

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN PRESENCE AT THE TIPTON-HAYNES STATE  
HISTORIC SITE, 1784-1900

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THE AFRICAN AMERICAN PRESENCE AT THE TIPTON-HAYNES STATE  
HISTORIC SITE, 1784-1900

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## DEDICATION

Dedicated to Justin, Hardy, and Ellie  
In thanks and gratitude for your patience and support

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## ABSTRACT

The Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site in Johnson City, Tennessee, open to the public since 1971, interprets frontier and antebellum life in East Tennessee. The site focuses interpretation on two of its owners, Colonel John Tipton (owner from 1784-1813) and Landon Carter Haynes (owner from 1840-c.1865).

There has been a historic African-American presence at the site since 1784. Colonel Tipton brought slaves when he moved to Tennessee, and his order to seize slaves belonging to John Sevier precipitated the only battle of the state of Franklin. Landon Carter Haynes, a slaveowner and a member of the Confederate Senate, typifies the average antebellum East Tennessee slaveholder.

The presence of African Americans at the site was largely ignored until 1999, when a cabin was moved on the site to interpret slavery. This work looks at the history of African Americans at the site and how that history has been interpreted.

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## INTRODUCTION

Slaves, belonging to John Sevier and seized by the Washington County sheriff on the orders of Colonel John Tipton, were housed in the basement of Colonel Tipton's home in Washington County. A slave woman, Fan, sold in 1806 to Isaac Tipton. George, a slave and possible half-brother of Landon Carter Haynes, mortgaged as surety for the debts Landon owed a number of men, including his father. African-American workers assisting with farm labor in the first half of the twentieth century. These situations all happened at the same location, a farm in Washington County, part of Tennessee's Appalachian region. Because of the relative importance of two white owners of the property, Colonel John Tipton and Landon Carter Haynes, the story of this farm comes from the perspective of these two owners and their families. However, African-Americans have been a presence on this farm since Colonel John Tipton established it in 1784. While interpreters at the Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site (acquired by the State of Tennessee in 1944), now confine the African American story to a "slave cabin" on the site, the full story of African-American life at this place remains largely unexamined. The story that exists there, however, deserves a better fate. African-American life at Tipton Haynes State Historic Site illustrates larger truths about the Appalachian South and race in the region.

The Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site is located in the southwest portion of Johnson City (population 63,152) in Washington County, Tennessee. The site consists of eleven buildings, as well as an early twenty-first century Visitor's Center on approximately forty-four acres. The core of the main house dates to a

log cabin constructed in 1784 by Colonel John Tipton that a subsequent owner covered with clapboard. In 1944, the State of Tennessee purchased seventeen acres and outbuildings of the farm from the Simerly family, allowing the Simerlys to retain a life estate. After the death of Samuel and Lawson Simerly in November 1962, the state acquired full possession. The non-profit Tipton-Haynes Historical Association (hereinafter referred to as the Association), formed in 1965 to preserve the site, manages the site.<sup>1</sup> The Association began restoration and reconstruction on October 7, 1965.<sup>2</sup> The site formally opened to the public on April 17, 1971.<sup>3</sup> In 2001, the State purchased an additional 27.6 acres for a larger buffer between the historic farm and surrounding rural development.

The farm has multiple types of buildings, both domestic and utilitarian. Located in the domestic complex behind the main house, there is a loom house, a necessary (privy), a smoke house, a sorghum shed and a log cabin interpreted as the George Haynes slave cabin. Interpreters discuss eighteenth and nineteenth century farm life through a double crib log barn, a pigsty, a corncrib, a still house, and a springhouse. The Visitor's Center, first constructed in 1965 and

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert L. Harper, "Tipton Haynes House," National Register of Historic Places, United States Department of Interior, Washington, D.C., February 26, 1970, 70000620.

<sup>2</sup> "Tipton-Haynes Historic Site," undated history, Series 7, Box 19, Folder 6, "Report: Tipton-Haynes Historic Site, undated," Johnson City Foundry and Machine Works Records, 1902-1984, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.

<sup>3</sup> Invitation to formal opening, Box 1, Folder 24, "Tipton-Haynes Historical Association: Correspondence (1970-1976)," Gertrude B. Deakins Collection, Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee.

expanded significantly in 2000, contains a permanent museum exhibit and orients the visitor to the site and surrounding heritage properties.

Judge Samuel C. Williams, the Chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission, worked to obtain the farm for the state, as he felt it was one of the most historic properties in Tennessee. In a letter dated March 7, 1944, to Mary Hardin McCown (a historian in Washington County, a member of the Tennessee Historical Commission, and later a member of the Tipton-Haynes Historical Association Board), Judge Williams told McCown that the Tennessee Historical Commission wished to obtain the site. He stated, "The State has the power, under a recent act of the Legislature, to condemn so much of the property as it desires; but I am hopeful that condemnation proceedings may be avoided, and a mutually satisfactory solution reached by agreement."<sup>4</sup> Williams believed that the State could purchase the property and allow the Simerly brothers to remain living in the home until their death. In the same letter to McCown, Williams stated,

My thought was that the old people could in this way have the use of the money, paid by the State, and they left in comparative ease. How much acreage, the whole or a part, could be discussed and agreed upon. Personally, I would advise the Commission and the State to conform to the wishes of such occupants in so far as it is feasible.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Samuel C. Williams to Mary Hardin McCown, March 7, 1944, Box 7, Folder 1, "Tipton-Haynes Historic Site: Correspondence (1940s)," Mary Hardin McCown Collection, Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

The state purchased the house and 17.5 acres on November 25, 1944 for \$7,552.25.<sup>6</sup> The state and the Simerly brothers signed a memorandum that outlined the details of the transaction and the duties of each party. During the lifetime of the Simerly brothers, the state maintained the right to enter the property to plant trees and shrubs, and to clean out and wall the farm's spring. The Simerlys did not grant the state the right to use the main house or the law office during the lifetime of either of the Simerly brothers. The Simerly brothers conveyed the family cemetery, burial site of Colonel John Tipton, to the state, and the state retained the right to plant any trees or shrubs in the cemetery. All buildings on the property were to remain intact and open to use by the Simerly brothers; additionally, all lands currently tillable would remain tillable, thus allowing the Simerly family to continue farming the property. Both the Simerly brothers and the State were required to insure the property. Finally, the Simerly brothers were to work with the Attorney General of the State to provide all information needed to convey clear title of the property to the State.<sup>7</sup>

Even before the death of the Simerly brothers, the state began planning how to use the property. In 1951, Dr. Robert Kincaid of the Tennessee Historical Commission appointed a special commission to make recommendations about

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<sup>6</sup> Washington County Deed Book 227, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee, 344.

<sup>7</sup> Memorandum (unsigned), Box 4, File 31, "Genealogical Data – Memorandum – Sam W. Simerly and Lawson G. Simerly to State of Tennessee, 1944," Samuel Cole Williams (1864-1947) Papers, 1765-1947, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

the site.<sup>8</sup> Following the death of the Simerly brothers, the site sat vacant for a number of years while various parties discussed how to best preserve and restore the property. At times, it was uncertain whether the house and outbuildings would be restored. A field report, dated February 13, 1964, by James W. Moody, Jr., Executive Secretary of the Tennessee Historical Commission, stated,

We proceeded to the Tipton-Haynes property where I was pleased at the setting but dismayed at the condition of the house. An enormous amount of work and money will be necessary to restore it . . . and even then I am not convinced that its history will make it a sufficiently attractive site from the standpoint of tourists to warrant the expenditure. It would, however, make a delightful park in an area which seems to be growing rapidly.<sup>9</sup>

There were also conflicting opinions as to what period to restore the main house. Dennis T. Lawson, a field representative of the Tennessee Historical Commission, visited the site in September 1965. He recommended that the ell of the house should be made habitable for a caretaker. He went on to recommend, "Having accomplished this and possibly the removal of one section of the house, remaining funds will be used to stabilize the main body of the house to prevent further deterioration. . . None of the initial appropriation will be used for the

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<sup>8</sup> "Historical News and Notices," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 10, no. 4 (December 1951): 373.

<sup>9</sup> James W. Moody, Jr., Report, February 13, 1964, Series IV-A, Box 1, Folder 1, "Correspondence: Tennessee Historical Commission (1956-1964)," Tipton-Haynes Historical Association Records, Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee.

restoration of the law office or other buildings.”<sup>10</sup> Later officials did not heed this recommendation.

In 1967, Charles W. Waterfield, Jr., AIA, an architect from Nashville, Tennessee, visited the farm during its restoration. He suggested following the model of restoration of Travellers Rest in Nashville. Like Tipton-Haynes, Travellers Rest was a house with a series of additions that dated to different periods. Travellers Rest had restored each section to its own date of origin or kept it in its existing condition.<sup>11</sup>

While the buildings were under restoration, the Association decided to turn the site into a living history farm. The *Johnson City Press Chronicle* reported on June 23, 1970, that the farm would have cows, horses, sheep, goats, ducks, a cane patch and a patch of tobacco.<sup>12</sup> A year later, the Association charged the Hopson family, resident caretakers of the property, to work the farm and grow crops common to the area in the eighteenth century. Mrs. Ray Stahl, the president of the Tipton-Haynes Historical Association, stated, “We’ll have pigs and a cow and we’ll give milking demonstrations for the benefit of children who have never seen a cow being milked. We also will grow cane and make

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<sup>10</sup> Dennis T. Lawson, Report, 1965, Series IV-A, Box 1, Folder 2, “Correspondence, Tennessee Historical Commission (1965),” Tipton-Haynes Historical Association Records.

<sup>11</sup> Charles W. Waterfield, Jr., AIA, Report, July 21, 1967, Box 1, Folder 15, “Tipton-Haynes Historic Site: Tipton Haynes House (1967),” Deakins Collection.

<sup>12</sup> “Tipton-Haynes ‘living farm’ proves a new concept in historical sites,” Series VII-A, Box 1, Folder 10, “Newspaper Clippings (1970),” Tipton-Haynes Historical Association Records.

molasses, and we'll have hog killings in the fall."<sup>13</sup> By 1974, a calf, two pigs and some ducks lived at the site,<sup>14</sup> which was officially the Tipton-Haynes Living Farm. In 1986, the Association changed its focus and called itself the Tipton-Haynes Farm to meet city regulations that no longer allowed farm animals within the city limits.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the living history farm, the Association debated building an amphitheater and hosting outdoor dramas about the State of Franklin throughout the 1970s. In 1970, the Association approached the Johnson City Planning Commission with a proposal to build an amphitheater near a cave on the property (Figure 1). The proposed amphitheater would seat 1,500 to 1,800 visitors and would present a drama on the State of Franklin for roughly ten weeks a year.<sup>16</sup> Clinton Garland, adjacent property owner and developer of the Garland Acres subdivision adjacent to the site, objected. He feared the impact of increased traffic on the residential streets of his nearby subdivision. The Commission asked the Association to protect adjacent property owners from any

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<sup>13</sup> "Living Farm, Theater to Depict Franklin History," *Knoxville Journal* (January 6, 1971), Series VII-A, Box 1, Folder 11, "Newspaper Clippings (1971)," Tipton-Haynes Historical Association Records.

<sup>14</sup> Mrs. E.D. West, Corresponding Secretary, Tipton-Haynes Historical Association, to Unicoi Outdoor Recreation Experiment Station, October 14, 1974, Series III, Box 1, Folder 11, "Correspondence (1974)," Tipton-Haynes Historical Association Records.

<sup>15</sup> Minutes of the Board of Trustees Meeting, February 5, 1986, Box 1, Folder 5, "Board of Trustees: Minutes (1986-1989)," Tipton-Haynes Historical Association Records.

<sup>16</sup> Charles F. Justice, Director of Planning, to Mrs. Ray Stahl, December 11, 1970, Series III, Box 1, Folder 7, "Correspondence (1970)," Tipton-Haynes Historical Association Records.





Since 1971, the Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site has been open to the public, interpreting the history of the Tipton and Haynes families that once called the property home. While recent years have seen the inclusion of the life of one of the slaves, George Haynes, into the site interpretation, the African American history of the site has been neglected. A closer examination of the African American experience at the site has potential to shed light on whether the African American experience in the mountain South differs from the lowland South, and in what ways the experiences are similar across the South.

However, scholars of race in Appalachia have emphasized the significance of slavery in the Tennessee mountain region. John C. Inscoe, professor of southern history at the University of Georgia, admits that past historians, particularly U.B. Phillips in the early twentieth century, concluded that African-Americans were not central to the narrative of Appalachia. He blamed this assumption, in part, on the romanticization of Appalachia that goes back to the late nineteenth century and to its perceived racial homogeneity.<sup>18</sup> African Americans shaped Appalachia as early as the whites did, with slaves accompanying the Spanish expeditions of Hernando de Soto and Juan Pardo

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<sup>18</sup> John C. Inscoe, "Race and Racism in Nineteenth-Century Southern Appalachia: Myths, Realities, and Ambiguities," in *Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Mary Beth Pudup, Dwight B. Billings, and Altina L. Waller (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 105.

and early eighteenth century white settlers bringing slaves as they moved into the region.<sup>19</sup>

Inscoe notes that slaves were present in every county in Appalachia in 1860 and that the African-American population of Appalachia, free and slave, was over 175,000 in 1860.<sup>20</sup> In addition to slaves being present in every county of southern Appalachia, there were a large number of slave markets in the mountain communities, including Bristol, Jonesboro (the seat of Washington County), Knoxville and Chattanooga.<sup>21</sup> Despite the presence of African Americans and of the slave trade, chroniclers of the mountain South rarely acknowledged the presence of African Americans in the region.<sup>22</sup> Nor was slavery in southern Appalachia more benign than elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> Inscoe also notes that despite differences between southern Appalachia and other parts of the South, the residents were still southerners. He asserts,

Despite the deviations in their racial makeup and their political alienation from the South's dominant slaveocracy, white highlanders' views of African Americans in theory and treatment of them in practice were for the most part well within the mainstream of attitudes and behavior elsewhere in the South, a mainstream that was in itself by no means monolithic.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> John C. Inscoe, "Slavery and African Americans in the Nineteenth Century," in *High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place*, ed. Richard A. Straw and H. Tyler Blethen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 35.

<sup>20</sup> Inscoe, "Race and Racism in Nineteenth-Century Southern Appalachia," 106.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Inscoe, "Slavery and African Americans in the Nineteenth Century," 34.

