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TENNESSEE HISTORICAL COMMISSION, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

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## NEW TENNESSEE HISTORICAL COMMISSION ACQUISITIONS ADDED TO STATE HISTORIC SITES

By Martha Akins, Historic Sites Program Director

Two important property acquisitions completed this summer highlight the Tennessee Historical Commission's longstanding commitment to protecting and enhancing historic properties in Tennessee. In June, a non-contributing, c. 1950s commercial building abutting the James K. Polk Home State Historic Site in Columbia was purchased. The acquisition returns a historically-associated portion of the property to the site. Also that month, the State closed on a 25 acre parcel in Castalian Springs in Sumner County, home of four THC state sites.

The Polk property acquisition came from a portion of a special allocation of \$500,000 made to the Commission by the Tennessee General Assembly in the 2013-2014 budget year to acquire, maintain, and/or interpret historic sites. The \$150,000 purchase, approved by the Tennessee Historical Commission at their February, 2014 meeting, took well over a year to complete. "This significant addition to the Polk Home will allow more room for interpretation and add to the visitor experience," said THC Executive Director and State Historic Preservation Officer Patrick McIntyre.

The Polk home and museum contain the dwelling that Polk and his parents lived in, as well as the adjacent house occupied by his sisters. A kitchen building, garden, and a garden house complete the state holdings. Except for the White House, the Columbia property is the only surviving dwelling to have been occupied by the 11th president, who served in office from 1845 to 1849. Originally, the Polk property included the whole city block, but parcels were sold off before the state acquired the site in 1927. Over the years, two churches, a bank, a photographer's studio, and an attorney's office were built on portions of the former Polk holdings. In 2006, the James K. Polk Memorial Association, which operates the site, purchased one of the former churches, rehabilitated the historic building, and today operates it as museum space for changing exhibits. In an effort to reclaim another significant parcel, the Commission purchased a former photographer's studio, known locally as the Orman Building, from Mr. William DePriest. This acre lot is critical because the building sits inches from the detached kitchen building on the Polk property. The proximity has created a longstanding situation of deterioration from water infiltration.

With the building now under State ownership, THC will submit a Capital Budget Request this fall, asking for the funds to demolish the Orman Building. The outcome of the request will be known possibly as early as January, when Governor Haslam announces his budget for the upcoming fiscal year. The goal is that this portion of the grounds will be returned to the way they looked during the Polk family's occupation, the historic context will be enhanced, and the detached kitchen can finally be maintained.

In Castalian Springs, home to four THC sites and known as the "Cradle of Tennessee History," the State of Tennessee recently purchased 25 acres at the request of the Tennessee Historical Commission. The purchase was made possible thanks to an allocation from the State Lands Acquisition Fund. The acreage lies between several parcels of conserved historic properties—the Castalian Springs Mounds State Archaeological Site, Wynnewood State Historic Site, and Bledsoe's Fort Historical Park, owned by Sumner County. The effort to purchase the land began in 2011, when the owner stated he was willing to sell to the State. However, funds ran out before acreage could be purchased. In Fiscal Year 2014, funds were available, and the process to purchase the property using the State Lands Acquisition Fund began again. Official transfer to state ownership occurred in June 2015.

This parcel of property is important for several reasons. First, it is part of the original land owned by the Wynne family, who operated the Castalian Springs Inn (known today as Wynnewood). Second, the tract was designated as a "priority parcel for acquisition or protection through conservation easements" in the 2007 Preservation, Management, and Interpretive Plan for Historic Bledsoe's Lick. Mudpuppy & Waterdog, Inc., prepared the plan using funding provided by the Tennessee Wars Commission, a division of THC. The land was noted as being significant because of its proximity to the adjacent historic sites and because of the viewshed from those sites. Protecting these 25 acres preserves the sight lines as the Wynnes and other Bledsoe's Lick residents would have known it historically. In the future, the property is envisioned as part of a greenway or trail connecting the historic sites in the area together.

The next meeting of the Tennessee Historical Commission will be held at the International Storytelling Center, 100 West Main Street, Jonesborough October 16, at 9:00 a.m. EST.



## In Memoriam

Longtime THC member **Betty Jo Doty Walley**, died on July 1, 2015, at age 85. Mrs. Walley served on the Commission from 1993 to 2011. She was highly-regarded by her fellow Commission members and by those staff who worked with her, and will be fondly remembered for her thoughtfulness and kindness. A native of Chattanooga, Mrs. Walley and her late husband John moved to the picturesque historic town of LaGrange in Fayette County in 1963, where they purchased and restored the c. 1825 Reverie Plantation. The home burned tragically in 1987, and is profiled in the book *Lost Plantations of the South* by Marc R. Matrana. Mrs. Walley, who worked as a Laboratory Medical Technologist, was actively involved in historic preservation for many years. She helped get National Register designation for LaGrange, and chaired the LaGrange Historic Commission from 1975-1985.



Betty Jo Doty Walley  
1930-2015

Former THC member, the Hon. **D'Army Bailey**, age 73, died July 12, 2015. A native of Memphis, Judge Bailey served on the Commission from 1990 to 1995. In 1982, Bailey was part of a group of attorneys who raised \$144,000 to purchase the Lorraine Motel, site of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King on April 4, 1968. Bailey organized a foundation for the purpose of establishing the National Civil Rights Museum at the property, and he served as president from 1983 until the museum opened in 1991. In 1990, he was elected as judge in the Circuit Court for the Thirtieth Judicial District. He served for 19 years before retiring to return to the practice of law. Judge Bailey also had an acting resume, including appearing as a judge in the 1996 film "The People vs. Larry Flynt." Among those eulogizing Bailey at his funeral was former President Bill Clinton, who said "I wish we had a movie of the founding of the civil rights museum and he could close out his career as a lead actor playing the starring role...he left you and America a national treasure."

Preservation craftsman **Jerry Nuttall**, 64, died in August. Jerry was a project manager for Leatherwood, LLC. At the time of his death, he had been working on the restoration of the historic Clover Bottom outbuildings in Nashville. Mr. Nuttall had previously overseen work on the restoration at Sabine Hill State Historic Site in Elizabethton.

## The National Register of Historic Places

Since the last issue of *The Courier* there have been eight new entries to the National Register of Historic Places from Tennessee. The properties are the following:

Moss Mounds, Smith County

Glass Mounds, Williamson County

RCA Victor Studios Building, Davidson County

Ravenscroft Mine, White and Putnam Counties

Falls Creek Falls Fire Lookout Tower, Bledsoe County

Old Grainger County Jail, Grainger County

Rutledge Presbyterian Church and Cemetery, Grainger County

Murphy Springs Farm, Knox County

Gay Street Commercial Historic District (Boundary Increase)

The Stokely Davidson House in Williamson County was lost due to fire and removed from the National Register.

