related documents in the house. Those documents were sold in October of 2001. According to Day, Oprah Winfrey and Bill Cosby bought many of the slave-related documents. Mick Jager's daughter by Marsha Hunt bought many as well. Purportedly her great-great-great grandfather was a slave on the property according to Day. His name was Blair, and Jager's daughter bought the documents related to him. Day stated that some of the museums in the Memphis area purchased other documents connected to slavery at the property.

⁷ Day looked to be in his early to mid-forties at the time of recording in December, 2001.

⁸ Restoration drawing provided by the site staff uses the term "restored 2nd floor stair plan." The word "restored" suggests that the configuration of the stairs is original.

⁹ The historical problem with the location of the bell board is that the restoration drawings show it on the south wall of the wing beside the door to the kitchen. Initially that was an exterior location. Anyone living in the basement would not have been able to hear the bells because the original stairs led to the interior of the house in the grand hallway and not the side entryway. A possible explanation is that the bell board sat in another, as yet, undiscovered location that

someone staying in room two could have heard. Then after emancipation the bell board moved to the outside wall of the wing in the enclosed entryway space. According to site staff the Neely family hired black servants after emancipation.

¹⁰ Linda France Stine, et. al., "Blue Beads as African-American Cultural Symbols, *Historical Archaeology* vol. 30, no. 3 (1996), 49-75; Charles Joyner, *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

¹¹ Square notching usually indicated a less important building on a plantation such as Ames. As noted at the Hermitage, the main house had a fine half dovetail notch and the kitchen/slave quarters had square notching as found here at Ames Plantation.

¹² Charles and Jill Cox, personal communication July 28, 2001, owners of Hancock Hall at the time of recording.

¹³ Historic American Building Survey datasheets available from; <http://memory.loc.gov/cgiin/ampage?collId=pphhdatapage&fileName=tn/tn0000/t0046/data/hhdatapage.db&recNum=0&itemLink=S%3Fpp%2Fhh%3A@field%28TITLE%2B@od1%28Hancock%2BHall%2C%2BThird%2BStreet%2B%2BHighway%2B57%2B%2C%2BLa%2BGrange%2C%2BFayette%2BCounty%2C%2BTN%29%29>; accessed August 2, 2001.

¹⁴ Charles and Jill Cox, personal communication with the author, July 28, 2001. Charles Cox also stated that when installing water line on the south side of the house they discovered foundations for another building, perhaps another slave house beside this one.

¹⁵ Robert Tracy McKenzie, *One South or Many? Plantation Belt and Upcountry in Civil War-Era Tennessee*, (Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 6-7; *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, D.C.: 1850; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1976), 573.

¹⁶ Elaine Cox, personal communication with the author, owner of Magnolia Manor, July 28, 2001.

¹⁷ Ibid; an interesting addition to this tidbit of information can be found on the bed and breakfast website. Supposedly a "trolley" was used to carry food across the yard to the pantry, where it was then placed in serving dishes and taken to the dining room. Information available from <http://www.magnoliamanorbolivartn.com/cottage.html>; accessed June 21, 2009.

¹⁸ 1860 Census of the United States Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants.

¹⁹ David Mills, personal communication with the author, September 21, 2001. Mills is the caretaker of the McNeal property.

²⁰ Mills lived in the east house and he confirmed that the two houses have the same internal layout.

²¹ Installation of a wood burning stove is probably the reason the fireplace became closed in. The vent pipe still protrudes from the breast wall above the fireplace. The pipe is centered on the wall so that is not what the HABS architects drew. The opening is fairly small however, likely not much more than one foot across, it is several feet deep within a larger cavity in the wall. If not an oven this feature is unidentified.

²² 1860 Census of the United States Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants.

²³ Julie E. Adams, et. al., *Historic Structures Report, "The Pillars," Bolivar Tennessee*, (Report produced by the Historic Preservation Program, Middle Tennessee State University, May 1981), 22.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁵ Shades of Blue and Gray website, <http://content.mtsu.edu/u/?/shades,221> accessed 4/29/2012.

²⁶ 1850, and 1860 Census of the United States Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants.

²⁷ Tennessee Yesterday webpage oral history, available from http://www.tnyesterday.com/yesterday_chester/hamlett_smith_home/hsh-22.html; accessed September 21, 2001, and June 16, 2009; The same information is available from <http://web.utk.edu/~ddonahue/chester/hsh-01.htm>; accessed September 21, 2001, and also available from <http://henderson-lea.hc.k12tn.net/donahue/chester/hsh-22.htm>; accessed March 28, 2002; National Register nomination, "The Hamlett Smith House, Henderson County, Tennessee," copy in author's files.

²⁸ Carolyn C. Holland "The Hamlett Smith House, Jacks Creek, Henderson County, Tennessee" National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1981. The nomination merely states "The number and completeness of the early outbuildings associated with the house also contribute to its architectural significance." p.8.1. mss. in author's files.

²⁹ David Pace, Personal Communication with the author, September 30, 2001. Pace owned the Hamlett-Smith property at the time of recording.

³⁰ 1850 Census of the United State Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants Henderson County, District 5; available from http://www.tngenweb.org/henderson/1850_slave_schedule_dist05.htm; accessed June 16, 2009.

³¹ Mooney, *Slavery in Tennessee*, 151-152.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In 1860 the state of Tennessee had 1,109, 801 inhabitants, 275,719 of which were slaves representing 24.8% of the total population. The state ranked eighth of the fifteen southern states in terms of slave population.¹ Nearly one-quarter of the state's population lived in slavery on the eve of the Civil War. The research presented here illustrates how a fraction of that one-quarter lived during that time. The physical evidence of architecture combined with documentary sources and census figures gives us some insights into how a voiceless people lived in a state not well represented in the scholarly literature.

Scholars have long noted that the institution of slavery varied over time and space in its structure, effects, and consequences. Several authors have illustrated slavery's regional characteristics, but historian Ira Berlin has articulated this fact most succinctly: "In each region slavery had its own geography, demography, economy, society, and - of course - history."² Berlin's observations on the institution can also be applied to the types and quality of the architecture associated with slavery, particularly slave houses. This chapter focuses on an analysis of the slave living spaces recorded in the Volunteer State, extending Berlin's observations on the diversity of the institution to the dimension of built environments. Architecture is especially important for the study of slave life

because buildings defined the places where enslaved people lived and worked. People are influenced by the space around them. In many ways space and layout of buildings dictated where people could and could not go.³ Architecture created patterns of movement for the enslaved and their white masters alike. This was both a negative and a positive result of the interaction with buildings and landscapes but, as historian Charles Joyner has stated "A proper orientation in space is essential to sanity and survival."⁴

Architectural form and styles can be markers of aesthetics, status, and culture. In the case of slave housing all three apply. However, the explicitness of each is not always apparent. Studying architecture, much like researching history or doing archeology can yield insights into the historical meanings of things. Because of its solid nature architectural evidence brings immediacy to understanding the landscapes of slavery that cannot be obtained by reading documents alone. Architecture, even vernacular architecture, is a projection of thought. Buildings are cultural creations, and orderings of experience.⁵ All buildings are products of both their creators and the people who used them. The challenge then is to tease out of seemingly simple buildings, historical documents, farm-scapes, and the detritus of day to day living the meanings and associations imbued on slave houses and the southern landscape.

Although scholars have analyzed general patterns and cultural traits in slave housing for several decades, this chapter analyzes the first-ever systematic survey conducted in Tennessee. The database includes detailed information on the location, dimensions, and construction materials of each structure. The buildings

recorded all date to the Federal and antebellum periods, no colonial era structures were recorded. The nature of extant slave housing in Tennessee varies greatly. Construction materials ranged from log, to frame, to brick, and stone. House types ranged from hall and parlor designs, to single rooms, or single family units, to multi-room duplexes, triplexes and a quadruple. Physical arrangements of houses within the landscape varied from single isolated dwellings, to rows of buildings, houses arranged in a quad, and a village-like setting. Other slave living spaces can be found in basements and wings attached to the main house, or as slaveholders referred to their dwellings, the "mansion house." The information exists in database form, which, with analysis and interpretation, will help place Tennessee into the larger corpus of literature on slavery, particularly as it relates to housing.

The slave housing survey recorded 62 sites with a total of 75 separate buildings, 27 rooms within the "big house," and seven wings with 18 rooms totaling 171 rooms for slave living and work (table 1).

Table 6.1

	Bldgs,	# Rooms	Rms in mansion	Wings	# Rooms	Total rooms	
East Tn	22	39	6	3	4	49	
Middle Tn	43	69	18	3	7	94	
West Tn	10	18	3	2	7	28	
Totals	75	126	27	8	18	171	

Room size can be used as a marker for comfort of living. With that in mind measurements of each room were recorded and the square footage can be found in the database. In order to make calculations of square footage easier, inches were rounded up or down. Any measurement seven inches or greater was rounded up to the next foot. Any measurement six inches or less was rounded

down. A comparison of the average square footage across the three regions of the state shows that the difference is fairly small. The average square footage in the east and west regions are extremely close at 258 in the east and 260 in the western division. Middle Tennessee probably diverges because of the larger sample size with 299 square feet. The numbers perhaps statistically reflect the fact that the Middle region has more recorded living spaces than the other two sections of the state.

The calculation for square footage rests in interpretation of room function. The rooms listed specifically as kitchens are not included in the equation. Only those rooms deemed living spaces were used to calculate square footage for each region. For instance the kitchen rooms within a kitchen building such as those at Clifton Place, or Magnolia Manor are not included because a separate room for living exists within the same structure. However, a kitchen/quarter such as those at the Steele and Irvin farms do warrant including in the calculation because according to oral evidence the building served the dual work and living functions.

A few rooms across the state stand out because of their large sizes. The largest recorded spaces are rooms within mansions or wings. Basement rooms tend to be larger than individual slave houses because they follow the floor plan of the master's house above. The largest single room recorded in the state is the basement at Rock Castle in Middle Tennessee. It measures 47' x 18' with 846 square feet of space. Curators at the site interpret the room as a winter kitchen. While no known records explain the use of this room a large fireplace at one end is highly suggestive of cooking. In as much as slaves did the cooking for the

Smiths, it is possible the room initially served as a kitchen. However, the rear ell constructed in the 1820s also has a kitchen room. The basement room, then, may have served as the first kitchen and after the 1820s likely served as a slave living space and perhaps to cook meals for the domestic slaves. The cook probably lived in the room as it could have easily served a family's living needs and it placed her near the kitchen in the new wing.

Another large basement room exists below the wing at Travellers Rest in Nashville. It measures 35' x 20' with 700 square feet of space. The room today has a twentieth-century coal bin dividing the space, but it appears to have been a large open room historically. What the room was used for is unknown, but it does have a fireplace suggesting more than mere storage space. The kitchen room is on the opposite side of the basement and the other large room may have served as housing for the cook.

The largest room in the western region is in Memphis at the Mallory-Neely house. While the property has a wing built for the singular purpose of slave living and work activities, the biggest room can be found in the basement. At the bottom of the stairs sits a room with a fireplace and two windows. It also is the only room in the lowest level with a brick floor. It measures 28' 6" x 15' 6" with 421 square feet of living space. The room sits directly below the dining room and probably functioned as living space. It is not the kitchen, which can be found in the wing just a few feet away from the dining room. The other basement rooms have dirt floors and none of the others have fireplaces, which, highly suggests that only this one room in the basement served as a slave living space.

The largest room identified as exclusively slave living space is the third floor room in the Dickson-Williams house wing in East Tennessee. It measures 42' x 15' 8" with 672 square feet of space. Curators at the site stated that they do not know how many individuals or families lived in this space. It is larger than any of the individual slave houses recorded during the survey. The room has a fireplace, plastered walls, and wooden floor with eight windows to light the space. This chamber above the white family's dining room shows a level of refinement not found in many of the houses.

The smallest rooms in each region can be found in separate houses. In the eastern division the Grassdale farm slave house is the smallest at 168 square feet. However, this building is problematic. It may or may not have served as a slave house in the nineteenth-century. Better examples are the Allison farm spring/slave house and the Ramsey farm slave house. Both buildings measure 15' x 13' with 195 square feet of space. Interestingly, both buildings sit on a full stone foundation and serve a dual purpose. The Allison building doubles as a springhouse. The Ramsey house has a full sized cellar beneath it. The cellar could have served as food storage.

Other small rooms in East Tennessee include the center rooms of the Lenoir slave houses. Architecturally speaking these are the most interesting buildings in the database. Each building has what I interpret as two single-family living spaces containing two rooms in a design reminiscent of a hall and parlor house. The buildings are long barracks-like brick structures with two exterior doors, each entering rooms at the opposite ends of the building. The larger rooms

on the ends have fireplaces, and measure 288 square feet each. An interior door in these rooms access smaller rooms in the center of the building. These rooms only measure 128 square feet each and they probably served as sleeping rooms. An interesting facet of these smaller rooms is that they have a connecting door between them, suggesting a level of intimacy and space sharing between two families or residence groups. In addition, one of the Lenoir houses has a third living space in a basement room. While this room has a fireplace and mirrors the larger one above in size, it does not have an adjoining smaller room. The occupants of this room had less space for living. The design of these buildings is interesting in that their outward appearance is long and barracks-like but with an interior hall and parlor design. The most peculiar feature is the fact that the middle rooms have a door communicating between them intimating that Lenoir, or whomever designed the building felt the slaves should have connecting spaces.

In Middle Tennessee a very small dwelling is the Green slave house near Nolensville. Within 30 feet of the master's farmhouse sits the small frame single-pen slave dwelling. It measures only 117 square feet in size. The current owner, a descendant of the builder, stated that the little building served as the headman's house. Being a frame building it was supposed to be nicer than the log houses field slaves had. Yet it sat very close to the master's house rather than in the quarter which according to the owner was 50 to 75 yards away. The rooms in the Ogilvie-Holt log house number one are also very small in comparison to most others in the region. The house has two rooms, measuring 99 square feet each, and has a connecting central door. This building probably served as a single-

family dwelling because it has only one fireplace. That being the case a family or residence group had nearly 198 square feet of space, which is still well below the average for the database.