<sup>23</sup> Inscoe, "Race and Racism in Nineteenth-Century Southern Appalachia," 119.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

While historians agree with Inscoe that African Americans were present in southern Appalachia, several scholars insist that the impact of African Americans in the region was minimal. Tyler Blethen argues, "Slavery in Appalachia never reached the critical mass that it did in Southern piedmont and coastal plantation societies; the environment was unfavorable to plantation crops such as cotton, rice, and tobacco, and mountain farms were too small."<sup>25</sup> John Alexander Williams, in his survey of Appalachia, notes the shadowy presence of slaves in the region; only in the late antebellum period is there testimony from the enslaved about life as a slave in the region.<sup>26</sup> Williams admits that the (unpaid) labor of slaves created much of the region's wealth: "it serves to remind us how much of the wealth and the infrastructure that made possible the industrialization of Appalachia was extracted from the coerced or underpaid labor of African Americans."<sup>27</sup>

Historians have done even less on the lives of freedmen after the Civil War. John Inscoe has noted that, post-Emancipation, the mobility of freedmen and freedwomen resulted in demographic shifts in the racial makeup of Appalachian communities.<sup>28</sup> Inscoe also found that former slaves drifted away from some rural areas of the mountain South in the post-war period, with at least

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<sup>25</sup> H. Tyler Blethen, "Pioneer Settlement," in *High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place*, ed. Richard A. Straw and H. Tyler Blethen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 19.

<sup>26</sup> John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 110.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>28</sup> Inscoe, "Slavery and African Americans in the Nineteenth Century," 39.

ten Appalachian counties losing their entire African American population between 1880 and 1900.<sup>29</sup> Robert P. Stuckert reports that the African American population in southern Appalachia lived primarily in rural, farm communities.<sup>30</sup> Prior to 1910, a large majority of African Americans in the region worked as farm laborers.<sup>31</sup> By 1900, African Americans had started to move into other occupations, such as coal mining, railroads, lumber, paper and clay industries, hotels and restaurants, and domestic service.<sup>32</sup>

Due to a variety of factors, few sources remain that document the lives of the enslaved or freed people at the Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site. The scattered evidence suggests there was no single African American experience. The institution of slavery was as varied as the slaves and masters themselves. The voices of many of the enslaved have been lost, making the recreation of the slave life of any particular place difficult. None of the slaveholders who owned the Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site left collections at any archives. No account books, personal letters, diaries, or more than a handful of deeds of sale have been located that document the lives of the slaves at the site. There are no records, then, even from the slaveholders, that would at the very least list the number of slaves owned. Tracing the number of slaves owned by looking at the tax lists for Washington County provides some information for the number of

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<sup>29</sup> Inscoc, "Race and Racism in Nineteenth-Century Southern Appalachia," 107.

<sup>30</sup> Robert P. Stuckert, "Black Populations of the Southern Appalachian Mountains," *Phylon* 48, no. 2 (2<sup>nd</sup> Qtr., 1987): 145, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/274778> (accessed December 9, 2011).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

slaves that may have lived at the site, although the tax lists only count those slaves that fall in the age range being taxed. The 1860 Slave Census provides further information, listing age, gender and race of the enslaved, and notes the presence of a slave dwelling. However, lack of documentation of the dwelling prior to its being razed by the state in 1968 leaves one with no further information about how slaves were housed. A Deed of Trust from 1851 highlights the instability of slave life, even when the slave was possibly related to his master.

As with slavery, documenting the lives of freedmen and women in the postwar period is difficult. Few of the contracts remain, if they ever existed, regulating the terms of labor between farm laborers and farm owners. While interviews with ex-slaves date back to the Great Depression, there has been less effort in capturing the voices of rural African American farm workers in the postwar period. The Simerly family, owners of the property after 1872, has left some documents behind, such as account books and business letters. These documents will be used in an attempt to determine the African American presence on the site after the Civil War.

As discussed above, historians differ on whether African Americans have had a significant impact on the history of the mountain South. They also disagree as to whether slavery was a significant aspect of life in the mountain South. The farm that is now the Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site was a site of slavery and paid African American labor. Studying the history of the African Americans who lived and worked at the site may provide further insight into whether African American history in the mountain South differs from the lowland

South. It may also show that African American life functioned much the same in Appalachia as it did in other parts of the country. Studying an underrepresented group and how they interacted with a site associated solely with its white owners will deepen our understanding of the site itself.

## CHAPTER I: THE OWNERS OF THE TIPTON-HAYNES HISTORIC SITE

Three families owned the farm now called the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site. Members of the Tipton family owned the farm from 1784 to 1837. Landon Carter Haynes owned the farm from 1839 to c. 1865. After years of confused title following the Civil War, the Simerly family owned the farm from 1872 to 1944, at which point the State of Tennessee purchased the property.

### *Tipton Ownership (1784-1837)*

Colonel John Tipton established his farm in Washington County in 1784. The branch of the Tipton family from which Colonel John Tipton descended traced its origins in the United States to Maryland. Around 1685, Jonathan Tipton immigrated to Anne Arundel County, Maryland from his native Jamaica. He married Sarah Pearce, and in 1699, a son, Jonathan was born. This Jonathan was the father of Colonel John Tipton. Colonel John Tipton was born in Baltimore County, Maryland, in 1730 to Jonathan and Elizabeth Tipton. He lived in Baltimore County until late 1747 or early 1748 when he, his parents and other family members moved to what was then Frederick County in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Frederick County later came to be Dunmore County and finally Shenandoah County in 1777.<sup>33</sup> Colonel Tipton married Mary Butler in 1751, and they were the parents of nine sons.<sup>34</sup> Mary died following the

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<sup>33</sup> Charles D. Tipton, *Tipton, The First Five American Generations: A Short History of the Tipton Family* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1998), 42, 125.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 126. The sons of Colonel Tipton and Mary Butler were: Samuel (1782-1833), Benjamin (1755-1807), Abraham (Capt.) (1758-1781), William (1761-1849), Isaac (1763-1827), Jacob (Capt.) (1765-1791), John (1769-1831), Thomas (1771-1845), and Jonathan (1780-1820).

birth of her ninth son in 1776.<sup>35</sup> In 1777, Colonel Tipton married a widow, Martha Denton Moore. Colonel Tipton and Martha were the parents of one son, Abraham. Colonel Tipton served on the Committee of Safety in Shenandoah County and in the Virginia House of Burgesses.<sup>36</sup> Appointed a recruiting officer for the Continental Army in 1779, Tipton later served as a Colonel in the North Carolina Militia in 1787.<sup>37</sup> He served as the sheriff of Shenandoah County, Virginia, from 1781-1783.

Records indicate that Colonel Tipton owned slaves in Virginia prior to his move to Tennessee in 1784. The 1783 tax list for Shenandoah County lists John Tipton being taxed for one white male over the age of twenty-one, one slave over the age of sixteen, and one slave under the age of sixteen.<sup>38</sup> As Colonel Tipton moved to Tennessee within a year, the slaves likely travelled with him to Tennessee.

In 1784, Colonel John Tipton came to the Tennessee Country of North Carolina. He purchased land from Samuel Henry on May 15, 1784 for the sum of

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Samuel Cole Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (1924; repr., Johnson City: Watauga Press, 1970), 326.

<sup>37</sup> Tipton, 127, 128. The author also discusses when Colonel Tipton received the title of Colonel. The author states that Tipton had received the title by 1779, as a warrant from the Governor of Virginia addressed him as "Colonel John Tipton" and authorized him to recruit for the Continental Army.

<sup>38</sup> 1783 Shenandoah County (Virginia) Tax list, <http://www.vagenweb.org/shenandoah/1783pg33.html> (accessed October 21, 2011).



fifty pounds North Carolina currency.<sup>39</sup> He built a two-story log cabin on property near Sinking Creek, and he soon immersed himself in the affairs of Washington County. Most famously, he led the faction opposed to John Sevier and the creation of the State of Franklin between 1784-1788.<sup>40</sup> Colonel Tipton consequently became the leader of the anti-Franklin (and anti-Sevier) movement.<sup>41</sup>

The State of Franklin affair has always been of great interest to Tennessee and Appalachian historians. In 1784, a group of landholders and their supporters in what was then North Carolina declared their independence from the state of North Carolina and called their new state the State of Franklin. The result of this move was four years of partisan violence and political discord.<sup>42</sup> In 1784, North Carolina, facing financial difficulties, surrendered all its western lands to the national government; this was known as the Cession Act of 1784. This action included the area now known as Tennessee and sparked resentment and separatism in the Tennessee Valley.<sup>43</sup> Supporters of the Cession Act believed the act would open up more land previously reserved for the Cherokee. The opposing faction believed the Cession Act would raise land prices in the

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<sup>39</sup> Washington County Deed Book 1, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 301.

<sup>40</sup> Dennis T. Lawson, "The Tipton-Haynes Place: I. A Landmark of East Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1970): 105.

<sup>41</sup> Kevin T. Barksdale, *The Lost State of Franklin: America's First Secession* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2009), 60.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

region.<sup>44</sup> Delegates met in Jonesboro in 1784 to debate forming a separate state. By March 1785, John Sevier had been elected governor of Franklin.<sup>45</sup> Factions coalesced around competing economic and political interests. Colonel John Tipton led the movement against the State and spent the next four years attempting to destroy the state of Franklin.<sup>46</sup> The death-knell of the movement came from the inability of the leaders of the state of Franklin to attract any support for the movement outside of the region. Lack of support within the North Carolina state political establishment and the United States Congress effectively destroyed the state.<sup>47</sup>

In 1788, Colonel Tipton served as the clerk of court for Washington County. In his capacity as clerk, Tipton ordered the sheriff, Jonathan Pugh, to seize some of John Sevier's Washington county property to pay unpaid taxes Sevier owed to the state of North Carolina. Sevier considered himself the elected governor of the State of Franklin, not subjected to North Carolina county laws. The sheriff went to Sevier's farm and confiscated several slaves and livestock as payment for the taxes. Colonel Tipton next ordered the sheriff to deliver the slaves to his house on Sinking Creek.<sup>48</sup> Tipton housed the slaves in his basement.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 58, 61.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 132-133. Barksdale suggests that this collection for back taxes was a pretense so that Tipton could have Sevier's property searched.

In response, Sevier organized a force and marched to Tipton's home to retrieve his slaves. Tipton organized a group of adherents to protect his home from Sevier and his faction. A skirmish ensued, and two men died, including the sheriff.<sup>49</sup> In addition to the personal animosity, one could argue slavery was one of the causes of the conflict because when Tipton confiscated Sevier's slaves and kept them at his home, he was certain to infuriate Sevier. In the confused aftermath of the battle, Tipton and his forces captured two of Sevier's sons, James and John Sevier, Jr., and his nephew. Tipton eventually released Sevier's family.<sup>50</sup>

After the battle, Tipton and Sevier continued their feud. After the governor of North Carolina issued a warrant for Sevier's arrest (in relation to his attacks on Cherokee villages) in July 1788<sup>51</sup>, Tipton arrested Sevier in October and transported him to Morganton, North Carolina, for trial. Officials soon released Sevier from jail and never tried him. The sheriff of Burke County, location of Morganton, had served with Sevier at the Battle of Kings Mountain and took the irons from his hands. Charles and Joseph McDowell posted his bail. After these men posted bail, Sevier and a group of friends who had come to Morganton to "rescue" him departed for home.<sup>52</sup> Sevier's term as governor of the State of Franklin expired in the spring of 1788, and within a year, the state of North

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<sup>49</sup> Robert E. Corlew, *Tennessee: A Short History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 82.

<sup>50</sup> Barksdale, 136.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

Carolina pardoned him. The voters in his district then elected Sevier to serve in the North Carolina Senate.<sup>53</sup> After this, the State of Franklin gradually drifted out of existence.

During the territorial period of Tennessee history, Colonel Tipton served in the territorial assembly and in the first constitutional convention for Tennessee.<sup>54</sup> He later signed the 1796 Tennessee Constitution<sup>55</sup> and served as a member of the Tennessee State Senate.<sup>56</sup> Additionally, Colonel Tipton was one of the incorporators of Washington College in 1795.<sup>57</sup> Tipton retired from active politics by 1800. Tipton is typical of others of his class and generation, such as George Washington, in serving in the militia and politics of his state and community. From building his large house on the Tennessee frontier, to serving in politics, to breeding thoroughbreds on the frontier, Colonel Tipton's life reflects a pattern of Virginia gentility that Tipton recreated on the Tennessee frontier.

Colonel Tipton prospered in Washington County. The 1790 tax list shows Tipton owning 2,013 acres of land in Washington County.<sup>58</sup> The 1793 tax list shows him owning 999 acres and the 1794 list has him owning 1,130 acres of

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 143.

<sup>54</sup> Corlew, 115.

<sup>55</sup> *1796 Tennessee Constitution*, <http://teva.contentdm.oclc.org/landmarkdocs/docs/90.pdf> (accessed November 14, 2011).

<sup>56</sup> Corlew, 115.

<sup>57</sup> "An Act for the Establishment of Washington College," July 10, 1795, <http://teva.contentdm.oclc.org/landmarkdocs/docs/22.pdf> (accessed November 14, 2011).

<sup>58</sup> Mary Hardin McCown et al., compiler, *Washington County, Tennessee Records* (Johnson City, TN: Privately printed, 1964), 73.

land, indicating he may have been speculating in land.<sup>59</sup> Colonel Tipton bred thoroughbred horses on his land, and owned a number of blooded horses.<sup>60</sup> Following his service in state politics, he entertained numerous guests at his home, including the French botanist André Michaux in 1795.<sup>61</sup> Colonel Tipton lived in his home until his death in 1813, and is buried in the Tipton-Haynes Cemetery.

Colonel Tipton died intestate, and one of his sons, John Tipton Jr., inherited the farm in 1813. John Tipton Jr. was born in Shenandoah County, Virginia in 1767 and likely moved to Tennessee with his father in 1784. Before 1791, he returned to Shenandoah County, as he married Elizabeth Snapp there in 1791. John and Elizabeth lived in Virginia until approximately 1797, and at least one of their children was born in Virginia. John and Elizabeth were the parents of nine children: Mary Ann, Abraham, Samuel, Lucinda, Margaret, Emeline, Minerva, Elizabeth, and Edny (Edna).<sup>62</sup>

When John Tipton Jr. moved to Sullivan County, Tennessee, and lived near Blountville for a number of years.<sup>63</sup> There he was involved in real estate

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 107, 131.

<sup>60</sup> Samuel Cole Williams, *History of Johnson City and Its Environs* (Johnson City: Watauga Press, 1940), 17.

<sup>61</sup> Lawson, 116.

<sup>62</sup> Tipton, 264, 265. Of their children, Mary Ann married James H. Barnett, unknown date. Abraham married Margaret (Snapp) Weeks in 1817. Samuel married Jane, maiden name unknown, in c. 1823. Lucinda married Laurence Snapp in c. 1824. It is unknown if or when Margaret married. Emeline married William Young in 1826. Elizabeth married Henry King in 1831. Edny (Edna) married Frederic Baumgardner in 1831.