There are now 2,138 entries in the National Register from Tennessee including 281 districts for a total of 42,575 resources now listed.

## Historical Markers

At its meeting on June 26, 2015 the Tennessee Historical Commission approved eight historical markers: Senator Mildred J. Lashlee, Benton County; Elizabethton Blue Grays, Carter County; War Memorial Auditorium, Davidson County; First United Presbyterian Church, McMinn County; Burt High School, Montgomery County; Saundersville United Methodist Church, Sumner County; Dorothea J. Snow, Warren County; and Lebanon Post Office, Wilson County. Those interested in submitting proposed texts for markers should contact Linda T. Wynn at the Tennessee Historical Commission, 2941 Lebanon Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37243-0442, or call (615) 770.1093



# NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES NEWS

By Christine Mathieson

## Old Grainger County Jail



*Old Grainger County Jail façade*

Located on Highway 92 near Richland Creek in Rutledge, the Old Grainger County Jail is one of the oldest extant brick jails in the state of Tennessee. Grainger County's old jail sits at the southern edge of a historic commercial district, about one block south of the main highway (11W) that traverses the county southwest to northeast.

The earliest known settlements in Grainger County date to around 1796, and for about five years after that time the County used various locations, including local residences, to conduct meetings and official business. In 1801, the town of Rutledge was established as the county seat. The town is laid out in a compact linear grid that covers an area about four blocks square, centered along Highway 11W. The area surrounding the jail contains a mix of modern twentieth-century commercial buildings (c. 1950-1980) and older historic commercial buildings (c. 1920-1930), including the old Citizen's Bank Building (c. 1925) and the H. Gallion Store (c. 1925). A few residential buildings are interspersed throughout the vicinity of the jail, including the National Register listed Nance Building and homes dating from 1920-1940. The modern Grainger County Courthouse (c. 1949) sits about two blocks north of the Old Jail, and the original county courthouse (built 1801) was located nearby and dismantled to partially construct what is now known as the Henderson Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (c. 1890, NRHP listed 6/22/2000). The Old Jail is one of few historic commercial buildings in this area that retains its architectural and contextual integrity with the surrounding district.

The building's main entrance fronts onto Highway 92, facing west, and retains the original solid cast iron main door and corresponding outer barred door. The exterior of the jail retains a high degree of integrity. The jail is a two-story, brick rectangular building with minimal stylistic detailing on a brick foundation. Solid masonry walls are constructed with brick laid in a common bond pattern. There are windows on both floors on three elevations, the fourth (southern) elevation has no fenestration. There are single front and rear doors on the west and east elevations, respectively. All window and door openings contain a segmented brick arch. A low-pitched, crimped metal roof is situated with the gable ends facing east and west. A small front overhang has been installed at the main door, and there is a full-length covered concrete patio at the rear of the jail.

Surrounding the jail is minimal landscaping, primarily confined to the areas along the west and north elevations. Low wood timbers are situated in a rectangular shape to form plant beds, starting at the southwest corner, and extending around to the north elevation.

Entry into the interior of the jail is through the front door on the west elevation. The cast iron single door is about one inch thick with brass knob, original locking mechanism, and barred exterior door, also with original lock. The door frame, apart from the concrete-covered tread, is also iron. Upon entering the jail from the front door, the entrance opens into one of two main rooms on the first floor. The northern half of the building contains a foyer, and the southern half includes a meeting room with small kitchenette. The foyer allows direct passage to the back door, which was converted from an original window in the 1980s, and access to the second floor via a narrow stairway located at the northeast corner of the building.

The foyer has a thin, red acrylic fiber carpet with a small semi-circular imitation stone floor tile inset at the front door. A small stained glass window is inset above the main door, the design of which is a purple and yellow pattern with the text "Old Grainger County Jail 1848," although it is important to note that recent research supports an earlier date of construction. The walls are plaster. Between the foyer and meeting room is another iron door with iron frame, brass knob, and original locking mechanism. This door is about the same thickness as the main entry door and swings into the meeting room. The carpet carries into this room directly over the threshold of the doorway.

The only second floor access in the old jail is by a narrow stairway located in the northeast corner of the building, at the back corner of the foyer. There is a metal handrail that runs along the east and north walls, and a metal balustrade that runs along the inner area of the stairwell, which is partially concealed by the second floor. At the top of the stairs is a small landing that leads to the main space on this level. The landing area has minimal decoration, aside from rubber trim at the base of the walls and wood trim around the window at the northwest corner. There is another iron door here with iron frame and original key hole, though the locking mechanism is no longer attached. This single door swings out into the stairwell



*Old Grainger County Jail original entry door*

area to rest against the west wall. There are two small round holes in the door just above the lock that may have functioned as peepholes. One large room essentially takes up the entire second floor and functions as another meeting space. As there are three windows on each of the west and east walls, this room receives light from both sides of the building.

Research indicates that the jail was in use as a correctional facility until December 1949 or January 1950, though the exact date is yet undetermined. The original cells which (according to Harry Moore with the Grainger County Historical Society) included cells for women, were cut up and sold for scrap metal sometime in the 1950s or 1960s.

For an extended online version of this number of the Courier, enter [http://www.tn.gov/environment/history/history\\_courier-newsletter.shtml](http://www.tn.gov/environment/history/history_courier-newsletter.shtml) into your computer's search engine.



# NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES NEWS

By Christine Mathieson

## Murphy Springs Farm

The Murphy Springs Farm district is a historic family farm that includes 176 acres in northeastern Knox County, Tennessee, just outside the city limits of Knoxville. The core domestic complex of the farm is comprised of one primary contributing dwelling, a c. 1841 Gothic Revival house, a c. 1841 smokehouse, and a collection of outbuildings from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century – spring house, dairy house, barn/corncrib, chicken coop, wood shed - supporting buildings associated with a period of rural reform and agriculture. The domestic complex is set back from Murphy Road, and surrounded on all sides by pastures and fields. Also included are a family cemetery and a church cemetery.

The main house in the domestic complex, referred to as the Hugh Murphy House, is an excellent surviving example of the Early Gothic Revival style and wood-frame construction in East Tennessee. The house was constructed with lumber from the farm and brick fired on-site. A renovation in 1925 resulted in several changes to the house while leaving a majority of the original materials and woodwork intact and retaining a high degree of integrity. A restoration in 2009 relied on historic



*Murphy Springs Farm*

Martha Murphy, are buried along with two of their children and their spouses. At the northeast corner of the farm sits Murphy Chapel Cemetery which was associated with a Methodist chapel that was razed in the 1950s.

