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## **An Assessment of the American Civil War (1861-1865) Period Archaeological Deposits at the Buchanan House Site in Bells Bend, Nashville, Tennessee**

Kathryn F. Phillips

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An assessment of the American Civil War (1861-1865) period archaeological deposits at  
the Buchanan House Site in Bells Bend, Nashville, Tennessee

By

Kathryn F. Phillips

A Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of  
Mississippi State University  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts  
in Applied Anthropology  
in the Department of Anthropology and Middle Eastern Cultures

Mississippi State, Mississippi

May 2018

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2018

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Kathryn F. Phillips

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This thesis investigates the historic and architectural significance of the Buchanan House in Bells Bend, Nashville, Tennessee, in hopes that it will be protected and conserved. Artifacts from the University of Tennessee surveys conducted by David Anderson and Derek Anderson in 2009 and 2010 were used to establish whether or not there were any intact American Civil War period deposits. Spatial analysis was used to identify locations of activity areas. Historic documents were used to establish the occupants of the Buchanan House. This thesis concluded that while there were no definitive Civil War period deposits, the Buchanan House still provides an ideal spot for a museum commemorating the Battle of Bells Bend, owing to its close proximity to the battle, and because it offers a unique perspective on the civilian experience during the Civil War, one that demonstrates a long history of resistance and resilience.

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my Grandpa, Bryan W. Brabston, Jr. My Grandpa instilled in me a healthy love of history and special respect for the material culture our predecessors left behind. He taught me that history should be preserved, not destroyed. He provided me a place to grow up that was steeped in history. For all of this, I am eternally grateful to him. I know that he would have loved to read my thesis from cover to cover, and then have it preserved and put with all my other life accomplishments on his bookshelf.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

When most people think of the end of the Civil War, the Battle of Appomattox Court House in April of 1865, and the subsequent surrender there by Confederate General Robert E. Lee, generally comes to mind. However, the Battle of Nashville in December of 1864 was where the Confederate Army launched its last major offensive action (Henderson 2001). The battle at Appomattox has eclipsed the pivotal events at Nashville in the public mind due to a lack of information available to the public about the battle, namely a lack of museums in the area, and poor preservation at the battlefield itself (Henderson 2001). On a scale ranging from “Priority I (sites considered most threatened) to Priority IV (sites considered lost),” the Civil War Preservation Trust ranks the Nashville battlefield as Priority IV (2003:1). In addition, on a scale from “A (most significant) to D (sites of local importance)” the Nashville battlefield is ranked as Class A (Civil War Preservation Trust 2003:1).

Making the Battle of Nashville an even more significant event is the fact that it began with one of the largest brown water navy battles to occur in the Civil War, the Battle of Nashville at Kelley’s Point, also referred to as the Battle of Bells Mill (Law 2005). Kelley’s Point, also referred to as Kelley’s Battery, is “located on the Cumberland River nine miles west of town [Nashville] in a sharp bend in the river known as Bells Bend” (Henderson 2001). The Confederate Army used this site as a land battery to fire

upon Union gunboats in the Cumberland River as they headed towards Nashville (Law 2005). During the battle, the Union ships sustained severe damage and two Union soldiers received Medals of Honor for risking their lives to keep the flag flying amid heavy fire (Battle of Nashville Preservation Society, Inc. 2016). Despite its historical significance, this battlefield is even less well known and has even less literature written about it than the Battle of Nashville. While there has been a serious lack of study done on the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point, there has been even less written about the people living in the area who may have witnessed the battle and my thesis research will help to fill this void. The information that my thesis research will provide should permit better interpretation and understanding of the citizens of Nashville's personal experience during the Civil War. It is important to understand this experience because "what happens on the battleground is never isolated... [n]or are the lives of civilians – ordinary people in unusual times – removed from the events taking place on the battlefield" (Baker 2011). For many Southerners, the War was fought in their backyards and in their homes, leading to civilians affecting the war as much as the war affected them. For this reason, understanding the impact civilians had on the Civil War, and vice versa, is as important as studying the political and military events. The Battle of Nashville Preservation Society has worked to preserve the Kelley's Point Battlefield, creating the Brooksmeade Park at Kelley's Point Battlefield at the site, which includes interpretive signage about the battle fought there (Battle of Nashville Preservation Society, Inc. 2001). However, there has been very little work done at the Buchanan House across the Cumberland River, which would have had a direct view of the battle.