<sup>63</sup> Holston Territory Genealogical Society, compiler, *Families and History of Sullivan County, Tennessee; Volume One 1779-1972* (Waynesville, NC: Walsworth Publishing, 1993), 616.

land speculations, as the deed books record more than eighty deed transactions to which he was a party.<sup>64</sup> John Tipton Jr., served as a legislator in the Tennessee General Assembly, as his father had before him. Again, this may reflect the Tipton family replicating patterns of Virginia gentility on the Tennessee frontier. John Tipton Jr. would have undoubtedly been familiar with such patterns growing up in Virginia and later returning to Virginia to live as an adult. One family historian asserts that Tipton Jr. was commissioned as a Lt. Colonel, Commandant of the Sullivan County Militia in 1801, and served in the War of 1812 with his Sullivan County Militia unit.<sup>65</sup> He allegedly served at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815.<sup>66</sup> Tipton Jr. died while serving in the General Assembly in Nashville in 1831, and is buried in Nashville's City Cemetery. The Tennessee Senate held a special meeting on October 9, 1831, and passed a number of resolutions regarding his death and funeral. They arranged the funeral procession along with the Tennessee House of Representatives. They resolved that the members of the Senate would "wear black crape upon the left arm for the space of thirty days, as a tribute of respect for the memory of the deceased." The House passed similar resolutions. The Reverend Robert Hardin offered the prayer, and the House and Senate members, along with a number of citizens, accompanied the body for burial to the City Cemetery. The article in the

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Tipton, 264.

<sup>66</sup> While there are several references to John Tipton Jr. taking part in the Battle of New Orleans, direct evidence such as military service records or the name of the unit he was part of have not been located.

*Nashville Banner and Nashville Whig* described John Tipton Jr. as “a friend of his country, and an honest man – that noblest work of God.”<sup>67</sup>

The heirs of Tipton’s estate, namely his children, inherited the farm. Three of the heirs, Samuel P. Tipton, Elizabeth Tipton, and Edna Tipton, sold the acreage in 1837 to David Haines of Carter County for the sum of \$1,050.<sup>68</sup> David Haines was a businessman and one of the largest landowners in Washington and Carter Counties. His second marriage, to Rhoda Taylor, produced twelve children, of which Landon Carter Haynes was the eldest.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> “Death of Mr. Tipton,” *Nashville Banner and Nashville Whig*, October 12, 1831, 2.

<sup>68</sup> Washington County Deed Book 22, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 177.

<sup>69</sup> James W. Bellamy, “The Political Career of Landon Carter Haynes,” *East Tennessee Historical Society’s Publications* 28 (1956): 102.

### *Haynes Family Era (1837-c. 1865)*

David Haines (originally known as David Haynes or Hains<sup>70</sup>) gave the Tipton farm to his son, Landon Carter Haynes, as a wedding present in 1838. Landon was born in Carter County, Tennessee in 1816, the son of David Haynes and Rhoda Taylor.<sup>71</sup> Landon's formal education began at the Anderson School in Carter County. Tradition asserts that Landon enjoyed public speaking so much that, from the age of ten, he would gather the laborers and slaves on the farm and deliver orations to them, holding them spellbound for hours.<sup>72</sup> Landon attended Washington College, graduating in 1838. He read law in the office of Thomas A.R. Nelson for the year after his graduation. When Nelson transferred his practice from Elizabethton to Jonesboro, Haynes followed him. Haynes was admitted to the bar in 1840.<sup>73</sup> Landon married Eleanor Powell of Elizabethton, Carter County, Tennessee.<sup>74</sup> Eleanor herself had political connections, being the daughter of Robert W. Powel (or Powell), who was prominent in state politics until he moved to New Orleans prior to his death in 1855.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Tax records and other public documents from the time show that David Haines alternatively spelled his name as "Haines", "Hains", "Heines", and "Heines." James W. Bellamy, in his article, "The Political Career of Landon Carter Haynes," reported that the family, of German origin, originally spelled the name "Heine", and that the spelling varied. For a fuller discussion of the different spellings of the name, see James W. Bellamy, "The Political Career of Landon Carter Haynes," in *East Tennessee Historical Society Publication No. 28* (1956): 102-126. Most records with Landon Carter Haynes spell the name as "Haynes."

<sup>71</sup> Rebecca C. Thomas, "Are You a Descendant of Landon Carter Haynes?," *"Ansearchin" News* 36, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 57.

<sup>72</sup> Bellamy, 103.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>74</sup> Lawson, 116.

<sup>75</sup> Bellamy, 104.



Despite being admitted to the bar in 1840, Haynes did not confine his occupational pursuits to law. He became the editor of the *Tennessee Sentinel* during the 1840s, and engaged in a long-running feud with William G. “Parson” Brownlow. The feud between Haynes and Brownlow began soon after Haynes’s graduation from Washington College. In March 1840, someone tried to shoot Brownlow while he was writing in his home in Elizabethton; Brownlow quickly accused Haynes of involvement in the assassination attempt. The two men engaged in a bloody duel on the streets of Jonesboro on May 14, 1840, at which time Haynes shot Brownlow in the thigh.<sup>76</sup> During the course of their feud, Brownlow described Haynes in vituperative terms, declaring at one point,

Therefore, I, William G. Brownlow, of the town of Elizabethton, and of lawful age, pronounce Landon C. Haines, of the county of Carter and State of Tennessee, a *liar a puppy* and a SCOUNDREL; and if he does not call me to an account for it, the first time he comes to this village, I insist, he does not possess the courage of a *Spaniel Dog*.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to his editorship and his feud with Brownlow, Haynes briefly served as a Methodist minister. He converted to Methodism in 1842 and was licensed as a Methodist preacher not long afterwards. His ministry lasted less than six months, as he ran into disagreement with Reverend C.W.C. Harris over why Haynes could not end the feud with Brownlow. The disagreement between

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>77</sup> William G. Brownlow, “Col. Landon C. Haines,” *Tennessee Whig* (Jonesborough, Tennessee), January 30, 1840, Issue 37, col. C. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Newspaper Digital Archive, Tennessee State Library and Archives, [http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/932/945/134944805w16/purl=rc1\\_NCNP\\_0\\_GT3016085654&dyn=4!xrn\\_1\\_0\\_GT3016085654&hst\\_1?sw\\_aep=nash71688](http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/932/945/134944805w16/purl=rc1_NCNP_0_GT3016085654&dyn=4!xrn_1_0_GT3016085654&hst_1?sw_aep=nash71688) (accessed November 18, 2011).

Reverend Harris and Haynes led to Haynes being tried by the Methodist conference for bringing false charges against Reverend Harris. The church trial, held at the Ernest Church on February 11, 1843, found Haynes guilty of falsehood and slander and effectively ended his career as a minister.<sup>78</sup>

While editing the *Sentinel* and practicing law, Haynes got involved in state politics. He was a member of the Tennessee General Assembly from 1845-1850, supporting legislation regarding education, internal improvements, and reduction of state debt and expenditures.<sup>79</sup> While serving in the Tennessee General Assembly, Haynes was elected as Speaker of the House in 1849.<sup>80</sup> During this time, Haynes was also a stakeholder in the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad and he supported state aid to railroads. He believed a railroad in East Tennessee would lead to more prosperity for the region.<sup>81</sup> In 1851, Haynes ran against Andrew Johnson for a seat in the United States House of Representatives. Johnson defeated Haynes by a majority of 1,653 votes, and Haynes went into political retirement for much of the 1850s.<sup>82</sup> He ran again for Congress in 1859 against his former law instructor and mentor, Thomas A.R. Nelson. Despite their personal friendship, the men disagreed on most political

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<sup>78</sup> Bellamy, 106.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>80</sup> Ray Stahl, *Greater Johnson City: A Pictorial History* (Norfolk/Virginia Beach: Donning Company/Publishers, 1983, 1986), 43.

<sup>81</sup> Bellamy, 111.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

issues. Nelson defeated Haynes in the election.<sup>83</sup> Haynes was active in the 1860 presidential campaign, actively campaigning for and speaking on behalf of John C. Breckinridge. Haynes crossed the state speaking on behalf of Breckinridge; however, John Bell carried the state in the election of 1860.<sup>84</sup>

An ardent supporter of states' rights, the state legislature selected Haynes as one of Tennessee's Confederate senators in 1861.<sup>85</sup> While Haynes served in the Confederate Senate, the family was not in residence at their home in Washington County. After 1863, the family took refuge in Wytheville, Virginia.<sup>86</sup> A letter from Haynes, written while he was in Wytheville, Virginia on November 4, 1863, to George Williams, offered to allow Williams to live on the farm while the Haynes family was away. Haynes wrote, "George says that you stated that you would come to my farm and live on it. I want you to come and occupy the House, cultivate as much grounds as you wish and take care of my property . . . I will see that you are protected in your property and rights."<sup>87</sup> In his Petition for Pardon, Haynes declares that the property "was mostly occupied by tenants" after 1862 and that the property had never been confiscated by the United States

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>85</sup> Corlew, 299.

<sup>86</sup> Bellamy, 123.

<sup>87</sup> Landon C. Haynes to George Williams, November 4, 1863, Box 6, Folder 16, "Landon C. Haynes: Letters," Mary Hardin McCown Collection, Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee.

government, to the best of his knowledge.<sup>88</sup> When the Confederate Senate was not in session, Haynes toured battlefields and conditions in Tennessee and reported his findings to President Jefferson Davis.<sup>89</sup>

As Colonel Tipton before him, Haynes prospered during his time in Washington County. The 1849 tax records list the value of his 233-acre farm at \$1,600, and he owned one slave valued at \$400.<sup>90</sup> By 1859, his farm was valued at \$5,000, and he owned a buggy.<sup>91</sup> In 1860, on the eve of the Civil War, his land was valued at \$5,400. His slave was valued at \$1,000, and he owned \$700 worth of jewelry.<sup>92</sup> By owning a slave, Haynes was in a minority of East Tennessee farmers. As Donald L. Winters notes, “Only about 10 percent of rural households in East Tennessee owned slaves in 1860.”<sup>93</sup> Despite the wealth derived from his farm holdings, Haynes did not identify himself as a planter or a farmer. In his amnesty petition following the Civil War, Landon described himself as, “Petitioner is a lawyer by profession and has been engaged more or less, for

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<sup>88</sup> Amnesty Petition of Landon Carter Haynes, May 29, 1865, *Case Files of Application From Former Confederates for Presidential Pardons (“Amnesty Papers”), 1865-1867*, Microfilm Publication M1003, North Carolina Files, roll 39; Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration – Southeast Region (Atlanta).

<sup>89</sup> Bellamy, 122.

<sup>90</sup> 1849 Washington County Tax Book, District 9, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>91</sup> 1859 Washington County Tax Book, District 9, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>92</sup> 1860 Washington County Tax Book, District 9, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>93</sup> Donald L. Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers: Antebellum Agriculture in the Upper South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 139.

several years, in political life; has been a member of the Democratic party of Tennessee, and has acted with that party for many years.”<sup>94</sup> The Civil War did not immediately affect his economic status, for the 1862 tax records indicate that he owned two buggies.<sup>95</sup> By 1865, however, the value of his land was down to \$4,000, and his legal troubles involving ownership of the farm were beginning.

After the Civil War, strong feeling in the area against Haynes and his secessionist views led him to relocate his family to Memphis, Tennessee.<sup>96</sup> This relocation was due, in part, to the conditions of the parole granted him by President Johnson.<sup>97</sup> Prior to his removal to Memphis, Federal authorities arrested Landon at the end of the war for his service to the Confederate government. Landon was not the only East Tennessean arrested for treason. Once the U.S. District Court in Knoxville reopened in May 1864, a grand jury was impaneled and began returning indictments against Confederates. In addition to indicting leaders such as Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, James Longstreet and Braxton Bragg, any secessionist in the region of any stature was indicated. By 1867, the grand jury issued over two thousand indictments for treason or giving

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<sup>94</sup> Amnesty Petition of Landon Carter Haynes, National Archives and Records Administration – Southeast Region (Atlanta).

<sup>95</sup> 1862 Washington County Tax Book, District 9, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>96</sup> Stahl, 43.

<sup>97</sup> Landon Carter Haynes to President Andrew Johnson, June 6, 1866. *Case Files of Application From Former Confederates for Presidential Pardons (“Amnesty Papers”), 1865-1867*, Microfilm Publication M1003, North Carolina Files, roll 39; Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration – Southeast Region (Atlanta).

aid to the enemy.<sup>98</sup> Landon's sister, Emmeline Taylor, appealed to President Johnson, who pardoned Haynes.<sup>99</sup> In his appeal for amnesty, Landon stated, "Petitioner states that he is warmly attached to Republican government and is unwilling to live under any other, and that he intends to be a law-abiding and faithful citizen of the United States henceforth."<sup>100</sup> Landon wrote President Johnson from Memphis, Tennessee, on June 6, 1866, detailing some of the troubles he faced in East Tennessee. He states, "I had hoped the parole would have protected me from further troubles by the Federal authorities. But having been indicted for treason, in the Federal Court at Knoxville, a capias has been recently sent to the marshal of West Tennessee, in whose custody I am now held."<sup>101</sup> Haynes felt his current treason charges stemmed from his past feud with William G. Brownlow, who was serving as governor of Tennessee during this period. Haynes stated,

You know personally my relations to Mr. Brownlow. I have reason to believe that he does not love me with that tenderness of sensibility which his pious profession and Christian duties require him to do. I have some reasons to suppose that his hostile influence, the bitterness of personal hates, and the violence of party feeling at Knoxville ever stirred afresh by some means or other, might make my appears and trial there unsafe beyond any legal danger that attaches to my situation.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Noel C. Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 162.

<sup>99</sup> Bellamy, 124.

<sup>100</sup> Amnesty Petition of Landon Carter Haynes, National Archives and Records Administration – Southeast Region (Atlanta). The notation on the envelope of the appeal notes that the pardon was granted on June 11, 1866.

<sup>101</sup> Haynes to Johnson, June 6, 1866, Amnesty File of Landon Carter Haynes, National Archives and Records Administration – Southeast Region (Atlanta).

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

Landon clearly feared that feeling against him in the area would result in a biased jury against him. In the same letter to President Johnson, Haynes stated, "If I must be tried, I should prefer that it should occur at a time and place when and where I would be exempted from personal insults and indignities and would have some guaranty that passion and faction would not exert their influence on the results."<sup>103</sup> Fortunately for Haynes, the Unionist judge of the district, Connelly F. Trigg, decided that persecution of secessionists was misguided. Trigg began dismissing the treason cases if the accused obtained a pardon from the president, paid court costs of thirty dollars, and took the oath of allegiance. In the end, not one person indicted for treason was convicted.<sup>104</sup>

In addition to facing charges of treason, Haynes faced economic difficulties. He estimated that his fortune exceeded twenty thousand dollars in 1862, but the war decimated his fortune.<sup>105</sup> He informed President Johnson, "That I am ruined in fortune, I need not inform you; and that my life and professional exertions are all that are now left to my family, for their livelihood and support, is equally true."<sup>106</sup> In order to support his family, and unable to live on his farm, Landon returned to the practice of law.

