

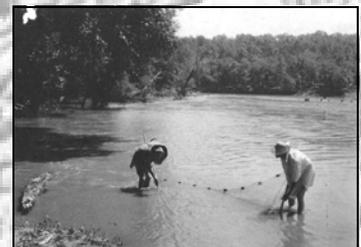
FORT DONELSON NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

Ethnographic Overview and Assessment

Final Report

By

Dayna Bowker Lee, Donna Greer, and Aubra L. Lee



Report Submitted by



Earth Search, Inc.

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Prepared for

Fort Donelson National Battlefield and

Fort Donelson National Cemetery

National Park Service

PO Box 434

174 National Cemetery Drive

Dover, TN 37058

September 2013



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Order No. P12PX10042

Final Phase I Report

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Cover montage: Background: Figure 13; photos, clockwise from top left: Figure 21; mussel fishing, TSLA; Figure 17; looking east from park boundaries at log house and smoking tobacco barn, n.d., FODO Archives; unknown Stewart County family, n.d., Feltner Photographic Collection; (center) Figure 14.

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FORT DONELSON NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT
ORDER NO. P12PX10042

Introduction

The Fort Donelson National Battlefield (FODO) Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (EOA) includes a review of literature, map resources, and primary source materials that inform the ethnohistory of the park and the region. No previous ethnographic or folklife-related research touching on Fort Donelson or the surrounding area was identified in the literature review. Previous historic works specific to the area are few, and those available primarily chronicle activities and people associated with the Civil War as played out at Forts Donelson, Henry, and Heiman.

This study includes an archaeological overview of the Southeastern Culture Area prior to European exploration to provide a framework for the interpretation of prehistoric occupation of the Fort Donelson study area.¹ The ethnohistorical overview draws upon previous works, available and pertinent literature, and primary source data to document the people and events that helped shape the ethnographic landscape of Fort Donelson National Battlefield. A selected annotated bibliography identifies works of particular interest for this study, and a complete list of references is also included. The appendix contains abstracted transcripts of recorded interviews with 10 community consultants.

The majority of park property lies within Stewart County, Tennessee, and is the primary focus of the EOA, but summary information on Calloway County, Kentucky, the site of Fort Heiman, is presented herein. The former Fort Henry site now lies submerged under Kentucky Lake. The ethnohistory provides the context for park development, land acquisition, and people with historic and traditional associations with the park property. The area encompassing the Fort Heiman unit of the park was only sparsely occupied prior to and after the Civil War and living populations with ties to the land and resources in that unit have not been identified. Therefore, the primary focus of the ethnographic overview and assessment is Fort Donelson in Dover, Stewart County, Tennessee.

Maps and Primary Source Data

A survey of repositories located few detailed historic land maps of the area within the boundaries of present Stewart County, Tennessee and Calloway County, Kentucky. Both Tennessee and Kentucky used the metes and bounds system of survey in which surveyed tracts were identified by property boundaries not linked to baseline surveys, but were marked instead by landforms, rocks, trees, roads, waterways, and neighboring tracts (VMS n.d.). The area of Kentucky known as the Jackson Purchase, which came out of the 1818-1819 Chickasaw treaty land cession, was surveyed using the township/range system but those survey maps are not archived in the General Land Office Records (see below). Attempts to locate original or subsequent survey maps of Calloway County, Stewart County, or individual properties therein were largely unsuccessful. In addition to maps, a number of repositories were consulted for primary source material relevant to this research. Archives and holdings consulted during the course of this research were:

¹ For the purposes of the present research, the study area includes the Fort Donelson National Battlefield properties as well as Dover and Stewart County.

- Library of Congress
 - American Memory: Map, Culture, Folklife, and History Collections
 - Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938
 - Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers Collection
 - Farm Security Administration/Office of War Photographic Collections
 - Historic American Buildings Survey
 - Historic American Landscapes Survey
- U.S. Department of the Interior's Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records
- USDA Natural Resources Conservation Service (state/county soil maps)
- U.S. Geological Survey
- Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, University of Texas Libraries
- University of Alabama Historic Map Collection
- Tennessee State Library and Archives
 - Historical Maps of Tennessee Collection
 - Virtual Archive of the Tennessee State Library
- Stewart County Library Local History and Genealogy collections (includes microfilm of nineteenth-century county tax, court, and conveyance records)
- Stewart County Historical Society (includes original nineteenth-century county records from the Stewart County Chancery Court and Clerk of Court)
- Stewart County Clerk of Court
- Stewart County Assessor.

The absence of survey and property maps in the various state and local archives and offices was surprising, and it may be that individual tract maps could be found among succession or clerk of court's records. The U.S. Department of the Interior's Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, the repository for U.S. land patents and survey plat maps, contains only limited Tennessee and Kentucky holdings, none of which pertain to Stewart or Calloway Counties (BLM 2013). The Stewart County Assessor noted that office's long-held policy of purging old property maps when new maps are generated due to storage issues. Complicating the search for pre-Civil War maps and records is the loss of county records that resulted when the Stewart County courthouse was torched by Federal forces in 1862.

REGIONAL PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of the American Indian prehistoric occupation in the region surrounding Fort Donelson National Battlefield. Previous investigations at Fort Donelson and Fort Heiman provide descriptions of the major prehistoric cultural historical units (e.g. Periods) in western Tennessee and Kentucky, artifact assemblages associated with these segments of prehistory, and major changes in cultural patterns through time (Carstens 2000; Cornelison and Legge 1993; Parsons 2011; Tankersley and Gregory 2010; Versluis 1997). The primary focus of this research is to fill in gaps in the cultural historical record with existing data as well as new information derived from archaeological investigations after these previous investigations were completed. This will provide a more complete platform to assess prehistoric cultural material discovered at Forts Donelson and Heiman since most of the new data are site and/or period specific.

Paleoindian Period (13,000-8000 B.C.)

The emergence or migration of Paleoindian populations into North America is estimated to have occurred between 25,000-12,000 B.C. (Bense 1994; Dillehay 1997; Meltzer 1989; Meltzer et al. 1997). However, there is no firmly dated, uncontroversial evidence placing these groups in southeastern North America prior to 10,000 B.C. (Bense 1994:39). There is also an expanding body of evidence that suggests a pre-Clovis occupation in North America that predates Clovis by at least a millennium (Anderson 2004; Lundy 2011; Meltzer 2004, 2005, 2009). Artifacts associated with these pre-Clovis occupations include bifaces, choppers, blades, bladelets, burins, and debitage (Lundy 2011:20-25). There is no direct, firmly dated evidence of a pre-Clovis occupation in either Tennessee or Kentucky.

Paleoindian lifeways are traditionally considered to have been strongly oriented towards the pursuit of large game, particularly of now extinct Pleistocene megafauna. Recent excavations suggest that earlier interpretations of subsistence based solely on the hunting of megafauna are incorrect. Limited evidence indicates a subsistence strategy based on hunting and gathering was practiced during this time. Deer and a broad spectrum of small animals including duck, muskrat, rabbit, turkey, and turtle were also likely exploited by Paleoindian groups as well as a variety of plants (Kelley and Todd 1988; Meltzer 1989). The primary diagnostic attribute of the Paleoindian period is the lanceolate-shaped and often fluted projectile point (Bense 1994:39; Wormington 1957; Anderson 1990:166). The earliest documented projectile point that occurs in Tennessee and Kentucky is the Clovis type.

Paleoindian sites are found in higher frequencies along the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers near the project area than in other portions of Tennessee and Kentucky. The prevailing interpretation of these different site densities is that Paleoindian populations in the project area were closer to and exploited the high quality Dover chert and Fort Payne chert (Parsons 2011; Tankersley and Gregory 2010; Versluis 1997). Concurrently, the different microenvironments along the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers supported a diverse array of animals and plants easily exploited by Paleoindian groups.

Social organization more than likely revolved around extended family groups that reached the size of small bands (30-40 people). At times, these extended family groups coalesced into macro-bands to exchange information and find mates. For the most part, these family oriented bands wandered over large areas exploiting the various resources available to them (Anderson 1995, 1996). The variety of sites associated with Paleoindian occupations includes ephemeral camps, hunting base camps, special purpose workstations, and procurement oriented sites (Morehead et al. 2000:19).

The Paleoindian period has been subdivided into three temporal divisions based on the appearance of different projectile points. The Early Paleoindian (ca. 9500-8800 B.C.) is associated with the Clovis type projectile point, while the Middle Paleoindian (ca. 9000-8500 B.C.) is associated with the Cumberland type projectile point. Point types that are considered Late Paleoindian (ca. 8500-8000 B.C.) are Quad, Beaver Lake, and Dalton. Early and Middle Paleoindian contexts range from surface finds to shallow, undated deposits and disturbed deposits to multi-component sites. The lack of reliable data sets for the Early and Middle Paleoindian does not allow for cogent discussions of tool complexes, subsistence, and settlement patterns. Previous investigations identify bifacial knives and flake tools such as graters and end scrapers as part of the Early and Middle Paleoindian lithic tool complexes (Parsons 2011:8-10).

The Late Paleoindian (ca. 8500-8000 B.C.) is associated with the Dalton type projectile point. The Dalton point was initially discovered in Missouri (Chapman 1948), but subsequent archaeological research has expanded the range of Dalton points to include Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee (Anderson 2001; Driskell 1994; Goodyear 1982; Morse 1971). Site types include temporary extraction camps, retooling stations, long-term base settlements, and cemeteries (Morse 1971, 1973, 1997; Schiffer 1975). Kerr and Bradbury's (1998) survey of a portion of Kentucky Lake identified 11 components/sites with Late Paleoindian artifacts. These sites are believed to represent the remains left by small, dispersed, highly mobile bands that occupied a wide range of microenvironments and conducted a wide range of activities at these sites.

The Dalton related lithic complex includes preforms, blade knives, flake knives, backed knives, side scrapers, end scrapers, hammerstones, retouched flakes, core choppers, wedges, and multi-purpose tools (Broster 1982:102; Broster and Norton 1990:129, 1993:49). Faunal remains recovered from associated sites include prairie chicken, bobwhite quail, passenger pigeon, turkey, white-tailed deer, moles, shrews, mice, rats, voles, sucker fish, redhorse, catfish, drum, and freshwater mussel. Floral remains are restricted to hickory nuts, acorns, hackberry, persimmon, grapes, wild legumes, goosefoot, and smartweed (Hollenback 2005; Parmalee 1994; Walker 1997).

The Archaic Period

The Archaic period is best characterized as a shift from the hunting of megafauna to the exploitation of more specialized local resources. A shifting residence pattern produced by small bands occupying temporary camps during the Early Archaic gave way to seasonally occupied sites in the Middle Archaic. Concurrently, an overall increase in population is reflected in the regional variability, both in the types of settlement systems utilized and in the numbers and types of projectile points and knives found in archaeological assemblages. Deeply stratified sites, seasonal reoccupation of locations, and artifacts indicative of intensified floral exploitation reflect an increasing reliance upon regional and local resources. The stabilization of sea level and the arrival of modern climates in the Southeast characterize the late Archaic. Some earlier sites became larger and more complex, but it is also at this time that Archaic-period peoples began to populate previously uninhabited areas.

Settlement systems shifted as populations took advantage of wetland habitats in river valleys and along the coast. Regular exploitation of these environments resulted in increasing sedentism and domestication of plants. Pestles and grinding stones recovered from late Archaic sites further indicate increased familiarity with plant resources, habitats, and growing seasons. The importance of horticulture increased during the late Archaic, with possible full domestication of some indigenous species by the end of the period. The presence of large quantities of non-utilitarian objects during the Late Archaic indicates that ritualized activities may have had an increased role in late Archaic societies. Large-scale trade of exotic goods is apparent across sites

in the Southeast at this time and includes steatite and sandstone vessels, polished stone pendants, plummets, and beads.

The Early Archaic of Tennessee and Kentucky is characterized by changes in lithic technology; the fluted lanceolate projectile point form was replaced by projectile points with side notches, corner notches, and bi-furcated bases. Changes in diet also occurred as reflected in tools for plant-food preparation and processing. Early Archaic sites occurred in a wide range of microenvironments with populations participating in long-distance trade networks to obtain desirable lithic materials (Anderson and Hanson 1988; Anderson et al. 1996; Jefferies 1995). Early Archaic sites are common along the Cumberland River, but have not been systematically investigated since most sites consist solely of small surface clusters of artifacts (Kerr 2000; Tankersley and Gregory 2010). Based on the excavation of five components (Johnson site, the Puckett site, the Moore Bottom site, 40CH162, and 15CU31) and material drawn from other portions of Tennessee, all of the Early Archaic sites in the project area were interpreted as short-term settlements to exploit specific seasonal resources (Kerr 2000).

A wide range of projectile points were manufactured during the Early Archaic including the Big Sandy, Kirk, Palmer, LeCroy, St. Albons, MacCorkle, and Kanawha. The associated tool complex includes bifaces, small cobble chopper/scrapers, side scrapers, teardrop shaped end scrapers, drills, unifacial perforators, gravers, denticulates, and utilized flakes. Also recovered from some components were stone slab metates, stone slab anvils, and worked and raw hematite. Two characteristics not noted in Paleoindian occupations are higher frequencies of blade tools and the use of a bipolar lithic reduction strategy. Prepared hearths also appear in the archaeological record during the Early Archaic, as do impressions of textiles and basketry preserved in clay. The prepared hearths were simple: a layer of clay placed over sand, believed to be used for parching and/or roasting plant foods. There is also shift from exploiting fauna in riverine contexts to those in terrestrial or upland settings. However, there does not seem to be a similar shift in the plants exploited during this time (Creasman et al. 1996; Mocas 1977; Nance 1976).

The Middle Archaic (ca. 6900-3600 B.C.) corresponds to a period of drier and warmer climate known as the Hypsithermal climatic episode (Delacourt and Delacourt 1981). Archaeologists have identified several general responses to this climate shift across the Southeast including more regionally based settlement concurrent with an increase in population, reduced territories exploited by these regional groups, and more diverse exploitative strategies that reflect the increasing diversity of the environment. Archaeologists also believe that Middle Archaic populations across the Southeast were becoming more sedentary based on the presence of structures and house floors, storage pits, and prepared burial for the deceased. White-tailed deer, turkey, and various aquatic resources become more common in Middle Archaic sites, while hickory nuts become the dominant floral item in site assemblages (Jefferies 2008, 2009; Styles and Klippel 1996). Decreased mobility is also reflected by a greater use of local lithic material such as quartz and quartzite for the manufacture of some tools and increased use of expedient lithic tools (Anderson 1995; Kerr 2000).

Middle Archaic sites are common and more complex than previous occupations and are frequently interpreted as base camps that were occupied and re-occupied for extended periods. This interpretation should be viewed judiciously since the sites are more often than not part of a large multi-component occupation, and the components cannot be separated with confidence (Jefferies 2008; Tankersley and Gregory 2010). Projectile point types associated with Middle Archaic occupations include Kirk, Eva, Morrow Mountain, White Springs, Sikes, and Benton. Other artifacts recovered from sites of this era include awls, needles, fishhooks, beads, scrapers, shaft wrenches, and atlatl hooks (Kerr 2000; Parsons 2012). Human interments as well as dog burials have been recovered from well-preserved sites such as the Eva Site excavated during the 1930-1940 (Lewis and Kneberg 1961) before the site was inundated by Kentucky Lake.

Subsistence data indicates several ecotonal niches were exploited for food. Drum, buffalo, channel catfish, and blue catfish were procured from main channel river settings, while bass, crappie, and bream were procured from slack water settings. Species that inhabited flood plain environments include beaver, raccoon, muskrat, otter, gray squirrel, swamp rabbit duck, and geese. Fox squirrel, cottontail rabbit, turkey, ruffed grouse, and white tailed deer were procured from upland settings. Native starchy seeds such as goosefoot, knotweed, and marshelder were important components of the middle Archaic diet, as were hickory nuts and acorns (Jackson and Scott 2001; Saunders 2010).

Late Archaic (3,600-1,000 B.C.) occupations in the project area have material culture assemblages that exhibit a diverse range of exotic materials suggesting an expansion or intensification of existing trade networks. Exotic materials include the use of copper, hematite, magnetite, greenstone, steatite, pyrite, galena, novaculite, and marine shell. A concomitant expansion of the ground stone assemblage is also noted and includes grooved and perforated plummets, boatstones, polished stone beads, small greenstone celts, steatite vessels, and chipped adzes and/or hoes. New technological innovations may reflect responses by Late Archaic groups to cooler weather after the Hypsithermal to focus on resources from both riverine environments and hardwood forests present in the uplands (Anderson et al. 1999; Delacourt and Delacourt 1981; Morehead et al. 2002). In addition to new technological innovations, Late Archaic sites provide the first definitive evidence of structures in Tennessee and Kentucky. Bioarchaeological analysis of Late Archaic human remains identified skeletal trauma resulting from some sort of violent behavior, possibly some form of limited warfare precipitated by higher levels of social interaction between competing groups with reduced territories (Smith 1990, 1995).

Settlement data suggest a pattern of more permanent residency with bands occupying large villages that have well developed midden for longer periods. Pursuit of seasonal availability of resources is reflected in smaller and less densely occupied sites with storage facilities and specialized extraction sites denoted by lithic concentrations (Anderson et al. 1999; Jefferies 2008; Walling et al. 2000). Peres et al. (2012) contend that Late Archaic groups along the Middle Cumberland do not fit the traditional terrestrial hunter-gatherer model. Rather, these groups' subsistence and cultural patterns were more like coastal fishing populations. In this new perspective, Late Archaic groups made deliberate decisions of where to exploit and subsequently deposit freshwater mussels thereby permanently modifying the landscape. Human interments in the shell middens consecrated the landscape and linked the midden with specific groups or lineages.

Projectile point types from Late Archaic assemblages include Benton, Little Bear Creek, Ledbetter, Motley, Pickwick, and Wade (Justice 1987). Large, bifacial tools such as adzes and ground stone tools are also common constituents of Late Archaic lithic assemblages. Analysis of debitage determined that locally available material was the primary raw source material used to fashion stone tools; that primary reduction was completed at extraction sites (quarries); and rough bifaces were finished at residential sites. Inter-site comparisons indicate that Late Archaic lithic assemblages from northwestern Tennessee and southwestern Kentucky exhibit little significant variation and tend to be fairly homogeneous (Jefferies 2008; Justice 1987; Kerr 2000; Lewis and Lewis 1961).

Paleobotanical remains recovered from 29 Fire Cracked Rock (FCR) features at the Harpeth Shoals Marine Site (40CH195) and other contemporary sites in the Middle Cumberland basin clearly demonstrate Late Archaic populations exploited a wide range of plants (Wampler and McKee 2012). Fruit and seed bearing plants include squash, persimmon, honey locust, grape, wild beans, black cherry, goosefoot, maygrass, bedstraw, little barley, pokeweed, amaranth, and smartweed (Wampler and McKee 2012:78-82, Table 2). Analysis of goosefoot from a cache pit at Harpeth Shoals suggests that this species was not fully domesticated (Wampler and McKee

2012:88-89). Mast bearing trees exploited for their nutty fruits include hickory, hazelnut, walnut, and several oak species (acorns). Numerous species of trees were represented in the site sample including maple, hickory, catalpa, redbud, ash, eastern red cedar, yellow poplar, red mulberry, blackgum, sycamore, black locust, willow, and elm (Wampler and McKee 2012:Table 3). Most were used for fuel in earth ovens.

Woodland Period (1,000 B.C.-A.D. 900)

The Woodland period is generally subdivided into the Early Woodland (1000-200 B.C.), the Middle Woodland (200 B.C.-A.D. 500), and the Late Woodland (A.D. 500-900). The proliferation of ceramics from the eastern seaboard into the interior of southeastern North America marks the beginning of the period (Sassaman 2002). Social relations are still egalitarian and subsistence pursuits do not diverge to a great degree from those documented during the Late Archaic. Projectile points are smaller and manufactured almost exclusively from local raw material. The Hopewell Interaction Sphere (Caldwell and Hall 1964), an extensive interregional exchange network, has been the primary research interest of the Middle Woodland. Sedentism, cultural complexity, and horticultural pursuits intensified at this time. The late Woodland period is marked by the introduction of the bow and arrow (Nassaney and Pyle 1999), the consolidation of power in leaders of a ruling lineage (Anderson and Mainfort 2002), and the beginnings of social equality in the Southeast (Cobb and Nassaney 2002).

The hallmarks of the beginning of Early Woodland occupation on the Highland Rim are quartz-tempered, fabric-marked ceramics; deep conical or circular storage pits; shallow circular basins; and Wade corner notched points and Adena-like points. Evidence from the Nowlin II and Banks III sites suggest a very small population of nuclear families occupied these sites for a single season, then returned several years later (Faulkner 2002:188-189). Later in the Early Woodland there is a shift from quartz to limestone temper in ceramics and two community patterns are evident. Single or small isolated clusters of storage pits, shallow food-processing basins, and earth ovens suggest short-term, occasional occupation. Several, closely spaced clusters of features, with each cluster associated with one or more human interments constitutes the second pattern. The feature clusters, again, consist of storage pits, food-processing pits, and earth ovens. Human interments range from flesh burials in shallow oval pits to cremations. The combination of pit clusters and human interments suggest larger groups are reoccupying the same site on a more frequent schedule (Faulkner 2002:189-190).

Early Woodland lithic assemblages share many characteristics with assemblages from the Late Archaic. Projectile points recovered from Early Woodland sites include Adena, Gary, Little Bear Creek, Motley, and Wade. Non-bifacial tools include scrapers, expedient flake tools, and drills. Ground stone axes and atlatl weights are still present in Early Woodland assemblages, but adzes and celts replace axes. The remainder of Early Woodland site assemblages contains artifacts crafted from bone, antler, and wood (Justice 1987; Parsons 2011).

The Middle Woodland witnessed a florescence of interregional interaction known as the Hopewellian Interaction Sphere or Hopewellian ceremonial complex. The primary focus of this interregional exchange network was among various societies inhabiting the Ohio and Illinois River valleys, but extended throughout the Southeast including the Cumberland and Tennessee River basins. These groups acquired and traded various exotic raw materials that included copper, marine shells, mica, obsidian, and sharks' teeth. Different theories have been offered in an attempt to explain this interaction. Most emphasize either an economic or a combination of economic and socio-religious factors, but the exact nature of the interaction remains problematical. Gibson (1996:52-53) suggests exchange was conducted in ritual-ceremonial contexts and is political rather than economic. Exchange is conducted by and for prominent lineage leaders seeking to establish, validate, and maintain their political power. The result is that "Hopewellian objects and styles gained wide recognition as power symbols and their bearers

or brokers as politically important people, people so special that their power symbols had to be buried with them” (Gibson 1994:166-167).

Most often, finished products made from exotic materials were recovered from elaborate burials placed in conical earthen mounds. In addition to burial mounds, Hopewellian societies constructed large earthworks that were circular, octagonal, square, and zoomorphic. The development of an elaborate mortuary complex, including the construction of burial mounds and ceremonial earthworks, indicates the rise of a non-egalitarian social order. Small starchy seeds utilized since the Middle Archaic were domesticated by the Middle Woodland. The native cultigens included sumpweed, maygrass, goosefoot, and sunflower. Corn appears during the Middle Woodland and is probably more significant for its ceremonial use rather than a subsistence staple (Crites 1978; Gremillion 2002).

Large villages at the beginning of the Middle Woodland contain a variable number of structures that were round, square, or open sided with walls formed from single set posts. Hearths, storage pits, and earth ovens are found along the inside walls (Faulkner 2002:188). Exotic materials such as copper, mica, galena, Flint Ridge chert, quartz crystals, and siltstone pipes indicate these large villages were redistribution points in the settlement system, while higher numbers of human interments suggests these villages also served as places for the ritual disposal of the deceased. Smaller sites contain one to two structures that have been rebuilt and/or refurbished. Centrally placed hearths, the absence of other internal features, and rebuilding episodes suggest these smaller sites were reoccupied on an annual basis (Faulkner 2002:189).

Small villages become more structured through time with discrete habitation areas separated from other activities such as food processing. Structures were either fully enclosed or open and ranged in size from 6 meters to 8 meters in diameter. Feature placement was consistent within the structures with storage pits along one wall and a shallow basin against the opposite wall. Food processing and other activity areas were located anywhere from 15 meters to 45 meters from the structures. Features include earth ovens, small shallow pits for processing, additional storage pits, and pits for trash disposal (Faulkner 2002:190-191).

Villages increase dramatically in size by the end of the Middle Woodland and are located primarily in the larger floodplains in the region. Winter and summer structures are clear indicators that occupation is permanent year round. Winter structures are differentiated from their warm weather counterparts by more substantial construction and double earth ovens in the interior. The winter structures were anywhere in size from 10 meters to 14 meters in diameter. Summer structures were built with smaller wooden single set posts and lack earth ovens. Food processing and storage pits were located adjacent to the structures. The winter/summer structures were placed around a debris free area or plaza, with the summer versions closer to the plaza and the winter structures along the periphery. In some cases, the winter/summer structures are on top of midden that encircles the plaza (Faulkner 2002:191-196, Figures 9.2-9.4).

The lithic artifact assemblages from Middle Woodland sites contain Copena and Bakers Creek projectile points, bifacial knives, scrapers, drills, expedient flake tools, hoes, pestles, and mortars. Celts, gorgets, pendants, and amulets are also fairly common on sites (Caldwell 1964; Chapman 1985; Seeman 1979). Limestone is the most common temper utilized in Middle Woodland ceramics. Mulberry Creek Cord marked, Bluff Creek Simple Stamped, Candy Creek Fabric marked, Candy Creek Cord marked, Wright Check Stamped, and Pickwick Complicated Stamped are the primary decorated wares that help define Middle Woodland occupations. Jars with out-flaring rims, round shoulders, and round bases are the most common vessels (Kline et al. 1982).

The different animal species exploited during the Middle Woodland period follow general trends documented across the Southeast (Jackson and Scott 2002). Mammals include deer, bear,

raccoon, squirrel, beaver, opossum, muskrat, bobcat, fox, mink, otter, weasel, skunk, and coyote. Avian species are more restricted and include ducks, geese, and turkey. Fish were procured from fast and slack water environments and include bowfin, gar, catfish, bass, freshwater drum, and crappie. Reptiles and amphibians include snapping turtle, softshell turtle, red-eared turtles, box turtles, and bullfrogs. Shellfish were also exploited but their procurement was variable (Peacock 2002; Peres et al. 2012).

The highly organized villages of the Middle Woodland are replaced by smaller habitation sites dispersed across the landscape at the beginning of the Late Woodland. Structures are not as well constructed and are smaller, with an average size of 7 meters in diameter. Posts forming the wall are set anywhere from one meter to three meters apart. A central post supported the roof with a hearth placed adjacent to it. Large food processing and storage facilities are rare, although bell-shaped storage pits are present at some sites (Faulkner 2002:196-202, Figures 9.5-9.7).

Late Woodland artifact assemblages are similar to the preceding Middle Woodland period. One significant difference between the two assemblages is the introduction of Madison, Fort Ancient, and Hamilton arrow points (Justice 1987; Parsons 2011; Tankersley and Gregory 2010). Lithic assemblages included bifacial knives, drills, scrapers, expedient flake tools and microliths. Mortars and pestles, celts, stone gorgets, drilled pendants, and amulets were also a part of the Late Woodland assemblage. Awls, needles, and some projectile points were fashioned from bone and/or antler.

Subsistence data from Late Woodland sites are heavily weighted toward mammals, reptiles, fish, and birds. Faunal remains indicate a broad-based diet of fish, deer, and smaller mammals (Jackson and Scott 2002). Deer were most likely hunted during the summer, fall, and winter. Small mammals included raccoon, beaver, opossum, swamp and cottontail rabbit, and gray and fox squirrel (Kelley 1992:233–234). Important species of fish included gar, freshwater drum, bowfin, and catfish. Among the plants harvested were goosefoot (chenopodium), knotweed, maygrass, little barley, marshelder, sunflower, and gourd. Seasonally collected fleshy fruits included persimmon, grapes, and berries. Acorns, hickory nuts, and pecans were the most commonly collected types of nuts from mast-producing trees (Fritz 1994, 1997; Gremillion 2002).

Mississippi Period (A.D. 1200-1550)

The Mississippi period is the last and believed to be the most socio-politically complex of prehistoric American Indian occupations in the Southeast. Salient features of this period of cultural development are: the appearance of chiefdoms; the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (previously the Southern Cult); subsistence pursuits based on the cultivation of corn, beans, and squash; the use of shell as a tempering agent in ceramic vessels; and the increased nucleation of the general population (Bense 1994:184-198). Recent archaeological research suggests a great deal of variation among the different archaeological cultures defined for the Mississippi period despite the homogenizing effects of the general features noted above (Blitz 1999; Pauketat 1994; Scarry 1996).

At the beginning of the Mississippi period, tribal level societies of the preceding Woodland period began to consolidate politically to form chiefdoms (Anderson and Mainfort 2002). During the middle portion of the period, complex chiefdoms arose and were later supplanted, in some instances by paramount chiefdoms. Tribal societies are comparatively simpler entities structurally than chiefdoms; leadership is achieved rather than ascribed and temporary at best; and little or no social differentiation is concurrent with a more egalitarian social structure. Simple chiefdoms are distinguished by one administrative level above the local group; a single hereditary status category; a kin ordered mode of production; and a settlement pattern consisting of a sociopolitical center with small subsidiary sites. Complex chiefdoms contain two

administrative levels above the local group; two ranked, hereditary status categories; ranked hereditary chiefs; a tributary mode of production in some cases; and a settlement pattern containing a major sociopolitical center, several minor sociopolitical centers, villages/towns, and hamlets. Paramount complex chiefdoms integrate two or more simple and/or complex chiefdoms into a single entity and exhibit most characteristics associated with complex chiefdoms (Bense 1994:191-195; Pauketat 1994:8-9; Scarry 1996:19-22).

Chiefdoms, structurally, appear to cycle from simple to complex and then collapse into a simpler form. External relations influence regional cycling to some degree. These relationships bind elites to each other rather than to their local group. Recent projections suggest this cycle occurs about once per century. Political cycling has been expanded to include tribal level societies (Anderson 1990:188-189, 1994:362-377, 1996:242; Blitz 1999:578-580). Recent research concentrating upon prehistoric Mississippian polities suggests that some do not conform to the cyclical model. These chiefdoms differ since they are characterized by episodes of long-term development and collapse. Regardless of the model, chiefly authority is based on the mobilization of resources and labor in the form of tribute; coercive force, whether actual or implied; and legitimizing inequalities by co-opting non-elite ideologies, effectively creating cultural hegemony (Pauketat 1994:182-184; Rogers 1996:55-59).

The initial or emergent Mississippi period (A.D. 900-1150) is characterized by simple chiefdoms with broadly distributed single mound centers with a regional civic-ceremonial center, incipient socio-political centralization, and ranked status (Parsons 2011; Pollack 2008:631; Spears et al 2008:20-21). Ceramics from the period are primarily undecorated wares such as Mississippi Plain and Bell Plain. Decorated wares include Kimmswick Fabric Impressed, McKee Island Cordmarked, Old Town Red, Mathews Incised, and Mound Place Incised. Vessel forms include jars, pans, and bowls. Lithic artifacts from non-mound contexts include tested cobbles, cores, bifaces, blocky debris, flakes, knives, drills, scrapers, and modified flakes (Spears et al. 2008:12-13). Fort Payne and Dover Chert are the primary source material.

Excavation of the Spencer Site (40DV191) discovered all or portions of six structures, pit features, and artifacts from either a small village or hamlet (Spears et al 2008:5-8). One structure was circular and the remainder square with rounded corners. The circular structure was 5 meters in diameter with posts set one meter apart. Four of the square structures were of similar size with walls that were 5-6 meters long (Spears et al. 2008:Figure 2). Hearths and pit features were located inside the structures. The last square structure had walls 8.5 meters long and no internal features suggesting it was a public building rather than a residence (Spears et al. 2008:Figure 3). Faunal remains of no less than 39 individuals were recovered during excavation. Mammals include white-tailed deer, raccoon, gray fox, vole, fox squirrel, gray squirrel, cottontail rabbit, chipmunk, mole, and opossum. Avian remains include sandhill crane, turkey, quail, duck, teal, and hawk. Reptiles, amphibian, and fish remains are restricted to snakes, turtle, bullfrog, bass, catfish, and drum (Spears et al. 2008:Table 4). Floral remains from the Spencer site include maple, river cane, persimmon, ash, honey locust, Osage orange, mulberry, oak, elm, hickory nut, black walnut, acorn, bean (Spears et al. 2008:Table 5). Corn cobs with 8, 10, 12, and 14 rows were also recovered from the site along with cupules (Spears et al. 2008:Table 6).

Increased political centralization and increased social distance between ascribed social ranks are salient characteristics of the Middle Mississippi (A.D. 1150-1300). Large regional civic-ceremonial centers contained platform mounds for elite residences, for mortuary purposes, and public buildings such as temples. Population at the regional centers has been estimated between 200-600 people living in square or rectangular wattle and daub structures. The non-elite residences were situated around a central plaza (along with the mounds) with clearly defined work and storage areas. Villages were fairly large with associated cemeteries. However, most of the non-elite population lived in dispersed farmsteads and hamlets. The ceramic assemblage includes Mississippi Plain, Bell Plain, Kimmswick Fabric Impressed, Kimmswick Plain,

O'Byam Incised, and Matthews Incised, Mound Place Incised, Rhodes Incised. Ceramic types such as Nashville Negative Painted and Angel Negative Painted are usually recovered from large villages or mound centers.

As noted in previous works (Parsons 2011; Tankersley and Gregory 2010), most research on the Middle Mississippi has focused on mound sites and large villages. Data from the Sogom Site (40DV68) provides a view of archaeological contexts associated with non-elite members of Mississippian society (Norton and Broster 2004). Excavations revealed the remains of a single structure, 22 pit features, one human interment, and associated artifacts. The structure was rectangular with walls 5 meters long and built with single set posts spaced approximately one meter apart (Norton and Broster 2004:Figure 7). No evidence of an internal hearth or waddle and daub was recovered. The burial was a single individual placed in a semi-flexed position in a shallow pit and oriented east/west (Norton and Broster 2004:7-8). Pit features ranged from bell-shaped to shallow circular basins to those with irregular outlines. Evidence suggests the structure was pole and thatch construction and utilized by a single family as a warm weather field structure over a 10 year period (Norton and Broster 2004:14-16).

The Late Mississippi settlement pattern is radically different in that populations coalesce into large fortified villages and mound construction abates. Also evident is community-level political autonomy and decision making as well as the formation of inter-community confederacies (Clay 1997; Kerr 2000; Parsons 2011; Tankersley and Gregory 2010). Mississippi Plain and Bell Plain pottery are more common than before along with Matthews Incised, O'Byam Incised, and a new decorated ware Tolu Fabric Impressed (Pollack 2008).

Summary

Previous investigations within the Fort Donelson Battlefield Park have recovered few artifacts associated with the prehistoric inhabitants of the area. Cornelison and Legge (1993:27) recovered a few scattered flakes from disturbed contexts during testing of the earthworks at Fort Donelson. No attempt was made to locate or define a site.

Archaeological investigations at Fort Heiman were more successful in recovering prehistoric material. Tankersley and Gregory (2010:35, Appendix A) recovered 237 artifacts during their investigations. The vast majority of the sample was flakes from either early or late stage tool maintenance or tool manufacture. Tools were limited to cores, early stage bifaces, and two retouched flakes. Raw source material was local. Prehistoric ceramics were undecorated shell tempered body and rim sherds classified as Bell Plain. The limited assemblage generally dates to the Mississippi Period.

Parsons (2011:39-40, Tables 3-5) recovered 72 lithic artifacts of which 67 were flakes. Two bifaces, one core, one flake tool, and one piece of shatter complete the assemblage. All lithic artifacts were from locally available source material. The limited range of flakes and tools were interpreted as the remains of a short-term seasonal hunting camp, but the lack of diagnostic artifacts precluded the determination of what cultural historical unit or subdivision with which the material was associated.

Archaeological expectations based on the present sample would not extend beyond small artifact scatters with limited research potential if any. However, the present sample is a by-product of archaeological investigations designed to validate the various physical features associated with the Civil War contexts at both forts. The sample from Fort Donelson was recovered by monitoring backhoe-excavated trenches, while the Fort Heiman sample was recovered from shovel tests guided by a metal detector survey. Neither methodology was designed to discover and investigate prehistoric occupation of the Fort Donelson Battlefield Park. Future research at

the park designed specifically to identify and investigate prehistoric sites may expand both the material culture inventory and the contexts in which they developed.

THE FORT DONELSON NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD STUDY AREA

Natural Setting

Stewart County, Tennessee lies within the Highland Rim Plateau and is characterized by heavily forested hills dissected into irregular hills and valleys by tectonic action. Among the natural resources available to Historic Era indigenous populations were large deposits of finely grained chert, limestone, and an alluvial layer along the Cumberland River of up to 75 feet thick that produced fertile bottomlands for agriculture. The area was rich in fauna, populated by herds of buffalo, deer, and elk, as well as forests dense with bears, wolves, panthers, bobcats, and foxes. Large canebrakes furnished raw materials for basketry, blowguns, and house construction, and a wide variety of nuts and other food and medicinal plants including wild ginseng grew in abundance (Albright 1908:17; Davis 2006:134-136; Marcher 1962).

Protohistoric through the Indian Removal Era

Stewart County is located within an area posited as a vast Vacant Quarter (Figure 1) abandoned by native populations during the late Mississippi Period, ca. 1450-1550. Possible reasons for this presumed out-migration range from pandemics introduced by Spanish explorers to environmental changes. Although not universally accepted as having been devoid of population, the Vacant Quarter is characterized by a dearth of diagnostic Mississippi Period artifacts and sites (Cobb and Butler 2002:625-626; Williams 1990). This Vacant Quarter may represent deliberately uncultivated borderlands, an important feature of the cultural landscape of Mississippian populations. These largely forested borderlands were misidentified as “deserts” or “wilderness” by sixteenth-century Spanish explorers, but served as buffers between provinces and settlements as well as overlapping hunting grounds rich in white-tailed deer and other game. When over-hunting led to deer depopulation, hunters were forced deeper into the borderlands resulting in resource competition between groups inhabiting the same region. Competition for game led to skirmish-type warfare² and made exploiting the borderlands more dangerous, resulting in an increase in agricultural production that allowed game populations to rebound. This cyclical adaptive strategy was maintained by indigenous peoples into the eighteenth century (White 1983:7-9).

By the seventeenth century, the Cumberland River valley and the study area comprised a borderlands zone utilized by at least three tribal nations (Figure 2). Although few permanent villages were established in the region, temporary and seasonal camps were common as American Indians occupied the area for extended hunting and gathering forays. By the late seventeenth century, French traders made inroads to establish small outposts along the Cumberland River to foster trade with the Shawnee. Jean du Charleville established a post near a salt spring that came to be known as French Lick. Although abandoned when the Shawnee were driven out of the region in 1714, Anglo-Americans returned by 1780 to resettle the site that would later become Nashville.

Competition for upland resources intensified throughout the eighteenth century as a result of the Anglo-European hide and fur trade and American westward expansion. French *voyageurs* and English Long Hunters set up seasonal camps throughout present Tennessee to hunt and trade for hides. By 1740, upwards of 500,000 deer hides were being shipped to Europe, with 50,000

² This type of warfare is characterized by situational conflict and rarely involves large-scale combat or the taking of lands.

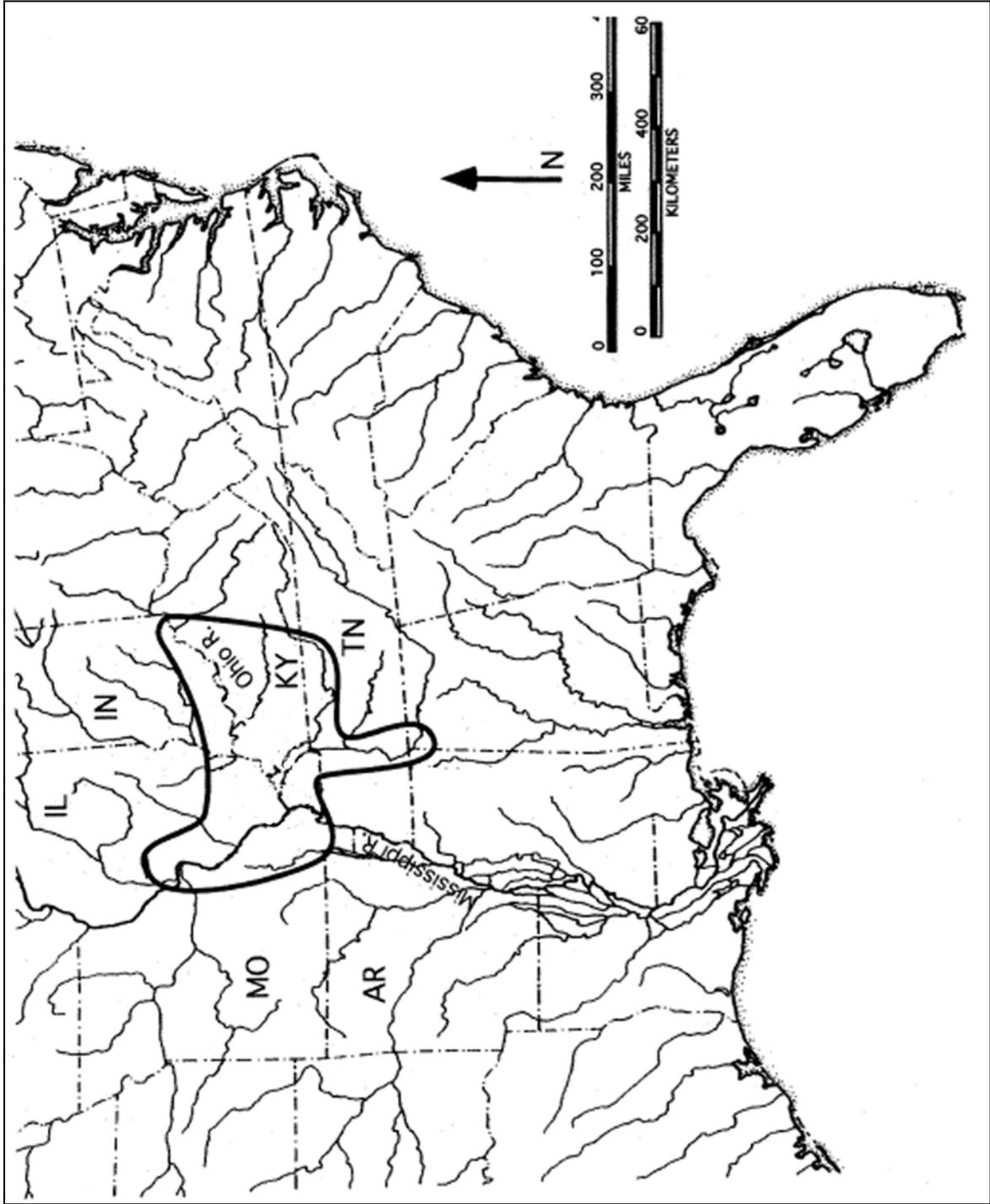


Figure 1. Mississippi Period Vacant Quarter (adapted from Cobb and Butler 2002:626).

shipped out of Tennessee to Charleston in 1750 alone. By 1810, white-tailed deer, elk, and bison populations in the Highland Rim were decimated, beaver and otter were greatly reduced, and American ginseng was harvested almost to the point of extinction to meet the demands of the European and American markets (Davis 2006:134-135; Tennessee Humanities 2013).

