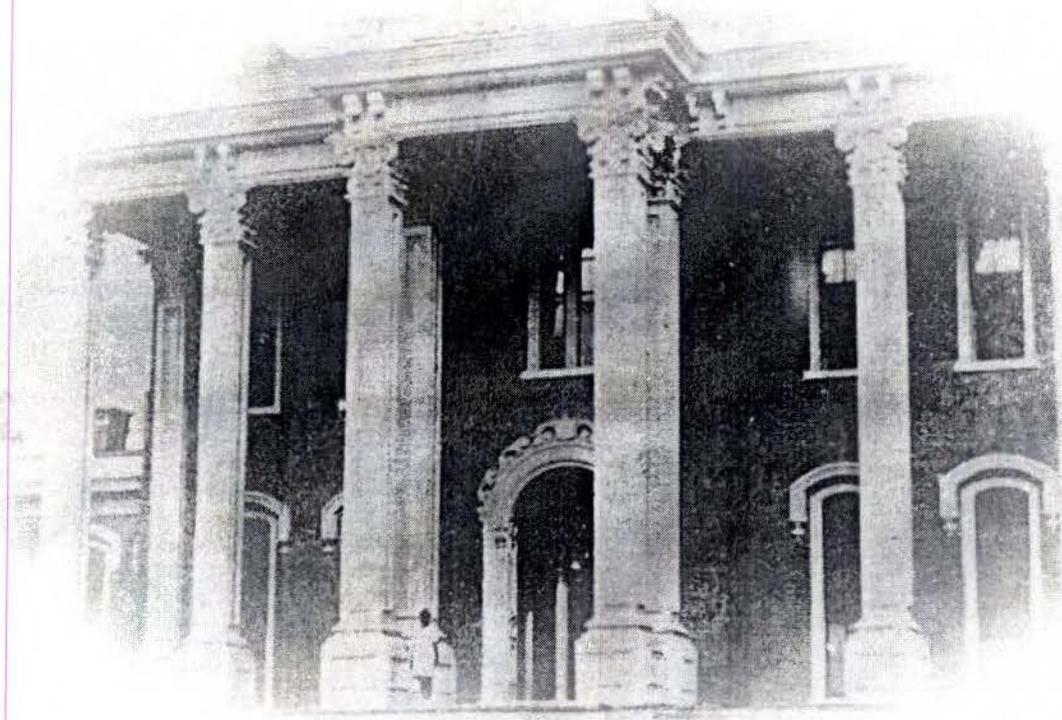


PHASE II ARCHIVAL INVESTIGATIONS OF
40RD222 AND 40WM178,
840 HIGHWAY CORRIDOR
RUTHERFORD AND WILLIAMSON COUNTIES,
TENNESSEE



BROCKINGTON AND ASSOCIATES, INC.

ATLANTA CHARLESTON

1996

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**PHASE II ARCHIVAL INVESTIGATIONS OF 40RD222 AND 40WM178,
840 HIGHWAY CORRIDOR,
RUTHERFORD AND WILLIAMSON COUNTIES, TENNESSEE**

PREPARED FOR:

The Tennessee Department of Transportation
Environmental Planning and Permits Division
James K. Polk Building, Suite 900
Nashville, Tennessee 37243

IN COORDINATION WITH:

The U.S. Department of Transportation
Federal Highway Administration
and
DeLeuw, Cather & Company
Memphis, Tennessee

UNDER:

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BY:

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Norcross, Georgia

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**TENNESSEE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
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ABSTRACT

This project was conducted for the Tennessee Department of Transportation (TDOT) and DeLeuw, Cather & Company with TDOT as the lead agency. Archival investigations for two archaeological sites were performed by Brockington and Associates, Inc. in conjunction with the proposed 840 Highway Corridor in Rutherford and Williamson Counties, Tennessee.

Phase II archival documentation was conducted for Sites 40RD222 and 40WM178 during April and May 1996. These studies were to determine the significance of each site relative to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Background research focused on development of detailed ownership and land use histories of each site and compilation of a relevant historical context. Goals and objectives of the project also included formulation of recommendations for appropriate archaeological investigations if one or both sites were recommended eligible for the NRHP.

Site 40RD222 appears to represent middle to late nineteenth century occupation and specialized site use of an undetermined nature. This site includes numerous stacked and piled limestone features, some apparently marking property lines. Function of a majority of these features could not be determined through Phase II archival research. Due to the unique character of the rock features, 40RD222 is recommended potentially eligible for the NRHP, and Phase II archaeological evaluation is recommended.

Site 40WM178 (Westview Plantation) is a Middle Tennessee plantation, established in 1805 and occupied through the middle twentieth century. The site exhibits preserved standing structures, structural ruins, and subsurface features reflective of the entire range of occupation periods. Site 40WM178 is recommended eligible for the NRHP under Criterion C, at the local level of significance. Proposed highway construction will have an adverse effect on 40WM178, and mitigation of this effect through appropriate data recovery investigations is recommended.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report is the result of the combined efforts of a number of individuals. Project research, data analysis, and report preparation was funded by the Tennessee Department of Transportation (TDOT), through a contract with DeLeuw, Cather & Company, Memphis, Tennessee. The Principal Investigator wishes to express his thanks for technical assistance and advice from Gerald Kline, Gary Barker and Jim Moore (TDOT; Environmental Planning Office), and from Ed Cain, Jr. (DeLeuw, Cather & Company).

The cooperative relationship between archaeologists at TDOT and the Tennessee Division of Archaeology (TDOA) allowed the report authors flexibility in research and consultation. Sam Smith, Historic Sites Archaeologist with TDOA, offered invaluable insight into nineteenth century Middle Tennessee settlement and participated in on-site examination of the project sites. Don Merritt, Nick Fielder and Parris Stripling offered a variety of interpretations for the rock features at 40RD222.

Several individuals provided details on genealogy and local history, and recommended supplemental sources of data. Mrs. Louise G. Lynch (Williamson County Preservation of Records, Franklin) shared her knowledge of local records sources and possible informants. Sincerest gratitude goes to Mrs. Virginia Bowman, Williamson County Historian and author of *Historic Williamson County: Old Homes and Sites* (1971). Mrs. Bowman graciously shared results of historical and genealogical research for her upcoming book. Research associates and librarians at the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Williamson County Preservation of Records, Williamson County Library (Franklin), and Linebaugh Library (Murfreesboro) located relevant books, papers, and maps. Clerks at the Rutherford County Register of Deeds Office (Murfreesboro) were particularly helpful in locating deeds of trust and will records.

The staff at Brockington and Associates, Inc. (Atlanta) contributed support in report production. Marian Roberts researched and developed the historical context. The research designs and recommendations for archaeological investigations at these sites were developed in consultation with Paul Brockington, who also provided editorial assistance. Graphics were produced by David Diener. Report production was supervised by Alison Sluss.

Caroline Albright-Simpson, publications manager under contract with Parsons Engineering Science, Inc., completed the final editing of the report for TDOT in 2003 prior to state publication.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report documents Phase II archival and informant documentation conducted on Archaeological Sites 40RD222 and 40WM178 by Brockington and Associates, Inc. during April and May 1996. Jeffrey W. Gardner conducted archival research and informant interviews. These investigations were conducted for the Tennessee Department of Transportation under a subcontract with DeLeuw, Cather & Company (Memphis, Tennessee). All project related research materials will be curated at the Tennessee Division of Archaeology (5103 Edmondson Pike, Nashville, Tennessee, 37211-5129) following final report submittal.

Sites 40RD222 and 40WM178 were originally recorded between August 1995 and January 1996, during Phase I archaeological survey of a segment of the proposed Highway 840-south corridor. These sites are located near the Rutherford-Williamson county line, approximately midway between Murfreesboro and Franklin (Figure 1). Barker (1996) stated that 40RD222 and 40WM178 represent potentially significant cultural resources, and recommended Phase II investigations to determine National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility. Phase II archival studies were conducted in compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (1966, and as amended), 36 CFR 60.4, and Tennessee Public Law #699, and in consultation with the Environmental Planning Office, Tennessee Department of Transportation.

Current State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) guidelines state that Phase II investigations should result in "recommendations concerning the eligibility of the site to the NRHP" (Herbert L. Harper and Nick Fielder Memorandum, 5 May 1995). Archival and informant research focused on development of detailed ownership and land use histories of each site and compilation of a relevant historical context. This historical context provided background against which NRHP eligibility was assessed. Goals and objectives of the project, as stated in the Request for Proposals (RFP), also included formulation of recommendations for appropriate archaeological investigations if one or both sites were recommended eligible for the NRHP.

Methods of information retrieval, data analysis, and NRHP evaluation utilized during the Phase II archival investigations are described in Chapter II. Chapter III of this report provides a brief summary of the natural environment of the project area. Chapter IV is a cultural context developed for Archaeological Sites 40RD222 and 40WM178, focusing on historic period settlement, economy, and transportation in Middle Tennessee. Chapter V includes summaries of previous investigations at these sites and detailed property histories. Chapter VI summarizes Phase II archival and informant research, provides NRHP site evaluations, and discusses recommendations for additional archaeological investigations.

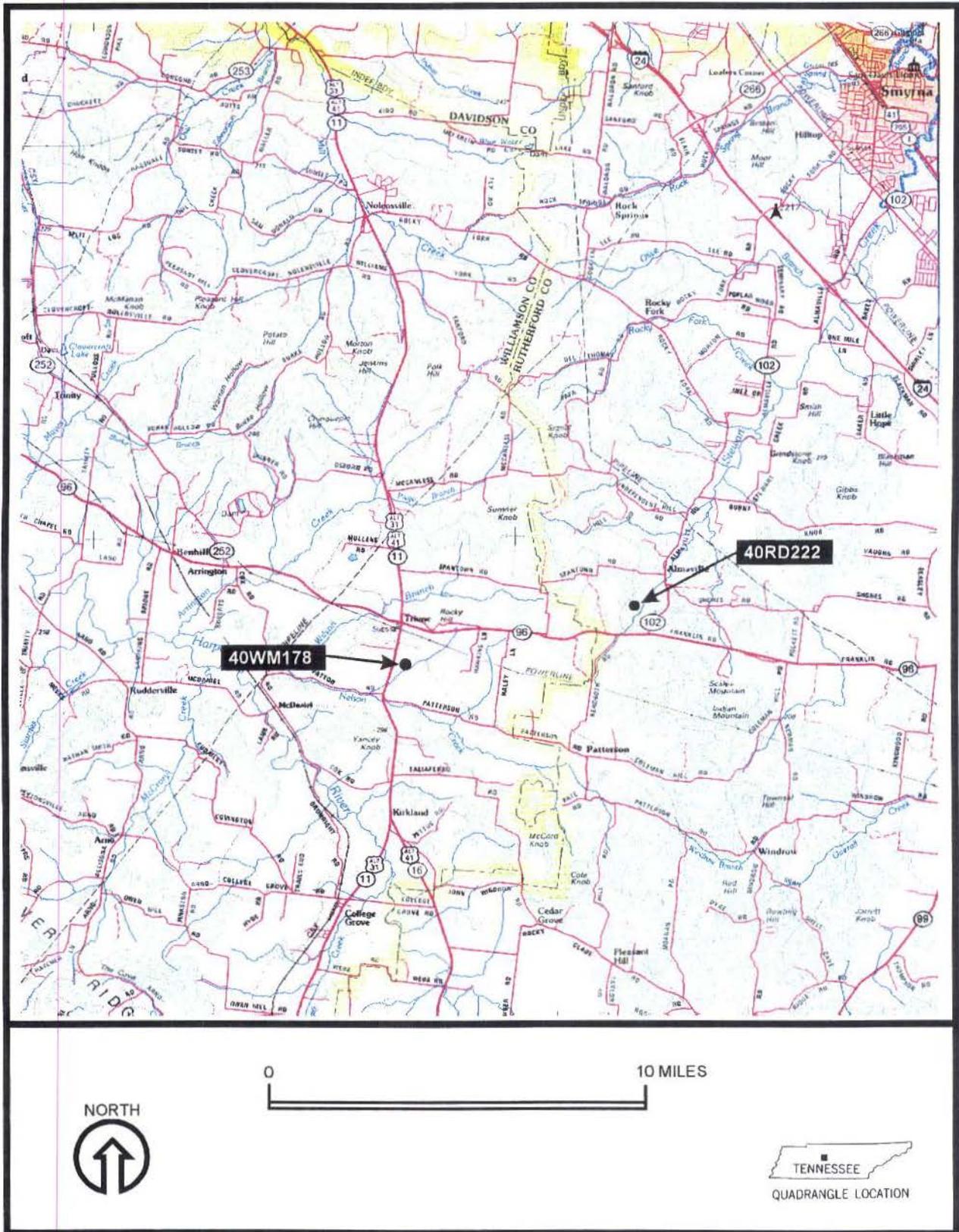


Figure 1. Locations of 40RD222 and 40WM178 (Tennessee Atlas and Gazetteer 1995).

II. RESEARCH AND EVALUATION METHODS

BACKGROUND RESEARCH

Previously compiled background research from Phase I investigations at 40RD222 and 40WM178 provided an excellent starting point for Phase II studies. Archival research began with recovery of all relevant previous site documentation. State site forms and the report of Phase I reconnaissance conducted by the Environmental Planning Office, Tennessee Department of Transportation (TDOT) (Barker 1996) was acquired and reviewed. Phase II background research also included consultation with Gary Barker, the author of the Phase I report, to elicit his views and observations concerning content, configuration, and condition of each site, to examine site photographs not included in the Phase I report, and to identify possible local informants.

Property history research and context development involved examination of primary and secondary documents at several state and local repositories. Research began at the Tennessee State Library and Archives (TSLA) where county land records (deeds and plats), legal documents (wills, probate), historic tax lists, historic maps, census records, and county histories were examined. County records not found on microfilm at TSLA were examined at county courthouses (Murfreesboro and Franklin) and local archival facilities (Linebaugh Library in Murfreesboro; Williamson Preservation of Records and Williamson County Library, Franklin).

Local and regional archaeological data was reviewed at the site and report files, Tennessee Division of Archaeology (TDOA). Records of previous archaeological investigations in the vicinity of these sites were also examined for discussions and interpretation of similar site configurations and features. Staff archaeologists at TDOA were consulted regarding their experience with historic plantations and stone features.

Local-level research included visits to each of the sites and attempts to identify knowledgeable informants. During site visits with TDOT personnel and staff members of TDOA, detailed notes were made recording informant recollections and interpretations, current site conditions, and observations supplementing site form/report data. Photographs were taken of a sample of the visible surface and subsurface features. Results of site visits are summarized in Chapter V. Attempts were made to identify and contact knowledgeable informants, particularly relative to 40RD222. Williamson County historians (Virginia M. Bowman and Louise G. Lynch) provided relevant information on 40WM178. No informants were identified for 40RD222.

DATA ANALYSIS AND REPORT PRODUCTION

Research data was returned to the Atlanta offices of Brockington and Associates, Inc., for analysis, interpretation, and report production. Primary data analyses consisted of: development of complete chains-of-title for each of the site areas; property boundary delineation, utilizing metes and bounds found in deed records; and transfer of property boundaries to standardized maps (USGS quad sheets). Data reporting followed guidelines defined in *Tennessee SHPO Standards and Guidelines For Archaeological Resource Management Studies* (July 1995).

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES EVALUATION

To be considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), an archaeological site must be shown to be significant under one or more of four basic criteria for evaluation (36 CFR 60.6, Criteria for Evaluation; NPS 1991:2). Properties may be eligible for the NRHP if:

- A. they are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. they are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguished entity whose components may lack individual distinction.
- D. they have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Archaeological sites are generally evaluated relative to Criterion D; however, some sites, particularly those representing historic period occupation or use, can be considered eligible if they can be shown to be "associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of [American] history" (Criterion A), or are found to be "associated with the lives of persons significant in [America's] past" (Criterion B).

It is extremely difficult to develop a completely objective set of attributes which define NRHP-eligible archaeological sites. Recent interpretation of published guidelines indicate that sites should be evaluated based on their ability to contribute to our "theoretical and substantive knowledge" (Butler 1987:821-26). Regardless of exact terminology, there is consensus among cultural resource managers in the private and public sectors that each site type must be evaluated with full awareness of regional research needs, and relative to similar sites in the region.

According to the U.S. Department of the Interior's guidelines for applying the National Register criteria (NPS 1991:21), the key to applying Criterion D to archaeological sites is in determining the "information potential" of the cultural property. In order for an archaeological site to be considered eligible for the NRHP under Criterion D, the site

- (1) must have, or have had, information to contribute to our understanding of human history or prehistory, and
- (2) the information must be considered important (NPS 1991:21).

The first of these requirements can be defined as research potential. The NPS provides clarification for this statement by adding that a site should be considered eligible for the NRHP if that site

has been used as a source of data *and* contains more, as yet unretrieved data (NPS 1991:21; emphasis added)

There has been much comment on the applicability of various approaches to determining research potential (Butler 1987). For example, the attributes suggested by Glassow (1977) have received mixed reviews. Glassow's intent in delineating integrity, clarity, artifact frequency, and artifact diversity as key attributes, was to eliminate (to some extent) subjectiveness in the evaluation process. However, when a site is recommended as ineligible for the NRHP solely because it scores low for one of Glassow's attributes (e.g., the site is disturbed), his approach has been misunderstood. That is, when these site attributes are evaluated without considering the regional database and future research needs (i.e., without considering the site's potential to contribute to theoretical and substantive knowledge [Butler 1987]), the approach has been abused. The crux of Glassow's arguments, as interpreted here, is that research potential within a given site type will be related to the individual site's relative integrity, clarity, artifact frequency, and artifact diversity.

Site 40RD222 and 40WM178 were evaluated within local and regional historic contexts (see Chapters IV and V). This evaluation was balanced through application of Glassow's attributes (Glassow 1977), to provide an assessment of each site's potential to address regional research. That is, a site's *potential to contribute to local or regional research* determined that site's NRHP eligibility. This research potential was evaluated by determining the presence and assessing the condition of specific data sets, or research realms, at each site. A set of research realms for historic sites, has been compiled which represents current baseline research needs for Middle Tennessee (Table 1). The ability of each site to provide meaningful data for addressing the research realm was evaluated. By this approach, the concerns of both Butler (1987) -- that decisions be made relative to regional research needs -- and of Glassow (1977) -- that the content and physical condition of the site be considered, were addressed.

The potential for each site to contribute to each of the research realms was considered. Neither site was expected to have the potential to address all of these realms; but if a site lacked the potential to address any of the realms, then ineligibility was clear. Furthermore, each site's potential to address specific research realms was evaluated relative to other examples of that site type. Both 40RD222 and 40WM178 are considered to be historic period occupations; however, physical remains and background research indicate that 40WM178 is the center of an extensive, upper class plantation, while 40RD222 represents a much less auspicious, probably agricultural occupation.

Table 1. Research Realms as Eligibility Guides, Historic Sites.

RESEARCH REALMS, EURO/AFRICAN AMERICAN

Plant diet
Faunal diet
Husbandry/subsistence/economy

Intrasite settlement
Structure form and proxemics
Activity areas

Burial ritual
Osteological characterization
Ethnic relationships
General health
Osteological diet study

Ceramic assemblage
Vessel form analysis
Class, status, and ethnic indicators
Assemblage variation/site function
Feature analysis/site function

Extraction technology (mineral, timber, clay)
Production technology (pottery, brick, gold, lumber, leather)
Water-powered processing technology
Worker's lifeways

Military defenses
Military strategy
Conflict reconstruction
Military lifeways

Site occupants determinable

Each site's potential to provide data for research realms was evaluated explicitly as *research potential beyond the present archival background research*. For example, every site with culturally or temporally diagnostic material has the potential to contribute to the reconstruction of settlement patterns through time. However, in many cases, this potential can be realized through recognition and detailed documentation at the survey level of investigation.

III. ENVIRONMENTAL OVERVIEW

LOCATION

Archaeological Sites 40RD222 and 40WM178 are located in the Interior Low Plateau physiographic province, in the Middle Tennessee counties of Rutherford and Williamson (see Figure 1). Site 40RD222 is located approximately 1,000 meters (0.6 miles) southwest of the intersection of State Route 102 and Spanntown Road (Almaville), in west central Rutherford County. Site 40WM178 is located in west central Williamson County, on the east side of Nolensville Road (US Alt Route 31/State Route 11), approximately 1.2 kilometers (0.75 miles) south of State Route 96, at Triune.

GEOLOGY, PHYSIOGRAPHY, AND HYDROLOGY

Sites 40RD222 and 40WM178 fall within a geomorphic subdivision referred to as the Central Basin. The Central Basin is an elliptical depression measuring approximately 125 miles (north-south) by 60 miles (east-west) and is delimited on the east, south, and west by the Highland Rim and on the north by the Mississippian Plateaus (Fenneman 1938:431). The Central Basin was formed during the Paleozoic Epoch, when Silurian and Devonian bedrock of an uplifted area known as the Nashville Dome eroded and deeper limestone formations dissolved (Wilson 1935:464-467). Bedrock of the Central Basin consists primarily of Ordovician limestone, dolomite and shale. Sinkholes are relatively common (Crawford 1987).

The Central Basin averages 150 meters (approximately 490 feet) in depth below the surrounding Highland Rim and exhibits a wide variety of topography, including rugged to gently rolling hills, wide stream valleys, and flat glades (Hershey and Maher 1963:57). Prominent hills consist of Mississippian formations capped with siliceous rocks.

Pittard (1984:4) describes an abundance of rocks in Rutherford County, "suitable for making roads and cement, and for the liming of the soil," and calls good soil and rocks (i.e., limestone) the "two most valuable natural assets of the county." Limestone was used extensively in road building. Local accounts describe "men who lived on the road [Franklin-Murfreesboro Pike] maintaining it by gathering rocks with their wagons and teams and hauling them to the road." According to Pittard (1984:5), areas of bare rock, called glades, are divided into two types: (1) red-cedar glades where only cedars and prickly pears will grow; and (2) massive rock glades where sufficient soil has been deposited between the rocks to accommodate the growth of hardwood trees. Based on these descriptions, 40RD222 is located in an area of massive rock glade.

Both sites are in the Cumberland River drainage. Site 40RD222 is located near an unnamed tributary of north-flowing Stewart's Creek. Stewart's Creek enters Stone's River (now

J. Percy Priest Lake) near Smyrna, and Stones River flows into the Cumberland River at Neeley's Bend. Site 40WM178 is located northwest of an unnamed tributary of Nelson Creek, a branch of Harpeth River. Harpeth River flows northwest, around the north side of Franklin, and enters the Cumberland River at Cheatham Lake.