The smallest single room in West Tennessee is the butler's room in the wing at the Hunt-Phelan House in Memphis. According to the owner, his ancestors built the room specifically for the head butler and carriage driver, a man named Nathan Wilson. Though this is the smallest room in the region, it was only intended for one person. Measuring 180 square feet and having its own fireplace, a closet, and plastered walls, the room has a level of refinement not found in many of the houses and living spaces in the survey.

This research found some interesting patterns and individual architectural details of the properties recorded. Several houses have cellars beneath them or actually served dual purposes of a slave house and some other function. While the kitchen/quarters seen at several sites is a common pattern across the South the house above a spring, or above a storage cellar is not as familiar. Three buildings, two in East Tennessee, and one in Middle sit above a spring. The Allison farm slave house sits on a stone foundation which served as the farm's spring house. The family's oral tradition is that the last enslaved person to live in the house was named Aunt Sally. She served as a weaver for the family and other slaves living on the farm.⁶ Aunt Sally and her predecessors in the house lived in a damp space. While the coolness might have been a welcome respite in the summer, living in one-hundred percent humidity during autumn, spring, and winter would have likely been uncomfortable to say the least.

Also in East Tennessee at the Bowling Green Inn, a brick building sits on a stone spring house. While this building did not appear to serve as a living space, oral tradition maintains that it served as a slave work and gathering place. In a similar way a building not fully recorded, but noted during the survey, served as a spring house and work building at Fairvue Plantation in Middle Tennessee. The interior of that building could not be accessed, but it has a fireplace on the second floor and oral tradition maintains that it served as a leather goods workshop.⁷ The existence of the fireplace suggests this building could have served as a living space. Hopefully they were not tanning leather above the plantation's water supply, but simply cutting and making leather goods.

In east Tennessee the Peter Earnest farm house has a rear ell which contains a slave living space below the smokehouse. The smokehouse still contained a large salting trough and the room retained the smell of smoke. The brick walls have the blackened stains from years of fires while the floor and walls around the trough suffer from degradation due to the salt. The slave room below exhibits the same decay in the walls and ceiling. Living in this room meant constantly being around salt and always having a fire in the fireplace because it served the smokehouse above. This living space and those at Allison farm, Bowling Green Inn, and Fairvue demonstrate a master's efficient use of space by creating a dual purpose building. However, living either with constant damp, or salt and smoke likely made for unpleasant living conditions.

Other dual purpose living spaces include houses above storage cellars. An example of this arrangement can be found in each division. In the east it is the

Ramsey farm and the Byrd-Brown house, in Middle Tennessee it is the Ogilvie-Holt, and Foster houses, in the West at the McNeal Place kitchen/cook's house. In the Ramsey, Foster and Ogilvie-Holt examples the building takes advantage of a slope which falls away behind and below the house. The resulting space is encompassed in a stone foundation and a door gives access through the rear of the building. Neither of these cellars has more than a crawl space with a few feet in height, but they obviously served as a storage space of some sort because they have doorway entrances to access them. A partially excavated cellar below the Byrd-Brown slave house has steps leading down to it. In the case of the McNeal Place cellar it is accessed directly through the building by a trap door in the floor of the cook's room as well as a covered stair on the exterior of the building. The cellar room still has shelves lining the walls. The cellar feature below a slave house is probably not unique in the South, though it is uncommon in the Tennessee database with only 5 out of the 62 sites in the survey having such an arrangement.

Numerous examples of kitchen buildings with slave living spaces either with separate rooms, or simply combined functions into one room, dot the Tennessee landscape. The separate kitchen building evolved in the Virginia Tidewater area as a result of an increase in slavery in the late seventeenth-century.⁸ While kitchen buildings can be found all across the Volunteer State, their architectural form varied quite a bit. They all sat very close to the main house for obvious reasons, but some are no more than a log house with a large fireplace, such as the example at the Irvin farm in Middle Tennessee, while others

are decorated brick structures with a functional kitchen room and one or more slave living chambers such as the buildings at The Pillars and McNeal Place in the west division. Many properties incorporated the kitchen into a wing rather than having a separate structure. Although a kitchen within the home we think of today evolved from those wing spaces, the examples in Tennessee do not necessarily demonstrate the evolution over time from separate buildings in the east, to wing kitchens in the west, because the McNeal Place kitchen is the last building constructed in the database and dates from 1862. The architectural evidence demonstrates that Tennessee's builders used the full range of architectural models throughout the nineteenth-century. The separate kitchen buildings can be found in each region and include; the Deery Inn building number one, and possibly the Rutledge building, Ramsey farm, Byrd-Brown, Fermanaugh Ross farm, and the Snapp-Ricker farm buildings in East Tennessee. In Middle Tennessee the examples include; Beech farm, Clifton Place, The Hermitage East Cabin, Irvin farm, Murray-Jernigan farm, Ravenswood Plantation, Riverside, Steele, and the Northcutt building. In the western division Magnolia Manor and The Pillars have separate buildings, while the Mallory-Neely house wing began as a separate building which the owners attached to the main house later on. Having slaves do the kitchen chores simply made it easier for the white mistress, as discussed in a published reminiscence of McMinnville and Warren County, where the Northcutt plantation resides.

The distance intervening in many old houses between dining room and kitchen would fill modern housekeepers with consternation, and was only made possible in that early time by the services of many young negroes-

their light feet passing rapidly from one house to another bearing dishes smoking hot from kitchen fireplace to dining table.⁹

A final note about dual purpose buildings regards the Winchester Store in the town of Cairo on the Cumberland River in Middle Tennessee. The Winchester Store truly ranks as an indicator to the ugliness of slavery. Local oral tradition maintains that James Winchester used the basement rooms of his store as a holding pen for slaves he traded up and down the Cumberland. Reportedly he locked them into the basement at night. One room has a fireplace and the opposite end of the building has two small windows. Obviously this building did not serve as a dwelling, but as a way-station for those unfortunate people being sold into Tennessee. It was the only such building recorded during the survey.

Patterns in the architectural details of several buildings reveal something about their age and use. Several log houses in the database have or had log partition walls. While not an entirely unusual feature for log construction, the architectural feature does suggest early dates for their respective parts of the state. Perhaps the earliest is the Ogilvie-Holt log house south of Nashville in Middle Tennessee. As stated previously this log building may be a frontier-period house dating to the late eighteenth-century. This is the only house in the database with log gables, another architectural feature which suggests an early construction date. Additionally, the fact that the house has no windows may be a frontier protection mechanism preventing attack through a window opening. The log partition wall exhibits a combination of half dovetail and v-notching techniques, while the corners have all half dovetail notches. But the interior wall appears to be an

original feature to the house. A large frame I-house replaced the little building as the primary residence consigning the log house to use as a slave quarter in the 1830s. Other buildings with log partition walls in Middle Tennessee can be found at the Hermitage, the Benton property, and at Riverside Plantation, though the last two buildings no longer have the actual walls. At the Hermitage Alfred's Cabin and the East Cabin retain their log walls. The wall in Alfred's Cabin is unusual with a modified half dovetail notch. In this case the log partition does not imply an early construction date, rather it suggests the re-use of other buildings to create Alfred's house. The East Cabin partition has simple square notches cut into the long walls, which mirrors the corner notching technique. The notching technique and interior log wall demonstrate not only an early date for the house, but also its status as a purely functional building. The square notch is the easiest to construct and typically executed only on utilitarian buildings. The East Cabin dates to 1805 making it one of the oldest log houses purposely built for slave living in the Tennessee database.¹⁰

The Benton log house had a partition wall with v-notching while the corners exhibit the half dovetail technique. A later partition wall of random width boards now stands in its place. The Riverside slave house had a partition incorporating the long walls with lapped square notches. The Ogilvie and Benton buildings represent frontier construction techniques with a hall and parlor design for white occupation which evolved into slave residences. The assumption is that once that occurred, the houses served a single family or residence group because

only one room has a fireplace. The Riverside building is a hall and parlor design as well, but constructed for slave use well after the frontier period.

At over 39 feet the length of Alfred's house probably represents two other buildings re-assembled into one. The interior log wall then is not a feature of early construction techniques, but availability of logs. The building's length appears to be a product of reuse, besides the fact that it is too long to efficiently cut logs 39 feet long. Alfred's house is likely constructed from recycled logs of other buildings, which enabled the builder to construct the partition wall of logs, and make a long house. Both the Riverside and Benton houses are long structures too, being over 28 and 29 feet in length respectively. The Benton house builder used single logs to create the long walls whereas the Riverside builder expended his energy sawing the logs to uniform width but used shorter logs to create a two-pen hall and parlor style house. This is the only log house in the database constructed with sawn logs and a log partition wall which used lapped square notches.

An important facet of this research for understanding slave life is how many people or families occupied a building or single space. Without documentation it can be difficult to determine these figures; however, the buildings have certain characteristics that made them more useful for single or double family occupancy. A two-pen building with a fireplace on either end is highly suggestive of double family, (or group), living. Conversely a hall and parlor house with one fireplace but two rooms implies single family living. Examples of this design include the Joseph Brown house, possibly the Byrd-Brown house, the Lenior houses have a double, hall and parlor arrangement, and

the Snapp-Ricker house, all in the eastern division. In Middle Tennessee the examples are; The Benton house, the Ogilvie-Holt house, and the Riverside slave house. The west division does not have any hall and parlor houses. I purposely use the term “double family or group living arrangements” above because in slave holdings of 10 individuals or fewer the people may not have all been kith and kin.

The three brick houses at Middle Tennessee’s Fairvue Plantation have architectural details that intimate the intended use of space. Each house has two rooms with their own fireplaces, but also has a door between the pens. Does this door mean that a single family lived in the house, or that two families could share their space and time together? The houses each have a large open chamber on the second floor, which on the surface would suggest a single family living in the house. However, the upper floors have been modernized and in at least two cases the stair location has moved, making it complicated to determine if the second floors originally existed as divided spaces.

I interpret the Fairvue houses as duplexes for several reasons. The first is that each house has two separate gable end fireplaces. Additionally, an 1847 estate inventory of Isaac Franklin, the plantation owner, lists the number of slave houses at between 12 and 20, and the 1850 census lists 130 slaves living on the property.¹¹ If the missing houses mirrored the existing ones in plan the written information strongly suggests that the buildings housed two families each. It is possible that the enumerator judged the buildings to be two “houses” in a single structure because they served as duplexes. Using the low number of houses (12), holding therefore 24 rooms and adding the 3 rooms in the main house amounting

to 27 rooms, an average number of people living in each room on the property would equal 5.07. Whether or not each grouping represented related individuals is impossible to determine.

I infer that the vast majority of rooms and the individual houses in the database served as single family dwelling units. In East Tennessee 14 buildings, 6 rooms within mansions, and 2 in a wing appear to be single-family/group living units. In Middle Tennessee the numbers reflect the higher number of buildings recorded with 32 houses, 18 basement rooms and 7 rooms within wings as single dwelling spaces. The west division has 6 buildings, 2 basement rooms, and 2 rooms within wings considered single family/group living spaces. What the combination of architectural and documentary evidence tells us is that the typical living arrangement in Tennessee was very different from the plantation model seen in other parts of the South. One documentary source explains that people who lived together were not necessarily related. "We all lived in the same cabin; just as many as could get in; men and women all together. They didn't care how we was treated. Stock was treated a great deal better."¹² The testimony came from a man enslaved with about eight people on a Middle Tennessee farm near Sparta.

One of this study's more important contributions to vernacular architecture and the interpretation of slavery is the identification of rooms within the master's house as slave spaces. The survey identified a total of 27 rooms in mansions houses. Adding to that figure are the 18 rooms located in wings attached to the houses, making a total of 45 identified slave living spaces under

the same roof as white owners. The total number calculates out to more than one-third the number of individual rooms of the 126 separate houses.

Researchers have noted that northern slaves, especially in urban settings, lived within the homes of their masters.¹³ The architectural evidence tells us that likewise so did many Tennessee slaves who served as domestics. We know from documentary evidence that domestic chores lasted well into the night. Kate Carney of Murfreesboro explained in her diary that at midnight domestic slaves were still at work while the white family all slept.¹⁴ So many examples of slave living spaces within the master's house demonstrate that such was not just a northern living arrangement. The Tennessee examples come from each region of the state, literally from corner to corner. The Mallory-Neely example in Memphis is only six blocks from the Mississippi river, and Rotherwood in Kingsport, is only a few miles from the Virginia state line. While many southern house museums and plantation museums display slave houses, very few interpret rooms within the big house as slave living spaces.

The Dickson-Williams house in East Tennessee has a room beside the children's bedroom that is small, has no fireplace, but may have served as a sleeping space for the children's maid. The room is not interpreted as such, and to date no documentation to that effect has been found. While curators think the room served as storage no evidence of shelving was discovered during restoration. A very strong possibility is that the room was intended for a slave or slaves tending the family. A similar room can be found at Rotherwood in Kingsport, and Carnton in Franklin. At Rotherwood oral evidence indicates that slaves lived in

the rooms.¹⁵ An issue with the third floor rooms is that they do not have fireplaces. We must ask how the occupants kept those rooms warm in the winter, or did they stay in other rooms or buildings with a fireplace during the winter? Or perhaps the white owner felt that because warm air rises the rooms would have been warm enough? On the other hand an unheated space in the main house is more comfortable than an unheated loft of a log building where space between the logs and shingles let snow in on occupants huddled under blankets.¹⁶

Other rooms within mansions serving as slave living spaces, but not as elegant as those within the main living areas, are the basement rooms previously mentioned. An element of living in the basement is that many of these rooms are cold and damp. While those rooms may have been cool in the summers, rising damp would have made winters uncomfortable even with fireplaces. All the basement rooms interpreted as slave living spaces have a fireplace. In all cases the basements have other rooms too but if a room did not have a fireplace it was not recorded as a living space. Basement rooms also tend to be dark even if they have windows. The windows are generally small and sometimes hidden by porches. At Magnolia Manor, in West Tennessee, the basement room has two exterior entrances, but no windows. The room at the Tipton-Haynes house in East Tennessee has only one exterior entrance and no windows. Some basement living spaces had no access to the main living areas while others such as the Fain house, Fairvue, or Mallory Neely house did. Rooms within wings also gave access to the white household and those at the Hunt-Phelan house and Rock Castle not only

had interior access, but direct access to the second floor bedrooms of the white family.