The Shawnee were among the first indigenous people to occupy the Cumberland River valley, moving south from the Ohio River by the middle seventeenth century. Citing the frequent migrations of the Shawnee, Swanton identified the Cumberland River as “one of the earliest historic seats of the people as a whole” (Swanton 1952:225). By 1680, the principal Shawnee occupation areas concentrated in the Cumberland River valley and along the Savannah River in South Carolina. When contacted by French traders in the eighteenth century, the Shawnee had at least one principal village on the Cumberland River near present Nashville. So ubiquitous were the Shawnee in the region that the Cumberland River was called Rivière des Chaouanons or the Shawnee River until the latter half of the eighteenth century. Present Stewart County does not appear to have been a primary occupation area, but was most certainly utilized as a seasonal hunting area by the Shawnee during the time of their Cumberland River occupation. By the early part of the eighteenth century, ca. 1714-1715, a large contingent of Shawnee was driven from the Cumberland Valley through a combined effort of the Cherokee and Chickasaw. This native alliance would displace the last Shawnee band from the Cumberland region by 1745. Even after their eviction from the region, however, Shawnee hunters returned in large numbers to hunt for fur-bearing animals. Alliances were fluid and enemies could quickly become allies as native nations responded to and resisted white incursions into tribal territories. By 1790, the Shawnee resistance leader, Tecumseh, and his prophet brother had joined forces with their former Cherokee enemies in an attempt to evict American settlers from the region (Clark 2007:7-13; Jaeger 2011:7; Poling 2009:41-42; Swanton 1946:111, 117; 1952:226-227).

The Cherokee lost huge portions of their territory after taking action against the British during the Seven Years’ or French and Indian War, known in the Carolinas as the Cherokee War. Between the end of that war and the beginning of the American Revolution, the Cherokee were forced into several land cessions and treaties in which they relinquished huge tracts of their territory in an attempt to fix a permanent boundary between themselves and encroaching white settlers. Included among these cessions was a private treaty enacted between Richard Henderson and the Cherokee. Known as the Henderson Purchase of 1775, the tract included the entire range of land between the Kentucky and Cumberland rivers (Figure 3). “By these treaties the Cherokee were shorn of practically all their ancient territorial claims ... including much of their best hunting range” (Mooney 1982:45). Negotiated in large part by Attakullakulla and other chiefs, the treaty with Henderson’s Transylvania Company ceded a tract of 20 million acres of their best hunting territory for a mere \$10,000 worth of trade goods. Many Cherokee greeted news of the Henderson Purchase with immediate and angry resistance. Attakullakulla’s son, Tsiyu-gûnsi’ni, Dragging-canoe, violently opposed what the chiefs proposed and warned the land would be a “Bloody Ground, ... dark and difficult to settle” (quoted in Buchanan 2001:28).

In protest to what he saw as a surrender of their ancient tribal rights and lands, Tsiyu-gûnsi’ni and his large faction of followers took the name Chickamauga and, supplemented at different times by Creek, Chickasaw, Creek, and Shawnee warriors as well as disaffected English Tories, sought to defend their homes and territory from the Americans, particularly the nascent Cumberland settlements established along the river from Kentucky to present-day Nashville. For the next decade, the Chickamauga would remain in conflict with the Cumberland settlers over encroachment into their traditional territory (Mooney 1982:62-79; Poling 2009:41-42).

The Cherokee were caught in the vice of conflict between England and the American states. In response to promises to restore lands to the tribe in return for opposing the Americans, the

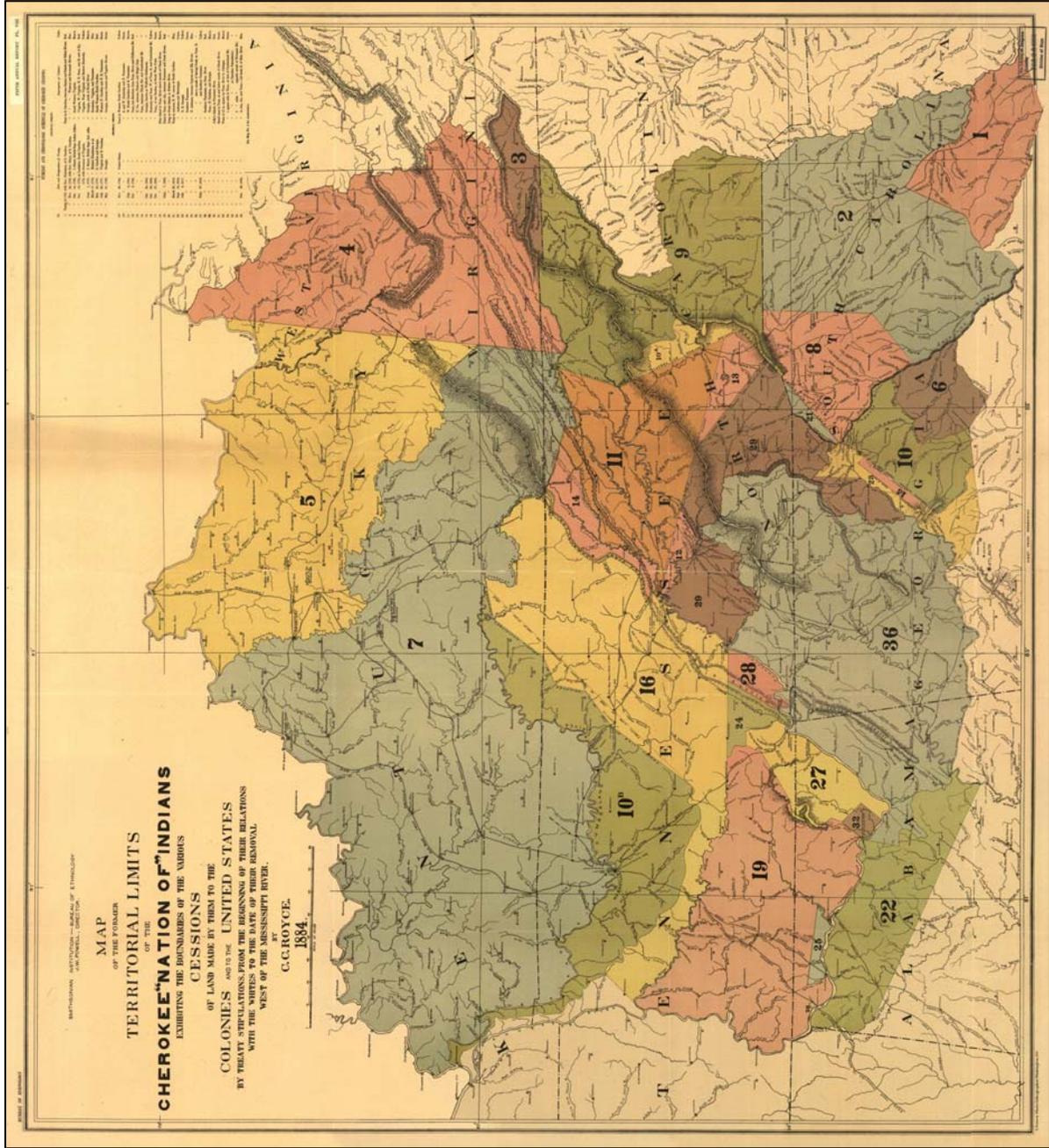


Figure 3. Map of the Former Territorial Limits of the Cherokee Nation of Indians (Royce 1887:Plate VIII).

Cherokee threw their support behind the British. The Cherokee again found themselves on the losing side of an Anglo-European war and would again be forced to forfeit parts of their territory as a result. In 1783, North Carolina sold almost four million acres of its western lands to cover its war debt, even though much of the land sold still belonged to the Cherokee. In the 28 November 1785 Treaty of Hopewell with the United States, the Cherokee were compelled to cede their territory south of the Cumberland River. That region, however, as well as much of Middle Tennessee and Kentucky, was still utilized by the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek for hunting (Figure 3). The Cherokee were forced to abandon the region in 1794, after American forces destroyed the Chickamauga villages (Foster 2002:14; Mooney 1982:62-79; Poling 2009:41-42; Royce 1887:130-131).

The Chickasaw also had ancient claims to the region between the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. By the beginning of the American Revolution, Chickasaw territory lay within the continental holdings of two European colonial powers, Spain and Great Britain. Chickasaw sentiment was also split, but the majority supported the English with whom the nation had allied since the seventeenth century. After the British were driven from their former colonies, the Chickasaw signed a treaty with the Americans setting their northern boundary at the ridge dividing the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, from the Ohio River to the intersecting point of a line running northeast from the mouth of the Duck River to the Cumberland, reaffirmed in a treaty enacted on 1 July 1805. That same year in the 25 October Treaty of Tellico, the Cherokee ceded all their lands north of that same line. It was acknowledged in both the Cherokee and Chickasaw treaties that parts of the land included in the cessions were claimed by both nations (Atkinson 2004:123; Ethridge 2010:156-158; Gibson 1971:75-76; Royce 1899:650, 668-669) (Figure 4, see numbers 3, 55, and 57).

Subsequent treaties whittled away at tribal holdings in the American Southeast, forcing the tribes to cede more and more land and consolidate into smaller and smaller core territories. By the time that American settlement extended into the present study area in the later eighteenth century, the native utilization of the Cumberland River valley was on the wane. By the end of the 1830s, the Southeastern nations were forced to cede all their territories east of the Mississippi River and remove to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) where tribal people and governments remain today (Figure 5).

North Carolina Revolutionary War Land Grants

The present state of Tennessee comprised the western portion of North Carolina in the eighteenth century. Anglo-Europeans began to permanently occupy the Cumberland River region in present Middle to West Tennessee beginning in the late eighteenth century as North Carolina granted and sold land in its western extremities. Wealthy Carolinians and Virginians engaged in surveying and land speculation profited most from the opening of the west for settlement. Jurist and land speculator, Richard Henderson, formed a land company with other wealthy investors and purchased a large area in Middle Tennessee and Kentucky from the Cherokee in 1775 (see above). Henderson chose James Robertson and John Donelson, both land speculators, to lead settlers into and survey the Cumberland River region beginning in 1779. Their settlement at the old French Lick (later Nashville) served as the nexus for the Cumberland settlements (Dovenbarger 1981:18; Finger 2001:77; Owens 2013).

These westernmost white settlements along the Cumberland River remained contested throughout the late eighteenth century. In 1793 alone, between 49 and 79 settlers were killed by American Indian raiders on the Cumberland frontier. Casualties among the Chickamauga and their allies are not known. Conflict spread to present Stewart County, an area not yet settled but through which traders traveled on the Cumberland River between the Ohio River and French Lick. Major Evan Shelby and his crew came into conflict with tribal warriors near present Dover in January 1793 as they transported a large canoe full of salt and other supplies destined for the

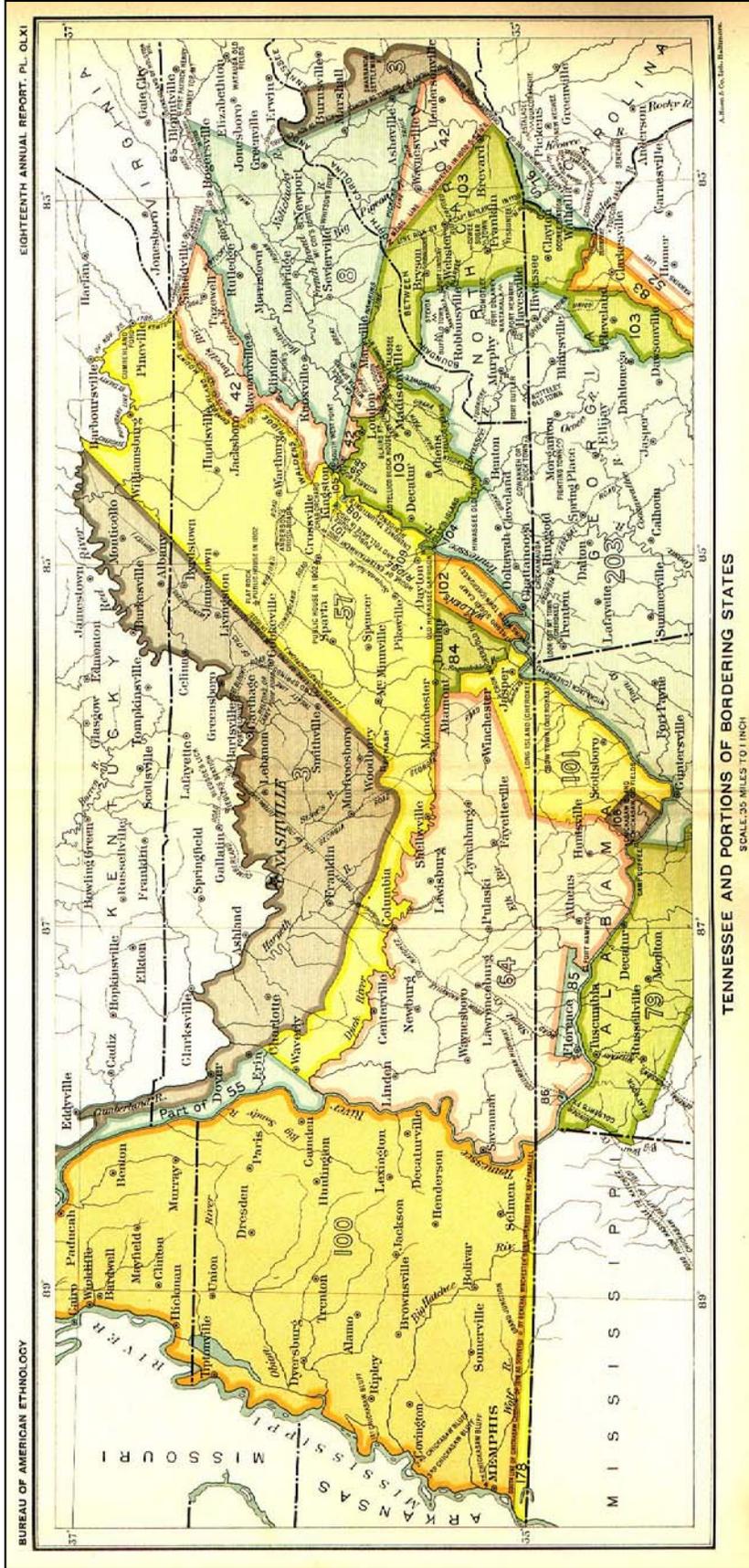


Figure 4. Tennessee and Portions of Bordering States (Royce 1899: Plate CLXI).

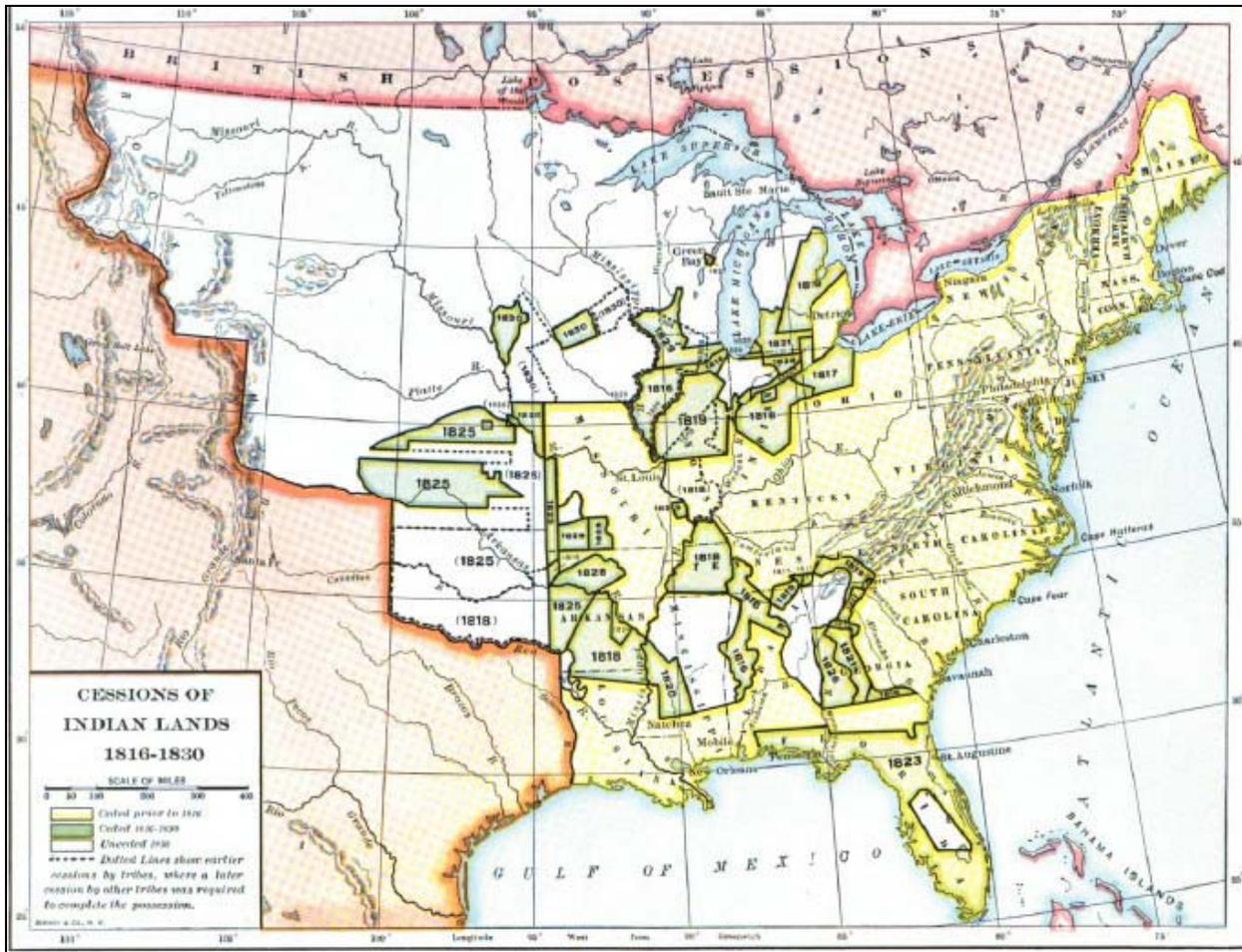


Figure 5. *Cession of Indian Lands, 1816-1830* (Fox 1920:32).

Cumberland settlements. Shelby and his two companions were killed in the skirmish (Putnam 1859:412-413). The following year, the Chickamauga were forced to retreat from their homeland after the newly organized Cumberland militia destroyed their villages, opening up Middle and West Tennessee for Anglo-European settlement.

At the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War, North Carolina developed a system of land grants designed to reward veterans for their military service and set aside a military reservation in Middle Tennessee (Figure 6). The reserve included much of the area of Henderson's Purchase, which he exchanged for 200,000 acres in East Tennessee. Few veterans who received military grants actually came to occupy their allotments, with issued warrants changing hands many times before being surrendered for land. Instead, as with the previous grants in western North Carolina, land surveyors and speculators were the primary beneficiaries of the grant lands (Dovenbarger 1981:22-24; Moore 1998:2-3).

However they ultimately came by the warrants, white settlers from North Carolina began to settle in present Stewart County by the late 1780s. So many North Carolinians immigrated to Tennessee that it was "considered the daughter" of North Carolina (Ross 1882:116). Land speculators James Martin and Duncan Stewart, for whom Stewart County was named, were among the first grantees officially receiving between 1,000 and 1,500 acres each. In fact, in 1788 Martin registered 5,000 acres in present Stewart County that he received from the State of North Carolina, while in 1797, Stewart registered over 4,000 acres of grant land (SC Deed Book 2:33, 45, 52, 75, 78, 84; 6:418).

The first settlers in the study area arrived around 1795 after the threat of American Indian attacks had been reduced by the retreat of the Chickamauga. That same year, however, American Indian raiders encountered a group of surveyors on Spring (Dyer's) Creek just north of present Dover. In the ensuing battle, three to four men in the surveyors' party were killed (Goodspeed 1972:896-898). It is not known if this is the same attack on surveyors camped at Dyer's Creek said to have occurred in 1787, as recounted in testimony taken in an 1838 lawsuit (Thomas Cooley et al. vs. Solomon K. Volentine, Draper Manuscripts, Series S, 30:233, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville; copy at the Stewart County Historical Archives). The first settlers in present Stewart County constructed two log blockhouses to provide protection from American Indian attacks, one on the Tennessee River and one on Lick Creek in present east Dover. Although rare, raids against white settlers were not unknown in Stewart County where "as late as 1812, the Tennessee River had to be constantly patrolled by the militia to prevent ... incursions and raids on the settlers" (Goodspeed 1972:896-898).

Antebellum Growth and Development

More immigrants from the eastern seaboard, primarily the Carolinas and Virginia, sought land in the area after Tennessee became a state in 1796. The first known settlers within the study area were George Petty and Samuel A. Smith who had by 1795-1796 established claims on the Cumberland River where Dover now stands. They were followed by men like Seth Outlaw, John Bird, James Scarborough, and Robert Lancaster whose descendants remain in the county today. Some came for land and others for industry. Despite the alluvial bottomlands that favored cultivation of tobacco, corn, and cotton, this was not plantation country. Most who settled the land were yeoman farmers with only moderate land holdings and few, if any, slaves (Goodspeed 1972:896; Wallace 1992:13-30).

They found a country of great natural beauty and abundance that could also prove harsh and unyielding. James Ross described the natural landscape of Stewart County that his family found upon their arrival in the winter of 1808.



Figure 6. Excerpt from Map of the State of Kentucky with the Adjoining Territories (Russell 1794).

[B]ordering on the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, the country becomes broken and hilly; and in early times, before the forests were cut down, and the hills left bare and unproductive, it was quite romantic.... It would not be easy to give an adequate description of the beautiful streams descending from the hills and hurrying along their rich narrow bottoms to unite with those still larger, and thence to the rivers, bordered by a growth of poplar, beech, walnut, wild-cherry, sugar-maple, buckeye, hackberry....

In these narrow alluvial bottoms the first settlers built their cabins, fished in the streams, and hunted among the hills; often cultivating a few acres to raise a crop of corn, pumpkins, etc. [Ross 1882:115-116].

Early settlers followed the traces and trails to find uninhabited creeks and other sources of water needed for agriculture. Their first shelter was often in the form of open camps and brush arbors until they were able to build proper housing, generally one-room log cabins, chinked with mud and animal hair and topped with split-shingled or thick canvas roofs, similar to the interpretive cabin at Fort Donelson National Battlefield (Figure 7). Deer hides tanned so thin as to be almost transparent were used to cover windows in lieu of glass. Land was laboriously cleared in small patches, with corn to feed both man and beast being the foremost crop planted. Pioneer families were dependent on local resources for subsistence. Men hunted for game, fished, and charmed bees for honey, while women gathered plants, fruits, and berries, planted kitchen gardens, and made utilitarian baskets of honeysuckle vine and split oak. Maple trees were tapped to make sugar. These first settlers largely engaged in a subsistence-based economy; but a few began to establish small businesses like gristmills, sawmills, blacksmiths, and ferries. By 1810, a number of gristmills were established on Lick Creek and Hickman Creek that borders the present National Battlefield, and James Russell, a Yale graduate, operated a still just outside of Dover. A sawmill was established by 1800 and the timber industry, which produced railroad ties among other products, grew throughout the nineteenth century (Goodspeed 1972:896-899; Wallace 1992:13-30).

Life was not easy and supplies were hard to come by in the early years of Stewart County. Despite a growing sense of community, settlers felt the isolation of living on the frontier. While establishing their homesite on Spring Creek, the Ross family was fortunate enough to find temporary shelter in a cabin vacated when the previous owner was struck by lightning. The gaping hole left in the roof served as a constant reminder to the Ross children of the precarious nature of life on the frontier.

[W]e was now on the very extreme limits of the white settlements. At this time, on the west bank of the Tennessee River the Indian territory began, and extended to the Mississippi River, an extensive country occupied by the Chickasaw Indians and the wild beasts for many years.... When the [winter] weather was unfavorable for sugar-making and not too inclement for out-door work, [we] engaged in cutting logs and making boards for building a cabin.... Of coffee, for the first few years, there was little or none. The same might be said of imported tea. A substitute for the latter was made of sassfras [*sic*], spice wood, and sage, sweetened with maple sugar.... Several years, I think passed without any flour in our house [Ross 1882:170-171, 180].



Figure 7. Interpretive cabin at Fort Donelson National Battleground, 19 January 2013.

Stewart County was carved out of Montgomery County in 1803 and a three-man commission formed to purchase land to serve as a location for the county seat. In 1805, the commissioners bought 30 acres from farmer Robert Nelson, who acquired the original grant of land from the State of Tennessee. John Scarborough and William Outlaw surveyed the tract on the south bank of the Cumberland River, subdividing it into lots that were sold at public auction. The proceeds were then used to build a one-story log courthouse and jail. Although the county seat was originally to be called Monroe, the town instead came to be known as Dover (Goodspeed 1972:904).

Once the town of Dover was established, population in the nascent county grew quickly.

When we first moved to Stewart County in the winter of 1808, nearly all that portion of it lying immediately on the Cumberland River, from near Dover to the mouth of Saline Creek, was a wild, uninhabited district, which had not yet attracted the attention of settlers.... Soon after we moved there, however, a great change took place in our district. Settlers came in very rapidly. Many cabins were built along the streams or creeks, and small fields were cleared up and planted in corn and pumpkins, which grew with amazing luxuriance [Ross 1882:178].

The county seat soon became the commercial hub of the region. Transportation was still largely by water, horse, and wagon, and Dover was well placed for trade. Animal trails were replaced by rough dirt roads including Eddyville Road and Wynn Ferry Road that connected Dover to the outlying communities and farms; but commerce came to Dover by river. Traders and farmers transported their goods by keelboat to New Orleans, where they exchanged them for supplies and merchandise. Within a few years, a diverse collection of small stores and businesses served the burgeoning population. In 1805-1806, George Petty opened a tavern in Dover and both John Elliot and James Haggard established ferry service across the Cumberland River. A hotel opened in 1806; and by the 1850s, three hotels including the Dover Hotel served travelers. A new county jail was built in 1820—this one of rock and logs—and a two-story brick courthouse replaced the original log structure in 1826. A tanning industry also developed, with a number of cobblers and local craftsmen producing shoes, aprons, and other leather goods, mostly for export. Women worked alongside their husbands on farms and in businesses, but also owned and managed farms and businesses and contributed to the local economy (Goodspeed 1972; Jaeger 2010:7-8; Wallace 1992:30-51).

Due to its difficult terrain, Stewart County was less agriculturally productive than other parts of the state where thousands of acres of land were planted in labor-intensive cotton. The enslaved population in Stewart County remained relatively low when compared to areas with large-scale cotton production, and a small sector of the population represented free people of color (FPC). Stewart County farms were generally small with few bondpeople. Cotton was the dominant cash crop until the late 1830s when tobacco supplanted cotton as the largest export crop in the county (Wallace 1992:34).

The county's rich deposits of iron ore attracted wealthy industrialists from the Northeast and the iron industry soon came to dominate the local economy. Beginning in 1809, grants of land were made available to those willing to develop the iron industry in Tennessee. Ironworks were the largest slave and property owners in antebellum Stewart County. One of the first and largest iron manufacturers was the Cumberland Iron Works, which also owned the Dover Furnace. In 1828, Cumberland had two puddling furnaces, seven heating furnaces, and four steam-driven trains. The primary partner in the company was Thomas Yeatman whose death left the company insolvent. The iron works and its inventory were put up for auction in 1834 and were purchased and reorganized by Yeatman's widow, Jane Erwin Yeatman. She ran the company on her own

for 11 years, even after she married John Bell who would eventually join the business (Lesley 1859; TIFT n.d.; Wallace 1992:39-41).

A total of 16 iron manufacturers—11 within a 15-mile range of the Dover courthouse—were active in Stewart County in 1859, five of which were owned by Woods, Lewis & Company (Lesley 1859:215-216). That same year, their Cumberland Iron Works division was inventoried with 58,660.5 acres of land and 417 bondspople (267 men, 58 women, 46 boys, and 46 girls) (TIFT). In addition to labor, the industry required vast stretches of forest land to supply the acre per day of hardwoods needed to fire the furnaces. One Tennessee iron maker estimated in 1840 that 7,000 to 10,000 acres of timberlands were required to supply a single forge. Much of the land cleared in the industrial process would eventually convert to farmland (Davis 2006:150-154; Goodspeed 1972:896; Lesley 1859; Wallace 1992:36-39, 50).

Even if engaged in business, many early residents also maintained farms. Brothers William and George Williams, sister Mary Ann and husband William Bailey, their families, and grown nephew Edward left Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1814 to settle on the Cumberland River. The immigrants found it difficult to find affordable housing and land in Nashville and made their way to Dover. William Bailey was a hat maker and established two successful shops—one that George Williams managed—and Edward was a carpenter. Typical of many Stewart County residents hoping to find the right economic niche, William Williams engaged in many diverse ventures in order to make his living. During his lifetime in Dover, he worked as a wool carder, riverman, shopkeeper, iron producer, county and circuit court clerk, and served as a one-term state representative. No matter his employment status, however, Williams continued to farm the entire time (Mooney 1949:154-155).

In 1814, George Williams was able to rent a four-room house for 36 dollars a year, five times less than a comparable house rented for in Nashville. Bailey built two shops upon his arrival in Dover and employed four hands plus his brother-in-law to work in the shops, which offered both hats and general merchandise. Bailey's enterprises were profitable, with sales totaling \$30 to \$150 per day reported in 1816. George had returned to Ohio by 7 October 1825, when Bailey was partnered with a Mr. Tyree. William Williams wrote his father: "[Bailey] does a tolerable good business ... [selling] all the hats he can make at a good price" (Mooney 1949:347).

Letters written over 40 years by the Williams family provide a snapshot of antebellum Dover. William Williams' letters are especially informative about the rigors and rewards of farming as well as economic conditions in the region. In 1818, he reported his crops of tobacco, cotton, corn, and pumpkins were doing so well that he anticipated needing two boats to transport his produce to New Orleans. In May 1824, however, he wrote that army worms had injured his corn to the extent that he was forced to replant part of his crop. The worms completely destroyed his wheat crop, necessitating that he order supplies of flour from Ohio. Two months later, Williams lamented the extremely wet season with rains that continued for almost two months. That same July saw the beginning of "the Sickly Season" and its associated bouts of illness and poor health that plagued the families through the summer and fall (Mooney 1949:155-170).

Despite the heavy summer rains, low river levels that autumn forced steamboats to bypass Dover making supplies scarce. By 21 January 1825, however, trade had been restored and prices for goods were comparable to those found in New Orleans. Williams had a shop at that time and salt, whiskey, and flour were his best sellers. On 12 August 1825, he noted that despite the warm, dry weather, farmers were experiencing low yields in tobacco, cotton, and corn and money in the county was scarce. Williams ran a tavern a little over a year, but complained on 2 February 1827 that profits were down due to a paucity of travelers. He planted 20 acres in corn, potatoes, and cotton that spring. By 20 October 1835, he had entered into the iron business with William Kay, running three furnaces that produced "very soft, grey metal." Williams, Kay, and Company faltered during the economic collapse of 1837 and William Williams took up farming

full time and was able to pay off his portion of the company's debts with the profits from his farm (Mooney 1949:253-268).

Like the Williams' letters, executors' records from 1859 and 1860 provide insight into the lives of farming families in antebellum Stewart County. Besides serving as a deputy marshal and census-taker, William B. Cherry made his primary living from farming. In 1850, he was a 41-year-old farmer with real estate valued at \$1,500. Cherry was born in North Carolina, but his 24-year-old wife, Sarah, was a native of Tennessee. The couple had no children, but owned what appears to be a family of bondspeople consisting of a 38-year-old woman, five young males between the ages of 15 and four years old, and a 12-year-old girl. Cherry died sometime before 1859 when his wife requested annual provisions from his estate's administrators and was allotted: 1,500 pounds bacon, 50 barrels corn, 1,000 barrels fodder, 500 pounds beef, 200 pounds lard, 100 pounds coffee, one barrel molasses, 200 head cabbage, 40 bushels turnips, 20 bushels potatoes, one box candles, two sacks salt, 200 pounds soap, six barrels flour, and \$300 for "contingent expenses" (10 March 1859, Record Book, Executors and Administrators, 1858-1866; U.S. Census 1850). It is not known if Sarah Cherry continued to farm after the death of her husband, as she was not enumerated under that name in Stewart County in 1860.

Even fairly affluent Stewart County farmers like Cherry and Peter Gray held few bondspeople. Gray, like Cherry, owned seven slaves in 1850, some of whom were seemingly too young to be productive. Gray was enumerated with his wife Mary, and four young daughters in 1850 with real estate valued at \$2,000. He owned five female bondspeople, aged 19, 13, six, three, and two years old, and two males, aged 19 and nine. Any bondspeople held by Sarah Cherry and Mary Gray after the deaths of their husbands were not mentioned in the executors' annual provision for the widows (Provisions to Mary Gray, July 1860, Record Book, Executors and Administrators, 1858-1866; U.S. Census 1850).

Farmers Andrew and Mary Martin had six children but no bondspeople in 1850, when their real estate was valued at \$500. Mary Martin continued to farm after Andrew's death as reflected in her annual provisions for 1859. She was allotted all the corn on hand except five barrels, 500 bushels of oats, all corn tops, her choice of horses, two cows and calves of her choice, six sheep of her choice, one sow and pigs, one "cow brute for beef," all fowl, all bacon and lard, all vegetables and dried fruit, soap grease, 10 gallons vinegar, 100 pounds sugar, 80 pounds coffee, one-half barrel molasses, 600 pounds flour, one sack salt, two pounds pepper, two pounds spice, and one pound ginger. In addition to food items, included in the list of annual provisions were two beds, and bedroom furniture; one table with chairs; all books and two bookstands; one spinning wheel and all materials for making cloth; two ploughs and gear, two axes, two hoes, shovel, tongs, two pair andirons, all cooking utensils, one coffee mill, all tableware, and all stoneware; one side saddle and an additional saddle, bridle, and blankets; all pails, tubs, and tinware; two smoothing irons, one meal bag, and a barn and fixtures. In 1860, Mary Martin was enumerated as a farmer with real estate valued at \$1,500 and a personal estate of \$400. Three of her grown children lived with her and likely helped with the farm, as she still owned no slaves (June 1859, Record Book, Executors, 1858-1866; U.S. Census 1850, 1860).

Census statistics were gathered for Stewart County in 1810, but individual statistics were not registered until 1820. Of the 64 surnames associated with FODO-associated land acquisitions between 1867 and 1972, 36 are found in the 1820 Stewart County census, evidence that the descendants of these early families have remained deeply rooted to the region and to the study area (Land Tract Owners, 1930-1972, maps on file, Fort Donelson National Battlefield Archives, Dover, Tennessee [cited hereafter as FODO Archives]; U.S. Census 1820). In 1810, the total population of Stewart County was 4,262 persons, 18 of whom were FPC, and 779 (22 percent) who were enslaved. By 1820, population had almost doubled to 8,397 people of whom 48 were FPC and 1,352 (19 percent) were enslaved. In addition, a large number of Irish immigrants joined the workforce in the iron industry in Stewart County. Although exact numbers are

unavailable, several hundred Irish workers were employed by 1850 (Wallace 1992:45). Adverse weather depleted the cotton crops between 1828 and 1830, resulting in a population decline to 6,968 people in 1830, 99 of whom were FPC and 1,400 (26 percent) were enslaved. By 1860, before the onset of the Civil War, population in the county was at almost 10,000, only 277 of whom were slaveholders. No foreign population was noted in the county until 1860, when 265 foreign-born white people were enumerated. Also that year, one American Indian woman, likely married to a white citizen, resided in Stewart County (Tables 1 and 2).

The years leading up to the Civil War saw the development of social institutions as well as commercial enterprises. Subscription schools in which parents paid for their children's schooling were the only form of education until the Common School movement of the 1830s began to offer public school opportunities to children regardless of their parents' ability to pay. A public elementary school was founded in Dover in 1830, and an academy for secondary education followed in 1840. The U.S. Census noted a surprising 77 primary and common schools in Stewart County that same year. By 1850, the county still had no library or newspaper and only 25 public schools were counted. Apparently each school had only one teacher, as 25 teachers were charged with the education of 248 students that year. At least eight of those students were FPC. In testament to its Anglo-American, Protestant heritage and character, Stewart County had no Catholic churches, but did boast 30 Methodist, nine Presbyterian, and three Baptist churches. Ten years later in 1860, Stewart County citizens worshipped at 20 Methodist, four Baptist, three Presbyterian, and one Christian Church (Goodspeed 1972; U.S. Census 1830-1860).

Calloway County, Kentucky

In the 1818 treaty with the United States, ratified in 1819, the Chickasaw Nation relinquished their lands lying north of the Mississippi state line and east of the Mississippi River (see Figure 4, Section 100). The portion of the treaty land identified as the Jackson Purchase increased the state of Kentucky by 2,000 square miles. The Jackson Purchase included the area presently encompassed by eight counties including Calloway County, subsequently established in 1823. Settlers from Virginia and the Carolinas began to locate in the northern portion of present Calloway County prior to 1818, but it was not until after the treaty that the southeastern part of the county was occupied. Between 1818 and 1828, the Stubblefield family established the town of New Concord, the closest municipal center to the area where Fort Heiman was erected, under the name Humility; and the county was founded in 1822 (KSOS 2009; Ledger and Times 1931:1, 43).

Population in Calloway County grew steadily in the years leading up to the Civil War. Between 1830 and 1850, the enslaved population almost quadrupled while the white population almost doubled (Table 3). The county was built upon an agricultural economy; and by 1850, tobacco comprised the most important cash crop in the county (Table 4). It is not known when or if the land on which Fort Heiman was established was occupied prior to the placement of the fort by the Confederate army. Despite its defensive advantages, the high bluff was probably not occupied, at least not permanently. The landscape bordering the Tennessee River in Calloway County was heavily timbered, characterized as "broken and hilly" terrain with rich valleys and surrounded by "barrens," or prairie. That area immediately surrounding the fort was only sparsely occupied, and what was developed was likely put to agricultural use (Ledger and Times 1931:1; Tankersley and Gregory 2010:20).

Antebellum Slavery

In the late eighteenth century, white settlers who arrived in the region from the eastern seaboard brought a small number of slaves with them and both owner and slave endured the harsh conditions during their journey across the Appalachian Mountains. In 1791, five years prior to

Table 1. Stewart County Antebellum Census Statistics (U.S. Decennial Census 1811-1864).

Year	Total Population	Free White		Free People of Color		Free Colored		White persons attending school		Free colored persons attending school		Male Slaves	Female Slaves	Total Number of Slaves	Dwellings of white & free colored persons
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	attending school	attending school	Male Slaves	Female Slaves				
1810	4,262	1,829	1,636	18	3,465									779	
1820	8,397	3,475	3,522	48	6,997	27	21					679	673	1,352	
1830	6,968	2,837	2,632	99	5,469	51	48					760	640	1,400	
1840	8,587	3,319	2,998	153	6,317	79	74					1,305	812	2,117	
1850	9,719	3,568	3,449	127	7,017	64	63	1,036		8		1,565	1,010	2,575	1,225
1860	9,896	3,864	3,540	76	7,404	47	29					1,378	1,037	2,415	

Year	Total Farms	Farms under 3 acres		Farms of 3-9 acres		Farms of 10-19 acres		Farms of 20-49 acres		Farms of 50-99 acres		Farms of 100-499 acres		Farms of 500-999 acres		Farms over 1000 acres		Persons engaged in agriculture	Persons engaged in manufacture	Persons employed in mining	Persons employed in commerce	
		acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres	acres					
1810																						
1820																			2,238	135		
1830																						
1840																			2,780	810	35	31
1850	936																			771		
1860	699		14		105	273	178	125	3	1										636		

Table 2. Stewart County Slaveholders 1860 (U.S. Decennial Census 1864).

HOLDING ONE SLAVE	HOLDING TWO SLAVES	HOLDING THREE SLAVES	HOLDING FOUR SLAVES	HOLDING FIVE SLAVES	HOLDING SIX SLAVES	HOLDING SEVEN SLAVES	HOLDING EIGHT SLAVES	HOLDING 1000 SLAVES	HOLDING 20-29 SLAVES	HOLDING 30-39 SLAVES
51	36	39	26	18	14	17	14	0	15	3

HOLDING 40-49 SLAVES	HOLDING 50-69 SLAVES	HOLDING 70-99 SLAVES	HOLDING 100-199 SLAVES	HOLDING 200-299 SLAVES	HOLDING 300-499 SLAVES	HOLDING 500-999 SLAVES	HOLDING 15-19 SLAVES	HOLDING 10-14 SLAVES	HOLDING NINE SLAVES	TOTAL SLAVE-HOLDERS
2	0	1	1	0	1	0	13	21	5	277

Table 3. Calloway County Census Statistics (U.S. Decennial Census 1811-1864).

Year	Total Population	FPC	White	Slaves	Persons born outside of US	African American	Born in Scotland	Born in Ireland	Born in Germany	Born in France	Born in England & Wales	Born in Other Country
1830	5,164	5	4,372	427								
1840	9,794	13	8,870	911								
1850	8,096	16	7,088	992	17							
1860	9,915	14	8,409	1,492								
1870	9,410		8,598			812	2	3		1		
1880	13,295		12,080			1,215	3	3	4		2	
1890	14,675		13,583			1,092			1			1
1900	17,633		16,375			1,258			1		19	1
1910	19,867		18,798			1,069		1				
1920	20,802		19,744			1,028						
1930	17,662		16,862			800						
1940	19,041		18,101			940						
1950	20,147		19,350			797						
1960	20,972		20,320			644						

Year	Total Population	White	African American	Am. Ind.	Asian	Pac. Isl.	Other	2 or More Races	Hisp./ Latino
2010	37,802	34,208	1,392	87	657	11		557	890

Table 4. Calloway County Antebellum Agricultural Statistics (U.S. Decennial Census 1832-1864).

Year	Value Orchard Prods.	Value Prod. of Mkt. Gardens	Value of Livestock	Acres Unimproved Farm Land	Acres Improved Farm Land	Farms 0-9 ac.	Farms 10-19 ac.	Farms 20-49 ac.	Farms 50-99 ac.	Farms 100-499 ac.	Farms 500-999 ac.
1850	10	9	217,845	184,409	48,164						
1860	1,134	893	469,831	133,320	52,112	34	236	522	306	103	1

1850 Ag. Production Detail	Wheat [bu]	Rye, oats [nu]	Indian Corn [bu]	Irish, sweet pots [bu]	Peas, beans [bu]	Butter, cheese [lbs]	Hay, oats [bu]	Hops [bu]	Clover, other grass seeds [bu]	Flax-seed [bu]	Tobacco [lb]
	8574	89,762	767,725	34,517	559	108,717	502	14	59	50	957,381

Tennessee statehood, the slave population was 16.5 percent of the total population of Middle Tennessee. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the slave population increased by 238 percent, while the white population increased by only 137 percent. By 1840, the African American enslaved and FPC population of the 22 counties of Middle Tennessee made up 26.5 percent of the total population of the state. The number of FPC who resided in Stewart County from 1810 to 1840 reached a high of 153 in 1840; however, this population decreased in the last two decades of the antebellum years to 127 persons in 1850 and 76 persons in 1860 (Table 1) (Brown 2000:13, 17).