SOILS

Soils in the Central Basin are described as "highly fertile" (Corlew 1993:11) and have been compared to the Blue Grass region of Kentucky. Goodspeed (1988a:810) describes Rutherford County soils as "exceedingly fertile, being either of a black or brownish red color." Goodspeed (1988a:810), writing in 1886, indicates that "there are many places where the ground is apparently covered in stone," and discusses late nineteenth century efforts toward soil conservation:

Fields that have been cultivated for nearly a century, and are apparently worn out by the cultivation of corn and cotton, are soon reclaimed, by a few years' growth of red clover, or by seeding in the blue-grass make excellent grazing lands.

In Williamson County, Goodspeed (1988b:787) notes the presence of limestone "a short distance beneath the surface," but describes the soil along streams as "rich, black loam, capable of supporting a luxuriant growth of all the cereals known to the temperate climate, as well as other vegetable products."

Soil type and depth are particularly relevant to interpretation of 40RD222. The soil association for this site -- Rock outcrop-Talbott-Barfield -- is described as well-drained, nearly level to moderately steep soils with clayey subsoil among limestone outcrops (USDA/SCS 1976). The primary soil type at 40RD222 is Gladeville-Rock outcrop, located in glady land, with clayey soils and outcrops of bouldery limestone. Gladeville soils are considered to be shallow and well-drained, "formed in residuum derived from thin-bedded flaggy limestone" (USDA/SCS 1976:31). This limestone (thin flags, 2 to 10 inches long) are overlain by three to twelve inches of clayey soil (dark grayish brown flaggy silty clay loam over dark yellowish-brown flaggy clay). The limestone is "commonly scattered over the surface and throughout the soil."

PAST AND PRESENT VEGETATION AND FAUNA

Vegetation maps place the Central Basin within the Western Mesophytic Forest region (Braun 1974). Braun (1974) and DeSelm (1976) have described the current and native vegetation of the Central Basin. Bottomlands of larger streams were once within a mixed deciduous and wetland forest, including cottonwood, maple, sycamore, and willow. Goodspeed (1988b:787) describes early settler observations of "heavy forest trees or a rank growth of cane." Extensive canebreaks were present in low-lying areas. Slopes and terraces exhibited elm, hackberry, and

hickory, while upland areas supported beech, chestnut, hickory, oak, and tulip tree. Areas of shallow soils overlaying limestone supported cedar glades, with grasses, small oaks, red cedar, and shrubs prevalent.

Dice (1943) places the Central Basin within the Carolinian Biotic Province and indicates that this region once supported an abundant and diverse faunal population. Predominant mammalian species included white-tailed deer, elk, black bear, grey wolf, mountain lion, bobcat, fox, beaver, raccoon, porcupine, woodchuck, opossum, otter, mink, muskrat, weasel, skunk, rabbit, and gray squirrel. Avifauna currently or formerly present in the Central Basin include eagle, hawk, heron, owl, goose, mallard, loon, cormorant, grebe, turkey, quail, teal, and passenger pigeon. A variety of reptiles and amphibians, including snakes, turtles, frogs and toads were (and are) also present. Several varieties of freshwater mussels and snails could be recovered from area waterways. Fish found in local streams included drum, alligator gar, catfish, buffalo, bass, sunfish, sucker, chub, and pickerel.

IV. REGIONAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The following overview of Middle Tennessee history, focusing on Williamson and Rutherford counties, provides an historical context for evaluation of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility of 40RD222 and 40WM178. This context emphasizes aspects of Middle Tennessee settlement, economy, and transportation from initial Euroamerican settlement in the late eighteenth century through the middle twentieth century. Available Rutherford and Williamson county history references (Bowman 1971; Goodspeed 1988a, 1988b; Jordan 1935, 1986) were critical in compiling and interpreting local trends.

NRHP evaluation of historic period sites has not been specifically addressed in Tennessee's current comprehensive archaeological plan (Tennessee Division of Archaeology 1987). In recent discussions, Tennessee Division of Archaeology staff members (George F. Fielder and Samuel Smith, personal communication 1996) indicated that historic period sites should be evaluated on a case by case basis, using relevant historical contexts and established site integrity to determine the potential for specific archaeological sites to "yield important information about ... history" (NRHP Criterion D; NPS 1991:2). As indicated in Chapter II, under certain circumstances archaeological sites might also be eligible for the NRHP under Criteria A or B.

EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION

The earliest recorded European travels into Tennessee did not immediately lead to settlement. According to Corlew (1993) and others (e.g., Dykeman 1993), Hernando de Soto, the Spanish explorer, was the first European to visit Tennessee. Corlew (1993:25-26) states that de Soto arrived at the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River in North Carolina by 1540, and passed from there by an Indian trail to a place on the Tennessee River north of present-day Chattanooga. He left Tennessee soon afterward and traveled through northern Alabama and Mississippi, possibly visiting present-day Memphis, prior to his death in 1542. Twenty four years later, de Soto was followed by Juan Pardo. Like de Soto, Pardo encountered Native Americans, but sought only dominance and wealth.

In 1673, Louis Joliet, a French fur trader from Quebec, and Jacques Marquette, a Catholic missionary, were probably the first Frenchmen to visit Tennessee. These Frenchmen journeyed down the Mississippi River, focusing on establishment of fur trade and bringing religion to the Native Americans. At the same time that Joliet and Marquette were exploring the Mississippi River, two Englishmen (James Needham and Gabriel Arthur) crossed the Allegheny Mountains into the Overhill Cherokee settlements of western North Carolina and Tennessee. The Englishmen had been sent to explore the area by Abraham Wood, operator of a trading post in the backwoods of Virginia. Needham was killed, but Arthur returned with news of abundant resources and Native Americans willing to begin trade (Corlew 1993:27).

As indicated above, traders were among the earliest Europeans to arrive in the study area. Dykeman (1993:32) states that the traders formed "a necessary link between the Indian nations, the colonial governments, and the London merchants." At the beginning of organized English trade networks, each trader was allowed to serve two Native American towns. A trader usually lived at one of the two towns with a Native American wife and their children. A trader would buy goods in Charleston then transport them by packhorse to his trading posts.

During the late seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth century, the English dominated trade in East Tennessee, while the French held sway in Middle and West Tennessee. The English established trading relationships with the Cherokee and the Chickasaw, while the French, operating from Louisiana, traded with the Creek, the Choctaw, and the Shawnee (Corlew 1993). The earliest traders to arrive in Middle Tennessee were Frenchmen. Martin Chartier married a Shawnee woman and built a home on the Cumberland River, near the present site of Nashville, in 1692 (Corlew 1993:28). Jean de Charleville operated a fur trading post with the Shawnee in the same area, then known as French Lick, until 1714.

Beginning in the late seventeenth century and continuing through the middle eighteenth century, a series of wars was fought between the English and the French for control of North America. The last of these -- the French and Indian War (1754-1763) -- directly impacted the study area as it finally established English control over lands west of the Appalachian Mountains (Corlew 1993). During the French and Indian War, the Choctaw, Creek, and Shawnee allied with the French, while the Chickasaw supported the English. The Cherokee initially sided with the English, but in 1759, after a series of slights and misunderstandings, warfare broke out between these groups. Hostilities led to the 1760 surrender of Fort Loudoun to the Cherokee (and subsequent massacre of many of the fort's soldiers) and to the destruction of Middle and Valley Cherokee Towns by English troops. A treaty was signed in 1761, ending open warfare between the English and the Cherokee and allowing the English to focus on the war with France in the backcountry. The 1763 Treaty of Paris officially established English control from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi River.

EARLY SETTLEMENT

Settlers began moving across the Appalachian Mountains into East Tennessee following the 1763 Treaty of Paris. Initial settlement of East Tennessee occurred about 1769, when this area served as the western frontier of North Carolina. At the same time, West Tennessee was settled by people moving up the Mississippi River from Louisiana, or down the Mississippi from the Midwest. Early settlers were often guided by the "Long Hunters," adventurous men who went alone or in small groups into the wilderness to trap, hunt, and trade with the Native Americans. They seldom built permanent homes or brought their families into the area. The Long Hunters aided the settlers as guides, and many of them later became settlers themselves along the western frontier in Tennessee and Kentucky.

Early East Tennessee settlements were made on the Holston, Watauga, and Nolichucky rivers. Initially, settlers in those areas did not own the land, but merely leased it from the Cherokee. In 1775, the Transylvania Company, a group of land speculators led by Judge Richard Henderson of North Carolina, purchased approximately 20 million acres from the Cherokee. This purchase included a large portion of present Kentucky and Tennessee, primarily the lands drained by the Cumberland River and all of its tributaries (Corlew 1993:50; Dykeman 1993:43).

Virginia nullified claims of the Transylvania Company to lands above the North Carolina-Virginia line (present Kentucky) in 1778. Soon thereafter, Judge Henderson began efforts to settle to the south of this line, near the old Cumberland River settlement called French Lick. Henderson hired a party of surveyors, headed by James Robertson, to explore the area. In 1779, Robertson traveled overland with a large party of settlers and their livestock to French Lick. In April 1780, after a five month flatboat journey, another group arrived, led by John Donelson. At the urging of Judge Henderson, the settlement at French Lick was renamed Nashborough, after General Francis Nash, a former clerk of Henderson's who had been killed three years earlier at the Battle of Germantown (Corlew 1993:53).

The settlements along the Cumberland River were originally within North Carolina's Washington County. Separated from the Watauga settlements by 200 miles of wilderness, and 600 miles from the North Carolina capitol, the Cumberland settlers established a temporary government, codified as the Cumberland Compact (Corlew 1993:53; Folmsbee et al. 1969:76-77). This document named judges, established courts, and defined judicial and legislative powers. A militia was formed to enforce the laws and to protect the settlement.

Attacks by Native Americans were a constant threat during the early years of settlement at Nashborough. James Robertson eventually negotiated a peace with the Choctaws (Dykeman 1993:62-63), but through the early 1780s, the Cumberland settlers were under almost constant attack by the Creek, and by the Chickamaugas, led by the Cherokee, Dragging Canoe. Despite these conflicts, the settlement survived and prospered. The Cumberland government remained in effect until 1783, when its leaders petitioned North Carolina for official recognition. The North Carolina legislature responded by renaming the area Davidson County (Corlew 1993:55). James Robertson became the county's first representative to the state legislature (Dykeman 1993:64). In 1784, the county seat was renamed Nashville.

Settlement of the Cumberland Country increased dramatically after the American Revolution. After 1783, land was granted by the state of North Carolina to veterans in payment for service. Revolutionary War land warrants, ranging in size from a few hundred acres to several thousand, were granted in north central Tennessee (including the study area), in a tract measuring 55 miles wide and more than 100 miles long (Corlew 1993:155). While land warrants were for a specified acreage (640 acres), no location was defined; therefore, it was easy to consolidate several warrants into a single tract. The single consideration was that warrants could not include land on which someone was already settled. Continued population growth led to the establishment of two new counties out of Davidson (Sumner and Tennessee). Early land grants

in present Rutherford and Williamson counties (i.e., before 1800) were initially in Davidson County.

Land along the Harpeth and Stones rivers and their tributaries was among the earliest property granted in Middle Tennessee. Prior to 1785, Major John Nelson received a grant in what would become the 18th District of Williamson County; Nelson Creek was named for him (Jordan 1986:71). John Nelson's brother, Alexander, purchased portions of earlier grants in this area in the 1790s and sold them to prospective settlers. Settlement along the lower portion of Stewarts Creek, a tributary of Stones River, began in 1795 (Pittard 1984:14). Movement up Stewarts Creek to its headwaters (in the vicinity of 40RD222) did not occur until after 1800 (Heritage Committee of Almadale 1985:5).

The few overland routes existing into and through the Cumberland settlements during the late eighteenth century were the old Native American paths that had been used for centuries. The Wilderness Road, blazed by Daniel Boone across the mountains into Kentucky in 1775, was later widened to a wagon road. In 1788, the North Carolina Road (or Avery's Road) was cut from near Knoxville through the wilderness to Nashborough. This meant that settlers no longer had to go through Kentucky to reach Middle Tennessee.

Soon after the American Revolution, dissatisfaction developed among the settlers of the western territories over isolation from the central government. Alexander McGillvray, with the support of Spanish settlements in Louisiana and Florida, had united the Chickamaugas and the Creek against the American settlers. In addition, economic development (based primarily on agricultural production) had slowed because transport of agricultural produce to markets downstream (i.e., the lower Mississippi) was controlled by the Spanish. Faced with the prospect of overland transport to eastern markets, leaders in the Cumberland settlements began negotiations with the Spanish, hoping to end Indian raids and to gain the right to navigate the Mississippi River.

STATEHOOD AND EARLY ECONOMY

Rumors of increased Spanish presence in the western territories helped to convince North Carolina to ratify the new United States Constitution, and to cede its land west of the Appalachian Mountains to the United States (Corlew 1993:57). In 1789, the Tennessee country became the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio (Dykeman 1993:64; Ridge and Billington 1969:203, 206). William Blount was appointed governor of the new territory in 1790. Following establishment of a legislature in 1794, the territorial government began immediate discussions on attaining statehood. A census was made and a poll taken on the question of statehood in 1795. Despite opposition from the western counties (fearing governance by the distant eastern counties), a constitution was developed and a petition for statehood was presented to Congress in 1796 (Corlew 1993:98). After much political debate,

Congress approved the petition and President Washington signed the statehood bill on June 1, 1796.

At the time of Tennessee's admission to statehood, East Tennessee had a population of approximately 65,000 (in 8 counties), and Middle Tennessee had about 12,000 people living in three counties: Davidson (3,613 people); Sumner (6,370); and Tennessee (1,941). Of the totals for Middle Tennessee, 2,466 were slaves. In Davidson County, 27.5 percent of the residents were slaves, 17.9 percent of the Sumner County population was slave, and in Tennessee County, 20.5 percent were slaves (Corlew 1993:90, 96).

New roads established across the state brought increased settlement to Middle Tennessee. Soon after statehood was attained, a toll road was built from Kingston to Nashville. In 1804, the state authorized counties to lay out additional roads, called turnpikes, for future construction. The counties could collect tolls on these "pikes." Most of the turnpikes were 14 to 16 feet in width; however, the Nashville-Murfreesboro turnpike had a roadbed of 30 feet, with the graveled part being 20 feet wide. As settlement increased and towns were established, turnpikes became more numerous. By 1850, there were 15 toll roads connecting Nashville with distant parts of the state (Pittard 1984:65).

Initially, settlers arrived in Nashville and established farms throughout Middle Tennessee. Those who came in the spring often lived in temporary shelters while they prepared the land and planted seed; a log cabin could be constructed later, when there was time. Corn was usually the first crop planted, as it was easily raised, and produced bountifully in the fertile soil of Middle Tennessee. Other crops raised in the study area included, rye, wheat, flax, tobacco, sorghum, vegetables, and cotton. Livestock consisted of cattle and hogs.

Continued expansion of settlement and increases in population resulted in the creation of new counties. Williamson County was formed from the southern portion of Davidson County in 1799 (Jordan 1986:17). Williamson's county seat, Franklin, named to honor Benjamin Franklin, was created 26 October 1799 (Sullivan 1986:82). Rutherford County was formed from parts of Davidson and Williamson counties in 1803, and was named in honor of Revolutionary War General Griffith Rutherford. The county seat was originally established at Jefferson, in the forks of the Stone River, but was relocated to Murfreesboro in 1811 (Goodspeed 1988a:814; Pittard 1984:23, 99). Murfreesboro was also Tennessee's capital for a short time, between September 1819 and January 1826 (Goodspeed 1988a:827).

ANTEBELLUM PERIOD

Steamboats had been in use on the Mississippi River as early as 1811, but none reached Nashville via the Cumberland River until 1819 (Corlew 1993:199). Prior to that time, flatboats or keelboats were used on the rivers, but passage took much longer than on overland routes,

especially going upstream. Prior to the introduction of steam power, it was reported that it took 67 days to "propel a keelboat from New Orleans to Nashville" (Corlew 1993:199).

The development of steam power allowed shipping of heavy cargo both downstream and upstream. River traffic on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers increased dramatically as cotton, the primary product of upriver plantations, was shipped downriver, while food items (coffee, salt, sugar), agricultural supplies, and other necessities such as building materials were brought back upriver. In addition, steamboats often carried imported goods (furnishings, clothing) ordered for the wealthy cotton producers. Typical cargo on a river boat might include stock for the general stores, machinery for mills, marble mantels, pianos, and scenic wallpaper. When less than ideal water levels were present, smaller boats were often reloaded with goods to be transported additional distances upriver (Doster and Weaver 1981:69-70).

The advent of steamboats, combined with the developing road system, made Nashville the center of trade for Middle Tennessee. In fact, Nashville soon surpassed Knoxville as a merchant center (Corlew 1993), as Knoxville merchants ordered goods from New Orleans to be delivered in Nashville, where they would be received and then transported overland to Knoxville.

Beginning in the 1830s, emerging railroad systems in the Southeast offered options for commercial expansion beyond the limits of river transport. The Memphis and Charleston Railroad Company constructed a line from Memphis to Chattanooga which crossed southern Tennessee and northern Mississippi before connecting with other lines linked to the Atlantic coast. In 1834, the state of Louisiana authorized the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad Company to begin construction of a rail line to connect these cities; this rail line was not built until the 1850s (Doster and Weaver 1981:97).

The Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad reached Murfreesboro in 1851 and was finished in 1854 (Pittard 1984:43). The route went through part of northern Alabama to avoid mountainous areas as much as possible. Other lines were soon built connecting Nashville with Knoxville, Atlanta (the Chattanooga to Atlanta line was built in 1850), Paducah, Louisville, Memphis, New Orleans, and Mobile. The town of Franklin (in Williamson County) was on the Nashville and Decatur line and Murfreesboro (in Rutherford County) was on the Nashville and Chattanooga line (Corlew 1993:204).

At the turn of the nineteenth century, only a small percentage of the farmers in Middle Tennessee owned slaves. However, as cotton and tobacco became established as lucrative cash crops during the early nineteenth century, the use of slaves increased. These increases came primarily in Middle and West Tennessee, where extensive tracts of river bottomland were available for agriculture. For comparison, by 1800, 20 percent of the total Middle Tennessee population was slave, in contrast to 12 percent in East Tennessee (Corlew 1993:209).

During the early 1800s, slaves were "concentrated in the fertile Central Basin - [with] the cotton growers of Davidson, Maury, Rutherford, and Williamson [counties]" (Corlew 1993:210).

Slavery was less common in East Tennessee, and in other areas of the state where topography did not allow establishment of large plantations. The total slave population across the state increased by more than 600 percent between 1800 and 1820, by nearly 200 percent between 1820 and 1830, and by approximately 200 percent between 1830 and 1840.

In Middle Tennessee, an area of "long mountain slopes, plateaus, and undulating lands, [including] the rich Central Basin and fertile bottoms of the Cumberland, Harpeth, and Tennessee rivers" (Corlew 1993:228) farmers produced cotton, corn, tobacco and a variety of vegetable for commercial sale. Middle Tennessee farmers also raised livestock (hogs, cattle, horses, and sheep) and poultry.

The developing market economy required establishment of distribution points for agricultural produce and manufactured goods. County seats such as Franklin and Murfreesboro developed into regional market centers; however, local centers also emerged due to rapid growth of population and establishment of plantations. Most of these small, rural communities began with the establishment of a store, an inn or tavern, or a church, and later grew to encompass a variety of commercial and manufacturing establishments, including grist and saw mills, tanyards, and cotton gins.

In 1802, Bailey Hardeman established a tavern along the Franklin-Murfreesboro Pike, at its intersection with the old Nolensville Road (linking Nashville and Huntsville, Alabama) in eastern Williamson County (Jordan 1986:73). Other businesses soon followed and the community became known as Hardeman's Cross Roads. Another community -- Flemingsburg -- grew along the Franklin-Murfreesboro Pike, approximately 1.5 miles east of Hardeman's Cross Roads. In 1841, the route of Nolensville Pike was changed, bypassing Hardeman's Cross Roads approximately one-half mile to the east (near its present location). Eight years later, a Methodist Church was constructed at this new intersection and named Triune. Businesses and residents of Hardeman's Cross Roads gradually moved east, and Flemingsburg trades moved west to this location, adopting the church's name and establishing the town of Triune.

The Rutherford County community of Lock's (present day Almadale) also partially owes its founding to the establishment of a church congregation. Charles Lock began Methodist Episcopal services at his home near Stewart's Creek during the first decade of the nineteenth century (Heritage Committee of Almadale 1985:15-16). In 1837, Lock donated a two-acre tract encompassing a log church, known as Lock's Meeting House, to the local community. This building was later replaced with a larger, cedar log framed structure, named Lock's Methodist Church, and the community was known as Lock's. This early frame building was replaced by a brick structure in 1961. Lock's was apparently renamed Almadale in 1898, by the local postmaster and general storekeeper, after his deceased sweetheart.

CIVIL WAR AND POSTBELLUM PERIOD

In the years leading to the Civil War, Rutherford and Williamson counties were among the leading agricultural producers in the state (Corlew 1993). Corn and cotton vied as the most important crop in most of Middle Tennessee, but tobacco was important in northern counties (Corlew 1993:228). Local towns also grew to meet the demands of agricultural production. By 1850, Murfreesboro (population - 1,917) and Franklin (population - 891) were growing communities with general and specialty stores, banks, livery stables, carriage shops, flour mills, and distilleries. The Cedar Bucket Factory opened in Murfreesboro in 1854, exploiting the vast cedar woodlands in the area, and continuing in operation through the late nineteenth century (Pittard 1984:63-65).

By 1860, Williamson County was ranked third in wealth in the state, and the 18th District (surrounding Triune) was considered to be wealthiest district in the county. Triune had "five general stores, a tailor shop, saloon, shoe shop, undertaker, blacksmith, wood working shop, carriage shop, two doctors ... [and] a weekly newspaper" (Sullivan 1986:164). Another measure of wealth at Triune was the presence of five private schools, established between 1820 and 1845.

The slave population of Middle Tennessee was concentrated on the cotton plantations of Davidson, Maury, Williamson, and Rutherford counties (Corlew 1993). According to Jordan (1986:88), of the more than 12,000 slaves in the county, one-tenth were in the 18th District (Triune); at least six of the planters in this district had more than 100 slaves.

Most Tennesseans did not initially favor secession from the Union. When the issue of secession was put to a vote (February 9, 1860), it was defeated; however, the attack on Fort Sumter by federal troops in April 1861 was considered an excessive response on the part of the United States government. On May 6, 1861, Tennessee citizens voted in favor of secession (Corlew 1993).

Several companies of volunteers for the Confederate Army came from eastern Williamson County and from Rutherford County. In April 1861, two companies were formed at Triune (Jordan 1935, 1986). Thomas Benton Smith, who became a brigadier general before he was 25, commanded Company B of the 20th Tennessee Infantry. The other was Webb's Guards, or Company D, made up of men from Triune, College Grove, and Peytonsville. In 1862, men from Rutherford County joined the Confederate forces (Pittard 1984:67-68). Two companies of the 1st Regiment, 2nd Tennessee Infantry, were made up primarily of men from Rutherford County.