The agricultural land on the farm was used primarily for subsistence crop production in the nineteenth century, and then transformed into pasture, hay, and corn fields for dairy stock in the early 1900s. By the

mid-1940s, dairy operations ceased and the livestock was transitioned into a cow-calf operation, which continues to the present. The agricultural fields from the period of rural reform (1900-1945) are still extant. The landscape of the domestic complex and agricultural fields contribute to the historic character of the property. Mature cedar trees have grown and clearly defined the fence lines between the fields and pastures, which in places are also separated by creeks, and roads. A Norfolk Southern railroad spur line, built in the 1880s by Powell Valley Railroad Company, bisects the farm, as does Washington Pike, which was put into service in the early 1800s.



*Hugh Murphy House*

photographs to rebuild the front porch to its original form.

The Hugh Murphy House and adjacent domestic and agricultural outbuildings are situated approximately 500 feet to the east of Murphy Road on a knoll that rises above Murphy Creek to the south. Located in the vicinity of the Hugh Murphy House are a c. 1841 log smokehouse, a wood shed, a chicken coop, spring house, dairy house, two-bay barn-turned-garage, and a noncontributing one-bay garage. Most of the supporting agricultural-related resources date from the late 1880s to the early 1900s: the rural reform era. Across Murphy Creek to the south is the original Murphy family cemetery, where the original settlers, Robert and



*Murphy Springs Farm agricultural fields and landscape*

*The National Register nomination for Murphy Springs Farm was prepared by Kevin Murphy.*



## MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPATE IN CLOVER BOTTOM ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIG

By Kathryn L. Sikes, PhD  
MTSU Assistant Professor of History

This summer, a group of advanced students from Middle Tennessee State University set aside their history textbooks to learn about the past by other methods, rolling up their sleeves and getting their hands dirty. As part of a new MTSU Public History Program field school in historical archaeology, graduate students in MTSU's master's and doctoral programs in public history alongside undergraduates from the departments of History and Sociology & Anthropology took their studies outdoors in Davidson County to participate in a survey and excavation of Clover Bottom Plantation. The MTSU field school sought to uncover new archaeological evidence for Nashville's African American history during the first field season of a long-term investigation of the plantation's 19th-century enslaved and emancipated majority. Student excavations were directed by Dr. Kathryn Sikes under a state archaeological permit with funding from a Tennessee Historical Commission Federal Preservation Grant.



*Directed by archaeologist Dr. Kathryn Sikes (MTSU Assistant Professor of History), the field crew for Clover Bottom's archaeological survey and preliminary excavations included graduate students from MTSU's Public History Program as well as undergraduates majoring or minoring in Anthropology, Archaeology, or History.*

Braving the heat of June and July in Nashville, MTSU student archaeologists-in-training learned how to survey the property and record the locations of artifacts, how to recognize the footings of lost antebellum buildings, and how to date their findings to understand the story of Clover Bottom's landscape before and after the Civil War.



*The foundation of this building was uncovered by MTSU's field school in historical archaeology during the summer 2015 archeological field season.*

The crew began by thoroughly mapping the site and excavating small holes called shovel test pits, placed at known locations and spaced at equal distances in the areas of the property that were most likely to contain the property's slave quarters according to historic maps and documents. When stormy days prevented excavation, the field crew headed back to the lab on the MTSU campus to begin processing the excavation's artifact collection, learning to identify and catalog common objects retrieved from historic sites, such as pieces of the plates and teacups that once decorated the tables of Clover Bottom's resident families.

The crew's initial shovel test survey was followed by larger square test units placed at locations within the property where available evidence suggested historic building foundations might be located. Students carefully sifted the dirt they dug through screens to collect and label the artifacts they found, recording the locations of their findings in their field records. By these techniques, the crew succeeded in uncovering the outline of the northern half of one building that was almost certainly constructed sometime during the 1800s, but not abandoned until the mid-20th century. Continuing study of the excavation's field records and artifacts will help to define more precise dates for this building's construction and destruction.

The building explored by the archaeological field school may be one of these several former "quarters" that housed enslaved families on the property, and probably continued to shelter tenant families employed by the Price family following emancipation. Alternatively the building may have had a specialized function other than housing (as in the case of a dairy, smokehouse, or icehouse) that reflects the labor performed by enslaved residents. While Clover Bottom is best known for its antebellum mansion (constructed in the early 1850s) that is listed on the National Register and dominates its large estate, it is only the largest of the many buildings that made up the plantation. Currently serving as the offices of the Tennessee Historical Commission, the mansion was once owned by the

**Clover Bottom Archeological Dig, continued on page 6**



### Clover Bottom Archeological Dig...continued from page 5

Hoggatt and Price families from the 1790s through the early 20th century. But behind the historic plantation house, several other 19th-century structures still stand, including buildings that may have housed enslaved and emancipated African American families who made up the majority of the site's residents, some of whom were described by John McCline in his memoir of his childhood spent in slavery on the plantation, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms* (edited by Jan Furman). In addition to Clover Bottom's standing outbuildings, the writings of John McCline and other historic documents reveal that there were once many more antebellum buildings on the property, and the foundation that MTSU archaeologists found preserved is likely to be the remains of one of them, offering more information about African American families whose names and experiences were not as frequently or thoroughly recorded on paper as those of the Hoggatt and Price families. MTSU project members will be using the excavated building's associated artifacts alongside expanded historical and genealogical research to understand when and how the building was used, and how Clover Bottom's African American occupants experienced Middle Tennessee's transition from slavery to freedom.

By examining the remains of buildings underground along with its artifacts, historical maps, pictures, and documents, MTSU historical archaeologists are aiming to provide a more complete view of Clover Bottom's past than would be possible to produce from documents alone. The summer's survey and excavations are only the beginning of MTSU's archaeological research into Clover Bottom's history. Project members are now tasked with piecing together the meaning of their findings. Students in this fall semester's lab courses in historical archaeology are continuing to wash, identify, and catalog the artifacts



generated by the summer's shovel test pit survey. They will soon be plotting the results on a site map, looking for patterns in clusters of artifacts that may indicate other long forgotten buildings or yard spaces. When the study is complete, faculty and graduate students in MTSU's Public History Program will produce a report for the Tennessee Division of Archaeology, who will receive the excavation's artifact collection for permanent curation.