Prior to the early 1830s, Tennessee laws that governed slaveholders and their slaves allowed for the emancipation of slaves. The numerous individual abolitionists and churches actively seeking an end to slavery in the region, particularly those in the eastern portion of the state, influenced this early moderation. At Tennessee's 1796 constitutional convention, abolitionists failed to persuade the new lawmakers to abolish slavery; but their efforts aided in laws that oversaw the well-being of Tennessee slaves in a manner less harsh than other areas of the South. They continued to work toward this goal; and by 1809, abolitionists had established various anti-slavery organizations including a Tennessee manumission society (Patterson 1922:80).

Tennessee's somewhat lenient laws regulating slavery changed after the Nat Turner Rebellion in Virginia which immediately bred fears of slave insurrections throughout Tennessee. The primary impetus for more stringent slave codes was an alleged uprising plot in the Murfreesboro area that was thwarted by the warning of a female slave to her mistress. Another alleged plot occurred in Stewart County in 1856 (see below). In response to pressure from the white population that included a petition signed by 108 persons demanding a better patrol system, the state's General Assembly passed stricter laws in 1831 prohibiting slave owners from freeing their slaves without first ensuring their passage to Africa (Liberia). In 1834, slaves and free blacks were denied the right to vote (Brown 2000:14; Patterson 1922:49).

Slaves utilized for agricultural labor in Middle and East Tennessee were less numerous than those located in the western portion of the state, where large cotton plantation owners worked vast numbers of slaves in the Mississippi River Valley. In 1850 and 1860, most farmers in Middle Tennessee owned less than 200 acres and had fewer than five slaves. In 1860, of the 277 Stewart County slaveholders, the majority (51) owned only one slave. It is not known; however, how many of these one-slave owners were farmers. Also in 1860, most of Stewart County's 699 farms contained less than 100 acres: 105 farms (10-19 acres); 273 farms (20-49 acres); 178 farms (50-99 acres) (Table 1). These middle-sized farms exemplified the agricultural diversity that was essential for the survival of the farmer who could not be classified as a cash crop planter or subsistence farmer. Along with animal husbandry (cattle, horses, hogs), these farmers raised crops like hemp, sorghum, corn, and vegetables, and sold their surplus food crops and small amounts of tobacco or cotton, depending upon the region (Brown 2000:19-22). Only a few large tobacco plantations were located in Middle Tennessee, the closest one to Stewart County being the Wessyngton Plantation approximately 60 miles northeast of Dover in Robertson County. In 1860, there were 274 slaves at Wessyngton Plantation, one of the largest slaveholders in Tennessee and the largest tobacco plantation in the antebellum United States (Baker 2009:94-95).

A different type of master-to-slave relationship existed on smaller farms than did on the large plantations. The small landowners worked beside their slaves in all their agricultural endeavors, and the close working conditions were conducive to a more paternal attitude by the farmer. For example, in 1851 a large group of Stewart County slaveholders and non-slaveholders petitioned the state legislature in an attempt to defend a group of free black landowners, most probably emancipated by the same slaveholders who attempted to help them. These free blacks were threatened with deportation from the state unless they registered with the county clerk and paid a bond. In 1850, 127 FPC resided in Stewart County; but by 1860 that number had decreased to

76 (Table 1), perhaps the result of deportation of many free black residents who could not afford to post the bond (Brown 2002:20; Schweninger 1997:87).

Slaves in the Middle Tennessee Iron Industry

Even though the majority of slaveholders possessed small numbers of slaves, the Middle Tennessee region contained some of the largest slave concentrations in the entire Southeast due to the large ironworks in the area. In 1796, General James Robertson established the first iron furnace on the Western Highland Rim, present site of Cumberland Furnace Village in Dickson County between Nashville and Clarksville. Numerous ironwork operations (furnaces and rolling mills) were established in the first decades of the nineteenth century; and by the 1850s, 16 furnaces operated throughout the ore-rich ridge. Several of the furnaces and rolling mills were a short distance from the town of Dover and later Fort Donelson and all utilized slave labor, the largest being the Cumberland Iron Works established just east of Dover in 1828 by Woods, Lewis & Company, which was enumerated in 1860 with a total of 1,418 slaves in its various iron works (Brown 2000:22; Tennessee Historical Society [THS] n.d.; U. S. Census 1860).

This large concentration of slave labor gangs in Stewart and neighboring Montgomery counties was the primary reason for the apprehension and panic that developed among white citizens fearful of a possible slave rebellion. Bondspeople who worked cutting lumber, burning coal, and other labor-intensive tasks involved in iron production resided in large “iron industry villages” supervised by a small number of white overseers. In 1856, a plot was devised among the slaves at the Cumberland Iron Works that reportedly involved slaves in other states, i.e., Texas, Missouri, Kentucky and Louisiana. The insurrection was to begin on Christmas Day, but the plot was discovered when a slave not involved in the plan escaped to Dover and gave warning of the uprising. Authorities arrested 80 slaves, some of whom confessed to the plot, and 19 of the enslaved ironworkers were hanged in the town square (Marshall 1994:25; Patterson 1922:50).

The free blacks of Stewart County were also affected by the white citizens’ fear of a possible slave revolt. As mentioned previously, in January 1850, county officials ordered all free blacks to register with the county clerk and pay a bond that would ensure they keep the peace. Every free person of color was required to own property for collateral in order to cover the bond or have a white property owner co-sign for the bond. Only five FPC had registered by February, prompting the court to order that all districts within Stewart County compile a list of all free blacks. By August 1851, 32 free African American men and women appeared at court and bonded themselves and their families, approximately a third of the estimated 127 FPC who lived in Stewart County at the time (Wallace 1992:66).

The Civil War Years

In April 1861, Confederate troops signaled the beginning of the American Civil War when they fired upon Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. The State of Tennessee seceded from the Union and entered into military alliance with the Confederacy on 8 June 1861. Because of its strategic locale between the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers and its rich iron resources, Stewart County immediately became a center of operations for the Confederate military and a target for the Union. In May 1861, before Tennessee even joined in the alliance, Secretary of the Confederate Navy S.R. Mallory requested information on whether the Tennessee Iron Works in Stewart County could produce iron plates of two to three inches thick, how many could be produced, and at what cost. The plates were to be shipped to New Orleans, likely to be used as outer skin for ironclads (NHS 1987:72, 249).

The campaigns and battles involving Forts Donelson, Henry, and Heiman are well documented (e.g. Cooling 1997, 2010; Knight 2011; Riggins 1958) and will only be touched upon in this study. Of primary interest instead are the effects and changes the war wrought on the people of

Stewart County and Dover. After Tennessee joined the Confederacy, each county was ordered to organize a home guard. A total of 1,613 adult white men were enumerated in the county in 1860, but only 300 enlisted in the Confederate Army. A few joined with Union forces, while others packed up and left. Three companies were formed from Stewart County and reported to Camp Quarles in Montgomery County to join the Fourteenth Tennessee Regiment bound for the Virginia campaign. The Fiftieth Tennessee Regiment was organized at Dover that fall with five companies of men from Stewart County (Goodspeed 1972:911; Wallace 1992:90).

Not only would the county have to absorb the cost of maintaining a militia, but it would also be called upon to offer support to the families of men who enlisted. Stewart County immediately levied a seven and one-half cent tax on each \$100 of taxable property and issued county bonds or scrip. Able-bodied men who did not enlist were charged with building forts that were “literally hacked ... out of the wilderness” (Cooling 2010). Farmers were encouraged to sell livestock and surplus produce to the Confederate Army, not only to feed the troops but also to keep supplies out of Union hands. The primary concerns of local farmers, however, were their own families and property. Many moved their goods and animals into deeply wooded and untraveled areas, bringing about a food shortage that increased prices and spiked inflation (Wallace 1992:91-101).

Across the river in Kentucky, despite the fact it was a slave state by law, most residents were not slave owners and did not support secession from the Union, making the state officially neutral during the Civil War. The state was strategically important to both sides. In 1860, it ranked ninth nationwide in population; was rich in agricultural production of tobacco, hemp, corn, and wheat; and its rivers were vital transportation corridors. Despite its political neutrality in the war, large numbers of Kentucky soldiers enlisted in both the Confederate and Union armies, including approximately 900 who enlisted as Confederate and 47 as Union from Calloway County. Despite its neutrality, Kentucky was also the site of numerous battles and skirmishes during the Civil War (Caldwell 1990:117; Craig 1974:19).

Because the Confederates did not want to be seen as violating Kentucky’s neutrality, in 1861 they began construction on Fort Henry on the Tennessee River as a bookend to Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Fort Henry’s “wretched” location in a flood zone and the fear that Union forces would occupy the high ground on the Kentucky side—along with recent inroads made by Confederate forces in the state—prompted the southern army to establish Fort Heiman about one and one-half miles south of Fort Henry on the Kentucky bank of the Tennessee River. In December 1861, regiments from Alabama and Arkansas supervised over 500 enslaved workers to construct fortifications atop the 150-foot bluffs that were protected by “impassible roads and rough terrain.” The Sneden map of Fort Henry and Fort Heiman (ca. 1862-1865) shows Fort Heiman on a high, wooded plateau on the west side of the Tennessee River (Figure 8). The construction was not yet completed when the advance of General Ulysses S. Grant’s army forced General Lloyd Tilghman to order that Confederate troops retreat to Fort Donelson in February 1862, leaving only a small crew at Fort Henry. The Union army quickly took control of the Tennessee River forts and soon captured Fort Donelson, giving them control over the Cumberland River as well (Parsons 2012:19-22).

The engagement began on 6 February 1862 at Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, with the fort completely reduced by Union gunboats within the first hour. The Confederate soldiers quickly made their way to Fort Donelson to prepare for the next attack. The Union troops crossing the Wagner family farmland west of Hickman Creek found the great, great-grandfather of Sydney Sykes near death. In an unexpected show of respect, the Union officer in the advance party posted guards around the house so the following troops would bypass the farm and not harass the family while the patriarch lay dying (Pam Sykes Ford, interviewed 17 January 2013). William Rowlett, who had a mill on Hickman Creek near the newly erected Confederate fort and within the boundary of the present park (Figures 9 and 10), watched from the family’s log home on a hill overlooking the Eddyville Road as the Union troops settled into position. Once the battle for



Figure 8. Map of Forts Henry and Heiman (Snedden ca. 1865a).

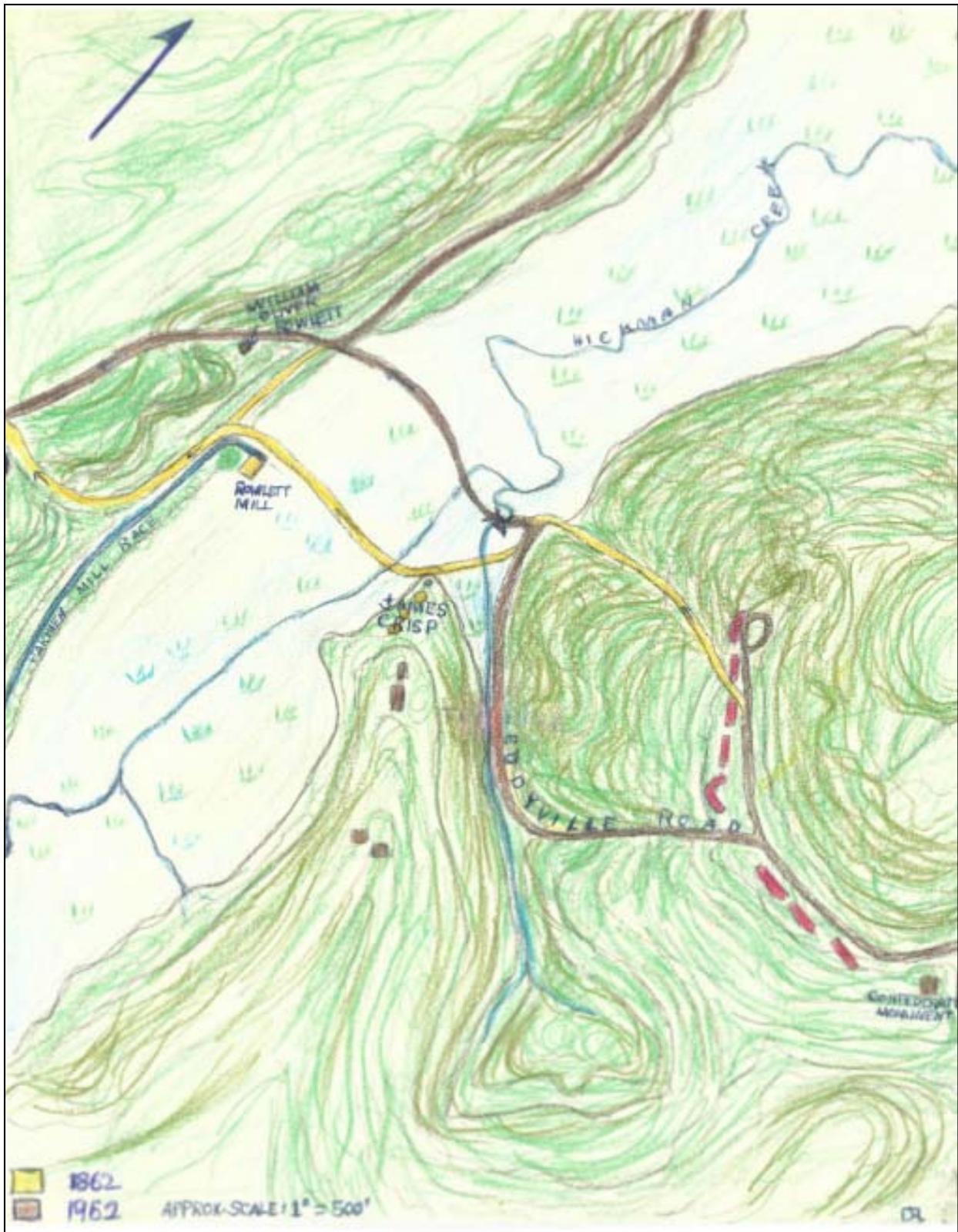


Figure 9. Sketch map of the Rowlett property and surroundings, ca. 1862 (Adams 1964).



Figure 10. Fort Donelson and surrounding area (Sneden ca 1865b)

Fort Donelson began, Rowlett moved his family from their home above the mill to a more remote location in the ridges further up Hickman Creek because “shells were falling and exploding in his front yard” (Adams 1964).

The battles for Forts Henry, Heiman, and Donelson were over in a matter of days, but had long-lasting and dire consequences for the South. A huge chunk was ripped from the heart of the Confederacy, which was forced to give up southern Kentucky and virtually all of Middle and West Tennessee. The most immediate and costly outcome, however, may have been the loss of confidence of European leaders, at that time receiving southern agents who petitioned for recognition and support of the Confederacy. In a March 1862 letter from London, James Mason reported: “The late reverses at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson have had an unfortunate effect upon the minds of our friends here” (quoted in Bearss and Nash 1983).

As the Confederates withdrew from the region to regroup and make plans to reverse their losses, the Union forces settled in to construct earthworks about a half-mile upriver nearer to Dover and prepared to defend the rivers in Stewart County, where local families struggled to face the realities and consequences of war. Although the number of Confederate prisoners taken in the battles is uncertain, General Ulysses Grant estimated the captives numbered between 12,000 and 15,000. Colonel Charles Whittlesey of Ohio described the state of the prisoners awaiting resolution of their fate at Fort Donelson on 16 February 1862.

Crowds of confederates, very few of whom were in uniform, and who were unable to find shelter, stood in groups in the rain under guard of our men.... A more pitiable collection [sic] of human beings was probably never seen. Dejected and exhausted, hungry, wet, and cold, they huddled together in the mud and rain ... waiting for the rolls to be made out and rations issued.... Very few had blankets or overcoats; some were without hats, their heads and shoulders wrapped in shawls and quilts as protection against the rain [quoted in Knight 2011:129].

By the end of that day, the Union troops began to load the prisoners into steamers and ship them out to prisons near St. Louis, Indianapolis, Chicago, Springfield, Boston, and Sandusky, Ohio. Not all the prisoners hailed from Stewart County, but many did and they were soon shipped out to prison camps far from home (Knight 2011:129-130).

After the February 1862 battle for Fort Donelson, Confederate forces attempted to oust Union forces from the area, including a brief Confederate assault in late August 1862 that “did more damage to the town of Dover in thirty minutes than the previous February’s major battle” (Cooling 2010). During the engagement, Union troops set fire to Dover to prevent Confederate troops from using it as protection. Almost a year to the day after the battles for the forts, the Confederates launched another assault on Dover using cavalry and 3,000 Confederate soldiers who advanced toward the village over land. Union Captain James Flood of the Second Illinois Light Artillery commanded four field pieces from his entrenchment at the town cemetery. In a matter of hours, Confederate artillery had destroyed most of the town, but failed to dislodge the Union from its strong position. Between the two Confederate offensives at Dover and the Union’s setting fire to the town, “the entire town of Dover, with the exception of four houses, was destroyed” (Goodspeed 1972:913). The earthworks built by Union troops in anticipation of the attack on Dover were improved and expanded and by March 1863, formed the basis of the Union Fort Donelson (Bergemann 2004:43; Cooling 2010; Jaeger 2010:17).

Fort Henry was immediately abandoned after the Union seized the Confederate forts, but a portion of General Lew Wallace’s 3rd Division, the Iowa Fifth Cavalry also known as the Curtis Horse regiment, until June 1863, manned Fort Heiman. Descriptions of Fort Heiman suggest that the Confederate earthworks had not been completed prior to abandonment and the

occupying Union forces built fortifications northwest of the fort. No battles took place at Fort Heiman, but the regiment was charged with routing out bushwhackers, guerillas, and the occasional Confederate troops who continued to inhabit the region. The Curtis Horse regiment constructed crude huts and storage buildings largely from materials scavenged and salvaged from decrepit buildings they came across on their daily patrols to investigate guerilla activities. One Stewart County resident was particularly troublesome to the Union troops. After his sons were executed as guerillas near Fort Heiman, Jack Hinson became one of the most feared and successful Confederate guerilla in the rough country on both sides of the Tennessee River. “His killing ground was the rugged, sparsely settled ‘Between the Rivers’ section” where he lay in wait to fire upon Union soldiers on passing gunboats or ambush those unlucky enough to stop to drink at one of his guarded springs. He also wreaked havoc on the few families of Union sympathizers who remembered him as a “robber and a thief” (Bergemann 2004:34-49; Craig 2010:79-80).

The Curtis Horse detachment was ultimately unable to curtail guerilla activities between Fort Heiman and Fort Donelson and abandoned Fort Heiman in June 1863, destroying earthworks and parapets before departing. The fort was reoccupied by 3,500 soldiers under the command of Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest in autumn 1864. Charged with preventing the use of the Tennessee River by the Union to transport supplies to General Sherman’s army in Georgia, Forrest placed two 20-pound Parrott guns on the bluffs and outfitted two vessels with similar artillery. From his position at Fort Heiman, Forrest was able to temporarily blockade the river, capture or destroy Union gunboats, transports, and barges. Forming the Confederate Tennessee River Navy, Forrest outfitted two vessels with the two Parrots, using them as a diversion to lure the Union gunboats away from Johnsonville, Tennessee. With the Union gunboats thus engaged, Forrest and his cavalry raided Johnsonville where they destroyed the Union supply base. Before his boats were destroyed, Forrest was able to capture or destroy “four Union gunboats, 14 transports, 20 barges, and 26 pieces of artillery” (Parsons 2012:23-24; Tankersly and Gregory 2010:20-21).

Between March 12 and 14, 1863, Union forces moved against a Confederate detachment under the leadership of Major James C. Blanton, who was using Fort Heiman as a center of operations to gather horses and raise conscripts in the region. Union Army General Alexander Asboth³ proceeded with two infantry regiments, two cannons, and a few cavalry to Fort Heiman, but was unable to capture Blanton or his small contingent. The Union ironclad gunboat, U.S.S. *Tuscumbia*, shelled the area around Fort Heiman and destroyed the flatboats and skiffs that had been gathered by the Confederates. The *Tuscumbia* was under the command of Lieutenant-Commander James W. Shirk, who had commanded the U.S.S. *Lexington* at the Battle of Fort Henry (NHS 1911).

Union occupation did not improve conditions for the local population. Eugene Marshall, a Minnesota soldier stationed at Fort Donelson, noted the extreme privation suffered by local citizens. “The war has made a desert of this part of Tennessee. Never a garden, it is now desolate in the extreme. Miserable half starved women & children, old men & cripples make up the mass of what people are left here” (Bergemann 2004:55). Union soldiers made daily patrols in the region, transporting prisoners, guarding supply wagons, and checking telegraph lines, but also searching for guerilla fighters and their supply caches. Both Southern and Union soldiers foraged for food, taking precious supplies and livestock from the local citizens. One raid brought in 82 horses, mostly taken from poor farmers, to replenish the dwindling numbers at the fort (Bergemann 2004:55-56).

³General Asboth, a native of Hungary, would later serve as a United States Minister to Argentina and Uruguay (Bill Barley, personal communication, 17 September 2013).

African Americans at Forts Henry, Heiman, and Donelson

At the end of November 1861, the Confederacy ordered slave owners in West Tennessee and Alabama to furnish 500 slaves to help with the construction of Forts Donelson and Henry. The order was made necessary by the small number of slaves available in the area surrounding Dover, where the majority of the slaves worked at ironworks facilities and were thus essential for the Confederate war effort. When the Federal army seized Fort Donelson in 1862, slaves already sent to work at the Confederate fort became spoils of war when General Grant utilized the First Confiscation Act that allowed any slave behind Federal lines to be appropriated for construction gangs. Federal officers issued orders that forbade those known as contrabands from carrying guns, even in the protection of the forts. However, contrabands at Fort Donelson disregarded those orders during the 1863 Battle of Dover (Cimprich 2002:81; Wallace 1992:104).

After the Union victory in February 1862, large numbers of runaway slaves from local farms, towns, and ironworks began to arrive at Fort Donelson. These contraband slaves created various problems for the Union commanders, not just at Fort Donelson but also at places throughout Tennessee that had been taken from the Confederate troops. At the start of the war, the army was under orders not to allow runaway slaves to cross into Federally controlled territory. Nevertheless, a few post commanders in Middle Tennessee established unauthorized contraband camps including the one at Fort Donelson, along with camps at Gallatin, Murfreesboro, Dechard, and Pulaski. By the winter of 1864, the population of freedmen at the Fort Donelson camp was estimated at 300 individuals (Cimprich 2002:50-53).

The Union army commanders used the runaway slaves as laborers to build forts, guard railroads, mine ore, and other tasks that required hard labor, leaving the soldiers free for military duty. Colonel William P. Lyon, commanding officer at Fort Donelson, had refused to return the escaped slaves who arrived at the fort after the Union victory in 1862 (Jaeger Company 2011:10, 17). By March 1863, Federal troops began to build a fortified earthwork at a site located between the abandoned Confederate fort and the town of Dover and slave labor was engaged in building the new fort (Cimprich 2002:81).

African American Troops in Tennessee

In 1862, the U.S. Congress authorized the official recruitment of black troops to be known as the United States Colored Troops (USCT). By March 1863, the Union army began the recruitment of slaves and free blacks despite the wishes of Military Governor Andrew Johnson to the contrary after he discovered the first recruits had been sent to Nashville from Gallatin without his knowledge. The organization of USCT in Tennessee began with the establishment of recruitment centers in towns throughout the state including Nashville and Clarksville. Slave owners were offered up to \$300 if they allowed their slaves to enlist into the Union army. However, if after 30 days the recruitment quota was not met, the slaves would be commandeered without the owners' permission. In addition to the slaves who remained with their owners, the Union army recruited escaped slaves who had made their way behind Federal lines and were living in contraband camps throughout Tennessee (Lovett 1976:39).

Free State/Freedmen's Camp at Fort Donelson

Middle Tennessee had a large number of escaped slaves due to the presence of a wide network of Union garrisons that operated a large system of camps in the region. As stated above, as soon as the Federal army captured Fort Donelson, runaway slaves or contrabands congregated at the fort as they did at all the other seized Confederate forts throughout Tennessee. Several post commanders organized unauthorized camps in an attempt to provide shelter and food to the escaped slaves. However, the families of male slaves who fled to the forts in Middle Tennessee

were not allowed to enter with their husbands and fathers. Some post commanders tired of following the rules that pertained to the contraband laborers, began to allow families to enter the fort areas. In particular, Fort Donelson's commander, Colonel Lyon, reported his frustration at maintaining this regulation and received amended orders allowing some families to stay at the camps under the condition that a great humanitarian need justified the exceptions (Cimprich 2002:38-39).

In the years 1863 to 1865, the Western Freedmen's Aid Society and the Indiana Freedmen's Aid Association were instrumental in the provision of supplies, representatives, and teachers to the Fort Donelson contraband camp. The agents' official reports give a positive glimpse into the daily life of the camp. Superintendent of the Freedmen's camp, Lieutenant James Moore, reported in 1863-1864 to the Indiana Commission that there were "three hundred colored persons" who lived around the perimeter of Fort Donelson in huts that they constructed themselves. The 300 persons in the camp consisted of mostly women and children with 80 elderly and infirm males. Moore further reported that 50 gardens that totaled seven and one-half acres were planted at the Fort Donelson Freedman camp. Sometime prior to 1867, the camp became known as "Freestate" as seen on an 1867 survey sketch of Fort Donelson (Figure 11) (Hawkins 2002).

Lt. Moore also reported to the Indiana Commission in March 1863 that a Sabbath school for the freedmen at Fort Donelson had 80 to 100 students, both children and adults, in the spring of 1862, some of whom who had "learned so fast that they could read before the cold weather set in" (quoted in Hawkins 2002:43). Many women who attended the school were wives of enlisted men in the USCT. Teachers at the Sabbath school continued to praise their students' strong interest in education, as well as the military authorities at Fort Donelson for providing rations and housing. An 1867 sketch of the military cemetery at Fort Donelson depicts the "colr'd school house" south of the fort (Figure 12) (Hawkins 2002; Jaeger 2010).

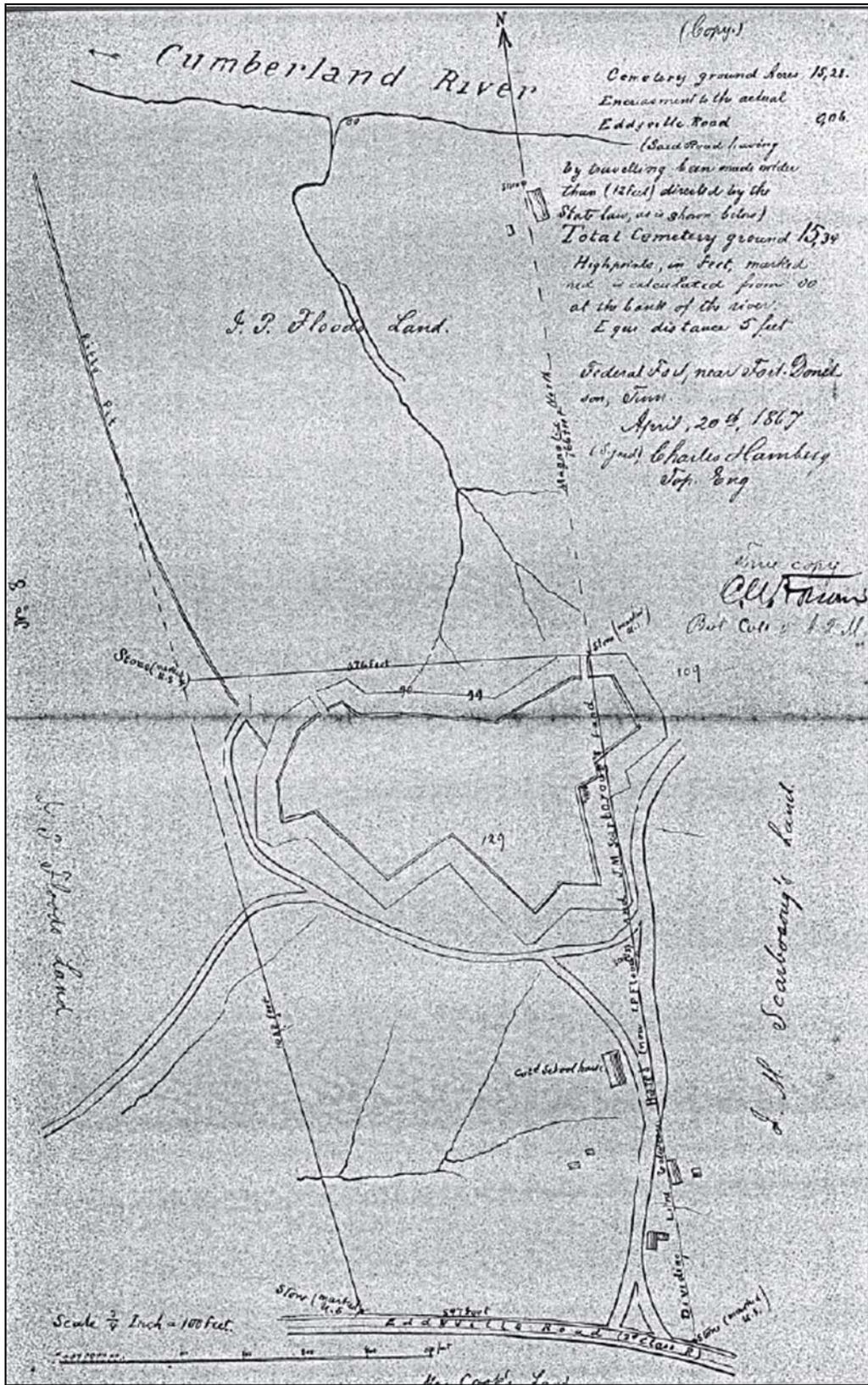
After the War

On 9 April 1865, Confederate General Robert E. Lee formally surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox, Virginia. War-weary soldiers and officers left battlefields and prison camps to make their way back to what was left of their homes and towns and try to recapture a sense of normalcy. Tennessee was among the first states to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment that recognized former slaves as U.S. citizens and enjoyed a briefer period of Reconstruction than did other southern states.

Fort Donelson was abandoned in October 1865 when Lieutenant Frederick Rosencrantz arrived with 21 men charged with the protection of Federal property. Included in the inventory of 18 standing structures were a guardhouse, bakery, stables, barracks, officers' quarters, offices, and warehouses, all located outside of the fort proper. A powder magazine was located inside the fort. It was determined that the buildings could be sold and relocated to Dover, which was in the process of rebuilding (Jaeger 2011:26).

Benjamin Lossing visited Dover and Fort Donelson in May 1866 while preparing his *Pictorial History of the Civil War*. Traveling by steamer from Clarksville, Lossing noted that the Cumberland Iron Works lay in ruins, as did the town of Dover.

The little village, with its church, court-house, and almost one hundred dwellings and stores, when Fort Donelson was built, had disappeared. The public buildings and most of the private ones had been laid in ashes during the war, and only a few dilapidated structures remained [Lossing 1868:227].



Lossing met up with the aforementioned Captain James P. Flood at Dover, “the commander of the famous Floods’ Second Illinois Battery” that helped repel the Confederate attacks during the Battle of Dover. Flood, a native of England, was enumerated in 1860 in Springfield, Illinois, working as a brick mason. At the conclusion of the war, however, Flood moved his wife to Dover where he set himself up as a lawyer and began to acquire property. In January 1867, he paid Clarinda Bates \$1,200 for a tract of land just east of Fort Donelson, very close to where the Second Illinois staged its defense. The exact acreage was not noted in the deed, but the tract began just below the town of Dover and was bounded by the Cumberland River to the north, Indian Creek to the west, and on the south by Eddyville Road (Figure 11)⁴ (Lossing 1868:227-228; Stewart County Deed Book 23:618; U.S. Census 1860-1870).

At about the same time, Union veterans began to return to former battlefields in search of unmarked graves to provide proper burials for their comrades. Those returning to the area around Fort Donelson and Dover found most rifle pits plowed under and fields replanted with tobacco. As the majority of Union dead were interred in temporary graves across the countryside, Congress signed “An Act to Establish and Protect National Cemeteries” on 22 February 1867. Fort Donelson was designated as a national cemetery site that same year and the U.S. government paid James Flood \$470 for a 15.34 acre tract of land to contain the cemetery (Jaeger 2011:26-27; Stewart County Deed Book 23:188-189).

After the war ended, the former slaves at Fort Donelson were no longer considered contraband and many continued to live in the community. Also following the war’s end, newly freed slaves from the area northwest of Dover known today as the Land Between the Lakes National Recreation Area (a Tennessee Valley Authority project now under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Forest Service) were relocated to the Dover area. A large majority of these persons remained at the Free State settlement. In January 1866, when smallpox broke out at the Free State community, Stewart County officials assumed full responsibility for the care of the African American population. At this point, the freedmen were recognized as part of the community and were cared for by the white population, in large part due to the fear that smallpox would spread from their settlement into the population at large. A committee of three white citizens of Dover was appointed to evaluate the needs and care of the freedmen and the court authorized the County Trustee to pay the expenses. After the committee members visited the camp, they ordered food, clothing, and medical supplies to be provided to the freedmen; but the cabins and huts were razed in an attempt to stop the disease. G.M. Stewart, Freedmen Bureau agent, assumed responsibility of caring for the persons too ill to come to town and also paid for the burials of the freedmen who died in the epidemic. The county reimbursed him \$200 with a total of \$500 paid by the county for the care of the freedmen (Hawkins 2002; Wallace 1992:149-150).

The years immediately after the Civil War were difficult for the people of Stewart County as they set about to rebuild houses, replant crops, and reclaim their lives. Despite the hardships, however, the social and political upheaval that accompanied Emancipation across much of the South was not as keenly felt in Dover and Stewart County, in which a relatively small number of agriculturalists had depended upon slave labor prior to the war. African Americans embraced new freedoms to create their own community, but worked alongside their neighbors to bring Dover up out of the ashes. Fort Donelson was leveled in 1867 and no longer stood as a reminder of the bitter war. It would, like the people of Dover, find new purpose in the years to come.

⁴ Figure 11 shows the extent of the National Cemetery purchase with Flood’s land west of the cemetery and the land of Judge J.M. Scarborough bordering the cemetery on the east.

The Late Nineteenth Century to the Present

Population, Economy, and Land

In order to rejoin the Union after the war, each Southern state was required to form a government deemed loyal to the Union and a minimum of 10 percent of the state's population was required to sign an oath of loyalty. Following Abraham Lincoln's assassination, the balance of power in the Federal government shifted to the Radical Republicans, who imposed additional requirements including ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment and affording legal protection to freedmen. Tennessee was the third state to ratify the amendment in 1866 and was the only Southern state not to suffer the military oversight imposed by the Radical Congress (Moore 2012:503).

Despite the promises made by the Tennessee legislature in order to escape Federal military occupation, the plight of African Americans in post-war Tennessee was difficult at best. Granted voting rights in the 1879 Constitutional convention, these new rights for African Americans were compromised by the institution of a poll tax. The rewriting of the Tennessee Constitution basically ended political reconstruction in the state and thus increased the struggles of African Americans. Economic opportunities were limited and wage labor was hard to find. Many newly liberated African Americans exited the plantations and gravitated toward the towns and cities where they concentrated around the contraband camps and military forts hoping to find work and receive education and support from the Freedmen's Bureau. Agricultural work was scarce, especially in places like Stewart and Calloway Counties where small, family run farms predominated (Moore 2012:504-505, 507).

An 1865 map of Middle Tennessee shows the area surrounding the Civil War forts and the holdings of significant Stewart County landowners, many whose descendants occupied land later acquired by the Fort Donelson National Battlefield (Figure 13). Only one holding is shown in the immediate vicinity of Fort Donelson—J. Williams—but there were assuredly other, smaller parcels owned by individual farmers.

The economy in Stewart County, still built largely upon agriculture, rebounded slowly after the war. The iron industry that had been so important to the local economy declined rapidly. From 14 producing antebellum furnaces and forges in 1860, only two remained in production by 1898. Population in Stewart County increased by more than 2,000 people between 1860 and 1870 and increased by a total of 65 percent over the 1860 population by 1900 (Tables 1, 5, and 6).⁵ Stewart County had a foreign-born population of 182 people in 1870, with Ireland and Germany the largest source of immigrants. Of that number, 37 immigrants lived in the Dover district with only six foreign-born residents residing within the village of Dover. A total of 2,700 African Americans lived in Stewart County that year; 440 resided in the Dover district, but only 45 lived within the limits of Dover village (Tables 5 and 6).

The residents of Stewart County and Dover began to rebuild lives and properties immediately after the war. Englishman James Flood, the former Union officer who relocated to Dover and purchased large tracts of property including the one he sold to the United States for the National Cemetery, turned his attention away from law and toward publishing. Flood founded the *Dover Record* newspaper in 1870, the same year that the courthouse and jail were rebuilt. *The Record* ceased operation in 1877, but the *Dover Courier* was established the same year by C.W. Crockett. Neither Flood nor his wife was found in the 1880 census of Stewart County (Goodspeed 1972; Riggins 1958:22-23; U.S. Census 1880).

⁵ Unfortunately, the same level of detail is not available for every census year. Information on Dover and the immediate area is tabulated when available.

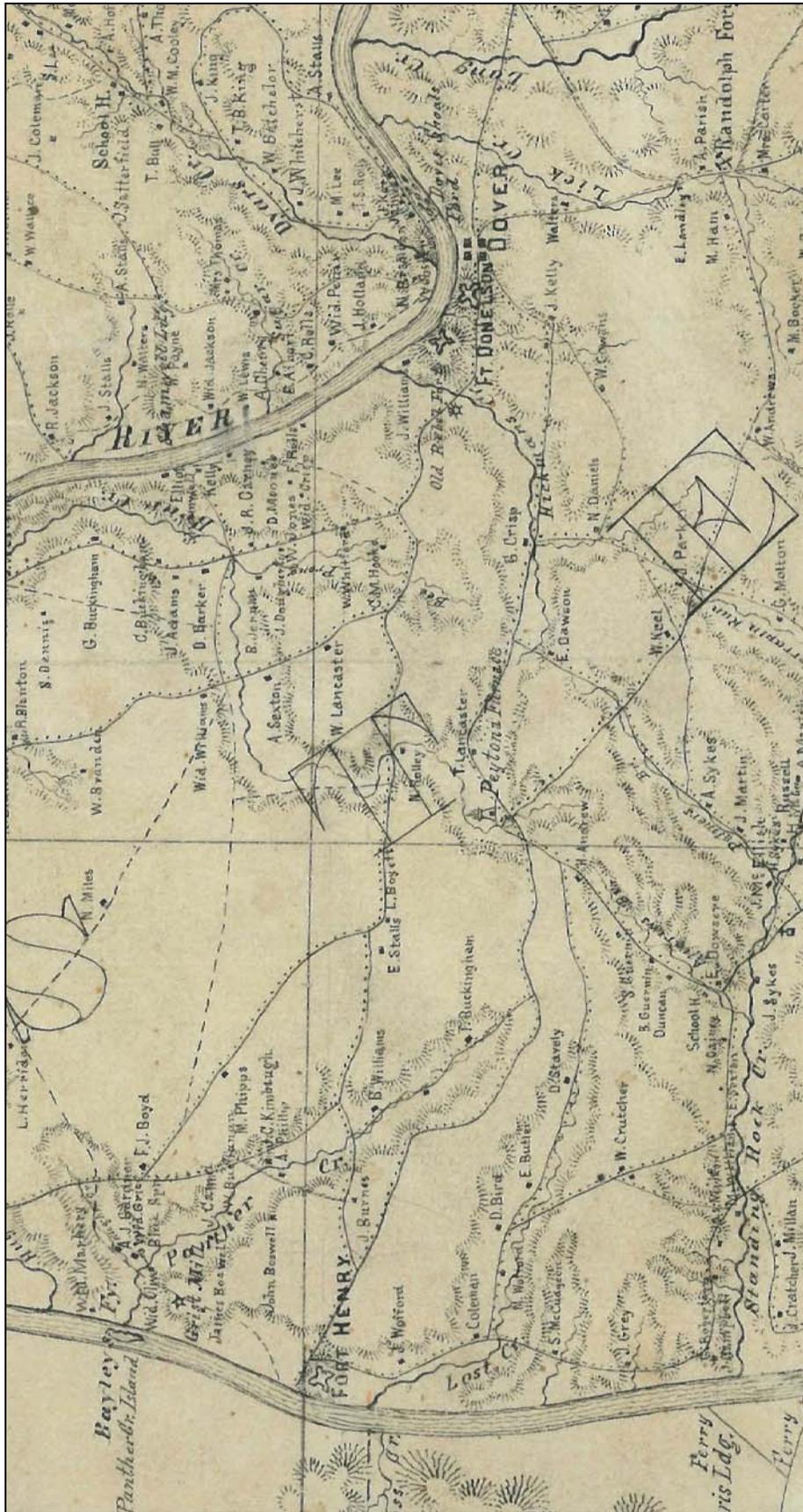


Figure 13. Excerpt from 1865 Map of Middle Tennessee (Ruger 1865).

Table 5. Population Statistics in Stewart County 1870-2010 (U.S. Decennial Census 1872-2012).

Year	Total Population	Total Rural Pop.	White Pop.	Negro/Col'd/Af. Amer. Pop.	Foreign Born Pop.	Austria	British America	England & Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Italy	Switzerl-and	Germany
1870	12,019			2,700	182	1	4	12	9	76	1	17	52
1880	12,690			2,757			3	9	2	65	1		31
1890	12,193			2,177	64			4	1	15		7	32
1900	15,225			2,352	61			14	3	12		6	18
1910	14,860		13,054	1,806	35	1				1		4	13
1920	14,664		13,422	1,215	24			3				4	3
1930	13,278	13,278	12,618	626	32			3	1			2	3
1940	13,549		13,053	496	6							1	
1950	9,175			269	19								
1960	7,851			232									
2010	13,324		12,631	240									

Year	France	Sweden & Norway	Denmark	Czecho-slavakia	Poland	Canada	Syria	Other Countries	Indians, Chinese, Japanese and all other Races	American Indian Pop. [Alaskan, Native Hawaiian 2011]	Hispanic/Latino	Asian	Two or More Races
1870	5	5								0			
1880	1									0			
1890	1					1				1			
1900								6		0			
1910		2	7						0	0			
1920		1	5	2	1	2	2		3				
1930		1	4		1		1		16				
1940							1						
1950													
1960										80	280	147	227

Table 6. Population Statistics in Dover District and Dover Village 1870-2010 (U.S. Decennial Census 1872-2012) (brackets indicate Village/Town of Dover).