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Fisher, 163.

<sup>105</sup> Amnesty Petition of Landon Carter Haynes, National Archives and Records Administration – Southeast Region (Atlanta).

<sup>106</sup> Haynes to Johnson, June 6, 1866. Amnesty File of Landon Carter Haynes, National Archives and Records Administration – Southeast Region (Atlanta)

Landon practiced law in Memphis and is first found in *Halpin's City Directory, Memphis, 1867-8*. The directory lists Haynes as living on Rayburn Avenue, and as working in the law firm of Haynes, Heath & Lewis.<sup>107</sup> A city directory for Memphis for 1868-1869 shows Haynes worked in the firm of Haynes & Stockton and resided at 337 Adams Street. The Stockton in question may have been Francis Stockton, who also resided at 337 Adams and worked for Haynes & Stockton.<sup>108</sup> By 1870, Landon's son, Robert, joined Landon and Francis in the firm which was renamed Haynes, Stockton and Haynes.<sup>109</sup> Money may have been tight for the family, as the 1870 Census shows that Landon, Ellen (age 5), Robert, a woman named Druisy, Francis Stockton, Helen Stockton (who kept house) and Alice Stockton all lived in the same household.<sup>110</sup> It is interesting to note that Landon's wife, Eleanor, is not listed in the household. It is unclear at this time whether she remained in Washington County, perhaps attending to the legal matters relating to their ownership of the farm, and when

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<sup>107</sup> T.M. Halpin, compiler, *Halpin's City Directory, Memphis, 1867-8* (Memphis: Bulletin Publishing Company, 1867), 135, [http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1867\\_1868\\_halpin\\_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h](http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1867_1868_halpin_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h) (accessed November 1, 2011).

<sup>108</sup> *Edwards Memphis Directory, Volume VII, 1868-1869*. (Southern Publishing Company, 1868), 109, 204, [http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1868\\_1869\\_edwards\\_final&sectionsel=pre](http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1868_1869_edwards_final&sectionsel=pre) (accessed November 1, 2011).

<sup>109</sup> *Edwards Memphis Directory For 1870* (Southern Publishing Company, 1870), 140, [http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1870\\_edwards\\_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h](http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1870_edwards_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h) (accessed November 1, 2011).

<sup>110</sup> 1870 Census for Shelby County, Tennessee, 76, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=haynes&series=9&state=14&countyid=670&hitcount=13&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B2289923%3B11022964%3B9%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=6> (accessed November 1, 2011).



she may have moved to Memphis. After Landon's death, she appears in the 1876 City Directory as Landon's widow, and it is certain that she too moved to Memphis at some point.<sup>111</sup>

By 1871, two more sons joined Landon in Memphis. The 1871 *Edwards City Directory* lists L.C. Haynes and D.H. Haynes, Landon's sons, as clerks for Haynes & Stockton. Interestingly, son Robert is not listed in the directory. The family now resided at 601 Shelby and the law office was located at 40 Madison Street.<sup>112</sup> The family remained at 601 Shelby, and Landon worked at Haynes & Stockton for several years. Landon Carter Haynes died on February 17, 1875, and the cause of death was listed as "Congestive Brain."<sup>113</sup> His widow, Eleanor, boarded at a home on Walnut Street.<sup>114</sup> By 1880, however, she had joined the household of her son, David H., in Jackson, Tennessee, as the 1880 Census records her living with David and his family.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Boyle, Chapman & Co's *Directory of the City of Memphis for 1876* (Boyle & Chapman, Printers, 1876), 205, [http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1876\\_boyle-chapman\\_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h](http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1876_boyle-chapman_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h) (accessed December 1, 2011).

<sup>112</sup> *Edwards Memphis Directory, Volume 9, 1871* (Southern Publishing Company, 1871), 191, [http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1871\\_edwards\\_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h&jumpimg1=1871\\_edwards\\_h\\_190.jpg&jumpimg2=1871\\_edwards\\_h\\_191.jpg&current=191](http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1871_edwards_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h&jumpimg1=1871_edwards_h_190.jpg&jumpimg2=1871_edwards_h_191.jpg&current=191) (accessed November 1, 2011).

<sup>113</sup> Memphis Register of Deaths, 1875, file number 16452, <http://register.shelby.tn.us/imgView.php?imgtype=pdf&id=1645218750217> (accessed November 1, 2011).

<sup>114</sup> Sholes, A. E., compiler. *Boyle, Chapman & Co.'s Directory of the City of Memphis for 1876* (Boyle & Chapman, 1876), 205, [http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1876\\_boyle-chapman\\_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h](http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1876_boyle-chapman_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h) (accessed November 1, 2011).

<sup>115</sup> 1880 Census for Madison County, Tennessee, City of Jackson, 23, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=haynes&series=10&state=14&countyid=658&hitcount=26&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B13641026%3B217587525%3B10%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=4> (accessed November 1, 2011).

### *Postwar Ownership (1865-1872)*

On July 1, 1865, the farm of two hundred fifty acres belonging to Landon C. Haynes was sold on the Washington County Courthouse steps to John R. Banner for the sum of \$400.<sup>116</sup> In 1867, John Banner sold the property to Robert Haynes, Landon's son, for the sum of \$498.<sup>117</sup> By 1871, Landon Haynes, Robert Haynes, the Bank of Knoxville, David King, and others were involved in a lawsuit. The Court ordered the farm sold to pay certain sums to Robert Haynes, the Bank of Knoxville, and others.<sup>118</sup> John White purchased the farm at auction for \$4,625.00 on February 25, 1871.<sup>119</sup>

### *Simerly Ownership (1872-1944)*

In 1872, John White conveyed the 220-acre property to Sarah L. Simerly, a niece of Landon C. Haynes.<sup>120</sup> Sarah was married to Samuel W. Simerly of Carter County. The Simerly family came to Tennessee following the Revolutionary War. John Simerly (or Zimmerle) was a German immigrant and

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<sup>116</sup> Decree of Chancery Court, Washington County Deed Book 40, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 498.

<sup>117</sup> Washington County Deed Book 40, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 499.

<sup>118</sup> Copy of Decree, May 28, 1871, Washington County Deed Book 48, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 531.

<sup>119</sup> Report, Exchange & Deposit Bank et al, February 25, 1871, Washington County Deed Book 48, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 532.

<sup>120</sup> Washington County Deed Book 46, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 316. A second deed was filed May 1, 1882, from John White to S.L. Simerly, Washington County Deed Book 48, Page 533. This states it was to confirm the earlier deed of 1871, leading one to suspect that some questions lingered regarding title to the property. Sarah Simerly was the daughter of Lawson Gifford and one of Landon C. Haynes's sisters.

Revolutionary War veteran. He received a land grant in Carter County, in the Doe Cove area, in 1792.<sup>121</sup> John's grandson, Elijah Simerly, was the father of Samuel W. Simerly. Elijah Simerly was the founder of Hampton, Tennessee, named in honor of his wife, Mary Hampton.<sup>122</sup> Elijah Simerly served as the sheriff of Carter County from 1854-1860, and in the Tennessee General Assembly from 1865 to 1867. He was also the president of the East Tennessee & Western North Carolina Railroad from 1867 to 1871.<sup>123</sup> Elijah Simerly also participated in the bridge burning in Bluff City for the Union Army during the Civil War.<sup>124</sup> The 1860 census listed the value of his real estate as being \$10,300, the value of his personal estate as \$9,000, and his occupation as farmer.<sup>125</sup>

The 1880 Census lists Samuel as a farmer, and as being thirty years of age. There is also a mark in the column indicating that Samuel may have been maimed, crippled, or somehow disabled.<sup>126</sup> Letters from Elijah Simerly to Samuel indicate that Samuel assisted his father in his business matters relating

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<sup>121</sup> Carter County History Book Committee, *Carter County Tennessee and Its People, 1796-1993* (USA: Walsworth Publishing Co., 1993), 11.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 11, 516.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 516.

<sup>125</sup> 1860 Census for Carter County, Tennessee, Second District, 102, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=simmerly&series=8&state=14&countyid=1127&hitcount=9&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B9101094%3B55347557%3B8%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=0> (accessed July 20, 2011).

<sup>126</sup> 1880 Census for Washington County, Tennessee, Ninth Civil District, 15, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=simerly&series=10&state=14&countyid=672&hitcount=4&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B13652040%3B219619714%3B10%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=1> (accessed July 20, 2011).

to the iron forge owned by Elijah. In addition to assisting his father, Samuel Simerly also had the farm to manage as well. The 1880 Agriculture Census provides insight into the scope of farming operations during the first decade of Simerly ownership. The census indicates the value of the farm at \$5,000 and listed the value of his livestock at \$500. He owned three milk cows and three “other cows;”<sup>127</sup> two calves were born, and two cows were sold. His cows produced three hundred pounds of butter. He planted fifty acres of Indian corn that yielded 1200 bushels; twenty acres of oats that yielded two hundred fifty bushels, and forty acres of wheat that yielded three hundred twenty bushels. Samuel also planted forty-eight acres of potatoes and had a four-acre orchard on his farm.<sup>128</sup> As the average size farm in Tennessee in 1880 was 125 acres,<sup>129</sup> and the average farm size in Washington County was 111 acres, Samuel Simerly owned an above-average sized farm for Washington County.<sup>130</sup> Samuel W. Simerly died January 6, 1888, and his wife, Sarah L. Simerly, inherited the farm. The inventory of Samuel’s estate, dated July 26, 1888, stated that the

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<sup>127</sup> The columns for cattle are “working cows,” “milk cows,” and “other cows.”

<sup>128</sup> 1880 Agriculture Census, Washington County, Tennessee, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>129</sup> “Table II: Farms, Total Numbers, Total Acreage, Average Size, and Percentage of Unimproved Land to Total Land, By States and Territories, For 1880, 1870, and 1860,” in *Report of the Productions of Agriculture as Returned at the Tenth Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, June 1, 1880), 25, [http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical\\_Publications/1880/1880a\\_v3-02.pdf](http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical_Publications/1880/1880a_v3-02.pdf) (accessed November 29, 2011).

<sup>130</sup> “Table V: Number and Size of Farms, With Average Size and Classification According to Tenure, By Counties,” in *Report of the Productions of Agriculture as Returned at the Tenth Census* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, June 1, 1880), 88, [http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical\\_Publications/1880/1880a\\_v3-02.pdf](http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical_Publications/1880/1880a_v3-02.pdf) (accessed November 29, 2011).

administrator of the estate, J.H. Simerly, had nothing to report.<sup>131</sup> No will for Samuel Simerly has been located in the Washington County records.

The Simerly family continued to work the farm after the death of the elder Samuel W. Simerly. His son, also Samuel W. Simerly, farmed the homestead.<sup>132</sup> Lawson Gifford Simerly worked in the freight depot of the Southern Railroad in Johnson City, and for Summers Hardware Company.<sup>133</sup> Lawson was a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Knoxville Lodge No. 22 and a member of the Johnson City Elks Club.<sup>134</sup> Lawson retired in 1947, and lost a leg in 1948.<sup>135</sup>

Samuel Simerly was an active farmer. His account books note that he employed several farm workers at different points to assist him, including E.L. Johnson, Nat Clark, Jasper Crowell, Jim Daniels, Leal Bowman, B .Watson, Dave Baker, and Henry Lawson.<sup>136</sup> He employed Albert H. Renfro for a period of

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<sup>131</sup> Washington County Inventory of Estates, Book 116, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 167.

<sup>132</sup> There is a Samuel Simerly listed as serving in the Spanish-American War in Company D, 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division. It is unclear whether it is this Samuel Simerly or one of the Simerly family that lived in Carter County during the period. *Index to Service Abstracts of Soldiers In Tennessee Volunteer Units in the Spanish American War*, Tennessee State Library and Archives, <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/history/military/saw05.htm> (accessed May 18, 2011).

<sup>133</sup> Dorothy Hamill, "Of Many Things," Tipton-Haynes Vertical File, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.

<sup>134</sup> Affidavit of Lawson Gifford Simerly, Box 4, Folder 4, "Legal Documents – Affidavits – Simerly, Lawson Gifford," and Membership Card, Box 4, Folder 7, "Programs – Miscellaneous," Simerly Family Papers, 1857-1954, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>135</sup> Hamill.

<sup>136</sup> Account Books, Box 1, Folders 1 through 3, Simerly Family Papers.

ten years, from 1933 to 1943.<sup>137</sup> His 1943 Farm Plan for the War Production Program indicates that he had five acres of oats, one acre of barley, ten acres of hay, six and one-half acres of garden vegetables, four acres of legumes, and twenty acres of lespedeza. He also had twelve cattle and calves, three dairy cows, five horses and mules, fifty hens, and one hundred chickens.<sup>138</sup> He was still working the farm as late as 1954, as indicated by his Notification of 1954 Wheat Acreage Allotment from the Department of Agriculture, allotting the farm four acres for wheat production.<sup>139</sup> Additionally, he allowed companies to post advertising signs on his property, receiving \$20.00 for two years rent on a panel on Highways 36 and 19W from Miller Poster Advertising Co. of Morristown, Tennessee, in 1945.<sup>140</sup>

Sarah L. Simerly lived with her sons on the farm until her death in 1935. After Lawson's retirement, he lived at the home and cooked for the brothers.<sup>141</sup> In 1958, the brothers sold their remaining land to Clinton Garland and his wife.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> D.M. Sanderson, Holston Ordnance Works to S.W. Simerly, Box 3, File 17, "Correspondence – Rush-Simerly," Simerly Family Papers.

<sup>138</sup> War Production Program: 1943 Farm Plan, Box 2, Folder 3, "Accounts – Bills and Receipts," Simerly Family Papers.

<sup>139</sup> Notification of 1954 Wheat Acreage Allotment, Box 2, Folder 3, "Accounts – Bills and Receipts," Simerly Family Papers.

<sup>140</sup> I. Miller, Mgr. to S.W. Simerly, dated December 18, 1945, Box 2, File 3, 'Accounts – Bills and Receipts,' Simerly Family Papers.

<sup>141</sup> Hamill.

<sup>142</sup>"Inventory of State Land," dated November 24, 1960, Series XIII, Box 7, Folder 8, "Tipton-Haynes Historic Site: Correspondence (1960)", Mary Hardin McCown Collection.