At the beginning of the Civil War, the city of Nashville was a primary target of the Union Army. Nashville industries made the city a center of wartime production (i.e., artillery and small arms, saddles, blankets). The city was considered to be the "central storehouse for Confederate armies between the Great Smokies and the Mississippi River" (Connelly 1979:14), and was linked by railroad to other centers in Memphis, Chattanooga, and neighboring states.

Despite the importance of Nashville to the Confederate war effort, relatively minimal efforts were made to protect the city from the federal advance (Corlew 1993:304-305). On February 24, 1862, soon after the fall of Forts Henry (on the Tennessee River) and Donelson (Cumberland River), the Union Army occupied Nashville. This was a crushing blow to the Confederacy, putting tons of supplies, factory machinery, powder mills, and iron ore out of their reach. Later that year, the Confederate forces fought back and retook all of the land between the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, except for Nashville. They could not hold it, however, and by 1863 the federal troops had retaken part of that territory.

During federal occupation, Nashville was heavily fortified, and the land south of the city between the Hillsboro Pike and the Nolensville Pike was full of Union fortifications and earthworks. Houses along the various pikes had been taken over by the federal officers and other buildings were confiscated for use by the federal troops (Connelly 1979). Despite the presence of Union troops, activities of the Confederate Army continued in this area. Jordan (1935, 1986) recorded two battles and 13 skirmishes occurring in and around Triune between December 1862 and February 1865. The strategic importance of the crossing roadways led to federal occupation of Triune, including construction of a series of earthworks and fortifications around the town in March 1863. Union forces, consisting of as many as 30,000 cavalry and infantry troops (June 1863), camped at area plantations.

Other areas of Middle Tennessee also became targets of the Union Army. The Stones, Duck, and Elk River valleys in Middle Tennessee provided corn, hogs, cattle, mules, and horses for the Confederacy. Those river valleys were in the path of the Union army on its campaigns from Nashville to Chattanooga, and from Chattanooga to Atlanta. The battle of Stone's River (near Murfreesboro) was fought in December 1862 and January 1863, the Duck River campaign took place in June and July 1863, and the battle of Franklin was in November 1864 (Connelly 1979:13).

Hostilities between Union and Confederate forces ostensibly ceased in December 1864, after Generals Thomas and Schofield defeated General Hood at the Battle of Nashville (Corlew 1993:314-315). This battle marked the last significant Civil War engagement in Tennessee. Even before the surrender of Lee's troops at Appomattox four months later, Unionist members of the Tennessee government were beginning efforts to reform with the goal of re-entering the Union as quickly as possible. A general assembly and a new governor (William G. Brownlow) were elected on March 4. At the urging of Governor Brownlow, the General Assembly ratified the 13th and 14th Amendments and elected U.S. Senators and Representatives. On July 23, 1866, after numerous delays, Tennessee was restored to the Union (Corlew 1993:332-334).

Tennessee was spared aspects of Reconstruction forced on the other ten states of the Confederacy; however, due to the extensive destruction wrought by four years of war, recovery was slow. According to Pittard (1984:90) "farm lands had served as battlefields, buildings had been demolished, fences had been destroyed, and livestock had been carried away." Corlew

(1993:328) quotes a newspaper account describing the area around Murfreesboro immediately following the war:

Whether you go on the Salem, the Shelbyville, the Manchester, or any other pike [from Murfreesboro] for a distance of thirty miles either way, what do we behold? One wide wild, and dreary waste . . . The fences are all burned down, the apple, the pear, and the plum trees burned in ashes long ago; the torch applied to . . . splendid mansions, the walls of which alone remain.

Jordan (1986:84) recalled that "one could ride from Triune to Nashville, cross-country, at the close of the war, without being interfered with by fences."

Loss of life, possessions, and lifeways of the people throughout the state was severe. The loss of the slave labor force throughout the South, combined with severe financial setbacks suffered by the Southern states as the war's defeated party, necessitated changes in the overall economic system. Prunty (1955) attributes the development and growth of the tenant farm/sharecropper system after the Civil War to the extensive changes in sources of labor and capital availability. The reorganization that occurred was primarily based on changes in the relationships between management and labor, and resulted in the broad dispersion of smaller, individual farmsteads (sharecroppers and tenant farmers) within the former boundaries of the plantation. Former slaves and non-landholding whites ultimately became a part of this new system wherein farmland was rented for cash or a share of the seasonal yield.

Rebuilding began immediately in Middle Tennessee. Freedmen were able to lease up to 40 acres of land, and small farmers soon began planting gardens producing needed food for the populace. Cotton, corn, and tobacco were again planted as the primary cash crops, and the agricultural economy gradually recovered. In addition, political and civic leaders, recognizing the need for diversification, began attempts to attract northern businesses and industry.

Recovery was relatively fast for urban centers and somewhat slower for rural areas (Corlew 1993:366). By 1869, Nashville's economy was in the midst of recovery; the city could boast of saw mills, paper mills, stove factories, liquor distilleries, and an oil refinery. The railroad between Nashville and Chattanooga, destroyed during the Civil War, had been completely repaired by 1870 (Corlew 1993; Pittard 1984). Despite the nationwide depression in 1873, business concerns in Nashville and across the state flourished. By 1880, approximately 4,000 factories had opened, employing over 22,000 workers (Corlew 1993:367).

Through the late nineteenth century, many farmers retained pre-war methods and crops, but new inventions made many farm tasks easier. A cotton planter was invented in 1871 and reapers, binders, and combines were in general use by the 1880s. Soon there were seed cleaners, corn shellers, new types of harrows, and improved plows. Agricultural production continued to focus on cotton, corn, and tobacco, but other cash crops (e.g., potatoes, peanuts) were also grown. The State Bureau of Agriculture (formed in 1871) urged farmers to break up large

plantations into smaller more manageable units, to diversify crops by growing more hay, grains, fruits and vegetables, to add livestock, to enrich and renew the soil by using chemical fertilizers, crop rotation, and cover crops, and to attract immigrants to vacant lands (Corlew 1993:370).

From the late nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries, Tennessee also experienced changes in education and religion. A state school system was established in 1867 and funded in 1873, but most rural farm children continued to attend classes in small one-or-two-room buildings. Children in the Lock's/Almaville community in Rutherford County attended Almaville School, Rocky Fork, and Paw Paw Schools after 1900 (Heritage Committee of Almaville 1985). Although it took some time, black farm children were also given the opportunity to attend public schools; Lock's School was built on Spanntown Road in Almaville in 1919, improved in the 1930s, and abandoned when Rutherford County was integrated.

Higher educational institutions for both women and men were also established. For example, in the late 1880s, a college for women was established on Samuel Perkins' Williamson County plantation, near Triune. Bostick Female Academy was endowed through an \$8,000 gift from the estate of Dr. Jonathan Bostick, who had moved from Triune to Mississippi following the Civil War. A building was constructed in 1888, and was used as a college for several years, before becoming part of the public school system (Jordan 1986:79). Vanderbilt University was chartered in Nashville in 1873, and the former East Tennessee University became the University of Tennessee in 1879. A teacher's training school established in 1875 as the Peabody State Normal School of the University of Nashville evolved into the George Peabody College for Teachers, and merged with Vanderbilt University in 1979.

Disagreement over rights for freed slaves caused division among Methodist and Baptist congregations, beginning before the Civil War. During the late nineteenth century, growth was seen in congregations of all denominations, including Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Church of Christ. Black congregations were typically Methodist or Baptist.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

At the beginning of the twentieth century, despite industrial progress, Tennessee remained a primarily agricultural state. According to statistics provided by Corlew (1993:501), changes in farm practices had increased the number of farms and overall farm production in the state through 1920, but decreased the overall size of farms. After 1920, the number of farms and acreage under cultivation per farm in Tennessee began to drop. To balance these figures, acreage yields "increased enormously...because of improved farm practices and the use of modern fertilizer" (Corlew 1993:501). Corn remained the primary crop in Middle Tennessee (due to increases in livestock and swine production), followed by cotton, wheat, hay, and other crops.

Corlew (1993:501-516) divides the twentieth century into four agricultural periods, based on economic and political factors:

1. *1900-1920* - Relative prosperity; period between the end of the Spanish-American War and World War I, called the "golden era of American agriculture".
2. *1920-1935* - End of World War I to New Deal; Depression and subsequent federal relief efforts.
3. *1935-1945* - New Deal to end of World War II; TVA, REA, soil banking, wartime production.
4. *1945-1975* - After World War II; revolution in agricultural technology; widespread introduction of tractor, mechanization, improvements in seeds and selective breeding.

Industrial development during the early twentieth century was closely linked to agriculture. Grist and flour milling was the leading industry in the state in 1900, comprising 20 percent of the total state's industries (Corlew 1993:516-521). Second and third rank fell to the timber and lumber industry, and to iron and steel, followed by textiles, cottonseed products, and tobacco processing. Thirty years later, the textile industry replaced grain milling, which dropped to third place behind the timber industry. In the early 1930s, other important industries included production of synthetic fiber (rayon), vegetable cooking oils, animal and poultry feed, and motor vehicles and parts.

A variety of aid programs were instituted during the 1930s to alleviate the depressed financial situation. One of these programs -- Tennessee Valley Authority -- was more significant than any other in contributing to Tennessee's recovery. During the early years of the Depression, residents of the Tennessee River Valley were among the most poverty-stricken in the United States. At that time average annual income had dropped to \$317. One Middle Tennessee resident recalled that eggs were cheap, only a penny each, but that his family rarely had even a penny with which to buy food.

Creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in 1933 contributed to improvements on a number of fronts. Previously, widespread erosion from poor farming practices had ruined much of the farm land, flooding along the river and its tributaries was a seasonal problem, navigation was an ongoing problem, and electricity was non-existent in most of the rural areas. Construction of a series of hydroelectric dams and reservoirs created jobs for many unemployed farmers, contributed to the growth of local economies, and provided hydroelectric power for rural Tennesseans (Dykeman 1993:9,186; Sullivan 1986).

Modifications in production to products less closely linked to agriculture occurred near the middle twentieth century mark. At the beginning of World War II, synthetic fiber production and associated products remained the first-ranked industry in Tennessee (Corlew 1993:520), followed by meat packing and chemical products. By the late 1940s, the manufacture of chemical and related products was ranked first. Food production and textile manufacturing had dropped to second and third, respectively. War material production, particularly related to the newly

established facilities at Tullahoma (Arnold Air Engineering Center) and Oak Ridge (Atomic Energy Center) retained post-war applications and levels.

V. RESEARCH RESULTS

40RD222 SITE DESCRIPTION

Site 40RD222 is described as a "stone works site" (Barker 1996:59). This site consists of an extensive concentration of dry-laid limestone features (i.e., walls, berms, circles; Figures 2, 3a, 3b) defined within an area of 6.88 hectares (approximately 17 acres). Site 40RD222 was initially encountered in September 1995 during Phase I archaeological survey of a section of the proposed Highway 840 corridor (Barker 1996). The site area is a heavily wooded, south-facing slope above an unnamed intermittent tributary of Stewart's Creek, approximately 980 meters (0.6 miles) southwest of Almadale (Figure 4). Phase I survey investigations focused on mapping site features (Figure 5) and included no subsurface testing (i.e., shovel testing). Rock features were considered to be of historic origin based on recovery of three whiteware sherds, several iron barrel straps, and a cedar fence latch in the site area. Barker (1996:59) interviewed a previous landowner, Mattie F. Walden, and established that the stone features encountered at 40RD222 were present at least as early as the late 1940s.

Phase I survey resulted in production of a plan map of a majority of the rock features (11 walls/berms, 19 circles), detailed descriptions and photographs of feature types, interpretation of some features (i.e., some linear rock walls follow established property lines), and recovery of recent property history records. Based on results of these investigations, 40RD222 was considered to be unique in character, and Phase II archival investigations were recommended to provide direction for Phase II field research and to assist in making National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility recommendations.

A field visit by Jeff Gardner (Brockington and Associates), Gary Barker (Tennessee Department of Transportation), and Sam Smith (Tennessee Division of Archaeology) on April 25, 1996 included a general examination of the site area, photographs of representative rock features, and limited, nonsystematic metal detector survey of selected feature areas. Mr. Smith operated the metal detector, examining the area adjacent to a stone rectangle (located in the southeast portion of the site and labeled "JJ" on the site plan). This feature is a dry-laid, rectangular stack of limestone measuring 4.12 meters long, 1.82 meters wide, and 1.38 meters high (approximately 13.5 ft by 6 ft by 4.5 ft; Barker 1996:60, 68). The configuration of "JJ" suggested possible structural affiliation (Figures 3b and 5). Metal detecting encountered numerous readings on nails (both wrought and early machine cut), and on a hand forged, square nut. These artifacts indicate the presence of a structure (possibly a house), and site occupation as early as the middle nineteenth century. It should be noted that this possible structure area is located outside of the proposed Highway 840 right-of-way.



Figure 2. Intact rock circle (top) and collapsed rock circle (bottom) at 40RD222.

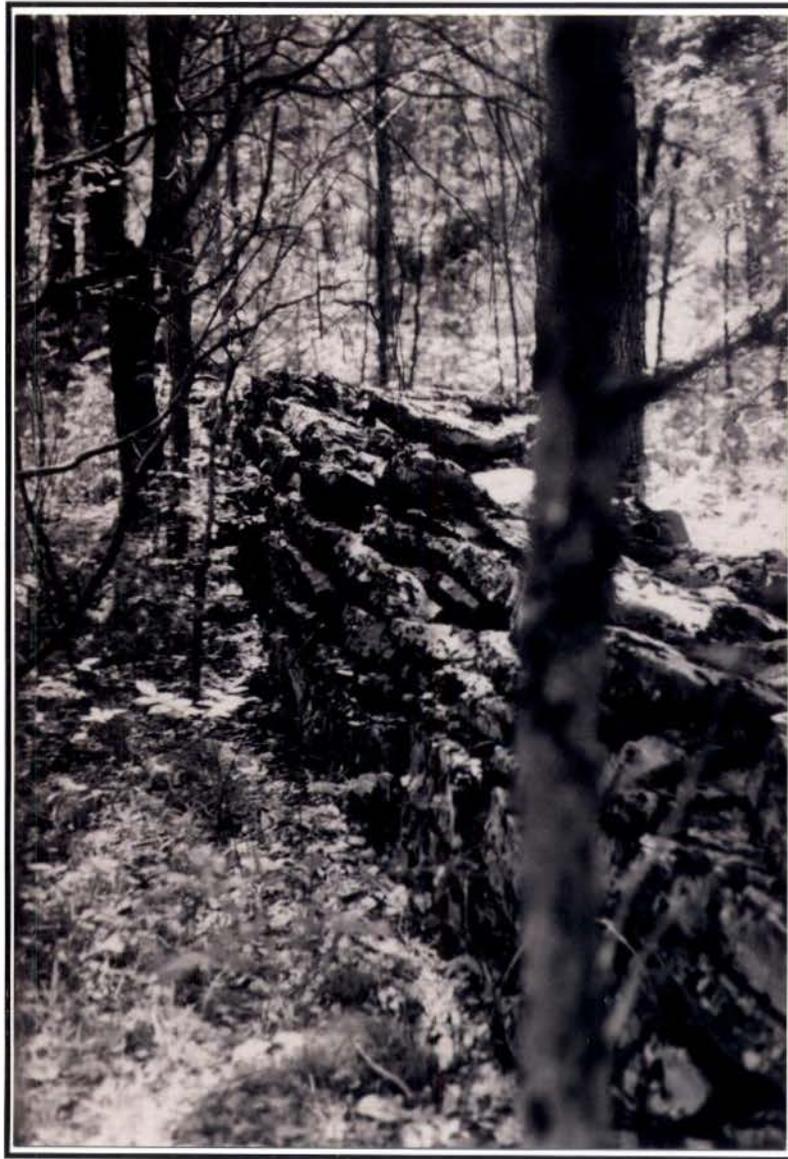


Figure 3a. Linear rock wall at 40RD222.



Figure 3b. "JJ" rectangular rock feature at 40RD222.

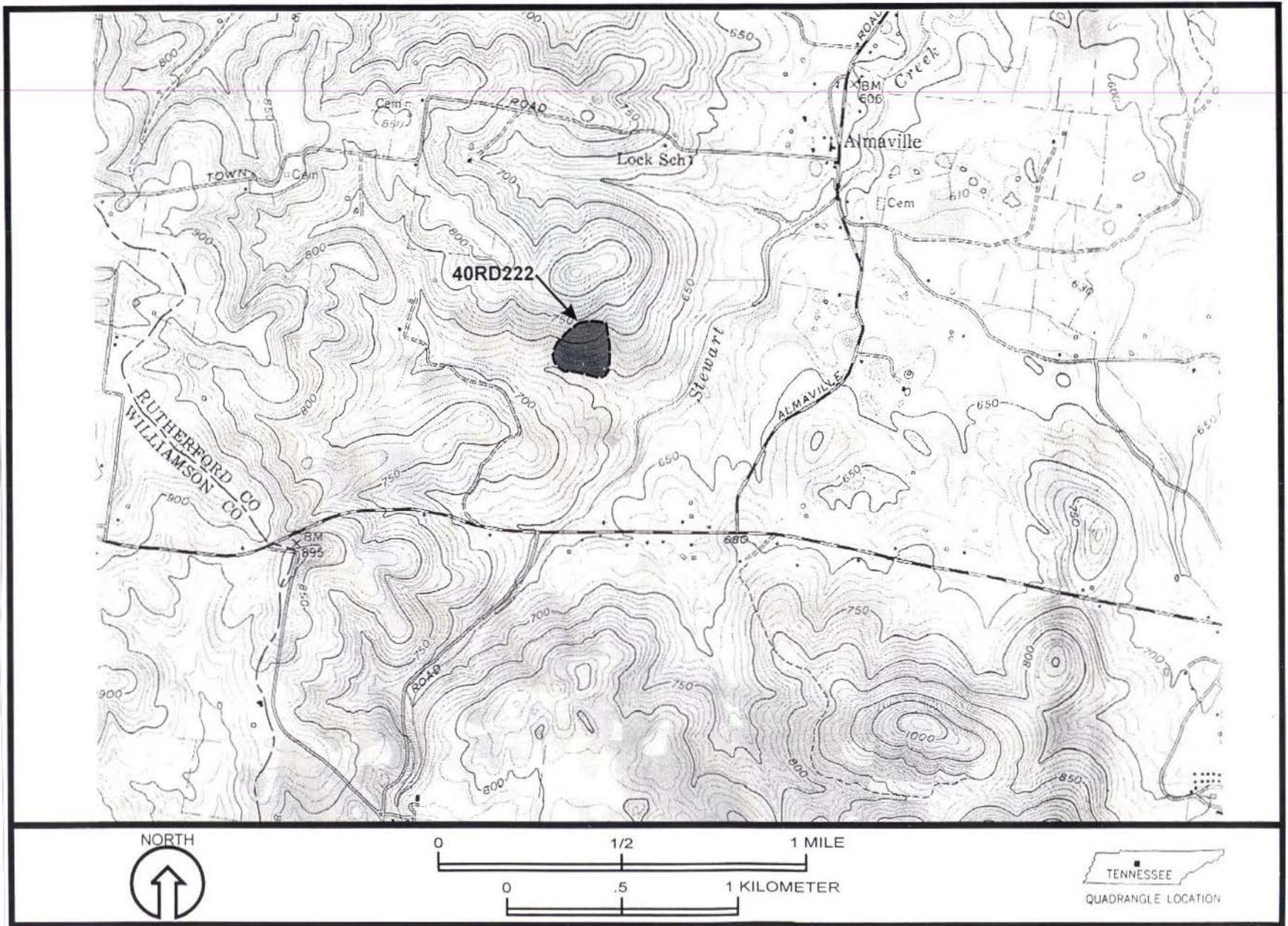


Figure 4. Location of 40RD222 (1957 Rockvale, Tennessee USGS quad sheet).



Walden Stone Features



Figure 5. Phase I survey plan map of 40RD222 (Barker 1996:60).

40RD222 PROPERTY HISTORY

Site 40RD222 is located near the western boundary of Rutherford County, in the southern part of the 4th District. Difficulties in establishing the boundaries of the property encompassing this site were immediately apparent. Tracing the chain of title for the relevant tract was relatively uncomplicated due to consistency in tract acreage through time; however, tract boundaries have been defined by bounding property owners only -- no plats were found and no metes and bounds or definable landmarks are provided in property descriptions. Lacking this information, actual tract locations could not be plotted onto the current USGS topographic quad sheet.

As part of Phase I investigations at 40RD222, Barker (1996:59, 62) superimposed the 1939 Tennessee Division of Geology property map (Rockvale 1939; Record Group 70, Tennessee State Library and Archives) over a current Tennessee Department of Transportation project map and determined that at least three of the linear stacked rock walls represent property line markers for Tract No. 8 (Figure 6). Unfortunately, no landowner or tract acreage is recorded on the 1939 Division of Geology property map for the tract encompassing 40RD222 (Tract No. 8). Map calculations indicate that Tract No. 8 contained more than 350 acres. Results of property history research do not correlate with the estimated size of this tract, although some adjacent landowners listed in property transactions for the 1930s and 1940s (Beasley, Ryan, Smythia, see below) are listed with the 1939 Division of Geology map.

Chain of title research for 40RD222 began with the most recent transaction involving this property and traced tract conveyances backward through time. The most recent property record documenting the entire tract encompassing this site was Bessie M. Baskin's gift of the remaining two-thirds interest in 163 acres to her daughter (Mattie Frances Walden) and son-in-law (Lee Mitchell Walden) in 1989 (Rutherford County Deed Book [RCDB] 434:822). According to Mrs. Walden, one-third interest in this 163-acre tract and an additional 12-acre tract had been given to the Waldens by the Baskins in December 1949 (no deed record found). Immediately prior to this gift, on December 1, 1949, Dave A. and Bessie M. Baskin had purchased these tracts from Ira Jackson and P.M. Wilkinson (RCDB 105:126). This deed stated that the property was located in the 4th District of Rutherford County, and contained the following tract descriptions:

TRACT NO. 1. Bounded on the North by Wilson Hayes; on the East by Mrs. John Beasley; Polk Wilkinson; Reny Ryan and J.I. Jordan; on the South by J.R. Vaughan and on the West by W.I. Pate and Dick Haynes, and containing 163 acres, more or less.

TRACT NO. 2. Bounded on the North by Smythia; on the South by Charles King; on the East by Dick Haynes and on the west by Wilkerson (Wilkinson) and containing 12 acres, more or less (RCDB 105:126).