Year	Dover district including village of Dover	Dover	Native born	Foreign born	White	African American	Other
1870	1,708	270	1,761 [264]	37 [6]	1,358 [225]	440 [45]	
1880	1,712	317					
1890	1,535	unk					
1900	1,837	400					
1910	1,780	unk					
1920	1,892	unk					
1930	2,131	unk					
1940	1,939	unk					
1950	1,831	unk					
1960	2,074	unk			1,962	92	1
2010		1417 ¹			1,354 ²	27	

¹includes areas previously censused as Dover district

²includes 18 Hispanic/Latino

Businesses grew in Dover, with over 15 town merchants establishing stores including Walter and Scarborough (together and individually) and Rolls [also Ralls] and Company. Walter Brothers built a large, two-story brick grist and flour mill and S.D. Scarborough and William Cherry opened livery stables. James H. Scarborough ran a drugstore while pursuing studies in medicine and became a local doctor. Although farming still constituted the local economy, the timber industry gained a foothold in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, with sawmills located on Hickman and Long Creeks. Judge James M. Scarborough, who still owned most of the land between the small town of Dover and the National Cemetery, served as mayor of Dover in the 1870s and later served in the state legislature. By 1890, Dover which was “in ruins” in 1863, showed few visible reminders of the war (Goodspeed 1872).

Migration rates were to the positive in Stewart County between 1890 and 1900, with 220 new residents added to the county rolls. Between 1900 and 1910, however, 2,518 people left the county. The following decade saw a slight decrease in migration rates, with 2,040 relocating out of Stewart County. Between 1920 and 1930, during the height of the Great Depression, the county lost 3,307 residents (Kyriakoudes 2003:164).

The economic devastation of the war with the resulting loss of property and production was followed by the Depression of 1873, which saw a sharp drop in farm prices. The majority of farms in both Stewart and Calloway Counties averaged between 20 and 49 acres in size, both in 1860 and 1870 (Tables 1, 7, and 8). Farm production postbellum trended more to the production of cash crops—primarily tobacco—in Stewart and Calloway Counties. In 1890, Stewart County was the fourth largest tobacco-producing county in Middle Tennessee, with 1,803,533 pounds produced. Times were difficult, however, especially for small farmers, and more and more people turned to tenancy and sharecropping to make a living (Capace 2000:171-172; Kyriakoudes 2003:178; Moore 2012:504-505).

Sharecropping existed before the Civil War, but was not widespread. Sharecropping became more widespread after the Civil War, however, as emancipated African Americans and poor whites sought to support themselves by farming. Inheritance also affected the ability to own one’s farm as each generation divided family lands into smaller individual parcels. As most farms in Stewart County were less than 50 acres, inheritance did not always guarantee that heirs would gain enough acreage to make a profitable farm. Those who could not purchase land were often forced into tenancy or sharecropping. Under the system of sharecropping, an individual or family received a portion or share of the crops produced on a plot of land provided by a landlord in return for their labor on that same plot. In Tennessee, sharecropping was legally viewed as a type of agricultural tenancy rather than wage labor; however, like farm laborers, the sharecropper was provided with work animals, tools, and seed by the landlord; sometimes earned wages or was provided housing in lieu of wages; and worked under the supervision of the landlord who controlled managerial decisions. Like tenant farmers, the sharecroppers farmed a specific plot of land and worked alongside their families, rather than singly or in a labor gang. By 1880, sharecroppers comprised nearly one-fourth of all farm operators and two-thirds of all tenants in Tennessee. From Emancipation through the 1890s, an increasing number of African Americans shifted from wage labor to sharecropping and other forms of tenancy. Whites, however, comprised two-thirds or more of all sharecroppers in the state as they, too, transitioned from land ownership or wage labor to sharecropping after the war. The depression of the 1890s caused tenancy rates to increase from one-quarter of all farmers in Middle Tennessee to a rate of 35.6 percent tenancy by 1900 (Kyriakoudes 2003:46; McKenzie 2011; Moore 2012:507).

Share and tenant farming may have provided a greater sense of stability and personal control than wage labor, but the economic realities of tenancy farming meant that participants remained in a perpetual state of poverty and dependence. Sharecroppers were dependent upon crop yields to pay for the debts incurred the previous year and were, thus, the poorest class of farmers. No statistics on farms rented for shares were available for 1870; but by 1880, 344 of 1331 farms in

Table 7. Agricultural Statistics in Stewart County 1870-1950 (U.S. Decennial Census 1872-1952).

Year	Total Farms	Farms of Negro/Colored Farm Owners	Farms of Negro/ Col'd Farmers	Farms of White Farm Owners	Farms of White Farmers	Farms of Females	Farms of Males	Farms of Owners	Total Farms Rented For Shares Of Product	Total Tenant Farms	Total Farms Rented For Fixed Money Rental	Farms Operated by Tenants
1870	1,012											
1880	1,331							856	344		131	
1890	1,375											
1900	1,900	84	221	930	1,679							
1910	2,041	91			2,442			1,359		675		675
1920	2,612	59	170	1,499	1,506	83	2,529	1,565				1,035
1930	1,902		66		1,836					799		
1940								890		948		
1950	1,365		15	1,350			1,008	868		307		

Year	Farms of Negro/col'd cash tenants	Farms Operated by Negro/Non-white Tenants	Farms Operated by White Tenants	Farms of White Tenants	Farms of Negro & colored share Tenants	Farms of Un-specified Tenants	Farms Under Three Acres	Farms Under Three Acres Rented For Fixed Money Rental	Farms 3-9 Acres Cultivated By Owners	Farms 3-9 Acres Rented For Shares
1870										
1880							1		44	
1890							1	1	4	40
1900	12		132							
1910		471	30	601	111	7	3		57	
1920		59		924	73	66			61	
1930					111				197	
1940									103	
1950							10		103	

Table 7. Agricultural Statistics in Stewart County 1870-1950 (U.S. Decennial Census 1872-1952) (cont.).

Year	Farms 3-9 Acres Rented For Fixed Money Rental	Farms Under 10 Acres	Farms Under 10 Acres Cultivated by Owners	Farms Under 10 Acres Rented for Shares	Farms 10-19 Acres	Farms 10-19 Acres Cultivated By Owners	Farms 10-19 Acres Rented For Shares	Farms 10-19 Acres Rented For Fixed Money Rental	Farms 10-49 Acres	Farms 20-49 Acres	Farms 20-49 Acres Cultivated By Owners	Farms 20-49 Acres Rented For Shares
1870					175					464		
1880	7				187	16	147	24		239	91	112
1890		24	11	7	92	27	49			193	87	89
1900		60			279					419		
1910		61			282					482		
1920		197			616					548		
1930		103			285					368		
1940												
1950		113							383			

Year	Farms Under 10 Acres Rented for Shares	Farms 10-19 Acres	Farms 10-19 Acres Cultivated By Owners	Farms 10-19 Acres Rented For Shares	Farms 10-19 Acres Rented For Fixed Money Rental	Farms 10-29 Acres	Farms 30-49 Acres	Farms 20-49 Acres	Farms 20-49 Acres Cultivated By Owners	Farms 20-49 Acres Rented For Shares	Farms 20-49 Acres Rented For Fixed Money Rental	Farms 50-99 Acres
1870		175						464				224
1880		187	16	147	24			239	91	112		314
1890	7	92	27	49				193	87	89		376
1900		279						419				447
1910		282						482				486
1920		616						548				520
1930		285						368				
1940												
1950						220	163					

Table 7. Agricultural Statistics in Stewart County 1870-1950 (U.S. Decennial Census 1872-1952) (cont.).

Year	Farms 50-99 Acres Cultivated By Owners	Farms 50-99 Acres Rented For Shares	Farms 50-99 Acres Rented For Fixed Money Rental	Farms of 50-99 Acres	Farms 100-499 Acres	Farms of 100-139 Acres	Farms of 140-179 Acres	Farms 100-174 Acres	Farms of 175-259 Acres	Farms of 180-219 Acres	Farms of 220-259 Acres	Farms of 260-499 Acres
1870					102							
1880	259	27	28		498							
1890	307	43			647							
1900								440	148			83
1910								468	148			88
1920								454	155			89
1930	445							412	172			95
1940												
1950				301		209	109			77	48	94

Year	Farms 100-499 Acres Cultivated By Owners	Farms 100-499 Acres Rented For Shares	Farms 100-499 Acres Rented For Fixed Money Rental	Farms 500-999 Acres	Farms 500-999 Acres Cultivated By Owners	Farms 500-999 Acres Rented For Shares	Farms 500-999 Acres Rented For Fixed Money Rental	Farms 1000 Acres And Over Cultivated By Owners	Farms 1000 Acres And Over Rented For Shares	Farms 1000 Or More Acres Rented For Fixed Money	Average Size of Farms in Acres
1870				2							
1880	451	17	30	31	610	31	1	10		3	160
1890	537	70		30	22	6		9	3		186
1900				19							104
1910				24							
1920				31							
1930				18							
1940											
1950				25						6	91.2

Table 8. Agricultural Statistics in Calloway County 1870-1950 (U.S. Decennial Census 1872-1952).

Year	Total Farms	Farms of Females	Farms of White Farmers	Farms of Col'd Farmers	Farms of Non-white Operators	Farms Operated by Tenants (white)	Farms Operated by Tenants (col'd)	Farms Operated by Tenants (unspec'd)	Farms Operated by Cash Tenants	Farms Operated by Cash/Share Tenants	Farms Operated by Croppers	Farms Operated by Share-Tenants
1870	1,393											
1880	1,976										298	
1890	2,129											
1900	2,798											
1910	3,464										52	
1920	4,293	132				1,348	44	98	66	10	403	815
1930	2,990		2,951	39								
1940				14	31			903	128			
1950	2,746							55	22	7	66	197

Year	Farms of Crop-Share Tenants	Farms Rented for Shares (col'd)	Farms Rented for Shares (white)	Farms Cultivated by Owners	Farms Cultivated by Owners (col'd)	Farms Cultivated by Owners (white)	Farms of Part Owners	Farms Cultivated by Part-Owners (white)	Farms Rented for Fixed Money	Farms 0-9 ac. [owners]	Farms 0-9 ac.	Farms 0-9 ac. Rented for Shares
1870										51		
1880				1,501					177	7		7
1890										9		7
1900		28	373		44	1,886		130			43	
1910		42	933	2,469					182		121	
1920					51	2,849					399	
1930												49
1940				1,778			358				105	
1950	197			1,885			506				134	

Table 8. Agricultural Statistics in Calloway County 1870-1950 (U.S. Decennial Census 1872-1952) (cont.).

Year	Farms 0-9 ac. Rented for Fixed Money	Farms 10-19 ac. [owners]	Farms 10-19 ac.	Farms 10-29 ac.	Farms 10-19 ac. Rented for Shares	Farms 10-19 ac. Rented for Fixed Money	Farms 20-49 ac. [owners]	Farms 20-49 ac.	Farms 20-49 ac. Rented for Shares	Farms 20-49 ac. Rented for Fixed Money	Farms 30-49 ac.	Farms 50-99 ac. [owners]
1870		293					563					364
1880	2	21			55		241		89	50		544
1890	4	22			47	20	261		61	54		632
1900			262					623				
1910			392					967				
1920								1,320				
1930			137					874				
1940			336					755				
1950				368							521	

Year	Farms 99 ac.	Farms 50-99 ac. Rented for Shares	Farms 50-99 ac. Rented for Fixed Money	Farms 100-499 ac. [owners]	Farms 100-499 ac.	Farms 100-499 ac. Rented for Shares	Farms 100-499 ac. Rented for Fixed Money	Farms 500-999 ac. [owners]	Farms 500-999 ac.	Farms 500-999 ac. Rented for Fixed Money	Farms > 1,000 ac. [owners]	Farms > 1,000 ac.
1870				120								
1880		74	47	677		71	61	10			3	
1890		39	85	757		42	81	7		1		
1900	1,028				206				10		1	
1910	1,241				735				7			1
1920	1,486				618				1			1
1930	1,276				648				4			
1940	1,285				705				8			2
1950	1,063				652				8			0

Stewart County were rented for shares. The statistics were not designated by race. Farm ownership remained low among African Americans in both Stewart and Calloway Counties. In 1900, approximately 36 percent of white farmers in Stewart County were tenants compared to tenancy of 61 percent for African Americans (Tables 7 and 8).

Except for those engaged exclusively in small business, farming remained the economic mainstay for Dover's Anglo-American community members who inherited or were able to purchase tracts of land. Unfortunately, agricultural statistics included no specific information for the Dover district; however, individuals interviewed and census records accessed during the course of this research suggest that most residents of this rural community farmed in some capacity well into the latter half of the twentieth century. Even those who owned or worked for local businesses often had farmland, and almost everyone planted a home garden. Dark-fire and burley tobacco constituted the primary cash crops, but corn was also grown for cash as well as for personal use. A tobacco warehouse was built on Spring Street by the Cooperative Growers Association and stood until it burned ca. 1937. The cooperative provided local tobacco farmers a place to sell their tobacco at fair market price before it was shipped by river to markets in the north. After the tobacco cooperative burned, farmers took their yield to sell on the "loose floors" in Clarksville where it was auctioned. In 2013, with fewer small farmers growing tobacco, crops are generally purchased in the field (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Riggins 1958:27-28).

In the 1920s for the first time, the industrial work force in the United States exceeded that of agricultural, and more Americans lived in urban settings than in rural ones. The rural South experienced the first significant drain of farmers and farm workers after World War I, especially among African Americans who began to seek better opportunities in urban centers. Between 1920 and 1930, the number of African American farmers in Stewart County dropped from 170 to 66, a 39 percent reduction, while white farmers increased by 18 percent (Table 7). Sharecropping in Tennessee peaked in the early 1930s, when sharecroppers operated approximately one-third of all farm units in the state. Sharecropping and tenancy declined rapidly after 1940, as advances in mechanization of agriculture drastically reduced the need for farm labor. At the same time, the growing demand for industrial workers in population centers like Chicago and Los Angeles enticed thousands of rural white and African Americans Tennesseans to migrate to northern and western cities, as reflected in the population figures (Davis 2006:303; McKenzie 2011; Moore 2012:507).

The Federal government had a profound effect on the traditional landscape that developed in Stewart County. Landowners between the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers were subject to repeated involuntary buy-outs during the twentieth century as the government began to acquire land in the region—a little at first, then huge swaths along and between the rivers. In the late nineteenth century, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers began to install a system of locks and dams to control flooding. Lands adjacent to the installations were purchased by the government for the development of housing for lock personnel, storage, offices, etc. In the 1920s and 1930s, unemployment, access to utilities, and concern about natural resources led to the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority and to the establishment of several wildlife refuges. The 1942 creation of Fort Campbell resulted in the purchase of over 70,000 acres in Montgomery and Stewart Counties and the damming of the rivers that created Kentucky Lake and Lake Barkley took more land in Stewart County. The 1960s creation of the Land Between the Lakes National Recreational Area resulted in a massive land acquisition of over 170,000 acres of land under eminent domain, one-third of it in Stewart County, displacing whole towns and communities. Finally, in 1962 Cross Creeks National Wildlife Refuge was created four miles east of Dover. Even today, discussions about these various forced land sales evoke strong emotions and many Stewart County residents continue to harbor ill feelings toward the government because of these forced sales (Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013; David Nolin, personal

communication, 23 January 2013; Marvin Nolin and Nolin, interviewed 16 January 2013; Tate 2009:197-198; Wallace 1992:184-250).

Some families were repeatedly forced to give up their land. Mitchell Earhart's paternal grandparents farmed land in the Cumberland River bottoms that had been in the family since at least the 1860s and possibly as early as the 1850s. Forced to sell this land to the government for use by the Corps of Engineers in the 1950s, the Earharts relocated to a tract along U.S. Highway 79 (Tennessee Highway 76). In the 1970s and 1980s, highway realignment forced the Earharts to relocate once again.

There are still families out there that hate the Federal government When I was growing up in the '60s and '70s, there were people who would have shot a Federal official if they came around, because they ... had hundreds of acres, were born there, ... lived there all their lives, and planned to die there [Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013].

Today the Federal government is by far the largest landowner in Stewart County. "General Grant said when he left, "This is a town that will never be any bigger," and he was right.... We have nowhere to expand.... We have Cross Creeks, Fort Donelson, Fort Campbell; ... there's just nowhere left to go" (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013). While Fort Donelson's total land acquisitions were not as extensive as those of Land Between the Lakes or Fort Campbell, they disrupted families, communities, and ways of life just the same.

Religion

In 1870, Stewart County had 31 religious denominations meeting in the county, 29 of which had designated church buildings. The majority of congregations were Methodist with 18 churches. There were seven Baptist congregations, four Presbyterian, and two Christian. By 1886, Dover had two churches for Anglo-Americans—Methodist and Christian—and an African Methodist Episcopal Church as well as an Odd Fellows group for people of color. Over the years, a number of denominations were established in the Dover area, including a Catholic Church; but the churches in the Dover area were and are overwhelmingly Protestant, with Baptist in the majority in 2013 (Goodspeed 1972; Yellow Pages 2013). Most of the Anglo-American families in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area were associated with the Christian or Methodist churches.

In the years following the Civil War, several African American churches were established in Stewart County. By 1887, three African American churches were located near Dover: an African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Northern Church, a Missionary Baptist Church five miles west of Dover, and an A.M.E. Church north of Dover. The two A.M.E. churches may have actually been the same church. There was also an A.M.E. Church at Bear Springs, a few miles to the east of Dover. Other African American churches found in the late nineteenth century within Stewart County included a Baptist Church on Pea Ridge in the Ninth District, an A.M.E. Church on the north side of the Cumberland River seven miles from Dover, and an A.M.E. Church at La Grange Iron Works in the Eleventh District (Goodspeed 1887).

On 18 May 1931, Hugh and Mary Mockabee conveyed a tract of land "about one-fourth acre, more or less" to the Trustees of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church North in Dover, Tennessee, for the sum of \$25 (SCDB 98:413-414). On the 1930 land acquisition map showing properties purchased for Fort Donelson, the building on the M.E. North land is identified as a house; however, it could have been a small church or a former dwelling converted for church use. More investigation is needed to clarify the improvements on this parcel of land. Nevertheless, in 1944, the St. Paul United Methodist Church (Figure 14) was established, apparently replacing the M.E. North Church, and was the only reminder of the A.M.E. church in Dover's African American community. Mr. James A. Skinner, son of James M. and Emma



Figure 14. St. Paul United Methodist Church.

Skinner, was an original trustee of St. Paul's and resided across the road from the church on land not presently within Fort Donelson National Battlefield (Figure 15). Mr. R.J. Hughes, who worked for the National Park Service at Fort Donelson for many years, was a deacon and elder of the church and was the caretaker of the building until his death in the 1990s (Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013).

Mrs. Mary Mockabee Newsom, granddaughter of Hugh Mockabee, related the family oral tradition that Hugh Mockabee donated the land for the East Oak Grove Baptist Church (Figure 16) (Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013). A land transaction involving the Baptist church was not found in a search of Stewart County land records, but warrants further investigation. As children, Mrs. Earline Wilson Lavester and Polly Mockabee, both born in 1929, attended the Baptist church with their families; however, it was common practice for the congregations to alternate their services to include everyone. "We changed up, it wasn't that many people" (Polly Garner Mockabee, interviewed 22 January 2013).

Both Polly Mockabee and her daughter, Mary Newsom, were baptized in Lick Creek. "Me and my sister [Ruth], Irene Lavester, Charlie Edwards, quite a bit [were baptized] that Sunday, and back then you wore a white sheet, and I remember Rev. O'Neal and Uncle Jim Skinner helped dunk us, and Clifton Shemwell helped get us dunked.... My children got baptized like that, too" (Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013). Many Anglo-Americans were also baptized in Lick Creek before the 1950s. Earline Lavester, however, was baptized as a girl in the 1930s or 1940s in the baptismal at a church in nearby Erin, Tennessee (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Earline Lavester, personal communication 23 April 2013; Polly Garner Mockabee, interviewed 22 January 2013).

Sunday services are still held at the East Oak Grove Baptist church for a few community members that include the Wilson family, Mrs. Lavester's relatives who maintain the upkeep on the church (Earline Lavester, personal communication, 23 April 2013). St. Paul's United Methodist church no longer holds services and is in a state of disrepair. This property, if acquired by the National Park Service and improved, would make an ideal location for an interpretive exhibit on the African American presence at Fort Donelson and the community that developed in Dover (see Recommendations below).

Education

As previously noted, the Western Freedmen's Aid Society and the Indiana Freedmen's Aid Association were instrumental in the provision of supplies, representatives, and teachers for the runaway slaves who congregated at Fort Donelson between 1863 and 1865. The school at the fort was still active in 1867 (Figure 4); but two other schools, as well as teachers' quarters, were built in 1863 with funds raised by the students. No records were found that identify the exact location of these two additional schools. Education was as important to the adults as it was to the children of the Free State settlement, as noted by U.S. Quartermaster Benjamin Vanmeter who worked with the 1866-1868 burial detail at Fort Donelson. Vanmeter stated that the African American males attached to the burial detail carried either spelling books or the New Testament with them at all times (Hawkins 2002).

In 1873, Stewart County was divided into 54 school districts, each with a white and an African American school except in districts with little or no African American population. In 1868, a frame schoolhouse for white children replaced the brick schoolhouse destroyed during the siege of Dover, and a frame school for African American children was also built that year. A charter school was established in Dover in 1883. The public school year lasted only four months to accommodate the agricultural cycle, but the private school year was several months longer. In 1885, 3,770 white pupils and 884 African American pupils were enrolled in Stewart County, taught by 46 white and 12 African American teachers. A total of 63 schoolhouses were in use;



Figure 15. Home of James Skinner.



Figure 16. East Oak Grove Baptist Church.

40 were constructed of logs and 23 were frame, with 50 of the school buildings utilized by white students and 13 by African Americans. Dover had both a white and an African American public school by 1886 (Goodspeed 1972).

Unfortunately, the records for Stewart County were not found in the school census records for the state of Tennessee housed at the Tennessee State Library in Nashville. In recent memory within the project area, Anglo-Americans attended Dover public elementary, middle, and high schools, which are attended by students of all ethnicities today. The new Dover High School was built in 1917 and the first class graduated in 1921. The two-story frame building housed all 12 grades until 1949, when the brick school building for the Stewart County High School was constructed. A brick elementary school was built in 1956 near the high school. In the 1950s, a school identified as the Gray School was located where the Baptist Life Center now stands on Church Street; but no additional information was found on the school. Several people who lived in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area acquired by the National Battlefield in 1960 (see below) were Dover public school teachers: Mary Emma Cherry taught eighth grade; Robert Williams taught agriculture at the high school; and Merle Chance taught science and later served as principal of the Dover High School (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013; Goodspeed 1972; SCG-HS).

An African American school was in operation at Cobbler's Hill, present Knob Hill, near the former Free State area in the early twentieth century (Percy Williams, interviewed 17 January 2013). This school, and perhaps the school building, was moved to Dahlia Street by the late 1930s, with classes taught up to the eighth grade. Those pupils who wished to continue their educations into high school were forced to travel to Clarksville, often on the Greyhound Bus. At one point, ca. 1950s, the county hired R.J. Hughes, an African American monument maker who later worked for the National Battlefield, to transport the children to Byrd High School in Clarksville. The difficult 60-mile roundtrip journey on a two-lane highway discouraged or prevented many African Americans from pursuing a high school education (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Polly Garner Mockabee, interviewed 24 January 2013; Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013).

Mrs. Polly Garner Mockabee, born in 1929, attended the school on Dahlia Street taught by Professor Clifton Long from the first through eighth grades. Her schoolmates were the children of established African American families in the Dover community, i.e., Gentry, Mockabee, Skinner, Dudley (Figure 17), and included her brother, Booker T. Garner, and her best friend, Earline Lavester (Polly Garner Mockabee, interviewed 24 January 2013). In 1941, Booker T. Garner won fourth prize in a spelling contest held at the Dover school in which students from the other African American Stewart County schools at Glover, Tobaccoport, Ellis Chapel, and Cumberland City competed. Another spelling contest in 1942 produced a third-place win for Jasper Skinner of Dover. Another example of the interaction between the African American schools was documented in the 1940s, when Dover and Cumberland City schools held annual field day programs together. At one such event hosted at Dover, the program included "Games and Stunts," "School Exhibits," the play *The Golden Goose*, and a baseball game between Cumberland City and Dover (Stewart County Heritage 1980:55).

Polly Garner Mockabee graduated the eighth grade at Dover, ca. 1944, and continued her high school education at Byrd High School in Clarksville. Due to the segregation laws in force at the time, she was unable to attend the white high school in Dover. "You see, when I was going, you had to ride on the Greyhound bus," which did not get back to Dover until the evening hours. The families of the students had to "book a ticket" and purchase the bus fare themselves. Approximately five children of her generation rode the bus to Clarksville. The bus stop was located at Jim Weeks' Chevrolet Dealership in Dover (Polly Garner Mockabee, interviewed 24 January 2013).



Figure 17. Students at Dover's African American School, ca. 1936-1937 (Stewart County Heritage 1980:55). Identification provided by Mrs. Polly Garner Mockabee.

Front Row (left to right): Frank Levester, L. C. Dudley, Syndy B___, Rabbit Ervin, Robert Suell, Leonard Gentry, and James Mockabee

Second Row: Robert Lewis, Oneal Garner, Albert Lewis, Calfene Thomas Hughes, Earline Wilson Levester, Wanoma Skinner, Pauline (Polly) Garner Mockabee, Harry Levester, and Howard Lewis

Third Row: Booker T. Garner, Azzie Mae Erwin, Sarah Erwin, Sam Levester, Sampson Corbin, Justin Skinner, James (Bubba) Gardner, Violet Ervin, and Leslie Mockabee

Back Row: Professor Clifton Long, Elroy Mockabee, Estelle Ervin, Jo Burn Dudley, Howard Mockabee, Damous Mockabee, Percy Dudley, Russell Wynn, and Lowry Skinner

In the mid-1950s and early 1960s, Mrs. Polly Mockabee's daughter, Mary Mockabee Newsom, attended the same grade school on Dahlia Street. Professor Long, who taught her mother, was still the teacher. At present, this school building remains at the same location on Dahlia Street, but now serves as a private residence. At the time of Mary's graduation from eighth grade in 1964, segregation was still in force in Stewart County, a decade after the U.S. Supreme Court first ruled against school segregation. However, Mary, along with other students, made the journey to Clarksville's Byrd High School with R.J. Hughes instead of riding the Greyhound Bus. Stewart County schools were integrated the following year and Mary was able to finish the last three years of her education at Dover High School. She was one of the first African American students to integrate and graduate from Dover High School: "I was the first one to get transferred when they integrated.... I finished out three years here [Dover High School]." Her cousin, Glenda Mockabee, was a year older and was the first African American student to graduate from Dover High School (Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013; Smith and Wynn 2009:115, 169).

After integration, the ratio of African American to Anglo-American students in the Dover schools reflected the small African American demographic. Of the two African American students in Pam Sykes Ford's graduating class, only one student lived in Dover while the other came from Bumpus Mills. Mary Mockabee Newsom was the sole African American student to graduate in Mitchell Earhart's class; and several graduating classes in subsequent years have had no African American students at all (Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013; Pam Sykes Ford, interviewed 17 January 2013; Louise Williams Dean, interviewed 17 January 2013).

Fort Donelson National Military Park Land Acquisitions

Between 1914 and 1927, the United Daughters of the Confederacy initiated a campaign to commemorate and preserve Fort Donelson battlefield and create a national park. By 1916, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (COE) had acquired several thousand acres adjoining the battlefield and cemetery to build the lock designed to assist navigation on the Cumberland River, affording limited protection to part of the site. On 14 April 1928, President Calvin Coolidge signed a bill into law designating the Fort Donelson site and the national cemetery a national park, and the Fort Donelson Commission was formed in July 1928. The Superintendent of the National Cemetery, who was made custodian of the park, served on the commission with representatives from the U.S. Army COE along with one veteran each from the Union and the Confederate armies. Among the duties of the commission was the recommendation of land acquisitions. The COE property that contained the water batteries and the outer line of the Confederate entrenchments became the nucleus of the park (Jaeger 2010:39-46).

By June 1931, the park had acquired 34 properties totaling 91.76 acres. Fifteen of the 34 properties acquired in the area of French's Battery belonged to African Americans, many of whom were descended from those who sought refuge and liberty at Fort Donelson during the war and who established the Free State settlement just below the cemetery (Figure 18). After 1870, the community followed Mud Alley/Cedar Street south, away from the old fort and Dover proper, to settle in the French's Battery area along old Wynn's Ferry Road. Subsequent purchases of land to add to Fort Donelson whittled away the property owned by African American community members into the 1970s (Table 9).

A 1953 report by historian Charles Shedd of Shiloh National Military Park recommended that the park acquire more land to prevent the encroachment of "suburban building" near and on the historic setting. The U.S. Army COE was already engaged in purchasing more tracts near Fort Donelson, some of which would be flooded for the development of Barkley Dam and Lake. In 1960, President Dwight Eisenhower signed a law to allow the acquisition of the Dover Hotel and up to 600 acres of land to augment the Fort Donelson National Military Park. Additional

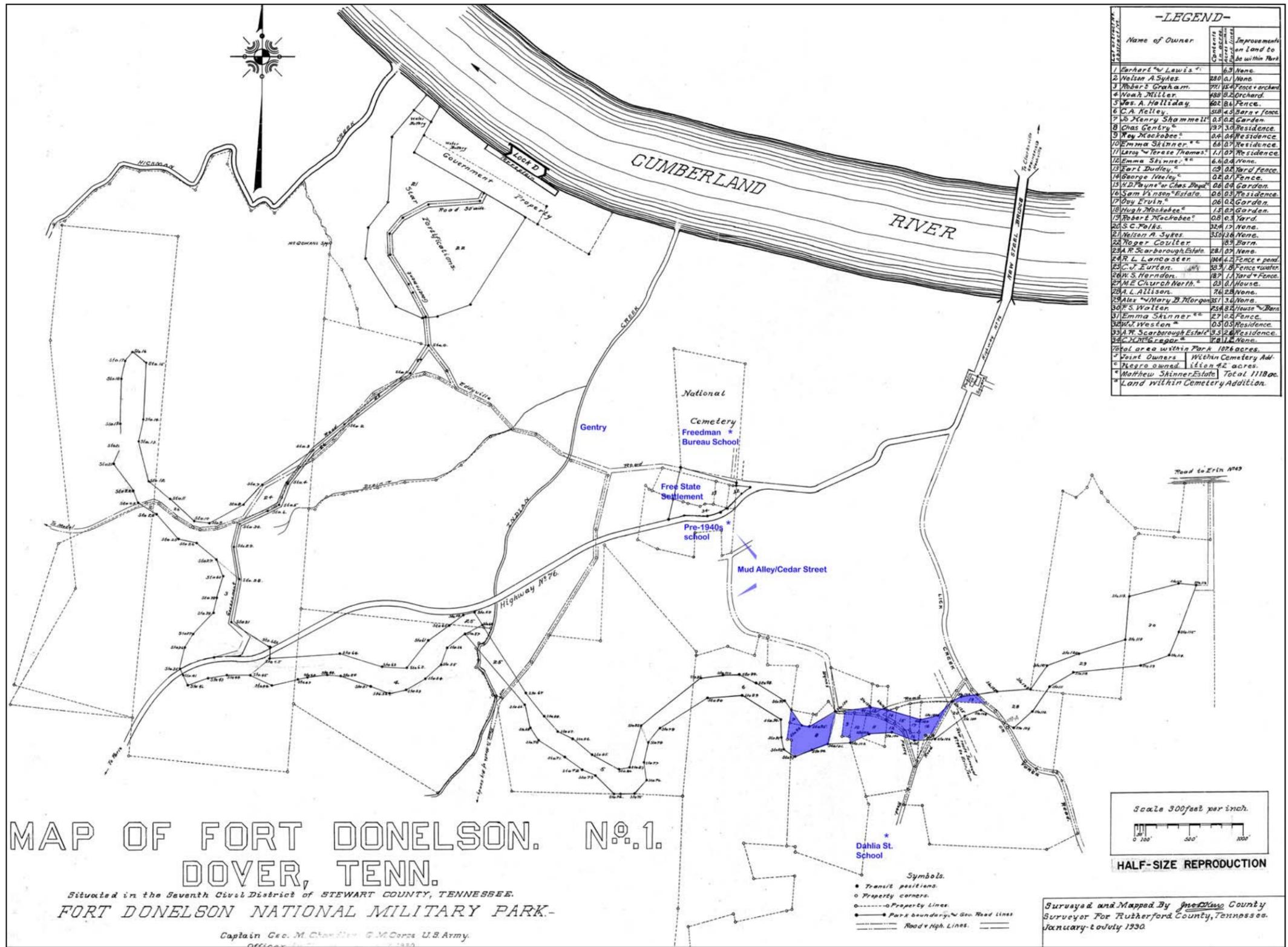


Figure 18. Significant African American places in Dover and 1930 land acquisitions from African American landowners (blue) (Chandler 1930).

Table 9. Fort Donelson Land Acquisitions, ca. 1930-1972 (Chandler 1930; Department of the Army 1960; U.S. Department of the Interior 1969, 1972).

Surname	First	Middle	Year	Map reference	Notes	AfricanAmer.	Surnames in S.C. 1820-1860 Census
Flood	James	P.	1867		cemetery		
Allison	A.	L.	1930	28	no imp.		x
Boyd	Charles		1930	joint with Payne - 15	garden	x	x
Payne [also Paine]	H.	D.	1930	joint with Boyd - 15	garden	x	x
Coulter	Roger		1930	22	barn		
Dudley	Earl		1930	13	yard fence	x	x
Earhart & Lewis			1930	1	no imp.		x
Ervin	Ovy		1930	17	garden	x	x
Eurton [Burton?]	C.	J.	1930	25	fence & water		x
Folks	S.	C.	1930	20	no imp.		x
Gentry	Charles		1930	8	residence	x	x
Graham	Robert		1930	3	fence & orchard		x
Herndon	W.	S.	1930	26	yard & fence		x
Holliday	Jos.	A.	1930	5	fence		
Kelley [Kelly]	C.	A.	1930	6	barn & fence		x
Lancaster	R.	L.	1930	24	fence & pond		x
M.E. Church North			1930	27	house	x	n/a
McGregor estate	C.	H.	1930	34	no imp.		x
Miller	Noah		1930	4	orchard		x
Mockobee	Roy		1930	9	residence	x	x
Mockobee	Hugh		1930	18	garden	x	x
Mockobee	Robert		1930	19	yard	x	x
Morgan	Alex & Mary		1930	29	no imp.		x
Neeley [Neely]	George		1930	14	fence	x	x
Scarborough Estate	A.	R.	1930	23	no imp.		x
Scarborough Estate	A.	R.	1930	33	residence		x
Shammell [Shamwell]	Jos.	Henry	1930	7	garden	x	x
Skinner [estate]	Emma		1930	10	residence	x	x
Skinner [estate]	Emma		1930	12	no imp.	x	x
Skinner [estate]	Emma		1930	31	fence	x	x
Sykes	Nelson	A.	1930	21	no imp.		x
Sykes [Sikes]	Nelson	A.	1930	1	no imp.		x
Thomas	Leroy & Terese		1930	11	residence	x	x
Vinson estate	Sam		1930	16	residence	x	x
Walter	F.	S.	1930	30	house & barn		
Weston	W.	J.	1930	32	residence		x
Broadway	May & Gertrude		1960	6821			x
Broadway	Ray et al.		1960	6824			x
Buckingham heirs	J. [Clyde]	M.	1960	6819			x
Byrd [Bird]	Bill & Ella		1960	6808			x
Cherry	C.	L.	1960	6811			x
Cherry	Edward & Mary Emma		1960	6815			x
Dougherty	R	H	1960	6834			
Earhart heirs	Lydia [Howard, et al.]		1960	6828			x
Gentry heirs	Sam [Sherman]		1960	6806		x	x
Gray	George & Annie E.		1960	6818			x
Gray	George & Annie E.		1960	6826			x
Hester heirs	Tom		1960	6805			

Table 9. Fort Donelson Land Acquisitions, ca. 1930-1972 (Chandler 1930; Department of the Army 1960; U.S. Department of the Interior 1969, 1972) (cont.).

Surname	First	Middle	Year	Map reference	Notes	AfricanA mer.	Surnames in S.C. 1820-1860 Census
Howell	William & Louise	D.	1960	6802			x
Kelley	Lee & Lena		1960	6820			x
Kelley	Lee & Lena		1960	6823			x
Lancaster	M.	C.	1960	6832			x
Lancaster heirs	R.	L.	1960	6816			x
Outland	J. & Gertrude	H.	1960	6800			x
Outland	J. & Gertrude	H.	1960	6803			
Ralls [also Rawls]	Tommie & Opal Ralls Bailey	W.	1960	6827			
Ralls [also Rawls]	Sarah		1960	6825			x
Roeder [also Roder]	Albert	M	1960	6822			
Roeder [also Roder]	A.	S.	1960	6829			
Scarborough heirs	J. [Jerry?]	R.	1960	6807			
Sills	Ernest & Laura	P.	1960	6830			x
Stinson	John & Freddie J.	A.	1960	6801			
Stone	Frank & Hugh F.	H.	1960	6809			x
Thomason	Douglas & Katherine	M.	1960	6812			x
Timmons	Lee & Genie		1960	6817			
U.S.			1960	6813-6814			
Wallace	E.	I.	1960	6831			x
Whitford	Allen	T.	1960	6833			x
Williams	Archie & Wylouise Crisp	M	1960	6804			x
Bailey	Billy		1969	FD-49			x
Budley [Dudley]	Joe	Burns	1969	FD-57		x	x
Corban	Lucille		1969	FD-69			
Ervin	Callie et al		1969	FD-58		x	x
Gentry heirs	Charlie		1969	FD-28		x	x
Jackson	Johnny	Estelle	1969	FD-67		x	x
Jackson	Franklin etux		1969	FD-75		x	x
McEwin	Lee		1969	FD-59		x	
Milan	Joe		1969	FD-41		x	
Missionary BC			1969	FD-43		x	n/a
Mockabee	Robert		1969	FD-42		x	x
Mockabee	Hugh		1969	FD-46		x	x
Mockabee	Ernest		1969	FD-70		x	x
Mockabee	Roy		1969	FD-71		x	x
Mockabee	Eloy		1969	FD-36		x	x
Nealy	George		1969	FD-37		x	x
Scarborough [Scarborough]	A.	R.	1969	FD-2			x
Skinner	James		1969	FD-47		x	x
Skinner heirs	Mathew		1969	FD-56		x	x
Stewart Co. Ind. Dvpt. Corp			1969	FD-48			n/a
Thomas	Terese		1969	FD-44		x	x
Thomas	Roy		1969	FD-45		x	x
Thomas	Treace [Terese]		1969	FD-61		x	x
Weeks [Weeks]	J.	P.	1969	FD-4			x
Coppedge			1972	01-152			
Corban			1972	01-162			
Corban	L. (FD-69)		1972	01-137			
Dudley	J.B. et al. (FD-57)		1972	01-128		x	x
Edwards			1972	01-157		x	x

Table 9. Fort Donelson Land Acquisitions, ca. 1930-1972 (Chandler 1930; Department of the Army 1960; U.S. Department of the Interior 1969, 1972) (cont.).

Surname	First	Middle	Year	Map reference	Notes	African American	Surnames in S.C. 1820-1860 Census
Edwards			1972	01-159		x	x
Edwards			1972	01-160		x	x
Edwards	A.S. et al. (FD-56)		1972	01-120			x
Ervin	C. et al. (FD-58)		1972	01-140		x	x
Fanchier	W.		1972	01-169			
Gentry	Lois et al. (FD-37)		1972	01-118		x	x
Herndon			1972	01-106	FD-21, 50, 58		x
Howell			1972	01-155			x
Howell	W.D. et ux (FD-73)		1972	01-110			x
Howell	William D. et ux		1972	01-150			x
Jackson	F		1972	01-168		x	x
Jackson	J. et ux (FD-67)		1972	01-111		x	x
Jackson	F. et ux (FD-75)		1972	01-112		x	x
Jacobs			1972	01-154			
Link			1972	01-101			
Martin			1972	01-153			x
McEwen	Lee (FD-59)		1972	01-135			
Milan			1972	01-129	FD-40	x	
Milan	Joe (FD-41)		1972	01-136		x	
Missionary BC	(FD-43)		1972	01-139		x	n/a
Mockabee	G.		1972	01-156		x	x
Mockabee	G.		1972	01-161		x	x
Mockabee	R. (FD-71)		1972	01-117		x	x
Mockabee	E. (FD-36)		1972	01-119		x	x
Mockabee	E. (FD-70)		1972	01-138		x	x
Mockabee	H. (FD-46 & 76)		1972	01-141		x	x
Mockabee	B. (FD-42)		1972	01-148		x	x
Nealy	(FD-40)		1972	01-129		x	x
Nolin			1972	01-103	FD-1		x
Pulley			1972	01-151			x
Scarborough			1972	01-104	FD-3, 6, 7, 9, 25, 30, 51		x
Shemwell			1972	01-158		x	x
Skinner	James et al. (FD-47)		1972	01-124		x	x
Stewart Co.	(FD-48)		1972	01-145		x	n/a
Thomas	T. (FD-44)		1972	01-131		x	x
Thomas	T. (FD-61)	M.	1972	01-149		x	x
Thomas & Brigham	(FD-45)		1972	01-125			x
Tuck			1972	01-141	FD-46 & 76		
U.S.			1972	01-113			
U.S.			1972	01-114			
U.S.			1972	01-115			
U.S.			1972	01-116			
U.S.			1972	01-121			
U.S.			1972	01-122			
U.S.			1972	01-123			
U.S.			1972	01-126			
U.S.			1972	01-127			
U.S.			1972	01-130			
U.S.			1972	01-133			
U.S.			1972	01-134			
U.S.			1972	01-142			

Table 9. Fort Donelson Land Acquisitions, ca. 1930-1972 (Chandler 1930; Department of the Army 1960; U.S. Department of the Interior 1969, 1972) (cont.).

Surname	First	Middle	Year	Map reference	Notes	AfricanA mer.	Surnames in S.C. 1820- 1860 Census
U.S.			1972	01-143			
U.S.			1972	01-144			
U.S.			1972	01-146			
U.S.			1972	01-147			
Unknown			1972	01-132			
unnamed			1972	01-151			
unnamed			1972	01-152			

properties were to be added under transactions handled by the COE as part of the Barkley Dam Project (Jaeger 2010:79-82).

Several properties were purchased directly around the old fort area, ca. 1960 (Figure 19), including the property settled by the Gentry family shortly after the Civil War (see below). Included in the purchase were the properties located from the west side of Hickman Creek to just east of Indian Creek as referenced by interviewees (see below). For purposes of identification, this area will be identified as the Fort Donelson proper settlement area. With the exception of the Gentry property, which will be considered in the African American community overview (see below), this area was occupied primarily by Anglo-Americans. By 1972, the park added additional properties including the Nolin house and Fish Market southeast of the National Cemetery in the Triangle area (Table 9). Subsequent acquisitions have come primarily through donations from the Civil War Trust.