The Buchanan House is located in Bells Bend, “an 18-square mile area encompassed by a U-shaped bend in the Cumberland River,” (Bells Bend Farms) and the Metropolitan Historic Commission considers it National Register eligible (Law 2005). The Buchanan House is an ideal study location because very little research has ever been attempted on the property and because it is located roughly a mile across the Cumberland River from the Kelley’s Point Battlefield (Law 2005). Because of its close proximity to the battle, the occupants of the Buchanan House were likely affected by the Civil War and so can provide information on the affect the Civil War had on civilians in the area. In addition to being an ideal study area, the Buchanan House and its surrounding acreage and outbuildings would be a viable candidate for a public museum regarding the Kelley’s Point Battlefield and the civilian experience during the Civil War. The benefit of utilizing the site and structure would be two-fold: preserving a site that is important to the history of Nashville, and increasing tourism. However, “heritage (value) has to be identified, protected and conserved before it has any tourism value” (Goodall 1997: 243) and the goal of my thesis research is to take the first step in this process, assessing the Buchanan House’s historic and architectural significance and the significance of the associated archaeological remains, in hopes that it will be protected and conserved.

In order to answer my research question, which is “Based on the experiences of the inhabitants of the Buchanan House during the Battle of Nashville at Kelley’s Point, is the Buchanan House eligible for the National Register, and would it be a suitable spot for a museum dedicated to the civilian experience during the Civil War?” I tested three hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that the house preserves Civil War era artifacts (1861–65) and therefore should be preserved. The second hypothesis is that there was a prisoner

of war camp located on the property. The third hypothesis is that there was a Civil War era field hospital located on the property, either in the house itself or in an outbuilding surrounding the house. To test my hypotheses I used a combination of historic document research and shovel test analysis. Through archival research I was able to determine when the original occupants built the house, what it looked like, and if there were any subsequent additions. By analyzing the spatial distribution of the shovel test data, I attempted to determine the activities of the household around the time of the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point.



## CHAPTER II BACKGROUND

### **Study Area Background**

The Buchanan House is located in Davidson County, roughly seven miles west of Nashville in an 18 square mile tract of land called Bells Bend, which takes its name from the U- shaped bend in the Cumberland River that encompasses it (Law 2005). Bells Bend is located in the Middle Cumberland River valley which “stretches roughly from the confluence of the Cumberland River with the Obey River at Celina ... downstream past Ashland City to the mouth of the Harpeth River” (Deter-Wolf and Peres 2012: 5). Archaeological evidence suggests that people have occupied the Middle Cumberland River valley since the Paleoindian period (ca. 12000-10000 years B.P.), owing to its wealth of natural resources (Deter-Wolf and Peres 2012; Law 2005). Of the roughly 1,700 dateable sites in the Middle Cumberland River, 9 percent date to the Paleoindian period, 74 percent to the Archaic period, 46 percent to the Woodland period, and 20 percent to the Mississippian period (Deter-Wolf and Peres 2012).

The Paleoindian component in the area is mostly small, temporary, work sites (Law 2005). An increase in occupation of the area occurred during the Archaic period (10000-2900 years B.P), specifically the Late Archaic (5000-2900 years B.P), with more long term, extensively used sites present (Law 2005). It was during this period that a “distinctive regional cultural phenomena [blossomed with] the creation of extensive shell middens/mounds” (Deter-Wolf and Peres 2012: 8). In Bells Bend, roughly ten

Paleoindian and/or Early Archaic sites have been located by local collectors and through surveys done prior to construction in the area (Miller et al. 2012). Unfortunately, these sites, along with other sites in the Middle Cumberland River valley, especially those sites located near the riverbank and those containing burials and shell middens, have suffered substantially from significant amounts of looting as well as erosion and urban development (Deter-Wolf and Peres 2012; Miller et al. 2012). The population continued to increase in the area throughout the Woodland period (2900-1100 years B.P). The Woodland period also marks the first appearance of small scale agriculture in this area (Law 2005). The population increased dramatically during the Mississippian period (900-1600 A.D.) as the importance of agriculture continued to increase in the area (Deter-Wolf and Peres 2012; Law 2005). Also during this period, a distinctive “Middle Cumberland Culture” developed, characterized by the mortuary pattern of stone box burials (Deter-Wolf and Peres 2012; Law 2005). Many Mississippian era stone-box graves have been located in Bell’s Bend, with the addition of human remains.