As indicated above, no specific metes and bounds were included in this conveyance; however, these same tracts appeared together in previous conveyances to as early as 1919,

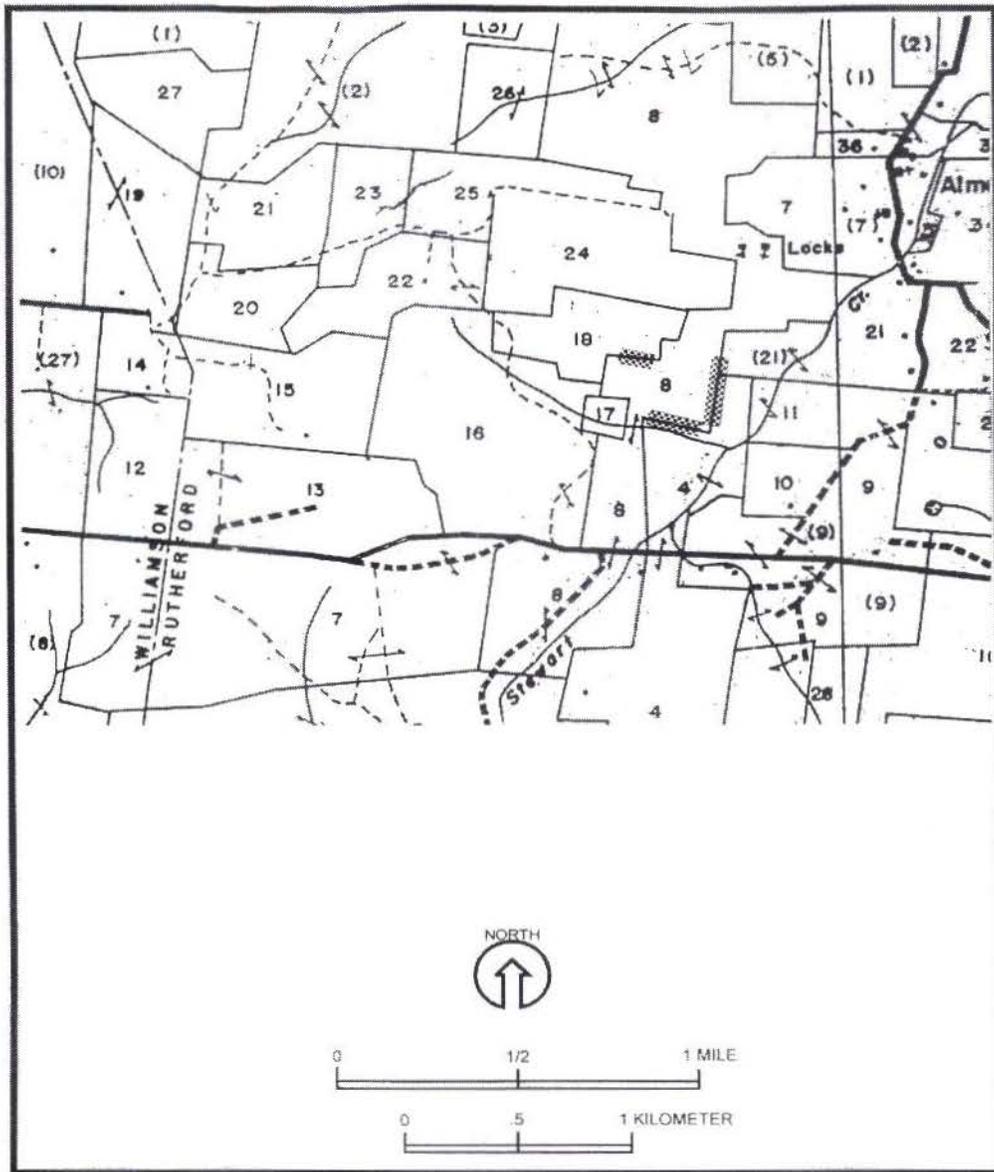


Figure 6. 1939 Division of Geology property map showing locations of linear rock wall property lines.

showing a progression of bounding property owners. In addition, the 12-acre tract can be traced to an 1845 conveyance from Richard Spann to William Glymph (RCDB 3:244; see below).

The remainder of this property history discussion traces land ownership in the vicinity of 40RD222, beginning with the earliest evidence of occupation and proceeding chronologically to the present. Tract descriptions through time are provided for comparative purposes. Dates, participants, and references to relevant transactions are summarized in Table 2.

The earliest property transaction determined to be relevant to 40RD222 is the February 1845 sale of a 12-acre tract by Richard Spann to William Glymph for \$100 (RCDB 3:244). This tract is described as the former land of "Widow Elizabeth Jones," which had been sold to Richard Spann by William and Charles Spann, executors of the late William Spann, Sr. (no record of this pre-1845 transaction was found). The tract was bounded by Ellsworth Scales on the east and Benjamin Jones on the west. Attempts to trace this tract backward through William Spann, Sr. were unsuccessful.

According to local historical accounts (Heritage Committee of Almadale 1985:23-24), the Spann family was among the earliest settlers in western Rutherford County. Richard H. Spann, progenitor of the family, arrived from Roanoke, Virginia only a few years after the county was founded (1803), and settled on approximately 1,500 acres in the hill country between Almadale and Triune (Williamson County). As Spann's family grew, they settled in an area stretching from Nolensville Road in Williamson County to Stewart's Creek in Rutherford County, north of the Franklin-Murfreesboro Pike, forming a settlement known as Spanntown.

William Glymph was among the second wave of settlers in western Rutherford County, arriving in the 1830s (Heritage Committee of Almadale 1985:5). The 1840 population census places William Glymph in the 4th District as head of a household containing his wife and seven children (1840 Rutherford County Census). The 1850 Rutherford County census (Porch 1967:60) provides details on the members of this family. William Glimp (spelled variously as Glymph, Glymp, and Glimp) is listed as a farmer, age 46, born in North Carolina. William's wife, Fanny (age 40) was also born in North Carolina. Their eight children were born in Tennessee: Martha A. (age 20); George W. (farmer, age 20); Milly F. (age 15); Jno. H. (age 14); Wm. P. (age 12), Sarah E. (age 10), Doctor F. (age 8), and Emely J. (age 2).

William Glymph's 1845 purchase from Richard H. Spann was preceded by an 1841 purchase of 50 acres from John Bostick (RCDB 5:511). These tracts appear to have been near each other, as evidenced by repeated reference to Elsworth [or Ellsworth] P. Scales as a bounding landowner. The 50-acre tract was in the southwest corner of Bostick's property and was bounded to the west by Scales.

In 1859, William Glymph purchased 25 acres from William Raney (RCDB 13:109). This tract was described as being on the "waters of Stewarts Creek." Tract boundaries indicate that Glymph's previously purchased property bordered this tract to the west and south, and showed a neighbor named William Lus [Lewis?] to the east.

Table 2. Site/Tract Specific Property History for 40RD222.

Date of Transaction	Grantor	Grantee	Tract Size	Reference
25 September 1841	John Bostick	William Glymph	50 acres	RCDB 5:551
3 February 1845	Richard H. Spann	William Glymph	12 acres	RCDB 3:244
12 February 1859	William Raney	William Glymph	25 acres	RCDB 11:213
18 April 1865	William Glymph	Norton R. Chapman	75 acres (30 day mineral lease)	RCDB 13:109
13 November 1877	D.F. Glymp	Thomas G. Shannon	87 acres*	RCDB 23:121
6 April 1885	Wm. Glymph heirs	John R. Hayes	1) 75 acres 2) 12 acres	RCDB 28:473
31 July 1919	Samuel R. Hayes	Frank E. Heaton	1)163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCDB 61:623
30 October 1919	F.E. and Josie Heaton	T.B. Cannon, Trustee	1) 163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCTDB R:511
1 July 1927	F.E. and Josie Heaton	A.B. Huddleston, Trustee	1) 163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCTDB A-1:128
5 July 1935	A.B. Huddleston, Trustee	Herbert H. Huddleston	1) 163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCDB 80:325
11 September 1935	H.H. and D.D. Huddleston	T.J. and D. Wray	1) 163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCDB 80:436
2 October 1945	T.J. and D. Wray	F.E. and A. Pate	1) 163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCDB 95:402
2 October 1945	F.E. and A. Pate	M.F. Clendennin, Trustee	1) 163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCTDB A-47:311
5 October 1949	F.E. and A. Pate estate	J.P. Leathers, Clerk and Master	1) 163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCMB HHH:76
30 November 1949	J.P. Leathers, Clerk and Master	Ira Jackson and P.M. Wilkinson	1) 163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCDB 105:125
1 December 1949	Ira Jackson and P.M. Wilkinson	D.A. and B.M. Baskin	1) 163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCDB 105:126
8 November 1989	B.M. Baskin	L.M. and M.F. Walden	1) 163 acres 2) 12 acres	RCDB 434:822

* = apparently voided; no conveyance found from Shannon after 1877

RCDB = Rutherford County Deed Book

RCTDB = Rutherford County Trust Deed Book

RCMB = Rutherford County Daily Minute Book

An 1865 lease for oil and gas exploration on Glymph's property provides additional locational information. This 30-day lease to Norton R. Champion (Nashville) "for the sole and only purpose of mining and excavating for Petroleum, Coal, Rock, or Carbon Oil or other valuable Mineral or Volatile substances" describes boundaries for two tracts (RCDB 13:109). Tract 1 (12 acres) was bounded by Charles Span (south), Ellsworth P. Scales (east), James Mathews heirs (north), and James G. Jones (west). Tract 2 (75 acres; combining previous 50-acre and 25-acre tract purchases) was bounded by John Ryan, and Hartwell Spann (east), Doctor Garrity McGavoc (north), Ellsworth P. Scales (west), and John Glenn (south). These descriptions support previous indications that the 50 and 25 acre tracts had been combined, and that the 12-acre tract was separated from the 75-acre tract by lands of Ellsworth P. Scales. There is no indication in property records of the success of this exploration.

Few early to middle nineteenth century tax lists are available for Rutherford County. William Glymph is not included in an 1867 list. The 1871 tax list records Glymph with 87 acres, valued at \$600, and no taxable polls. By this time, Glymph's four sons had apparently left home.

William Glymph died on November 21, 1877 (Rutherford County Probate Record Book [RCPB] 26:516). In his will (dated February 19, 1874), Glymph directed his executors (John H. and W.P. Glymph) to sell all of his land and to divide the proceeds equally among his children, with the exception of Emily A.F. McWilliams ("owing to the bad treatment [Glymph had] received from her and her husband"; RCPB 26:389). An inventory of William Glymph's personal property and assets includes: notes from neighbors and family members worth a total of \$282.50, one black mare, one barouch [carriage], one bed stead and bed clothes, three bee stands, one lot of tobacco, one flax wheel, one cross cut saw, one hand saw, one auger, one hammer, one ax, one grubbing hoe, one iron wedge, one skillet, one tray, one saddle, one lot of books, and one lot of sundries (RCPB 26:516). Of the money owed to him, \$257.50 had been borrowed by his children and in-laws. Sale of personal property brought \$101.57 to his estate.

William Glymph's estate inventory provides an indication of his agricultural pursuits and economic situation at the time of his death (1877). His primary cash crop appears to have been tobacco. Except for a horse and "barouch" (barouche, a four-wheeled carriage), Glymph's personal belongings were not extensive, and included only minimal tools, furniture, and a few books.

On November 13, 1877, just prior to his father's death, D.F. Glymp (note new spelling, used consistently by second generation Glymps) sold "all [his] right and interest undivided in [his] Father's personal and real estate" to Thomas G. Shannon for \$100 (RCDB 23:121). William Glymph's estate was not settled until 1880 (see below), and no transfer of this one-sixth interest from Shannon to anyone was found; it is likely that this conveyance was voided. The boundary description of this property, described as the 87-acre William Glymph farm, is erroneous. Bounding landowners given for this single tract are: Mrs. Wheeler (east), Elsworth Scales (west), McGavoc heirs (north), and John Glenn (south). This description is almost identical to the previously recorded (1865) boundaries for the 75-acre tract alone (RCDB 13:109), indicating an error in this 1877 conveyance, and suggesting that the 12-acre and 75-acre tracts are adjoining.

Final settlement of William Glymph's estate occurred in December 1880 (RCPB 27:565). According to settlement records (RCPB 27:37), Glymph's property (87 acres) had been sold to his son, W.P. Glymph, in 1878 for the equivalent of \$4.50 per acre (\$391.50). This conveyance must have been declared invalid. In April 1885, the Glymph heirs sold two tracts (75 acres and 12 acres) to John R. Hayes for \$525, the equivalent of \$6.00 per acre (RCDB 28:473). Tract boundaries at this time were:

75-acre tract. Bounded on the north by Henry Tolivar; on the east by Lucy Wheeler and J.W. Ryan; on the south by John Glenn's heirs; and on the west by Elsworth Scales.

12-acre tract. Bounded on the north by John Floyd (colored); on the south by Spann; on the east by Elsworth Scales; and on the west by James G. Jones.

The 1878 Beers Map of Rutherford County provides the earliest graphic information on the site vicinity (Figure 7). The home of W. Glymph is shown along the south side of the Franklin-Murfreesboro Pike. The community of Locks, located approximately 1.5 miles southeast of Independent Hill at an intersection of several roads (southwest quadrant of Figure 7), was renamed Almaville in 1898 (Heritage Committee of Almaville 1985:1). A road across the pike from Glymph and J.M. Ryan, leading north from the Franklin-Murfreesboro Pike to Locks, crosses Stewart's Creek before reaching Lock's Church. A house is shown on the west side of this road, north of the creek crossing. No occupant is listed for this building, which is northeast of 40RD222.

A search for bounding landowners defining William Glymph's property (ca. 1877) on the Beers Map (1878a) is inconclusive. J. and J.M. Ryan are present to the east, but there is no J.W. Ryan. Several Spanns are present in the area to the west and north, but not to the south. Tolliver, Wheeler, John Glenn, and Elsworth Scales are not shown on this map. J. Jones and M. Floyd are shown to the north of what would become Spanntown Road, but no James G. Jones or John Floyd is present in the area.

A 1916 Rutherford County Highway map (State Geological Survey 1916; Figure 8), shows Almaville with the current configuration of Almaville Road (see Figure 7 for comparison). The path of Stewart Creek is somewhat skewed on this map; however, the map indicates that this road no longer crossed the creek in 1916 (as in 1878). No building is shown in the site vicinity in 1916.

In July 1919, Samuel Ramsey Hayes sold two tracts (163 acres and 12 acres) to Frank E. Heaton for \$3,000 (RCDB 61:623). Descriptions given for these tracts are:

163-acre tract. Bounded on the north by Mrs. Tolliver; on the east by John Beesley and the old John Ryan place; on the south by Jeff Wray; and on the west by W.I. Pate.

12-acre tract. Bounded on the north by Toombs; on the south by Wilkerson; on the east by W.I. Pate; and on the west by Wilkerson.

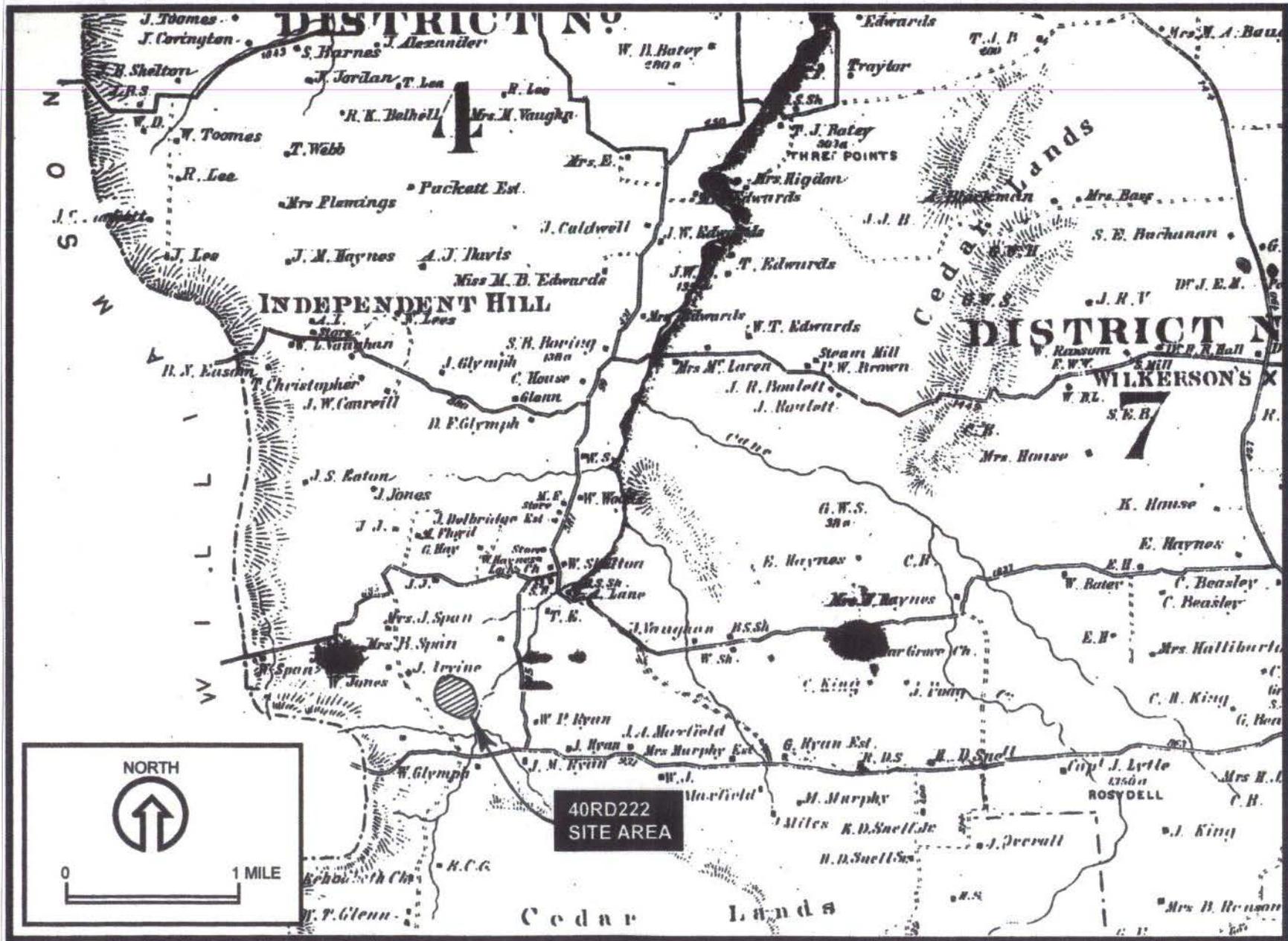


Figure 7. 1878 Beers Map of Rutherford County showing location of 40RD222.

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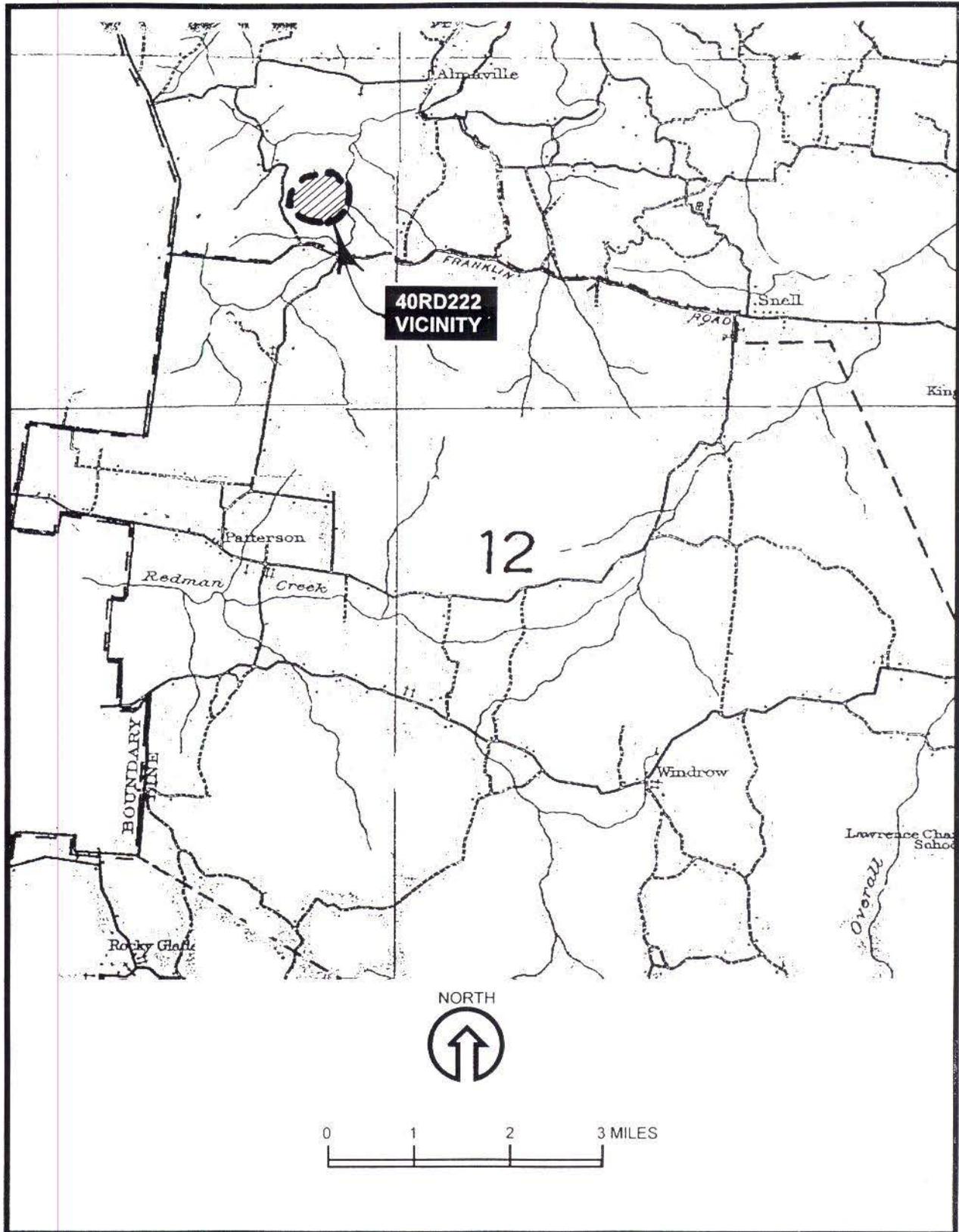


Figure 8. 1916 Rutherford County highway map showing location of 40RD222.