While basement rooms tend to be larger than separate houses the extra space came with a price. Domestics were always at the beck and call of the master, usually through a call-bell system. Several Tennessee mansions have remnants of their bell systems. McNeal Place in West Tennessee has the entire system intact. All the bells hang on the back porch outside of the house. A slave would have to be positioned on the porch, or in the basement room below the porch with the door open, or the kitchen/quarters with the door open to hear the bells. The Pillars, just across town from McNeal Place, also has a number of bells remaining. Placement of the bells reveals how architecture confined slaves' lives. The front door bell hangs on the wall just below the front stairs in the main hall. For someone to hear the bell they had to be nearby. In front of the bell is a closet below the stairs. This closet may have provided storage, or it could have served as place for a domestic slave to live as previously note through the slave narratives.

Another bell at The Pillars hints at where a slave house may have once stood. On the north side of the main house a bell hangs outside a bedroom window. The bell sits on the opposite side of the house from the two story kitchen/cook's building so it is not likely someone there could hear the bedroom bell. Other bells on the exterior of the mansion demonstrate that a slave or slaves had to be working in the courtyard or near the back of the house to hear the bells.

Remnants of other bell systems can be found at the Mallory-Neely house in Memphis, Fairvue, and Clifton Place in Middle Tennessee, but all those

systems are interior to the house, meaning the slaves were stationed inside to hear them. The physical evidence at McNeal Place and The Pillars points to a different kind of interaction between white and black, or at least different expectations of where a domestic should be working that manifested itself in placement of the bells on the exteriors of the houses. It is interesting to note that the two houses are literally down the street from each other in the small town of Bolivar. The evidence speaks to the mindsets of the owners, John Bills and Ezekiel McNeal, and how they wanted service within their households. Apparently they wanted their domestics close, but not necessarily within the main living spaces with the white family. This arrangement still placed black and white within close proximity, yet apparently at arms' length.

In contrast to McNeal Place and The Pillars the basement chamber of the Mallory-Neely house has the wires and pivots of a slave call-bell system. A bell probably did not ring in this room, but somewhere close by. The room does not have a door, an architectural feature suggesting privacy was less important than being able to hear the bell. If the door sat closed occupants inside might not be able to hear the bells. The room sits directly below the dining room where the bell system continued in use up through the early twentieth-century with the addition of a foot lever below the table.¹⁷ The fact that the basement room sat beside the stairs indicates that the master wanted his slaves to answer his call quickly. The basement has several other rooms which have doors, but this is the only one with a fireplace. Interestingly however, the stairs were moved in a reorganization of the house. If the re-arrangement took place prior to emancipation the change

effectively took movement out of the center of the house by having slaves enter through a side entryway. But it would also have allowed for coming and going with less notice. With the rearrangement of basement access, slaves no longer entered through the main hall, and it probably allowed them more perceptual freedom of movement if not actual freedom. The redesign also suggests that the master still wanted his call answered expediently because the new entrance is beside the dining room. It is not hard to picture house slaves resenting the bells. The bell systems do not generally receive much attention from historians, but as an aspect of slavery they represent a constant in their lives.

Researchers working in other southern states have noted that urban slaves lived in the big house. Some urban slave owners "generally wanted their domestic servants readily available, and, by housing their slaves within their homes, masters were spared the expense of constructing and maintaining a separate building."¹⁸ The Tennessee survey found that, similarly, many rural slave owners lodged their domestics close at hand and provided rooms in their mansions. Likewise, owners in small towns such as Bolivar housed domestics in their basements. Oral history provides numerous examples of enslaved people living in the master's home. The woman below worked as a maid to her misses and discussed what slave houses looked like, although she lived in the house with the whites;

My bed pulled out from under my miss' bed, and the night my ole miss died I jumped out from under this trunnel bed and asked her what she wanted. . . I never called ole miss nothing but "mother" in my life.¹⁹

This woman slept in the same room with her mistress, which a reading of the documents shows was not an unusual situation. In the example below the mistress and slave slept in the same bed as a little girl.

I slept with ole mistiss till I was too big and used to kick her; and then they made me a pallet on the floor, and I never stayed in her bed anymore. She told Mary, her daughter, to make me a tick and let me sleep on the floor. She continued about living conditions saying; I used to have a tin pan and a tin cup - down on the floor, that's where I et.²⁰

The living situation of enslaved blacks sleeping within the whites' bedrooms apparently was commonplace enough that in personal correspondence it was understood and did not have to be explained. In a letter to her sister, 20 year old Mrs. Annie M. Sehon stated that a slave named Mary took good care of their mother; "Ma says she is so devoted to her that if she hears her cough or groan in the night she jumps up & runs to her to know if she can do anything for her."²¹

In some cases the living conditions within the white family's home were no more than an available space as noted earlier for the boy who slept in a closet. He was a "pet" but had no more than a closet for personal space. Others did not even have that as one woman put it, "some of the children would sleep on pallets in the white folk's house."²² Where was the space where they interacted with other slaves without white people being present? The architectural evidence of occupied basement rooms can partially answer this question for some properties. However, since the boy slept under the stairway, the house likely did not have a basement room where he could be alone among other slaves. He would have had to spend time at the quarter to be away from the white world. That particular property had upwards of 500 slaves and two overseers so there probably were

several quarters set among the various fields. Yet we also know that some owners did not like their domestics to interact with others. The same woman discussed above who slept with her mistress also spoke about not being allowed to associate with other slaves.

I don't know much about colored folks before the War. I wasn't 'lowed to go see them. I better not be seen talking to colored people; they would whip me. I couldn't talk to the Negroes in the kitchen. And later the same woman stated; . . . 'cause I stayed in the house, and et in there, and slept in there. Yes, they were 'fraid to say anything 'fore me. After the War I begun to get out 'mongst people, but before the War I better not go out the house.²³

Historian Elizabeth Fox-Genovese described the situation of living in the big house "as living between two worlds, between the white and not totally within the African-American either."²⁴ White slave-owning Tennesseans thought of slaves as separate from their world, yet they were inextricably intertwined in not only southern culture which is an amalgam of African and Euro-American culture, but also within their individual households as we see from the architectural database and narratives. Other researchers make note that some Virginians would not live with their slaves, but architectural historians should examine the physical evidence to see if this was really the case.²⁵

The important point this research has brought out about slave housing in Tennessee is that architectural historians can find the rooms where slaves lived within the main house through survey. Documentary research further illustrates the fact that some enslaved people had no more than a "pallet on the floor." Those living conditions are not visible in the architectural record however. Further confirmation that slaves lived within the masters' homes comes from the census

records. Taking a random page from the 1860 slave census which also enumerates slave houses we can see that some owners apparently did not have houses for their enslaved. Page 5 of the 1860 Jefferson County book which lists John Fain enumerates 7 other owners but only 3 as having separate slave houses. One owner in particular merits mention. William Harris owned 12 people, though no slave houses were listed for him. The other owners held 5 or fewer slaves. It is possible that the census marshal forgot to count Harris's slave houses, but on the same page he listed the numbers of houses for several Fain family members. If Harris and the others did not have houses for their enslaved, they may have lived in other outbuildings, within the masters' homes, or both. The architectural evidence and narratives demonstrate that domestic slaves lived within the white household more than most histories or historic sites discuss and explain; although "living" is a relative term here. Notice that the narrator did not say "*I lived* in a closet" but merely *slept* there. Living and sleeping are two different things. Likewise the woman who had a tin cup and pan on the floor and "et there" did not use the word "living." Their words do not say it, but certainly intimate merely existing, sleeping wherever there was space and eating while sitting on the floor.

We must remember that the enslaved domestics' living spaces existed in the main house for the masters' convenience. Likewise many of the individual houses sit very close to the main house in order to serve the white family. In total 37 of the 75 individual buildings sit within 100' of the main house. That number represents more than half of the recorded structures with known provenience.²⁶ Adding the 37 buildings within 100' of the big house with the 45 spaces within

the mansion or wings we can see that the majority of the slave living spaces recorded in Tennessee sit cheek-by-jowl with the white family's homes.

The plantations and farms then were landscapes of slavery and must be considered and researched as planned landscapes. I am not suggesting that Mr. Irvin or Ogilvie contacted Frederick Law Olmstead and asked him to draw up plans, or that they even sat down with pencil and paper and drew their own. Instead, we must understand that these owners conceived of their properties as what was efficient or effective and built what made sense to them in the context of living with enslaved people. "Architecture articulates social relations, in particular those concerning encounter, movement and avoidance."²⁷ This concept is important for the layout of plantation landscapes. The slaves in many cases were either in the house, or nearby in outbuildings, kitchens, or their own houses. In some cases the separate houses have architectural elements mimicking the main house as seen at Ravenswood, Blair, Fain, Brazelton, Lenior and many other properties. The architectural embellishments enhanced the aesthetic for the master and his white guests, but the slaves likely did not view the decoration with the same eye. Many field hands lived in houses near the crops on other hand, and the log houses simply served to put a roof over their heads. In either case it represented what the owner saw in his mind as he mentally planned his property. Living accommodations for slaves simply fit his concept of what the farm should look like.

An obvious question arises from the above architectural and documentary evidence. Did physical proximity breed social familiarity, and equal access to

resources among blacks and whites? Some Tennessee historians have interpreted such close proximity to indicate a social intimacy between blacks and whites.²⁸ Archeologist Henry McKelway examined this question of social familiarity between master and slave on an East Tennessee plantation site.²⁹ McKelway's research on the Mabry Plantation concluded that while the slaves had some foods and ceramics comparable to their master, their housing definitely was not.³⁰ A balanced conclusion interpreting the fact that slaves lived in the household of the master could mean either social closeness or social conflict. Anyone working around the master or mistress when they were having a bad day would have to tread lightly for fear of reprisal for a small misstep. The closeness led to more scrutiny.³¹ Physical proximity created fluid behavioral communities between blacks and whites, but anyone living under the constant eye of the master had little room for error. Field workers on the other hand were generally away from the eyes and full attention of the master. We should not necessarily interpret strong bonds between master and slave for those who lived within the household. Those people and their living quarters were there for a purpose – to serve the white family.³²

In analyzing the question of how the size of an operation affected the type of housing slaves received it appears that the wealthier owners with large holdings could afford and did build brick houses such as found at Fairvue, Carnton, and archeologically at the Hermitage. Some smaller owners could too, such as found at the Albert Lenoir house, where 27 slaves lived in 1860. The William Blair farm also had at least one brick house. At the Hermitage the majority of slave housing

after 1820 consisted of brick duplexes, and the same is true of Fairvue. Historical records do not state the materials of the other 10 slave houses at Carnton, but at Lenoir the only two houses are of brick. These houses along with the other brick houses, kitchens, the one stone house, and wing rooms recorded all have plastered interiors giving a level of refinement not seen in the frame and log houses recorded in the survey. The majority of the owners who had such housing held large numbers of enslaved people. Quality of construction and materials used can determine comfort level of the occupants. A well chinked log house can be kept warm in the winter if it has a solid roof with no holes. All of the chimneys recorded throughout the survey have brick or stone construction. Many of the examples had a lime mortar suggesting a nineteenth-century construction date, but that is not to say the chimneys all date to the antebellum period. As pointed out in chapter one many recorded houses in other states had catted chimneys of mud and logs. I suspect that houses with catted chimneys did exist in Tennessee, but the overall construction of a house with a stick chimney probably mirrored that construction quality and have not survived.

The smallest known holdings in the database were at the Mallory-Neely house and the Joseph Brown home where 7 enslaved people lived at the 1850 and 1860 censuses respectively. At Mallory-Neely the living spaces were all brick, plastered inside and offered 5 rooms for 7 people. But at the Brown estate the single house is frame. The room sizes for these two properties may reflect the smaller holding sizes with 225 and 285 square feet respectively. The wildcard of course is how 7 people divided the available space.

Plantations in the survey database tended to have larger spaces than the smaller farms but that is not a rule. Fairvue's rooms at 289 square feet measure larger than Vineland's 225 or Waggoner's 256 square feet, but equal to Hamlett-Smith's 289, and less than Irvin farm's 323 square feet. The Hermitage's standard buildings of 20'x 20' measure the largest at 400 square feet each and far outsize all the other stand-alone houses. Apparently little difference existed in housing size between the divisions. While the average square footage for houses differs, Middle Tennessee probably reflects the much larger representation of extant buildings in the database. Plantation housing in West Tennessee as seen in the examples from Ames Plantation, do not differ markedly from a small holding such as the Brown house or Earnest farm in the east. As a matter of fact Ames house number 2 matches in size and log construction to the Ramsey farm kitchen building. The only potential difference between those two regions of the state would be that the long brick buildings with multiple living spaces of the Fain and Lenoir estates were not built in West Tennessee. They are only matched by one probable quadraplex building in Middle Tennessee, at Carnton Plantation. The landscapes of slavery however likely differed dramatically between East and West Tennessee. In the west they probably approximated the clustering of houses in a quarter known from the Hermitage, Clifton Place, and Fairvue examples, though no such examples survive in West Tennessee. In the eastern division with smaller groups of enslaved people the landscapes looked like the Brown house, Earnest farm, and Ramsey farm, though larger holdings with a number of houses still could be found as seen in the census records for the Dickson-Williams house. One

issue for making comparisons between West Tennessee and the other parts of the state is the surprising lack of standing buildings.

Where have all the slave houses gone? In West Tennessee's flat topography the buildings likely succumbed to the plow. Most slave houses sat at the edge of fields, but when no longer needed, the field could be expanded by simply removing the houses. In the more hilly terrain of the eastern and middle divisions slave houses sat on land not necessarily valuable for cultivation. Many of the recorded houses sat close to the main house so it was easy to keep them for storage or other purposes. Historian James Bonner noted long ago that in the cotton belt of the lower South even the owner's homes typically received little attention to architectural achievement. Many were no more than a poorly constructed wooden house of two stories and did not resemble the Greek Temple so often thought of as the "typical plantation house." Agricultural journals of the day are replete with admonitions to improve the housing of not just the enslaved, but the white farmers as well.³³ The white and black housing of West Tennessee's antebellum landscape has disappeared because it was not constructed to last. This element of the landscape appears to be the one difference between the grand divisions of the state and appears to be related to cotton production according to Bonner. My initial hypothesis was that I would find less extant houses in East Tennessee because of fewer numbers of plantations and overall smaller slave holdings in that region.