*Student archaeologists carefully screened the contents of each unit to retrieve artifacts and label them according to their location within the plantation. All artifacts are currently in the process of being cleaned, identified, and recorded in reference to site maps before being submitted with a full report to the Tennessee Division of Archaeology.*



*After a preliminary shovel test survey of the property, test units were carefully excavated with the aim of locating buildings associated with enslaved and emancipated families who once made up the majority of the property's residents.*

Tennessee Archaeology

AWAWARENESS MONTH  
SEPTEMBER 2015

*The Tennessee State Artifact, pictured here in clay, is part of the collection of the McClung Museum of Natural History and Culture at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, where he is displayed in the permanent exhibition "Archaeology and the Native Peoples of Tennessee."*

**Timeline of the Tennessee State Artifact**

- AD 1200-1750**  
The figurine (date commonly dated 1600) was created from clay by a Native American artist during the Mississippian period of Tennessee prehistory. The 8.5-inch figure depicts a kneeling man.
- 1839**  
Status is found at the Gettys Farm archaeological site in Wilkes County.
- 1940**  
Purchased by the University of Tennessee.
- 1941**  
Found in Tennessee.
- 1952**  
Traveled to Brussels, Belgium for the purchase of the National Museum of the History of Art at the University of Tennessee.
- 2004**  
Agreed on a United States Heritage Stamp as part of the 200th anniversary of the American Indian artist.
- 2004-2005**  
Part of the collection of Chicago's 2004-2005 exhibit "New York and Open Heart."
- 2010**  
The statue became the official Tennessee State Artifact.
- 2015-2018**  
Featured in the Tennessee State Archaeology Council's National American Indian Heritage Month Project.

Tennessee Council for Professional Archaeology  
Tennessee Historical Commission

Archeology Week Posters, funded in part by a Federal Historic Preservation grant from the Tennessee Historical Commission. 1,000 copies of this poster and 2,000 smaller post card versions are available for the asking. Contact: <https://tennesseearchaeologycouncil.wordpress.com/2015/09/09/30-days-of-tennessee-archaeology-2015-day-9-2/>



## PUBLICATIONS TO NOTE

By Linda T. Wynn

Assistant Director for State Programs & Publications Editor

**Publications of Hill and Wang, 19 Union Square West, New York, New York 10003 include the following:**

*A Massacre in Memphis: The Race Riot that Shook the Nation One Year After the Civil War* by Stephen V. Ash is the first book-length examination of the 1866 Memphis race riot. The Memphis riot of 1866 “influenced the course of America’s “history at a critical juncture”. (xiii) Not only did the Memphis Race Riot of 1866 influence the course of American history, it also focused the lens on the paradox confronting the newly liberated Blacks at the end of the Civil War as they found themselves more reviled and jeopardized than when enslaved. As historian, Leon F. Litwack observes in James Allen’s *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America*, the “violence meted out to blacks after emancipation and during Reconstruction” was intended to stress “the limits of black freedom” and “anticipated . . . the wave of murder and terrorism that” eventually swept “across the South.” *A Massacre in Memphis* is divided into three parts — “A City Divided,” “The Riot,” and “The Aftermath” — each section assesses the racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic composition of Memphis, prior to the riot; the events during the riot; and subsequent actions by individuals, as well as municipal, state, and federal officials who sought to escape culpability and the rare rectifying of perpetrated injustices. Memphis’ Irish residents and their largely Protestant native-born counterparts seethed with hatred for the newly emancipated freed persons. They were filled with detestation for the recently liberated persons and infuriated that the peculiar institution of slavery and its white supremacy twin was abolished by northern military might. The sight of black men wearing the uniform of the United States infuriated them. White mobs propelled by their strong-willed doggedness to ensure that Blacks never gained full-citizenship, from May 1 through May 3, 1866, descended upon Blacks, charging through the streets of Memphis as they committed murder, rape, arson, and pillage. When the “organized and bloody massacre” ended, forty-six Blacks had been killed “seventy-five injured, five [women] raped, and a hundred robbed, along with four black churches, twelve schools, and ninety-one dwellings destroyed”. (180) News of the events in Memphis reached across the nation. Some held Blacks in Memphis responsible for the riot and saw it as evidence that emancipation was a mistake. Notwithstanding, the United Congress launched Radical reconstruction or law

and policies to ensure freedom of the South’s four million freed Blacks. Historian Stephen V. Ash draws upon numerous historical documents and accounts and explains why the riot has been forgotten in the historical public memory. Making use of primary sources, records from the Freedmen’s Bureau, diaries, the *Report of the Select Committee on the Memphis Riots and Massacres*, House Reports of the 39th Congress, the papers of Thaddeus Stevens, City Directories, Historical Society papers, and Census data, Ash offers new discernments about the ignoble history of discriminatory and bigoted terrorism in the nineteenth-century South. *A Massacre in Memphis* illustrates how the aftermath of the Civil War set a pattern of vehement opposition to the full inclusion of American Blacks into the fabric of American society. This work should be of interest to anyone who wants to comprehend the hatred and violence that brought forth secession, rebellion, and ultimately the “birth of freedom.” **Cloth, \$27.00**

**Publications of The University of Georgia Press, Main Library, Third Floor, 320 South Jackson Street, Athens, Georgia 30602 include the following:**

*Tennessee Women: Their Live and Times*, Volume 2, edited by Beverly Greene Bond and Sarah Wilkerson Freeman. In sixteen essays scholars cover the contributions made by Tennessee women who were in the vanguard of the political, economic, and cultural history of the Volunteer State. In the nineteenth-century section of this tome, co-editor Beverly G. Bond, an associate professor of history at the University of Memphis writes, “We are introduced to enslaved women who struggle to locate public and private spaces where they can express their personhood, to free white women who challenge traditional perceptions of womanhood, and to black and white women who use their presence in public spaces to frame or reframe social and political ideology.” Bond’s captivating treatise “‘Ma . . . Did not make a good slave’: African American Women and Slavery in Tennessee,” unlocks the doors of Tennessee’s enslaved labor quarters and the enslavers’ dwellings and discloses the ways in which nineteenth-century women in Tennessee struggled for some self-rule for themselves and their children. “I believe they were afraid of her or thought she was crazy,” the daughter of an enslaved woman named Fannie recollected years later as she described her mother’s

**Publications to Note, continued on page 8**

**Publications to Note...continued from page 7**

interactions with the labor-camp's owners on behalf of herself or her children. The twentieth-century portion of the book, Sarah Wilkerson Freeman, a professor of history at Arkansas State University, reveals "an incredible tenaciousness on the part of many Tennessee women, across time and racial and religious spectrums, to lead by example and inspire a right and righteous faith in human equality and dignity." Lastly, in "Small Places Close to Home": Gender, Class, and Civil Rights Work—Mildred Bond Roxborough and the NAACP," Zanice Bond, an assistant professor of English at Tuskegee University, discusses the grass-roots reform efforts undertaken by Mildred Bond Roxborough, first in 1935 as a nine-year-old selling issues the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's magazine, *The Crisis*. The author uses incidents in Roxborough's life to reveal the adversities and travails African-Americans, and particularly women, faced in the twentieth century as they attempted to organize for reform and start NAACP chapters. Threats of physical violence drove Roxborough's family from Brownsville in the late 1930s, and though she

never again lived in Tennessee, the lessons she absorbed there stayed with Roxborough and inspired her life's labor in the freedom struggle. As Zanice Bond's essay reveals, Roxborough represents the multitudes of women who labored, as she herself suggested in 2013, across "ethnic and cultural lines to collaborate for the 'greater good.'"