Samuel was residing in a nursing home by 1961.<sup>143</sup> Lawson remained in the home and a neighbor named Clinton Garland cared for him.<sup>144</sup> Lawson Simerly died November 16, 1962, and Samuel Simerly died November 21, 1962. Lawson bequeathed his personal property to Clinton Garland and \$2,000.00 to Ida Byrd of Johnson City for caring for him. He left the remainder of his estate to his brother.<sup>145</sup> Samuel Simerly left a few small bequests to various people, as well as bequeathing \$1,000 to the N.G. Taylor Methodist Church. The remainder of his estate, including all farming tools, livestock, hay, feed, and a lot on Cherokee Road in Johnson City, was left to Clinton Garland.<sup>146</sup>

From 1784 until 1944, three families owned the Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site. For the Tipton and Haynes families, the farm was not the primary occupation of the owner, as politics, law, and newspaper editorship was the principal focus of the owner in question. Perhaps it is significant that it was also during this period that slavery was legal and that slaves lived on the farm, as will be discussed in the next chapter. The ability to use slave labor for the farm allowed Colonel John Tipton, John Tipton Jr., and Landon Carter Haynes to focus on other occupations. It was not until after the abolishment of slavery in 1865 that active management of the farm became the primary occupation of the owner of the site. The Simerly family, having no unpaid slave labor to depend

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<sup>143</sup> Hamill.

<sup>144</sup> Hamill.

<sup>145</sup> Washington County Clerk Wills, Book 8, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 265. Lawson Simerly's will is dated May 17, 1961.

<sup>146</sup> Washington County Clerk Wills, Book 8, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 269. Samuel Simerly's will is dated May 31, 1960.

upon, actively managed the farm and it was their primary source of income. The question of whether the Simerly family utilized African American farm laborers on the farm will be addressed in chapter three.



## CHAPTER II: AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE TIPTON-HAYNES HISTORIC SITE

In 1851, Landon Carter Haynes, owner of what is now known as the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site in Washington County, Tennessee, found himself indebted to David H. Haynes (his father), to Mat G. Haynes, and to William R. Dulaney for a total of six hundred dollars. Needing to repay these men, Landon Carter Haynes mortgaged property he owned; namely, his slave George. The Deed of Trust named Lawson Gifford as trustee of the transaction. If Landon did not pay his debts to these men by September 8, 1853, Gifford had the power to “expose this said slave to public sale and sell him to the highest bidder for cash in hand.”<sup>147</sup> This transaction highlights two aspects of slavery at the site; first, that slavery is an integral part of its history and second, that a slave’s life was unstable, meaning that a slave was subject to sale at any point and that living at the site could change whenever the master desired to send the slave away. Understanding slavery and its implications is vital for understanding American history. As historian Ira Berlin states, “Simply put, American history cannot be understood without slavery. Slavery shaped the American economy, its politics, its culture, and its fundamental principles.”<sup>148</sup>

Unlike some who came to the Tennessee frontier, Colonel Tipton arrived in Tennessee with slaves. The 1783 Tax List for Shenandoah County, Virginia,

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<sup>147</sup> Washington County Deed Book 33, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 104.

<sup>148</sup> Ira Berlin, “American Slavery in History and Memory and the Search for Social Justice,” *Journal of American History* 90, no. 4 (March 2004): 1257.

the last full year that Colonel John Tipton resided in Shenandoah County, lists John Tipton as owning one slave over the age of sixteen and one slave under the age of sixteen.<sup>149</sup> Historians assert that most early settlers to Tennessee came from western North Carolina or Virginia, and few brought slaves with them; Tipton appears to be an exception to the rule.<sup>150</sup> Bringing slaves to the frontier marked someone as wealthy, as extra people to feed and care for were a liability.<sup>151</sup> Tipton's two slaves possibly helped in building the farmhouse, clearing the land, and generally establishing the Tipton's new home on the frontier.

It is intriguing that the number of slaves the county taxed Tipton for fluctuated greatly over the years. The Washington County tax lists for the period record, among other things, the number of "black polls" each tax owner had. A poll is a term used for an enumeration of individuals in an area, so a black poll is an enumeration of slaves in the taxed age group, and that age group could change over time. A white poll was an enumeration of the white males in the county in the taxed age bracket. For example, a black poll was a male or female

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<sup>149</sup> 1783 Shenandoah County (Virginia) tax list, <http://www.vagenweb.org/shenandoah/1783pg33.html> (accessed October 21, 2011).

<sup>150</sup> Edwin Michael McCormack, *Slavery on the Tennessee Frontier* (Nashville: Tennessee American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1977), 4. McCormack notes that most settlers that brought slaves with them were from the coastal regions. Tipton came from the Shenandoah Valley, and appears to be an anomaly to the pattern described by McCormack.

<sup>151</sup> Anita S. Goodstein, "Black History on the Nashville Frontier, 1780-1810," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1979): 403.

slave aged ten to sixty in 1794 and 1795.<sup>152</sup> The 1787 tax list for Washington County lists Colonel Tipton with one black poll, one white poll, and 2,015 acres of land.<sup>153</sup> The 1795 tax list shows Colonel Tipton with one white poll, no black polls, and no acreage.<sup>154</sup> No documentary evidence suggests what happened to Tipton's slaves. Other than being listed on tax lists for some years, there is no indication of whether they were sold or traded, and no records of such have been uncovered to date. However, most historians agree that slaves during the frontier period of Tennessee's history were neither sold nor traded.<sup>155</sup> One year later, the tax list shows a dramatically different picture. In the 1796 tax list, Tipton has 947 acres of land, one stud (horse kept for breeding), zero white polls, and five black polls.<sup>156</sup> Tipton's 1797 tax accounting is similar, with the only exception being that he was taxed for two studs rather than one.<sup>157</sup> In the space of two years, Tipton went from being taxed for no slaves to being taxed for five

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<sup>152</sup> Lucy Kennerly Gump, "Possessions and Patterns of Living in Washington County: The 20 Years Before Tennessee Statehood, 1777-1996" (master's thesis, East Tennessee State University, 1989), 136. Gump goes on to state that she believes this definition to extend to the 1796 tax list as well. Although she states that the tax aged group could change, she does not specify what, if any, years taxed a different age range of slaves.

<sup>153</sup> Pollyanna Creekmore, compiler, *Early East Tennessee Taxpayers* (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1980), 206. Creekmore states that the black and white polls for the year 1787 were males aged 12-60.

<sup>154</sup> 1795 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1778-1846, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>155</sup> McCormack, 10.

<sup>156</sup> 1796 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1778-1846, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives. Tipton is not taxed for any white polls as he was 66 in 1796, and thus past the age range that was taxed.

<sup>157</sup> 1797 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1778-1846, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

slaves. As the average number of black polls per slaveholder in 1796 in Washington County was two, this suggests that, at least in 1796, Colonel Tipton was one of the wealthier men in the community.<sup>158</sup> It also leaves unanswered why the number of slaves he owned fluctuated so dramatically over short periods of time.

Colonel Tipton possibly hired some of his slaves out, as this was not an uncommon practice at the time. Hiring out surplus slaves was a way for masters to further profit from their slaves, and an unskilled laborer could be hired out for as much as ten dollars per month.<sup>159</sup> Hiring out slaves would also explain why the number of slaves Tipton was taxed for fluctuated; a later Act of the Tennessee Assembly made it the responsibility of the hirer to pay the tax on slaves if the slave was in the possession of the hirer.<sup>160</sup>

The Washington County tax lists for John Tipton Jr.'s period of ownership also reflect fluctuation in slave ownership. For example, John Tipton Jr. has not been found on the tax lists for the years 1813-1821. He may not have lived at the site in those years as he had earlier established a home in Sullivan County. Records of the time are also spotty, so the pages listing him for those years could be simply missing. The first mention of John Tipton Jr. in the Washington

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<sup>158</sup> Gump, 137.

<sup>159</sup> Clayton E. Jewett and John O. Allen, *Slavery in the South: A State-by-State History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 226.

<sup>160</sup> Chapter 41, *Public Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the General Assembly*, 50 [http://books.google.com/books?id=vb44AAAAIAAJ&pg=PA50&lpg=PA50&dq=who+paid+taxes+on+hired+out+slaves+in+tennessee&source=bl&ots=fulB6f45tv&sig=XCMc5OZzyZK2B7dXdo2O2ihaDHo&hl=en&ei=tc7fTqaDC8nUgQfm0vXfBQ&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=1&sqi=2&ved=0CBwQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=who%20paid%20taxes%20on%20hired%20out%20slaves%20in%20tennessee&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=vb44AAAAIAAJ&pg=PA50&lpg=PA50&dq=who+paid+taxes+on+hired+out+slaves+in+tennessee&source=bl&ots=fulB6f45tv&sig=XCMc5OZzyZK2B7dXdo2O2ihaDHo&hl=en&ei=tc7fTqaDC8nUgQfm0vXfBQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&sqi=2&ved=0CBwQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=who%20paid%20taxes%20on%20hired%20out%20slaves%20in%20tennessee&f=false) (accessed December 6, 2011).

County tax lists is the 1822 tax list. In 1822, Tipton Jr. has zero white polls, two black polls, and no acreage.<sup>161</sup> The 1823 tax list shows John Tipton Jr. with zero white polls and three black polls.<sup>162</sup> The 1824 tax list shows John Tipton Jr. with four black polls and zero white polls, and the 1827 tax list shows three black polls.<sup>163</sup> The 1830 Tax List records zero white and zero black polls.<sup>164</sup> Neither the Inventory of John Tipton Jr.'s estate nor his Last Will lists any slaves, suggesting he may not have owned slaves at the time of his death.<sup>165</sup> This fluidity in numbers over eight years suggests possible instability in the daily lives of the slaves at the site.

A possible explanation for the fluidity is that one or both of the Tiptons speculated in both land and slaves. Consider the known facts about Colonel Tipton. Within an eight-year period, the amount of acreage owned by Colonel Tipton declined a total of 1,068 acres, from 2,015 acres to 947. The number of slaves he was taxed for went from two to zero to five during that time span. Tipton's economic speculations are a possible explanation for his fluctuation in the number of slaves and the amount of acreage he owned. This pattern seems

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<sup>161</sup> 1822 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1778-1846, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>162</sup> 1823 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1778-1846, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>163</sup> 1824 Tax List and 1827 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1778-1846, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>164</sup> 1830 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1778-1846, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>165</sup> Washington County Inventory Book I, 1826-1834, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 143. Washington County Will Book 1, August 1779-February 1857, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 244.

to have continued into his old age. For example, in 1801, when Tipton was seventy-one years old, he owned 382 acres of land, one stud, and three black polls.<sup>166</sup>

The value of the slaves that Colonel Tipton owned and was taxed for varied during his lifetime. During the frontier period, the value of slaves in Washington County varied between £25 and £115. In contrast, other household and farm possessions were valued at no more than £20 during the period, with the exception of stills.<sup>167</sup> Slaves were therefore more valued more than other “property” owned by slaveholders. Various factors, such as the health of the slave, farming skills possessed by the slave, and knowledge of a skilled trade such as carpentry all affected the price and value of a slave on the frontier.<sup>168</sup> No evidence has been uncovered showing what Tipton paid for his slaves or the price for which he sold his slaves.

The tax lists, noting the fluidity in slaves on the site, highlight the instability of slave life during the Tipton period of ownership. A deed, dated April 24, 1806, records that Colonel Tipton sold a slave woman to Isaac Tipton of Carter County, one of Colonel Tipton’s sons. The slave is described in the deed as “a negro woman named Fan about forty five years of age.”<sup>169</sup> No price is listed on the deed. The sale of slaves did not have to be recorded after 1801 if the owner took

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<sup>166</sup> 1801 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1778-1846, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>167</sup> Gump, 87.

<sup>168</sup> McCormack, 18.

<sup>169</sup> Washington County Deed Book 8, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 330.

possession of the slave.<sup>170</sup> Did Colonel Tipton retain possession of Fan and did she continue to live at the Tipton farm in Washington County? If that is true, it raises questions as to why Fan would remain with Colonel Tipton rather than with Isaac Tipton. Some historians point out that some transfers of slaves within families were done to maintain family relationships.<sup>171</sup> Perhaps the transfer was done to maintain some familial relationship. The deed, rather than clarifying the slavery situation at the farm, raises more questions about the nature of slave life during this period.

Determining the relationship between the Tipton family and their slaves is difficult. No documentary evidence suggests any close or intimate relationships between Colonel Tipton, his son, John Jr., or any of their slaves. What does scholarship tell us about potential relationships? Anita S. Goodstein depicts slavery in frontier Nashville as “individualistic, lacking in community agencies . . . at once more intimate and more commercial.”<sup>172</sup> She also depicts the frontier era as an episode of black history markedly different from both plantation life and urban life.<sup>173</sup> John Finger depicts slavery during the frontier period as fluid; asserting that masters treated their slaves in a familiar way and regarded them

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<sup>170</sup> Caleb Perry Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865* (1922, repr., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), 52-53. Patterson states that a law was passed in 1784 requiring that the sale of slaves and deeds of gifts had to be recorded in writing, witnessed by at least one person, and recorded within nine months. This was done to stop the secret and fraudulent transfer of slaves. By 1801, the law was changed and transfers no longer had to be recorded as long as the new owner took possession of the slave.

<sup>171</sup> Goodstein, 405.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 401.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 402.

as trusted friends.<sup>174</sup> Since slaves and masters were engaged in the same struggle against the wilderness, Edwin McCormack believes slaves were treated as family while masters and slaves worked side by side.<sup>175</sup> Goodstein points out that the shared dangers of the journey to the frontier, as well as the close living conditions afterwards, intensified relationships between slaves and masters.<sup>176</sup> Lester Lamon, in his work on African-American history in Tennessee, notes slaves were rarely sold on the frontier and that this allowed for family relationships and personal attachments between slave and master to form.<sup>177</sup> Anna Lisa Norwood Oakley found that owners likely viewed their slaves as “chattel,” a piece of moveable property that could be bought and sold.<sup>178</sup>

Slave narratives from the region, however, dispute the idea that slaves were not often sold. Betty Chrisman, an ex-slave born in Virginia in 1790, never knew her parents or siblings. Her earliest recollections were of East Tennessee, and she married a fellow slave in East Tennessee; however, within six years, he

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<sup>174</sup> John R. Finger, *Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 169.

<sup>175</sup> McCormack, 10.

<sup>176</sup> Goodstein, 406.

<sup>177</sup> Lester C. Lamon, *Blacks in Tennessee, 1791-1970* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 6-7.