The majority of individuals and families from whom land was purchased under eminent domain between 1930 and 1972, both Anglo-American and African American, were those with a long familial history in Stewart County (Table 9). Many were farmers whose families had settled and farmed in Stewart County prior to the Civil War. After the Civil War, the country around the old Confederate and Federal forts was occupied and farmed by both Anglo-American and African American individuals and families. The African American community had direct ties to Fort Donelson itself, having coalesced at the Federal fort during the Civil War and consolidated into a community whose descendants constitute the core of the small contemporary community.

Traditionally Associated Contemporary Populations

With the exception of American Indians whose direct associations with the area in and around Fort Donelson National Battlefield ended with forced removal to Indian Territory in the 1830s (see above), two contemporary populations have a long presence in the area as well as historical ties to the park—Anglo-Americans who descend from eighteenth century settlers and residents of Stewart County, and African Americans whose tenure as a community dates to 1862 (Table 9). Both ethnic communities owned land that was purchased under eminent domain by the U.S. government to expand the boundaries of the National Battlefield park.

The African American community in Dover, never a significant demographic in terms of sheer numbers, is today an aging and diminishing population. African Americans made up only 22 percent of the entire population of Stewart County at their greatest number in 1880; and for the years in which figures are available, African Americans in the Dover district never exceeded five percent of the total population (Table 6). Only 27 African Americans were enumerated in Dover in 2010, and it is estimated that the community in 2013 may number no more than 20 people. Population has fluctuated over the years, but the Dover district has almost the same number of residents now as in 1870 (Tables 5 and 6); however, the African American population has diminished significantly. This remarkable reduction is due in large part to out-migration since the Civil Rights Act provided equal educational and employment opportunities for African Americans. Many individuals of the younger African American generation born in Dover now reside in nearby towns, such as Clarksville and Gallatin, and as far away as Washington D.C. (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013).

Because the African American community is closely related and has historically been consolidated within two settlement areas in Dover, the location of families associated with park properties are easier to trace in the historic record than some of the Anglo-American families with branches distributed throughout the county, including properties now within the National Battlefield. The Scarborough family owned the large tract of land east of the National Cemetery prior to the Civil War (Figure 11) and may represent the only continuous Anglo-American



Figure 19. Fort Donelson Proper Settlement Area, National Battlefield land acquisitions (Gentry property in blue) (Department of the Army 1960).

occupation of present Fort Donelson property from antebellum to the 1960-1972 land acquisitions. The old Scarborough tract includes the Church Street/Triangle area east of the National Battlefield that became part of the town of Dover along Church and upper Cedar Streets. The Church Street/Triangle area is where the properties of Nanny Scarborough and the Nolin family (1972 land acquisitions) were located. It is not clear how long the Fort Donelson proper area was inhabited by the Anglo-American families who lived there until the ca.1960 land acquisition. The 1936 Dover Quadrangle map clearly shows the African American community at French's Battery, but little occupation of the Fort Donelson proper settlement area is shown (Figure 20). Clearly this does not indicate an absence of settlement as Robert L. Lancaster and other families identified in the 1960 land acquisitions were enumerated living in close proximity in 1920 in an area identified as Dover and Tharpe Road (U.S. Census 1920) (see below).

A large number of retired military personnel from Fort Campbell, as well as non-local personnel from Fort Donelson and Land Between the Lakes, have settled in the area in the last 10 to 15 years. The retirees are almost exclusively Anglo-Americans with no historic associations in Stewart County, Dover, or the National Battlefield properties and are not considered within the traditionally associated Anglo-American population (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013).

To provide baseline data on these two groups, fieldwork was conducted in Dover over the course of three weeks in January and April 2013. A total of 16 individuals were contacted during the course of the fieldwork. Of those contacted, three people declined to participate in the project. Ten people participated in recorded interviews, either individually or with a family member, and one person sat for an interview but asked not to be recorded. Two additional people provided valuable information but were not formally interviewed or recorded. Of the 13 participants, four were African American and nine were Anglo-American. Only two of those interviewed had no personal connections to the National Battlefield or its properties, but all participants had extensive knowledge of the area. The African Americans contacted during the course of this research are associated with the community centered near French's Battery. Five Anglo-American interviewees formerly resided on properties acquired in 1960 in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area and in the Triangle area just east of the National Cemetery acquired in 1972 (See Appendix).

The African American Community

Postbellum

The emergence of African American settlements after the Civil War promoted self-reliance and reinforced the institution of family. Despite the chaos and upheaval experienced by the majority of enslaved families, the concept of family endured and was intact without the guidance of the dominant white population (Green et.al. 1996:39). The Free State settlement at Fort Donelson during the Civil War provided those who continued to reside in the area after the war an advantage in their need for economic and social stability. There are no recorded accounts from any of the persons who resided in the Free State area during or after the war. There have not been any oral history accounts identified or remembered among the generations of the African American families who continued to reside in the Dover community into the twenty-first century. Mrs. Mary Mockabee Newsom, who was born in 1950, related that when she was growing up, no one spoke about slavery or mentioned anything about the Free State community: "It just seemed hush-hush" (Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013).

Five years after the end of the Civil War, the 1870 Federal census documented numerous cohesive African American families within District 7 in the vicinity of Fort Donelson and Dover. These households usually consisted of a married couple and their children, varying in number per household, with some of the children also married with their own children. Some households

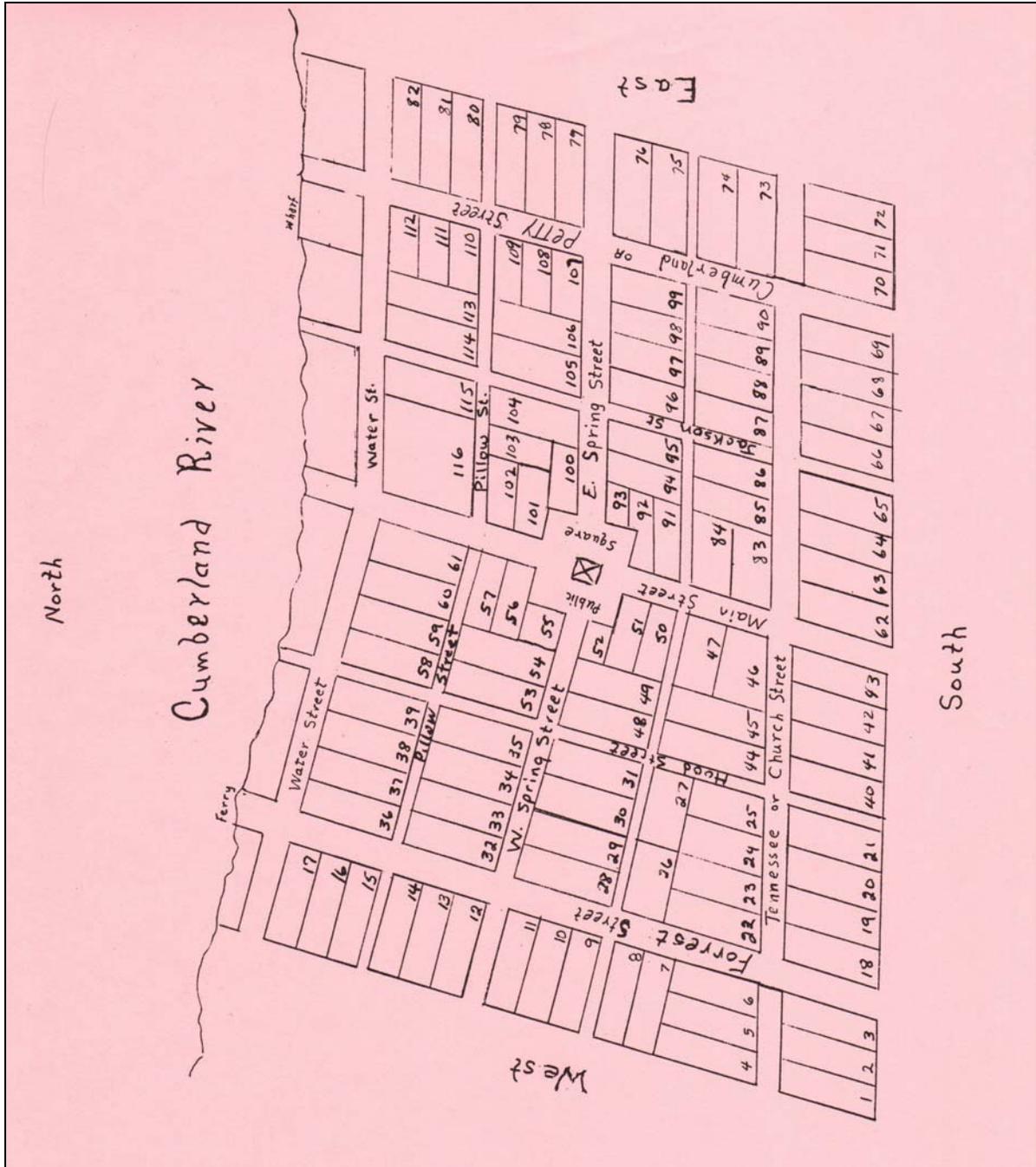


Figure 20. Town of Dover, 1911 (Stewart County Archives, Dover, Tennessee).

contained various other relatives and an occasional boarder. A few of the older female children worked outside the home as domestic servants; but the majority of the wives were recorded as “keeping house,” an indication that they were focused on the various and numerous household tasks that needed to be done in order to help sustain their families (U.S. Census 1870).

In Stewart County’s District 7, the most common occupation recorded for African Americans in the 1870 and 1880 Federal censuses was that of farm hand, a designation that in some cases was misleading since some farm hands actually owned land. The identification of “farmer” was assigned to only a few African Americans in the two censuses. “Laborer” was the second most common type of employment. A number of African Americans worked at Fort Donelson during the war on construction details; and afterwards, many of the former slaves were hired during the years 1866-1868 by the U. S. Government to work in the burial party detail alongside white Union soldiers. Their mission was to locate the remains of Union soldiers at the various battle sites around Fort Donelson and re-inter them in the newly established National Cemetery (Hawkins 2002; U.S. Census 1870-1880).

There were a few domestic servants who resided with the white families that employed them. In the town of Dover, the household of physician John Smith included a 15-year-old African American domestic servant, Adeline Dunbar. White “hotel keeper,” T.D. Matheny, housed three African American guests: Sarah Wilkins, domestic servant, Tom Mockbee [Mockabee], farm hand, and a 14-year-old male without occupation. All four inmates recorded in the jailhouse in 1870 were African American males. Out of the 12 individuals in the district’s poorhouse in 1870, only three of them were identified as African American, and appear to comprise one family (U. S. Census 1870).

African American Landowners

The numerous gardens attributed to Fort Donelson’s Free State settlement were indicative of the inhabitants’ will and determination to survive. This survival instinct prevailed during the economic chaos they encountered after they became U.S. citizens. Many African Americans enumerated in the 1870s and 1880s Federal censuses for District 7 and the Dover post office locality were landowners, despite the fact that they were identified as farm hands and laborers. As early as 1867, white landowners within the study area sold land parcels to newly freed slaves, perhaps an indication of the leniency of Upland South slave owners who usually had small to moderate acreage on which to grow crops. Information gleaned from various sources from the post-war period provides more of an accurate account of landownership among Stewart County African Americans in the decades following the Civil War. These sources include county tax records, 1870 and 1880 Agricultural Schedules, and real estate and personal estate values noted on the 1870 Federal census.

Within the Dover town limits, the 1870 and 1880 Federal censuses enumerated Henry Carter, a blacksmith who resided with his wife, Kittie. He was listed with a real estate valued at \$200 and a personal estate of \$200. The 1877 tax records reveal that Mr. Carter owned town Lots 97 and 105 (Figure 20), valued at \$200 per lot. He retained ownership of the property until his death in 1890, at which time his widow, Kittie, took over proprietorship of the two lots (Stewart County Tax Records 1877-1892, Stewart County Library Archives, Dover, Tennessee [cited as SCTR]; U. S. Census 1870, 1880). Henry Carter was buried in the Dover Cemetery among the other African Americans buried at the back of the cemetery where many of the graves are marked with wooden crosses and rocks (Figure 21-22).

Another African American landowner in the vicinity of the Free State was Charles Dudley. In 1867, Mr. Dudley purchased two acres of land from Nathan Brandon who had, along with James P. Flood, sold property that became the National Cemetery at Fort Donelson (Stewart County Deed Book, Stewart County Library Archives, Dover, Tennessee [cited as SCDB] 23:70; United



Figure 21. Gravesite of Henry Carter, Dover Cemetery.



Figure 22. African American burial area, Dover Cemetery.

States Army 1898:219). The 1870 Federal census enumerated Charles Dudley, age 47, within Dover's town limits as a laborer with real estate and personal estate valued at \$150 and \$100, respectively. He resided with his wife, Harriet, 30, and four children: Hennetta, 11, Florence, nine, Lucy, five, and Willis, two years old. Alferd [*sic*] Dudley, age 55, was included in the household. Charles Dudley was not noted in the 1870 Agricultural Schedule as utilizing his property as a farm; and by 1877, his widow, Harriett, was listed on the tax records with acreage (the amount and value was illegible). However, the 1883 tax records listed Harriett as the owner of the same two-acre land tract her husband, Charles, had purchased in 1867 (SCTR; U.S. Census 1870, 1880).

One of the first African Americans to purchase land that was likely part of the former Free State was ex-slave, Dolly Gentry. In 1857, J.F. Gentry sold eight individuals to Jesse Parchman for \$4,500, among them Sam, about 55, Ben, about 35, Dolly, about 40, and Dolly's five children: Jo Ann, about 17, Corah, about 11, Rill, a female about six years old, Sam, about four, and Mose, an infant. In 1850, Jefferson F. Gentry was a successful merchant in Cumberland City (formerly Bowling Green) in Stewart County who expanded his business dealings in the 1850s to include iron furnaces in Kentucky. In 1857, he established the Gentry, Gunn & Co. along with other investors, and built the Laura Furnace in Trigg County, Kentucky (U. S. Census 1850; Wells and Green 2011:118-119).

It was from the "Laura Furnace, Ky." that Dolly and the seven other slaves were sold to Parchman, as noted on the conveyance document filed at the Register's Office of Stewart County in Dover (SCDB 20:200-201). In 1860, Jesse Parchman was a wealthy farmer who also resided within the Bowling Green post office locality of District 5, Stewart County. Parchman's real estate and personal estate was valued at \$4,000 and over \$17,000, respectively. The whereabouts of Dolly and her children during and immediately after the Civil War is unknown; however, in 1870, Dolly, age 52, was enumerated in District 7 with the surname Gentry. She resided with her son, Moses, age 13, and daughter, Nancy, 11, just outside the town of Dover. Also included in Dolly's household was her adult daughter Cora, who had acquired the surname Cunningham, and Cora's children: Sam, four, and Tom, two. Dolly was recorded as keeping house, while Cora worked as a domestic servant. It is a high probability that the adult man, Sam, who had been sold along with Dolly in 1857, was the father of her children even though he was not listed in the census, possibly due to death or having another place of residence (U.S. Census 1860, 1870).

In the 1870 Federal census, Dolly Gentry had a real estate value of \$150. The following year in 1871, white landowner, James Flood, conveyed to Mrs. Gentry for "five dollars cash in hand" a tract of land "adjoining the Town of Dover" with its boundaries described as:

beginning on a stake on the north side of the Eddyville road and one hundred feet below the south west corner, U.S. Cemetery which is a stone marked U.S. Thence north about five hundred and fifty feet to the Fort road Thence down said road about three hundred feet Thence up said road two hundred and sixty five feet to the Beginning [SCDB 25:116-117].

For some unknown reason, Mrs. Gentry's property was not recorded on the 1877 tax records for Stewart County. Her son, Sam Gentry, was listed without property and was charged the normal poll tax of \$2.75. The 1880 Federal census enumerated Dolly Gentry and her sons, Sam, 24, and Moses, 21, at the same residence as in 1870, where Dolly kept house with Sam and Moses employed as laborers. Cora, 30, had re-assumed her maiden name of Gentry and resided next door with her children, Sam, 14, Thomas, 10, Jeff, nine, and Allace [*sic*], four years old. Cora was also recorded as keeping house, and 14-year-old Sam "worked on farms." The 1883 tax records record Dolly's daughter, Cora Gentry, as owner of four acres valued at \$30, while Sam Gentry remained without taxable property. It is possible that Cora had inherited her mother's

tract of land, as no land acquisition records were found for Cora in the Stewart County deed books. By 1890, tax records for Stewart County show that Dolly's son, Sam Gentry, was the owner of one-acre tract of land and Cora Gentry remained owner of the four-acre tract (SCTR; U.S. Census 1880).

Out of the 16 African American landowners listed in the 1877 Stewart County tax records for District 7, the 1870 Federal census recorded only seven as farmers: Joe Dorris with a personal estate of \$100; Bill (William) Nolin with real estate of \$100 and a personal estate of \$125; George Watson with a personal estate of \$200; Jack Winn (Wynn) with real estate valued at \$300; Alfred Brandon with a personal estate of \$210; Trent Dillard with real estate valued at \$340 and a personal estate of \$635; and Ely Skinner with a personal estate of \$420. By 1880, only five African American farmers were enumerated in the Federal census: Eli Skinner, Dan Toron, Nero Payne, William Wofford, and Ned Smith. Jack Winn and Ely Skinner were recorded on the 1870 Agricultural Schedules, but it is not known exactly where their property was located within District 7. An examination of the designated household number on the 1870 and 1880 Federal censuses reveal that Jack Winn likely resided somewhat closer to Dover than Ely Skinner (SCTR; U.S. Agricultural Census 1870-1880; U.S. Census 1870-1880).

Jack Winn [Wynn] was listed in the 1870 Agricultural Schedule as the owner of 15 improved acres and 35 woodland acres with a total farm value of \$150; however, the census recorded Mr. Winn's real estate value as \$300. He produced 100 bushels of Indian corn and 1,000 pounds of tobacco for the 1870-1871 agricultural year and his only recorded livestock consisted of a horse or mule valued at \$100. The 1877 tax records listed Jack Winn's property as 25 acres valued at \$100. The 1880 Federal census enumerated Wynn as a farm laborer instead of farmer; but according to the 1880 Agricultural Schedule, he was the owner of 20 improved acres and 35 woodland acres. The total farm in 1880, including buildings, was valued at \$300 with implements valued at \$35 and livestock valued at \$150. His tobacco and Indian corn crop decreased to 450 pounds and 200 bushels, respectively, in 1880, but had also produced 25 pounds of sweet potatoes and eight pounds of Irish potatoes (U.S. Agricultural Census 1870-1880; U.S. Census 1870-1880).

The 1870 Federal census recorded Ely Skinner, 50, with a personal estate of \$420, but with no real estate. He resided with his wife, Pryann, 43, and their eight children: Maxel [Maxwell], 21, Julia, 19, Dina, 17, Presley, 15, Arrabell, 13, Ely, 11, Rufus, nine, and Ella, two years old. The 1870 Agricultural Schedule recorded Ely as owner of 30 acres (the value of his farm was illegible), with an implement and machinery value of \$10. Ely's livestock consisted of a horse, mule, milk cow, one other type of cattle, and nine swine, with a total value of \$305. Crops grown on the farm for the year 1869-1870 were 1250 bushels of Indian corn, five bushels of Irish potatoes, and 10 bushels of sweet potatoes. Other farm products included 75 pounds of butter churned apparently from the one milk cow; other farm manufactures worth \$50; and animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter worth \$30. The total farm production value was \$825 (U.S. Census 1870; U.S. Agricultural Census 1870).

The 1880 Agricultural Schedule shows that Eli had increased his acreage to 60 acres of improved land and 75 acres of wooded property. The total values listed were farm \$600, implements \$20, and livestock \$250. Eli grew Indian corn on 50 acres that produced 1,000 bushels, and five acres produced 30 bushels of wheat. He also was listed with 30 gallons of molasses; however, he was not listed with any type of cane production, an indication that he must have purchased from or traded with neighboring farmers, some of who grew sorghum. By 1879, Eli had added a three-acre land tract with tobacco that produced 1,700 pounds (U.S. Agricultural Census 1880).

The 1880 Federal census enumerated Eli Skinner as a farmer who still resided with his wife, Pryan, as well as adult son, Rufus, his wife, Julia, their infant son, Ernest, and Eli and Pryan's two other adult children, Arabella and Presley. There were also two younger sons, Johnny, 14

and Mat, nine, in the household. Eli's eldest son, Max, and his family resided next door to his parents, and included James Skinner, who would eventually move closer to Dover and purchase property that became part of Fort Donelson (U.S. Census 1880).

Stewart County tax records up to 1892 show that the number of landowners among the African American community in District 7 continued to expand. By the turn of the twentieth century, the majority of the community that resided in the project area south of Highway 76 owned their land and had surnames found in the 1877 tax records (SCTR).

Twentieth Century

By the turn of the twentieth century, the African American community at Dover was located primarily south of the original Free State area with the majority of the residents owning their land. The Federal censuses for the first decades of the century show occupations that consisted of farmers, laborers, and domestic service, i.e., porters, housekeepers, laundresses, and cooks. The majority of laborers were listed as farm hands, along with an occasional mill worker. A few residents made their livelihoods by hiring out to haul various materials in their wagons (U.S. Census 1900-1930). A number of African American men were remembered as having met violent deaths, either in accidents like the sawmill explosion in Dover, or as a result of aggression or conflicts that occurred primarily in Paris or Clarksville (see Appendix).

In 1930, the Federal government acquired numerous tracts around Fort Donelson National Cemetery for the park's expansion (Figure 18). A total of 15 tracts were purchased from 12 individual African Americans in the community that had developed along Mud Alley/Cedar Street and Wynn's Ferry Road. Most of the landowners were descendants of families who had resided in the Dover area since the last half of the nineteenth century. A few of the surnames can be traced back to the first postbellum African American landowners in the vicinity of the Free State settlement.

A small number of African Americans owned farms in the community centered around French's Battery prior to the land acquisitions of 1930, but the number dwindled after the land sales (Figures 23-24). In the 1940s and 1950s, among the few African American farmers in the Dover vicinity who grew tobacco, was Mrs. Earline Wilson Lavester's father, Ross Wilson. Ross Wilson was enumerated in the 1940 Federal census as a farmer, and most likely grew curly tobacco, since Mrs. Lavester stated that they did not have a smoking barn. He hauled his tobacco to Clarksville to sell (Earline Wilson Lavester, personal communication, 23 April 2013; U.S. Census 1940).

Families

Mockabee Family. Members of the African American Mockabee family were residents of the community centered around French's Battery as early as 1880. Polly Garner Mockabee, one of the present-day elders of the community, married Hal Mockabee, the son of Hugh and Mary Mockabee (Polly Garner Mockabee, interviewed 22 January 2013). Hugh Mockabee was enumerated in the 1900 Federal census as the 10-year-old son of James (Jim), 64, and Caroline Mockabee, 45, both of whom were listed in the 1880 Federal census as residents of District 7. In 1900, James and Caroline resided on property that they owned and which was designated as a farm. Jim and his eldest son, John, 18, were employed as millers at a gristmill. Besides Hugh and John, there were six other children in the Mockabee household: Blanche, age 16, and Jessie, age 14, both employed as cooks; Ernest, age 11, employed as a servant; Robert, eight, daughter Golley, five, and Estell, one year old. By 1910, Hugh and his wife, Mary, rented their home adjacent to his parents, Jim and Caroline, on what was then referred to as Mud Alley (present Cedar Street). Jim Mockabee's occupation was gardener, and Hugh worked as a porter (U.S. Census 1880-1910).



Figure 23. Farms of Big E. Edwards and L.C. Dudley on Cedar Street (Fort Donelson National Battlefield Archives, n.d.).



Figure 24. Mockabee Farm on Cedar Street (Fort Donelson National Battlefield Archives, n.d.).

The 1930 Federal census enumerated Hugh Mockabee who was employed as a laborer at the Ft. Donelson National Cemetery. He resided with his wife, Mary, and their nine children in their own home valued at \$1,200. Hugh's address was listed as E. Main Street on the census, the small road that runs between his property and the East Oak Baptist church. After Mary's death, Hugh married his second wife, Narcissa, a schoolteacher from Woodlawn, Tennessee. Mary Mockabee Newsom, Hugh's granddaughter, remembers when she was 12 years old playing in the apple tree at Hugh's "big white house" which was located in the triangle between the Baptist and Methodist churches. Hugh and Narcissa Mockabee maintained a large garden to the side of the house where they grew various vegetables such as tomatoes, onions, cabbage, and corn. Mrs. Newsom recalls gathering chicken eggs from across the road at the Baptist church where her grandfather's free-range chickens made nests. The garden plot was part of the 1930 land acquisition for the park (Figure 25), and Hugh's home site was purchased in later acquisitions of 1969 and 1972 (Table 9) but the concrete steps can still be seen today (Figures 26-27) (Land Tract Owners, 1930-1972, maps on file, FODO Archives; Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013; U.S. Census 1930).

Gentry Family. The 1910 Federal census recorded Sam and Dora Gentry's residence on Church Street, which ran parallel to the southern boundary of the National Cemetery. In 1911, Sam acquired almost four acres adjacent to Dolly Gentry's original tract from S.D. Scarborough (SCDB 65:179, Tennessee State Library [TSL] Archives, Nashville, Tennessee), which he added to the one-acre parcel he purchased in the 1880s (see above). By the 1940 Federal census, Sherman Gentry, 45, was enumerated as a "wood and ice man" who still resided in the household of his parents, Sam, 92, and Dora Gentry, 85. At this time, the residence was noted as within Dover's "New Town" (U.S. Federal Census 1940).

By 1920, Charlie Gentry, son of Sam and Dora Gentry and Sherman's older brother, had purchased the property near French's Battery that would be acquired in 1930 by the U.S. Government (Figure 18). The 1920 census recorded Charlie as a farmer who resided with his wife, Mary, and their two young children, Edward and Lois. In 1930, Charlie was listed as a farmer and landowner; however, he rented other property on which to farm. Charlie Gentry was later killed in a sawmill explosion (Sydney Sykes, interviewed 17 January 2013; U.S. Census 1920, 1930).

Land parcels acquired by the National Park Service in 1960 included the original homesite of the Gentry family, and most likely part of the original Free State section around Fort Donelson. This property was part of a 14-acre parcel inherited by Dolly Gentry's grandchildren and Sam Gentry's children including Sherman and Jesse (called Jess) Gentry (Figure 18). Tract No. 6806 on the east side of Indian Creek was where Sherman Gentry made his home until the 1960 NPS land acquisitions. Currently it is the designated Boy Scout Camp area within the boundaries of Fort Donelson National Battlefield overlooking Indian Creek, now part of Lake Barkley (Figure 28).

Both Jess and Sherman Gentry enlisted to fight in World War I, but only Jesse served overseas. Jess and Sherman ran an ice house on Spring Street where the present post office is presently located. When Percy Williams worked for the Joe Martin farm machinery company in the 1950s, Jess Gentry purchased an International Harvester tractor with a bag full of silver coins that he had accumulated selling ice (Percy Williams, interviewed 17 January 2013).

Sherman Gentry was a local legend in Dover until his death at almost 100 years old in 1992 (Figure 29). He rarely, if ever, drove a car, preferring to walk or ride his mules around town where he worked small jobs including breaking people's gardens with his mule team. He also farmed his family land on Indian Creek, one of the most beautiful places within the park. Mr. Gentry did not want to sell his land and refused to accept the check that the U.S. Government issued for the declaration of taking of the Gentry land.



Figure 25. Hugh Mockabee's garden site.



Figure 26. Hugh Mockabee house (Fort Donelson National Battlefield Archives, n.d.).



Figure 27. Hugh Mockabee home site.



Figure 28. Gentry homesite on Indian Creek, Fort Donelson National Battlefield.



Figure 29. Sherman Gentry (Stewart County Heritage 1980:154-155).

He never cashed that check.... The Superintendent finally came and talked to him and said, "What did you do with that check. You never deposited it, you never cashed it." He said, "Well, I've still got it here because I'm not selling my place." And they said the check was all wore out, it'd been in his billfold for a couple of years.... And so they wrote him another check, and I don't know if it ever got deposited or cashed, but I always heard it didn't [Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013].

In 1966, Sherman Gentry was eventually forced to vacate his land on Indian Creek by court order (FODO Archives). However, he dismantled the family home and moved it piece by piece using his mule-drawn wagon to a new site at the junction of Lick Creek Road and Natcor Road. Even after he relocated, however, he went back often to visit his old home place. Mr. Gentry showed up late one snowy afternoon to say he was going stay the night at the old place. Although park personnel turned him away, "He probably went on and stayed anyway" (Louise Williams Dean, interviewed 17 January 2013). Mr. Donnie Wilson, present-day owner of the property where Mr. Gentry moved his house, stated that he found the remnants of Sherman's wagon in the woods next to the house when he was clearing bush, and wished he had known it was there so he could have preserved it (Percy Williams, interviewed 17 January 2013; Donnie Wilson, personal communication, 23 January 2013). The house has stood vacant since Sherman's death in 1992 and appears to be beyond repair (Figure 30).

Skinner Family. Polly Mockabee's maternal grandparents were James (Jim) Matthew Skinner and Emma Skinner. Jim Skinner was the son of Maxwell Skinner and the grandson of Eli Skinner, one the first African American farmers in District 7 (see above). In the 1900 and 1910 Federal censuses, James Skinner was enumerated as a farmer who rented the farm where he and Emma resided with their children. By 1920, Emma was widowed and living on her own land, part of the land acquired by Fort Donelson in 1930 (Figure 18).

The 1930 Federal census enumerated Emma, 53, as head of a seven-member household that included her two daughters, Arzetter, 13, and Ollie, 10. Polly's mother, Helen Skinner Garner, 22, also resided with her mother along with her three young children: James, four years old, Booker T., two, and infant Pauline (Polly). Emma worked as a laundress in a private home, while Helen took in laundry at home. Emma's children, Arzetter and Ollie, both attended the African American school, which was still located in the Knob Hill area (U.S. Census 1930).

During the 1950s and 1960s, Polly (Pauline), her husband, Hal, and their three children resided with her mother, Helen, at the Skinner homesite until they moved closer to town. Their eldest child, Mary, continued to live with her grandmother for several years so that Helen Garner did not have to live alone (Polly Garner Mockabee, interviewed 22 January 2013; Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013).

Subsistence

The tradition of vegetable gardens that originated at the Free State settlement continued through the generations of the Dover African American community into the twentieth century as a primary means of subsistence. Vegetables like tomatoes, corn, onion, potatoes, and squash were canned or stored in order to meet the dietary needs of the winter. Mary Mockabee Newsom remembers that "[Grandfather Hugh] would get mad at us when we played, he didn't want us stepping on [his plantings of] tomato, onion, cabbage, greens, corn, and this leafy green stuff." Hunting was another source of food for the community. Mary Newsom commented that her father, Hal Mockabee, brought in squirrel and rabbit to supplement the family's meals (Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013).



Figure 30. Sherman Gentry's relocated house, Lick Creek at Natcor Roads.

The annual fall hog killing was a community-shared endeavor that ensured the community had plenty of food. Mary Newsom remembers “a big old pot, the iron thing, they would do it out back, at my grandfather’s house, and then sometimes they would have it at my grandmother’s house.” Almost every household had a smokehouse where the meat was cured for the winter. At Christmas, the smoked ham and sausage was a special treat. Homemade soured meat was also prepared from the hog’s head (Earline Wilson Lavester, personal communication, 23 April 2013; Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013).

Food distribution among family and community members appeared to have been a common and everyday occurrence and was not limited to special occasions and holidays.

I remember my grandmother [Helen Skinner Garner], on Saturdays, she would make apple pies and stuff for Sunday dinner, and the desert, for some reason or another, she would slice it for us, you know, but we couldn’t go back for seconds with that desert until the next day. I guess she was trying to save it or spread it out [Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013].

The community shopped mainly at Dill’s grocery store (the site of the present-day Dover Grill on Donelson Parkway) for the staples not available at home. Mary Newsom related that when she attended school in the mid-1950s and early 1960s, there was a small store located across from the African American school on Dahlia Street at the junction of Natcor Road, “where you used to go in and get baloney and crackers and cookies for our lunch.” As Polly Mockabee recalls, Joe and Polly Buford Williams operated the store (Earline Wilson Lavester, personal communication, 23 April 2013; Polly Garner Mockabee, interviewed 22 January 2013; Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013).

Recreation/Entertainment

Baseball games had long been a source of entertainment in the community. Prior to the construction of the Natcor blind factory and the present-day Nashville Wire factory, the games were played in an empty field at that location. The Dover team played neighboring African American communities, either at home or in the other communities. There were also ballgames between local white teams. Anglo-American businessman Don Cherry was asked to play on the African American team and even traveled with the team to play in Charlotte, Tennessee. In the political climate of the late 1950s, his parents worried there could be problems in Charlotte with a young white man playing on the all-African American team. Mr. Cherry’s father escorted the team to Charlotte, but no problems developed. The ballpark at the Natcor site became very popular with attendance of up to 300 people at a typical Sunday game. Residents of the African American and Anglo-American communities attended the games, and a concession stand was available for refreshments (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Earline Wilson Lavester, personal communication, 23 April 2013; Polly Garner Mockabee, interviewed 22 January 2013; Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013).

Some of the players on the Dover team during the 1950s and 1960s included Big Ed Erwin (Erwin), Hal Mockabee (Polly Mockabee’s husband), Hal’s brother, James Mockabee, and the Wilson brothers, Ross (Earline Lavester’s father) and Paul. Mary Newsom’s generation also had a ball team that played on what is now park property in the vicinity of the pillars located on Cedar Street. The younger generation of the community also entertained themselves by playing and hiking in the woods that encircled the community at the time, now part of the Fort Donelson National Battlefield property (Earline Wilson Lavester, personal communication, 23 April 2013; Polly Garner Mockabee, interviewed 22 January 2013; Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013).

Commercial Endeavors

Ethel May Ervin (Erwin), Earline Lavester's aunt, operated a small café in a building adjacent to her home. She prepared the meat for barbeque by roasting it in the fireplace in her home. Ethel May Ervin's homesite was located across from the ballpark that became the Nashville Wire factory on Natcor Road, but the house was torn down sometime in the late twentieth century to make room for a parking lot for the factory (Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013).

Besides selling barbeque plate lunches from her café, Ethel May Ervin also had a tavern/dance hall that operated out of her small café, catering to the adults of the community. Mary Newsom, who grew up in the 1950s and 1960s, remembers it as a "juke joint." However, Ethel May's niece, Earline Lavester, stated she did not think of it as a dance hall, but a place for people to socialize and have fun. Don Cherry remembers when he was a teenager, men of both communities often gathered at Ethel May's after a game. At night, red lights on the porch pillars marked the establishment (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Earline Wilson Lavester, personal communication, 23 April 2013; Mary Mockabee Newsom, interviewed 25 April 2013; Louise Williams Dean, interviewed 17 January 2013).

Mary Newsom stated that Roy (Leroy) Thomas also had a "juke joint" at his place. Leroy and Terese Thomas owned Tract 11 (1.1 acres) (Figure 18) at the time of Fort Donelson's 1930 land acquisitions. The .7-acre parcel that contained the Thomas' residence was part of the acquisition, which indicates the Thomas' either continued to live in their home or built a new residence.

The Anglo-American Community

Information derived from the U.S. Census provides insight into the character of families who occupied the central section of the Fort Donelson proper settlement area with which the majority of Anglo-American interviewees had the most extensive personal knowledge. Although the Swiss/German Roeder family immigrated to Stewart County sometime before 1860, by the time of the 1960s land acquisitions the family was well entrenched in the predominantly Anglo-American community that had antebellum roots in the county. The family properties located in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area and the Dover Triangle (Figures 19 and 31) were acquired by the National Battlefield between 1960 and 1972. The core families who owned these properties—Lancasters, Byrds, Earharts, Roeders, Cherrys, and Nolins—will be used to represent the Anglo-American community who settled in that locale.

The 1900 census of District 7/Dover does not distinguish between town and rural clusters, nor does it contain identifying roads. Using clustered names in subsequent censuses, an area that included the Fort Donelson proper settlement area was determined. Of the 24 heads of household enumerated, 17 were identified as farmers, 12 of who owned and five who rented their property, with eight male dependents who worked as farm labor on their relatives' farms. The widow, Adell Shemwell, was the only female farmer listed, and her son Charles, a later farm owner, worked as farm labor for his mother. Exulie Jones and his two nephews (see Roeder below), as well as William Shears, were second-generation European immigrants. One African American family was enumerated within the area: James M. Skinner, his wife Lou Emma, and their two young children rented farm property among their white neighbors (see above). The census also gives evidence of the importance of timber in 1900, with seven males engaged in employment in support that industry, including Robert L. Lancaster who worked as a teamster (Table 10).

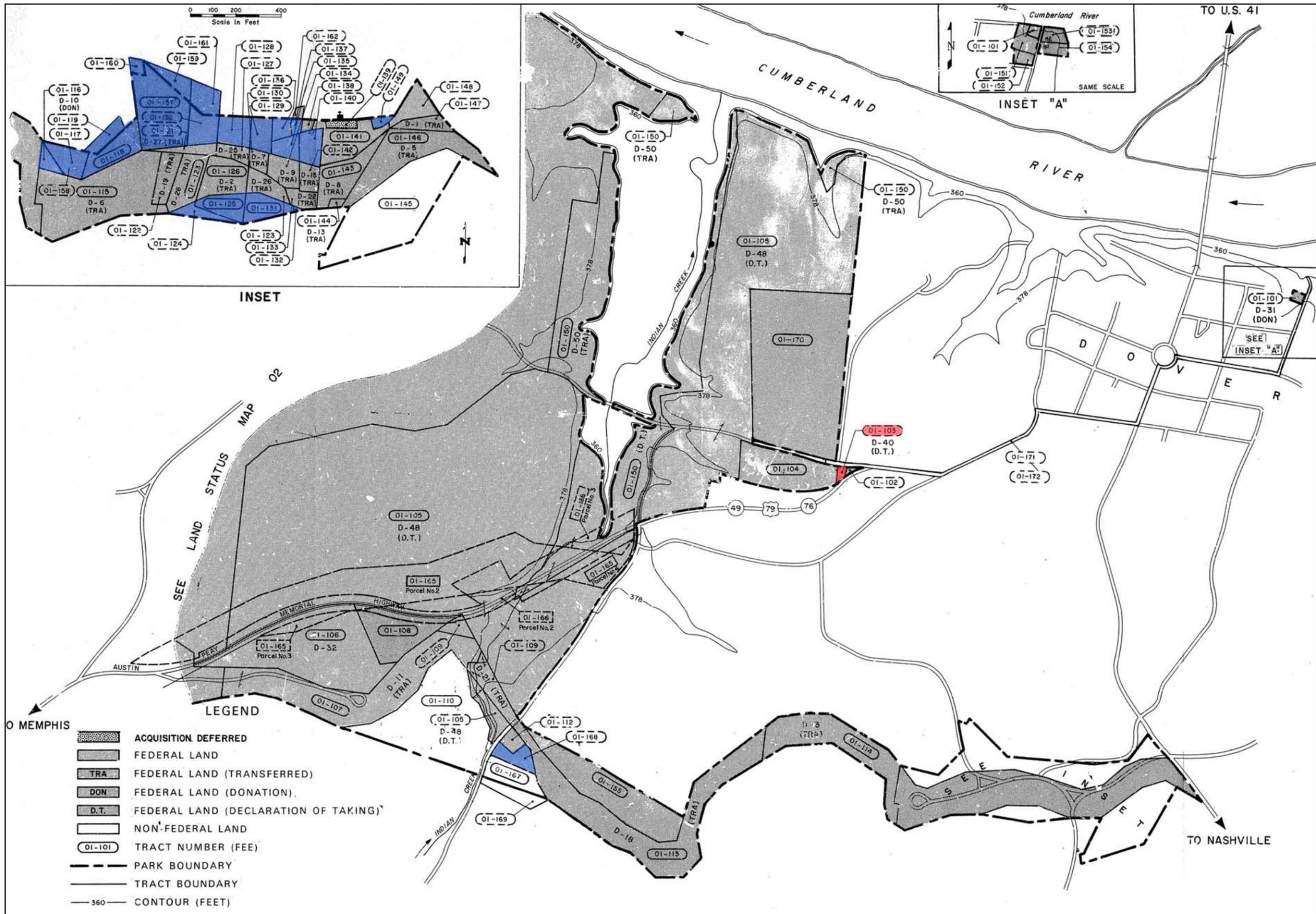


Table 10. Enumerations in the Fort Donelson Proper Settlement Area (U.S. Census 1900).

Surname	First	Middle	Single or Family	Race	Own/rent	Place of Birth	F-POB	M-POB	Occupation
Fowlkes	John	Alton	F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Carney	John	W.	F	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Hutchison	Rufus		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Jones	Exulid	M.	F	W	O	TN	France	Switz.	farmer
Rador	Atenors	D.	w/uncle	W	n/a	TN	Switz.	TN	farm labor
Rumpfeld	Fritz	E.	w/uncle	W	n/a	TN	NC	Switz.	sawmill labor
Wofford	Walter		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	tie maker
Shemwell	Adell	S.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Shemwell	Charles	H.	w/mother	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farm labor
Walker	William		F	W	R	KY	GA	KY	tie maker
Shears	William		F	W	O	OH	Germ.	Germ.	farmer
Fitzhugh	George	S.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Lancaster	Nelson	A.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Lancaster	George	W.	w/parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farm labor
Lancaster	Herschel		w/parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farm labor
Grice	George		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	tie maker
Rumpfelt	William	H.	F	W	R	TN	TN	n/a	farmer
Rumpfelt	Robert	H.	w/parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farm labor
Rumpfelt	Charles	E.	w/parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farm labor
Lancaster	Ephriam		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Fitzhugh	James	E.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Fitzhugh	Edward		w/parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farm labor
Fitzhugh	William	F.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Lancaster	James		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Skinner	James	M.	F	B	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Riggins	Buford	F.	F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Purvis	Faney	F.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Purvis	Emment	R.	w/father	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farm labor
Purvis	Benjamin	F.	w/father	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	tie maker
Whitford	James	W.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Bufford	Kate		F	W	O	NY	Ire.	Ire.	none
Crisp	Hiram		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer
Lancaster	Robert	L.	F	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	teamster
Walker	Wylie	E.	F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	tie maker

The 1910 U.S. Census enumerated over 52 heads of household on Hickman Creek Road, which once crossed the creek to continue through the present National Battlefield. Extrapolating from clusters of property owners documented in the 1920 census, a total of 13 households were examined. Of the heads of household enumerated, all were white; 12 were identified as farmers, all but one of whom owned their farms. Ewing Cherry owned and apparently kept the county poorhouse on his property, with a total of nine inmates enumerated in 1910, all but one of whom were white. Lynn Douty and his son, Henry, worked as commercial mussel fishermen. Robert Graham was identified as a farmer who worked another farmer's land, as did James Wilkinson who worked away from his father's farm where he resided (Table 11).