Evaluating the national and sometimes global scope of their influence, the contributors explore women's lives within the expansive span of nineteenth- and twentieth-century history in Tennessee and re-envision the state's past by placing them at the epicenter of the historical arena and assessing their experiences in relation to significant events. Volume 2 reorients the readers' views of women as change agents in the history of the Volunteer state. This volume along with Volume 1 covers women's activities from the early 18th century to the late 20th century. *Tennessee Women* is an excellent source for those interested in this aspect of Tennessee's history. **Paper, \$34.95.**



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**Public Comment Solicited**

The Tennessee Historical Commission is again soliciting public comment and advice on its administration of the National Historic Preservation Act. Especially, we are seeking input on such matters as geographic areas or classes of properties which should be a priority for survey and/or registration efforts, criteria and priorities which should be established for restoration grants, and ways and means through which local efforts at preservation of historic properties can be most effectively assisted. Comments and advice on other areas and issues of a more general nature are also encouraged. Activities carried out by the Commission under the mandate of the Act include efforts to survey and inventory potentially-historic properties across the state and to nominate the most significant to the National Register of Historic Places. Other activities involve programs to protect and preserve properties once they are identified by reviewing Federal projects to determine if they will adversely affect historic properties and wish to earn the investment tax credits which are available; awarding and administering grants for the restoration of National Register properties; and providing technical assistance and advice to local governments which are attempting to establish local programs and ordinances to protect historic properties. Besides the restoration grants program, some of these activities are carried out in part by the provision of grant support to local groups and agencies. These grant funds are federal funds which are appropriated under the authority of the National Historic Preservation Act to assist states in carrying out the purposes of the Act. The comments received will be used to structure the annual application to the National Park Service for these funds. The Tennessee Historical Commission expects to solicit applications for grants-in-aid in June of this year for the 2015 Fiscal Year (10/01/2014-9/30/2015). The public input and advice which we are soliciting now will help to set both general office objectives and to establish priorities and criteria for the review of grant applications. Comments are requested by April 15, 2014, and may be addressed to Claudette Stager, Assistant Director for National Register Programs, Tennessee Historical Commission, 2941 Lebanon Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37243-0442.

This program receives Federal funds from the National Park Service. Regulations of the U.S. Department of the Interior strictly prohibit unlawful discrimination in departmental federally assisted programs on the basis of race, color, national origin, age or disability. Any person who believes he or she has been discriminated against in any program, activity or facility operated by a recipient of Federal assistance should write to: Director, Equal Opportunity Program, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

Tennessee Historical Commission, Authorization Number 327324, 16,800 copies promulgated at a cost of \$0.17 per copy, 08/15.



*Restoration Work on Clover Bottom Slave Cabin.*

## Restoration Progresses on Clover Bottom Outbuildings

With an emphasis on historic accuracy and sustainability, the restoration of the historic outbuildings at the Tennessee Historical Commission Offices, Clover Bottom, has been progressing since June. Here a worker installs a new, period-appropriate metal roof on one of the few surviving former slave dwellings remaining in Davidson County. The project should be complete by November.



## BLACK CAT CAVE

*Recent work at Black Cat Cave — a Prehistoric Cave Site in Rutherford County, Tennessee*

Tanya M. Peres, Florida State University  
Joey Keasler, Middle Tennessee State University

Black Cat Cave, which is located less than seven miles from the MTSU campus, is a place locals have told stories about for generations. Most residents of Rutherford County have heard about the old dance cave/speakeasy up by the VA Hospital. It is rumored that local farmers hid their livestock in the cave from Union troops during the Civil War (when it also supposedly held a perpetual motion machine!), and that fraternities from MTSU held mixers and initiations at the site in the 1970s and 1980s. This was all that was known about the cave until 2004, when evidence for ancient Native American activities were discovered buried inches below the concrete slab that had once served as a dance and restaurant floor. For the past two years, I have worked on an assessment, salvage, and data collection project in collaboration with colleagues at Middle Tennessee State University (Dr. Shannon Hodge and Joey Keasler, as well as numerous student volunteers), the City of Murfreesboro Parks and Recreation (especially Angela Jackson), and the Tennessee Division of Archaeology (Aaron Deter-Wolf and Sarah Levithol). This site, commonly referred to as Black Cat Cave (40RD299), is important to our understanding of how people used natural features on the landscape during the Archaic period of regional prehistory. A full reporting of our work at this site will be presented at



*Black Cat Cave Entrance*

the upcoming Southeastern Archaeological Conference being held in Nashville in November.

**Black Cat Cave, continued on page 10**

## GRANTS FOR FISCAL YEAR 2015-16

The Tennessee Historical Commission anticipates accepting grant applications for historic preservation projects for the 2015-2016 fiscal year in November 2015. These federal funds will be available after Congress passes the next federal budget. The exact amount of federal funds available for grants is not yet known but it is expected to be in the range of \$300,000. Applications will be reviewed, rated, and ranked. Decisions on those to be funded will be made when the exact amount of funding is known. This may be as late as August 2015, depending on when Congress completes work on the budget.

The selection process for grants will emphasize projects such as architectural and archaeological surveys, design guidelines for historic districts, and restoration of historic buildings that are listed in the National Register and have a public use. Priorities for grants will be based on the preservation plan *A Future for the Past: A Comprehensive Plan for Historic Preservation in Tennessee* (<http://www.tn.gov/environment/article/thc-federal-tennessees-plan-for-historic-preservation>) It includes areas experiencing rapid growth and development, other threats to cultural resources, areas where there are gaps in knowledge regarding cultural resources, and communities that participate in the Certified Local Government program. For surveys, projects should identify and record historic districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant to Tennessee's history and built

before 1965. Surveys may be for a specific geographic area or for sites associated with themes or events significant in the state's history, such as the development of railroads in the nineteenth century or post World War II residential development. Preservation plans for towns, neighborhoods, and historic districts and the preparation of nominations to the National Register of Historic Places are other areas for possible grant funding. In addition to the restoration of buildings, predevelopment work necessary to undertake rehabilitation is an acceptable grant category. Restoration of historic buildings must follow the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.