An anticipated comparison between iron furnace slave housing and those of plantations or farms did not yield a great deal of information. Only two

buildings from the iron region were recorded during the survey. The Cumberland Furnace houses do not match the average size of the buildings for Middle Tennessee, but at 289 square feet the Smith house matches the square footage of the Fairvue houses. In construction details the Cumberland houses appear similar to the log houses of both West and East Tennessee examples.

Urban and small town slavery differed from farm and plantation settings as amply explained by historian Lisa Tolbert. The survey database has several examples of slave houses within small towns. The survey recorded two small slave houses in the Middle Tennessee town of Cumberland Furnace. While almost no historical data is available for the two buildings, oral evidence indicates they served as houses for enslaved individuals. The residents may have served as industrial laborers for the iron furnaces in the area. These houses have 256 and 289 square feet of living space. Also in Middle Tennessee, in the town of Columbia stand two small log buildings known as the Foster houses which oral tradition maintains were slave dwellings. The buildings do not have the same square footage, with one being only 182 square feet and the other 225 square feet. All these buildings sit well below the division's average of 299 square feet.

In the West Tennessee town of Bolivar 5 brick slave buildings illustrate how a wealthy cotton factor, a planter, and a county judge could afford to build better housing for their enslaved. All the Bolivar examples have plastered interiors and the markings of refined housing (for this survey anyway). The smallest rooms in this group measure 182 square feet, but had an adjoining room of 252 square feet. These examples however probably lie on the outer edge of the

spectrum rather than in the middle for small town housing because of their size and level of refinement.

In contrast to the houses of Bolivar and Middle Tennessee, the unadorned frame slave house at the Joseph Brown property in Greeneville presents a different view. This East Tennessee house dates to 1855. Its two rooms afford a total of 285 square feet, but with the addition of the unheated loft's 280 square feet yields a total of 565 square feet of potentially useable living space. The hall and parlor design with one heated room suggests Brown intended single family or related group living, as opposed to a duplex. Children may have occupied the loft, if only for sleeping. Census data from 1860 indicates the seven individuals residing there may not have all been related as one person is listed as a mulatto and the rest as black. Most of the residents were teenagers or children with one 40 year old male who appears to have hired himself to Brown. The combination of architectural and documentary data for this property gives us a glimpse at how most small town living conditions likely appeared, because we know small town slavery with few enslaved workers in any given household typically did not mirror showplace homes like the Dickson-Williams home, but probably looked more like the Brown and Foster houses.³⁴

By contrast to the individual slave houses discussed above several examples of living spaces in mansions exhibit a different small town living environment. In the town of Carthage the Cullom House has four rooms in the basement where oral tradition holds that William Cullom housed some of his slaves. The basement rooms with fireplaces range in size from 306 to 360 square

feet. How many enslaved individuals lived in this space is unknown, Cullom owned 38 slaves and 7 slave houses at the 1860 census, so the occupants of the basement served as domestics. Chapter four discusses a descendant of one female domestic who lived in the basement of this house.

A small town situation similar to the Cullom mansion can be found in Kingsport at Rotherwood. Here, the slave living spaces can be found on the third floor of the house, and potentially one room in the basement. While the third floor rooms have no fireplaces they have 256 square feet each and have a large Palladian window, an architectural refinement not seen in any other property in the state. Also in the East Tennessee town of Greeneville, in a very different living situation from its neighbor at the Brown House, the Dickson-Williams house has a large room devoted to slave living. A grand mansion by any definition, the house has a wing with a room on the third floor where slaves lived above the kitchen. The room is one of the largest in the database at 672 square feet. It is the largest room devoted simply to living and not a combination of work and living space as seen in the other large rooms, which mostly reside in basements. This is not to say that individuals living in this large space did not also do chores there, just that it was not designed for dual functions. A second space in this house that may have served as slave space is a small unheated room at the head of the stairs on the second floor. The room sits at the center of the hallway between bedrooms and could have served as both a storeroom for linens and a slave living/sleeping space for someone to service the family during the night. While at least several people must have lived in the wing it must be pointed out

that historic records indicate a row of slave houses sat nearby with formal gardens surrounding the property. While this house existed as a showpiece rather than a plantation seat, the lives of the enslaved in the house included a wider circle of people living in a small quarter attached to the formal landscape.

The survey located a number of small town living spaces that varied from small log cabins to refined spaces within the homes of the master. But from an interpretive standpoint these people remain ignored. Historic sites such as the Dickson-Williams house do not admit that slaves may have stayed in the room on the second floor, mere feet from their master. Other Tennessee small town slaves practiced “living out” but had nowhere specific for themselves.³⁵ This situation actually represents a subsystem of slavery that many slaves desired, the “hiring out” system. Individuals who could hire their time to someone else generally chose to live as far from their owners and the person paying for them as possible. The 40 year old male at the Joseph Brown estate seems to be one of those individuals. In small towns many people, men mostly, lived in outbuildings or sheds.³⁶ Such living arrangements however were not having a space of one’s own, but simply a place to sleep. These are the nameless, faceless individuals whose existence is not recognized architecturally, and interpretively they remain anonymous.

For urban environments homes in Memphis and Nashville serve as examples in the survey database. By the time of the 1850 census more African-Americans lived in Nashville than in any other city in the state.³⁷ Despite that fact more examples of urban slave residences in the database come from Memphis. In

that city the Hunt-Phelan and Mallory-Neely houses sat on relatively small acreage with slaves living in very close proximity to the white family. At the Mallory-Neely house only seven enslaved individuals are noted in Isaac Kirtland's inventory of 1855. While the wing has four rooms individuals could have lived in, only two have fireplaces. The basement room with a fireplace is highly suggestive that someone or a family lived in that space. That being the case the Mallory-Nelly house has five living spaces, three with fireplaces. The basement room offers 464 square feet of space. But what did that really mean for those people living at the house? What these people's daily activities were we do not know, but because Kirtland's business was insurance the enslaved likely did not work as agricultural laborers but as domestics keeping Mrs. Kirtland's house just the way she wanted it. The men probably cared for the horses and drove Kirtland's carriage. The landscape at the house included only a few acres with a carriage house/barn out back. Unlike on a plantation the enslaved at the Mallory-Neely House had to look to other slaves within the city for social contact. Enjoying time with other African-Tennesseans probably came during daily rounds conducting the household business in town, market days on the weekend, or social events at other homes in the city.

The Hunt-Phelan home in Memphis presents a different kind of urban experience. While within the city limits, the lot included over 26 acres and nearly 100 enslaved people lived on the property. The Hunt family had a plantation in Tunica Mississippi and the house in Memphis served as their residence, but not their source of income.³⁸ An attached wing has rooms for several people on the

second floor, and several frame single-pen houses stood in the landscape not far from the mansion. The wing has direct access to the Hunt family's second floor bedrooms. While other spaces in the database also had access to the white family's living spaces, in this case it is close and direct access to their bedrooms. The accessibility factor of course goes both ways and is a factor rarely interpreted at historic homes and plantation museums. This is not to say that slaves in general did not have access to a white family's living spaces, they did, and they needed to in order to clean the rooms, change linens and other domestic chores. And of course some slaves slept in the rooms with their masters.

The butler and carriage driver's room at Hunt-Phelan had very limited space at just 180 square feet, but it sits beside a "common room" which offers another 306 square feet of living area. And it must be pointed out that the butler's room was intended for just one person. The cook and laundress's room opposite the common room has 255 square feet intended for two people. Juxtapose these rooms with the small frame houses that sat in the landscape which were described as approximately 14' x 14'. We do not know exactly how many of these houses existed on the property, but if the number of enslaved living on the 26 acres is correct we can assume that the houses held more than 1 or 2 individuals such as found in the wing.

A final urban example comes from Nashville at the Belmont Mansion. Much like the Hunt-Phelan house Belmont served as the city showplace of a very wealthy family, and not the seat of a plantation. Several rooms within the basement of the house served as living spaces and records indicate a number of

slave houses also dotted the landscape. Those houses have long since vanished under the bulldozer's blade, but the rooms in the basement remain. A room traditionally known as the cook's room and another on the opposite side of the house each has 306 square feet of space. The cook's room also has an exterior entrance and several windows. A third room in the center of the house has a fireplace and measures 324 square feet.

Belmont had up to 175 acres, making it more than just home on a city lot. The property sat near the edge of town, but even with its acreage it was in-effect a home in the city because of close access. The property had extensive landscaping, gardens, a spring house with steam engine, a bowling alley, a pet house with a bear and monkeys, and feed stock. Enslaved individuals living on the estate worked at the tasks of manning the boilers and caring for the live animals. In this aspect Belmont's slaves experienced life more like those on a farm, tending stock and the gardens, though not picking Tennessee cotton. With upwards of 30 slaves living there, a division of labor likely held sway. The men would have tended the extensive gardens and the hand full of stock. Women would have worked in the house, but there may have been some overlap in the gardens too. The main caretaker of the house was a male butler. Perhaps one of the basement rooms provided his living space, while the cook lived in the other, or perhaps the cook and butler were married. Because it was a showplace the Acklens entertained lavishly. The other basement rooms likely housed the numerous domestic slaves necessary to run such a household. Because the city was close the slaves at

Belmont likely knew other enslaved people within the city and could form friendships through those associations.

Folklorist John Vlach has asserted that most urban slave owners held no more than two slaves.³⁹ However, as demonstrated above the urban slave living spaces found in Tennessee show more occupants both through architecture and the documents. The small holder in cities probably did not have separate accommodations for one or two individuals, unless they held more than 6 people according to Vlach. They likely lived in extra spaces within the big house, or, like in small towns, sheds and other outbuildings. He also suggests the owners of larger numbers created a small compound for the outbuildings to include the slaves' living spaces.⁴⁰ Vlach uses a number of eastern cities to support his arguments but in Nashville and Memphis the remaining slave living spaces were not set up like a compound, instead rooms within the house and attached wings served the purpose. He also argues that urban slave owners who were not the elite with large homes but also held slaves who lived in basement rooms, hallways, and attics.⁴¹ The same can be said for Tennessee's small towns, rural plantations, and farms with many examples of basement rooms in the database. None of this evidence refutes Vlach, but illustrates how in Tennessee architecture was used to manipulate slave life in all settings; rural, town and city.

The database contains several examples of plantations and fine homes intended to be showplaces for the very wealthy. While it can be argued that any home with some refinement was intended to show status, the examples here show great wealth and influence. In East Tennessee it is the Dickson-Williams House

where a row of slave houses sat within or near the embellished landscape. In West Tennessee the Hunt-Phelan house with only a handful of acres served as the city home to a planter whose Mississippi plantation created wealth. The Hermitage and Fairvue functioned as showplace plantations, the seat of wealthy and powerful men, but also modes of production. In Jackson's case the Hermitage produced his wealth. In Franklin's case Fairvue supported the Mississippi and Louisiana plantations that created vast wealth. Belmont in Nashville served entirely as a Belvedere, a beautiful place of fine living. It is interesting and sad to note that Isaac Franklin's money made from the slave trade is responsible for two of Tennessee's nineteenth-century showplaces. In all cases slaves lived not only within the main house, but also within sight of the mansions in small purpose-built houses.

The plans and dimensions of slave houses have garnered the attention of several scholars over the years. Building sizes may hold clues for an explanation of a slave house typology, or for the survival and perpetuation of African life ways within the institution of slavery. Some researchers have proposed that slave house room sizes reveal African architectural templates.⁴² Historian Mechal Sobel asserts that some houses had a culturally determined size of 12' square, whereas archeologist Leland Ferguson states that American folklorists consider 10' square to be specifically a West African dimension. Sobel also states that the one room house plan, though widely known in Europe, was a form African-Americans preferred because it is also typical in many parts of West Africa. These houses generally were 12' square or near that in size.⁴³ She further asserts that Africans

had what she calls a "black inner language" for architectural design and spacial arrangement, also known as a "mental template." Sobel cites several examples of this architectural pattern in eighteenth-century Virginia.⁴⁴ Conversely, Ferguson stated that houses in Virginia were larger than those in South Carolina which he calculates as generally 10' square in size.⁴⁵ Sobel and Ferguson's examples come from Virginia and South Carolina which both fed the settlement stream into Tennessee.

A preliminary hypothesis for this research surmised that the survey might uncover some size similarities to Virginia or South Carolina in late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century houses. However, the majority of the houses recorded measure somewhere between 16' and 18' long and 14' to 16' wide. The survey recorded only one confirmed eighteenth-century example in the Tipton-Haynes house which is a basement kitchen and living space. Its design and size matches the room above it so the room does not fit the model of a separate structure. The few early nineteenth-century buildings do not fit the size patterns Sobel and Ferguson found. So what does this mean in terms of African building traditions in Tennessee? The dimensions of Tennessee's slave houses likely reflect the masters' concept of space more than an African architectural mental template. Instead of 12' square plans, most rooms are larger by as much as 4' to 6' and rectangular. Perhaps the difference in size signals the creation and acceptance of a new pattern; that of an African-American sized house. By the second quarter of the nineteenth-century when most of the buildings in this study were constructed, the typical dimensions of slave houses had grown. The potential reasons for the

increase in house size include improving the quality of housing, alleviating crowded conditions, and generally creating a healthier environment, factors discussed in the literature of the day.⁴⁶ What this data indicates is that by the 1840s when most of these houses were built, there was an architectural pattern of what a slave house should look like, and how big each room should be that differed but evolved over the previous century. James Breeden's book *Advice Among Masters* discusses this kind of information published in agricultural journals during the nineteenth-century.⁴⁷ Perhaps many of Tennessee's farmers took notice of these publications. "But by the second quarter of the nineteenth-century, and concurrent with the rise of the Southern agricultural journal as a vehicle of cohesion, Southern planters, through published essays and articles, had codified their employment of the single-unit log cabin as the optimum quarter."⁴⁸ Other researchers have noted the potential influence of the nineteenth-century agricultural journals on slave housing.⁴⁹

In his analysis of architecture creating "difference" between black and white, Anthropologist Terrance Epperson indicates that eighteenth-century Virginia plantation owners revealed their authority over slaves by hiding their quarters out of sight yet close at hand, by careful manipulation of landscape features.⁵⁰ The evidence from Tennessee demonstrates that no such general rule can be applied to the arrangement of houses in all settings and all landscapes. Most of the slave houses can be found within sight of the big house. While in most cases we do not know exactly how the historic landscapes looked, it is obvious that many owners not only wanted their slaves close, they also did not

mind seeing their little log buildings very near their own dwellings. Many of the recorded houses sit within 100' of the main house, with many placed as close as 20' to 30' directly beside or behind the mansion. The Byrd-Brown slave house is semi-attached with a covered walkway a mere 8' away from the main house. Many quarters also tend to be paired with other outbuildings in the yard. In several cases the slave house serves a dual purpose such as the kitchen and quarters, or a spring house and quarters.