A total of 26 families and one single man were enumerated in the area identified as Dover and Tharpe Road in 1920 (U.S. Census 1920). Tharpe was located near Fort Henry in present Land Between the Lakes National Recreational Area. Part of that road still survives as the Old Tharpe Dover Road that joins Hickman Creek Road just west of the park. All 27 heads of household enumerated were identified as white farmers. Only five rented their property and all but five worked for themselves instead of others. There appear to be three family groupings: Cherry, Sykes, and Daughtry. The heads of household were all men and overwhelmingly Tennessee natives, and none of the women were employed outside of the home. Of the 18 surnames listed, nine are associated with the 1960 land sales in which the National Battlefield acquired the Fort Donelson proper settlement property (Tables 9 and 12).

In 1988, Sam Scarborough, 70 years old at the time, was interviewed by National Battlefield personnel and provided information on his family's land located between the Gentry tract and the National Cemetery in the eastern portion of the Fort Donelson proper settlement area (Tract 5807, Figure 19). Born in 1917, Mr. Scarborough was able to describe a typical Anglo-American farmstead and the lifeways associated with the Fort Donelson proper settlement area in the 1920s and 1930s. Sam's father, Samuel Robert Scarborough (called Jerry) purchased the house and property from James Flood who sold the land for the National Cemetery to the United States government in 1867. The house was an L-shaped frame house with a full brick cellar that could hold between one and two thousand jars of canned goods put up annually from the garden. Peach, pear, crabapple, and flat apple trees provided fruit, and the family kept chickens, a cow, and three to four hogs. Jerry Scarborough rented most of his 42 acres out on shares and the acreage was cultivated in corn, soybeans, and sorghum. Mr. Scarborough also ran trot lines in the river and sold fish. A smokehouse, corn crib, stable, and hog pen were located on the farmstead, as well as outdoor privies and two cisterns supplied by rain water (Sam Scarborough interview, 18 May 1988, FODO Archives).

In 1930, the area was identified as Model and Dover Road (U.S. Census 1930). Like Tharpe, Model was located within the present Land Between the Lakes National Recreational Area. Thirty-six families lived in the settlement area and all were white. Only one head of household was a female: Lydia Taylor, formerly Lydia Earhart, lived with her two young children and was the only female employed outside the home as a worker's assistant. Twenty-one heads of household were identified as farmers: 12 owned their own land, eight rented farm land, and George Roeder farmed his father's land. Six men were employed as farm laborers, seven were miscellaneous laborers, six had specialized skills or employment, and five were unemployed (Table 13). Although Robert Lancaster was enumerated in 1930 living in town, his son Fitzhugh farmed his land in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area (see Lancaster below).

By 1940, only 12 families were enumerated in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area, now identified as 76 and 49 Highways (Table 14). All were white, with six property owners and six renters. Only four—Samuel Greenhill, Robert Graham, Robert Lancaster, and Pitts Settle—were farmers, and of the four farmers, all but Greenhill owned the land they farmed. Two men were farm laborers, two were skilled workers, one owned a business, one taught singing, three worked

Table 11. Enumerations in the Fort Donelson proper Settlement Area (U.S. Census 1900).

Surname	First	Middle	Single or Family	Race	Own/rent	Place of Birth	F-POB	M-POB	Occupation	Occupation location
Graham	Robert		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer	works out
Lankaster/ Lancaster	Robert		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	home farm
Roeder	Scipio		F	W	O	TN	TN [Switz]	TN	farmer	own farm
Carney	John		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	home farm
Cherry	Ewing		F/institute	W	O	TN	TN	TN	superintendent	county poorhouse
Wilkes	Will		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	home farm
Douty	Lynn		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	mussel digger	river
Douty	Henry		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	mussel man	river
Sykes	William	H.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	home farm
Lankaster/ Lancaster	Walter		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	home farm
Sykes	Ollie		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	home farm
Shemwell	Charles		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	home farm
Evrets	Jeffry		with brother	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	home farm
Fitzhugh	Sam		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	home farm
Wilkinson	James		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Wilkinson	Maurice		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farmer	works out
Wilkinson	James		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farmer	home farm

10 inmates

Table 12. Enumerations in the Fort Donelson Proper Settlement Area/Dover and Tharpe Road (U.S. Census 1920).

Surname	First	Middle	Single or Family	Race	Own/rent	Place of Birth	F-POB	M-POB	Occupation	Working for others or own account
Cherry Jr.	W.	W.	F	W	O	IL	IL	TN	farmer	OA
Cherry Jr.	Harvey		F	W	R	IL	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Shelby	Oakley	M.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Gayorn	Robert	R.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Lancaster	Robert	L.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Whitford	Luther		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Earhart	Walter		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Rhoder/Roeder	Scipio		F	W	O	TN	TN	Switz.	farmer	OA
Thomas	John		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Carney	John	C.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Ralls	Allen		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Thomas	T.		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Sykes	Ollie		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Daughtry	Herschel		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Daughtry	Thomas		S	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Daughtry	George		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Sykes	Henry		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Sykes	William		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Sykes	Nelson		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Broadway	Frank		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Sykes	George	A.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Buckingham	John	M.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	OA
Fitzhugh	Pink	P.	F	W	O	TN	AL	VA	farmer	W
Timmons	Lee	A.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	W
Carny [sp?]	Bee		F	W	O	TN	SC	TN	farmer	W
Sellar	Willie	E.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	W
Goodin	Charley	M.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	W

Table 13. Enumerations in the Fort Donelson Proper Settlement Area/ Dover and Model Road (U.S. Census 1930).

Surname	First	Middle	Single or Family	Race	Own/ Rent	Place of Birth	F-POB	M-POB	Occupation	Industry
Shemwell	Charlie		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Tift	Otto		F	W	R	MI	MI	MI	farmer	rented land
Riggins	Boss	F.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	rented land
Riggins	Glenn		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farmer	rented land
Smith	Elbert		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	laborer	farm
Crisp	Hiram		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	none	
Fitzhugh	James	M.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Fitzhugh	Littrell		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer	rented land
Sykes	Wilmer		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer	rented land
Rawls/Ralls	Allen		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Taylor [Earhart]	Lydia		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	worker asst.	unk.
Rowlett	John	E.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Rowlett	Garrett		F	w	R	TN	TN	TN	laborer	highway
Rushing	DeWitt	T.	F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	laborer	farm
Rowlett	Alfred		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	none	
Rowlett	Thomas		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	laborer	odd jobs
Rowlett	Huey		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	laborer	farm
Young	Alonzo		F	W	R	KY	KY	KY	farmer	rented land
Young	Grover		F	W	R	KY	KY	KY	laborer	farm
Riphey	James		F	W	R	KY	TN	TN	laborer	farm
Kelly	Cortes		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Sykes	Henry		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Sykes	Ollie	B.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Jones	Joe	C.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	laborer	car factory
Dougherty	Herschel		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Fitzhugh	Leonard		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	laborer	odd jobs
Ralls	Frank	W.	F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	none	
Vaughn	Will	L.	F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	farmer	rented land
Vaughn	Clay		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	concrete finisher	public works
Broadway	Frank		F	W	O	TN	IL	TN	farmer	rented land
Buckingham	John		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	none	
Buckingham	Clyde		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Cherry	Vangie		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	none	
Cherry	Cletus		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	laborer	public works
Cherry	Wesley		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	painter	public works
Bailey	Biscoe		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	steel worker	construction
Timmons	Lee		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	carpenter	public works
Carney	B.		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	laborer	concrete
Carney	Edward		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	truck driver	gin hauling
Carney	Elvran		with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	laborer	timber
Wilkerson	Morris		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	laborer	farm
Roeder	Seifio		F	W	O	TN	Switz.	TN	farmer	own farm
Roeder	George	H.	with parents	W	n/a	TN	TN	TN	farmer	father's land
Sykes	Nelson		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Graham	Robert		F	W	O	TN	TN	TN	farmer	own farm
Milligan	Talmadge		F	W	R	TN	TN	TN	painter	construction

Table 14. Enumerations in the Fort Donelson Proper Settlement Area/76 and 49 Highways (U.S. Census 1940).

Surname	First	Middle	Single or Family	Race	Own/rent [month/value]	Place of Birth	Same residence in 1935?	Occupation	Industry
Greenhill	Samuel	E.	F	W	R \$2	TN	yes	farmer	
Greenhill	Ethel	E.	with parents	W	n/a	TN	yes	post office	
Sexton	William	E.	F	W	O - \$600	TN	yes	paper hanger	
Sexton	William	H.	with parents	W	n/a	TN	yes	laborer	farm
Allison	Roderick		F	W	O - \$1,500	TN	yes	merchant	
Allison	Eudora	E.	wife	W	n/a	TN	S.C.	helps in store	
Bishop	Curtis	C.	F	W	R - \$1	TN	S.C.	laborer	farm
Byrd	Lewis	Grady	F	W	O - \$2,500	TN	yes	none listed	
Graham	Robert	R.	F	W	O - \$50	TN	yes	farmer	
Lancaster	Robert	L.	F	W	O - \$3000	TN	yes	farmer	
Sykes	George	A.	F	W	R - \$8	TN	S.C.	carpenter	
Carney	Wilson		w/ in-laws	W	n/a	TN	S.C.	singing teacher	
Cunningham	Robert	W.	F	W	R - \$10	KY	yes	asst. lock keeper	on river
Stone	Frank	H.	F	W	R - \$10	TN	yes	lock keeper	on river
Earhart	Joe	E.	F	W	R - \$2	TN	S.C.	works at lock	on river
Earhart Jr.	Joe		with parents	W	n/a	TN	S.C.	digs mussels	on river
Settle	Pitts	James	F	W	O - \$2,500	TN	yes	farmer	
Settle	Ruby	Ethel	with parents	W	n/a	TN	yes	school bus driver	
Settle	Mary	Louise	with parents	W	n/a	TN	yes	worker	pants factory

for the lock, and one was a commercial mussel fisherman. Four of the females were employed outside the home (U.S. Census 1940).

Families in the Fort Donelson Proper Settlement Area

Lancaster/Byrd. Of the 1960 land sellers, the Robert L. Lancaster family (Tract 6816, 6816E, Figure 19) had one of the longest known occupations within the Fort Donelson proper settlement area. Robert was the son of Elijah and Elizabeth Lancaster who appeared in census records for the first time in 1850. Elijah was a 22-year-old farmer with no real estate value, Elizabeth was 20, and the couple had one son, William, four years old. The couple owned no slaves. Prior to 1850, only heads of household were enumerated by name and Elijah was likely living with his parents at that time, making it difficult to trace Elijah Lancaster's family prior to 1850 through census records. In 1860, Elijah was a 31-year-old farmer with real and personal estates both valued at \$300. He and Elizabeth had six children at that time and owned no slaves (U.S. Census 1850-1860).

Robert Lancaster was four years old in 1870, when he appeared in the U.S. Census of District 7 for the first time with his parents and his seven siblings. Elijah Lancaster was a still farmer, but with real estate valued at \$1,000 and a personal estate of \$1,095 in 1870. Son William, 23, had a personal estate of \$100 and worked on his father's farm as a farm hand alongside his brothers, Alex, 17, and Joseph, 14. In 1880, Robert was 13 years old and working as a farm hand along with his brother Frank, 21, on their father's farm. Four of their sisters still resided at home with Elijah and Elizabeth (U.S. Census 1870-1880).

Census documents for 1890 were destroyed by a fire at the Commerce Department in Washington, D.C. and are unavailable. By 1900, Robert L. Lancaster, 33, was married to Effie, 24, and the couple had a daughter Renie (Irene), two years old. The couple was enumerated in District 7 where Robert worked as a teamster. By 1910, Robert owned and farmed his own farm in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area and the couple had five daughters: Irene (Renie), 12, Ora, nine, Mary, six, Daisy, four, and Alice, one year old. Ten years later in 1920, Robert and Effie had added a son to their family—Fitzhugh, eight—and now had six children. Robert still owned and worked his own farm (U.S. Census 1900-1920).

In 1930, perhaps due to Depression-era economic conditions, Robert Lancaster was employed and living outside of his farm. Robert, 63, and Effie, 53, rented a residence on Cedar Street in Dover for \$15 per month and Rena (Irene), 32, and Fitzhugh, 17, lived with their parents. Robert worked as a carpenter who built houses, Rena taught school, and Fitzhugh was a farmer working on his father's farm in the Fort Donelson proper settlement. That same year, Robert Lancaster sold the United States a fenced 4.2-acre tract of land near the Confederate Monument, where he had a pond (Tract 24, Figure 18). By 1940, Robert Lee, 75, and Effie Jane Lancaster, 63, were once again living on and farming their land in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area. By that time, only Lancaster and Samuel Greenhill among their immediate neighbors were identified as farmers. According to participants in the EOA research, the Lancasters were remembered as significant farmers who had a large farmhouse and an extensive farm in the settlement where they raised tobacco, corn, and hogs. Evidence of their hog ponds remains on the Fort Donelson landscape in 2013. By the time the interviewees had knowledge of the property in the 1950s and 1960s, both Robert and Effie Lancaster were no longer living on the property and were probably deceased (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013; Sidney Sykes, interviewed 17 January 2013; Percy Williams, interview 17 January 2013; U.S. Census 1930-1940).

Although the Lancasters were no longer living on the property by the 1950s, it remained family-held land. Sometime before 1930, Robert and Effie's daughter, Mary Lu, married Grady Byrd. The Byrds also had deep roots in Stewart County, having appeared in census records by 1830.

Lewis Grady Byrd was the son of James and Lula Byrd, enumerated on Tharpe and Nolin Road within the present Land Between the Lakes National Recreation Area in 1910. The couple had three daughters and two sons including Lewis Grady, eight. James was enumerated as a farmer who rented his land. Living with the family was Lula's sister, Judy Carney, who had her own income. In 1920, James and Lula Byrd were enumerated living on Spring Street in Dover. The couple now had three daughters and three sons including Grady, 19. The couple both worked as farm laborers (U.S. Census 1910-1920).

Grady Byrd, 29, and Mary Lu Lancaster Byrd, 26, were enumerated in 1930 on Main Street in Dover where they lived with daughter Virginia, seven, and sons Lewis Grady Jr., five, and Max, one year old. Byrd worked as a salesman at a garage. Ten years later in 1940, Grady, 38, and Mary Lu Byrd, 36, neither listed with an occupation, were identified as owners of the property they inhabited near her parents' farm. Their property was probably still a part of the Lancaster farm, however, as the Byrds were not listed as property owners in 1960 (Table 9). Daughter Virginia Lee was 17, Lewis Grady Jr., 15, Max Lancaster, 11, and daughter Marilyn A. was three years old. The Byrds were remembered as having a beautiful place with many seasonally blooming flowers. Virginia Byrd married high school teacher and later principal Merle Chance, whose family was resident in Stewart County by 1830; and they settled on Lancaster family land in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area. In addition to his work as an educator, Merle Chance, along with Grady Byrd owned a garage on Highway 76 that was razed when the highway was realigned (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013; Percy Williams, interviewed 17 January 2013; U.S. Census 1830, 1930-1940).

When the park acquired the property in the early 1960s, the Robert L. Lancaster heirs owned a 100-acre parcel that encompassed most of the land lying between Eddyville Loop road and the fort (Jaeger 2010:82).

Mitchell Earhart recalled these families in the settlement area who were connected by kinship as well as culture.

Merle Chance raised a family right here.... He was a science teacher at the high school and later became principal at the high school. His house faced the road.... The reason he got here, he married a lady by the name of Virginia Byrd. There were a lot of Byrds right here.... You can tell by the flowers that it was a home place. Now, the Byrds had a beautiful place down through here. Mr. & Mrs. Byrd—you'll see more flowers right up here on top of this hill.... They had a house right here. You can see their buttercups.... Mrs. Byrd was a Lancaster. She didn't go too far away. The Lancasters had a big farm house—they were big time farmers. You can still see their ponds. I never saw the Lancaster house, I barely remember the Byrd house, but the Chance house I remember real well because they had kids my age. But this was the Lancaster farm and we still today call this Lancaster Field. The Lancasters and Byrds were gone before the '60s, but the Chances moved out [after the 1960 land acquisitions]. So this was basically one family out of these three places of residence.... As far as I know, the Lancasters started it.... A lot of hog raising, pig farming, corn and tobacco growing [Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013].

Roeder. Although not one of the Anglo-American families whose antecedents settled in Stewart County prior to the Civil War, the Roeders (also Rohder, Roder) were in Stewart County by 1860 and may have preceded Robert Lancaster into the Fort Donelson proper settlement area. Scipio Roeder was enumerated next to Robert Lancaster in 1910; and in 1880, his father, Fritz Roeder, was enumerated in close proximity to people identified in 1900 as living in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area. Fritz Roeder, 41, was a Bavarian/Swiss immigrant and a farmer in 1880. His wife, Emma, however, was a native of Tennessee, as were her parents. The

couple had three daughters and one son, including Scipio, five years old. Exule, 13, and Lucy Vignoll, 13, Roeder's niece and nephew, lived with the family. Exule is almost certainly the same person later identified as Exulie Jones in 1900 (see above). Both are identified as being of French and Swiss parentage, and Exule was 13 years old in 1880 while Exulie was 33 in 1900. Also, the nephew of Exulie Jones, Atenors Roder, living with his uncle in 1900 would indicate kinship with the Roeders. It is possible that Exule Vignoll, born of European parentage but a native of Tennessee, wished to distinguish himself as American by adopting an Anglo name (U.S. Census 1880, 1900).

Scipio Roeder, 31, was enumerated with his wife, Nora, 23, and their sons Albert, two, and Scipio Jr., a newborn, living on the property next to Robert and Effie Lancaster in 1910. Scipio was a farmer who owned his land. In 1920, Scipio and Nora Rhoder [*sic*] had a daughter Omega, two years old, as well as sons Albert, 11, and George Hugo, nine years old. Scipio Jr. was not listed and was likely deceased. By 1930, the couple added a daughter, Ruby M., eight years old. Scipio, 51, still farmed his own land with the help of son George H., 19, identified as a farmer on his father's land. The Roeder family was not found in the census records for 1940; however, the land apparently remained in family hands. The 1960 land acquisition map shows the property of A.S. Roder [*sic*] (Tract 6829, Figure 19), likely Scipio's son Albert, separated from the Lancaster land only by a small tract within the National Battlefield. Albert Roder [*sic*] owned another, larger tract of land west of Hickman Creek, also sold in the 1960 land acquisitions (Table 9) (U.S. Census 1910-1940).

Earhart. The Earhart family was resident in Stewart County by at least 1850. Walter H., 21, and Liddie Earhart, 17 (Tract 6828, Figure 19) owned and farmed a tract of land adjacent to the Lancaster tract in 1920. The couple had no children, but had a daughter, Olga May, who died at 10 months old in 1919. By 1930, Lydia Taylor was enumerated in the same place, by then a 28-year-old divorcee living with her children: Howard, nine, and Reba, six years old. She was employed as a worker's assistant. Lydia apparently used her family name after her divorce, at least in 1920. Her ex-husband, Walter H. Earhart, married Ethel Kent in Stewart County in 1930 and died and was buried in Dover in 1979. Lydia Earhart Taylor could not be found in subsequent census records for Dover or Stewart County. However, her 1952 obituary stated that she lived in Stewart County until moving to Illinois to live with her daughter, ca. 1942. Son Howard Earhart lived in California at the time of his mother's death. Lydia Taylor Earhart was buried in the Mt. View Presbyterian Cemetery in Dover (Find a Grave, n.d.; Tennessee Death Records 1919; U.S. Census 1920-1930).

It is not known what happened to the Earhart property between 1920, when Lydia and her children were enumerated there, to 1953, when Marshall and Gustie Earhart purchased it from Gustie's brother, Mervin Page (Mitchell Earhart, personal communication, 2 July 2013). In documents associated with the 1960 land acquisitions in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area, the property is identified with the Heirs of Lydia Earhart or Howard Earhart, et al. At least part of the property, 6.3 acres, was acquired by the U.S. government for Fort Donelson in 1930 under the names Earhart and Lewis (Tract 1, Figure 18).

Upon his military enlistment in 1944, Marshall Earhart was identified as a married farmer from Stewart County. After the war ended, he was a Civil Service employee at Fort Campbell where he worked until his retirement. Both Marshall Earhart and Gustie Page grew up in Stewart County and were enumerated in 1940 in District 5. Marshall and Gustie Earhart and their children lived on the property from 1953 until the government purchased it in the 1960s, moving off the land in 1963. Their son, Mitchell Earhart, has been employed by the National Battlefield since 1983 (Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013; U.S. census 1940; World War II Army Enlistment Records, Record Group 64, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland).

Cherry. The Cherrys were among the earliest Anglo-American families to settle in Stewart County, with three Cherry heads of household enumerated in the county in 1820. By the turn of the century, branches of the Cherry family could be found all over Stewart County including in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area (U.S. Census 1820-1880).

Charles Edward Cherry Jr. was the son of Charles E. Sr. and Birdie Wall Cherry who lived in District 5, Stewart County until sometime before 1940. Charles Sr. was the son of Thomas J. and Sallie B. Cherry, also of District 5. In 1900, Thomas and Sallie had six children including Charley E., 11. Thomas was a farmer and sons Otto, 13, and Charley were farm laborers.

My granddaddy, like everybody, had [several] brothers and sisters. His mother and daddy died when he was 15. He wasn't the oldest, but he was, I guess, the most ambitious, the one who knew [to] take care of the family, took all his brothers and sisters to different places for people to raise them. Then he taught school on a mule, riding all over, and my grandmother, ... well, he was riding through here to teach school and my grandmother, real pretty lady, she was 10 years younger than my grandfather. He boarded with her mother and daddy and he taught [her] in school.... He was 20 and she was 10. Well, he came back in a few years and then when she was 18, they married. She was a Wall, Birdie Wall [Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013].

In 1920, Charles and Birdie Cherry also resided in District 5, where Charles was a circuit court clerk, county judge, and a farmer with extensive holdings throughout the county. Charles' brothers Otto, 32, and Grady, 21, lived with the couple and their baby Charles E. Jr. (Eddie), one year old. Charles was a farmer and Grady a farm laborer, apparently on the farm owned and occupied by the three brothers. None of the three brothers was found in census records for 1930. By 1940, Charles and Birdie and sons Edward, Leroy, and Max had relocated to rural Dover where Charles was a county trustee and Birdie had a beauty shop. As a county judge from 1950 to 1958, Cherry received no compensation other than fees, supporting his family by farming, trading mules, and buying and selling real estate. This diversified economic tradition was passed down from Charles to his son Edward, who instilled the same values in his son, Don (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; U.S. Census 1920, 1940).

By the 1950s, Edward Cherry (Charles E. Jr.) and his partner, Grover Barrow, owned and farmed acreage all over Stewart County. Eddie Cherry and his wife Mary Emma Askew were rearing their three young children under 10 years old in a house in Dover that had no indoor bathroom. When Mr. Cherry told his wife about the property east of Hickman Creek that he intended to bid on at auction, Mrs. Cherry made her own bargain, telling her husband she would not "sign another deed until you get us a house that has a bathroom in it!" Cherry subsequently purchased Tract 6815 (Figure 19) at an estate auction about 1952. The purchase comprised two lots, one of which Mr. Cherry sold to Tommy Bingham, who worked at Lock D. The Bingham and Cherrys built houses, said to be among the finest in the county, at the same time. The Cherry property was a 23-acre tract that stretched to the intersection of Fort Donelson Road and Eddyville Road (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013; Jaeger 2012:82).

Mary Emma Cherry taught eighth grade and Eddie Cherry was a livestock and dairy farmer who also owned several businesses. With Grover Barrow he owned between 700 and 800 acres of land on which he raised cattle, hogs, soybeans, and tobacco, along with about 8,000 bales of hay per year. The farmers had three to four full-time workers from the African American community who worked their farms, and they hired workers seasonally as well. They grew soybeans in the bottoms within present Cross Creeks National Wildlife Area on land they sold to and leased back from the government. They also grew tobacco.

We raised both dark fire and burley tobacco. Dark fire tobacco, you had a barn and built a fire.... Burley tobacco is air cured. That's a lot easier. You would cut it and hang it in a barn, ... but the dark tobacco, you hung it in a barn, smoke it for a while, and people would come in and strip it; you had to strip all the leaves off, pile them up and make books. It was a lot of work [Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013].

In the 1950s, Dover town life still centered around the agricultural schedule.

My daddy owned a grocery store in Dover, and Saturday night was the only time [people] had to come to town. On Saturday nights in Dover back in the '50s, you'd have three or four hundred people walking the streets. It'd look like a flea market. The barber shop stayed open until one o'clock in the morning. You had two bars, two restaurants, and everybody would come to Dover because that's the only time they had to come to Dover, was Saturday night. And that ended, I guess, in the '60s [Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013].

The Cherry family lived in the Fort Donelson proper settlement area until the government purchased the properties for the National Battlefield. Mr. Cherry described a close-knit community whose closest neighbors included his family and the Bingham, the Lancaster/Byrd/Chance families, the Earharts, Millers, Thompsons, Williams, Herndons, and Griggs. When Mrs. Griggs was tragically electrocuted by a washing machine in her home across the street from the Cherrys, the community turned out in force with almost 300 people attending the funeral services (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013).

For children in the Fort Donelson settlement, the National Battlefield and settlement area was a playground and an adventure. An avid baseball player, Don Cherry recalls how he walked or rode his bike through the park along old Eddyville Road, often stopping to visit with Sherman Gentry on Indian Creek before reaching the baseball field in town.

It was a great place to be raised, ... ride your bike, go down fishing, hunted all back in there.... I didn't realize it at the time.... There were so many characters [and] it was so much fun.... Nobody had anything; we all worked hard, everybody just trying to get ahead [Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013].

Nolin. Outside of the Fort Donelson proper settlement area, but just to the east across Indian Creek, the Nolin family lived in the area of Dover called the Triangle at Cedar and Church Streets. Noel Nolin was employed as a diver for the Corps of Engineers, but was also a commercial fisherman throughout his lifetime. He purchased the property in the Triangle, where the family lived and had a fish market in about 1944, and the family remained there until the early 1970s land acquisition (David Nolin, personal communication 23 January 2013; Noel Nolin and Marvin Nolin, interviewed 16 January 2013).

The Nolins were settled throughout Stewart County, including in Dover, by 1860 and perhaps earlier. Noel Nolin, almost 101 years old when he was interviewed for this project in January 2013, was born and grew up in Fox Hollow near Neville's Bay on the Cumberland River, now within the Land Between the Lakes National Recreational Area. His father, Lewis Y. Nolin, was enumerated on Tharpe and Stewart Landing Road in 1910, a 27-year-old farm owner living with his wife, Lettie, 24, her mother, Sallie A. Lyon, 63, and brother-in-law, John R. Jacobs, 21, who worked on the farm with Lewis. By 1920, Lewis and Lettie had two young sons: Noyal (Noel), seven, and Howard, five years old. Lewis still owned and worked his own farm (U.S. Census 1910-1920).

Lewis Nolin owned “hundreds of acres of land” and farmed the bottomlands. Although identified as a farmer, Lewis Nolin also supported his family by fishing, primarily for mussels that he found on the sandbars in the river. “My daddy fished and farmed, and as soon as I could set in the boat or set on a blanket out by the field, I went with him.” In addition to farming and fishing, the Nolins also logged tress in the area (Noel Nolin, quoted in *The Stewart County Times*, 16 March 2010). Each fall, the Nolin family built rafts from the huge logs they cut and lashed together to transport by river to Paducah, Kentucky to be milled (Noel Nolin, interviewed 16 January 2013).

Noel Nolin always preferred the water to the land. In 1930, Lewis, 47, and Lettie, 45, were enumerated on their farm in Fox Hollow where they lived with their three sons and one daughter. Noel, 18, was identified as a fisher of pearly shells, i.e. a mussel fisherman. Ten years later in 1940, Lewis, 65, and Lettie, 61 were enumerated living with their son Elvess, 21, who worked on the farm, two daughters, and a grandson. Lewis was working as a timber man at the time of this census, with property valued at \$1,000. Renting property either from his father or his in-laws, the Crutchers, were Noel, 28, and Virginia Crutcher Nolin, 22. Noel was a fisherman on the Cumberland River (U.S. Census 1930-1940).

Nolin worked either with his father or a friend named Barney Cook; Virginia Nolin wove their nets and was considered the finest netmaker in the community. Using a square-bowed cypress boat, they fished for mussels, buffalo, drum, and catfish, or “any kind of fish,” that Noel peddled from an old model T Ford. His first real job was surveying for the creation of Barkley Dam and Lake Barkley. In 1942, he began working for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers building the locks. It was during this time that he became interested in diving and would soon become a diver who worked to maintain the locks. He received no formalized training. “Just got the suit and went down. I always wanted to go under the water and they had jobs, ... and that’s when I went down” (Noel Nolin, interviewed 16 January 2013).

Shortly after he began working as a diver, the Nolins purchased the property in the Triangle where they lived and Noel and his sons had a fish market. Mr. Nolin never stopped fishing commercially, even when while working for the Corps. “We lived in that house and dressed fish in an old garage and sold fish there. That started out as Nolin’s Fish Market in Dover” (Marvin Nolin, interviewed 16 January 2013). The fish market stood across from the Triangle Café (Figures 32 and 33).

While working for the Corps and continuing to fish commercially, Mr. Nolin also farmed his family land in Fox Hollow. Getting off work at midnight, he would wake his sons and drive to the bottoms where they cleared new ground to plant corn. The loss of the family farmland to Land Between the Lakes and the subsequent loss of their house and market at the Triangle left the Nolins, like many in Stewart County, embittered and angry toward the Federal government. Both Marvin and David Nolin worked at the National Battlefield for many years. “It seemed like they took your land, then gave you a job” (David Nolin, personal communication 23 January 2013).

At 101 years old, Noel Nolin is a living treasure for his family and his community. He has instilled in his children a love of the land and waterways and exemplifies the fierce independence, character, and ingenuity of the Anglo-Americans who claimed Stewart County as their own. The experiences of the Nolin family also point to the uneasy relationship between the people of Stewart County and the Federal government which has taken their individual family properties and their personal legacies to preserve a naturally and historically rich landscape for the nation.



Figure 32. Triangle Café (Fort Donelson National Battlefield Archives, n.d.).



Figure 33. Nolin Fish Market with Nolin house in the rear left (Fort Donelson National Battlefield Archives, ca. 1972).

The Fort Donelson Proper/Triangle Settlement Areas Remembered

While the area was still largely rural, by the 1960s-1970s when the government acquired the properties owned by Anglo-American families on both sides of the National Battlefield, few still used their land for large-scale farming. Many families still planted a home garden where they grew vegetables for personal consumption. Some kept chickens for eggs, but cattle and hogs were seemingly not kept on the land after the 1950s. None depended on hunting for subsistence, although many still hunted the rich hills for squirrels, rabbits, and the occasional deer. Hunted to near extinction by the turn of the twentieth century, deer made a comeback after being reintroduced into the Land Between the Lakes National Recreational area and now range throughout the county. Young people fished the local streams and creeks for bream, perch, and crappie, and most people sport fished on the lakes and rivers; but, except for the Nolin family, fish did not constitute a primary food source. The use of wild plants for food or medicines was also a thing of the past by the 1950s. By the time the National Battlefield incorporated these properties into the park, the area was a rural suburb of Dover populated primarily by middle class families with one or both parents employed outside the home (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Mitchell Earhart, interviewed 15 January 2013; Sidney Sykes, interviewed 17 January 2013; Percy Williams, interview 17 January 2013).

Cultural Interaction and the Present Communities

As previously mentioned, segregation laws limited social interactions between the African American and Anglo-American communities associated with the present Fort Donelson National Battlefield. Schools were segregated until the mid-1960s and not until recently did African Americans and Anglo-Americans start to attend the same churches (see below). African American men were employed by white farmers and businessmen and African American women often worked in Anglo-American homes as housekeepers and nannies. Because of these relationships, Anglo-American employers were quick to lend a hand with legal issues or in times of financial hardship. Employer/employee interactions often resulted in lifelong friendships, especially among the children who played and grew up together but were forced to attend separate schools, and the communities came together in times of joy and sorrow. Don Cherry played baseball on a local African American team (see above), and after the schools were integrated ca. 1964-1965, African American and Anglo-American students attended school and played sports together. Even after segregation, however, the number of African American students in Dover schools remained small, a reflection of racial demographics in Dover.

For the most part, African Americans and Anglo-Americans existed within separate social spheres. The “black part of town” was considered a somewhat exotic and insular world to the Anglo-Americans who grew up around Dover in the 1950s and 1960s. Elder Anglo-American ladies recalled the excitement of going to the secluded area adjacent to the African American community at French’s Battery, the location of the local “Lover’s Lane” before the park acquired the properties. As a tavern and dance hall, Ethel May Ervin’s establishment was definitely off limits. Anglo-American parents knew that moonshine was served there in the dry county—“It was well known, but overlooked”—and warned their children not to walk or ride bikes past the tavern. In their late teens, Don Cherry and his brother were allowed to sneak into Ethel May’s but their situation was unique. Because Mrs. Ervin worked as their family babysitter when they were children, they were allowed entry and knew they were safe while under her roof (Don Cherry, interviewed 16 January 2013; Louise Williams Dean, interviewed 17 January 2013; Mitchell Earhart, personal communication, 17 January 2013).

While the number of churches and denominations in Dover grew in the latter half of the twentieth century, African Americans continued to attend either St. Paul United Methodist or East Oak Grove Baptist Church within their own communities. After St. Paul closed, however, at least one African American couple was welcomed into the First Christian Church previously

attended exclusively by Anglo-Americans. This couple comprised the sole African American membership in the Christian Church in 2013.

In the 1960s to the 1990s, the National Battlefield employed a number of local African American men, although the park has no African American employees in 2013. All interviewees, whether African American or Anglo-American, fondly remembered Sherman Gentry. The children in the Fort Donelson proper and Triangle settlement areas visited often at his house on Indian Creek, ate dinner with him, caught rides on his mules, learned to whittle, and shared the peppermints he kept in his coat pockets. He broke ground on home gardens and for local farmers and was always available to lend a hand. Louise Williams Dean recalled that when she was expecting her first child, Mr. Gentry correctly predicted his gender (interviewed 17 January 2013).

As mentioned above, in 2013 the African American community is rapidly diminishing in number and is made up primarily of elders. Although the government purchased large tracts of their property for the National Battlefield, the small African American community remains centered on parcels of the same lands purchased by their ancestors in the years following the Civil War. The community came together at Fort Donelson in 1862 under the label of “contraband,” but as U.S. citizens expanded the community near French’s Battery. The native Anglo-American community remains the core population in Dover and is dispersed throughout the area; but immigration associated with Fort Campbell has introduced an entirely new population into the Dover area, primarily Anglo/Euro-Americans with a small number of African Americans, Latin Americans, and Asians.

Problems Encountered During the Course of the Research

One of the primary problems associated with this research was the 50- to 80-year gap between the land acquisitions and the contemporary communities. Land acquisitions began in the African American community around French’s Battery prior to living memory. In the Anglo-American community as well, contacts are limited to the generation comprised of adults who were children when the Fort Donelson proper/Triangle settlement area was intact with the exception of Noel Nolin, the lone interviewee who lived on present park property as an adult.

Some African American elders contacted during the course of this research were reluctant to participate in the project. Generations of social separateness, the unwillingness to speak for one’s community, a general distrust of outsiders, and a lack of understanding of the intent of the project are likely factors. However, contact has now been established with two members of the 50- to 70-year-old generation who may help to bridge the understanding between their parents and researchers.

The participation of park personnel who are natives of the area will be key in furthering research in both communities. The assistance of Mitchell Earhart, Susan Hawkins, and Debbie Austin was invaluable in identifying and contacting interviewees and contributed to a greater understanding of the relationship between local families and present park properties.

Recommendations

This project provides a baseline study of the area and the traditionally associated populations of the Fort Donelson National Battlefield. Additional research is recommended and should include:

- research in consultation with the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee, who have an expressed interest in the Fort Donelson National Battlefield lands;
- more fieldwork with African American community members including children of individuals associated with park properties who have relocated to places like Cumberland

City, Clarksville, and Nashville; this fieldwork should include interviews, scanning of family photographs and documents where appropriate, and consultation regarding interpretation and programming at the park;

- investigation of former land owners in the Fort Donelson proper to Triangle settlement area not contacted during this research, i.e. Roeder, Broadway, Buckingham, Graham, Scarborough, Shemwell, Outland, Crisp, Daughtry, and Gray; and attempts to identify and interview descendants;
- site visits with community members to locate settlement areas and activity areas on the ground;
- more extensive research in the Fort Donelson National Battlefield archives to identify land transfer records and photographs;
- documentation of standing structures that were relocated from Fort Donelson National Battlefield to various sites in and around Dover upon acquisition;
- directed research on traditionally associated communities connected to Ft Heiman in Calloway County, Kentucky, beginning with land sale documents to identify families;
- research into Irish immigrant community;
- additional research to connect surnames of Anglo-American antebellum farmers and furnace owners to former bondpeople in the Dover area, i.e., the Mockabee and Ervin surnames found in the African American community may relate to the Mockbee/Mockabee and Erwin/Ervin families who owned iron furnaces in the region (Delfino 2011:105-134);
- more extensive research into land records to identify locations of African American landowners listed as farmers on the 1870 and 1880 Agricultural Schedules for District 7;
- investigation of potential records from the East Oak Grove Baptist Church and St. Paul United Methodist Church;
- additional research into state agricultural archives, Agricultural Censuses, and tax records in an attempt to determine agricultural production and land ownership in both communities.

Interpretation of the St. Paul United Methodist Church by the National Battlefield is recommended. If the building was acquired and renovated by a community partner, it could serve as an appropriate venue for exhibits or programs. The history of this small community and its intimate ties with Fort Donelson present a unique interpretive opportunity. The housing of an exhibit and collections relating to the community within the present community boundaries would appeal to connected families and visitors alike. The small community remains concentrated around the French's Battery component of the park where it has existed for almost 150 years. Because of the historic relationship between the community and Fort Donelson, the French's Battery settlement area may be eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places as a traditional cultural property. Exploration of this possibility is recommended.

Future programming at the National Battlefield could include memory days, in which members of the community at large are invited to share memories of people, places, and the cultural landscape now within the present park properties. Activities might include individual and group interviews, scanning of family photographs, and tours of the park in which those with personal

and family connections could identify occupation areas, activity areas, and places of importance. Additional field research and outreach in both communities should attempt to gather traditional stories, document use of traditional plants and medicines, and recordation of place names and boundaries, as well as the preservation of family and community memories.

SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Don F.

- 1964 Report of a Field Trip Taken with Mr. John Rowlett to the Site of His Grandfather's Mill or Rowlett's Mill. Fort Donelson National Military Park, Dover, Tennessee.

Although brief, this report provides invaluable, on-the-ground identification of a mill established by the consultant's grandfather, William O. Rowlett, on Hickman Creek south of the Eddyville Road in the middle nineteenth century. The mill was in operation at the time of the Civil War and Mr. Rowlett witnessed the arrival of Federal troops at Fort Donelson. Mr. John Rowlett was able to provide anecdotal information about the mill, his grandfather's house, and Fort Donelson and the war from his grandfather's recollections.

Atkinson, James R.

- 2004 *Splendid Land, Splendid People: The Chickasaw Indians to Removal*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

In this ethnohistory of the Chickasaw people and territory from the protohistoric period through their 1830s removal to Indian Territory, Atkinson discusses Chickasaw land claims and tribal utilization of the Cumberland River region in Middle Tennessee.

Baker, John

- 2009 *The Washingtons of Wessyngton Plantation: Stories of My Family's Journey to Freedom*. Atria Books, Simon & Schuster, Inc., New York, New York.

This biography details Baker's family, the Washingtons, as slaves on the largest tobacco plantation in the antebellum United States. Wessyngton was located in Robertson County, approximately 60 miles from Dover and Fort Donelson. Just one of several slave families who remained on the plantation after the Civil War, the Washingtons (the namesakes of the original owner, Joseph Washington) provide an in-depth look at their daily lives as slaves through diary entries, as well as oral histories handed down through the family. These include stories that pertain to the activities of Union troops that were directly experienced by the slaves, i.e. army conscription, runaway slaves. Baker utilizes primary archival sources as well, such as agricultural and population census data, to provide a portrait of slave life on a working plantation.

Bergemann, Kurt

- 2004 *Brackett's Battalion: Minnesota Cavalry in the Civil War and Dakota War*. Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul.

Bergemann's examination of the role of Brackett's Battalion of Minnesota Cavalry, the longest serving Minnesota unit in the Civil War, offers first-person accounts and discussion of the Fort Donelson study area during the Civil War.

Brown, Myers

- 2000 *The Interpretation of Middle Tennessee Slave Life, 1830-1860*. An unpublished Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the College of Graduate Studies, Department of History. Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

This Master's Thesis critiques interpretative programs in relation to slavery at several public history sites in Middle Tennessee. Brown gives a brief history of slavery in Middle

Tennessee in preamble to his discussion of the general lack of knowledge and/or concern of slave history at most of the sites. He also cites the lack of qualified personnel to adequately provide the history relevant to slavery in order to put the issue in its proper context, and its contribution to regional, statewide, and national issues. Brown explores potential ways that could be utilized to interpret slavery in order to facilitate and encompass a more holistic approach at public history sites throughout Middle Tennessee.

Buchanan, John

2001 *Jackson's Way: Andrew Jackson and the People of the Western Waters*. John Wiley and Sons, New York City.

This examination of Andrew Jackson's early life, military career, and the development of his American Indian policies presents a comprehensive discussion of the development of the Cumberland settlements.

Cimprich, John

2002 *Slavery's End in Tennessee*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Cimprich provides information on the changes in official Federal army policy regarding the escaped slaves (contraband) behind Federal lines during the Civil War. He furnishes a detailed account of the development of the Fort Donelson Freedmen camp extrapolated from official reports of the fort's various commanders, as well as reports of the agents of the Freedmen Bureau assigned to Fort Donelson. Cimprich's research reveals data pertinent to the progress made by the Freedmen in daily subsistence activities and education.

Clark, Jerry E.

2007 [1993] *The Shawnee*. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, Kentucky.

A cultural history of the Shawnee, this work includes the Shawnee land base and utilization areas through time. Included in the discussion is the Shawnee affiliation with, and later exile from, the Cumberland region.

Cobb, Charles R., and Brian Butler

2002 The Vacant Quarter Revisited: Late Mississippian Abandonment of the Lower Ohio Valley. *American Antiquity* 67(4):625-641.

Cobb and Butler examine three sites in the Ohio and Mississippi River basins that includes the Tennessee and Cumberland River area in present Stewart County, Tennessee in support of the Vacant Quarter model that suggests a large-scale Mississippi Period depopulation of the region.

Davis, Donald E.

2006 *Southern United States: An Environmental History*. ABC-CLIO Publishing, Santa Barbara, California.

This excellent historical and ecological work examines human exploitation of and adaptation to with the southern environment. Davis includes comprehensive discussions of the environmental effects of the fur and hide trade as well as the development of the iron industry in Middle Tennessee.

Delfino, Susanna

2011 Running Southern Manufactories: The Antebellum Origins of Managerial Professions. In *The Southern Middle Class in the Long Nineteenth Century*, pp. 105-134, Wells, Jonathan Daniel and Jennifer R. Green, eds. LSU Press, Baton Rouge, LA.