The grants are matching grants that will reimburse up to 60% of the costs of approved project work. The remaining 40% must be provided by the grantee as matching funds. Applications for grants will be expected to be available November 1, 2015. For further information or for an application, contact the Tennessee Historical Commission at (615) 532-1550, 2941 Lebanon Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37214. Applications may also be downloaded from the Tennessee Historical Commission website <http://www.tn.gov/environment/article/thc-federal-preservation-grants>. Completed applications must be in our office on January 31, 2016.



### ***BLACK CAT CAVE...cont. from page 9***

The Tennessee State Site File includes approximately 275 prehistoric sites in Rutherford County. This number is markedly low compared to neighboring Davidson and Williamson counties, which boast a combined total of over 1,300 prehistoric sites. Some believe the low number of prehistoric sites in Rutherford County is attributed to historical texts stating that Native Americans did not physically live in the area before the arrival of European settlers. For example, the Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture simply notes that prior to 1794, "...the land that is Rutherford County was the seasonal hunting and fishing ground of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Shawnees, Creeks, and Choctaws." The discovery of a significant ancient Native American site such as Black Cat Cave within the city limits opens up exciting new possibilities for understanding the area's prehistory.

This particular cave contains several key attributes that make it a likely candidate for habitation in the past. The shallow sinkhole, in which the mouth of the cave is located, offers protection from wind and keeps it secluded from the casual passerby. The mouth of the cave faces due west, which would provide the interior with the last sunlight of the day. Finally, and possibly most important, there is a steady supply of fresh/potable water less than 25 feet inside the cave, well within reach of sunlight. The sinkhole is roughly 150 feet long by 70 feet wide and 12 feet deep. At one time the cave entrance would have measured about 70 feet wide and 7 feet high; however, in the 1920's a wall was built to completely enclose the cave. Sometime in the past 30 years or so, large boulders were placed at the entrance to the cave and a chain-link fence was erected in other parts of the opening.



*Exploring Interior of Black Cat Cave*

Our work at Black Cat Cave began in earnest in February 2014 after anonymous reports of vandalism and looting at the site. Our team spent days assessing the extent of the damage, which included graffiti and massive looter pits. We removed the modern garbage from the site, and conducted an assessment of the natural cave walls and the cultural features within. We then began recording information on intact exposed archaeological deposits, including documenting the site stratigraphy revealed by the looting and collecting carbon samples for AMS dating. After these tasks were complete, we back-filled the holes with the looted dirt, screening for artifacts as we went.

The ultimate goal of our project and our ongoing collaboration with the City of Murfreesboro is to protect the site from future episodes of vandalism and looting. Our team worked with the City of Murfreesboro, Griggs & Maloney, Inc., a Murfreesboro engineering and environmental consulting firm, and Rollins Excavating Company to plan, design, and construct a fail-safe gate for the entrance. In mid-2015, a customized steel gate was installed across the opening to the cave, allowing for the movement of wildlife but preventing further human disturbance. During the gate installation our team conducted testing in areas that would be disturbed by buried footings, and as a result identified additional intact archaeological deposits.

Temporally diagnostic artifacts recovered from the site indicate Black Cat Cave was occupied beginning in the early portion of the Archaic period, and extending well into the Middle Archaic. A series of radiocarbon AMS dates, funded through a grant to me and Jesse Tune (now at Fort Lewis College) by the Tennessee Historical Commission will be presented in a forthcoming publication. Although artifact analysis is on-going, we have already learned a great deal of information about this site, and in turn about the prehistory of Rutherford County. Our next step is to prepare a nomination to the National Register of Historic Places to have Black Cat Cave listed as an important and noteworthy cultural resource in Rutherford County.



## The Tennessee Contraband Conundrum: 1862-1865, A Documentary Narrative, Part 5 of 5<sup>©</sup>

By James B. Jones, Jr., Public Historian

Despite the hardships the USCT faced as combat soldiers and construction workers and guards, they did develop an *esprit de corps*. On July 27, 1864 the first grand review of in Nashville was held in Nashville. A rare account of the official gathering testifies to these soldiers cohesion:

The grand review of the in this city took place yesterday afternoon at 4 o'clock. A large concourse of citizens and officers of the army were present to witness the first review of this branch of our service, which has attracted so much attention and comment from all classes. The Reviewing Officer was Brig. Gen. Chetlain, commanding the [USCT] of Tennessee. The present were the 12th regiment U. S. C. Inf.,<sup>1</sup> Col. Thompson; 15th U. S. C. Inf., Col. T. J. Downey; 17th regiment U. S. C. Inf., Col. W. R. Shafter; and 100th regiment U. S. C. Inf., Maj. Ford, commanding. The band of the 10th Tenn. Infantry were present and discoursed most beautiful music, and added much to the effect of the review. Col. Thompson, Review Officer present, took command, and right well did he acquit himself. The 12th regiment came upon a special train from section 26, N. W. R. R. To say that the review as good hardly does justice to these gallant soldiers. We have been an eyewitness of many reviews of veteran, but have not witnessed a more creditable review than that of yesterday. The commanders of the different regiment[s] may well feel proud of their commands-and those of our citizens-especially the galvanized portion-missed a grand sight if they were not present; and we would advise them when next an opportunity affords, to be present and see how well some of the sons, grandsons, nephews, &c., of our F. F.'s.<sup>2</sup> acquitted themselves as soldiers of the Union. We trust that these reviews may be frequent hereafter, that our citizens may see that the "" [sic] can and will make as good a soldier as a white man. Gen. Chetlain expresses himself highly gratified with the condition of the here, and we can only wish him god speed in his glorious mission.

The different regiments escorted the 12th regiment to the N. W. Railroad depot, and then marched through the streets. We regret to record the fact than an officer of the Army Commis'y [sic] Dep't., so far forgot himself as a soldier and gentleman to give commands to the as they passed his office on Cedar street. We trust hereafter that he will discontinue the practice of putting an enemy in his mouth to steal away his brains. We would gladly give an account of the rise and progress of the organization of in this Department but time will not permit.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 12th USCT, Organized in Tennessee at large July 24 to August 14, 1863 as 1st Alabama infantry (African descent).

Designation changed to 84th U.S. Colored Troops, April 4, 1864.

Designation changed to 1st U.S. Colored troops, later to 12th U.S. Colored infantry.

Railroad guard and garrison duty in the Dept. of the Cumberland till January, 1866

Mustered out January 16, 1866. Cited in [https://familysearch.org/learn/wiki/en/12th\\_Regiment\\_United\\_States\\_Colored\\_Infantry](https://familysearch.org/learn/wiki/en/12th_Regiment_United_States_Colored_Infantry)

<sup>2</sup> Most likely an abbreviation for "Fighting Forces."