<sup>178</sup> Anna Lisa Norwood Oakley, “Interpreting the Frontier Slave Experience: Slavery at Blount Mansion, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1792-1800” (master’s thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1993), 22. Oakley goes on to note that slaves during this period held a dual status. Under common law, slaves were considered as persons with the ability to walk, talk, have emotions and who would runaway if treated cruelly. Under civil law, they were viewed as chattel that could be bought and sold. During the frontier period, most masters leaned towards the civil law perception of slaves.



was sold and she never saw him again.<sup>179</sup> Dan Newborn, born in 1860 in Knoxville, Tennessee, recounts that his grandmother was sold and that his parents were owned by different masters.<sup>180</sup> Frankie Goole, an ex-slave born in Smith County, Tennessee, recounted that her master sold her mother when Frankie was six weeks old.<sup>181</sup>

Determining the type of work slaves performed during the Tipton period of ownership is difficult. The tax lists for 1796 and 1797 indicate that Colonel Tipton, in addition to the slaves and land he owned, also owned stud horses. Historians have noted that Colonel Tipton was interested in horses and thoroughbreds, and that he bred race horses at his farm.<sup>182</sup> Slaves living at the farm may have helped care for the horses, especially as Colonel Tipton did not have any sons still living in his home by 1796. The slaves possibly also worked in the fields, tending whatever crops the Tiptons planted, for as historian Wilma Dunaway points out, three-fourths of all adult Appalachian slaves worked in the

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<sup>179</sup> John W. Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 468.

<sup>180</sup> Interview with Dan Newborn, from *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938*, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=025/mesn025.db&recNum=215&itemLink=S?ammem/mesn bib:@field\(AUTHOR+@od1\(Newborn,+Dan\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=025/mesn025.db&recNum=215&itemLink=S?ammem/mesn bib:@field(AUTHOR+@od1(Newborn,+Dan))) (accessed January 31, 2012).

<sup>181</sup> Interview with Frankie Goole, from *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938*, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=150/mesn150.db&recNum=21&itemLink=S?ammem/mesn bib:@field\(AUTHOR+@od1\(Goole,+Frankie\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=150/mesn150.db&recNum=21&itemLink=S?ammem/mesn bib:@field(AUTHOR+@od1(Goole,+Frankie))) (accessed January 31, 2012).

<sup>182</sup> Samuel Cole Williams, *History of Johnson City and Its Environs* (Johnson City: Watauga Press, 1940), 17.

fields for at least part of their duties.<sup>183</sup> It is also likely that they worked closely with Colonel Tipton; Lucy Kennerly Gump, in her thesis on Washington County during the frontier period, points out that since the average slave owner only owned two slaves, masters and slaves must have worked closely together.<sup>184</sup>

Scholars and site interpreters believe Colonel Tipton housed his slaves in the basement kitchen of the main house (Figure 2).<sup>185</sup> Housing slaves in a basement was not uncommon during the frontier period of Tennessee's history. Not all masters built separate dwellings for their slaves; as many historians and archaeologists have noted, some slave habitations were located in basements or wings attached to the main house.<sup>186</sup> George McDaniel notes that house slaves in particular often lived in the same house as the master, usually in the attic, basement or over the kitchen.<sup>187</sup> Slaves were also known to sleep under stairways.<sup>188</sup> There is no documentation suggesting Colonel Tipton had a

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<sup>183</sup> Wilma Dunaway, *Slavery in the American Mountain South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 54.

<sup>184</sup> Gump, 149.

<sup>185</sup> Undated materials instructing tour guides how to conduct tours of the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site, "Guidelines for Tours (1978 and undated)", Box 2, Folder 8, Gertrude B. Deakins Collection, Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee.

<sup>186</sup> Michael Strutt, "Slave Housing in Antebellum Tennessee," in *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*, ed. Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 225. Strutt surveyed the remaining slave housing in Tennessee for his study. He found that the nature of extant slave housing varied greatly in Tennessee, with construction materials and house types varying widely. He concludes that slave housing was as varied as the institution of slavery itself, and that there is no single model of slave housing that can be determined from extant slave housing in the state.

<sup>187</sup> George W. McDaniel, *Hearth & Home: Preserving a People's Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 97.

<sup>188</sup> "Every Thursday was "Whipping Day" for Slaves," in *Unwritten History of Slavery: Autobiographical Accounts of Negro Ex-Slaves* (Nashville: Fisk University, 1945), 221.

separate house for his slaves. If the number of slaves fluctuated over the years, it would make sense that they lived in the basement rather than a separate house that would stand empty at times.

There is no direct evidence of the type of living conditions slaves endured during the Tipton period. Lamon, in discussing the frontier period in Tennessee history, notes that slaves lived in small groups during that period. As farms tended to be isolated, slaves and masters shared common experiences such as clearing the land, building homes and churches, and building barns.<sup>189</sup> This may hold true for slaves living at the site during the early Tipton period, as Tipton and his slaves worked together to build the main house, construct the barns, and create a way of life on the frontier. Also, no matter how well the Tipton family treated their slaves, it is important to note that slavery itself was an inherently unequal and brutal system. As Oakley, in describing slavery at a similar elite household in frontier Knoxville, observes, “the institution of slavery remained evil and repressive with power placed in the hands of whites to create whatever existence they wanted for their slaves.”<sup>190</sup> Without direct documentary evidence, historians are simply unable to discern what the actual living conditions at the site were during either the Tipton or the Haynes periods of ownership.

When discussing the small farms of the Appalachian South in a later period, Wilma Dunaway notes that farming was not always their only source of

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<sup>189</sup> Lamon, 6.

<sup>190</sup> Oakley, 34.

income. Dunaway states that although, “Most of the region’s small plantations were prosperous . . . about one-fifth of them combined professional careers, retail shops, government service, manufacturing, or extractive industry with their crop cultivation.”<sup>191</sup> Haynes’s experiences place him in that percentage of small plantation owners not dependent on the farm as the sole source of income. Moreover, although historians often depict East Tennessee as largely anti-slavery, Haynes and a significant number of his fellow East Tennesseans owned slaves and supported the preservation of slavery.<sup>192</sup> Wilma Dunaway asserts that nearly one-fifth of Appalachian households in Tennessee were slave-holders.<sup>193</sup>

The 1842 tax list shows Landon Carter Haynes having zero slaves; no acreage is recorded on this list.<sup>194</sup> The 1843 tax list shows one white poll and zero black polls for Landon Carter Haynes.<sup>195</sup> As Landon was a young man in 1843 and still establishing his career, he probably had not yet accumulated enough capital to purchase slaves. In addition, although Haynes owned the farm at Sinking Creek, agriculture was not his primary occupation, thereby negating his need for farm labor. By 1848, Haynes was more established, as the tax list

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<sup>191</sup> Dunaway, 33.

<sup>192</sup> Barksdale, 180. See also Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865* for a fuller discussion of the number of East Tennesseans who owned slaves in the 1850s (page 60). Patterson estimates that half the slaveholders in East Tennessee owned one or two slaves.

<sup>193</sup> Dunaway, 25.

<sup>194</sup> 1842 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1778-1846, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>195</sup> 1843 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1778-1846, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

reflects, listing him with one black poll, or slave, valued at \$400.<sup>196</sup> The number of slaves Landon paid taxes on remained unchanged for over a decade. A decade later, in 1859, Haynes paid taxes for one slave, although by then his slave was valued at \$1,000.<sup>197</sup> While the number of slaves that Haynes paid taxes on never rose above one, the 1860 Slave Census reflects that he owned more than one slave.

The 1860 Slave Census records Haynes owned three slaves. While names are not recorded on the Slave Census, sex, age, and race are recorded. The 1860 Slave Census shows that Haynes owned two black female slaves, aged sixty and nine. He owned one mulatto male slave, aged thirty-eight.<sup>198</sup> The ages of the slaves are puzzling, as it is unclear whether this is a single family unit. One assumes that the sixty year old female is too old to be the mother of the nine year old girl. The 1860 Census lists the names of these slaves along with the entire Haynes family. Charlotte was the adult female slave, the young female slave was Cornelia, and George was the male slave. In this census, both Cornelia and George are listed as mulatto, leading one to wonder if Cornelia was George's daughter.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> 1848 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1830-1850, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>197</sup> 1859 Tax List, Washington County Tax Book, 1851-1853; 1856-1861, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>198</sup> 1860 Slave Census, Washington County, Tennessee, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>199</sup> 1860 Census for Washington County, Tennessee,  
<http://persi.heritagequestonline.com/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=haynes&series=8&state=14&county=washington&countyid=672&hitcount=4&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3>

George Haynes, the male slave, has an interesting story and more is known of his life than any other slave who lived at the farm. The Tipton-Haynes Historic Site, in one of its permanent exhibits, states that there is an oral family tradition that George Haynes was the half-brother of Landon, sharing the same father, David Haynes.<sup>200</sup> Oral traditions assert George's mother was a slave but her name is not known. Penny McLaughlin, Director of the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site, has recounted the family tradition that George accompanied Landon to Washington College and may have worked as Landon's law clerk.<sup>201</sup> Landon certainly depended upon George, as a letter from the Civil War demonstrates. Landon served as a Confederate senator, and as such, was away from the farm during the war. Sometime in 1863, George Williams, a Washington County resident, must have inquired about renting the farm. Landon wrote to George Williams, stating, "George says that you would come to my farm and live on it. I want you to come and occupy the House, cultivate as much grounds as you wish and take care of my property with Notty and George or George if Notty will not stay . . . I want George to cultivate the Orchard in corn."<sup>202</sup> From the tone of the letter, it appears that George remained on the

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[AUS%3Bcensus%3B9118932%3B55556237%3B8%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=3](#) (accessed October 21, 2011).

<sup>200</sup> "George Haynes – slave," Interpretative Panel, Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee.

<sup>201</sup> Penny McLaughlin states these traditions in a newspaper article by Sue Guinn Legg entitled, "History Comes to Life." The article was found in the Tipton-Haynes Vertical File, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.

<sup>202</sup> Landon Carter Haynes to George Williams, November 4, 1863, Box 6, Folder 16, Mary Hardin McCown Collection, Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee.

farm during the war, caring for it during Landon's absence. It is also interesting that Landon states that he wants George Williams to ask George, the slave, to care for the property. The letter reveals Landon's dependence on George, and could support the claim that George and Landon were half-brothers. When Landon moved to Memphis after the war, the tradition is that George moved with him. A George Haines has been located in the 1877 Memphis City Directory, lending some support to the claim that George moved with the family to Memphis after the war.<sup>203</sup>

While George and Landon may have been related and shared a close relationship, it did not stop Landon from using George's economic value when needed. Landon mortgaged George in 1851, with Lawson Gifford, his brother-in-law, serving as trustee in the transaction. The Deed of Trust states that Landon will transfer George to Lawson if the debts mentioned in the deed are not paid in the time specified. George is described as, "a man slave named George a Mulato[sic] and about twenty two years of age." George is further described as "healthy and a slave for life." The debts Landon owed are enumerated in the deed. He owed David H. Haynes, his father (and possibly George's) four hundred dollars, and the amount was due to be paid in full within two years of September 8, 1851. He owned Mat G. (or Nat G.) Haynes one hundred dollars from a note executed February 22, 1847 that was to be paid in one year. Landon had already paid \$16.10 on that debt on September 8, 1851. Lastly, Landon

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<sup>203</sup> C.W. Norwood, compiler, *Sholes' Directory for the City of Memphis for 1877* (Memphis: A.E. Sholes, Publisher, 1877), 243, [http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1877\\_sholes\\_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h](http://register.shelby.tn.us/cityimage.php?citydir=1877_sholes_final&sectionsel=alphanumeric&letter=h) (accessed November 1, 2011).

owed William R. Dulaney the sum of one hundred dollars. The debts were to be paid before September 10, 1853. If the debts were not paid by this date, Lawson Gifford was to give twenty days notice and then “expose this said slave to public sale and sell him to the highest bidder for cash in hand.”<sup>204</sup> As George is on the 1860 Slave Census and the 1860 Census, Landon repaid his debts and George remained at the farm. However, this mortgage highlights the tenuousness of any relationship between slave and master. At any time, no matter the personal feelings or attachments involved, a slave could be sold to satisfy the debt of the master.

Tracing the relationships among the slaves during the Haynes period is difficult. Neither documentary evidence nor oral traditions have been found that specifically discuss relationships among slaves at the farm. Lamon notes that slaves in Tennessee had few opportunities to socialize and had to rely upon their families. They also had limited mobility, lived in small groups, and could rarely escape the watchful eyes of their white masters.<sup>205</sup> As the number of slaves at the site tended to be more stable during the Haynes period, one would assume that the three slaves that lived at the site formed relationships with each other and perhaps even created a familial atmosphere for themselves.

Thanks to the 1850 Agriculture Census, more can be determined about the work of George, Charlotte and Cornelia did at the farm. In that year, the farm’s cash value was estimated at \$4,000. Landon owned seven horses, seven

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<sup>204</sup> Washington County Deed Book 33, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 104.

<sup>205</sup> Lamon, 17.



milch cows, six cattle, twenty sheep and forty swine. His farm produced 1,200 bushels of Indian corn, 200 bushels of oats and 60 pounds of flax.<sup>206</sup> As Landon primarily worked as an attorney and politician, George likely performed much of this farm work. Landon had four sons listed on the 1860 census, and at that time, one of them, Joseph, was listed as being a farmer.<sup>207</sup> It was not unknown, especially in the Appalachian South, for white sons to work with slaves in the field. Wilma Dunaway notes that, "The extent these small slaveholders engaged in manual labor varied from farm to farm. Even when their own sons worked, at least half of the owners went to the fields with their laborers."<sup>208</sup> There was also a child slave at the site, Cornelia, aged nine in 1860, who possibly worked in the fields at time as well. Some historians assert that at least half of the female slave children entered the field labor force by the age of seven.<sup>209</sup> Mary Emily Eaton Tate, a slave born in nearby Jefferson County in 1859, recounts that she and other slave children picked and seeded cotton.<sup>210</sup> Otherwise, the particular tasks the slaves performed during the Haynes period are a matter of conjecture.

Charlotte, the older female, likely cooked for the family, helped care for the six

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<sup>206</sup> 1850 Agriculture Census for Washington County, Tennessee, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>207</sup> 1860 Census for Washington County, Tennessee, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=haynes&series=8&state=14&county=washington&countyid=672&hitcount=4&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B9118932%3B55556237%3B8%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=3> (accessed October 21, 2011).

<sup>208</sup> Dunaway, 60.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 57-58. Dunaway also notes that Appalachian slave children were assigned chores in the fields by their tenth birthday.