Delfino's article provides information on certain antebellum businessmen who established iron furnaces in the Middle Tennessee and southern Kentucky region of the Cumberland River. Specifically, she mentions at least three such individuals who share surnames within the Dover African American community: Gentry, Mockbee (Mockabee), and Erwin (Ervin).

Dovenbarger, Daniel Byron

1981 Land Registration in Early Middle Tennessee: Laws and Practice. Unpublished Master's thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

This thesis provides a comprehensive overview of the Revolutionary War land grants that initiated settlement of present Stewart County. Included in Dovenbarger's discussion are the Cumberland settlements, early surveys conducted by John Donelson, and the establishment of the Donelson family in the region.

Ethridge, Robbie

2010 *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540-1715*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Ethridge combines archaeological research and documentary history to explicate the transition of pre-contact Mississippian cultures to the post-Columbian Southeastern native nations and tribes. Focusing primarily on the Chickasaw, Ethridge examines settlement patterns, occupation areas, and political development. Included is a highly detailed map showing the various Mississippian provinces encountered by the sixteenth-century Soto *entrada*.

Finger, John R.

2001 *Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition*. University of Indiana Press, Bloomington.

Finger looks at the development of the state of Tennessee from the indigenous occupation of the area to the frontier and settlement and Indian Removal. The ultimate and seemingly unavoidable outcome of removal underscores his examination of the conflicting goals, ideals, and cultural perspectives of both natives and Anglo-Europeans.

Gibson, Arrell

1971 *The Chickasaws*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

This seminal ethnohistory takes the Chickasaw from first contact with Europeans from the Spanish expedition of Soto to Chickasaw Nation in Oklahoma at the beginning of the twentieth century. Gibson discusses various Chickasaw alliances with other native nations, the British, and the Americans, as well as the Chickasaw utilization and occupation in the Cumberland River region.

Goodspeed Brothers

1972 [1886] *The Goodspeed Histories of Montgomery, Robertson, Humphreys, Stewart, Dickson, Cheatham, Houston Counties of Tennessee*. Woodward & Stinson Printing Co., Columbia Tennessee.

The Goodspeed History of Tennessee included individual county histories with vanity biographical profiles of wealthy local citizens who would contribute to publishing costs. The state history was published separately along with county histories compiled into regional groupings. The Goodspeeds combined primary sources and literature with local, sometimes anecdotal, history gathered from local citizens. This work provides good insights into nineteenth-century Stewart County, the local economy and technology, politics, and social institutions.

Green, Melissa, Duane Peters, and Donna Greer Shepard

1996 *Friendship: An African-American Community on the Prairie Margin of Northeast Texas*. Submitted by Geo-Marine, Inc. to the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Fort Worth District, Fort Worth, Texas. Contract No. DACW63-90-D0006.

This ethnohistorical and archeological study consisted of intensive archival and oral history research, and limited archeological investigations conducted in regards to the small postbellum African American community of Friendship, located on the Prairie Margin of Northeast Texas. The results of the investigations for the years 1880-1945 provide a glimpse into the social, religious, economic development, and the interaction of the African American community and its Euro-American counterpart, Klondike, three miles east of Friendship.

Hawkins, Susan

2002 Forts Henry, Heiman, and Donelson: The African-American Experience. *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LXI, Winter 2002 (4): 233-241.

This article is the published version of the author's Master's Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Department of History, at Murray State University, Murray, Kentucky. Hawkins is a long-time employee of the National Park Service and Fort Donelson National Battlefield, where she currently serves as Interpretative Ranger. Hawkins conducted in-depth research on the Freedmen camp that developed at Fort Donelson during the Civil War. Her examination of primary archival resources, i.e., Freedmen Bureau Records, official reports by Fort Donelson Commanders, provides essential data to determine an accurate account of the development of the Free State (the name given to the camp) during the Civil War. Hawkins has presented an enhanced portrait of the lives of the Freeman (men, women, and children) who created a community outside the walls of Fort Donelson that continued to exist into the postbellum years. This primary resource offers numerous opportunities to examine the history and development of African American landownership within the current boundaries of Fort Donelson.

Hudson, Charles

1984 [1976] *The Southeastern Indians*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Hudson provides a broad cultural and historical overview of the Southeastern Culture Area that includes discussion of tribal ethnohistories, territories, and interactions.

Jaeger Company

2010 *Fort Donelson National Battlefield Cultural Landscape Report (95% Draft)*. Prepared by the Jaeger Company under the direction of National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resources Division, Atlanta, Georgia.

This report offers a concise and informative overview of the development of the Fort Donelson cultural landscape. Included is a brief but informative developmental history of the Dover area, as well as information on the Freestate settlement of former slaves, development of the national cemetery, and evolution of the park property.

Kyriakoudes, Louis M.

2003 *The Social Origins of the Urban South: Race, Gender, and Migration in Nashville and Middle Tennessee, 1890-1930*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Kyriakoudes examines the migration of both African American and white Southerners to urban areas and the social and economic effects this migration had on town's agricultural practices in rural Tennessee.

Mooney, Chase C., ed.

1949-1950 Some letters from Dover, TN, 1814-1855. *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 8(2):154-184, 8(3):252-283, 8(4):345-365; 9(1):64-83, 9(2):155-170.

Members of the Williams/Bailey family migrated from Ohio to settle in Dover, Tennessee, during the years of the War of 1812. In newsy and information letters written to family in Ohio over the next four decades, family members discussed a diverse range of topics including social life, economic conditions, farming, the iron industry, and Tennessee politics. These letters offer unique insights into the development of Dover, Stewart County, and the Tennessee frontier.

Mooney, James

1982 *Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*. Reproduced from the 19th and 7th Annual Reports, Bureau of American Ethnology. Charles and Randy Elder, Publishers, in collaboration with Museum of the Cherokee Indian and Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual, Cherokee, N.C.

Mooney's Cherokee ethnohistory includes documentation of pre-contact Cherokee territory and subsequent reductions in the Cherokee land base through treaties with both British and American governments. Included in this study is a detailed overview of the Anglo-European settlement of the Cumberland River region in Tennessee and the inevitable conflicts between hostile Cherokee factions and the settlers.

Moore, Wayne C.

1998 Introduction. In *Tennessee Land Grants*, 2 volumes, Barbara Byron and Samuel Sistler, pp. 1-4. Byron Sistler and Associates, Nashville, Tennessee.

Moore outlines the original intent and actual practice of awarding North Carolina Military Grants, i.e. Revolutionary War land grants, in Tennessee. Because the military land grant system was dominated by speculators and politicians, few individuals who received land grant warrants actually settled the land they were assigned. Instead, these grant lands were purchased by these speculators who claimed the best for themselves and subsequently extended their surveys and claims to vast tracts of land outside the original reserve. The resultant expansionism set the stage for decades of conflict with American Indians who still claimed and utilized those lands.

Patterson, Caleb Perry

1922 *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865: A Study in Southern Politics.* *University of Texas Bulletin* 2205. Columbia University, Chicago, Illinois.

Patterson provides information regarding the legal, social, economic, and religious condition of slaves of antebellum Tennessee. He follows the change in Tennessee slave codes from a moderate nature to stricter laws due to slave rebellions in other states. These led to apprehension and panic among whites of a possible slave revolt in Middle Tennessee primarily in response to the large concentrations of slave labor camps at numerous ironworks in Middle Tennessee. Patterson examines the trials experienced by slaves as they struggled to gain their identity as free persons at the end of the Civil War.

Poling, Jim Sr.

2009 *Tecumseh: Shooting Star, Crouching Panther.* Dundurn Press, Toronto, Canada.

In this biography of Shawnee resistance leader, Tecumseh, Poling discusses the Shawnee claims and resistance to Anglo-European settlement of the Cumberland region in Middle Tennessee; including Shawnee attempts to oust white settlers from the Tennessee-Cumberland River region.

Putnam, A.W

1859 *History of Middle Tennessee; or Life and Times of Gen. James Robertson.* Southern Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tennessee.

Putnam details the role that General James Robertson played in the settlement and early development of Middle Tennessee by Anglo-Europeans. The original Cumberland settlement was concentrated around present Nashville, extending into the surrounding counties just south and east of present Stewart County. The American expansion into territory claimed or utilized by the Shawnee, Cherokee, and Chickasaw resulted in repeated skirmishes and conflicts, one documented in 1793 near present Dover.

Ross, James

1882 *The Life and Times of Elder Reuben Ross, By His Son, James Ross.* Grant, Faires & Rodgers, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Although written as a chronicle of his father's life and times, Ross provides a vivid first-person account of pioneer life in rural Stewart County. Ross' father purchased land in Stewart County from a land agent in 1808 and relocated there with his family. James Ross recounts the hardships and rewards of life on what was the edge of the white world at the time.

Royce, Charles C.

1887 *The Cherokee Nation of Indians.* In *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1883-'84*, edited by J.W. Powell, pp. 129-378. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1899 *Indian Land Cessions in the United States.* In *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896-'97*, Part 2, edited by J.W. Powell, pp. 527-997. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

These two Bureau of American Ethnology publications are invaluable syntheses of American Indian treaties and land sessions from the colonial era through the end of the

nineteenth century. The terms, conditions, and extent of treaty lands are delineated, and references to earlier pertinent cessions and treaties are included.

Schroedl, Gerald F.

2000 Cherokee Ethnohistory and Archaeology from 1540 to 1838. In *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, 242-264, Bonnie G. McEwan, ed. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Schroedl presents an overview of Cherokee settlement patterns, material culture, and archaeological sites that includes the Cherokee presence in Tennessee.

Schwenger, Loren

1997 *Black Property Owners in the South, 1790-1915*. University of Illinois Press, Chicago, Illinois.

Schwenger examines the economic issues faced by African American property owners throughout the southern states in the antebellum years and into the first part of the twentieth century. She provides a source of data that pertains to the issues that were faced in their struggles to establish independent livelihoods from a past life of dependent slavery. Schwenger offers stories of several bootstrap businesses in Tennessee started by ex-slaves who utilized the skills obtained as slaves. This study presents a foundation from which to extrapolate useful data regarding the attempts at the Freedmen of Fort Donelson to create an economically and stable life after slavery.

Swanton, John R.

1946 *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 137. Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

1952 *The Indian Tribes of North America*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 145, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Swanton's ethnohistorical profiles provide valuable diachronic baseline information on tribal histories, settlement patterns, cultures, and occupation areas.

Wallace, Betty Joe

1992 *Between the Rivers: History of the Land Between the Lakes*. Austin Peay State University Center, Nashville.

This is a valuable resource for research in the Fort Donelson study area. Specifically directed to the Land Between the Lakes National Recreation Area, formerly a Tennessee Valley Authority property now managed by the U.S. Forest Service, Wallace accessed court records, oral histories, newspapers, and church records to provide a comprehensive ethnohistorical overview of the region touching the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers in Calloway County, Kentucky and Stewart County, Tennessee. Her collection of data includes information and resources that are relevant to the development of the Fort Donelson Freedmen community, as well as the relationship that existed between the ex-slaves and the white citizens of Dover, Tennessee.

Williams, Stephen

1990 The Vacant Quarter and Other Late Events in the Lower Valley. In *Towns and Temples Along the Mississippi*, edited by David Dye and C.A. Cox, pp. 170-180. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Williams reexamines the Vacant Quarter model of Mississippi Period depopulation of the Mississippi/Ohio River basins that includes the present study area. Williams first proposed the scenario in 1980.

White, Richard

1983 *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

White contrasts subsistence economies and adaptive strategies of three post-contact indigenous nations. In his examination of the Choctaw, he discusses the Mississippi Period cultural landscape the included provinces and settlements concentrated around cultivated fields. The provinces were buffered by uncultivated borderlands used for hunting by regional populations.

Internet resources

Stewart County, Tennessee Genealogy

2013 Electronic Resources, <http://www.tngenweb.org/stewart/>, (see individual entries above for access dates).

Jim Long of the Stewart County Historical Society had created an online clearinghouse for historic resources. Included are several databases including indices of public records, census information, photographs, links to other resources, and genealogical information. This is a valuable resource for those investigating Stewart and surrounding counties.

Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture

2013 Tennessee Historical Society and the University of Tennessee Press. Electronic resources, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net> (see individual entries above for access dates).

This online encyclopedia offers brief but scholarly vignettes and profiles of important people, events, and developments in Tennessee.

Tennessee Iron Furnace Trail

n.d. Center for Historic Preservation and the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro. Electronic resources, <http://www.tnironfurnacetrail.org>, accessed 12 February 2013.

This site created and hosted by Middle Tennessee State University provides detailed information about the iron industry on the Western Highland Rim of Tennessee. The site features, maps, company profiles, and other resources that provide insight into the development and importance of the iron industry in Middle Tennessee.

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Anderson, David G.

- 1990 The Paleoindian Colonization of Eastern North America: A View from the Southeastern United States. In *Research in Economic Anthropology, Supplement 5*, edited by Kenneth B. Tankersley and Barry L. Isaac, pp. 163-216. JAI Press, Inc., Greenwich.

- 1994 Factional Competition and the Political Evolution of Mississippian Chiefdoms in the Southeastern United States. In *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, edited by E. M. Brumfiel and J. W. Fox, pp. 61-76. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- 1995 The Paleoindian Paleoindian Interaction Networks in the Eastern Woodlands. In *Native American Interactions*, edited by M.S. Nassaney and K.E. Sassaman, pp. 1-26. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX:

ABSTRACTED TRANSCRIPTS OF RECORDED INTERVIEWS

Don Cherry, 16 January 2013

Mitchell Earhart, 15 January 2013

Polly Garner Mockabee, 24 January 2013

Mary Mockabee Newsom, 25 April 2013

Marvin Nolin and Noel Nolin, 16 January 2013

Pam Sykes Ford and Sidney Sykes, 17 January 2013

Louise Williams Dean and Percy Williams, 17 January 2013

16 January 2013 – Fort Donelson National Battlefield

Don Cherry recorded at his office [father owned property acquired by NPS ca. 1960]

Present: Don Cherry, Dayna Bowker Lee, Donna Greer, Mitchell Earhart

0:00:00 – Mr. Cherry is 69 years old [born 1944] and his father purchased the land acquired by FODO (in 1960) approximately 60 years ago (ca. 1952-3)

0:00:30 – land sold to FODO was purchased by his father at auction from an estate, two lots

0:00:41 – Tommy Bingham worked at Lock D and purchased lot on left (from the road), built his house about the same time as the Cherrys [ME: the road through the park where the 1960s acquisitions were located was generally known as Route 1]

0:00:53 – father's tract was about 10-15 acres, from road to Hickman Creek, now part of Barkley Lake

0:01:10 – “We lived over behind the courthouse, and my brother and sister, there's two years' difference and my mother was raising three kids. My daddy [Edward Cherry] was a pretty big farmer, him and another fellow here, Grover Barrow. On the records it would be Charles Edward Cherry, Jr. But they kept buying farms and mother told him, 'Eddie, I'm not going to sign another deed until you get us a house, a house that has a bathroom in it.' So we moved out there in about 1952. I was 8 or 9 years old.”

0:02:00 – at that time, the Bingham and Cherry houses were among the finest new houses in Stewart Co.

0:02:26 – “It was a great place to be raised, ... ride your bike, go down fishing, hunted all back in there. There were several houses there then. Across the street was two ... Mr. George Griggs lived in one and Milford Thompson lived in the other one. I guess I was about 10 or 11 when across the street, the lady, you know back then you had your washers, it was in a basement, it stood on wheels, and the basement had a little water in it, and she plugged that in and it electrocuted her. It was a big deal here. They had services, and the come from, I bet there was over 200 people there. It was real tragic here in town, they were real well liked.”

0:03:31 – father was a livestock and dairy farmer – altogether Mr. Cherry & Mr. Barrow owned and farmed 700-800 acres in the county

0:04:10 – “My dad was a big livestock dealer. My dad in 1940 was curious what they did with the garbage at Fort Campbell. Him and my granddaddy were always traders, livestock, real estate, just about anything – so daddy got the salvage contract at Fort Campbell and for 25 or 30 years, we run two trucks a day over there to get the garbage, and we'd feed about 2,000 head of hogs at a time. [He had] hogs out here, but he and his partner, Grover Barrow, had a big cattle herd. They had a couple hundred head of cattle. Back then they were considered big farmers. They raised 10 or 12 acres of tobacco, which back then was a lot of tobacco, but now you got people raising 100 acres of tobacco, and we put up six to eight thousand bales of hay a year.” –

0:05:22 – also grew corn and soybeans, grown primarily in the river bottoms – “See, then when Cross Creek National Wildlife Refuge bought, they bought half of their farm but Daddy and Grover just come back and leased it, so ... nothing changed. They still grew their crops. Our farming operation out here was just out here where I sold to the Civil War Preservation Trust [off Main Street], 120 acres ... there'd be a thousand head of hogs out there on those hillsides....

They was in pens, we had 6 to 8 pens, all the pens was named. We had the Memphis Pen, the Lexington Pen – if we went to Lexington one time to buy the pigs, we’d name that the Lexington Pen – Crib Pen, Barn Pen, Wolford Pen... Over on the back side of the farm, Daddy added that to it – it was the Wolford Place ... that goes down to Clay Well bottoms, over in there.”

0:06:44 – “My mom taught school. But it was a great place to be raised. I didn’t realize it at the time. I was a freshman or a sophomore at Austin Peay when they [NPS] bought them out. I lived there about 10 years.”

0:07:14 – “My granddaddy [Charles Edward Cherry, Sr.] was a politician, he was county judge from 1950 to 1958. He was a real nice and real respected fellow. He was more low-keyed than Daddy and I, but everybody really respected my granddaddy. But he also traded – see back then, your county judge just got fees, they didn’t make any money – so he also ... traded mules and real estate.”

0:08:01 – “Where we’re sitting now [small business center on Highway 79] was ... the Acree place and my granddaddy owned eight acres here and I remember when he milked the cows down in this bottom here. This was woods here, it was wilderness, and he always owned up there. He was born across the river.... My granddaddy, like everybody, had 7 or brothers and sisters. His mother and daddy died when he was 15. He wasn’t the oldest, but he was, I guess, the most ambitious, the one who knew, well, he took care of the family, took all his brothers and sisters to different places for people to raise them. Then he taught school on a mule, riding all over here, and my grandmother, ... well, he was riding through here to teach school and my grandmother, real pretty lady, she was 10 years younger than my grandfather. He boarded with her mother and daddy and he taught Cherry in school, she used to sit on his lap, he was 20 and she was 10.... Well, he come back in a few years and then when she was 18, they married. She was a Wall, Birdie Wall.”

0:09:52 – “My grandmother owned a beauty shop in town, and they built [and ran] a motel, ... and my grandmother turned to me one day and said, ‘Don, your daddy was born 9 months after I married, but I was not pregnant when I got married!’ But Buddy loved Cherry, she was a pretty lady.”

0:11:20 – gf went blind in his first term and didn’t run for re-election, suffered bad health – blind the last 15 years of his life – very close to his grandparents – “I was the type that followed them all everywhere. Every time they got in the truck, I was in the middle up there.... They were doing something all the time.”

0:12:14 – the Cherrys and Bingham had the two new houses

- Griggs house across the road – “I don’t know who built that house. Mr. George was a carpenter, construction worker, could do a lot of things.
- Milford Thompson worked Civil Service at Fort Campbell
- Two houses by the river owned by COE
- After entering the park, past the Confederate monument, around curve on left side of road were the Byrd and Chance families – Chance was teacher then principal of the H.S. – his father-in-law was a Byrd and they also owned Chance and Byrd garage on the highway taken by highway realignment
- Up holler or ridge was a small lane where the Lancasters were located – he was a farmer

0:14:38 – father & gf owned the farm, but as gf got older and Barrow moved in, they became partners – “Buddy sold Grover his part of all the farms.... When they were younger, they did all the work, but as they got older they hired the work out.” – 2 full time + Don at pig operation and picked up workers when things got busy – the farm had 3-4 workers at all times

0:15:49 – “ I’ve seen the time there’d be 10 Farmall tractors in those river bottoms at one time.”
- Joe Martin Co. sold farm implements and equipment – had a big account there

0:16:26 – the road the houses on is just a trail in the park now – across the road on the right was Robert Williams, who taught agriculture, almost in front of the Bingham house – Beatty Lisby was the head of Cumberland Electric in Dover – Carl Miles lived across the road for 9-10 years – a lane cut by that house and behind it was the Herndon house (blind couple)
- Mr. Cherry walked through the park on old Eddyville Road to come out by the cemetery to go to the Gray School where the Baptist Family Life Center is now located
- at the bottom of the hill across bridge was the Bill Byrd family (not kin to L.J. Byrd)
- Start up a steep hill and Sherman Gentry was about halfway up the hill on the left

0:18:53 – “He had a little frame house, looked pretty rough. He lived there until they bought him out. He just had a small place there. I could never climb that hill on my bike. I’d leave the house and I’d get all the way down there and I’d take a running start at that bridge and I’d get about a third of the way up and that was it! He had a stable there, had a mule out there, I believe he had him a garden there.... He broke up people’s gardens around here like another fellow, Charlie Edwards ... [who] had a pair of mules.” (Charlie Edwards lived in the French’s Battery community on the left of the two pillars).

0:20:15 – Mr. Cherry estimates there are only about 15 African Americans in Dover today, but in the 1950s he estimate the community was about 100 strong – several African Americans worked on the Cherry-Barrow farms, Mr. Cherry played baseball with the kids, but “That’s terrible, but we didn’t go to school with them.”

0:20:46 – the African American school was on Dahlia Street, about 100 feet in on the right – county hired R.J. Hughes (later park employee) who had a monument company to transport the children to Byrd H.S. in Clarksville beginning in 9th grade – that’s why many never finished – it was 30 miles, two-lane, a hard trip at that time – Ruth Mockabee, Mrs. Polly Mockabee’s daughter, just retired from federal government and bought R.J. Hughes’ old house to return to the area – “They didn’t have an opportunity to [advanced education locally] until after the ‘60s.”

0:22:48 – beginning in the 1970s-80s, the African American community went into serious decline as kids got more education, went to college, moved away for jobs – Polly Mockabee kept the Cherrys’ children and their kids grew up together – Ethel May Erwin also worked for the Cherrys – Earl Dudley was also from the community

0:26:14 – “Ethel May was a character.... When I was 14 or 15, back then you had country baseball teams around. Out there where ___ Simmons is was a good baseball diamond. There was a black team here that was real good and they wanted me to play with them” and he did locally, but his parents were afraid to let him travel with them because of other people’s reactions outside of town. “But they let me go and daddy went with us and we played a game over there [in Charlotte] – but they had some good ball players.”

0:27:56 – Big Ed Erwin – he and several other community men got shot in Paris [landing on the Tn. River] – he did concrete work and moonshine and “he was little bit of a bully” – always had money and was a leader or boss – “He went to Paris and was messing with a lady and a guy shot him in the leg and he bled to death behind the steering wheel.”

0:28:52 – “Another time we were going to see the Nashville Vols [baseball team] – my daddy and granddaddy used to carry us up there – and we were going to see them on Sunday, a double header. Well, they woke me up Sunday morning, mother did, and said y’all can’t go to the baseball game. Daddy had to go to Fort Campbell. Boney, who worked for Daddy, had gone to

Paris Saturday night and got killed. Another time ... George Erwin, we had something planned and I woke up and knew something was wrong – I was about 10 or 11, and George had come back from Paris over by where Kirk's is, Eagle Creek, he hit that bridge and that killed him. So that's three of Daddy's workers that got killed." Paris had a lot of clubs and beer taverns."

0:30:10 – out where the nice ballpark was [Natcor], "on Sunday afternoon I've seen about two or three hundred people out there watching a ballgame." – Millers had a team

0:30:25 – Ethel May Erwin had a little beer joint/dance hall across the street from the ballpark, frequented by African Americans and whites – a little house or shack – where Natcor or Wire Assemblies is located now – she worked for Don's mother for several years – "When I was in high school once or twice, we'd slip in there." – bootleg pints and beer – that was the only business he can remember in the African American community – may have been a small store

0:31:47 – Maggie Shemwell had the second television in Stewart County – worked for Chevrolet dealership– Brooklyn Dodgers in their heyday in the early '50s and Jackie Robinson was playing – she charged people in the AA community 25 or 50 cents to come watch the games – her husband Clifton Shemwell worked for the dealership – "There were so many characters. It was so much fun growing up back then. It got so complicated. Nobody had anything. We all worked hard – everybody just trying to get ahead."

0:34:02 – "My mom lived my first 9 years in that house behind the courthouse without any bathroom, raising kids 1, 3, and 5, wood heater.... Father took hogs to Frosty Morn packing house in Clarksville, a huge facility in the 50s-70s – there was a Ford & a Chevrolet dealership in Dover

0:36:13 – "General Grant said when he left, this is a town that will never be any bigger and he was right.... We have nowhere to expand.... We have Cross Creek, Fort Donelson, Fort Campbell. There's just nowhere left to go" – US government is the largest land owner in county

0:37:45 – Natcor formed in middle to late '50s – first plant ever – aluminum storm doors

0:39:50 – Cherry hog farm lost the contract with Fort Campbell in 1969-70 because of hog cholera – government came in and killed 2,000+ head of their hogs – they got paid up to a set amount so it didn't break them, but it was a hard hit – the government had quit vaccinating against cholera prior to that – after that, his father, Barrow and Don still had hogs, about 2,000 at a time, but couldn't make as much money, so Don went into real estate

0:41:53 – "We raised both dark fire and burley tobacco. Dark fire tobacco, you had a barn and built a fire – and you had all these loose floors in Clarksville ... where you carried your tobacco to sell it. Burley tobacco is air cured. That's a lot easier. You would cut it and hang it in a barn, ... but the dark tobacco, you hung it in a barn, smoke it for a while, and people would come in and ... strip it, you had to strip all the leaves off, pile them up and make books – it was a lot of work." Tobacco was taken to Clarksville loose floors and auctioned off – there were 4-5 loose floors at the time, but now there are none because tobacco is now bought in the field – still a lot of tobacco grown in the county, but the government pays many not to grow – today tobacco growth is pretty much concentrated among the larger farms, 75-100 acres, cut by Mexican workers

0:46:15 – Mr. Cherry doesn't remember anyone in the AA community who had his own farm – Clifton Shemwell cut hair, but in his house, not a shop – many worked as farm help in the area – many raised a big garden and had small animals, but didn't have much acreage – Joe Milan lost his leg in WW II, lived across from BC, always had a good car, had a pension from his war service – government took much of their property in the AA community, so those who had farms in the 20s and 30s didn't have the land base after that

0:51:12 – Ethel May Erwin’s sons were called Son and Rabbit – both went to Indianapolis – Garner’s son works for TVA in another town – Jim Skinner had 15 or 20 acres before the park bought it

0:53:21 – no African American funeral home in Dover – closest one is in Clarksville, Hooker Funeral Home – still use the cemetery in town – Mr. Cherry doesn’t know of any benevolent associations or Masons, Odd Fellows, etc.

0:55:35 – a lot of retired military are settling here, so “it’s getting to where you don’t know anybody.” – but there are still several core families in Dover

0:57:00 – “My daddy owned a grocery store in Dover, and Saturday night’s the only time you had to come to town. On Saturday nights in Dover back in the ‘50s, you’d have 3 or 4 hundred walking the streets. It’d look like a flea market. The barber shop stayed open until 1 o’clock in the morning. You had two bars, two restaurants, and everybody would come to Dover because that’s the only time they had to come to Dover was Saturday night. And that ended, I guess, in the ‘60s.” [Mitchell Earhart interjected: “That’s when they moved the courthouse. The courthouse used to be right in the center of town.”] – torn down when they realigned the highway

1:00:40 - “[Grandfather] was a self-made man. Back then everyone was.”

1:01:58 - Mother’s family had farm where Kentucky Lake is now, but the government made them move out.

15 January 2013 – Fort Donelson National Battlefield

Mitchell Earhart recorded on tour of FODO park property [parents Marshall and Gustie Earhart owned property acquired by NPS ca. 1960; Mr. Earhart will be a 30-year park employee in October 2013]

Present: Mitchell Earhart, Dayna Bowker Lee, Donna Greer

0:00:00 – discussion of development of FODO, from cemetery to national park

0:02:53 – until about 1962, much of the present park was still private land

0:03:07 – discussion of trees on landscape; many birch and oak varieties

0:04:05 – discussion and tour of earthworks and original park property

0:05:28 – begin discussion of acquired after 1960 proceeding from present Visitor's Center past Confederate Monument

- Road was originally gravel
- Noah Miller house was “a shack” – adjacent property acquired by Friends of National Park Fdn. to be turned over to NPS
- Discussion of land acquired by CW Trust

0:05:50-0:07:28 – [electronic interference obscures discussion]

0:08:46 – Earhart property – “At the time I lived here in the ‘60s, Highway 79 ran right [through] here....”

0:10:30 – property was in the same families for generations: “About 1960 ... Merle Chance raised a family right here.... He was a science teacher at the high school and later became principal at the high school. [Points to the driveway] His house faced the road.... The reason he got here, ... he married a lady by the name of ... Virginia Byrd. There were a lot of Byrds right here. So, Virginia Bird right here, Merle Chance married her. You can tell by the flowers that it was a home place. Now, the Byrds had a beautiful place [points out next driveway] down through here. Mr. & Mrs. Byrd – you'll see more flowers right up here on top of this hill.... Mrs. Byrd married [from] a family called Lancasters. They had a house right here. You can see their buttercups and everything. They lived right here. Mrs. Byrd was a Lancaster. She didn't go too far away. The Lancasters had a big farm house – they were big time farmers [corn, tobacco]. You can still see their ponds. I never saw this house –I barely remember the Byrd house, but the Chance house I remember real well because they had kids my age. But this was the Lancaster farm and we still today call this Lancaster field. The Lancasters and Byrds were gone before the '60s, but the Chances moved out in the '60s [when the Earharts did]. So this was basically one family out of these three places of residence.... As far as I know, the Lancasters started it. One of the Lancaster girls married a Byrd, then they had a daughter that married a Chance.... A lot of hog raising, pig farming, corn and tobacco growing, things like that.”

0:17:21 – [Gentrys] – “Sherman was probably 100 years old when he died and he died about 10 years ago.”

0:17:28 – “Right here was the Stone house. I never knew the Stones. I remember them being there and I remember the house was there but I never got to know them.... He might have had something to do with the lock and dam.

0:18:05 [Sherman Gentry] – “He had stables, mules – he never owned a car in his life. He always rode mules.”

0:18:32 – “Two of the nicest houses in Stewart County in the ‘60s were right here. The first one was Tommy Bingham. He worked for the Lock & Dam. They had a real nice house right here on this side of the tree. Mary Emma and Eddie Cherry had a house right here behind this big tree. She was the 8th grade teacher ... and he did a little of everything – buying and selling, stuff like that. This road here is part of Eddyville Road ... that comes out at the National Cemetery. [part of the road was flooded by the creation of Barkley Lake]. There were several houses on this road between here and there. The first one that I know of was Robert Williams. He was a high school teacher also.... There was a blind couple by the name of Cherry lived a little bit further down on the road.... There was a family who lived right here named Briggs.... In 1960 or ‘61, the lady had a wringer washing machine on her front porch and she plugged it in and electrocuted herself. She had a six-month-old baby. [Don Cherry] said that everyone in the county came and tried to help them.”

0:23:46 – “The last house here ... was Melford Thomas, raised a family right there. Him and his wife and daughter. This is the fort proper ... it was an earthen fort....

0:26:08 – “This is the sad thing about it - my grandmother and grandfather ... these river bottoms, the majority of them, and farmed it.... The COE bought them out in the late ‘50s and made them move [other side of the river – points out his cousin’s land and his place].

0:27:00 – discussion about river size and placement of locks affecting size – not as wide during CW – earthworks and batteries – eagle’s nest - COE property – dam created to control flooding

0:37:00 – [speaking about grandparent’s property and flooding] “Where my grandmother and grandfather lived, my grandfather talked about going to sleep at night and his arm falling off the side of the bed and wake up and his hand would be in the water. The COE forced them out. Then they moved up on the highway going toward Clarksville, and the road came along in about 10 or 15 years and they made them move again. They were relocated [involuntarily] three times in their lives. TVA in 1960, John F. Kennedy flew over the area, and established the Land Between the Lakes, 176,000 acres, and they moved whole towns out. There are still families there that hate the federal government, because they had hundreds of acres, were born there, and the older you get, the generations forget; but when I was growing up in the ‘60s and ‘70s there were people who would have shot at a federal official if they came around – because they lived there all their lives and planned to die there.”

0:39:20 – Cherrys and Williams raised pigs - “Everyone in the ‘50s and ‘60s raised pigs” [not free range]

0:42:30 – on highway pointing out parts of park – Graves battery

0:48:45 – Sherman Gentry’s property – “You can see all kinds of flowers and foundations. House right here, front porch all the way down it. All I ever knew him to do was farm. He never owned a car. He had a team of mules, loved mules, road a mule,. All this rock, he put in here. [plant called] “devil’s needle and thread or something like that. Here’s that road going through here [old Eddyville Rd.]. This is a real pretty area. If I could own any piece of the park, this would be the part. He had his stables back here, and I remember him well as a kid because we didn’t move out until the ‘60s. Sherman was just an interesting guy.... His [property] was one of the first ones that they bought [in the 1960s].

0:52:00 – What I've been told is ... they brought him his check, but he didn't want to sell his property, and he realized that somebody told him 'You've got to move or they're gonna move you.' So he bought another place and moved, but he never cashed that check. He wore it out. He kept it in his billfold. And so the Superintendent finally came and talked to him and said, "What did you do with that check. You never deposited it, you never cashed it." He said, "Well, I've still got it here because I'm not selling my place." And they said the check was all wore out, it'd been in his billfold for a couple of years.... And so they wrote him another check, and I don't know if it ever got deposited or cashed, but I always heard it didn't.... I just remember an old wooden house, shack, that had a front porch all the way down.... It's a Boy Scout camp now. The only people who can camp here are Boy Scouts. We have a lot of Boy Scouts that come through.

0:55:04 – There was another African American family up here, ... Don's the one who told me about her and another girl told me she remembered them because she stayed with them a bunch because her mother and father worked back then...

0:55:31 – [Nolin] grew up right here. He worked 20 years for the Park Service, him and his brother. They had a fish market right here, Nolin's His daddy was a commercial fisherman, he was a diver with the COE....

0:57:14 – There was a truck stop right under that tree called Triangle Café. You could buy beer and stuff like that back in the '50s. It was real busy. Nolin's fish market was right here, he raised a family and sold fish....

1:02:46 – This is the Scarbrough's residence. They had a farm.... They were original land owners [in Dover/Stewart Co.].... His foundation, his family, he was a child, and this man in 1987 was probably 80-something years old then.... They had barns and stables and the river's right back there....

1:20:35 – [Mrs. Rebecca Skinner and husband are the only African Americans to attend the Christian Church in Dover]. Her church [AME] went out of business, they closed up shop, so she started going to our church.... There is still a small congregation [of African Americans] meeting at another [Baptist] church. There's two black churches in the county and one of them has gone down ... because the guy who took care of everything died. He worked at the park, R.J. Hughes. There's a lot of people who worked for the park because their property got bought by the park, like me ... the Nolins, their property and their fish house, him and his brother both worked for the park. So it's kind of like you got bought out and ... they give you a job.

1:42:50 – [driving in the African American community] There was the Mockabees right here, they had a really nice house ... James [Mockabee], he went to work for the park service.... They moved out probably '65 or something like that. There was this church here and there were 2 or 3 more houses up here that the park bought out, and this church [Baptist] is still in operation. They have Sunday services, and they have headstones from the national cemetery lining their walkway.... One of the guys that helped build this church [maintain?] worked over at the national cemetery, the name I don't know; don't know if he was one of the gravediggers or he moved stuff... but this church here is still active. I think there's about 5 or 6 people who go to church here. They have a preacher that comes out of Paris, I think.

1:46:00 – [Skinner property discussion] There was a Jim Skinner who just died, I worked with him at the grocery store, he lived to be about 100 [house across from the AME church].... St. Paul Methodist church, built 1944.

1:48:29 – [NPS just acquired 600 more acres]

1:48:30 – Don Cherry's daddy [pig farm – had a contract to pick up garbage from Fort Campbell to feed his pigs]

1:51:00 – There's a lot of people here, black and white, who don't want to talk to outsiders.

1:51:30 – R.J. Hughes worked at the park for a long time; he was caretaker of that church, elder, deacon and all that.

1:54:32 – The first African American to graduate from high school [after integration] graduated ... in 1968.... They had to go to Clarksville before that.

22 January 2013 – Fort Donelson National Battlefield

Polly Garner Mockabee recorded at the Manor House Nursing Home in Dover, TN. [maternal grandparents, James M. and Emma Skinner, and father-in-law, Hugh Mockabee owned property acquired by NPS 1930]

Present: Polly Garner Mockabee, Judy and Don Cherry, Dayna Lee, Donna Greer

0:00:20 – Polly’s husband was Hal Mockabee, whose father was Hugh Mockabee, and his mother’s was Mary, who was a Wynn before she married Hugh. Polly’s maiden name was Garner. Don Cherry confirmed with Polly that she and O’Neal Garner siblings, and that O’Neal lived across from the St. Paul United Methodist church.

0:01:14 – Polly and her family attended East Oak Grove Baptist Church, and was asked how long had it been there, “oh, a long time.” Polly replied, “We changed up, it wasn’t that many people” when asked about the community attendance of the East Oak Grove and St. Paul United Methodist

0:01:44 – Dayna Lee asked Polly how many people/families were in the African American community-Polly’s response is [illegible], Don Cherry replied there were several of them when he was growing up

0:01:52 – Polly is 83 years old; her birthday is December 2, 1929. Don and Judy Cherry related that they gave Polly a party on her 80th birthday at a local bank’s community/family room. Polly’s children and grandchildren came for the celebration

0:02:31 – Polly went to the African American school on Dahlia Street, ca.1936 which is now the residence of Samuel Wilson; she stated she did not go to the school reported at Knob Hill [per Mr. Percy Williams]

0:03:31 – Polly stated that they did not have hogs because they “lived in the city.” Judy Cherry asked if they had a garden and Polly’s response is illegible.

0:03:41 – Polly lived by the Baptist church [on present-day Main Street, across from the old feed store] with her husband and children. She lived as girl “on the same street, but back”

0:05:00 – Polly’s mother was Helen Skinner before she married, and her brother was Jim Skinner. Don Cherry related that Jim had several children and he worked at Dill’s store for a while.

0:05:59 – Polly responded when asked who her father was, “well, you see, my mother, she had me, and she was a good mother to me, she really was, I don’t care what y’all heard about me or her, even, but she was good to me”

0:06:30 – When asked what were some of her favorite memories from childhood, Polly replied “everything.” Polly’s Uncle Jim Skinner had a garden

0:06:50 – Dayna Lee asked Polly if she could identify any of the children in a photo taken in front of the African American school ca. 1936 [see report]. She identified her teacher in the photo as Professor Clifton Long, and herself by the hair plaits she always wore “they all gone but me.” Polly stated that the school went to the 8th grade and had all the grades in the one school. Professor Long lived in Hopkinsville, and drove to school everyday. Polly thinks she was in the second grade when the picture was taken.

0:09:44 – Polly knew Sherman Gentry, and agreed that the stories told about him being a character were true. She knew he sold ice but didn't know where.

0:10:32 – Dayna Lee presented a picture of Mr. Sherman that was located at the Historical Society...Polly commented that Sherman “would come to the feed store, I'd get my knives and he would sharpen them for me.” Don Cherry commented that Sherman would “break up peoples gardens”-also made comment about Charlie Edward dressing up on Sundays with his big white hat and suit.

0:11:17 – When asked if she had brothers and sisters, Polly stated she was the only one living, but did have two brothers James and Booker T. Garner, who “married and moved away”

0:12:17 – “I've got two girls and one boy”- her daughter Mary works at the nursing home, and daughter Ruth lives in Washington D. C. Ruth retired and might move back to Dover...Don Cherry related that Ruth and her husband bought the brick home of R. J. Hughes, across from an [illegible] Assembly church. R.J. Hughes used to take the kids back and forth to Clarksville to school. Polly's son, Jean, is “a boilermaker or something” with TVA in Gatlin.

0:13:55 – Judy Cherry states that Polly's children and her children have always been good friends, just like family...Polly raised the Cherry's children.

0:14:30 – Polly was asked if she remembered as a child if anyone in the community grew crops, tobacco, corn...Don Cherry interjected that he didn't remember anyone when he was young with any acreage at all [this was about twelve years after Polly was a girl]

0:15:06 – Polly was only an infant when the NPS bought the property in the community in 1930, but she remembered some of the houses no longer there that Dayna asked her to identify and the location of the homesites of L. C. Dudley and Big E (Charlie) Edward home places were to the left of the park's gate entrance [time was spent locating photos on computer]

0: 16:33 – Don Cherry related that he used to play baseball with L. C. Dudley, who was called “Red”

0:18:22 – Polly identified Hugh Mockabee house site across from the Baptist church, and Charlie Edward house left of the gates, and also identified L. C. Dudley's house in the same area

0:19:50 – Photos show where there were clear fields with some crops instead of the trees that are there today

0:20: 00 – Polly agreed with Don Cherry when he stated that a lot of the people in the community had a garden, sometimes a cow, on an acre or two acres. Polly stated her folks did not have a cow

0:20:28 – Don Cherry mentions that Ross Wilson had a cow and some animals

0:20:35 – Discussion of the reason for the project, an Ethnographic Overview to provide NPS some ideas on how to expand the interpretative programs to include community history and land use of the properties that have been purchased since 1930; a recommendation for copies of the report to be given to the Stewart County Library and the Historical Society.