Based on bounding landowners and property acreage, it has been determined that these tracts include the lands formerly owned by William Glymph. Samuel R. Hayes was the adopted son of John R. and Elizabeth Hayes (1884, Rutherford County Court Daily Minute Book [RCMB] LL:92). In the 1919 deed, Samuel Hayes states that this property is "all the land that [he] inherited from [his] adopted parents, John R. Hayes and wife" (RCDB 61:623). Recorded boundaries for the 163-acre tract include the same landowners on the north and east sides as the 75-acre tract sold to John R. Hayes in 1885 (RCDB 39:4). The additional 88 acres (for 163-acre total) appear to be included in an 1898 sale to John R. Hayes from J.W. and Lizzie Hickman (RCDB 39:411). This conveyance does not record tract acreage, but describes the property as the north end of the Leney Farm, bounded on the southeast by John Beesley, on the west by Henry Tolliver, and the southwest by an unnamed creek. Similarities in bounding landowners between these transactions (Tolliver and Beesley) indicate combining of these tracts under the ownership of John R. Hayes in 1898, bequest to Samuel R. Hayes between 1898 and 1919, then sale to Frank E. Heaton in 1919. As in previous property transactions, the 12-acre tract is separated from the 163-acre tract; in 1919, these tracts are separated by property owned by W.I. Pate.

Hayes' sale to the Heaton (RCDB 61:623) includes two relevant stipulations. Hayes indicates that his property is "encumbered by a mortgage by me to henry [sic] Huddleston in the amount of \$200.00," but that he would repay it with interest before January 1920. The Heaton were allowed to enter the property before that date to make improvements, but were requested to not "disturb the house and barns on said place" until after that date. These statements indicate the presence of several structures on the property at that time, and also suggest pre-1919 financial obligations to Huddleston on this property. No additional references were found in subsequent property records for the house or outbuildings.

After 1919, all property transactions involving the 163-acre tract also include the 12-acre tract. In 1927, Frank E. and Jossie Heaton secured a loan for \$1,100 from A.B. Huddleston, Trustee, using these tracts and items of person property (a cow, a calf, a two horse wagon, a two horse plow, other farming equipment, and a 1921 Model Ford Touring Car) as collateral (Rutherford County Trust Deed Book [RCTDB] A-1:128). Bounding landowners had changed only slightly in the ensuing years (since 1919):

163-acre tract. Bounded on the north by Mrs. Joe Tolliver; on the east by George and K. Haynes, Sam Haynes, Beesley, Ryan, and Jordan; on the south by Jeff Wray; and on the west by W.I. Pate.

12-acre tract. Bounded on the north by Toombs; on the south by Wilkerson; on the east by W.I. Pate; and on the west by Wilkerson.

A July 1935 deed wherein A.B. Huddleston, Trustee, transferred these tracts to Herbert H. Huddleston (RCDB 80:325) states that the Heaton had defaulted on their loan, causing their property to be seized and sold at public auction. H.H. Huddleston acquired the combined 175

acres for a bid of \$500. Tract boundaries given in this 1935 transaction are the same as those cited in 1927. This deed also records that the Heatons had previously secured and repaid a loan or mortgage for \$1,100 from T.B. Cannon, Jr., Trustee (RCTDB R:511; October 30, 1919).

Two months later, in September 1935, H.H. and Doris Draper Huddleston sold these tracts to T.J., Jr. and Daisy Wray (RCDB 80:436). This transaction records slightly different bounding landowners:

163-acre tract. Bounded on the north by Wilson Hayes (formerly Tolliver); on the east by Marvin Scales, Mrs. John Beasley, Polk Wilkerson, Reno Ryan, and J.I. Jordan; on the south by T.J. Ray, Sr.; and on the west by W.I. Pate and Dick Haynes.

12-acre tract. Bounded on the north by Toombs; on the south by Wilkerson; on the east by W.I. Pate; and on the west by Wilkerson.

The description of the 163-acre tract also states that "said property is divided by the Murfreesboro & Franklin Pike, and the foregoing description is intended to described [sic] the lands lying on both the South and North of said Pike" (RCDB 80:436).

Ten years after purchasing the two tracts from the Huddlestons, T.J., Jr. and Daisy Wray sold this property to Frank E. and Alter Pate for \$2,500 (RCDB 95:402). Tract boundaries given for the tracts at this time (1945) were:

163-acre tract. Bounded on the north by Wilson Hayes; on the east by Mrs. John Beasley, Polk Wilkerson, Reno Ryan, and J.I. Jordan; on the south by J.R. Vaughan, and on the west by W.I. Pate and Dick Haynes.

12-acre tract. Bounded on the north by Smythia; on the south by Charles King; on the east by Dick Haynes; and on the west by Wilkerson.

Both Frank E. and Alter Pate died on July 29, 1949, leaving three minor children and no will (RCMB HHH:76-80). In the settlement of their estate, it was determined that their personal assets, property, and real estate should be sold to pay debts. Their real estate (two tracts totaling 175 acres) was "not so situated that it can be partitioned, divided, or subdivided" (RCMB HHH:79) therefore it was sold at public auction on November 19, 1949 by J.P. Leathers, Clerk and Master, to Ira Jackson and P.M. Wilkinson for \$3,906 (RCDB 105:125). Bounding landowners were the same as those recorded in Pate's purchase in 1945 (RCDB 95:402).

As reported at the beginning of this discussion, Dave A. and Bessie M. Baskin purchased both of these tracts from Ira Jackson and P.M. Wilkinson on December 1, 1949 (RCDB 105:126). The Baskins gave a one-third interest in these tracts to their daughter, Mattie Frances Walden, and her husband, Lee Mitchell Walden, later that month (Mattie F. Walden, personal communication with Gary Barker 1995; no deed record found). Bessie M. Baskin gave the remaining two-thirds

interest to her daughter and son-in-law in 1989 (RCDB 434:822), and Mattie F. Walden sold a portion of this property, consisting of 20.485 acres, to the State of Tennessee in July 1995 for the proposed Highway 840 right-of-way (RCDB 553:604).

40RD222 RESEARCH SUMMARY

Phase II archival research determined that 40RD222 is part of a western Rutherford County yeoman farmstead, occupied from the early to middle nineteenth century. William Glymph, born in North Carolina but a resident of Rutherford County, Tennessee since the early 1830s, began purchasing property during the early 1840s. By 1860, Glymph owned approximately 87 acres, purchased in tracts of 50, 12, and 25 acres, between 1841 and 1859. Specific delineation of Glymph's property lines could not be determined; however, transaction descriptions and reference to the 1878 Beers map indicate that this property was located on the west side of Stewart's Creek and spanned the Franklin-Murfreesboro Pike. Site 40RD222 is included within Glymph's purchases.

By all recorded indications, William Glymph was a moderately successful yeoman farmer. He raised tobacco, but apparently owned no slaves. He and his wife, Fanny, supported a large family, including eight children (seven of the Glymph children were alive at the time of his death). Like many of his neighbors, after the Civil War, Glymph attempted to supplement his farming income by allowing oil and mineral exploration on his property. There is no documented evidence that this exploration was successful. The only tax records found for William Glymph indicate that his 87 acres were valued at \$600 in 1871. Interestingly, this is the exact total paid by Glymph for the three constituent tracts. Glymph's assets and personal property at the time of his death (1877) do not suggest affluence, but appear to indicate a degree of comfort and of continuing support of his children.

No documentary evidence was found supporting occupation of 40RD222 by William Glymph. According to the Beers map (1878a), a house was present near 40RD222 in 1878, but William Glymph resided on the south side of the Franklin-Murfreesboro Pike at the time of his death. It is possible that the house at 40RD222 was occupied by a tenant or by one of Glymph's children.

William Glymph's property was sold at auction in 1885 to John Hayes. Hayes purchased the 87 acres for \$525, and later (1898) added 88 acres. The total acreage of these tract -- 175 acres -- remained constant from John Hayes' ownership in 1898 to consolidation of interest under Mattie F. and Lee Mitchell Walden in 1989.

Property research provided extremely limited information relevant to interpreting function of the rock features at 40RD222. Through correlation with limited archaeological data, period of site occupation can be attributed broadly to the middle to late nineteenth century. It is likely that some of the linear rock features represent property line markers. A single structure (probably a house) was documented at the site during limited metal detector survey. Unfortunately, no property records were found which positively correlate with this structure.

40WM178 SITE DESCRIPTION

Site 40WM178 is located on the east side of Nolensville Road (US Alt Route 31/State Route 11), approximately 1.2 kilometers (0.75 miles) south of State Route 96, at Triune (Figure 9). This site consists of standing buildings, structural ruins, and other features dating from the early nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. The site area includes rolling pastureland surrounding a partially wooded knoll top. Buildings and features are clustered on the knoll top. A spring-fed stream flows southwest through the site, and man-made dams form two small ponds.

Site 40WM178 was recorded in November 1995 during Phase I archaeological survey. Barker (1996) provided a summary of the site's history and documented site structures and features. No subsurface testing was conducted. The recorded site area, defined as 18.23 hectares (approximately 45 acres) encompasses: the ruins of an antebellum plantation house (Figure 10) with associated features (e.g., a brick walkway, a brick-lined cistern, a large subterranean cavity [possible icehouse], and a low brick rectangular enclosure); a brick, probably-antebellum building (Figure 11) identified as a former smokehouse, later remodeled as a tenant house); an outhouse; a chicken house; a large, ca. 1930s, woodframe house; a large barn with associated silo; and various other barns and outbuildings. A family cemetery is also reportedly present, but has not been specifically located. Project maps indicate that the majority of this farm complex is within the proposed highway right-of-way.

Through background research, Barker (1996) determined 40WM178 represents the remains of Samuel Perkins' (1828-1889) *Westview Plantation*. Perkins' father, also Samuel Perkins (1774-1843), established the plantation in 1805, prospered as a farmer, expanded his holdings, and passed the land to his son at his death. The second Samuel Perkins was also a successful plantation owner. Prior to 1860, he constructed a substantial, brick, Greek Revival-style plantation house at the site. During the early years of the Civil War, this mansion served as a refuge for Confederate officers, and their troops camped on the plantation grounds. The plantation grounds also apparently served as an encampment for Union forces during later occupation and fortification of Triune. Following the war, Samuel Perkins recovered much of his wealth, but after his death in 1889, the plantation was broken into smaller tracts and sold. The parcel containing the plantation house and associated outbuildings was purchased by Mrs. Lavinia Wilson Scales in 1898. After Mrs. Scales' death in the 1910s, the property passed through several owners. The plantation house burned in 1928, and house remnants (brick, stone) were sold and hauled away from the site during the 1930s. Subsequent owners have lived in the frame house on the property, and tenants have occupied the renovated and expanded smokehouse, located to the rear (east) of the house ruins.

Results of Phase I archaeological survey indicated that 40WM178 is significant, representing "a valuable cultural resource [exhibiting] substantial archaeological deposits" (Barker 1996:72). Barker (1996:84) recommended Phase II archaeological testing and archival investigations to support National Register of Historic Places eligibility recommendations.

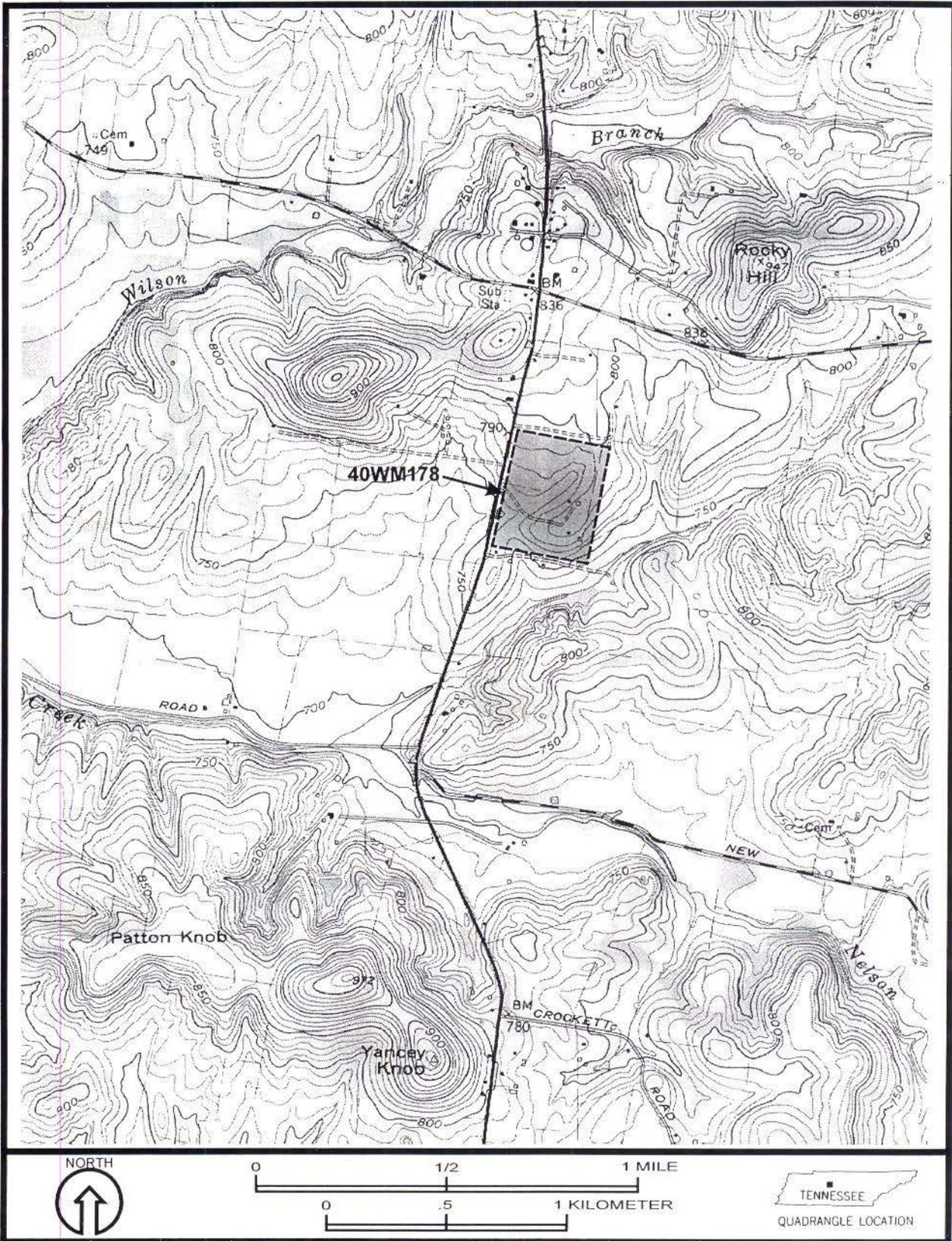


Figure 9. Location of 40WM178 (1957 College Grove, Tennessee USGS quad sheet).

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Figure 10. View of Westview house remains, looking northeast.



Figure 11. View of renovated antebellum “smokehouse”, looking south.

40WM178 PROPERTY HISTORY

Site 40WM178 is located in the 18th District of Williamson County, near the community of Triune. Chain of title research was aided and supplemented by informant data provided by County Historian, Mrs. Virginia Bowman. Property conveyance records are generally complete, and with a few early twentieth century exceptions, all transactions have been documented. Table 3 shows purchase records of tracts encompassing 40WM178, and the plantation that it represents, known as the Samuel Perkins Plantation or Westview.

Site 40WM178 was initially occupied by Samuel Perkins in 1805 and remained in his family until 1898. Samuel Fearn Perkins was born in 1774 in Buckingham County, Virginia (Bowman 1971:6; Hall 1957:140). He immigrated to Williamson County, Tennessee, and was an early settler in the eastern part of the county, following its establishment in 1799. On July 3, 1805, Perkins purchased 629.5 acres in the 18th District of Williamson County from Thomas Hickman of Davidson County (Williamson County Deed Book [WCDB] A-1:660). The purchase price was \$1,731.12, or approximately \$2.75 per acre. Tract boundary descriptions place this property between Nelson's Creek and the Franklin-Murfreesboro Road (now State Route 96). No plat survives of this property; however, metes and bounds provided in the record of conveyance have been plotted onto the current USGS topographic quad sheet (Figure 12). This tract includes 40WM178. One year after this initial purchase (August 6, 1806), Samuel Perkins married his cousin, Sarah "Sally" Leah Perkins (Whitley 1981:13). Before her death in February 1826, Samuel and Sally Perkins had eight children (Claybrooke and Overton Papers, Box 13, Folder 9; Hall 1957): Thomas F. (married Leah A. Cannon); Louisa (married William Allison); Eliza M. (married Thomas Hardin Perkins, Benjamin W. Williams, and William C. Dawson); Mary Ann (married John S. Claybrooke); Elvira (married James J. Guy); Agatha Susan (married William P. Cannon); Mary; and Sarah.

With the exception of his 1805 purchase, the earliest reference found for Samuel Perkins in Williamson County is an 1806 county tax record (Williamson County Tax Records [WCTR] 1806). Perkins' entry on this list indicates that in 1806 he owned approximately 629 acres and seven slaves. Through the 1811 tax enumerations, Perkins' land holdings remained the same, but he gained four slaves, for a total of 11 (WCTR 1807-1811).

No primary documentary information was found indicating the location of the first home built on the Perkins property. In her book, *Historic Williamson County, Old Homes and Sites* (1971:7), Virginia Bowman states that Samuel Perkins built a brick home on the property "soon after his arrival in Tennessee." More recently, Bowman (personal communication 1996) indicates that this house was located approximately 100 yards to the east of the ruins of Westview (the plantation house built ca. 1855; see below), and is marked by remnants of a sandstone foundation and a cellar depression. A typical home of the settler period would have been of log construction, probably on stone piers. While these descriptions may appear contradictory, it is possible that Perkins constructed at least two houses on the site between his arrival in 1805 and his death in 1843. Phase I archaeological survey (Barker 1996) did not encounter the foundation and cellar.

Table 3. Site/Tract Specific Property History for 40WM178.

Date of Transaction	Grantor	Grantee	Tract Size	Reference
3 July 1805	Thomas Hickman	Samuel Perkins	629 1/2 acres*	WCDB A-1:660
8 April 1811	Newton Cannon	Samuel Perkins	79 1/2 acres	WCDB B:587
3 January 1815	Elijah Montgomery	Samuel Perkins	429 acres	WCDB D:177
14 October 1833	Bailey Hardeman	Samuel Perkins	274 acres	WCDB N:28
April 1843	Samuel Perkins I (Will)	Samuel Perkins, Nancy Perkins	1180 acres*	WCW April Term 1843
15 January 1855	Samuel M. Copeland et al.	Samuel Perkins	34 acres _±	WCDB X:229
May 1889	Samuel Perkins II (Will)	S. Perkins, S.P. Claybrooke et al.	1060 acres*	WCW May Term 1889
15 September 1898	S. Perkins, S.P. Claybrooke et al.	Lavinia Patton Wilson Scales	327 acres _± *	WCDB 41:501
1917	Lavinia P. Scales (will partition)	Emmett P. and John R. Wilson	245 acres (?)*	Bowman pc 1996
1927	John R. Wilson	Mrs. W.S. Smartt	245 acres (?)*	Bowman pc 1996
16 July 1928	William M. Smartt	W.R. Haynes	244.94 acres*	WCDB 58:246
4 November 1929	W.R. Haynes	Joe W. Scales	100 acres*	WCDB 59:198
21 January 1933	J.W. and C.M. Scales	O.C. and Hattie Wallace	100 acres*	WCDB 64:25
20 June 1933	O.C. and Hattie Wallace	Annie Marie Covington	100 acres*	WCDB 65:24

* = includes 40WM178

WCDB = Williamson County Deed Book

WCW = Williamson County Wills (Preservation of Records, Franklin)

Bowman pc 1996 = Virginia Bowman, personal communication 1996

Beginning in 1811, Samuel Perkins began to slowly expand his initial landholdings. In April 1811, Perkins purchased 79.5 acres adjoining his property to the south (WCDB B:587). Perkins paid \$240 for this tract, or approximately \$3 per acre. This tract had been owned by Newton Cannon, and its southern boundary follows the south side of Nelson's Creek, allowing Perkins access to this water source (see Figure 12). In 1815, Perkins purchased an adjoining tract to the west from Elijah Montgomery (WCDB D:177). This tract consisted of 429 acres, and also extended south across Nelson's Creek (see Figure 12). Tax assessment records for Samuel Perkins in 1816 indicate ownership of a total of 1,136 acres in three tracts, 14 slaves, and one two wheeled carriage (WCTR 1816).

In December 1816, Perkins sold a 58-acre portion of his initial 629.5-acre purchase (WCDB E:102). This parcel, comprising both ridgetop and flood plain (Nelson's Creek) land, was located in the southeast section of the tract and was sold to William Jordan Sr. for \$348, or approximately \$6 per acre. The 1818 tax records (1817 not available) show a balance of 1,074 acres owned by Samuel Perkins (WCTR 1818).

According to county tax records, during the 1820s, Samuel Perkins' landholding increased by nearly 500 acres (WCTR 1820-1070 acres; 1829-1545) and his slave holdings increased more than 300 percent (1820 - 13 slaves; 1829 - 41 slaves). In 1822, William Wilson sold 134 acres south of Nelson's Creek to Samuel Perkins (WCDB G:208). This tract adjoined Perkins' property to the southwest and increased Perkins' total acreage in the 18th District to 1,214 acres (WCTR 1824 lists 1,210 acres). This was the last addition to the Perkins plantation on Nelson's Creek until after 1830.

During the 1820s and 1830s, Samuel Perkins invested in property in other parts of Williamson County. In 1824, Perkins purchased 334 acres from Nicholas Scales (WCDB H:57); this tract did not adjoin the Perkins plantation and was apparently located downstream along Nelson's Creek. Perkins also purchased a 9-acre tract from Elizabeth Cole in 1829 (WCDB K:239; exact location undetermined), an 11-acre tract on Arrington Creek from John C. McLemore in 1833 (WCDB M:40), and a parcel of undetermined acreage located southwest of Franklin, along Murfrees Fork of the West Harpeth River (referenced in WCDB N:27; see below, date not given). In 1833, Samuel Perkins gave 407.5 acres of this last tract to Thomas Fearn Perkins "being his son and wishing to give him a tract of land to live on" (WCDB N:27). Thomas F. Perkins had married Leah America Cannon in May 1832. Six years after his first land gift to Thomas, Samuel sold him another portion of this tract, comprising 334.25 acres (WCDB P:498).

A number of factors may explain why Samuel Perkins ceased expansion of his Nelson's Creek plantation during the 1820s. In 1825, Perkins was elected to the Tennessee State House of Representatives (Goodspeed 1988b:791). During his one term in office (1825-1827) Perkins' wife, Sally, died (February 5, 1826). Samuel apparently did not seek reelection, and returned to his children at the plantation. Samuel married Nancy Richardson in Davidson County on May 24, 1827 (*Nashville Banner & Nashville Whig*, June 2 1827; Whitley 1981:96). Their son (and only child), Samuel Fearn Perkins, was born in 1828 (Hall 1957:141).