<sup>210</sup> George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Supplement I* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 1977), 214.

children of the Haynes family, and cleaned the house. It was not uncommon for slave women to work in the fields as the men did; one ex-slave woman recounted, "I have done anything any man ever done 'cept cut wheat; but then after they cut it I would gather it up. . . before the War I worked plenty, just like men. Could look up any day and see ten women up over dar on the hill plowing."<sup>211</sup>

At least one slave house existed, as one is listed on the 1860 Slave Census, so perhaps George, Charlotte or Cornelia lived in the cabin.<sup>212</sup> All three may have lived in the house together; one ex-slave in White County recounted, "We all lived in the same cabin; just as many as could get in; men and women all together. They didn't care how we was treated. Stock was treated a great deal better."<sup>213</sup> Louise Sells, former Vice-President of the Tipton-Haynes Historical Association, once stated that the slave house was located where the visitor center now stands.<sup>214</sup> The slave cabin that was on the site when the state took full control of the property in the 1960s was a one and one-half story log cabin. The State demolished it in 1968 due to its advanced deterioration.<sup>215</sup> No notes or

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<sup>211</sup> "When It's Right To Steal From Your Master," in *Unwritten History of Slavery: Autobiographical Accounts of Negro Ex-Slaves* (Nashville: Fisk University, 1945), 30.

<sup>212</sup> 1860 Slave Census, Washington County, Tennessee, Microfilm Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>213</sup> "Stock Was Treated a Great Deal Better," in *Unwritten History of Slavery: Autobiographical Accounts of Negro Ex-Slaves* (Nashville: Fisk University, 1945), 217.

<sup>214</sup> Gump, 64. Gump cites an interview with Louise Sells, who was then Vice President of the Tipton-Haynes Historical Association, as the source of this information.

<sup>215</sup> Notes from the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site files, located at the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

photographs have been located of the cabin that the State razed, so it is difficult to determine precisely what the actual slave cabin looked like. There is also one more possible location of slave life at the site. Archaeologists recently excavated foundations of a structure just west of the present dining room and kitchen, and the researcher found evidence of possible slave life in that room. The archaeologist believes the room is a kitchen.<sup>216</sup> In 1999, the site placed a cabin, originally built in c. 1840 elsewhere in the county, at the site to interpret slavery. It is known as the George Haynes Slave Cabin (Figures 3 and 4).

In the end, the documentary evidence available allows one to weave a thin narrative of slave life that does acknowledge the presence of the enslaved at the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site. The history of slavery and how it functioned at smaller plantations and farms is important to our understanding of the institution. Most slave-owners, particularly in the Appalachian South, did not follow the patterns of large plantations, and slaves living on small farms experienced a different reality than slaves living on large plantations. In addition to understanding the complexity of slavery, the issue of slavery can help the present generation grapple with issues of race. Historian Ira Berlin notes that in order to address present issues of race, then the slave-holding past of our nation must be addressed.<sup>217</sup> Addressing slavery is difficult, as there are many

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<sup>216</sup> Personal communication from Daniel Brock dated October 1, 2011. Daniel Brock is pursuing a master's degree in archaeology at the University of Tennessee and works as an archaeologist at the university as well. He excavated the site within the last two years. His thesis and findings may be completed by November 2011.

<sup>217</sup> Berlin, 1258.

conflicting emotions regarding the subject. As Berlin notes, “For slavery, like race, also carries with it deep anger, resentment, indignation, and bitterness for some and embarrassment, humiliation, and shame for others, along with large drafts of denial.”<sup>218</sup> Statements such as this highlight the importance of understanding how slavery operated on small farms and in areas outside the cotton South.



Figure 2. Basement kitchen at the Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site. Photograph by author.

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 1260.



Figure 3. Front of George Haynes Slave Cabin. Photograph by author.



Figure 4. Rear of George Haynes Slave Cabin. Photograph by author.

### CHAPTER III: AFRICAN AMERICAN PRESENCE AT THE SITE IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD

The ownership of the Tipton-Haynes Farm was muddled during the immediate postwar period. It is also unclear what happened to the slaves of the Haynes family. Family and oral traditions assert that George Haynes moved with Landon to Memphis, and a George Haines can be found in the Memphis City Directory. As for the female slaves, the child Cornelia and the older woman Charlotte, there is no evidence as to what happened to them after the Civil War. As part of his Petition for Parole, Landon Haynes formally renounced slavery, stating that he “gives up the institution without reservation and will do nothing in the future to uphold or restore it.”<sup>219</sup> His petition does not, however, give any indication as to when and how he freed his slaves nor do they appear on the 1870 census.

With the confused state of farm ownership, it is also uncertain if any of the Reconstruction-era owners employed any African American farm labor to work the farm. John White, who purchased the farm in 1871, rented it to Thomas Wellborn, of North Carolina.<sup>220</sup> Census records for Washington County for 1870

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<sup>219</sup> Amnesty Petition of Landon Carter Haynes, May 29, 1865, *Case Files of Application From Former Confederates for Presidential Pardons (“Amnesty Papers”), 1865-1867*, Microfilm Publication M1003, North Carolina Files, roll 39; Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration – Southeast Region (Atlanta).

<sup>220</sup> “Tipton-Haynes Historic Site,” undated history, Series 7, Box 19, Folder 6, “Report: Tipton-Haynes Historic Site, undated,” Johnson City Foundry and Machine Works Records, 1902-1984, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.

lists a Thomas Wellborn, born in North Carolina, as living near Johnson City and farming. Thomas Wellborn and his family were listed as white.<sup>221</sup>

It seems likely that the general economic downturn in the South during Reconstruction affected the farm and those who wrested a living from it. Gordon McKinney notes that repudiation of Confederate war bonds and the ending of slavery meant that the elite of the region had fewer resources to invest into the region.<sup>222</sup> Others have characterized the region in the postwar period as “fragmented, divided, impoverished and violent.”<sup>223</sup> In addition to economic devastation, race relations in the region suffered during the postwar period. Race riots occurred in Asheville, North Carolina and in Hinton and Charles Town, West Virginia.<sup>224</sup> Targets of assault from whites often included freedmen’s school and USCT troops. Whites often stopped schooling of freedmen or burned the freedmen schools in Knoxville, Greeneville and Clinton.<sup>225</sup>

Despite periodic outbursts of violence, former slaves remained in Appalachia. The African American population of the region grew until 1940, although it did grow at a slower rate of increase than the white population of the

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<sup>221</sup> 1870 Census for Washington County, Tennessee, City of Johnson City, 255, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=wellborn&series=9&state=14&hitcount=3&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B2293416%3B11184153%3B9%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=2> (accessed January 9, 2012).

<sup>222</sup> Gordon B. McKinney, “The Civil War and Reconstruction,” in *High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place*, ed. Richard A. Straw and H. Tyler Blethen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 53.

<sup>223</sup> John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 181.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>225</sup> Junko Isono Kato, “From Slavery to Freedom in Tennessee, 1860-1870” (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2008), 204.



region.<sup>226</sup> Many of the African Americans in the region worked as farm laborers. Until 1910, the principal occupation of most African Americans was farming. Particularly after 1900, African Americans in the region began leaving farm occupations and working in coal mining, railroads, lumber, paper and clay industries, hotels and restaurants, and domestic service.<sup>227</sup>

While freedmen had experience as farm laborers, lack of knowledge of the workings of economic markets hindered their efforts at financial independence. Slavery had not provided most freedmen with the economic decision-making associated with farms, such as when and what to plant, how to market his crop, and how much fertilizer to use. Additionally, nine out of ten African American adults in 1870 could not write.<sup>228</sup> There were additional hardships for African American farmers to overcome in this period. Conventional wisdom of the time indicated that freedmen would fail as independent farmers due a lack of white supervision of their efforts. Therefore, there are few accounts of farms being rented to freedmen for a fixed payment in the period after the war. As such, there was a resurgence in wage labor in the 1870s for African American farm laborers.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Robert P. Stuckert, "Black Populations of the Southern Appalachian Mountains," *Phylon* 48, no. 2 (2<sup>nd</sup> Qtr., 1987): 143, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/274778> (accessed December 9, 2011).

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>228</sup> Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, "The Ex-Slave in the Post-Bellum South: A Study of the Economic Impact of Racism in a Market Environment," *Journal of Economic History* 33, no. 1 (March 1973): 136, <http://jstor.org/stable/2117146> (accessed January 23, 2012).

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

Narratives from ex-slaves of the region provide some clues as to life for freedmen after the war. Ellis Ken Kannon, living in Nashville at the time of his WPA interview, notes that freedmen continued to work after the war as they had before – in the fields despite believing they would eventually receive forty acres and a mule from the government.<sup>230</sup> Rachel Cruze, an ex-slave who lived in Strawberry Plains, Tennessee, recounted that her parents remained on the farm where they had worked for slaves for a time, renting acreage from their former master. After some time, they began to move from place to place, looking for better working conditions.<sup>231</sup> Other slaves in the region remembered freedmen moving around after freedom. Robert Falls, born in North Carolina, recounted that the roads were full of freedmen after the war, noting, “I remember so well, how the roads was full of folks walking and walking along when the niggers were freed. Didnt know where they was going. Just going to see about something else somewhere else.”<sup>232</sup>

Despite the end of slavery, farming continued as the primary way of life for Washington County after the Civil War. J.B. Killebrew, in his work entitled *Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee*, published in 1874, noted an

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<sup>230</sup> Interview with Ellis Ken Kannon, in the *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938*, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=150/mesn150.db&recNum=39&itemLink=D?mesnbib:7:.item/~ammem\\_if69](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=150/mesn150.db&recNum=39&itemLink=D?mesnbib:7:.item/~ammem_if69) (accessed January 31, 2012).

<sup>231</sup> Interview with Rachel Cruze, located at the Online Archives for *Slavery in the American Mountain South*, [http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/vtpubs/mountain\\_slavery/cruze.pdf](http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/vtpubs/mountain_slavery/cruze.pdf) (accessed January 23, 2012).

<sup>232</sup> Interview with Robert Falls, in the *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938*, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/S?ammem/mesnbib:@field\(AUTHOR+@od1\(Falls,+Robert\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/S?ammem/mesnbib:@field(AUTHOR+@od1(Falls,+Robert))) (accessed January 31, 2012).

improvement in agriculture after the Civil War in Washington County. In the section on Washington County, he notes, "Farms are in a much better condition now than previous to the war, and the system of cultivation is rapidly improving. Wheat, corn, oats, rye and barley are the crops grown."<sup>233</sup> He further recorded that almost every farm had an orchard. Additionally, the population of the county was increasing and farmers in the county formed an agricultural and mechanical association.<sup>234</sup>

Some account ledgers, papers and correspondence belonging to the Simerly family are housed at the Tennessee State Library and Archives. However, none of the collection refers to the farm or its management immediately after the Civil War. Multiple letters between Samuel Simerly and his father, Elijah, relate to the iron forge owned by Elijah. Other than the 1880 Agriculture Census, there is no sense of what was produced and who worked the land. After Samuel's death in 1888, his son, also Samuel, managed the farm. Ledgers relating to the farm belonging to this Samuel are located in the Simerly family collection. These ledgers list the names of the farm laborers engaged in working on the farm. The earliest of these records, however, date to 1913. The fact that the records for the farm begin in the early twentieth century shows that Samuel Simerly was most likely affected by the progressive farming movement of the time. Agricultural historian Gilbert Fite has noted the work reformers attempted in Southern agriculture, stating,

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<sup>233</sup> J.B. Killebrew, *Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee* (Nashville: Tavel, Eastman & Howell, 1874), 616.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 618.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, agricultural reformers intensified their efforts to bring about basic changes in southern farming. Farm journals, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the experiment stations, the cooperative extension services, and popular writers joined in calling for a better balanced and more efficient agriculture in the South.<sup>235</sup>

Part of the reforms agricultural leaders sought called for farmers to keep careful records relating to farm operations. Additionally, farmers joined organizations like the Farmer's Co-op and the Farm Bureau and heeded the advice of the county extension agent as to how to increase their yields.<sup>236</sup> Whether or not Samuel Simerly was a progressive farmer may be open for debate, but by 1913, he had at least begun to record the names of the men he employed on the farm and what he provided to them.

Samuel Simerly's farm ledgers do not cover the entire span of his farming career; rather, they intermittently record the work done on the farm from c. 1913 until c. 1942. Most pages list a year at the top and the name of a laborer. One rough column lists work performed by the laborer. Entries for one such laborer, Jasper Crowell, in March 1914 records that he worked in the garden, hauled manure, ploughed, planted corn and built fences. A second column lists the items Samuel Simerly provided, such as potatoes, cash in various small amounts, coffee, corn, wheat, potatoes and flour.<sup>237</sup> From June 1913 to 1917,

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<sup>235</sup> Gilbert C. Fite, "Southern Agriculture Since the Civil War: An Overview," in *Southern Agriculture Since the Civil War: A Symposium*, ed. George L. Robson, Jr. and Roy V. Scott (Santa Barbara: McNally & Lofton, West; Washington: Agricultural History Society, 1979), 14.

<sup>236</sup> Carroll Van West, *Tennessee Agriculture: A Century Farms Perspective* (Nashville: Tennessee Department of Agriculture, 1986), 4.

<sup>237</sup> "Account Books" undated, Box 1, Folder 1, Simerly Family Papers, 1857-1954, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee. Box 1 of the collection contains several

Simerly records the names of at least nine different men who performed some type of labor on the farm: Nat Clark, Lee Bowman, E.L. Johnson, Jasper Crowell, Jim Daniels, Grant Houston, Brown Watson, W.J. Wagner, and Isaac Vault. In addition to the work detailed above, other work performed at various times by the men included cutting wheat and oats, hauling crops, hauling timber, and working in the yard.<sup>238</sup>

The men listed in the account books appear to be African American and whites. E.L. (or Edward) Johnson was African-American and is listed in the 1910 Census as a farm laborer in Washington County.<sup>239</sup> Grant Houston was white, and the 1920 Census lists him on the same page as the Simerly family, although in a separate household.<sup>240</sup> Lee Bowman was white, and the 1910 Census indicated he lived in Johnson City and worked as a farm laborer.<sup>241</sup> Walter Wagner was African-American and lived near the Simerly family, as indicated in

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undated account books. The writing in the books is faded and only a few entries can be made out. The first book in the box contains entries dating from 1913 to 1917.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> 1910 Census, Washington County, Tennessee, 167, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=johnson&series=13&state=14&county=Washington&countyid=672&hitcount=80&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B6408399%3B15244125%3B13%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=10> (accessed February 2, 2012).

<sup>240</sup> 1920 Census, Washington County, Tennessee, 12, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=houston&series=14&state=14&county=Washington&countyid=672&hitcount=4&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B15771908%3B152824606%3B14%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=0> (accessed February 2, 2012).