During the Protohistoric period (1600-1700 A.D.), the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Shawnee, and the Kaskinampo were all occupying the area, but the first significant European influence in the area did not come until the early 18th century in the form of French fur traders (Law 2005). By the late 18th century, “most of the land in the Middle Tennessee region was purchased from the Cherokee by ... the Transylvania Land Company” and British subjects had established permanent settlements throughout the area (Law 2005: 11). James Robertson established the first permanent settlement along the Cumberland River in 1779 and dubbed it Fort Nashborough. From Fort Nashborough came the community of Nashborough, which operated under its own temporary

government until the North Carolina General Assembly created Davidson County, where modern day Nashville is located (Law 2005). Nashborough was renamed Nashville in 1784 and Davidson county was incorporated into the state of Tennessee in 1796 (Law 2005).

Due to its strategic location along the Cumberland River, the area saw rapid growth in the early nineteenth century and began to thrive as an agricultural community (Smith 2014). In addition to agriculture, both politics and slavery flourished in Tennessee over the course of the 1800s (Middle Tennessee State University, 2016). The Whigs and the Democrats were the two dominant political parties of the state, with neither party being more dominant than the other and most elections ending in narrow victories (Middle Tennessee State University, 2016). The Whigs supported more government interference than the Democrats did, but neither party opposed slavery. Most Tennesseans were not slave owners but many hoped to be one day, and most defended slavery (Middle Tennessee State University, 2016). As sectional tensions began to increase over slavery in the 1850s, the state of Tennessee responded moderately, due in part to the internal division it faced over whether to join the Confederacy or stay with the Union, and politicians' desires not to alienate any voters (Middle Tennessee State University, 2016). East Tennessee was strongly Unionist because its population was mostly small farmers of Scots-Irish descent who detested the plantation aristocracy and had ties to the American Revolution (Middle Tennessee State University, 2016; Wren et al. 2008). West Tennessee, with its cotton-based economy, was strongly secessionist and Middle Tennessee, where Nashville is located, with its mix of large plantations and small farms, remained in support of staying in the Union until President Lincoln's call for

troops following the firing upon Fort Sumter (Middle Tennessee State University, 2016). Following Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860, pressure for Tennessee to follow the seven states that had already seceded increased. However, Tennessee continued to tread lightly and in February of 1861, "voters emphatically rejected holding a state convention on secession" (Middle Tennessee State University, 2016:3). However, two months later in April of 1861, Confederates fired upon Fort Sumter and President Lincoln called for troops from all states, including Tennessee, to help quell the rebellion. It was this call for troops that made Tennessee decide to declare its independence and align with the Confederacy. On June 8, 1861, West and Middle Tennessee voters supported the legislature's decision to secede and Tennessee seceded from the Union, making it the last of the eleven states to secede (Middle Tennessee State University, 2016; Wren et al. 2008).

Following Tennessee's secession, Union forces quickly occupied the city of Nashville a year later, owing to its strategic location along the river and the considerable number of railroads that served the city (Law 2005). In December of 1864, in an attempt by the Confederate Army to recapture Nashville, the two armies fought what would come to be known as the Battle of Nashville. Instead of recapturing Nashville for the Confederates, the Battle of Nashville ended in a failure and marked the end of any major Confederate resistance in the Western theater, an area that encompassed Seven states—Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, eastern Louisiana, and western Florida— and was vital to the Confederacy (Figure 1) (Law 2005; Massey 2016). This important battle began with one of the largest brown water navy battles to occur between Union navy and Confederate cavalry in the Civil War, the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's