<sup>3</sup> Nashville *Daily Times and True Union*, July 28, 1864.

*TENNESSEE CONTRABAND CONUNDRUM...cont. from page 11*

Despite the hardships the USCT faced as combat soldiers and construction workers and guards, they did develop an *esprit de corps*. On July 27, 1864 the first grand review of in Nashville was held in Nashville. A rare account of the official gathering testifies to this corps cohesion:

The grand review of the in this city took place yesterday afternoon at 4 o'clock. A large concourse of citizens and officers of the army were present to witness the first review of this branch of our service, which has attracted so much attention and comment from all classes. The Reviewing Officer was Brig. Gen. Chetlain, commanding the [USCT] of Tennessee. The present were the 12th regiment U. S. C. Inf.,<sup>4</sup> Col. Thompson; 15th U. S. C. Inf., Col. T. J. Downey; 17th regiment U. S. C. Inf., Col. W. R. Shafter; and 100th regiment U. S. C. Inf., Maj. Ford, commanding. The band of the 10th Tenn. Infantry were present and discoursed most beautiful music, and added much to the effect of the review. Col. Thompson, Review Officer present, took command, and right well did he acquit himself. The 12th regiment came upon a special train from section 26, N. W. R. R. To say that the review as good hardly does justice to these gallant. We have been an eyewitness of many reviews of veteran , but have not witnessed a more creditable review than that of yesterday. The commanders of the different regiment[s] may well feel proud of their commands-and those of our citizens-especially the galvanized portion-missed a grand sight if they were not present; and we would advise them when next an opportunity affords, to be present and see how well some of the sons, grandsons, nephews, &c., of our F. F.'s.<sup>5</sup> acquitted themselves as soldiers of the Union. We trust that these reviews may be frequent hereafter, that our citizens may see that the "" [sic] can and will make as good a soldier as a white man. Gen. Chetlain expresses himself highly gratified with the condition of the here, and we can only wish him god speed in his glorious mission.

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A good, but bleak summation for the future of the erstwhile contraband, USCT, and freedmen in Tennessee appeared in an article in the *Daily Cleveland Herald* explaining the big picture as a matter of moral vs. economic issues. The article was taken from a Knoxville newspaper, January 21, 1865, and purported that economics must prevail over prejudice against the contraband and freedmen. His argument furtively repudiated racial prejudice and sidestepped the issues of

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<sup>4</sup> 12th USCT, Organized in Tennessee at large July 24 to August 14, 1863 as 1st Alabama infantry (African descent).

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<sup>5</sup> Most likely an abbreviation for "Fighting Forces."

<sup>6</sup> Nashville *Daily Times and True Union*, July 28, 1864.

*TENNESSEE CONTRABAND CONUNDRUM...cont. from page 12*

education for freedmen. Instead it and put forth an argument for an inclusive return of King Cotton, save for chattel slavery, to be replaced by wage slavery and share-cropping. According to the circumvention in the editorial:

One cold night last Nov. was heard a knock at my door, so feeble that I doubted it were a knock, and there staggered in the doorway a poor, outcast black girl, sick and weak to faintness.-Her owner, having now no use for her, had cast her off to save the expenses of keeping her in food and clothing. Slavery never taught her to provide for herself, and she now wandered a beggar indeed. And no one often finds them here. She represents a large class of this suffering people, wading thru' deep waters out of bondage.- To anyone who stands here in Tennessee, and thinks-tho' he have very little "nigger[sic] on the brain," the great question, "What shall a poor nigger [sic] do?" is forced vividly into view. The conflict with slavery being now virtually over [there arises] a new irrepressible in the question of the destiny of the American blacks. Slaveholders have all along declared that the blacks could not and should not remain here as freedmen.- Many Tennesseans, who are loyal and who believe that the institution is dead, will tell you the same, because-some say-of *the mere prejudice against them, which they believe can never be eradicated.* [added] Others take a somewhat better view that Providence has raised up this people that they may return enlightened by their American sojourn, and help "Ethiopia stretch forth her hands to God....*That many blacks will in time go to Africa voluntarily, ... is not improbable.* [added] But as to their being driven out en masse by this omnipotent prejudice.... When our country is grinding out History with a rapidity that outstrips the pen, when the sentiments of whole States are being revolutionized, almost in a day, who shall say that this "prejudice" may not be upset in the general overthrow?

But to us the economical view is the more significant. Not that the moral is subordinate. But Providence employs the immediate instrumentality of economical laws to accomplish more distant and grander moral ends. *The Almighty works out moral problems by commercial figures.* [emphasis added] Moral laws, though fixed, are too general, of too wide a scope, for us to argue from them in this case with certainty. For the present the rain falls upon the just and upon the unjust. But we may argue from economical laws. They are within human grasp, and we may be confident that this new irrepressible [conflict] will be settled in accordance with them. Demand and supply of a staple article will "move mountains"-of prejudice-or of anything else mundane. *Cotton could sit upon a throne of tyranny, but now in a lawful way cotton shall be King.*<sup>7</sup> [emphasis added]

This racist attitude was made tangible in the autumn of 1865. Sadly the prejudicial prediction followed along the lines of the editorial. While there was a period of freedom, political involvement, the ordeals of the contraband, the military history of the USCT, and the formation of urban black communities<sup>8</sup> would end up bottled up in the near permanent policies of segregationist Jim Crow laws and share-cropping that held sway until the 1960s. It is likewise possible that by isolating the thousands of contrabands into corrals an urban policy of segregation on the basis of race was initiated. The law of unexpected consequences helped assist the formation of vibrant African-American communities in Nashville and other Tennessee cities.

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<sup>7</sup> *The Daily Cleveland Herald*, February 7, 1865. As cited in GALEGROUP - TSLA 19TH CN

<sup>8</sup> Lovett, "Negro in Tennessee,: p. 37

*TENNESSEE CONTRABAND CONUNDRUM...cont. from page 13*

In early September 1865, President Andrew Johnson was upset that reports concerning the unruly behavior of USCT in “acts of revenge and insurrection” at Greenville and Knoxville had taken place. He was even more upset at reports that his home in Greeneville had become a “negro whore house.” Major-General G. H. Thomas tried to explain to the President that all such reports<sup>9</sup> were an attempt by obstinate ex-Confederates to foment insurrection and revenge among the USCT were mistaken. In any event the President ordered Thomas to send the troops to Georgia or Alabama, where they were more needed. His order was quickly followed by General Thomas.<sup>10</sup>

In September 1865 there was a rash of burnings of Freedmen’s schools in middle and east Tennessee. Worse than school burnings was a headline in a newspaper report “REIGN OF TERROR IN EAST TENNESSEE, appearing early September, 1865. “ According one commentary:

Daily reports from East Tennessee show a perfect reign of terror in that section. Lynch law in its most revolting phases reigns supreme. Lynch law, now excusable as personifying irrepressible outbursts of an indignant community, maddened by outrages which the “strong arm of the law” fails to redress or avert, but of lawless violence engendered by anarchy and confusion. Proscription of the most intolerant kind is carried with so high a hand, that murderous revenge and barbarous outrages are daily perpetrated with the utmost impunity.