The 1830 Williamson County Census (Ehreson 1994) indicates that in that year, Samuel Perkins' family included: Samuel (age 50 to 59); his second wife, Nancy (age 40 to 49); one son (Samuel Fearn Perkins; hereafter referred to as Samuel Perkins II; age 0-4); and five daughters (one - 5 to 9, three - 10 to 14, and one - 15 to 19). Samuel and Sarah's son, Thomas Fearn Perkins, had apparently left home by this time, but their daughters remained.

By the early 1830s, after nearly 30 years residence in Williamson County, Samuel Perkins had achieved relative success. He had served a term in the state legislature. Eighteenth District tax records for the period list Perkins with as many as 42 slaves (WCTR 1830) and as much as 2,275 acres (WCTR 1833). Given Samuel Perkins' economic, community, and political status, it is likely that improvements on his plantation would have included construction of a substantial house, outbuildings, and slave housing. Little above-ground evidence of this period has been located and adequately documented. A one and one-half story brick building, located to the rear of the ruins of Westview, is the only standing structure that could date to his tenure.

In October 1833, Samuel Perkins purchased two tracts (total - 297 acres) from Bailey Hardeman (WCDB N:28) encompassing most of what would become the community of Triune. These tracts adjoined Perkins property on the northwest side and extended to the north of Wilson's Creek (now Wilson Branch) and the Franklin-Murfreesboro Road (see Figure 12).

As suggested above, according to Williamson County tax records, Samuel Perkins' property holdings in the 18th District peaked during the early 1830s. In 1833, Perkins was assessed for 2,275 acres, 36 slaves, and one four-wheel carriage in the 18th District (WCTR 1833). An informal comparison with other landowners in the 18th District places Samuel Perkins in the upper 10 percent in terms of real property.

During the early 1840s, Samuel Perkins again added to his landholdings along the West Harpeth River. In July 1842, he purchased 775 acres from William Law Murfree (WCDB R:14), and in October 1842, he bought 1,359 acres from David W. and Sally Dickinson (Rutherford County; WCDB R:109). These tracts were near his son's property, southwest of Franklin (near the present community of Burwood). In December 1842, Samuel gave 400 acres of the Dickinson tract to Thomas F. Perkins (WCDB R:220).

One month after his last property purchase, Samuel Perkins composed his last will and testament. In this will, he expressed the wish that after his death (March 1843)

the Tract of land on which I [Samuel Perkins] live including all the different purchases adjoining except the Hardeman tract be the joint property of my wife Nancy Perkins and my son Samuel so long as my wife may live there and at her death or removal from the same I give the same to my son Samuel Perkins and his heirs forever (Williamson County Wills [WCW], April Term 1843).

The tract he referred to, comprising the plantation of Samuel Perkins, consisted of contiguous property purchased between 1805 and 1816, and included approximately 1,180 acres (Tract 1; Figure 13). As indicated, Samuel Perkins requested that the Hardeman tract (297 acres) be sold, but reserved from this sale

so much of the Hardeman tract of land as will make a lane two rods (33 feet) wide running from the sugartree corner of the Hardeman tract to Wilson's Creek so as to get water to the nob lotts (WCW, April Term 1843).

Based on plotted boundaries, "nob lotts" appears to refer to a promontory located in the northwest corner of the Perkins property (in Tract 3, Figure 13). Due to difficulties in obtaining water for livestock on this landform, access to Wilson Creek and nearby Hill's Spring had to be retained (Bowman, personal communication 1996). An 1855 transaction (Copeland et al. to Perkins, WCDB X:229) provides landmarks which allow plotting of the two rod wide lane passing through the Hardeman tract to Wilson Creek (Figure 13).

Additional sections of Samuel Perkins' will transferred slaves and personal property to Nancy and Samuel Perkins II, and to Samuel's other living children and grandchildren: daughters Agatha Isaac Cannon, Mary Ann Claybrooke, and Eliza M. Williams; son, Thomas Fearn Perkins; and grandsons Samuel P. Isaacs, Thomas F. Perkins, Thomas Allison, and William Allison. Samuel's will indicated that in addition to his real property in Williamson County, he also owned land in Virginia (no specific location of acreage given) and in Tennessee's Western District (approximately 5,400 acres in Dyer, Haywood, and Tipton counties; settlement of Samuel Perkins estate, Williamson County Preservation of Records, Franklin).

Nancy Perkins and her son, Samuel II were the primary residents at the Perkins plantation during the 1840s and the early 1850s. Williamson County tax records are not available for 1842 or 1843; however, the 1844 assessment lists Nancy Perkins with 590 acres and nine slaves, and Nancy Perkins as guardian of Samuel Perkins II (then 15 years old) with equal acreage and slaves. In 1844, combined real property and slaves of Samuel Perkins and Nancy Perkins are valued at \$9,840. In addition, Nancy Perkins also owned a carriage valued at \$300 (WCRT 1844). Tax records continue to show an equal division of acreage between mother and son through 1854. From 1850 onward, Samuel Perkins II, having reached age 21, is listed as a landholding individual.

The 1850 population, agricultural, and slave censuses provide the earliest detailed information concerning the makeup and economic status of the Perkins household. In 1850, the household consisted of: Nancy Perkins as head of household (age 61); Samuel Perkins II, farmer (age 22); E.R. Crawford (age 16); and D. Perkins (age 10). It could not be determined whether the young males were relatives, boarders, or farm hands. Perkins family real estate (listed as 1,283 acres, all improved) was valued at \$32,950. By comparison, the next largest landowner in the district, M.F. Bostick, owned 1,000 acres, with only 500 improved. Farming implements on the Perkins plantation were valued at \$1,250, and livestock (horses, asses and mules, milk cows,

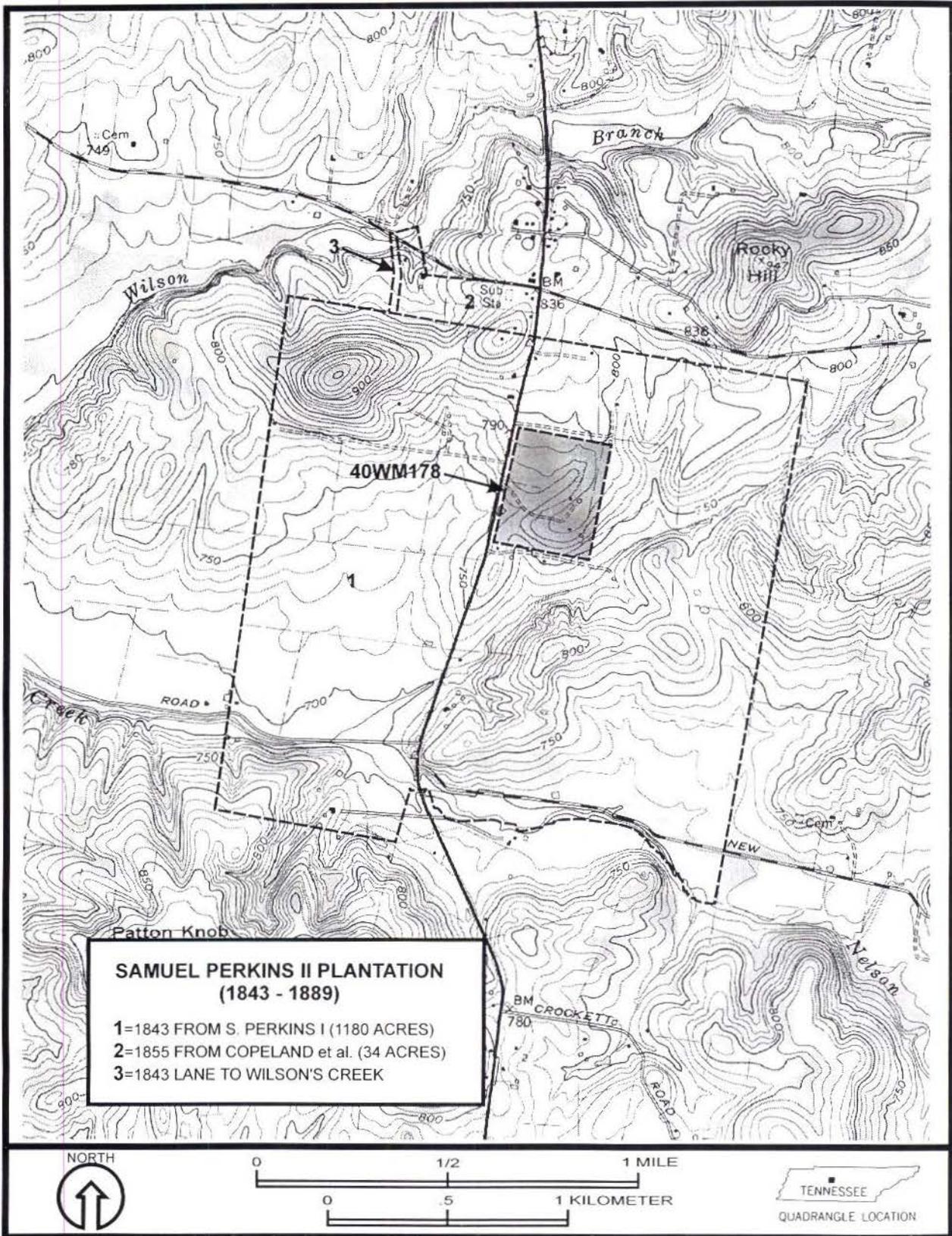


Figure 13. Samuel Perkins II plantation (1843-1889).

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oxen, sheep, and pigs) was worth \$40,300. Primary crops included: corn (55,000 bushels) and cotton (52, 400 lb. bales), but wheat, rye, oats, and hay were also produced. In 1850, Nancy Perkins had 58 slaves.

Samuel Perkins II married his first wife, Susan May in 1853 (Virginia Bowman, personal communication 1996). Bowman (1971:7) suggests that construction of a grand plantation house may have begun soon after this marriage (V. Bowman, personal communication May 1996). This house was reportedly completed before 1860, and was called Westview (Figure 14). Bowman (1971:7) describes the setting of this house as

in a lawn of a hundred acres surrounded by trees of primeval splendor. It was approached by a serpentine driveway leading from the pike [present Nolensville Road, US Alt 31/State Route 11], and with its great columns rearing skyward it stood in perfect symmetry--an imposing landmark.

As was typical for the period, a majority of the construction materials for Westview (framing lumber, brick) were obtained or produced on the plantation. It is likely that slaves provided construction labor. Bowman (1971:7) states that the estimated cost of Westview was \$53,000, but gives no reference. Interior elements (e.g., mantles, lighting fixtures, and furniture) were reportedly imported.

The first land purchase by Samuel Perkins II occurred in 1855 when he bought 34 acres from Samuel M. Copeland, Benjamin Seward, and James H. Scales (WCDB X:229). This tract adjoined the plantation left to Samuel by his father to the north (see Figure 13) and is described as "part of a tract on which Triune is now situated formerly known as Hardemans X Roads." The 1855 and 1856 tax records list Samuel Perkins II with 642 acres (WCTR 1855, 1856). In 1856, Samuel is also listed as executor of the E.F. May estate (probably his brother-in-law), valued at \$14,000.

Samuel II's wife, Susan M. Perkins, died on June 6, 1856 (Lynch 1977:96). According to the obituary of Samuel Perkins II (written by his brother-in-law, John Samuel Claybrooke; Claybrooke-Overton Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives Accession #812), Samuel and Susan Perkins had two children from their brief marriage: Susan M. and Samuel Perkins, Jr. Susan M. Perkins married William Crichlow and had no children (Hall 1957:220).

In 1857, Samuel Perkins II purchased 350 acres from the executors of Joseph H. Scales' estate (WCDB Y:144). This tract is described as "on the waters of Nelson's Creek," and probably adjoined the west side of Perkins' plantation, but an exact location could not be determined through plotting of metes and bounds.

By 1859, Nancy Perkins is no longer listed in the tax records as a real property (i.e., land) owner. In that year, Samuel Perkins II is listed with 1600 acres, consisting of his previous 642 acres, his mother's 608 acres, and the 350-acre Scales property (WCTR 1859). With this land,

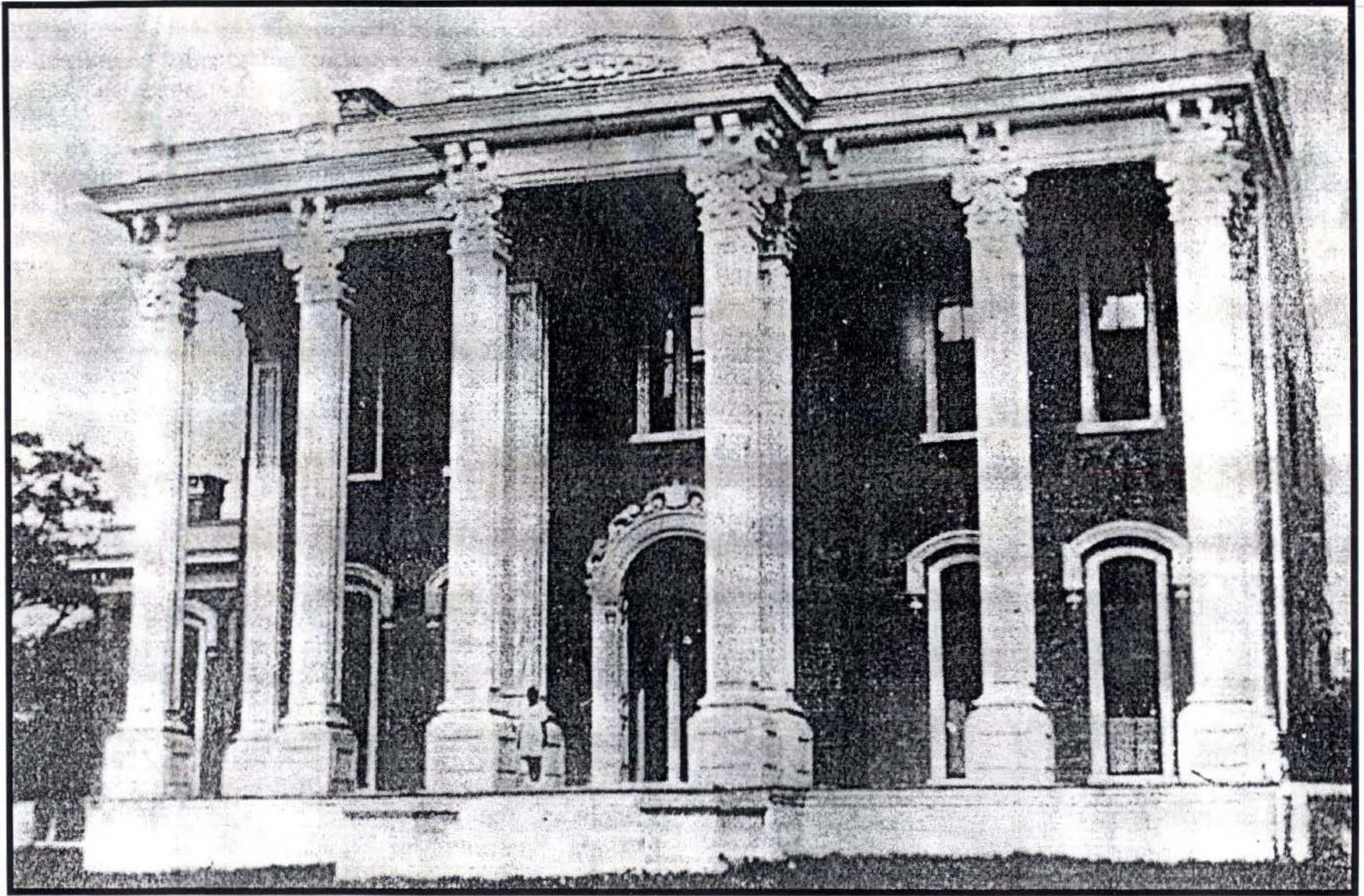


Figure 14. Historic photograph of Westview (undated), looking northeast.

his 20 slaves, and his mother's 7 slaves, the Perkins' real and personal property was valued at \$66,700. In addition, Samuel is listed as guardian of an estate (apparently for the heirs of E.F. May) worth \$18,000 (WCTR 1859). A nonsystematic comparison with other landowners places Samuel Perkins' net worth in the upper 25 percent of Williamson County's 18th District.

The 1860 population census (Lynch n.d.) records household size and makeup, and provides a summary of the Perkins family's economic status on the eve of the Civil War. This census lists Samuel (age 31) as a farmer and the head of the household. Other members of the family include: Samuel's mother, Nancy (age 71); Eliza Martin (age 68), possibly Nancy's sister; Samuel and Susan's children, S.M. (Susan M., age 6) and Sam (age 4); and four members of the May family, M.W. (female, age 22), Ann (age 20), W.P. (male, age 18), and James F. (age 16).

According to the 1860 census, Samuel Perkins II's real estate was valued at \$80,000, and his personal property was worth \$135,540. Based on comparison with 1860 tax records (WCTR 1860), this second figure apparently reflects the combined value of Perkins' newly constructed house, his 64 slaves (1860 Slave Census), and plantation agricultural production for that year.

County tax records indicate that the assessed value of Samuel's property in the 18th District of Williamson County peaked in 1860 (WCTR 1860). In that year, Samuel and his mother were taxed on 1,617 acres (valued at \$43,535), 32 slaves (valued at \$22,700), and personal property worth \$2,825, for a taxable aggregate of \$69,060. In addition, Samuel continued to be listed as "Guardian for Mays children," administering an estate valued at \$20,000 for the four Mays offspring in his household.

Samuel II's mother, Nancy Perkins, died in 1862 (Bowman, personal communication 1996). There is no listing for her in 1861 tax records (WCTR 1861), and Samuel Perkins II is listed with 1600 acres, 32 slaves, personal property worth \$1,500, and a \$400 lot (probably in Franklin), for a total assessment of \$52,100. This tax year is also the last listing of Samuel as administrator of May's \$20,000 estate.

Actions of Federal and Confederate army forces in eastern Williamson County during the Civil War, specifically around the strategic location of Triune, are documented in a number of published (e.g., *The Official Records*, Jordan 1986) and unpublished (Jordan 1935) sources. Jordan (1935:2) states that "there were about fifteen engagements of considerable proportions" in the immediate vicinity of Triune. As the intersection of roads linking Franklin with Murfreesboro, and Nashville, Tennessee with Huntsville, Alabama, Triune was occupied alternately by forces from the North and the South. The first Federal troops arrived at Triune in March 1862, when General Buell occupied Middle Tennessee (Jordan 1935:4). Prior to that time

The citizens of this section were working like beavers to provide food, clothing, horses, mules and other needed supplies for the Southern army... The rich men [of the area] bought liberally of Confederate bonds and supplied many horses and mules, as well as grain, hogs, and cattle (Jordan 1935:4).

A number of references are made to Westview and the Perkins family in accounts of the war. Bowman (1971) and Jordan (1935, 1986) recount several of these incidents. On the evening of December 26, 1862, with members of the 33rd Alabama Infantry camped on the plantation, the Perkins family hosted a lavish party in honor of Confederate General William Hardee. At that time Federal troops under General McCook had advanced from near Nashville and were camped three miles north of Triune. The dance reportedly continued into the early hours of the morning, when military guests left to engage the enemy nearby in what Jordan referred to as the Battle of Triune. Following a Federal victory, Hardee withdrew and Union troops occupied the area, camping at Perkins' plantation and along the road from Triune to Nolensville. Despite successful raids on Federal supply wagons at Nolensville by the Confederate Cavalry (under Brigadier General Joe Wheeler) during the Battle of Murfreesboro, Federal troops again occupied, and fortified, Triune in March 1863. Earthen fortifications were constructed to the north and east of the town by General Steedman's 3rd Division, 14th Army Corps (Smith et al. 1990).

Many of the actions described by Jordan (1935) took place during the early months of 1863. By May 1863, General Steedman commanded a garrison of nearly 10,000 troops stationed in and around Triune (Jordan 1935:13). This complement increased to approximately 30,000 for several days in late June 1863, when three divisions of infantry and one division of cavalry arrived under General Granger.

Triune was relatively quiet under Federal rule through the remainder of 1863 and most of 1864. On December 1, 1864, a small group of Confederate scouts sought refuge at Samuel Perkins' house, under pursuit by Union cavalry. As described by Jordan (1935:17)

In order to allay any suspicion, [Confederate] Lieutenant Eakin placed Mr. Perkins in arrest and demanded quarters and food for his men and stables and forage for his animals. It was promptly granted, as Perkins was an ardent Southerner. These scouts slept in the Perkins mansion that night and resumed their journey the following morning toward Nashville.

Some time between 1860 and 1864, Samuel Perkins II married Eleanor Ryburn Brown (Bowman 1971; Hall 1957:220). Before her death in 1866, Samuel and Ella Perkins had three children (Hall 1957:220; 1860 and 1870 Population Censuses): Nancy (married E.L. Jordan); John Preston B. (died at age 22 while attending medical school in Nashville); and Jane Ella (married William Bailey).