Most of the sites recorded in Tennessee were not the homes of extremely wealthy and nationally prominent men such as Epperson analyzed, although five sites were. The majority of slave houses were neither hidden, nor shunned at these estates or on smaller farms. Instead they were near the main house, and indeed at each of the five properties slave rooms exist in the basement. Andrew Jackson, arguably Tennessee's most famous son in the nineteenth-century who did have an elaborate landscape, also had a triple-pen slave house constructed very near the mansion in the 1820s.⁵¹ At the same time he had a slave space constructed in the basement of the mansion in 1821. In addition, a log house for a man known as "Uncle Alfred" sat within 50 yards and nearly on axis with the center of the mansion, just outside the formal landscape. Although later owners moved Alfred's house so close to the mansion after Jackson's death, it was in the 1840s, during the antebellum period.⁵² One extremely important facet of this building is that as an extant house associated with a known slave family this building is very significant in Southern history. The Hermitage has photographs of Alfred in its

archives. A relationship between a standing building and known enslaved people is rare in the Tennessee database and southern history in general.

Many Tennessee slaveholders came from Virginia, where historical analysis of colonial plantations has concerned itself with the establishment of race and social hierarchy. The created landscapes of elite slave owners excluded or subjected lower status whites to various levels of barriers, while at the same time incorporated slaves into the multi-layered social landscapes of plantations.⁵³ By the nineteenth-century those social constructs were firmly in place, so Tennessee's landscapes were arranged more for efficiency of operation rather than for the establishment of racial and political hierarchies found a century earlier in Virginia. Tennesseans incorporated slaves within the white domain for the owners' convenience. The colonial plantation landscapes were a dichotomy, arranged with exclusionary manipulation of social and private spaces. In Tennessee there is less of a dichotomy and more of an intentional manipulation of space to create convenient service for the master and his family. Tennessee masters merely set about incorporating their slaves into a functional, efficient landscape, which meant having them live in the mansion or in houses nearby. The motive of convenience seems to be a further development of the practice, from the previous century, of orchestrating architecture as political statements. As Tennessee enslavers grew more confident in their control of the landscape, they saw less need to arrange slave housing with security in mind. Rather, keeping their bondspeople close and available for work at any hour emerged as a more important factor when creating the slaves' world through architecture. Masters

saw the slave houses as representations of their ability to control their bondsmen and as reminders of their station in life.⁵⁴ This is different from what developed in other southern states. An interesting concurrence to this co-existence in Tennessee is that the architecture does not reveal that slave rebellions affected living situations and landscapes as found elsewhere. Archeologist Kerri Barile has demonstrated that after the Denmark Vessey rebellion in 1822 planters in the Charleston, South Carolina area transformed their landscapes and architecture to move the enslaved population away from the homes and protected their valued plantation goods through more secure buildings.⁵⁵ A slave revolt at the Tennessee iron forges in 1853 resulted in the hanging deaths of nearly 30 people, but the uprising did not seem to affect the inclusive architecture because as late as 1860 Ezekiel McNeal placed a slave room in his basement and the quarters stand very close to the main house.⁵⁶ Perhaps changes could be found just in the Tennessee iron region, which would be an interesting topic for future research.

Social manipulation was also a factor in Tennessee, since masters could monitor slaves closely through their careful orchestration of both architecture and landscapes. At Fairvue Plantation for example the overseer's house stood in the center of the village two stories tall, giving him line-of-sight throughout the quarter. The slave houses stood in rows facing one another in a village-like setting, giving a communal sense through architecture. The Fairvue mansion sits approximately one hundred yards away and overlooks the quarter from a hill. This design permitted both the owner and overseer to monitor movements of everyone in and out of the quarter.⁵⁷

At McNeal Place the main house stands at the head of a quad with a well, cistern, three houses, and kitchen building, allowing the master to see and hear all activity in the quarter. The clustering of small, similar brick houses near the mansion served to control the people who lived there and established them literally and visually within the plantation hierarchy. Those who lived in the quarter had aesthetically pleasing homes (at least McNeal would have thought so), but the person or family staying in the cellar below the dining room had just that, a plain room within the main house. While the quarter close to the mansion may have been nicer than the field slaves' houses (we don't know what those looked like as they are no longer extant), their proximity to the master likely precluded some freedom of movement and cultural expression. Whatever African-American traditions they practiced probably occurred quietly in-doors, or at a discrete location on the property, out of the master's sight. A similar conclusion can be made for the many enslaved who lived in basements or houses very close to the mansion. Those families doubtless had to outwardly demonstrate a certain amount of cultural amnesia around their own homes for fear of the master showing his distaste for African-American cultural practices.⁵⁸ As one Tennessee researcher has said, "Planters discouraged most outward, obvious material expressions of African traditions, yet much survived in more sublimated and strongly marked ways."⁵⁹

Because the architecture and landscapes of Fairvue and McNeal Place did not easily allow for the outward signs of African-American culture in the quarter, they must have used different locations, meeting in the woods or other places on

the property not under constant surveillance. The culture of resistance crafted by the African-American community allowed them their space and place within the white world circumscribed by the bounds of their masters' land holdings.⁶⁰ While some of the Tennessee farms and plantations in this survey may have outwardly controlled people's movements, from the perspective of the enslaved and their way of understanding their environment there were many ways, on many levels, for them to create and perceive their world.⁶¹ "In various ways, the slaves frustrated, infuriated, and manipulated their owners. The bondsmen never took control of the farms on which they worked, but neither did they permit their masters to take complete control."⁶² Indeed the concept of the quadrangle was not foreign to many West African cultural groups whose traditional architecture placed four buildings facing each other in a design referred to as the Impluvium Style.⁶³ This created collective space between the structures for daily gatherings and activities outside of the buildings. On Tennessee's larger holdings this kind of arrangement may have worked well for social reasons. At any given time there were at least two quite different, and perhaps mutually incomprehensible, spatial conceptions of any given landscape of slavery, one black, one white, one subordinate, one dominant.⁶⁴ Slave's homes may have been "given" to them by their masters, but the houses were just a single part of their world. The African-American culture of family, community, and resistance incorporated houses into a wider framework understood by those educated in that community. Enslaved African-Tennesseans doubtless conceived of their world as incorporating their individual houses, quarters, common yards, their gardens, the fields they tended,

woods, back alleys, vacant lots, and the interstices of the landscape not fully used in the white realm. In those places slaves knew where they could go with relative freedom, or not, and created a sense of place by fixing meanings to objects and places. In that way they understood their living spaces within a broader landscape on their own terms.⁶⁵ Certainly the groups at Fairvue and McNeal place understood that about their proscribed landscapes. At Beech Hill in Middle Tennessee a carved figure resembling an Ashanti fertility figure lodged within the logs of the house intimates that slaves did imbue their home with African derived meanings of luck and fertility. It shows us that they understood the log house as “home.” For the enslaved people living at the Joseph Brown or Mallory-Neely estates with only seven people living all in one house, or a wing literally attached to the white world, their community and perception of the landscape differed from the people at Fairvue, McNeal Place or Beech Hill. Their world was partially bounded by the town and city lot, and a smaller number of people within their immediate “community.”

Historical studies over the last 35 years have emphasized the slave community and African-American cultural expression. However, slaves who lived within the master’s home with only a few other African-Tennesseans probably had little time for one-on-one contact with other slaves without whites being present. If they were expected to be on call day or night and “living” in a closet, the time for creating bonds within their group would have been precious. Creation of larger community ties probably came on weekends with a pass to attend market days, or at neighborhood gatherings in town, or on other farms. Their cultural

interactions may not have come on a daily basis, but sporadically whenever they could be away from their masters' places whether that was a farm or a city household. Some aspects of culture only operate when there are gatherings of people of that same culture. For instance the Saturday market would be an occasion to dance and sing, which might not be done when there are only small groups of enslaved people living on a small farm or urban lot.

Typically historians and archeologists think of a slave community in the context of plantations with dozens of enslaved people living in a quarter with a number of houses. For only five or six people living in the master's house, or a small building nearby, our definition of community must be refined and enlarged. The concept and definition of community among a small group of enslaved individuals needs to be expanded to outside of that group. The known populations related to properties recorded in this study range from over 100 individuals to only 7. In a group of 100 people at the Hermitage or Fairvue, or only 7 at the Mallory-Neely and Joseph Brown properties the interactions among African-Tennesseans differed. Contact with the white family was probably constant for 7 individuals at the Brown house in Greeneville, whereas at Fairvue it would have been much less so, especially for the field workers. A part of that consideration is the relationships of those enslaved individuals on a property. Were they all one nuclear family, blood relations, or totally unrelated individuals forced to live together? The architecture demonstrates that separate rooms were available at the Mallory-Neely house, and two rooms in one house for apparently unrelated individuals at the Brown house. The fact that privacy (relative anyway) could be

available implies non-related people forced to live together, and the census data supports that notion. How the concept of community played out probably occurred differently on each farm, plantation, city, or town lot; "...community is where community happens."⁶⁶ The group, of mostly youth, living on the Brown property did not have the plantation community support system someone at Fairvue or the McNeal place benefited from. Being young they may actually have had to look to the white family for their emotional and psychological well being. The 40 year old male appears to have been transient in their lives because he was hired by Brown, and should not necessarily be considered a permanent part of their world. The town of Greeneville had a number of properties with slaves, including the Dickson-Williams house so the youngsters living with the Browns would have found other blacks in town to socialize with and learn their African-Tennessean culture and heritage. The example of the Brown property shows us that the concept of community needs to go beyond the bounds of people all living on one property or related individuals because clearly such was not a full cultural support mechanism among the group enumerated in 1860.

In a fascinating study of neighborhoods within the Natchez district of Mississippi historian Anthony Kaye points out that slaves' concept of "neighborhood" was defined by a grouping of plantations. However, outside of mentally constructed neighborhoods no commonality existed. He cites the example of a slave named Andy who napped while his mules fed at a corn stand somewhere outside of his own neighborhood. Local slaves pilfered some of the supplies he was charged with bringing home. He approached the plantation owner

for restitution and he received the stolen goods, though the perpetrators denied any involvement in the crime.⁶⁷ This event demonstrates that even in large plantation districts the concept of community extended only so far. Tennessee with its smaller holdings may have been very different. “Community” to an enslaved individual or group in a small town, or on a small farm must have operated another way. Did they even think in such terms? Was community different in the plantation district around Memphis from a farm area, in the cities, or the iron forges region? Refining the definition of community is one area the architecture of the state cannot help us. Researchers will have to look to the documents for clues. Studying how the concept of slave community functioned because of Tennessee’s small holdings is a different concept for the state that this research into architecture has brought to light.

Sociologist Thomas Bender has suggested a definition of community which could function for a setting like Tennessee’s smaller slave holdings.

...a network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds...A community involves a limited number of people in a somewhat restricted social space or network held together by shared understanding and a sense of obligation. Relationships are close, often intimate, and usually face-to-face. Individuals are bound together by affective or emotional ties rather than by a perception of individual self-interest. There is a we-ness in community; one is a member.⁶⁸

This definition can be used as a starting place for Tennessee’s scholars of slavery. The question becomes, how big are the boundaries of any given community? I suggest that there is no magic number of people, farms, town lots or neighborhoods. Beyond the bounds of a plantation, or neighborhoods as demonstrated by Kaye, Tennessee’s small holdings would have created different

communities construed and constructed based upon availability of other enslaved people and access to events or places where groups could gather. Tennessee scholars should be critically aware of the open-endedness of the term for the Volunteer state. We know that during the colonial era blacks and whites lived together out of necessity. How did the African-Tennessean slave community function during that period? The concept, and the reality, of community were probably fluid through time and especially among the small groupings in the state. Slavery in big cities and small towns required different circumstances in living conditions and that affected how a “community” formed, as well as how many enslaved people lived together.

Frankly this should be the context and lens through which scholars examine the upland South as a whole because, as amply demonstrated by others, the small holding dominated geographically. Determining how the realities of community played out will take more research. Different avenues of approach will include examining the gross scales of urban, rural, and small town slavery in specific areas. An interesting side bar would be to examine differences and similarities between domestic and field hands across those same lines. One Tennessee slave did mention that working in the fields occasionally allowed her more freedom of movement and less supervision by a white person than in the confines of the big house. “...but I liked the field work better than I did the house work. We could talk and do anything we wanted to, jus so we picked the cotton...”⁶⁹ This example both illustrates and demonstrates that in some cases a perceived, if not an actual hierarchy existed on larger properties where delineation

between house and field slaves existed. Historian Genovese called it a caste system and discussed how it worked on various plantations across the South.⁷⁰

Despite the fact that a pecking order possibly existed on some properties, when it came to dealing with most whites slaves living in the same household or community would close ranks and defy the master class. But that cooperation only went so far as discussed previously for Natchez. How far out from a property that feeling of community and security extended likely differed depending on the circumstances. Small town slaves probably did not see those from surrounding farms or plantations as part of their community.