<sup>241</sup> 1910 Census, Washington County, Tennessee, 201, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=bowman&series=13&state=14&county=Washington&countyid=672&hitcount=38&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B6408467%3B15249135%3B13%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=21> (accessed February 2, 2012).

the 1900 Census. This census notes his occupation as farmer. He was also married and the father of four children.<sup>242</sup>

As the account books indicate, at least by 1913 the farm once again employed African-Americans to work the land. While the account books provide names and some inkling of the type of farm work the men performed, they do not indicate definitively whether the men lived on the farm as tenants. It seems likely that at least some were tenants, as Samuel Simerly provided foodstuffs and cash in return for their labor. If they did live on the farm as tenants, the records left by the Simerlys do not indicate where the tenants lived on the farm. No inventory has surfaced either of what buildings were on the site either when the State purchased the property in 1944 or when it came into full possession of the property in 1962. It is possible that tenant houses, if they existed, may have been demolished during the restoration period of the 1960s. Overall, while records of the post-Civil War period are sketchy, African Americans appear to have had at least a tenuous connection to the site after the Civil War. At least by 1913, African American laborers had returned to the farm and were once again working the land, as had several generations of slaves before them. The history of the site after the Civil War, and the way the farm may have changed, is largely overlooked and in need of further scholarship.

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<sup>242</sup> 1900 Census, Washington County, Tennessee, 98, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?surname=wagner&series=12&state=14&county=Washington&countyid=672&hitcount=2&p=1&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B17746526%3B121996003%3B12%3B14&searchtype=1&offset=1> (accessed February 2, 2012).

## CHAPTER IV: INTERPRETATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE AT THE TIPTON-HAYNES HISTORIC SITE

The interpretation of slavery at historic house museums varies widely, particularly in the South. Scholars such as Edward Chappell note the difficulty museums face in frankly acknowledging slavery, stating, "Museums are notoriously conservative in what they are willing to present because of fears that frank, dismal portrayals will frighten away a clientele in search of fine furniture and pretty gardens."<sup>243</sup> Many sites fear that accurately depicted slave life will horrify visitors and decrease attendance. Barbara Mooney discusses this point, stating, "A brutally honest re-creation of slavery's sensory products, such as foul smells, the cries of hungry children, and images of lice-covered worm-infested bodies, may be more than viewers can emotionally identify with or intellectually comprehend."<sup>244</sup> Presenting dirty slave cabins to the public is also fraught with challenges, as it may send an unintended message about the moral character of the inhabitants of the cabin.<sup>245</sup>

The interpretation of slave housing at the Tipton-Haynes State Historic site has varied widely over the years. An undated guide for tours suggests

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<sup>243</sup> Edward A. Chappell, "Museums and American Slavery," in *"I, Too, Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 247.

<sup>244</sup> Barbara Burlison Mooney, "Looking for History's Huts," *Winterthur Portfolio* 39, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 56, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/431009> (accessed September 29, 2011). Mooney's work describes the messages historic sites relay about slavery in their interpretation and the problems associated with interpreting slavery accurately while not decreasing visitorship to the site.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.* Mooney references the work of Edward A. Chappell and his concern that restored slave dwellings may perpetuate the identification of African Americans with substandard housing.

interpreting the basement of the main house (Figure 5) as the location where Colonel Tipton housed his slaves.<sup>246</sup>



Figure 5. Basement kitchen of the main house which was interpreted as slave housing in the past. Photograph by author.

Other than a few references such as this in undated materials in the archives of the site, it appears interpretation of slavery has largely occurred outside of the main house. A building currently interpreted as a carpenter's shop (Figure 6) was once interpreted as summer slave housing. An undated, earlier brochure lists this building as summer slave quarters and denotes the building as an original building.<sup>247</sup> Russell Jones prepared a "Report of Examination of the

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<sup>246</sup> Undated guide materials, "Guidelines for Tours," Box 2, Folder 8, Gertrude B. Deakins Collection, Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee.

<sup>247</sup> "Tipton-Haynes Historic Site: "The most historic site in Tennessee."" Undated interpretative brochure. The brochure lists a 615 area code for the site, which changed in 1995. It also does not show the enlarged visitor center, which was added in 1999.



Tipton-Haynes Living Historical Farm” in 1970, and noted that while it was believed to have been slave or servant’s quarters, he felt it was doubtful as he found no visible evidence of a chimney or fireplace.<sup>248</sup>



Figure 6. Carpenter’s shop that was once interpreted as summer slave quarters at the site. Photograph by author.

There was originally a one and a half story single crib log slave cabin on site that was razed in 1968 due to advanced deterioration.<sup>249</sup> The log cabin portion of the Visitor Center was also intended to be used to interpret slavery.<sup>250</sup> The current cabin used for the interpretation of slavery is located near the original

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<sup>248</sup> Russell Jones, “Report of Examination of the Tipton-Haynes Living Historical Farm” (1970), Series VI, Box 1, Folder 14, “Report of Examination of Tipton-Haynes Living Historical Farm . . . by Russell Jones (1970),” Tipton-Haynes Historical Association Records, Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee.

<sup>249</sup> Notes from the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site files, located at the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

<sup>250</sup> John J. Baratte, “The Tipton-Haynes Place: II The Later Years,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1970): 128.

site of the Haynes' family slave cabin.<sup>251</sup> The c. 1840 log cabin (Figure 7) was donated to the site in 1999 by Stuart Wood, a developer who owned the land where the cabin was originally located. Although George Haynes never lived in this particular cabin, it is denoted as the "George Haynes Slave Cabin. A map provided by the site to visitors describes the cabin as "An historic cabin was moved to this site to represent the home of George Haynes, a slave who worked for the Haynes family."<sup>252</sup> The interpretative material makes no mention of any of the other slaves that lived at the site.



Figure 7. George Haynes Slave Cabin at the site. Photograph by author.

Moving the cabin to the site was a major undertaking. Leatherwood, Inc. of Fairview, Tennessee performed the work of dismantling the Fox cabin at its

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<sup>251</sup> Sue Guinn Legg, "History Getting Better at Tipton-Haynes Site," Tipton-Haynes Historic Site Vertical File, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.

<sup>252</sup> *Tipton-Haynes Historic Site Self-Guided Walk*, undated. Available to visitors at the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee. The author's copy was obtained from the site during the course of fieldwork on May 23, 2011.

location and moving to Tipton-Haynes. Once there, Leatherwood employees then reassembled the cabin and made significant improvements.<sup>253</sup> The Fox cabin no longer had extant chimneys. Kenneth Jenkins of Bulls Gap, Tennessee donated two chimneys from abandoned home sites in Greene County, Tennessee to Tipton-Haynes. These chimneys were then used to build the chimney currently in place.<sup>254</sup> Prior to placing the cabin at Tipton-Haynes, the State Division of Archaeology performed testing to determine if any historic or prehistoric features would be disturbed by placing the Fox cabin at the site at Tipton-Haynes. No evidence of historic or prehistoric features was found.<sup>255</sup> Several artifacts were recovered, however, such as an iron hook, an earthenware sherd, a white porcelain sherd, and a machine cut nail.<sup>256</sup>

Structurally, the log slave cabin has a stone pier foundation and a wood shingle roof. The front elevation has two bays, one window and one single leaf wooden door. There is a wooden porch on the front of the cabin with a shed roof, square wooden posts, and a wooden floor. The dimensions of the structure are 22' x 15'9". The structure has an exterior stone and brick chimney. The interior has one room (Figures 8 and 9) on the lower level, with a ladder leading to a loft area. The room measures approximately 14'6" x 20'9". The ceilings are

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<sup>253</sup> Box 1, Folder 1, "Correspondence", George Haynes Cabin Project Records Collection, Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site, Johnson City, Tennessee.

<sup>254</sup> Donation Agreement, June 21, 2000, Box 1, Folder 1, "Correspondence," George Haynes Collection.

<sup>255</sup> Mike Moore to Joseph Benthall, Division of Archaeology, Memo dated September 29, 1999, Box 1, Folder 1, "Correspondence," George Haynes Collection.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

wood beamed and the floors are wide wood plank floors. A stone fireplace with a mantel is located on the south wall of the structure. The wood mantel is 4' tall and 7' wide. The fireplace is 7'6" wide and is 10" deep.



Figure 8. Interior of the George Haynes Slave Cabin. Photograph by author.



Figure 9. Interior of George Haynes Slave Cabin. Photograph by author.

A 1970 article in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* briefly discusses how the Tipton-Haynes Historical Association decided to interpret slavery when the site was first opened to the public. At the time of restoration after the death of the Simerly brothers in 1962, the barn and log corncrib were the only log buildings standing on the property. The Association felt that other log buildings must have stood on the landscape of the farm during the nineteenth century and that these buildings would include a slave cabin. Baratte reports the Association undertook extensive archaeological investigation and historical research that located foundations for several buildings.<sup>257</sup> Although he does not specify where the foundations of the original slave house were located, he states they were found. The Association, however, decided to reconstruct a log cabin on the east side of the barn. The Association also decided to use the interior as a small museum and visitor center.<sup>258</sup> He describes the result as follows,

This log building from the exterior appears as it might have looked in the latter part of the Eighteenth century. The chimney and windows, however, are not useable, the interior has no windows looking out and is quite modern. In back of this one-story building the brick foundation was raised to permit the inclusion of a storage room and rest rooms.<sup>259</sup>

Other than this description of the “slave cabin” (which doubled as the visitor center and museum), Baratte does not mention plans for how the Association intended to interpret slavery at the site.

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<sup>257</sup> John J. Baratte, “The Tipton-Haynes Place: II The Later Years,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 29, No. 12 (Summer 1970): 127.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*

The question Barbara Burlison Mooney poses in “Looking for History’s Huts” especially applies to the Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site. She asks, “What would a tourist learn from and experience by looking at buildings that are the literal embodiments of history’s huts?”<sup>260</sup> In the past and in the present, the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site presents slave habitations as a large, roomy “slave” cabin. The cabin has multiple windows, a large fireplace, and is well furnished. Outside the George Haynes Slave Cabin is a flower garden as well (Figure 10). Today’s cabin even has a porch, where one can imagine George Haynes relaxing at the end of day’s labor on the farm. This may well contain an element of truth, as the reality of everyday life of the slaves living at the site is unrecoverable. However, no enhancement can disguise the fact that enslaved inhabitants lived at the site as property, subject to the whim of the owner. Life may not have been as charming for the slaves as is presented at the site. As Mooney says of the formal gardens sometimes present outside of “slave dwellings”, “Even more misleading is the anomalous intrusion of a formal colonial revival garden in front of the dwellings—the kind of landscape associated with white garden-club ladies.”<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Mooney, 44.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 51.



Figure 10. Garden outside the George Haynes Slave Cabin. Photograph by author.

While the site has always, at least nominally, presented some sort of slave cabin as part of the farm, the discussion of slavery is segregated from the main house. Other than mentioning Colonel Tipton housed slaves in the basement, slavery is not mentioned in connection with any other room of the main house. It is very likely that slaves lived and worked in the main house during either the Tipton or Haynes period. Mooney notes that it was not uncommon for slaves to live in the main house in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>262</sup> In a chapter on slave housing in Tennessee, Michael Strutt notes that slaves sometimes lived in the same house as their owners so as to serve the owner at any hour.<sup>263</sup> As

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<sup>262</sup> Mooney, 47.

<sup>263</sup> Michael Strutt, "Slave Housing in Antebellum Tennessee," in *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*, ed. Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 228.

Landon Haynes had six children, it is entirely likely that at least one slave would have lived in the main house to help care for the children and the household.

There are several rooms in the main house of the site that slaves likely lived or worked in. As mentioned before, the basement kitchen (Figure 1) of the main house was described in the past as the place where Colonel Tipton's slaves lived. It fits the pattern suggested by other historians of slaves and masters living in the same spaces, especially during the frontier period.<sup>264</sup> Another possible living space, dating from the Haynes period, involves a room off the dining room (Figures 11 and 12). This room is currently interpreted as a bedroom and is also sometimes referred to as a butler's pantry. The room measures 8' x 14'10" and is in the ell addition added by the Haynes family. With its location near the kitchen and dining room, it would have provided a space for a slave to sleep and to remain nearby to minister to the needs of the Haynes family. Michael Strutt has noted that slaveowners liked housing their slaves for their own convenience.<sup>265</sup> With a family of six children, one would assume the Haynes family would frequently call upon Charlotte and Cornelia for assistance.

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<sup>264</sup> John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 43. Vlach notes in his work that slaves and masters often lived and worked in the same rooms until the last decades of the eighteenth century, particularly in the Chesapeake regions. As John Tipton came from Maryland and Virginia and owned slaves prior to his coming to Tennessee, he would have been familiar with this pattern of living in close proximity with his slaves.

<sup>265</sup> Strutt, 226.





Figure 11. Room currently interpreted as a bedroom and butler's pantry. Photograph by author.



Figure 12. Second view of the room described as a bedroom and a butler's pantry. Photograph by author.

One additional room has potential to have been a slave living space. There is a small room off one of the upstairs bedroom (Figure 13). The room measures 9'4" x 3'7" and has two doors, one leading to the master bedroom, and one leading to large center bedroom. This room, located off of the bedroom of Landon Haynes, would have provided an ideal sleeping space for a slave. Sleeping here, a slave would have been available at any time of the night the Haynes family needed assistance. The room is currently interpreted as a dressing room and contains a single crib.



Figure 13. Dressing room off the master bedroom. Photograph by author.

The interpretation of slavery at the Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site has varied over the years with one constant theme. Slavery is rarely discussed in connection with the main house, despite the fact that slaves worked and likely lived in the main house. Slave labor made the life lived by the Tipton and Haynes families in the main house possible. The site has made great strides in incorporating the African American history of the site into their interpretation by placing a cabin on the site specifically to interpret slavery. This interpretation, however, does not portray the grittier realities of slave life. There is no record that George Haynes had amenities such as a porch, flower garden, and nice furnishings in his cabin on the site. Additionally, while presenting the cabin as the George Haynes slave cabin, it ignores the other slaves who lived at the site, Charlotte, Cornelia, Fan and the other unidentified Tipton slaves. There is no acknowledgment that the labor of these slaves made the way of life at the farm possible. There is no discussion of how slavery was different in the mountain South or whether slavery at this site represented the norm for slaveholding in the region.

The Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site has a wonderful opportunity to interpret mountain slavery and to compare it to what most Americans are taught about slavery. Additionally, the site has the opportunity to discuss how African American life in the region changed after the Civil War, as well as how farming changed in the region. The use of both white and African American farm labor in the early twentieth century shows how African Americans had more opportunities to work outside of agriculture, to work in the coal mining and other industries of

the region, particularly the railroad. A complete study of African American life at this site, and in the mountain South, is important in that it provides historians with a fuller picture of both the African American experience and the Appalachian experience.

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