A Civil War-era map of Nolensville Pike between Nolensville and Chapel Hill (Michler 1862?) provides one of two nineteenth century views of buildings on the Perkins Plantation; the other is the 1878 Beers Map, described later. According to its legend, this ca. 1862 sketch map was drawn "from Original Reconnaissance under the direction of Capt. N. Michler." An enhancement of a section of this map shows the Perkins plantation (Figure 15; labeled "Large Plantation") located approximately 2/3 mile south of Triune. This map shows a barn on the west side of the pike, and a stable, an apparent plantation house (Labeled Perkins), and four small

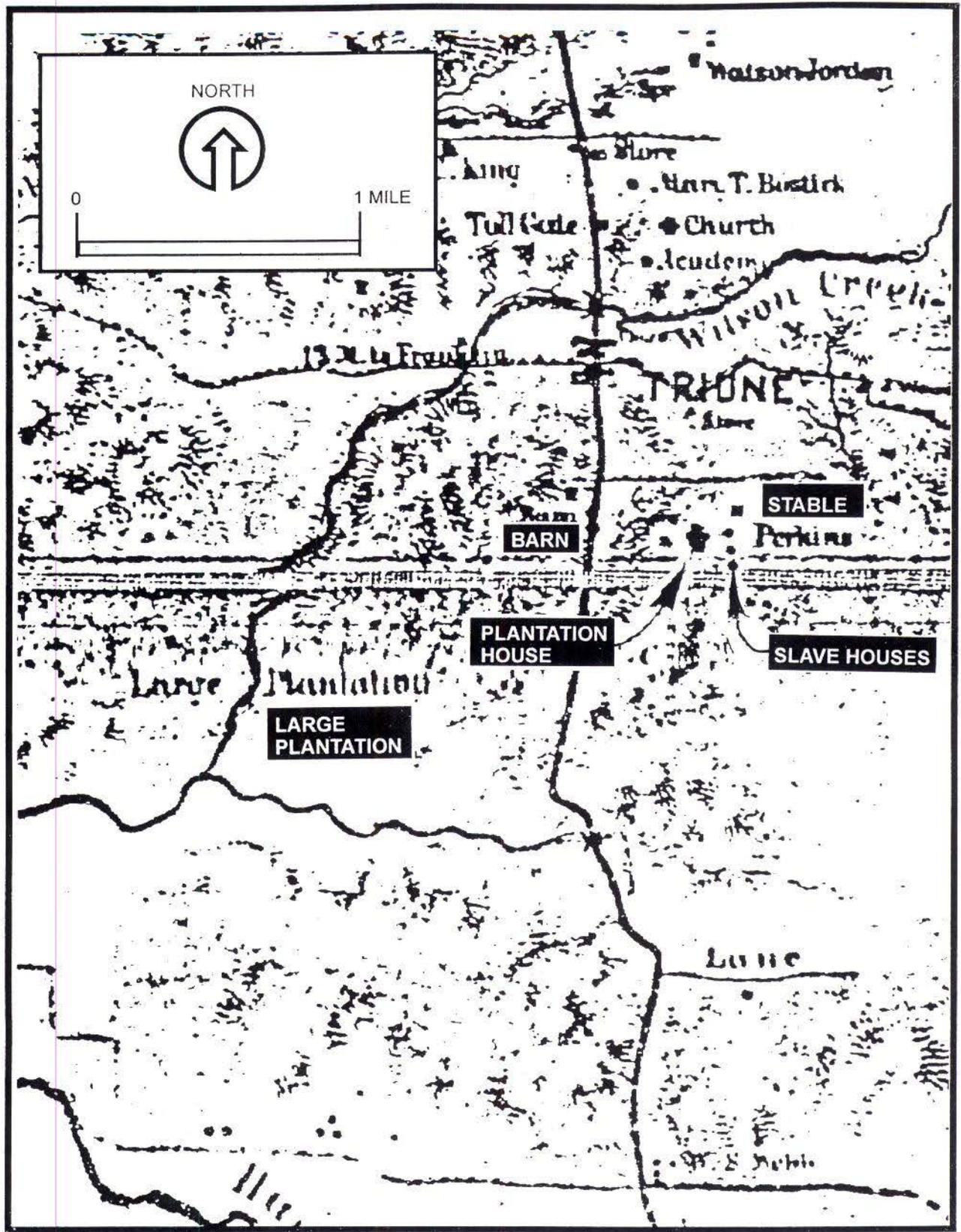


Figure 15. Enlargement of Michler's ca.1862 Topographical Sketch of the Country Adjacent to the Turnpike between Nolensville and Chapel Hill, Tenn.

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buildings to the rear (east) of the plantation house on the east side of the pike. Based on comparable plantation configurations, the four outbuildings are probably slave houses.

Due apparently to the economic turmoil of the Civil War and Reconstruction, tax records are absent for the 18th District of Williamson County between 1863 and 1870. The 1862 county tax records (WCTR 1862) list Samuel Perkins II with 1600 acres (valued at \$19,200) and \$1,880 in personal property.

Samuel Perkins II "lost heavily during the war and in the bitter Reconstruction days," (Bowman 1971:8), but despite conflicts and deprivations of wartime and its aftermath, the Perkins family was able to recover and to thrive financially during the late nineteenth century. Bowman (1971:8) describes Perkins as

one of the most influential members of a prominent family. He was a stockholder on several turnpike companies and was trustee in both male and female academies in Triune besides being a planter of note.

Recovery had indeed come to Samuel Perkins II by the early 1870s. The 1870 population census lists Samuel Perkins as a farmer and head of a household consisting of 11 people. In addition to Samuel's children by his first wife, Susan (Susan, age 16; Samuel, age 14) and by his second wife, Eleanor (Nannie, age 6; Preston, age 5; and Ella, age 3), there was 77 year old Eliza Martin, Ann Pearson (age 50, listed as house keeper), S.T. Crockett (a 20 year old male), Mary Clemens (age 52), and Ella May (age 21, listed as domestic servant). In this census, Perkins' recorded real estate valued by him at \$98,760, and indicated \$16,182 worth of personal property.

The 1870 agricultural census provides additional details. This census indicates that in addition to Perkins' 1,650 improved acres, he also owned 1,324 acres of woodland; much of this unimproved land was probably located outside of the 18th District. Perkins recorded over \$2,000 in wages paid and \$800 in farm equipment. Livestock worth \$8,525 included horses, mules/asses, milk cows and other cattle, sheep, and pigs. During the past year, the plantation produced 2,500 bushels of corn, 1,100 bushels of wheat, 60 bales of cotton (450 lbs each), and 500 pounds of wool, in addition to rye, oats, barley, other food crops, and hay.

The early 1870s saw continued improvement in Perkins' economic outlook. Tax records for 1871 show Perkins with 1,608 acres (valued at \$40,200) and personal property worth \$7,500 (WCTR 1871). The only comparable landowner in the 18th District in that year was John L. Jordan, with taxable assets totaling \$36,320; all others were far below. By 1873, Samuel Perkins is listed with 1,665 acres (\$48,410) and personal property worth \$11,315. By this time, he was the wealthiest individual in the District, by far.

The 1878 Beers Map of Williamson County provides a view of the Samuel Perkins plantation, Westview, in its post-war setting (Figure 16). The Westview mansion is shown at

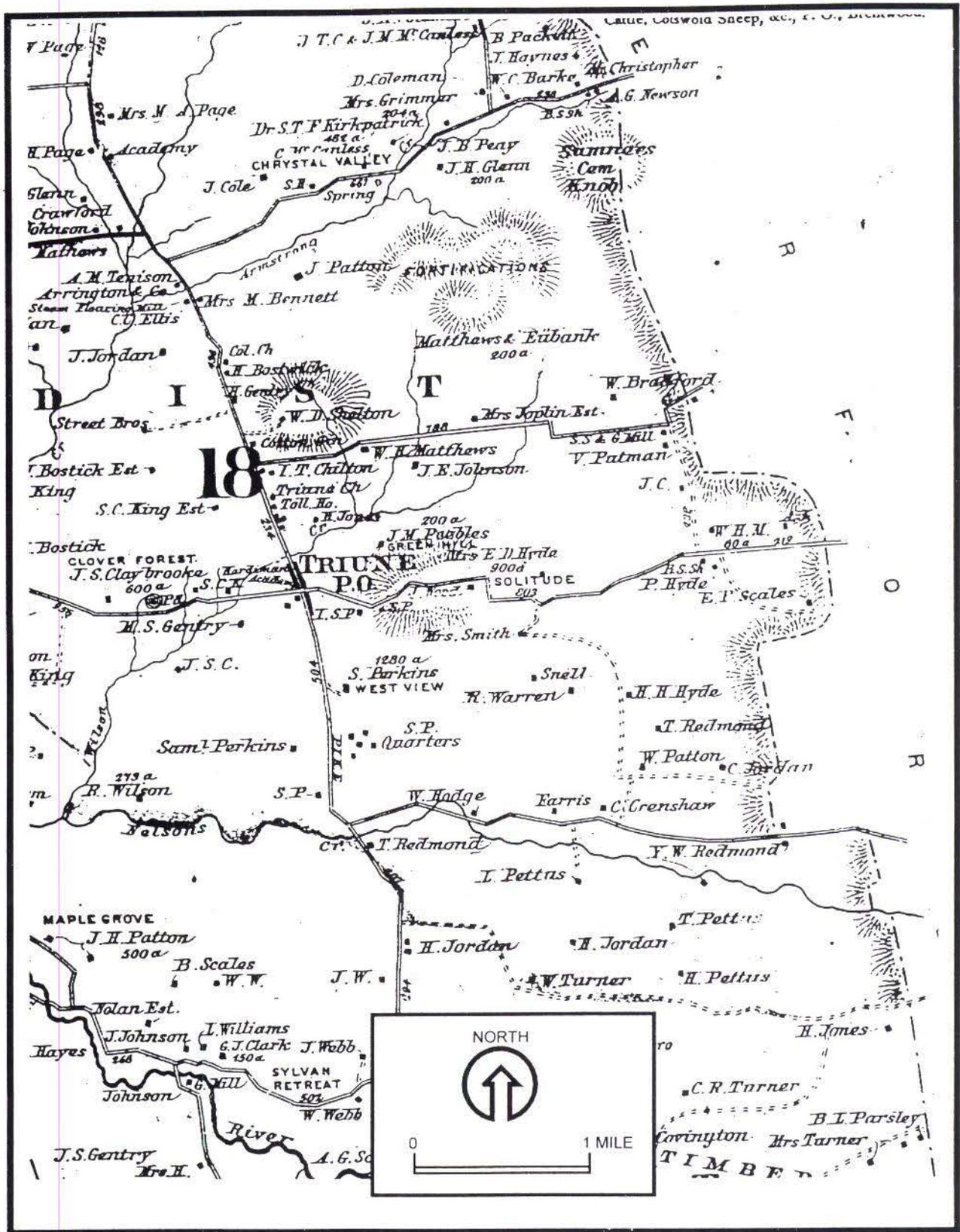


Figure 16. 1878 Beers Map of Williamson County showing location of 40WM178 (S. Perkins, West View).

the east end of a driveway from Nolensville Pike. Two additional, apparently-related buildings are shown on the west side of this road, labeled Saml. Perkins and S.P. A cluster of five buildings located to the south of Westview and referred to as S.P. Quarters are probably tenant residences. The Beers Map (1878b) records plantation size as 1,280 acres (similar to the 1880 agricultural census total of 1,250; see below).

By 1880, Perkins' personal estimates of the value of his property came to more closely resemble those of the tax assessor. In that year, Samuel Perkins is listed with his son (referred to as Samuel Perkins Sr. and Samuel Perkins Jr.) in the county tax records (WCTR 1880). Samuel Perkins Sr. (II) is listed with 1,322.5 acres (\$33,100) and personal property worth \$7,200. Samuel Perkins Jr. had no property and was assessed \$2.00 for the poll tax. In the 1880 agricultural census, Perkins estimated that his plantation was worth \$40,000.

In the 1880 population census, Samuel Perkins (a farmer, age 51) is listed with his two children (Susie M., age 26 and Samuel Jr., age 24, a farmer), his aunt (Eliza Martin, age 87), two cousins (Mary S. Clemens, age 62 and Ann E. Parsons, age 61), and a farm worker (Burgess Mullins (age 25)). The agricultural census for that year divides the Perkins property into improved/tilled land (426 acres), improved/meadow, pasture (475 acres), and unimproved/woodland (349 acres), for a total of 1,250 acres. In 1880, Samuel paid \$620 for 60 weeks of hired labor. He continued to raise livestock (horses, mules/asses, beef and milk cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens), and his primary crops were corn (6,000 bushels) and wheat (110 bushels). He grew no cotton that year, but had produced marketable fruit from apple and peach trees.

During the 1870s and early 1880s, Samuel Perkins II began selling small portions of his plantation. In 1874, Perkins sold approximately 11 acres along Nelson's Creek to William R. Turner (WCDB 4:532). In 1880, he sold a small tract located southwest of the intersection of the Franklin-Murfreesboro Road and the Nolensville Road to Jane E. King (WCDB 8:353).

In seven transactions dated February 9, 1885, Samuel Perkins II sold a total of 93.5 acres in small tracts (ranging in size from seven to 25.5 acres) to African Americans (WCDB 10:532-536). These tracts were located in the southwest corner of the plantation (along Nelson's Creek) and were sold for an average of \$34 per acre to Anthony Perkins, Mary Ann Phillips, Elizabeth Morton and Thomas Perkins, Walter and Joseph Ewing, Jacob Perkins, Samuel Williams, and Wilson Allison. Name similarities suggest the likelihood that several of these individuals were former Perkins slaves, now working as wage hands or tenants.

While his plantation property was slowly being reduced in size, Samuel Perkins II continued to maintain a relatively high standard of living. In 1883, Perkins' property (1,150 acres) was valued at \$29,440 (WCTR 1883). Three years later, his 18th District plantation was 1,060 acres, and was taxed at \$26,500 (WCTR 1886). In the year of his death (1889), Samuel Perkins was assessed for 1,062 acres, valued at \$30,000, and personal property worth \$6,260 (WCTR 1889).

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Samuel Perkins II died in 1889. Because his family no longer lived in the area, in his will (written 16 May 1889), Perkins directed that his

Home place and tract of land on which I now reside, containing about one thousand and sixty acres, situated near Triune in Williamson County, Tennessee, be sold by [his] executors for cash or on credits at public or private sale as they may deem best... however, before selling said farm [they] shall reserve and lay off one fourth of an acre of ground including my family burial ground, with convenient right of way thereto from the pike. And this one fourth of an acre, I devise to my children equally to be held and used as a family burial ground.

As directed by Perkins, the majority of his land was sold in lots ranging from 50 to 215 acres. A public auction was held on 11 May 1897, where lots of 51 and 215 acres were sold to Samuel II's son, Samuel, Jr. (WCDB 20:65) and to his son-in-law, E.L. Jordan (WCDB 20:70), respectively. No explanation was given for the eight year delay in beginning the sale of the property. A tract consisting of approximately 327 acres and containing the Westview plantation house and dependencies was sold to Mrs. Lavinia Patton (Wilson) Scales in September 1898 (WCDB 41:501). In 1899, four additional tracts totalling 289 acres were sold to Joseph L. Covington (WCDB 21:458-462).

According to information gathered by Virginia Bowman (Williamson County, Tennessee Burials, Volume III 1991; Bowman, personal communication 1996), the 1/4-acre cemetery set aside in the will of Samuel Perkins II contained at least 25 graves. No specific cemetery location has been determined, although Bowman (personal communication 1996) suggests that the cemetery was in the garden behind Samuel Perkins' (1774-1843) house.

Bowman (personal communication 1996) stated that several of the graves were disinterred from this family cemetery on December 10, 1897, and reinterred at Mt. Olivet Cemetery in Nashville. Those removed were members of the Perkins family, including: Samuel Perkins and his second wife, Nancy Richardson Perkins; Samuel Perkins II and his wives, Susan May Perkins and Eleanor Brown Perkins; Samuel II's son, Preston; and a still-born infant of Samuel Perkins II. At Mt. Olivet (Section 14, Lot 6), an inscribed stone shaft marks the grave of Susan May Perkins.

Bowman (1971:107) indicates that after removal of the Perkins burials, the cemetery was destroyed through both conscious removal of markers and general neglect. The cemetery area was apparently once a stockyard, where cattle were fed. Bowman (personal communication 1996) states that a barn has been built over a portion of the graveyard and that some stones were used to support a watering trough. Subsequent visitors recovered pieces of markers attributed to Charles Perkins (1742-1827), said to be a cousin of Samuel Perkins, and to Samuel Perkins (1774-1843). The current location of these marker fragments is unknown. A third, nearly-intact marker is present at the site, leaning against a wire fence (Figure 17). This marker is that of R.R. Haynes (1808-1867); his relationship to the Perkins family is unknown.

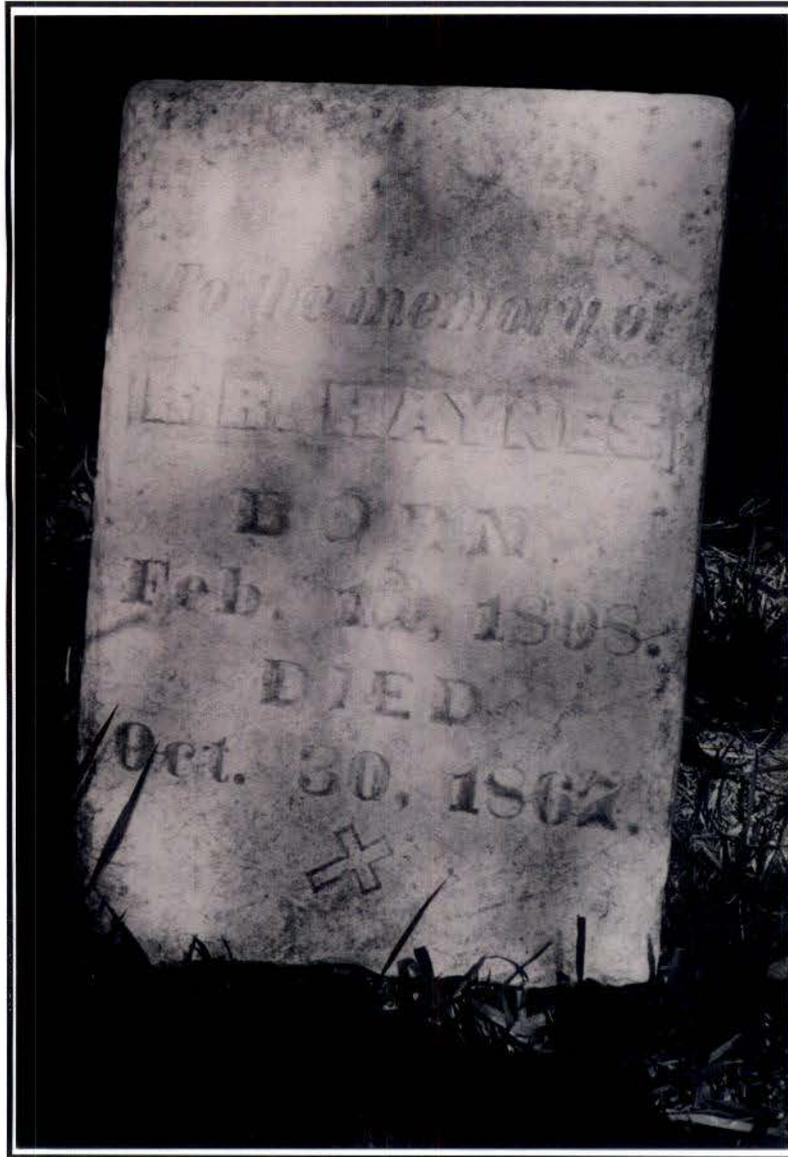


Figure 17. Gravestone of R.R. Haynes (1808-1867), found at 40WM178.

Lavinia Scales lived at Westview (Figure 18) until her death in 1917 (Bowman, personal communication 1996). The Westview property was left to Lavinia's son, Emmett P. Wilson, and remained in the Scales family until 1925, when her other son, John R. Wilson, sold the 245-acre tract to William S. Smartt (deed records not found; Virginia Bowman, personal communication 1996).

The Smartt family's tenure at Westview was relatively brief. On the night of January 20, 1928, William S. Smartt's wife and two sons (Landon and William M.) were in the house when a fire started. The Westview mansion and its contents were destroyed (*The Review-Appeal* CXV[4]:1, January 26, 1928), but the exterior walls remained standing. A subsequent tornado that passed through the area uprooted large trees in the yard and destroyed a carriage house, but the brick walls of Westview remained (Bowman 1971:8).

On July 16, 1928, William M. Smartt sold the property (244.94 acres) to W.R. Haynes. Slightly more than a year later, Haynes sold a 100-acre portion of the property (Figure 19), described as containing a frame house and outbuildings, to Joe W. Scales (WCDB 59:198). In this transaction, Haynes reserved the right to salvage "one-half of the brick in or that were a part of the old residence on the property."

In January 1933, J.W. and Corinne Maie Scales sold the 100-acre tract to O.C. and Hattie Wallace (WCDB 64:25). This transaction provides a description of some features of the property, including a dwelling house, an old barn, a new barn, and a garden spot (between the dwelling house and the new barn). In addition to two rolls of fencing wire, Scales reserves no more than 3,000 bricks "out of the old brick dwelling on the premises, to underpin the home of Mrs. Sam Scales."

Five months later (June 1933), the Wallaces sold the property to Annie Marie Covington (WCDB 65:24). By that date, the stone columns and a large quantity of the bricks had been removed from the site (Bowman 1971:8). Except for the apparent sale of approximately 25 acres from the southeast corner of the tract, this property remained in the Covington family until its recent purchase by the State of Tennessee for highway right-of-way.

40WM178 RESEARCH SUMMARY

Site 40WM178 represents an early to late nineteenth century, eastern Williamson County plantation. The site was initially occupied by the Samuel Perkins family in 1805, and remained under this family's ownership until 1898, after the death of Samuel Perkins II. During the remainder of the nineteenth century and through the twentieth century, the Perkins plantation passed through several unrelated owners, until its recent purchase by the State of Tennessee.

The Perkins' achieved financial affluence during their 93 year tenure. By the early 1830s, less than 30 years after his first purchase of 630 acres in Williamson County, Samuel Perkins had

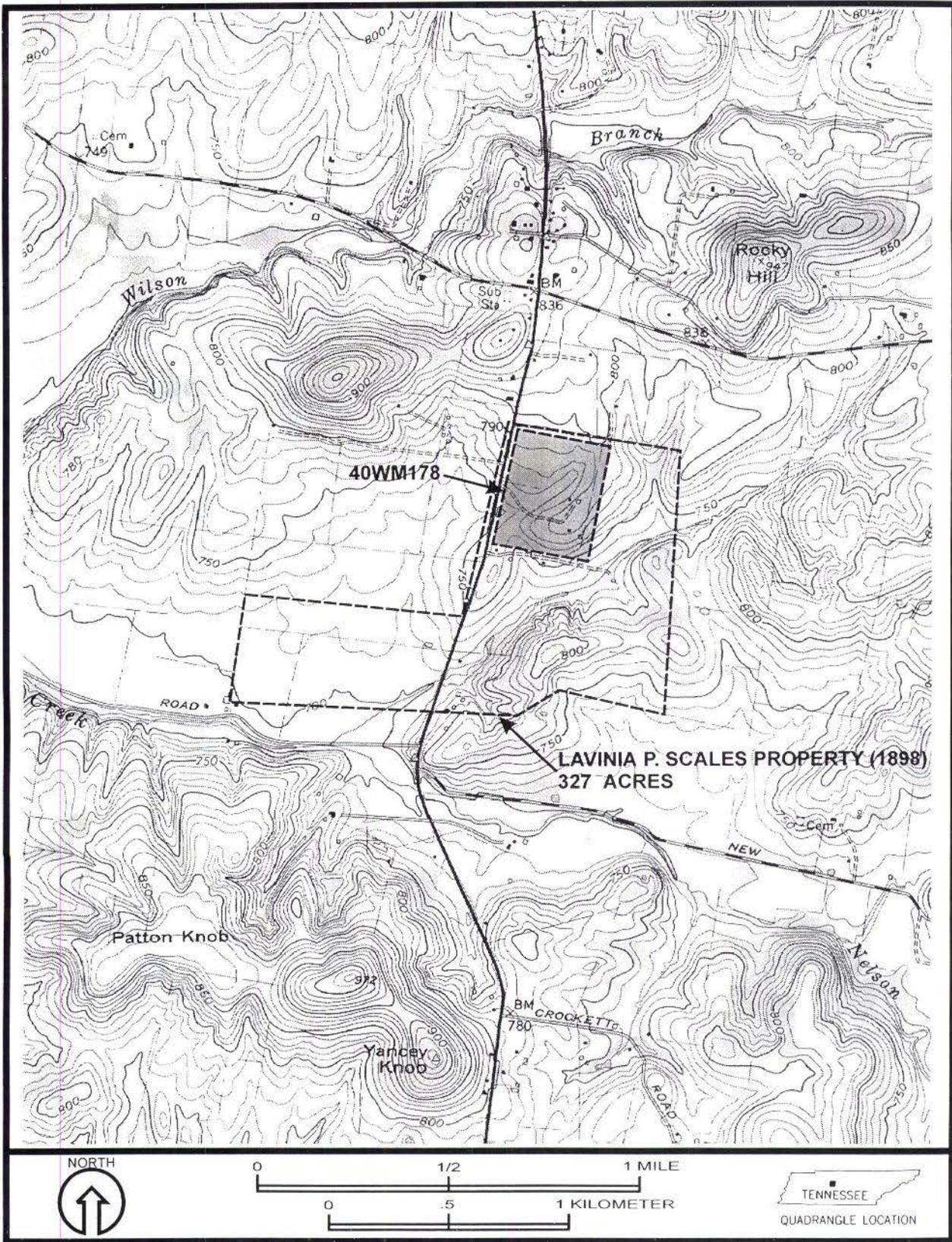


Figure 18. Lavinia P. Scales property (1898) surrounding 40WM178.