To understand exactly how the concept of community played out across Tennessee will require a deeper understanding of many individual settings by studying several small towns, all the cities, several small farms, and a number of plantations across the state. That type of study should rival this one in size and scope. A few properties in the state have received a great deal of scholarly attention, most notably The Hermitage. Decades of historical and archeological research into the slave community there has revealed many insights into the life of slaves, Jackson's treatment and view of them, and some of the inner workings of the community.

Archeologist Brian Thomas's research into community comes through an analysis of material culture to demonstrate access to material goods which allows insights into the potentials of hierarchy across the slave quarter. Thomas tells us that the access to goods among the house and field slaves did not differ. The material culture excavated from the sites shows cooperation among the

community. In fact house and field workers intermarried.⁷¹ Despite the fact that a tremendous amount of information exists for the Hermitage it would not suffice as a model for the state because it was a large plantation which differed from most of the state's slave holdings. As a slave owner Andrew Jackson was aware that the country watched his every move. Other planters or slave owning farmers did not have those constraints and could treat their slaves as they saw fit either in terms of housing or how some may have benefited from preferential treatment. The Hermitage should be considered an anomaly for Tennessee because Jackson rose to the highest ranks in the country, and built his plantation to be a showplace. The slave quarters measuring a standard 20' x 20' represent an ideal not achieved by any of the other properties in the database with the possible exception of Fairvue. However, it too is anomalous in that Fairvue operated as a feeder plantation to Isaac Franklin's larger, more lucrative, holdings in Louisiana's sugar growing region. Fairvue raised corn, other grains, and pigs for use on his Louisiana plantations.⁷² How the concept of community played out there and the difference from Louisiana to Fairvue is not known. We must understand that there was as much idiosyncratic behavior on the parts of masters and their attempts to control environments, as there was also for the enslaved individuals creating their own communities.

Enslaved individuals who lived in the master's home "under the stairs in a closet" or slept with their masters in their bedroom are architecturally invisible and probably archeologically indistinguishable. Even in the typically cited documents about slavery, such as the census records or plantation day books they

are indistinguishable. But in tantalizingly brief mentions in diaries or slave narratives the speakers give a nod to an aspect of slavery not emphasized enough by historians. Those people lived a life surrounded and dominated by whites. They must have looked forward to the time spent away from white people and with their friends and family.

A final issue in examining the concept of community among the enslaved entails working with the descendants of the former slave community (however that may have worked historically). Studying the plantation community or an enslaved group has become common-place enough among some researchers that the terms have expanded to mean the descendants as well as the individuals of the past. In some parts of the present day African-American society those connections are not as structured as one might think. Examples of descendant communities who do not identify with the places of their enslaved ancestors, but their historic church community instead, contrast with others that have identified with a former plantation even naming an association by the plantation name, such as Somerset Plantation mentioned in chapter one.⁷³

Field research is a learning experience. Much like the realization that the concept of what entailed a slave community for small holdings in Tennessee is different from other parts of the South, what constituted a slave living space evolved in my mind over the course of the survey. While recording buildings I realized that slave living places came in many different forms. I began the survey looking only for purpose-built slave houses. Initially the hypothesis was that only those kinds of buildings would yield architectural patterns suggesting “form

follows function." Furthermore, only a purpose built slave house would yield information about Africanisms regarding size or demonstrating that African-Tennesseans constructed their houses with African architectural antecedents in mind. However, beyond the simple deduction of housing patterns I came to realize that African-Tennesseans lived in places that were not necessarily purposely built for slave living. On the contrary, some examples include places originally built as a white family's residence. As the family moved up in the socio-economic ladder slaves inherited these former white living places. Such sites include the West Cabin at the Hermitage, the wing at Rippavilla, and the basement of the Cullom House. In the cases of Rippavilla and the Cullom house the upgrade came very quickly as the basement and wing spaces were never intended to be white living spaces for very long. The West cabin at the Hermitage served Andrew Jackson as his primary residence for a number of years however. Other slave living quarters are simple spaces, basement rooms or lofts above kitchens. These living quarters will never tell us much about African architectural mental templates, but they do speak volumes about the living conditions of enslaved people in Tennessee. For that reason these living places, "spaces," came to be understood as essential to the survey database. In some cases they are purposely built for living such as the basement rooms in Fairvue, the Mallory-Neely house, the rooms above the kitchen at the Pillars, or beside the kitchen room in the building at McNeal Place. These living spaces tell us as much about the master and their desire for immediate service as much as they tell us about

African-Tennesseans desire for architectural domesticity and privacy, or African survivals.

Another factor this research has revealed is that whites and blacks always lived together under slavery in Tennessee. Documentary evidence and archeology at sites such as Fort Nashboro, and Bledsoe's Fort show that both as an expediency and for safety everyone lived together as the frontier moved across Tennessee.⁷⁴ But even as time progressed and Tennessee took center stage in the economy and politics of the nation, enslaved blacks still lived with whites in the basements of their homes, and even in their bedrooms as the documents demonstrate. Andrew Jackson serves as an example. In examining the architectural evolution of his plantation we see that initially he lived in a separate building only 40 feet away from slaves in the East Cabin. When he moved into the big house a kitchen in the basement placed the cook within the same structure as his family. Later a kitchen building and a triplex cabin the yard placed a number of people just feet from the mansion's back door.

While a regional comparison across Tennessee did not yield significant differences in available space and construction details, an understanding of the fact that Tennessee represents the upland region, a different section of the South from the plantation or coastal areas which receive more scholarly attention, shines a light on the fact that the living conditions of slavery were not all quarters with individual houses lining a "slave street." Tennessee had its large plantations certainly, The Hermitage and Fairvue represent that class of slave holding

property, but the majority of slaves lived in smaller groups, not only in Tennessee, but throughout much of the upland South.

Patricia Samford's study of North Carolina slave housing demonstrated that there was a difference in the two regions she studied, the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain. The two regions had different economies and saw different types of housing. However, she found that the log house dominated North Carolina in the antebellum period, and most of the extant structures came from the Piedmont region which has similarities to Tennessee, and in fact the two states share a border on the Piedmont region. She also found through documents that in the Coastal Plain log dominated previously, but almost no structures survive. An interesting finding of Samford's is that duplex log structures also dominated the Piedmont region.⁷⁵ Few duplex log structures appear in the Tennessee database. The single-pen log house dominates. Apparently the duplex log house did not translate from North Carolina to Tennessee.

Critics of this research will likely state that pointing out the differences in square footage reduces slavery to a mathematical equation comparing the have's and have not's with regard to the best housing and the most elbow room. But that is not what this research necessarily shows, or the interpretations I make. Instead this research demonstrates that environments of slavery cannot be button-holed into stereotypical log cabins lining a slave street on large plantations. The landscape of slavery – as exemplified in the housing recorded here – had many contours. Certainly the big workforce plantations existed in Tennessee, but a large percentage of the enslaved population lived in small groups on smaller parcels

doing something other than tending cotton. Many other factors certainly affected the lives of Tennessee's enslaved population, not the least of which was the constant fear of being sold. The narratives discuss this poignant and heart-wrenching factor in detail. But once a family was torn asunder, did the survivors have to live with unrelated individuals? Architectural history gives voice to the physical manifestations of that very real fear every enslaved person had. Being able to show, touch, and feel these places helps the modern day researcher and visitor to historic sites get closer to an understanding.

Interpreting the history of slavery, the living conditions, work regimens, and every day facets of life in bondage is a social imperative for historic sites, plantation museums and scholars of history. The historiography of African-American life under slavery shows that every generation of scholars viewed this imperative in a different light. Most often the writings had a social agenda; from demonstrating that African-Americans could and did participate in the making of early America, to the fact that the enslaved did not lose their culture through the Middle Passage and indeed had a culture and community of their own separate from white southern society.⁷⁶ Today's imperative might be viewed as a duality in reaching all audiences, black and white, southerners, northerners, and non-Americans, educating everyone in the realities of slavery; to working with descendant communities and helping them understand their own very personal pasts.⁷⁷

The plethora of slave living accommodations revealed in this research makes the case for a total re-evaluation of slave housing interpretation across the

state. Plantation museums and historic houses with “extra” rooms at the head of the stairs or in a corner of the second and third floors should conduct research into diaries, day books, and other records associated with a property to determine how those rooms were used. Typically museums interpret the spaces (when interpreted at all) as a sewing room, storage, or children’s play room. However, they probably also served as a slave “living” or more properly just a sleeping space for the enslaved. Enough primary sources exist that mention slaves “living” in the house with whites that museum interpreters should seriously consider those spaces serving a dual purpose, if not in-fact a singular purpose; to have a slave available for service to the white family. While the counter argument can be made that the rooms have no fireplace and therefore would be cold in winter, an unheated space beside the bedrooms of the white family is more comfortable than an unheated loft of a log building where the space between the logs and shingles let snow in on occupants huddled under blankets.⁷⁸ Likewise the basement rooms of the museum houses served as work and living spaces, but these spaces are totally disregarded during tours. The number of slave rooms within the main house in the Tennessee database vividly paints a picture of white and black, slave and master sharing the same house. Typically plantation museums do not portray this closeness during tours. Most museums interpret slavery only through display of the familiar little log cabins somewhere “back of the big house.” This architectural survey clearly demonstrates that the two worlds intertwined more than just through the fact that slave houses sat near the master’s mansion. Some researchers have noted the conventional perception that house slaves received

better treatment, and were more comfortable than field slaves.⁷⁹ But from reading southern diaries, slave narratives, and examining architectural evidence in Tennessee's mansions it is difficult to say that they were more comfortable living spaces. The basement rooms at Fairvue or at the Mallory Neely house were probably damp all the time. The young boy who "slept" under the stairs in a closet had very little room to himself. Yes, there were those who had good comfortable quarters such as Nathan Wilson who had a room to himself in the wing of the Hunt Phelan house. The two women who occupied the room opposite him probably did also. However, is comfort to be compared with being at the constant beck and call of the person who owned you? We see in Kate Carney's diary where at midnight the slaves were all still up and working, while she was apparently the lone member of the white family still awake.

The diaries of Kate Carney and Robert Cartmell of Madison County afford us a look into the tenuous relations between black and white living under the same roof during the Civil War.⁸⁰ When Murfreesboro was occupied territory the distrust became palpable, with Carney stating; "I don't trust the negroes now. They have too much of the Yankees about them to suit me."⁸¹ Cartmell did not trust his own slaves and had to keep a watchdog. Interestingly he knew which of his slaves lead a small band of thieves; Cartmell wrote in his diary; "If I see any person moping about my house or trying to get in I will certainly shoot them." He went on to further write; "This negro or some other has been here several times but was prevented from getting in or was scared off by my dog."⁸² Yet despite the mistrust it apparently did not run deep enough to change the fact that slave and

master occupied the same houses, and indeed the same bedrooms. Not coincidentally it was another slave, a house-girl, who discovered that someone had attempted to break into the house.

In reading Ophelia Egypt's written slave narratives "*Unwritten History of Slavery: Autobiographical Accounts of Negro Ex-slaves*" 14 references (by 12 separate narrators) to living within the master's home can be found. In a collection of 37 narratives the 12 represent one-third of the entire collection. In addition, diaries of white slave owners not only hint at, but outright discuss slaves sleeping in the same room with their owners.⁸³ This information should make interpreters pause to think about what this meant for community creation among the enslaved who, forced to live and in some cases even sleep with their enslavers, had to find ways to interact with other blacks.

This information relates to not only community creation but how a person viewed their own place in the world, a sense of place. The ex-slave who as a girl was not allowed to even talk to the women in the kitchen was culturally adrift not knowing "much about colored folks before the War." It also meant she knew more of the white world, and though being African-Tennessean could not participate with her community and culture because she was forbidden. This cultural discontinuity was created by space use and architecture. In some cases the discontinuity was a result of no place, no space, to call home. In other cases a room in the basement may have meant family or communal space for the domestics. Even in those urban households such as the Mallory-Neely house

where only seven enslaved people occupied the property, if they were not related they were all part of the same African-Tennessean culture.

Anthropologists, historians, and architectural historians often speak of the "uses" of history. The interpretations we make about history, whether they are based on artifacts as large as houses or as small as the written word, we interpret someone's past. Archeologists have become particularly cognizant of this as they attempt to involve descendant communities in their work. Some projects have created hard feelings among the African-American populations living near excavations of former enslaved people. What to do with the information or the methodological and theoretical implications of working with descendant communities has been the subject of some debate. However, the necessity of such projects and the value of their interpretation to our publics is unquestionable.⁸⁴

In order for the general public to gain a full understanding and appreciation of historic places and events it is necessary to create within them a heightened place awareness, or sense of place. This is achieved through authentic engagements between people and the places of historical import. Authentic engagements are accomplished by experiencing the landscapes, whether constructed or natural, in which those events occurred. Interpretive tours, or trails and signs with historic images help with a "seeing" of the past and creation of a sense of place. These types of encounters can create a meaningful experience and thereby help ensure the relevance of historic places in the public's mind. Because we know that the written word, and even the visual image, can only take us so far, Tennessee's architecture and landscapes of slavery are valuable historical sources.

If a picture is worth a thousand words, then being able to say, “On this spot, or in this room slaves lived and worked” must be worth considerably more. Historic places serve to educate and uplift the mind through direct perception such as; “I saw it with my own eyes” and intellectual understanding. In order to fully understand the past we need something more than written histories. The story of historic personages is most powerfully told “on location,” which is why tens of thousands of visitors travel to see The Hermitage every year. The story of Andrew Jackson however is fully intertwined in slavery, not just politics and military honors.