0:22:09 – Polly did not remember exactly when people stopped going to the Methodist church

0:22:27 – Baptist minister, Brother Tyler, does lives in Clarksville and travels to Dover on Sunday; Polly doesn't remember the name of the Methodist minister

0:23:17 – Polly was asked about someone called Preacher, Leslie Mockabee (Hal’s brother), Polly stated he was a member of the Baptist church and wasn’t called Preacher. Allie Hugh Mockabee (another brother of Hal) was the one they called Preacher, and belonged to the Methodist church; he was not a preacher but “he said what he meant”

0:25:02 – Don Cherry asks about Bessie Sewell who lived next to Carl’s Feed Store where the junction of Main and Natcor Road [water tower is there now]-remembers Bessie’s son who drowned

0:26:20 – Don Cherry stated that Carl Wallace’s Feed Store had been closed for 20 years-remembers that Carl had moved from some other place in Stewart County to Main St. and sold feed to ‘weekend farmers’, who had jobs and farmed 15-20 acres on the weekend; after Carl died his son David took over the store but closed soon after. Polly stated that David and his wife visits her sometimes

0:27:41 – Polly’s daughter, Mary, works at the Manor House, but she was off today

0:28:23 – Polly’s name is Gladys Pauline or Polly but people call her ‘Sugar’-her grandchildren started calling her ‘Sugar’ and other people began using it

0:28:38 – Polly does not remember when they closed the school on Dahlia Street; Don Cherry estimated that it closed in the 1960s after integration; R. J. Hughes carried the [African American] children to Clarksville after they got out of the 8th grade to Byrd High School

0:29:35 – Polly attended Byrd High School after she graduated 8th grade at Dover, and had to ride the Greyhound bus, round trip from Dover to Clarksville. Each family had to buy the tickets for the children to ride; the county did not buy them. There were four or five other children who went to Byrd with Polly. The bus line went through Dover until the late 1950s- Polly stated that they bought their tickets at Jim Weeks’ Garage/ Chevrolet dealership was the location of the bus stop

0:31:32 – Don Cherry asked about Colleen Hughes, R. J. Hughes wife’s maiden name which was Thomas, she was Roy and Terese Thomas’ daughter; R. J. Hughes was well thought of [per Don Cherry], he worked at Fort Donelson, and he helped people who need it. R. J. and Colleen adopted the two sons of the brother of R. J., Bobby Hughes

0:33:54 – Don Cherry asked Polly about Maggie Shemwell, saying she was a character, and Polly agreed-Maggie had the second or third television in Dover, and charged community members money to watch, for example when the Brooklyn Dodgers were in the World Series, there were 15-20 people at her house looking through the windows; she charged quarter, half a dollar to watch the World Series; Maggie worked for the Chevrolet dealership, Jim Weeks

0:34:52 – Don Cherry discussed Ethel May Ervin as a character-Ethel May used to stay with Don and his siblings when they were children; remembers Ethel May’s little bar/dancehall-Ethel May let Don in when he was a teenager because she used to keep him when he was 1, 2, and 4-years-old. Both of Ethel May’s sons, Sonny and Rabbit went to Indianapolis

0:39:00 – Don Cherry discusses ball park in the field where the Nashville Wire factory is today; there used to be at least 200 people on a Sunday that would come watch ball games; drinks and candy were sold as concessions; Don Cherry used to play with the African American team, which had some good ball players. There was not anything else to do on Sunday afternoons after church but play ball. Polly did state that she went to the games, and remembers the concessions

[Several minutes were taken for Polly to sign consent form. Dayna told Polly she would send her a copy of the school picture]

0:45:00 – Polly talks about a little store by the African American school that was operated by Joe & Polly (Buford) Williams. They lived close to Polly on Main St. and Don Cherry remembers Joe as a good sawyer during the week but he would get drunk on the weekends, get in fights and end up in jail

0:47:05 – Black hairdressers came from Clarksville to fix the women's hair

0:47:48 – Polly was baptized in Lick Creek, about 100 ft from the Lick Creek bridge, which is filled in now [according to Don Cherry]

25 April 2013 – Fort Donelson National Battlefield

Mrs. Mary Mockabee Newsom recorded at her home in Dover, TN. [maternal and paternal grandparents owned property acquired by NPS 1930]

Present: Mary Mockabee Newsom, Donna Greer

0:00:00 – Mary is 63 years old [born 1950], the daughter Polly Garner Mockabee and the oldest of three living children: Sister Ruth lives in Washington D. C., Brother lives in Gallatin, a third child died in childhood.

0:00:33 – Father was Hal ‘Skeet’ Mockabee, worked at Jim Weeks’ garage in Dover

0:01:00 – Paternal grandfather was Hugh ‘Hughie’ Mockabee; his first wife was Mary but was deceased when granddaughter Mary was “coming up”. Hugh and Mary had 13 or more children.

0:02:05 – Hugh “used to live in that big white house right up here, right up top, its not there now, its across the street from the church” [East Oak Grove Baptist]

0:02:23 – “he used to own that land, and my mother [Polly Mockabee] would tell me that he gave the community the land to build the church [Baptist]”

0:02:48 – “I remember going across the street and getting some chicken eggs, gathering up eggs”

0:03:09 – Mary was in grade school and 12 years old when Hugh died; while he was alive “we used to play up there all the time, eating apples off the tree up there”

0:03:45 – Hugh’s property was along the little road that runs in front of the Baptist church and with the house in the triangle between the Baptist and St Paul United Methodist churches, just as you enter the park on Cedar Street]; remnants of the homesite are the concrete steps.

0:05:08 – Hugh worked for Ft. Donelson National Park- “I don’t know if he dug graves or what, I don’t remember that part.”

0:05:23 – Hugh had quite a bit of property- “I don’t remember no hogs or anything, just chickens.”

0:05:36 – Mary doesn’t remember grandfather growing tobacco; she remembers that Hugh had a garden- “I remember he would get mad at us when we played, he didn’t want us stepping on the stuff,” [what kind of stuff did he grow] “tomato, onion, cabbage, greens, corn,

0:05:56 – Hugh’s second wife, Norissa Williams, canned vegetables; she was from Woodlawn, Tennessee and a retired school teacher

0:06:53 – Mary used to live with maternal grandmother Helen Skinner Garner, “she was a real nice lady, a hard working lady”; she lived between Aunt Bertie and Earl Jr [Dudley].

0:07:56 – Helen’s sister, Arzetta Edward lived next door to her

0:08:18 – Mary lived with her grandmother-good, hardworking woman; worked for the Milligan family who ran the funeral home [same place as present-day Anglin’s Funeral Home]- “she’d go clean house for them, cook, and raise a son that they had, Carl Milligan”

0:09:05 – Mary thought most people had gardens in the community, and that “Earl Jr. [Dudley] had the biggest one in Stewart County, I think”

0:09:22 – Mary remembers her daddy [Hal Mockabee] “one hog in the back somewhere, he had a smoke house.” This was at grandmother Helen Skinner Garners’s where “they lived for a while”

0:10:05 – Mary remembers her grandmother Helen and the other adults walking to work in Dover, “there was no transportation back then. I don’t know how they made it up [walking] that steep hill every morning, but they did”

0:10:12 – Some community members had wagons. Uncle Charlie Edward, aunt Arzetta’s husband, had a wagon that “they’d catch a ride like a cab, I remember because those mules were Bob and Kate”

0:10:38 – Mary remembers Mr. Sherman Gentry as having mules and a wagon but to her he seemed like a loner type

0:11:05 – Mary and her sister Ruth would “go back into the woods on the park, and hike, and didn’t get back until dark”

0:11:26 – Charley had the only wagon that was the closest, and he would be going to town, and stop to pick anyone up who needed a ride

0:12:00 Mary stated that “there used to be a lot of blacks who lived here, but when they got older, popped up and left, a lot of them died”

0:12:15 –Baseball games were a favorite recreation activity. Black teams for the neighboring towns would play each in the various communities. Black and white teams also played each other

0:12:45 – Some of the players on the Dover black team in the 1950s & 1960s (during Mary’s childhood included, Big Ed Ervin, Hal Mockabee (Mary’s father), James Mockabee (Hal’s Mockabee), Ross & Paul Wilson

0:14:00 – “You know we had our own generation when I was coming up, because we didn’t play at that park where they played [present-day Nashville Wire factory], we played up here, close to home” This refers to park property, in the vicinity of the entrance at Cedar Street.

0:14:48 – Mary attended same one-room school as her mother, Polly, that has remain at the same location on Dahlia Street. It is now the private residence of Samuel Wilson.

0:15:26 – Professor Clifton Long was Mary’s teacher, and was the same teacher that taught Mary’s mother Polly Mockabee. School only went to the 8th grade and after Mary graduated 8th grade in 1964, she went to Byrd High School in Clarksville

0:16:11 – “R. J. Hughes, Collen’s husband, had a job at [illegible] and Wynn, and I think the county gave him some money, paid him to take what few that what was going...we’d hitch a ride.” Mary did not have to take the Greyhound Bus as her mother, Polly.

0:16:43 “I was the first one to get transferred when they integrated, and stuff. It was here, I finished out three year hear [Dover High School].” Her cousin, Glenda Mockabee, was a year older and was the first to graduate Dover.

0:18:25 – “It [integration] was good, it was good, it was good”... “It was hard and scary, I’m not going to sit here and tell you that it wasn’t.” Responding to question as to was Mary glad to integrate because she wouldn’t have to go to Clarksville, “Seems like we didn’t have a choice, seem like, I can’t explain it, but it was a scary thing”

0:19:55 – “Mr. Reagan was the principle, and Mr. John Waylan was assistant principle, and they tried to make it [integration] good, they did, and I remember Coach Craig, he was the coach, and when he said sit down, you sit down.”

0:20:20 – The other black students at Dover with Mary were “me, Glenda, and my sister [Ruth] was behind me, and there was Charles Wilson, and Charlie Edward. We were all put in that same grade”

0:21:00 – Mary and her family “they lived Helen Garner [Polly’s mother] for a little while, then moved to a smaller white house right here, in this area [147 Main St., across from the old feed store], ” ...” and I just stayed with my grandmother, she was by herself, so I stayed there, just lived there”

0:21:56 – Free State settlement was not discussed in the community-“back then it was a hush-hush thing, because whatever issues my grandmother had when she was coming up, she wouldn’t [talk about it], and my aunt, she was the same way.” Slavery was not discussed

0:23:25 – Mary was asked how she would like to see Ft. Donelson interpret the African American community but she did not have any suggestions, just commented, “that’s a good question”

0:25:26 – White-black relationship while Mary was growing up- “I know everybody stayed to themselves, you know,” “I don’t think it was like it is now, you can go into the store, or stand in line, you know, whatever line you’re in, just pay for your stuff and go on.” Regarding white people’s attitudes, “you had some good people, and you had some bad people. There’s a lot of them that have gone on, and now we’re dealing with newer people, I couldn’t tell you who they are”

0:27:00 – Mary’s mother Polly, worked for several white families in Dover. She raised Judy and Don Cherry’s children, and their children. She worked for Doc Lee, Doc Lee’s daddy and mama, “mother was all over the place working.” Mary’s dad [Hal] worked at Jim Weeks’ garage [Mary looked and found a picture of her dad that was in the newspaper a long time ago in ‘Do you remember?’

0:29:26 – Dill’s grocery store was where people bought groceries

0:29:36 – Grandfather Hugh’s “smoke house with the ham, you couldn’t get into it until Christmas, and sausage”

0:29:52 – Community hog killing- “I remember a big old pot, the iron thing,” they would do it “out back, at my grandfather’s house [Hugh’s], and then sometimes they would have it at my grandmother’s house, or where ever” and people would come and help, mostly it was one hog they slaughtered and it would be shared throughout the community.

0:30:35 – “I remember my grandmother, on Saturdays, she would make apple pies and stuff for Sunday dinner, and the desert, for some reason or another, she would slice it for us, you know, but we couldn’t go back for seconds with that desert until the next day, I guess she was trying to save it or spread it out”

0:31:17 – Ethel Mae Ervin’s restaurant/cafe was across from the Nashville Wire

0:31:45 – Winona Ervin, “Uncle Jim Skinner’s daughter” lived in the white house above Mary Newsom [147 Main St.]

0:32:03 – Ethel May’s restaurant, the good food, and the jukebox, “juke joint,” Mary and her sister wasn’t allowed in to dance so they fixed up a record player and made their own dance hall, “me and my sister, we didn’t have no boyfriends at that time, so what we did, when we got home from school, you know, American Bandstand, what we did, she grabbed a mop, I grabbed a broom, put a hat on it, that’s how we learned how to dance, with the mop and the broom, pretending they were our boyfriend, dancing”

0:34:00 – Ethel May’s house and restaurant were separate buildings; she made her own barbeque

0:34:52 – “Colleen Hughes’ daddy [Roy Thomas] had one [juke joint] “seems like close to the side of Ethel Mays, maybe a little further down”

0:36:15 – “Miss Terese [Thomas], she used to iron clothes for people”

0:36:35 - Jim and Lovie Skinner, they were my aunt and uncle, on my grandmother’s [Helen Garner] side, she was a Skinner, her and Aunt Arzetta and Uncle Jim were brother and sisters”- Jim and Lovie lived across from M. E. church in the white house recently purchased by the park; Lovie did housework for white family who owned a restaurant in Dover; Jim “worked at Dill’s, he was a meat cutter”, and a deacon for M. E. church

0:38:11 – Church congregation- “we supported each other, one Sunday be ours [East Oak Grove Baptist], and next Sunday be theirs [St. Paul’s United Methodist” - Methodist church needs repairs, “some one broke in and done a lot of damage to the Methodist church, and our church is still going, but there’s not that many people like it use to be, because the older people, they knew how to do it, the younger people try to do it, but they don’t know how to do it, because I’m one that don’t know how to keep a church going”

0:39: 33 – Creek Baptisms in Lick Creek-“ me and my sister [Ruth], Irene Lavester, Charlie Edward, quite a bit that Sunday, and back then you wore a white sheet, and I remember Rev. O’Neal and Uncle Jim Skinner helped dunk us, and Clifton Shemwell helped get us dunk. My children got baptized like that too”...’there was a ceremony”

0:41:32 – “ I remember when I got a little bit older, I remember mother used to call, knock on Ms. Lee’s door, Dr. Lee’s (white physician) mother,”...Miss Lee would tell us to come on in, and they’d give us a shot, and when I was a little bitty girl I remember when my sister got sick with pneumonia, or something, my baby sister, my third sister [this was the third child of Polly Mockabee] I remember these old womens, and kinda care for her, they were like mid-wives, but she didn’t make it. I remember that, but that’s all I remember”

0:43:00 – Mary remembered one of the women being “Aunt Bertie Neeley’s mother, seems like there was two or three of them, but I can’t remember, I mean there were some big mamas back then”...Mary didn’t know what they all did, just that “when someone was sick and something, they did what they could, bring food or sit with them, stuff like that, and I remember when some body died, I remember they fixed this room up with the lantern, the kerosene lamp, and they’d bring that body into that room with the casket”

0:44:27 – “I was born in Franklin, Kentucky, my daddy drove mother from here to Franklin, Kentucky, ‘cause his sister lived in Franklin, KY, and she worked for Dr. Moore, seems like he

was a baby doctor, so me and my sister was born in Franklin KY, and the other two was born in Paris hospital”

0:45:25 – Mary’s dad had “one of those big long cars.” Some of the community members had cars, some didn’t “because a lot of them stayed the old way, you know, with the mules, like Uncle Charlie, he stayed like that for a long time until they told him he couldn’t [drive it on the road], and Earl Jr. Dudley, he didn’t have [illegible], what he did, it was great, he’d have a rebel flag on the back, a big ole rebel flag, and he’d go to town, riding the lawnmower with the wagon in the back, and his groceries in the back.

0:46:50 – Mary doesn’t think Uncle Charlie plowed other people gardens with his mules, like Sherman Gentry, but only his own garden

0:47:05 – Mary agreed to ride around the community.

0:47:30 – Leslie Mockabee used to live in the white house next to Mary, but he sold to it to [illegible] Wallace, who works in Clarksville.

0:48:18 – Mary points out the house, now deserted, at the junction of the little road that runs in front of the Baptist church and Main St. as Ollie and James Mockabee’s house where she used to go play

0:48:35 – Mary points out the steps that remain of her grandfather’s house, Hugh Mockabee, [see report], and the location of where the chicken coop used to be. Mary remembers “gathering up those stinky eggs”

0:48:58 – Mary points out the East Oak Grove Baptist church directly across from Hugh’s house site- “that’s a two hundred and something years old building, the oldest church in Dover,” however, when asked when it was built, she replied, “back when my mother was a little girl [Polly Mockabee was a child in the 1930s and 1940s]”...”this church right here is old, ‘cause I remember me growing up in it when I was itsy bitsy”

0:49:34 – Mary points out Hugh’s garden plot the side of the house, near to Fort Donelson entry gate

0:49:45 – Mary identified several sites where people used to live along the right side of the road between the Baptist church and Mrs. Rebecca Skinner’s house- “and my daddy’s brother, half brother, Ernest Mockabee, used to live there. Miss [illegible] used to live there, and Miss Lee [not the physician Lee family] used to live up here”- Mary’s Aunt Bertie’s [Neeley] house was just past Rebecca Skinners house- “Earl Dudley Jr., the one with the tractor, used to live there, and my grandmother [Helen Skinner Garner] used to live next, in the middle house, and Arzetta Edward [Charlie’s wife] used to live on the side of them” [Dudley, Helen, and Arzetta all lived between the park’s entrance and Rebecca Skinner’s house, on the left side of Cedar Street]

0:50:58 – “and Ms. Terese Thomas used to live back in there [property between the gate entrance and Natcor Road], and that’s where I used to play ball, up in here, used to go all back up in there, used to have a little round turn table, a little round circle thing, but they closed it off, see you can’t go back up in there” [this location is at the iron gate that closes off park property to the left of the gate entrance]

0:51:13 – Mary identified this as the place where her generation played baseball, and the place with the round circle thing where “there used to be a little road go that way, and back a little turn, but see its not there anymore, we used to back up in there hiking, and stuff like that, but its not there anymore”

0:52:20 – Mary did not know Ovy Ervin, one of the 1930 property owners, and stated the Ervin family lived on down by Earline Lavester.

0:52:34 – Mary identified the white house across from the Methodist church as Jim and Lovie Skinner's house

0:52:43 – Mary identified Ethel May Ervin's homesite where she had her home and restaurant/dancehall as across from the Nashville Wire factory

0:53:10 – Mary identified the site of the Nashville Wire factory as the former site of where her parents' generation played baseball

0:54:18 – Mary identified the schoolhouse on Dahlia Street as the same location it was at when she attended, but the present-day houses in the area were not there during that time- 'everything's different now' – "it [school] was white, 'cause I remember, we used to have to clean it up, the school and whatever, keep the place cleaned up and stuff, there was no houses out here then"

0:55:08 – Mary identified the land at the junction of Dahlia and Natcor as having a fence and "those people farmed a little bit, but I remember a little grocery store where you used to go in and get baloney and crackers and cookies for our lunch." Mary did not know who ran the store.

0:55:34 – Mary responded when asked what kind of food did her grandparents fix "I remember dad use to go hunting, and [illegible] squirrel and rabbit"

0:56:00 – Mary again pointed out Ethel May's homesite and stated that they tore the house and restaurant down when the factory bought it for a parking area

0:57:18 – When passing the Methodist church, Mary stated "my step-grandmother [Narcissa Mockabee], I remember her practicing on Saturday mornings, banging on that dog gone piano"

0:57:33 – Mary resumes discussing the food she ate as a child "we had hog liver, squirrel, chicken"-Mary was asked if they had hogshead-" I remember them making souse meat, homemade souse meat"- Cooking on wood stove- Mary remembers her aunt Arzetta cooking on her wood stove after modern gas stoves were available

0:58:10 – End of interview

16 January 2013 – Fort Donelson National Battlefield

Noel Nolin and Marvin Nolin, recorded at Noel Nolin's home [Noel Nolin owned a fish market and family home in the Triangle area at Church and Cedar Streets purchased for the park ca. 1962]

Present: Noel Nolin, Marvin Nolin, Dayna Bowker Lee, Donna Greer, Mitchell Earhart [Noel Nolin was 100 years old when this recording was made and is very hard of hearing. Marvin Nolin is his son and a former employee of Fort Donelson.]

0:00:00 – discussion about fish – Virginia Crutcher Nolin, Mr. Noel's wife, was considered the best local netmaker and was also known for her squirrel gumbo – Mr. Nolin's father was Lewis Nolin from Fox Hollow

0:00:32 – explanation of ethnographic project

0:01:30 – fished for “any kind of fish—buffalo, cat, drum.... I peddled ‘em ... [throughout local Tn & Ky] ... [in] a T-model.” His father Lewis Nolin and Barney Cook often went with him. “I had an old T-model.” Nolins lived in Fox Hollow, now within Land Between the Lakes National Recreation Area

0:02:40 – MN: “You're looking at the generation before him from Neville's Bay¹ all the way to the Information Stand [in LBTL], the Nolins owned it.” Hundreds of acres of land – farmed in the bottom lands, but also owned a lot of hill land.

0:03:13 – used seines and barrel nets (for catfish)

- MN: also used traps – Marvin still uses traps today
- Also used techniques of telephoning [using a crank phone mechanism to shock and stun the fish] and dynamiting
- NN: “I fished with ‘em, but it wasn't legal ... that's in the past!”
- Fished from a hand boat and a gasoline boat
- He built his own wooden boats – gasoline boat he purchased already built
- MM: boats he built were square-bowed [john boat type] and had a motor
- Fished over an extent of about 4-5 miles up and downriver (Cumberland River) – Tobacco Ford, Linden

0:04:47 - Had a Clark engine on one boat and used a Model T engine on another

MM: “He's fished everything that was fishable.... At that time, he peddled fish, but later on in life, when I was a small child, we lived in front of the park up there. We lived in that house and dressed fish in an old garage and sold fish there and that started out as Nolin's Fish Market in Dover.” – [purchased house between 1944 and 1946]

0:06:35 – recounting places lived while working as a diver for the COE

NN: “But until I got a job with the government, I fished, and I fished when I was working for the government and I was off. I didn't quit. That was on the side, a little extra money.”

MM: “He's the only surviving diver from when they put the locks in.”

0:07:45 – no diver's training – “Just got the suit and went down. I always wanted to go under the water and they had jobs and got the suit and everything, and that's when I went down.”

¹ The bay is fed by Neville Creek, which runs through Crutcher Hollow. Running west to east, the bay meets the Cumberland River/Lake Barkley at a relatively narrow and shallow inlet

0:08:07 – information about diving for the COE – went to work 1942 – bell helmet, hoses, pumped air – 15 to 80’ deep

0:20:10 – boats made of cypress “you see one, you build it” –Perry Moore built little “model bowed” skiff – “I fished out of some of his little old boats.” Walked to the front of one of those boats and fell out into the cold water – “My clothes froze before I could get out.”

MM: We were in a 49 model Jeep, and I always knew not to laugh at my Daddy, but when he fell out of that boat and I wanted to laugh so bad, but I knew I’d get a whippin’! So I just put my head down because I knew he had a long ride!”

0:22:26 – father was a fisherman and farmed

0:22:48 – MM: talking about logs for rafts – “Before the art was lost, I wanted to know the name of everything and I wanted to build a raft exactly like he would and know the name of everything – what a gouge pole was made out of and what a splice pole was made out of. So I went and cut a bunch of trees and I made little bitty rafts out of little bitty logs and I sat him down and said, ‘Now you build me a raft out of these logs. These are eight foot logs and these are 10 foot logs, these are 16 foot logs, you build that raft the way you were going to go down the river.’ Model is in the SC visitor’s center and museum – also donated fishing lines made by his mother, the last she made – first nets and lines made of cotton that had to be tarred, then nylon – “My Daddy and my uncle didn’t believe in nylon, thought if you put it under the water it would rot.... So they got ‘em some nylon before bought any or used it ... so they wadded it up and put in water ... under the house. Anytime nylon in under water or in the shade, it don’t do nothing but get stouter. And they pulled it out and tried to pull it in two and it didn’t do nothing, so that’s what converted them over to nylon.”

0:25:32 - Hoop nets, wing nets, barrel net – no cast nets – didn’t come in until later – used corn for bait – roasting ears in a barrel of water, let it sour – “Them fish likes that soured corn.” – mussel meet for fiddler (channel) catfish, 2-3 pounds

0:27:43 – Sherman Gentry used to visit the Nolin house everyday – Nolin purchased the house from Mr. Milligan in the funeral business

MM: “Mr. Sherman used to live down the hill. He [Mr. Nolin] bought a 49 Willis Jeep [to use for fishing] and parked it at our house ... but my brother and I wanted to drive but he wouldn’t let us drive. He’d tell us to leave the thing alone. Well, he’d go off the hill by Sherman’s house across the road over there, up into the park and down to the locks where he works. When we’d catch him gone, we’d pull the Jeep off of the blocks, roll it down the hill and get it started. We done that time after time after time – got real good at it. So one day we rolled it off the hill and it didn’t start. When it went by Sherman’s house, Sherman sitting there seeing it wasn’t going to start.... My brother was a little older than I was, but I was small and I didn’t want a whipping. We got to the foot of the hill and it wouldn’t start and there was no way to get it back.... Now I’m crying” – Sherman ask said he could help – “He went and hooked his old mules up, tied it to the back end of that jeep and pulled us all the way up the hill, got the stocks under the Jeep ... and here come Daddy.”

0:31:00 – Marvin used to go eat with Sherman – he drank boiling water yearround, no tea or coffee in it – he could cook - “Sherman was a good fella. I thought the world of him. He tilled everybody’s garden in Dover with a mule and a plow. He had his own garden.... I don’t believe he ever cashed that check – they moved him out and he was very upset by it.”

0:32:46 – Sherman ran the ice house where the present post office is located – Mr. Nolin used to buy ice to ice down his fish – went to Paris and picked up ice in his A-model – later bought a 54 or 55 ford truck and paid cash – “They said the money was just as moldy as it could be!” –

always had peppermints in his coat pocket to give the kids [Mr. Percy Williams says the ice house was run by Jess Gentry, Sherman's brother]

0:34:58 – Sherman had a half-sister – he was the only person of color who lived outside of the discrete little community around French's Battery – he had the first transistor radio that anyone can remember – Sherman let Marvin borrow the radio for a field trip – very impressive

0:41:11 – park made them sell the house and gave them so long to get out – bad feelings toward the federal government despite the fact that he worked for the park – forced them out of LBTL when TVA took over, forced them out of the park –

0:42:31 – Marvin came back from Vietnam and logged cedar in the woods with a mule– offered job in the park in 1968 – thought he was going to drive a pick-up truck but ended up digging graves at the National Cemetery – at that time they dug them by hand 7 feet deep – thought he'd quit, but liked the guys and hung in – E.J. Pratt was the superintendent – retired from the park – MM: "I don't think there's a tree at Fort Donelson that I haven't climbed."

0:53:10 – a few years ago, MM put his dad and son in a boat and went to Wolf Creek Dam on Cumberland River 300+ miles by water] – Marvin wanted learn about what his dad did and to know where every spot was – Mr. Noel pointed out landmarks, etc., that marked specific spots, "all the way to the tarring of the nets when he was fishing." – took several days - we'd fish and he'd fry them – caught a coon to eat but let him go, wanted to shoot a mountain goat

0:57:27 – born 2/26/1912 – attributes it to eating fish and lard – carried his lunch in a lard bucket with cornbread and onion

1:00:40 – "In his day you went out and killed it, hung it in the smokehouse, and brought it in to eat." – fried everything and ate the grease with cornbread - David hunts wild hogs – MM: "He worked us near to death." – Mr. Nolin would get off work at midnight, wake the boys up, and they'd go pull trees to clear new ground in the bottoms to plant corn – cooked fish they caught when they burned the brush – "He worked us until it was done."

1:05:10 – chain dog = short length of chain with wedge on each end to connect logs to drive a mat of logs downriver – rode it like a raft – they didn't take food, just caught what they ate on the trip – covered part of the log with dirt and built a fire on it – when they got to the point of delivery, they washed off the dirt mantle and the log was unblemished

1:06:23 - Also sold turtle meat – MM: "There's seven different kinds of meat on a turtle. My mama used to love it."

1:12:01 – NN wrapped rope around the bicycle wheel to make a tire – played hoop and stick – stole eggs from his mother's henhouse and took them out to the woods to cook & eat – get a rusty bucket and dip it with river water, build a fire, boil the eggs – kill spring frogs in the creek and roast them over the fire on a stick – "You couldn't tell when it was done, it was just black!"

1:14:10 – he'd see the game warden, dump the fish behind an island, and meet him on the other side – Beau French, game warden took his nets one time, they went to his house and loaded up their nets and took them – you were supposed to have your name on nets, but they didn't – lots of nets stacked back there, went through whole stack to identify and take just their nets – MM has a piece of land he got from NN nestled with the LBTL land – mistake by the surveyor – it would probably sell for \$100,000 to 150,000 per acre – white oaks bring \$600 to \$700 each – poll tax back then on how many pairs of mules – had to repair the road to pay the taxes –

1:20:24 – LBTL hired them to trap beaver at Piney campground, but then confiscated their traps when they went to their old homeplace to trap for themselves – cost over \$500 to get the traps back – still very bitter about losing that land – MM: “I remember when they took this land from us.... It was an undisturbed area ... very, very bitter.” “He’s taught me everything I know about fishing.” - Mr. Noel paid \$4,000 for 86 acres for the old Harp Place from Porter Herndon – when the Forest Svc. took it over, they tried to claim it again, but can’t legally –

1:30:01 – NN gave MM land when he came back from Vietnam – “That’s the only thing that was ever give to me.... My daddy told me when I left, ‘if you get home, I’ll give it to you.’ And I said, ‘Well, I’m coming home then.’”

17 January 2013 – Fort Donelson National Battlefield

Sidney Sykes and Pam Sykes Ford, recorded at the Stewart County Library [Mr. Sykes, 90 years old in 2013, grew up just west of Hickman Creek and worked at the park for 26 years; Mrs. Ford is his daughter. Mr. Sykes is very hard of hearing.]

Present: Sidney Sykes, Pam Sykes Ford, Dayna Bowker Lee, Donna Greer, Mitchell Earhart

0:00:00 – Mr. Sykes worked at the park from 1962-1988

0:00:54 – knew Jess & Sherman Gentry well - Jess Gentry lived below Sherman on the same side of the [Eddyville] road

0:01:55 – Sherman didn't own enough land to have a large farm

- Jess ran the ice house
- "They used to farm other people's land."

0:02:36 - the Lancasters were big farmers

0:03:10 – "The Lancasters owned all that block of land." Lancaster farmed the part of the land that is underwater now [old Hickman Creek bottoms, now part of Lake Barkley]

- Mostly grew corn, "but sometimes the backwater got that."
- Other people in the community farmed as well

0:04:50 – doesn't remember what the Lancaster house looked like, but Grady Byrd's house was moved after the property was purchased for the park

0:05:15 [Pam Ford]: - Grady Byrd's house was moved twice

0:05:20 - Grady Byrd's house was moved in front of Fred's Discount Store on FD Parkway

0:05:40 – [PF]: L.T.'s [?] house was moved to Fort Donelson Shores

0:06:35 - Lancaster house was moved to where the old Byrd garage was once located [on the parkway]

0:06:55 – [PF] - the first house on Byrd Drive on the left

0:07:24 - Sherman Gentry was the only African American living on the present park property [FODO proper settlement area] in the 1950s-60s

00:07:35 – Bill Byrd lived "down in the holler ... off the bottoms" – worked for Jim Weeks

0:08:35 – "It were several houses in there at that time."

0:09:10 – Mr. Sykes worked on the grounds at the park – "I don't know how many times I mowed that park." – started with a push mower before they bought a tractor – dug graves by hand – conversation about headstones, produced in Ga. Prison –

0:12:48 – fate of old headstones – some ended up as steps and markers in local yards – now put in FODO headstone "boneyard"

0:13:35 – Mr. Sykes grew up in Dover – his father George Sykes “farmed ... and did first one thing, then another.” Family land was around where Fred’s Discount store is now located – his family farmhouse where he was born is still standing

0:14:20 – first highway was graded by mule, no bulldozers back then – early 1920s

0:14:47 – [PF] – family lived in the house he was born in was built prior to the Civil War and his ancestors were living there during the battle – the [Union] soldiers came through their property on the way to Fort Donelson – pass Fred’s to the small road on right, cross the creek – David Wallace owns it

0:16:00 – father was Dewey Sykes; grandfather = George Sykes

0:16:44 [PF] – great-great grandfather died during the battle – Union soldiers posted guards around the house so no one would bother the family the night he was dying

00:16:55 – he’s buried in the little cemetery behind Fred’s – 3 or 4 graves there

0:17:17 – [PF] grandfather’s mother was a Wagner who married a Sykes – property where he grew up was Wagner land

0:17:56 – Dewey Sykes sold most of the Wagner-Sykes land in 1968 but retained the tract with the house

0:18:20 - cultivated 25 acres in corn and tobacco, the farm was 90 acres, partly in woodlands

0:19:00 – grew burley and dark tobacco; smoked the dark tobacco - [PF] “We had many people to stop by and tell us our barn was on fire!”

0:19:45 – people who worked at the park with Mr. Sykes: Mitchell Earhart, Marvin Nolin, Percy Williams, Curtis Settles, Lucian Bryant...

0:20:44 – all the park had was the cemetery land until the ‘30s

0:21:05 – African American man took care of the cemetery – a Mockabee, but not James Mockabee

0:21:30 - Preacher Mockabee also worked at the park – his given name was Les Mockabee

0:22:45 – most of the houses were moved – [ME] “I walked the last one out; ... that was the Bingham house.” – up on Hwy. 79 today, brick

0:24:20 – attended Fairview “down the Trace” before LBTL – Pearl Gray, Opal Rawls, and two others were teachers – went through 8th grade – attended Dover grade school for a while

0:26:07 – 3 younger sisters and 1 brother – brother is a farmer and worked for wildlife refuge

0:27:07 – Claudie Rushing drove the school bus

0:28:55 - Charley Gentry blew up in the sawmill – steam engine blew up – “Used to be several ... people [in the African American community] at one time.”

0:29:45 – [PF] a number of African Americans lived around Bumpus Mills

0:29:50 – the sawmill that blew up was on Wynn Ferry Road
 - [ME] there were a number of sawmills in the area at that time

0:30:12 – Charlie was brother to Sherman and Jess Gentry – Jess was married but Mr. Sykes doesn't remember him having children – Sherman had one son, killed in Clarksville

0:31:22 – most of the 1960s acquisition was in hills with some bottoms –

0:32:00 – [ME] everyone hunted at that time, mostly squirrel, rabbit, coon – deer reintroduced by LBTL – “My father, he growed up across the river, and said he never saw a deer in his life” until after reintroduction in 1960s-70s – [SS] “We ain't had deer too many years around here.... 1953, not a deer out there.” - discussion of animals – coyotes, foxes, talk of panthers

0:35:06 - people went in with teams and helped build up the earthworks – shaping up or building up earthworks

0:36:53 – didn't remember the African American school on Knob Hill, but does remember the one on Dahlia –
 - [PF] – African Americans began to attend Dover elementary in 1964 – there were only two African Americans in her class and one was from Tobaccoport or Bumpus Mills – [ME] - only 1 in his class and 1 in his brother's – some classes had no African American students – not more than a dozen families that he can remember – very small population – Skinners, Mockabees, Wilsons, Big Ed, Shamwells, Gentrys, Charlie Edwards had a team of mules and broke up gardens like Sherman

0:41:06 – [SS] - there is an African American woman who works at the Sav-a-lot store who said she moved in here about two years ago – the only in-migration of African American he knows [possibly associated with Fort Campbell]

0:41:46 – [PF] L.C. Dudley and James Mockabee had a still on one of the islands in the river
 - [ME] “They were well-known drinkers.”

0:43:20 – mechanized farming started after WW2 – everything came from Martin's – closed in the 1960s, more or less

0:44:15 – discussion of people who worked at the park during the time he worked there – retired 6/6/1988 – worked at Natcor until he started working at the park

0:46:13 - Served in WW2 in the Army/Air Force during Pacific, Guadalcanal, New Guinea

0:47:45 - He enjoyed working at the park “more than any place I ever worked.”

0:48:45 – built the first interpretive cabins – now just one - there were about 200 during Fort Donelson

0:49:15 - Very few artifacts found on the site – a few minie balls and ME found one Illinois infantry button

0:51:45 – [ME] - African Americans were lynched on Drunken Oak - heard it was in the holler where the Confederate monument is

0:52: 15 – [SS] a persimmon tree near Natcor after they killed a white man at Sexton Holler, hit him in the head with a chopping axe, and stole his clothes [late 19th century]

0:56:11 - Moses Gentry [uncle to Sherman and Jess] was killed at a beer joint between Troy Wallace's next and the funeral home – person who cut his throat and almost took his head off is not known – late 1930s, early 1940s

0:59:50 – Mr. Sykes was 10-12 years old during the Depression – “Hoover about starved us to death.... If you didn't have a pair of mules and raise your own stuff, you were in trouble.... People didn't have nothing.”

17 January 2013 – Fort Donelson National Battlefield

Percy Williams and Louise Williams Dean, recorded at Mrs. Dean's home [Mr. Williams did not live on the park property but has lived in Dover since moving from Ky at six years old and worked at the park for many years; Mrs. Dean is his daughter]

Present: Percy Williams, Louise Dean, Dayna Bowker Lee, Donna Greer, Mitchell Earhart

0:00:00 – [LD] – Stones used to go to the same church – three houses close to the last turn [of the road in FODO proper settlement area]

- [PW] - Frank Stone was the lockmaster, Thomas Bingham may have been the COE director of operations
- neighbors moved out in the 1960 purchase – Edward & Mary Emma Cherry, Robert Williams, Bingham, Stone, Griggs, Milford Thompson last on the right, Chance, Noah Millers lived down the hill

0:02:09 – “He never would take his money.... I was over at the park one evening and a guy brought him over there to the maintenance building late in the evening.... It was snowing and they had a gate up where he couldn't get down there. He said, “I want to get in that gate down there. I'm gonna go down there and stay all night.” I told him, “You're gonna have to see someone else before you can go down there and stay all night.” The house was gone, everything was gone.”

0:03:10 – [LD] “He probably went on and stayed anyway.”

0:03:39 – PW retired ca. 1988

0:04:10 – talk about retirement party and retirement gift or rod & reel

- his wife was the one who loved fishing, so it gave her an opportunity to go fishing
- talk about his wife

0:06:11 – Capt. Baker was superintendent right after WW2 – had a friend who died and he let the family put a big stone in the national cemetery – eventually had to remove it – kept it for years because they were worried that there would be repercussions, but it was against policy to put a stone of that size

- talk about past people and conditions at park

0:10:11 - World War II veteran

- worked for Joe Martin Co. almost until he was ready to retire, ca. 1970, when it closed
- went to work for the park, worked about 20 years
- more conversation about past park personnel – there was an African American supervisor at one point (not local) – Walt Mayor was superintendent at that time
- PW was about 75-76 when he retired
- Charlie Pyle, another superintendent
- B. 3/1922, 91 years old in 3/2013

0:15:15 – discussion about Noel Nolin and his amazing recall and sharp mind at 101, but his legs are worn out

- [LD] attributes NN and PW's longevity and good health to their years of hard work outside

0:16:10 – none of the people living in FODO proper were farming their land when the govmt purchased their land other than Sherman – Nolin had a fish market, but others just lived there

0:17:40 – the Williams family lived just outside the park boundaries on Natcor Dr./Cedar St., also on Church Street – LD now owns the Church St. house and rents it out – when it was surveyed it was discovered part of the property is on park property

0:20:20 – Jess Gentry’s was just over from Sherman’s place – they ran the ice house – Jess purchased an International Harvester tractor from Joe Martin with a bag of silver coins that he had accumulated in the ice business – probably around \$200 – Joe Martin was on the riverfront – newspaper took a picture of it – probably late 1950s

- Jess’s part of the property was just below Sherman’s on Hwy 79 end

0:24:05 – “Jess started to build a house there ... built the foundation there and they made him stop.”

[ME] – the foundation is still there – thinks he was over the highway right of way

0:24:51 – Sherman had kids – one used to come stay with him - Mr. W doesn’t think Sherman and their mother were ever married – son wore a uniform, maybe in the military, and was killed in Clarksville

- Doesn’t know how many kids he had

0:26:19 – Jess lived in the French’s battery area

0:27:50 - When the Walters Building was built, ca. 1920, Sherman pitched the bricks up to the masons on scaffolds

0:29:08 - Sherman predicted Louise’s first child’s gender (male) when she was pregnant

0:29:20 - Charley Edwards also broke gardens for people, after Sherman

0:30:05 - African American school was on Cobbler’s Knob, now Knob Hill – he thinks it closed in the 1940s after WW2, the teacher also taught in Clarksville

0:35:10 - The house that L.C. Dudley lived in was the school on Dahlia

- L.C. Dudley and James Mockabee worked at the park, E.J. Pratt was superintendent
- They both liked to drink, cut the patches off LC’s uniform so he didn’t have his park patches on when he went places to drink

0:38:48 - R.J. Hughes worked on the tombstones – he was the unofficial mayor of the black community – took care of people, especially poor, and brokered for African American employees of the park – was the caretaker for the Methodist church – it closed after he died

- JM died right after he retired

0:41:00 – discussion about someone making lethal moonshine with radiator or anti-freeze, several died including the man who made it (Riggins)

- Porter Parker made good moonshine

0:42:42 – LD remembered the red lights on the pillars of Ethel Mae Ervin’s house/bar porch, right at the opening of the park on Cedar St – dark green house – big crowd gathered there on Saturday night – riding through the area and seeing all the people standing around outside, “Momma or Daddy would say, ‘Well, I guess they’re selling moonshine tonight.’” – “It was well known but overlooked.”

0:46:09 – [LD] had a beauty shop and the older ladies talked about how French’s Battery was the lover’s lane in their day

0:48:15 – talk about Fort Heiman area – two people refused to sell out, one a doctor from Paris and there are two nice houses that remain out there

0:49:35 – black barns because of dark fire tobacco smoking

0:51:49 - Mr. Williams family moved to Dover from High Roller, Ky [?] when he was 6 years old, on wagons – loaded 4-5 wagons and crossed river on ferry – uncle Sidney Vincent lived in Dover – Judge Cobb was PW’s mother’s nephew - mother’s family was from Indian Mound in Stewart County – father was from a poor family and never worked much – mother was a teacher

- LD – his father was a poor farmer – “Came back this way so she could mooch off of her family.” –family had 7 children and most died of diphtheria and other childhood diseases
- PW – had one brother and sister besides himself who survived more than early childhood, but his sister was in a TB sanitarium until her death – “I got to see her once in 7 years.”

0:56:20 – he was in the CC camps when they put her in the sanitarium and would write her letters and the doctors told him to quit writing her because it upset her – went in the army and when he got out he got to see her one time before she died – she couldn’t speak – not sure if she had TB or something else and they just put her in

- LD – PW had a twin sister and someone found a picture of his mother and gave it to them – the first time she’d ever seen her grandmother
- “Daddy was loaned out to work for his food.... He didn’t have much family.... He didn’t have a good start but he did okay.”

0:58:40 – worked in the CCC camps and worked in east Tennessee at a rock crusher – 17 when he went in – they told you where to go when you joined

- ME’s father was sent to Washington state to plant trees near Seattle

1:00:15 – he was in the European campaign – invasion of Normandy – recollections of events and experiences in France

- Wanted to learn everything he could when he went in
- They taught him how to drive in the dark with no lights
- Primarily worked in motor pool, m.p., etc. - He didn’t have to fire a gun the whole time he was over there

1:11:50 – J.T. Jackson was the maintenance supervisor when PW was hired

- [ME] never took annual leave and even after he retired, came to check on things everyday

1:15:01 – worked for Martin Co. and Martin’s wife when the company was on the river - worked for them before and after the war - had tracks that came from the river through the buildings to offload farm equipment and other materials from steamboats

- Martin’s dad started the business
- Paid \$1 a day pre-war and saved up \$50 – he never gambled until he went overseas and he won over \$300 the first time he rolled dice
- Got a money order and sent it home – the next day he lost everything he had
- Bought a 36 Chevrolet when he got back with his winnings
- His dad was living in the poorhouse then [he wasn’t much of a worker] and didn’t want to give the money when he got back but he went and got it

1:24:15 – [LD] – mother was Betty Stout from around Paris Landing – they married in 1949 after PW got back from the war