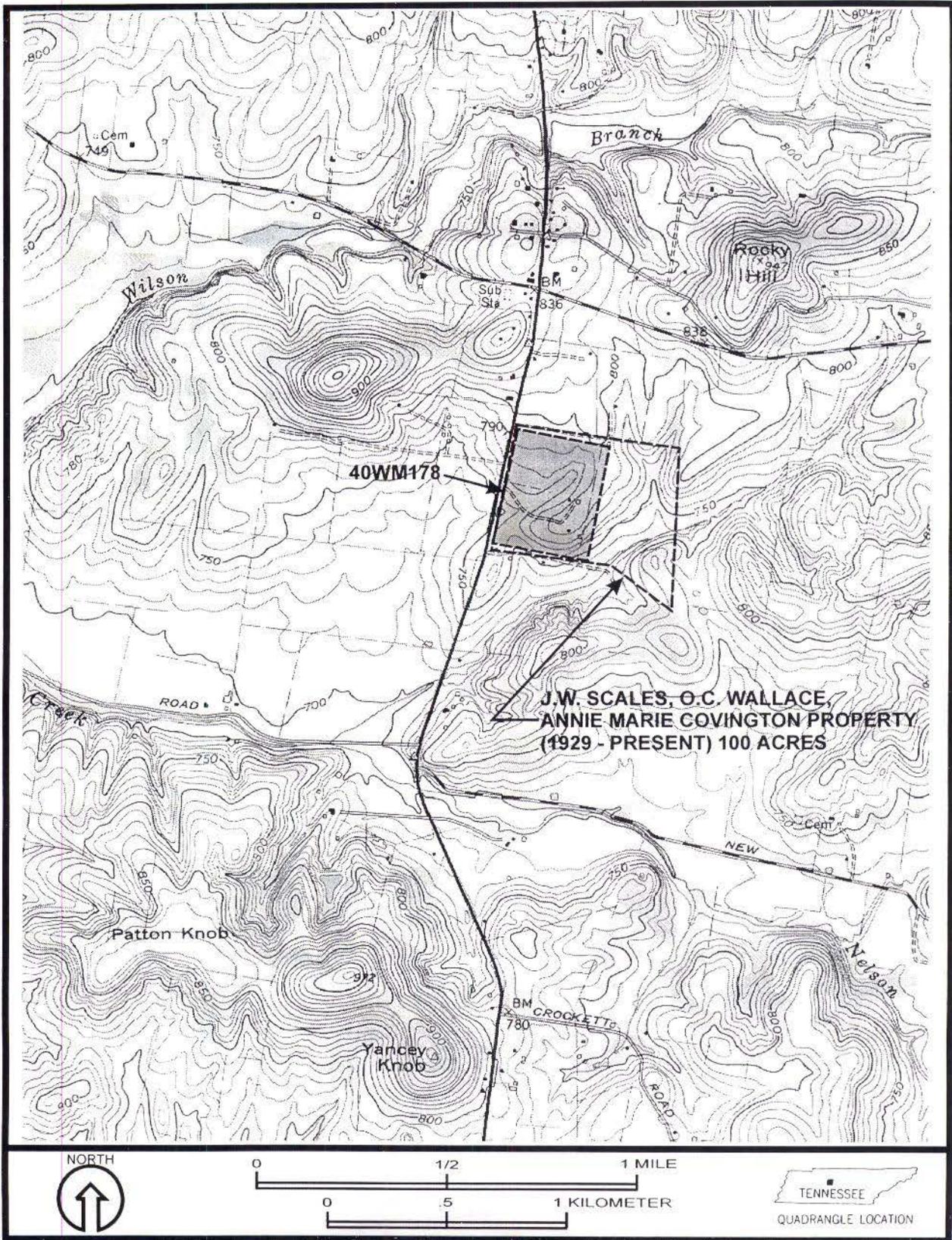


Figure 19. Tract belonging to J.W. Scales, O.C. Wallace, and Annie Marie Covington (1929-1995), including 40WM178.

nearly quadrupled his landholdings and had acquired more than 40 slaves. Perkins served one term in the Tennessee State House of Representatives (1825-27) and was apparently also active in local politics. Not content to operate only one plantation, Perkins began purchasing property in western Williamson County and in the western counties of Tennessee. Much of this property was sold or bequeathed to Perkins' heirs at his death in 1843. Perkins had eight children by his first wife (Sarah, or Sally). Each of his grown children from this marriage received property or cash. His eastern Williamson County plantation, consisting of almost 1,200 acres, was left to his second wife, Nancy, and their only son, Samuel Perkins II.

By the time Samuel Perkins II reached adulthood (1850), he was owner of one of the largest, most productive plantations in the 18th District of Williamson County. Listed as property of Nancy Perkins, the family's real estate and other personal property (including 58 slaves) was worth nearly \$75,000. The Perkins' owned nearly 1,300 acres (all improved) and raised corn, cotton, and livestock.

During the 1850s, Samuel Perkins II continued to build upon his father's legacy by expanding and improving his plantation. Samuel expanded the property to approximately 1,600 acres and constructed a large, elegant plantation house (named Westview) with appropriate dependencies for himself, his new wife (Susan, married 1853 and died 1856), and his family. At the beginning of the Civil War, the Perkins plantation, including holdings of Samuel and his mother, was worth approximately \$215,000, placing them among the wealthiest of families in the 18th District, considered to be the most prosperous portion of Williamson County.

Like nearly all other residents of Tennessee and the South, the Perkins family suffered financial hardships due to the Civil War. Losses may have been more serious in eastern Williamson County due to the number and extent of war activities occurring there between 1862 and 1864. The area surrounding Triune experienced battles, skirmishes and a lengthy occupation by a large contingent of Union forces. Union and Confederate troops are known to have camped at the Perkins plantation at various times during the war.

Local historians indicate that Samuel Perkins "lost heavily during the war and in the bitter Reconstruction" (Bowman 1971:8); however, it is apparent that through perseverance and shrewd business sense, Perkins was able to recover and, indeed, thrive. Wartime county tax records (1862) indicate assessments for real and personal property valued at approximately \$21,000, down substantially from two years previous. By 1871, Samuel Perkins recorded the highest valuation in the 18th District (\$47,700). It is interesting to note that the valuation provided by Perkins for the 1870 population and agricultural censuses was substantially higher (approximately \$115,000).

The remainder of the 1870s and the 1880s saw financial prosperity for the Perkins family. Decreases in real estate holdings occurred through the period as Perkins sold small tracts to former slaves and neighboring tenant farmers; however, Westview Plantation maintained an average tax evaluation of approximately \$40,000 through the late 1880s.

Few contemporary descriptive accounts or plan maps are available for the Perkins plantation during their tenure. A poorly preserved map dated ca. 1862 shows the manor house, Westview, with a stable and associated buildings thought to be slave houses. The 1878 Beers map depicts only the plantation house -- Westview -- at the location of 40WM178. Other buildings within the plantation boundaries attributed to Samuel Perkins include a group of five houses, referred to as the "Quarters," shown to the south and southwest of Westview.

Apparently realizing that his grown children no longer had ties to Westview, Samuel Perkins II directed that at his death (1889) the property should be sold and the proceeds divided among his children. His wish to preserve a small portion of the property (the family cemetery) as a permanent gathering place for his descendants was soon nullified when, eight years after his death, graves were removed and reinterred at Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Nashville. Less than one year later, the plantation passed out of the Perkins family.

Subsequent to Perkins ownership, the plantation property surrounding the manor house and its dependencies decreased in size. During the early to middle twentieth century, old outbuildings fell into disrepair, old buildings (i.e., the smokehouse) were renovated, and new buildings (a house and at least one barn) were constructed. The ca. 1855 manor house, Westview, was destroyed in a fire in 1928, and building materials were salvaged from the ruins through the early 1930s.

Site 40WM178 currently includes extensive architectural ruins, standing structures, and both known and suspected subsurface cultural features dating to the early to late nineteenth century. The site area also reportedly includes remnants of a family cemetery. Standing structures from later occupation and site use (i.e., early to middle twentieth century) are also present. No archaeological investigations have been conducted at this site to date.

VI. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

40RD222 INTERPRETATION AND EVALUATION

Site 40RD222 represents middle to late nineteenth century occupation and specialized site use of an undetermined nature. Phase II archival research (supported by limited archaeological investigations) determined that this site is part of a western Rutherford County yeoman farmstead, purchased by William Glymph in the early 1840s. Glymph resided nearby (on the south side of the Franklin-Murfreesboro Pike) until his death in 1877. No documentary evidence was found supporting occupation of 40RD222 by William Glymph, although it is possible that the house shown near 40RD222 on the 1878 Beers map was occupied by one of Glymph's children or by a tenant. Subsequent property owners during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century may also have lived at or near 40RD222, or the tract may have been leased.

The most notable features present at 40RD222 are numerous stacked limestone piles in various configurations. Archival research has determined that several of the linear dry-laid stone walls apparently mark property or field lines. Functions of a majority of the remaining stone features, including irregular linear berms and stacked stone circles, could not be determined through Phase II archival research and remain problematic. Informed archaeologists have suggested a variety of interpretations, variously supported by documentary and/or archaeological information. One large rectangular limestone stack is associated with structural artifacts (e.g., wrought and early machine cut nails, a hand forged square nut) and could be related to a building, possibly the house shown on the 1878 Beers map. Some linear berms follow hillside contours, suggesting field edging, possibly for soil conservation. Other linear berms could be remnants of animal pens, lacking long-since deteriorated wooden fencing. Some linear berms could be field clearing piles; stacked stone circles may also be clearing piles, stacked around trees which are no longer present. Stone circles may also relate to stockpiling of tabular stone in quantifiable units for sale in road construction or maintenance.

Due to the unique character but unknown function of rock features, 40RD222 is recommended potentially eligible for the NRHP. The site appears to be relatively intact. If function(s) can be attributed to the rock piles and site occupation period can be established, this site may have the potential to contribute to a variety of relevant research realms (see Table 1). These include (but are not limited to): animal husbandry/subsistence/economy; delineation of intrasite settlement and activity areas; structure form and proxemics; class and status indicators; extraction/production technology; and worker's lifeways.

PROPOSED PHASE II ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT 40RD222

Phase II archaeological evaluation is recommended for 40RD222. Systematic short interval shovel testing should be undertaken across the entire site area (Figure 20), to define site boundaries and delineate artifact clusters, if present. Shovel tests should be supplemented by

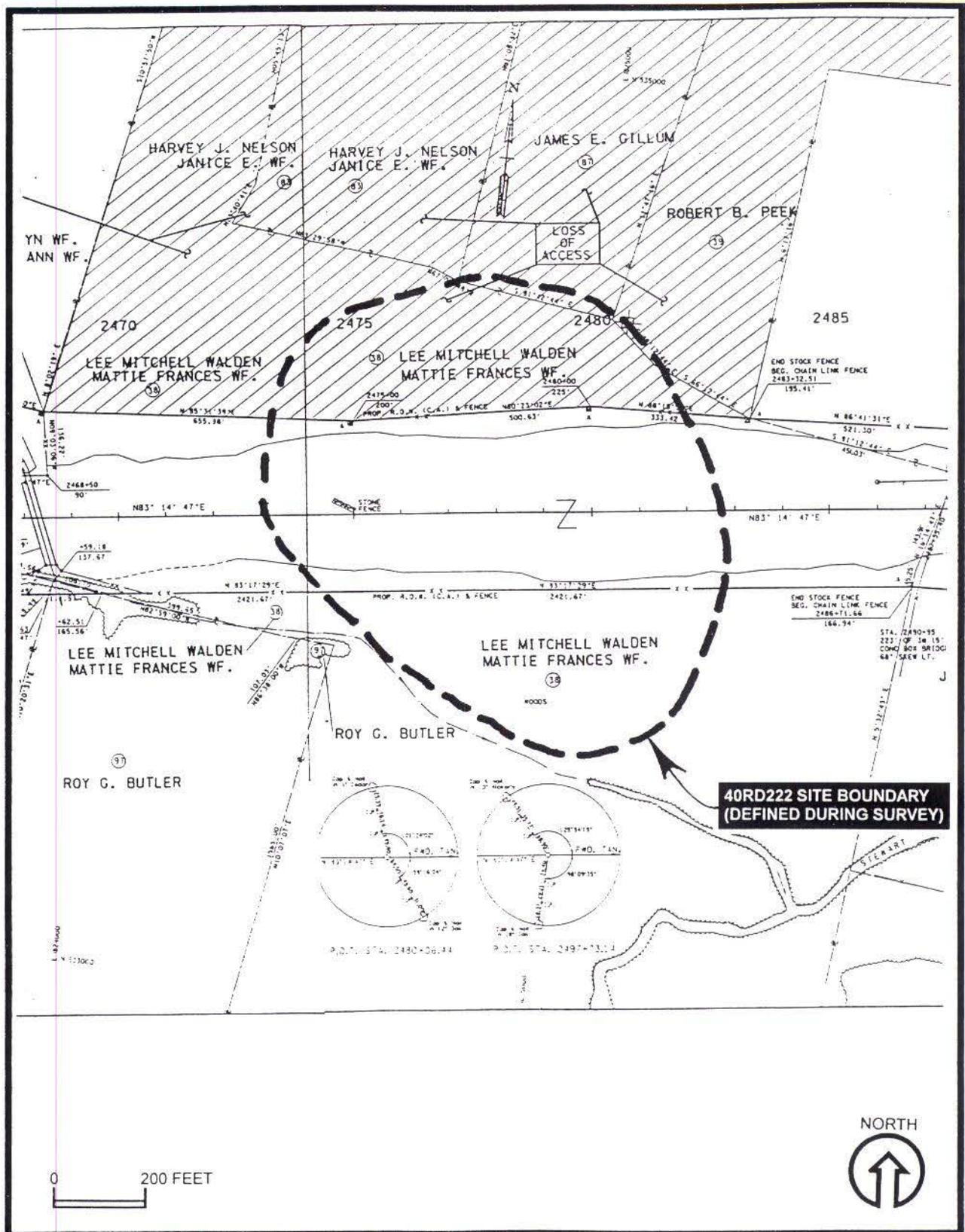


Figure 20. Site boundary of 40RD222, defined during Phase I archaeological survey (Barker 1996:69).

metal detecting, particularly in areas where structures are indicated. The current site plan map, produced during Phase I archaeological survey, should be revised through transit mapping to reflect newly discovered features. It is also recommended that limited additional background research be conducted. This research should include continued efforts to identify and interview both local informants and experts knowledgeable in stone masonry. Recovery of relevant data from informants may also require additional archival research at local and state repositories.

The level of effort for Phase II archaeological investigations described above should provide adequate information to evaluate research potential at 40RD222. If results of these studies indicate limited or nonexistent research potential, 40RD222 will be recommended ineligible for the NRHP; cultural resources clearance for this portion of the project corridor will then be recommended. Positive findings of research potential at 40RD222 supporting NRHP eligibility recommendations will necessarily require development of appropriate methods for mitigation of project effect, i.e., Phase III data recovery.

40WM178 INTERPRETATION AND EVALUATION

Based on combined results of Phase I archaeological survey and Phase II background research, 40WM178 represents a well-preserved example of an upper class Middle Tennessee plantation. The site was initially occupied by Samuel Perkins in 1805. Through their 93-year tenure, Perkins and his descendants brought the plantation to financial and social prominence. The family survived the depredations of the Civil War (including occupation of the plantation by both Confederate and Union forces), and reestablished their dominance in agricultural production during the late nineteenth century. The property remained in the Perkins family until the death of Samuel Perkins II, youngest son of the original settler. During the remainder of the nineteenth century and through the twentieth century, the Perkins plantation passed through several unrelated owners, until its recent purchase by the State of Tennessee.

Site 40WM178 is recommended eligible for the NRHP under Criterion C, at the local level of significance. Site 40WM178 exhibits preserved standing structures, structural ruins, and subsurface features (including reported remnants of a family cemetery) reflective of the nineteenth century Perkins tenure, as well as standing structures and features representing early to middle twentieth century occupation and site use.

Historical and informant data document general site occupation dates, provide general locations of previously unrecorded structures and features, and indicate possible spatial separation of site contexts. For example, Michler's ca. 1862 sketch map shows the main house (Westview) with a nearby stable and four small buildings in a row. This linear arrangement is thought to represent slave houses. Unverified informant accounts indicate the presence of a stone foundation approximately 100 yards to the rear (east) of the ruins of Westview; this foundation is reportedly the location of the first house on the property, constructed by

Samuel Perkins after 1805. If verified, this site area could yield relatively undisturbed evidence of early nineteenth century settlement.

Background research and site observations indicate that 40WM178 has the potential to contribute to a variety of relevant research realms (see Table 1). In general, these include (but are not limited to): plant and faunal diet; animal husbandry/subsistence/economy; delineation of intrasite settlement and activity areas; structure form and proxemics; nineteenth century ceramic assemblage definition; and class and status indicators. In addition, documented Civil War site use suggests potential for discovery of period contexts relevant to interpreting military lifeways.

According to current planning documents, proposed highway construction will have an adverse effect on 40WM178. As indicated in Figure 21, the site's principal features are located within the proposed direct impact corridor. Personnel of the Tennessee Department of Transportation, Environmental Planning Office (Gerald Kline, personal communication 1996) have indicated that site avoidance by rerouting will not be possible; therefore, mitigation of adverse effect through appropriate Phase III investigations (i.e., data recovery) is recommended.

PROPOSED PHASE III ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT 40WM178

A detailed research design defining project goals and research methods should be developed prior to initiation of Phase III investigations at 40WM178. Adequate archaeological data recovery and documentation of the site will require a range of research techniques, supportive of clear research objectives. Proposed data recovery field methods include: systematic surface and subsurface investigations (e.g., short interval shovel testing, metal detector survey), formal test unit excavations, block and feature excavations, machine grading, and detailed site mapping. Initial macro-level site area investigations (i.e., shovel testing, metal detection, and test unit excavation) will provide foci for micro-level excavations within the large, previously defined site area (Figure 21). Field investigations will be supplemented by additional background research (informant identification and interview, archival research).

A recent examination of archaeological investigations on plantations in the southeastern United States, and more specifically, Tennessee, provides background for proposed data recovery at 40WM178. According to (Babson 1994:63-71) the five primary needs of plantation archaeology in Tennessee are:

1. An overview of plantation sites in Tennessee, done as explained by Smith (1990).
2. Comprehensive, "book-length" reports on plantation sites.

3. More continuing archaeological programs on specific plantation sites, in the manner of that underway at the Hermitage (McKee 1991, 1992, 1993...).
4. Work towards a synthetic study of Tennessee plantation sites, which would incorporate and build upon the social-relations theory that is now being constructed for the Tennessee/Upper South region (Andrews and Young 1992).
5. In all of the above, a particular, continuing and consistent emphasis on the African-American parts of the plantation sites under investigation.

Phase III archaeological investigations at 40WM178 can be expected to contribute, to some degree, to at least four of these needs. Thorough examination of the range of building types and activity areas known to be present at 40WM178 (e.g., manor house, slave houses, agricultural outbuildings, cemetery) will add significant data to the growing Tennessee plantation database. Production of a comprehensive report of investigations, combining results of historical and archaeological research with data from other relevant disciplines (e.g., zooarchaeology, paleoethnobotany), should be a requirement of Phase III investigations at 40WM178. These investigations should also examine previously defined pattern models for social relations between classes present on plantations (i.e., planter and slave), and provide data on African American lifeways as reflected in material culture.

Based on results of background research, five periods of plantation development and decline can be defined for 40WM178. These periods consist of: (1) Initial Settlement and Plantation Development (1805-1850); (2) Westview's Golden Age (1850-1860); (3) Civil War and Recovery (1860-1888); (4) Plantation Fragmentation (1888-1900); and (5) Twentieth Century Site Use (1900-present). Primary goals of Phase III studies at 40WM178 will focus on locating and identifying structures, features, and activity areas representative of these developmental phases, and recovering artifact and context data adequate to provide interpretation. Specific research needs include:

1. Definition of the overall site plan;
2. Location and identification of specific structural remains (i.e., slave houses, pre-1850 manor house, documented outbuildings), features (e.g., privies, wells), and activity areas (e.g., Civil War encampments, cemetery);
3. Documentation (i.e., detailed mapping and additional informant/archival research) of all standing structures and structural remains; and

4. HABS level drawing and photographs of antebellum brick building at rear of manor house ruins (in consultation with qualified architectural historian).

It should be emphasized that location of the Perkins family cemetery and verification of grave removal is critical to mitigation of project adverse effect. While family remains were reportedly removed in 1897, it is likely that some family graves remain and that unrelated individuals (e.g., slaves) were also interred in the cemetery proper, or nearby. All interments at the site, if located in the project corridor, should be identified and removed utilizing accepted professional methods and following all applicable state laws.

General and comparative research questions developed by Weaver et al. (1993:15) for archaeological data recovery at the Gowen Farmstead (40DV401) are particularly relevant to proposed investigations at 40WM178. These questions (slightly modified for use here) include:

1. What are the relative social and economic statuses of the residents through time, and how did their expressions of social and economic status compare to those from other sites in the state and region?
2. How do the artifact assemblages and site layouts of large upper class plantations (e.g., the Hermitage) compare?
3. Is the ethnic identity of the site's residents reflected in the architectural and/or archaeological evidence from the site; and if so, what forms of expression are represented?
4. What was the subsistence pattern of the site's residents through time, and did the nature of that subsistence pattern change as the area evolved from a frontier to a more settled state?
5. What consumer patterns are evident from the site, and what was the position of the site residents in the larger consumer/marketing patterns of their times?

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