Interpretation of slavery has evolved over the last three decades. In the past slavery could be totally ignored, or the slaves referred to as “servants.” The word “servant” created the illusion that the enslaved were merely paid to work. By the 1980s plantation museums such as Monticello began offering slave life tours of Mulberry Row where years of archeological research uncovered the remains of many buildings in which the Monticello slave community lived and worked. At the same time Colonial Williamsburg began offering similar tours around the historic town and at Carter’s Grove Plantation, presenting vignettes of specific events known about enslaved individuals. Some researchers criticize these tours as only partially incorporating the slave story because they create an essentially separate but equal interpretation of the slave community.⁸⁵

Plantation history is part of southern history and African-American history is part of both, and all are part and parcel of the American story. American history cannot be understood without the story of slavery. It is all intertwined and

integrated. The pieces cannot be separated out, like the threads of a cloth if you pull on one the fabric begins to unwind. But historians and interpreters can unknowingly compartmentalize and separate African-American history from the rest of the story, leaving a hole in the warp and weft of the cloth. Several scholars analyzed the approach southern plantation museums use to interpret slavery and have noted various ways that their interpretation does not do justice to the topic. Historians Jennifer Eichstedt and Stephen Small noted that plantation museums use a number of ways to deflect, downplay, or ignore the contribution of slaves to the properties discussed.⁸⁶ The racialized discourse at many southern plantation museums does not integrate slavery or slaves at most of the properties the duo visited. Interestingly even with its abundance of historic house museums Tennessee did not merit their attention, Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana served their purposes. The authors categorized the methods used to downplay or ignore slavery as: 1. symbolic annihilation, 2. trivialization/deflection, 3. segregation, 4. In-between, and 5. relative incorporation. Only relative incorporation approaches a method of integrating the story of the enslaved into the overall narrative of a place. The same categorization can be used on plantation museums in this database. None of them incorporated slave life into the full narrative of a site.⁸⁷

Interpretive tours at plantation museums and historic houses in Tennessee should discuss slavery within the main house and on the grounds as an integrated part of the tour. Those properties with slave houses should incorporate the slave house/s in the interpretation, which generally is not done. It should not be an additional tour with an added fee, or something the tour guide points to and tells

visitors “you should go see the slave quarter.” By telling the visitor to see the slave quarters on their own a guide loses the opportunity to continue the education and dialogue with visitors. Conducting slave quarter tours as a separate experience and especially at additional cost segregates slaves from the full narrative and continues the disconnect between black and white spheres creating a subtle and subliminal acknowledgement of the continued separation of those spheres today. Setting the context of slavery within Tennessee (if not the South as a whole) may be a necessary prelude to discussing it at the specific site.

Historians have noted that many Americans are unfortunately poorly educated and uncomfortable with the topic. In order to move into the specifics about a site some groundwork should be laid including the history and economic, social, cultural, and racial aspects of slavery, especially in the division of the state in which the historic site lies.⁸⁸

The following discussion will serve as a suggestion for any plantation museum in the state on how interpretation should incorporate a discussion of slavery during a tour. It also assumes the museum has a slave house on the property. As a guide leaves the house with a group they should discuss the yard area and who would have worked where on the grounds doing specific tasks such as gardening. As the group approaches the quarter or slave house the guide will not “shift gears” to a discussion of slavery, but while walking to the quarter continue the discussion from the yard to quarter and the rest of the property. As the group approaches the quarter the discussion will move from work areas in the yard to work and life in the quarter. The transition between these two aspects of a

tour should be seamless and unnoticeable. The seamlessness is practical because slavery will have been discussed in the main house weaving the stories of blacks and whites living together there. A discussion in the quarter will simply be a continuation of the tour, albeit with a greater emphasis on slave life and work. In the quarter the guide can discuss the landscape of slavery while comparing and contrasting work as a domestic or as a field hand. For those properties where the slave community was small they can discuss the experience of having to do double duty, both house work and field labor, as well as raising a family, or trying to make a community among only a handful of individuals who lived there, a contrast with many people's perceptions of slavery with large work forces, which should be emphasized. In this way interpretation of slavery will be fully integrated into the tour of a property. The tour guides can be white or black, it does not matter who the guide is, but how the information is presented. The technique explained above is wholly appropriate because the discussion of slavery is not integrated in tours of Tennessee historic sites currently.

While basement living spaces generally cannot be visited for safety reasons and compliance with modern building codes, they should be represented and explained as the completion of the full story at an historic site because basements were busy places in an antebellum home. The basement rooms can be shown through large scale photographs in an exhibit along with architectural drawings and a discussion of patterns of movement within a house which will help visitors visualize day to day interactions between black and white. It will also demonstrate how architecture affected slave life and culture. While the first floor

generally served family and guest functions with displays of wealth, and the second floor served as private spaces, the basements were busy with numerous activities from cooking, to cleaning, and carrying out the day to day living as an enslaved person. Historic sites must discuss the physical closeness of black and white during slavery, because they are the places that the general public learns new information about history and slave labor created those places. For visitors to see, feel, and sense these spaces makes historic sites the perfect venue for people to meet slavery face to face, and understand that architecture affected slavery, and slavery affected architecture. This part of the story needs to be told. The information should be established from research incorporating names and dates when known, and the delivery should tie back to the meta-narrative of the property.

This research on the architecture of slavery elucidates the wide variety of living conditions slaves experienced in Tennessee. From rough-hewn log houses to fine brick dwellings plastered inside, the database contains examples of everything from crude shelter to actually refined architecture. Housing then serves as another reminder that slavery cannot be generalized into a single experience. Much like the South in general, slavery was not a monolithic institution, but a dynamic set of experiences; different not only in various parts of the South, but also across Tennessee, and for each individual who lived through it. In housing we can see a difference through time. On the eighteenth-century frontier slaves lived in barracks-like buildings alongside their owners, which progressed to individual family dwellings, many with dirt floors then with wooden ones.⁸⁹ Later

we also see the idiosyncratic nature of owners who lodged their bondsmen close-by in brick houses with architectural details mimicking their mansions. We see that in Tennessee slave dwellings and living spaces varied across a fairly wide range of properties in the state; from large plantations such as the Hermitage and Fairvue, to urban slave spaces at the Hunt-Phelan house to Belmont. Small holdings such as the Waggoner farm, the Ramsey farm, the Joseph Brown house, Masengill Place, and many others exemplify how most slaves lived in the state. Variety is also noted in early settler residences which evolved into slave dwellings such as the Ogilvie-Holt log house and the Benton log house. From small town slave buildings like the Foster houses in Columbia to slave spaces in the basements of mansions, with many examples, this research recorded a cross-section of the living environments of African-Tennesseans. But still a type of space is missing and may never be recorded for posterity, and that is the outbuildings, sheds, or barns where individuals who hired out or were not provisioned with shelter “lived.” The quotation marks are purposeful because “living” in an unheated shed or barn is not living it is merely existing.⁹⁰

This research created a record in pictures and words of a vanishing historic resource, that of slave architecture and landscapes. Tennessee has no state law requiring preservation of these types of buildings, or incentives either. Municipalities vary in their preservation incentives, and since many of the buildings reside in rural settings, hundreds like these disappeared over the decades without anyone noticing. Many of the buildings are in private hands and there is not much incentive to preserve other than owners’ wanting to use them for

storage. So the question is; why should we preserve these small buildings and places where an enslaved population lived more than a century ago? Why would we want to keep buildings that have such a shameful mark on them representing human bondage? Perhaps because I traveled the back roads of Tennessee recording these houses, not just seeing them, but *looking* for them, and in doing so I experienced our history, that an appreciation of their value and a desire to keep them for future generations grew. It is experiential to see, touch, and feel these kinds of places and get a sense of history. Not just black history, or white history, but American history.

Some people may view slave houses as a shameful record and do not want to spend any energy, time, or money to keep these buildings standing. I heard first hand from a property owner that interpreting slavery was “not my history.” But certainly it would be a shame to lose these places and not have any to remind us of how far race relations have come. While words in a history book can do that, it is historic places and buildings that drive the message home in a very tangible way. Historic sites have a responsibility to educate the public. Doing so will include preserving these buildings and telling the provocative stories of slavery in our past. The rooms and little houses provide a perfect venue for imparting those messages. Teaching is best done with examples and historic places provide tangible illustrations for teachable moments about slavery. Historic sites offer a sense of, and power of place.⁹¹ These nuanced intangibles that historic sites offer cannot be perceived through books. That is why the preservation of these buildings is vital to Tennessee and country as a whole. These places create a sense

of place for visitors to touch, feel, smell, and sense the past. Even an empty old log house dilapidated and falling apart standing alone in a field with no context can still serve as a haunting reminder of a past when humans owned humans.

Over the last twenty years researchers and interpreters have come to call historic places such as plantations “sites of shame” because of the terrible things which occurred to people during slavery. Balancing that term others use the expression “historic sites of conscience.” The two terms almost create a dichotomy in historical interpretation, one leaning towards the burdens of history, the other towards understanding the need for a public memory that illuminates a group’s struggles for freedom and recognition.⁹² Historic preservation as a field suffers from the problem of not highlighting, preserving, and interpreting all the multitude of cultures in American history.⁹³

In order for future generations to understand the gravity of slavery and refine the conclusions presented here the architecture of enslavement must be preserved. Having the actual buildings for others to study and understand is critical. For historic preservationists the survey data should be striking in terms of the numbers of standing houses in the west region. Slave holdings in West Tennessee far outsized those of the other two regions. Proportionally there would have been more slave houses there during the antebellum period. However, very few remain in that division in the early twenty-first century. The few recorded in West Tennessee center around Memphis and the town of Bolivar. Telephone conversations with local preservationists and historians in the northwest corner of the state revealed that apparently no known slave houses exist in those counties.

Though this survey should not be considered fully comprehensive, just as much effort and contacts were made in the search for slave houses in the western division as the two other sections of the state. This evidence indicates that the few left in West Tennessee are indeed rare structures. As an example, Lauderdale County, which sits two counties north of Memphis, had 210 slave owners at the 1850 census.⁹⁴

Four out of the eight sites in the western region were museums at the time of recording. However since that time The Hunt-Phelan House has become a commercial property serving as an Inn. The Pillars and the two houses at Ames plantation remain museum properties, while the city of Memphis struggles financially to keep the Mallory-Neely house doors open. The other sites in the division are privately owned and maintained to varying degrees. Magnolia Manor in Bolivar serves as a bed and breakfast. The slave house has undergone renovations and became a rental cottage.⁹⁵ The log slave house at the Hamlett-Smith property is in the most precarious position in the division. It is a privately owned property and the house is in a state of slow decay. The owner uses the house as a storage shed and restoring it would be prohibitively expensive for a private homeowner. The owner expressed a desire to keep the building, but cannot afford renovations, though he does do basic maintenance on the structure.

Many log houses in Middle Tennessee are in a similar position. It is difficult to find a purpose for an old log house today, other than storage. Most of the properties are now small farms, or no longer farms at all. The houses are too small to live in or rent out. Restoration or rehabilitation is expensive and most

landowners do not have the finances to undertake such a project. The log house on the Jarman Farm is in the most hazardous position in Middle Tennessee. Even some of the brick houses are suffering from decay. Fixing a bowed and cracked brick wall is more expensive than re-chinking a log house. In 2002 the stone house on the former Crenshaw farm near Hartsville suffered from serious decay. The chimneystack leaned precariously and the fireplace had holes through the wall. One entire gable had collapsed allowing the elements inside. It is the only all-stone slave house located during the survey and for that reason is a truly rare find in Tennessee. According to oral tradition at least four such houses stood on this farm in the antebellum era. For preservation organizations this, and the few frame houses in the state, should be a priority for rehabilitation/conservation efforts. However, it may not last another ten years. A number of the houses surveyed will not last another 20 years without major rehabilitation. Therefore, this survey is timely in that it recorded a small portion of what must have been many hundreds, if not thousands, of slave houses that existed in the nineteenth-century.

During the Antebellum era slave houses were more prevalent on the southern landscape than the mansions of their owners, a situation that is significantly reversed today. This research in Tennessee analyzed the material culture of architecture and examined the documentary evidence to arrive at an understanding of where the rare surviving structures fit into the larger picture of slavery which has vanished from the visible landscape. This research demonstrates that rather than a wide-ranging study that investigates slavery across

a broad spectrum, we need to examine its attributes in regional and temporal settings following the lead of McDaniel and others.⁹⁶ The Tennessee database provides an excellent case study in that it reveals something about slave living conditions in a part of the South underrepresented in the literature. This research adds another dimension for understanding an institution that the more we analyze it, we realize it truly was peculiar.

ENDNOTES

¹ Lowell H. Harrison, "Recollections of Some Tennessee Slaves," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 33, no.2 (1974), 175.

² Ira Berlin, *Many Thousand Gone, The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 7.

³ For a discussion of how buildings and architectural features played a role in the perception of space see Garrett Fesler, "Excavating the Spaces and Interpreting the Places of Enslaved Africans and Their Descendants," in *Cabin Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*, eds. Clifton Ellis, and Rebecca Ginsburg, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 27-50.

⁴ Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 117.

⁵ Henry Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 18.

⁶ Paul Masters, owner of Allison farm, personal communication with the author, March 3, 2002.

⁷ Margaret Slater and Valerie Birch, *Fairvue, The Isaac Franklin Plantation Gallatin, Sumner County, Tennessee: Existing Conditions Report*. (Nashville: DuVall and Associates, 2001), 54-57.

⁸ Sara A. Leach, "The Detached Kitchen in Context: Architectural and Social Significance in Eighteenth-Century Tidewater Virginia" (Masters Thesis University of Virginia, 1986), 1-2.

⁹ Walter Womack, *McMinnville at a Milestone 1810-1960*, (McMinnville, TN.: Standard Publishing Co., and Womack Printing Co., 1960), 63-64.

¹⁰ The Rutledge house at the Deery Inn reportedly dates to 1798 and also reportedly it initially served as the Inn's kitchen and slave house. If these oral traditions prove out, the Rutledge building is the oldest purposely built log slave house in the Tennessee database, and the East Cabin at the Hermitage the second oldest.

¹¹ Wendell H. Stephenson, *Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1938), 97-99.

¹² Ophelia S. Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery: Autobiographical Accounts of Negro Ex-Slaves* (New York: NCR Re-print, 1968), 109-110.

¹³ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*; Robert K. Fitts, "The Landscapes of Northern Bondage," *Historical Archeology* vol. 30 no. 2 (1996), 54-73; Lisa Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

¹⁴ Kate Carney diary, Southern Manuscripts Department, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

¹⁵ Lenita Thibault, owner of Rotherwood, personal communication with the author 2002.