Gov. Brownlow was petitioned by some the most upright citizens of east Tennessee, to use his influence for the restoration of law and order. His reply, in an editorial article,<sup>11</sup> in the Knoxville *Whig* was considered characteristic of the man. It is deemed “unworthy a respectable editor, and certainly unbecoming in a governor.” Rather than trying to assert his authority to quiet the excitement “his published answer is only calculated to create faction and fan the flames of discontent and dissatisfaction.”<sup>12</sup>

Another incident of a school-house burning took place in in Decherd in early September, 1865. It was “about as low down in rascality as dirty fellow can fathom” reported the New York Times. General C.B. Fisk took a reasonable approach; rather than hunting down the perpetrators he ordred USCT from Murfreesboro to Decherd to prevent any further incidences. Yet he soon learned that where USCT had been removed “the citizens have caused the colored schools to be closed and the teachers ordered to leave.”<sup>13</sup> In Tullahoma a razed school house was ordered by military authorities to be rebuilt by its citizens.<sup>14</sup>

Demonstrating that the freedmen’s role had not virtually changed were the list of conditions of work in Clarksville as reported in a rare document dated in late September, 1865. It is difficult to see much difference between slavery and contractual work freedmen and former contraband entered into after the fighting had ceased. Authorities, in charge of the Freedmen’s Bureau in Clarksville, adopted the following stringent rules for employment:

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<sup>9</sup> *OR*, Ser. I. Vol. 49. pt. II, p. 1109.

<sup>10</sup> *OR*, Ser. I. Vol. 49. pt. II, p. 1110-1111.

<sup>11</sup> Not Found

<sup>12</sup> *The Macon Daily Telegraph*, September 10, 1865.

<sup>13</sup> *New York Times*, September 14, 1865.

<sup>14</sup> *New York Times*, September 15, 1865.

*TENNESSEE CONTRABAND CONUNDRUM...cont. from page 14*

1. One half of the wages of the employee will be retained by the employer, until the end of the contract for its faithful performance.
2. The employees will be required to rise at daybreak, each one to feed and take care of the stock allotted to him, or perform any other business that may be assigned to him; to eat their breakfast and be ready for work at the signal, which will be given when the sun is half an hour high. All time lost after the signal is given will be deducted.
3. No general conversation will be allowed during working hours.
4. Bad work will be assessed at its proper value.
5. For disobedience one dollar will be deducted.
6. Neglect of duty and leaving without permission will be considered disobedience.
7. No live stock will be permitted to be raised by the employee, will be charged for.
8. Apples, peaches, and melons, or any other product of the farm taken by the employee, will be charged for.
9. The employee shall receive no visitors during work hours.
10. Three quarters of an hour will be allowed during the winter months for dinner, and one hour and a half during the months of June, July, and August.
11. Impudence, swearing, or indecent and unseemly language to, or in the presence of the employer or his family, or agent, or quarrelling or fighting, so as to disturb the peace of the farm, will be fined one dollar for the first offence, and if repeated, will be followed by dismissal and loss of such pay as shall be adjudged against him by the proper authority.
12. All difficulties that may arise between the employees shall be adjusted by the employer, and, if not satisfactory, an appeal may be taken to an agent of the U. S. Government or a magistrate.
13. All abuse of stock, or willful breaking of tools, or throwing away gear, &c., will be charged against the employee.
14. Good and sufficient rations will be furnished by the employer, not, however, to exceed six pounds of bacon and one peck of meal per week for each adult.
15. House rent and fuel will be furnished, free, by the employer.
16. No night work will required of the employee but such as the necessities of the farm absolutely demand -- such as tying up fodder, firing tobacco, setting plant beds afire securing a crop from frost, &c.
17. A cheerful and willing performance of duty will be required of the employee.
18. Stock must be fed and attended to on Sunday.
19. The woman will be required to do the cooking in rotation on Sunday.
20. The employee will be expected to look after and study the interest of his employer; to inform him of anything that is going amiss; to be peaceable, orderly and pleasant; to discourage theft, and endeavor by his conduct to establish a character for honesty, industry and thrift.

*TENNESSEE CONTRABAND CONUNDRUM...cont. from page 15*

21. In case of any controversy in regard to the contract or its regulations, between the employer and the employee, the agent of the Bureau for the county shall be the common arbiter to whom the difficulty shall be referred.<sup>15</sup>

These harsh and one-sided regulations may well have contributed to a riot that occurred at Christmas, 1865 in Clarksville. A serious melee took place when a policeman struck a member of the USCT with a club. He used his bayonet to register his dissatisfaction when a crowd soon gathered. A former guerilla in the throng drew his revolver and fired two shots at the remaining USCT, who then formed ranks and fired into the crowd. A crowd gathered, and Meck. Carnly, formerly a notorious guerrilla, drew a revolver and fired two shots at the soldiers, who then formed ranks and fired into the crowd. Two white men were seriously wounded, and one black soldier slightly hurt. Major Bond, agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, promptly quelled the disturbance, sending the soldiers back to the fort. All seemed to have returned to quite as it was learned that Carnly astutely absented the town. "All has been quiet since, and no fears are entertained of another difficulty."<sup>16</sup> The affair failed to explode into a full scale riot due to the timely intervention of the Freedmens' Bureau, yet it does demonstrate that as late as December, 1865, hostility to the negro population, particularly USCT, had not disappeared and racism was still strong in Tennessee.<sup>17</sup>

Through constant struggle against Jim Crow segregationist laws and policies the victory was won in the form of the Great Society's legislation guaranteeing civil rights to all Americans. From contraband to USCT, the Thirteenth through the Seventeenth Amendments to the U. S. Constitution and citizens whose rights were won beginning in the turmoil of the Civil War and constant protest, it took nearly a century for the civil rights of African Americans to be forthrightly recognized and guaranteed.

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<sup>15</sup> Staunton Spectator, September 26, 1865. As cited in: <http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu>

<sup>16</sup> Philadelphia *Inquirer*, December 30, 1865.

<sup>17</sup> For a cogent analysis of the Governor G. W. Brownlow administration's use of force to protect negro rights and hold conservative white forces at bay. See: Ben H. Severance, *Tennessee's Radical Army: The State Guard and its Role in Reconstruction, 1867-1869*, (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 2005).