¹⁶ Loren Schweninger, ed. *From Tennessee Slave to St. Louis Entrepreneur: The Autobiography of James Thomas* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 63. Thomas noted how drafty and cold some slave houses around Nashville could be.

¹⁷ Kate Dixon, Executive Director, the Mallory-Neely House, personal communication with the author 2001.

¹⁸ John M. Vlach, "Without Recourse to Owners: The Architecture of Urban Slavery in the Antebellum South," in *Shaping Communities: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VI*, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 151, 158.

¹⁹ Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery*, 126.

²⁰ Ibid, 93-94.

²¹ Letter from Annie M. Sehon, to her sister Bettie, January 28, 1863, *Kimberly Family Personal Correspondence*, Manuscripts Department, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

²² Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery*, 14, 111. Out of the 37 published narratives in this book there are 14 references by 12 different people that speak about slaves living within the white household.

²³ Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery*, 93, 95.

²⁴ Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 176.

²⁵ Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 108 FN. 7. Architectural historians in Virginia should look for these same kinds of spaces in the mansions and assess whether or not they are storage rooms, or children's play rooms as some plantation museums interpret them.

²⁶ Several buildings, such as the two houses at Ames Plantation, the one at the Carter house, and all of the houses at the Sam Davis Home were moved from their original locations.

²⁷ Philippe Planel, *Locks and Lavatories: The Architecture of Privacy*, (London: English Heritage, 2000), 63.

²⁸ Mooney, *Slavery In Tennessee*, 87; Lamon, *Blacks in Tennessee 1791-1971*, 6-7, 15.

²⁹ Henry S. McKelway et. al., *Slaves and Master in the Upland South: Data Recovery at the Mabry Site (40KN86)*, Knox County, Tennessee (Nashville, Tennessee Department of Transportation Publications in Archeology no. 6, 2000).

³⁰ McKelway et. al., *Slaves and Master*, 223-228.

³¹ Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution*, 331.

³² Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 137, 146-191; Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 127-153; Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 327-364; Egypt, *Unwritten History of Slavery*, 3

³³ James C. Bonner, "Plantation Architecture of the Lower South on the Eve of the Civil War," *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 11, no. 3 (August, 1945), 370-388.

³⁴ Anita Goodstein, "Slavery," entry in the *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, Carroll Van West ed. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Society, 1998), 853-855; Lisa Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes*.

³⁵ Lisa Tolbert, "Murder in Franklin: The Mysteries of Small Town Slavery, *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. LVIII, no. 4 (Winter, 1998), 203-217; Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes*.

³⁶ Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 18; Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes*, 208-209.

³⁷ Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes*, 197.

³⁸ William Day, Personal Communication, owner of the Hunt-Phelan house, December 18, 2001.

³⁹ John M. Vlach, "Without Recourse to Owners: The Architecture of Urban Slavery in the Antebellum South," in *Shaping Communities: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VI*, eds. Carter L. Hudgins and Elizabeth Collins Cromley, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997).

⁴⁰ John M. Vlach, "The Plantation Tradition in an Urban Setting." *Southern Cultures* 5.4 (Winter 1999).

⁴¹ Vlach, "Without Recourse to Owners," 158.

⁴² Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650- 1800*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992; Sobel, *The World They Made Together*.

⁴³ Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, 117; also for an in-depth discussion of African architecture see Susan Denyer, *African Traditional Architecture: An Historical and Geographical Perspective* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1978), esp. chapter 9.

⁴⁴ Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, 112.

⁴⁵ Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, 112; Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 73.

⁴⁶ James O. Breeden, *Advice Among Masters: the Ideal in Slave Management in the Old South* (Westport CT. Greenwood Press, 1980); Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 524-531; Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, 119.

⁴⁷ See; Breeden, *Advice Among Masters*.

⁴⁸ Mark L. Walston "'Uncle Tom's Cabin' Revisited: Origins and Interpretations of Slave Housing in the American South," *Southern Studies* (Winter, 1985), 363.

⁴⁹ Edward Chappell, "Museums and American Slavery," in '*I Too Am America*,': *Archeological Studies of African-American Life*, ed. Theresa Singleton, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 243.

⁵⁰ Terrance Epperson, "Constructing Difference: The Social and Spatial Order of the Chesapeake Plantation" in "'*I Too Am America*,' *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 171.

⁵¹ Larry McKee, "The Archaeological Study of Slavery and Plantation Life in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. LIX no. 3 (Fall, 2000) : 188-203. Jackson was the only politically prominent slave owner in the Tennessee database.

⁵² McKee, *Summary Report on Alfred's Cabin*, 26.

⁵³ Epperson, "Constructing Difference," 169; Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 358-359.

⁵⁴ Clifton Ellis, "The Mansion House at Berry Hill Plantation: Architecture and the Changing Nature of Slavery in Antebellum Virginia," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 13, no. 1, (2006), 22-48; Clifton Ellis, "Building for "Our Family, Black and White": The Changing Form of the Slave House in Antebellum Virginia," in *Cabin Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*, eds. Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 141-155; Epperson, "Constructing Difference," 169.

⁵⁵ Kerri Barile, "A Reaction to Resistance: Post-Conspiracy Panic in the Carolina Lowcountry, 1822–1830," paper delivered at the annual Society for Historical Archeology Conference, 2008.

⁵⁶ An interesting side-bar to this design is that oral history tells us the architect of McNeal Place was a northerner from Indiana. Apparently the architect understood well the desires of southern planters to have their slaves close at hand.

⁵⁷ For more on the concept of surveillance, see Breeden, ed., *Advice Among Masters*, 34; Epperson, "Constructing Difference"; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 524–534; McDaniel, *Hearth and Home*, 45–102; McKee, "Archaeological Study"; Fraser Neiman, "Domestic Architecture at the Clifts Plantation: The Social Context of Early Virginia Building" in, *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1986), 292-314; Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia" in *Common Places, Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 315-335; Upton, "White and Black Landscapes"; Upton, "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape"; Vlach, "'Without Recourse to Owners'"

⁵⁸ John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Bradley C. Grant, "Accommodation and Resistance: The Built Environment and the African-American Experience," in *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practice*, ed. Thomas A. Dutton and Lian Hurst Mann, 202–233 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Upton, "White and Black Landscapes"; John M. Vlach, 'Snug Li'l House With Flue and Oven': Nineteenth-

Century Reforms in Plantation Slave Housing," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture V*, eds. Elizabeth C. Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 118-129; Vlach, *By the Work of Their Hands*, 218; Vlach, *Back of the Big House*.

⁵⁹ Larry McKee, "The Ideals and Realities Behind the Design and Use of 19th Century Virginia Slave Cabins," in, *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 1992), 196.

⁶⁰ For a treatment on the culture of resistance see James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 179-191; For a discussion on the design and use of slave housing as a means of control see, Larry McKee, "The Ideals and Realities Behind the Design and Use of 19th Century Virginia Slave Cabins."

⁶¹ Bernard L. Herman, "The Embedded Landscapes of the Charleston Single House, 1780-1820," in, *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, Vol. 7, Exploring Everyday Landscapes* (1997), 41-57, esp. 53; According to one scholar the houses may not have had significant meaning to the enslaved community, see Dell Upton, *Slave Housing in Eighteenth Century Virginia*. Report submitted to the Department of Social and Cultural History, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (1982), 50.

⁶² James Oakes, *The Ruling Race*, 190.

⁶³ Susan Denyer, *African Traditional Architecture: An Historical and Geographical Perspective* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1978), 56, 96, 138, 163-165; Abimbola O. Asojo, "Traditional African Architecture and Its Impact on Place Making: Case Studies from American and African-American Communities," in *Places of Cultural Memory: African Reflections on the American Landscape* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2001), 130.

⁶⁴ Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," and "Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape," 72-73; Epperson, "Constructing Difference," 159-172.

⁶⁵ Mark Leone and Gladys-Marie Fry, "Conjuring in the Big House Kitchen: An Interpretation of African-American Belief Systems Based on the Uses of Archeology and Folklore Sources," *Journal of American Folklore* 112 (Summer 1999) : 372-403; Timothy Ruppel, Jessica Newirth, Mark Leone, Gladys-Marie Fry, "Hidden in View: African Spiritual Spaces in North American Landscapes" *Antiquity* 77, no. 296 (2003): 321-335; Mechal Sobel *The World They Made Together*, 72; Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 368; Terry Weik, "The Archaeology of Maroon Societies in the Americas: Resistance, Cultural Continuity and Transformation in the African Diaspora," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1997) : 82, 81-92; Vlach, *Back of The Big House*, 146.

⁶⁶ Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1982), 6.

⁶⁷ Anthony Kaye, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 162.

⁶⁸ Bender, *Community and Social Change in America*, 7-8.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 103.

⁷⁰ Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 327-364.

⁷¹ Brian W. Thomas, "Community Among Enslaved African-Americans on the Hermitage Plantation, 1820s-1850s" (Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1995).

⁷² Slater, and Birch, *Fairvue, the Isaac Franklin Plantation*, 4.

⁷³ Carol McDavid, Carl Steen, Histarch-L, electronic communication April 18 and 19, 2012.

⁷⁴ Anita S. Goodstein, "Black History on the Nashville Frontier, 1780-1810," in *Trial and Triumph, Essays in Tennessee's African-American History*, ed. Carroll Van West (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 4,5.

⁷⁵ Patricia Samford, "'Buildings So Numerous as to Seem a Village': Housing North Carolina's Enslaved Peoples During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Centuries," paper presented at Society for Historical Archaeology Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, January 1998.

⁷⁶ Thomas Holt, "From Slavery to Freedom and the Conceptualization of African-American History," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 85, no.1/2 (Winter-Spring, 2000), 22- 26, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2649096>, Accessed: 06/11/2011.

⁷⁷ Antoinette T. Jackson, "The Kingsley Plantation Community in Jacksonville, Florida: Memory and Place in a Southern American City," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* (Winter 2009), 23-33; Antoinette T. Jackson, *Speaking for the Enslaved: Heritage Interpretation at Antebellum Plantation Sites* (Walnut Creek, Ca: Left Coast Press, 2012).

⁷⁸ Loren Schweninger, ed. *From Tennessee Slave to St. Louis Entrepreneur: The Autobiography of James Thomas* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 63. Thomas noted how drafty and cold some slave houses around Nashville could be.

⁷⁹ Larry McKee, "The Earth Is Their Witness," *The Sciences* (March/April 1995), 40.

⁸⁰ Kate Carney diary; entry for July 21, 1862, Manuscripts Department, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁸¹ Kate Carney diary; entry for July 21, 1862.

⁸² Gary Edwards, "Slaves and Masters in Antebellum Madison County," in *Trial and Triumph, Essays in Tennessee's African-American History*, ed. Carroll Van West (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 79-92, esp. 90.

⁸³ Egypt, *Unwritten History*; Kate Carney Diary, Belle Edmundson Diary, Kimberley family papers, University of North Carolina Southern History Collection.

⁸⁴ For a discussion on this debate see Maria Franklin, and Larry McKee "African Diaspora Archaeologies: Present Insights and Expanding Discourses" in *Historical Archaeology* vol. 38 (1) 2004, pp.1-9.

⁸⁵ Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Jennifer Eichstedt and Stephen Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002).

⁸⁶ Eichstedt and Small, *Representations of Slavery*.

⁸⁷ This interpretation is based on my own admittedly unsystematic analysis of tours given at a number of the public sites across Tennessee. It must be noted that the tours took place in 2001 and 2002 and the tours may have changed since that time.

⁸⁸ David Blight, "If You Don't Tell It Like It Was, It Can Never Be as It ought To Be," in *Slavery and Public History: the Tough Stuff of American Memory*, eds. James. O Horton and Luis E. Horton, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 24-25; James O. Horton, "Slavery in American History: An Uncomfortable National Dialogue," in *Slavery and Public History: the Tough Stuff of American Memory*, eds. James. O Horton and Luis E. Horton, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 36-37.

⁸⁹ Edward Michael McCormack, *Slavery on the Tennessee Frontier*, (Nashville: Tennessee American Revolution Commission, 1977), 10; Kevin Smith and Michael Strutt, "Research in African-American Community Life in Tennessee: A Beginning Synthesis," Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archeology Conference, Long Beach California, 2001 : 9.

⁹⁰ This is not to say that someone who lived in a small town and had no more than an unheated outbuilding for shelter did not enjoy the relationships and love important to having a fulfilling life, but that being allotted no more than a shed does not give one the opportunity to relax in the warmth of a secure space called home.

⁹¹ Charles S. White, and Kathleen A. Hunter, *Teaching with Historic Places: A Curriculum Framework* (Washington, D.C.: The National Park Service and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1995), 1.

⁹² Dwight Pitcaithley, “‘A Cosmic Threat’: The National Park Service Addresses the Causes of the American Civil War,” in *Slavery and Public History: the Tough Stuff of American Memory*, eds. James O Horton and Luis E. Horton, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 152-168; Blight ,“If You Don’t Tell It Like It Was” 25-26.

⁹³ Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation*, (New York: Routledge Press, 2009).

⁹⁴ The information is taken from a transcription of the 1850 census on a Tennessee genealogy web page,
<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~tnlauder/1850slaveindex.htm>, accessed April 25, 2012.

⁹⁵ In the summer of 2001 the owners rehabilitated the slave house with the installation of a bathroom and bedrooms to be a rental unit for the bed and breakfast.

⁹⁶ An excellent example of a regional study is George McDaniel, *Hearth and Home: Preserving a People's Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); other examples of slave housing studies include: Margot Winer, A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Slave Housing in Prince Georges County, Virginia (Undergraduate Honors Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of California Berkeley, as cited in McKee, "The Ideals and Realities Behind the Design and Use of 19th Century Virginia Slave Cabins"; Bernard Herman, "Slave Quarters in Virginia: The Persona Behind Historic Artifacts," in *The Scope of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of John L. Cotter*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Occasional Publication of the Department of Anthropology, 1984) : 253-284; Brian Lijewski, "The Architecture of Slavery: Cultural Identifiers in African-American Housing," (Independent study paper, University of Illinois, 1995), mss. in author's files.

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