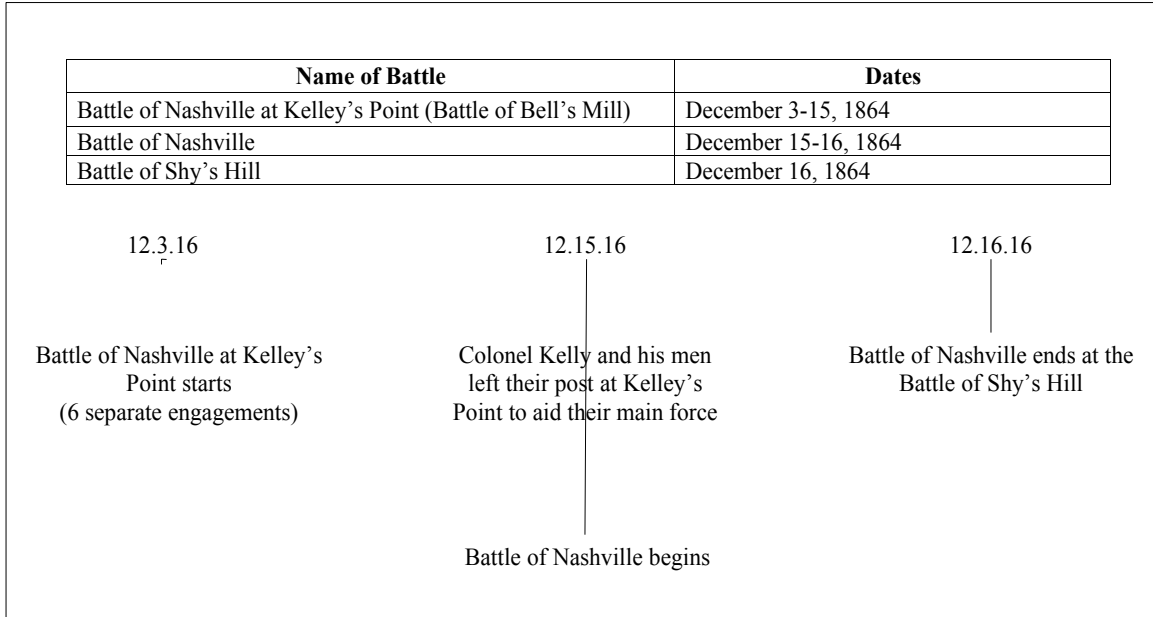


Figure 1 Timeline of battles

Point, also referred to as the Battle of Bells Mill (Battle of Nashville Preservation Society 2001; Law 2005). The Kelley's Point Battlefield is located just nine miles outside of Nashville on a small bluff that sits on the edge of a sharp bend in the Cumberland River called Bells Bend (Battle of Nashville Preservation Society 2001; Henderson 2001). It was from this bluff that Confederate cavalry, under the command of Lt. Col. David Campbell Kelley (Figure 2), blockaded the Cumberland River against seven, armed Union gunboats, preventing them from traveling into Nashville to aid the Union cavalry (Zimmerman 2012; Battle of Nashville Preservation Society 2001). Early in the battle, the Confederates depleted the Union's ammunition by capturing two federal supply ships, the Prairie State and the Prima Donna, and disabling a third supply ship, the Magnet, approximately 3 miles to the west of Kelley's Point (Zimmerman 2012). Following this, Kelley's troops engaged in multiple artillery battles with the Union Navy. Over a period of two weeks, between December 3 and 15, there were a total of six engagements, with

the fourth almost ending in disaster for the U.S.S. Neosho, when an “unexploded Confederate shell breached the ship’s iron plating and lodged in its powder magazine” (Battle of Nashville Preservation Society 2001). It was this fourth engagement that earned a member of the U.S.S. Neosho the Congressional Medal of Honor for rescuing the Union flag that Confederate forces had shot down (Battle of Nashville Preservation Society 2001). In addition to the artillery, the Confederates had placed a line of mines, then called torpedoes, across the river, similar to those that successfully sank a Union gunboat in the Battle of Mobile Bay in 1862 (Battle of Nashville Preservation Society 2001; Symonds 2008). Kelley managed this feat by “maneuver[ing] his troops to convince the U.S. Navy they were facing a force four times larger than the 1200 soldiers under his command” (Zimmerman 2012). Because of this, Kelley’s unit was one of the only units to drive the Union force to retreat during the Battle of Nashville (Zimmerman 2012). On December 15th, Colonel Kelly and his men left their post at Kelley’s Point to aid their main force in an engagement near present day Old Hickory Boulevard (Zimmerman 2012). Despite the success at Kelley’s Point and other early successes, the Confederate’s numbers were too few in comparison to the Union’s and General Hood had stretched his lines too thin. The Battle of Shy’s Hill, located roughly seven miles southeast of Kelley’s Point, proved to be the downfall for the Confederates (Massey 2016). On December 16th, the Union Army captured nearly all of the force at Shy’s Hill. Following this defeat, the rest of the line collapsed and the prospect of reclaiming Tennessee fell with it (Massey 2016).

Postbellum, the area of Nashville has gradually developed booming business and industry, but the area of Bells Bend has remained largely agricultural. This is due in part

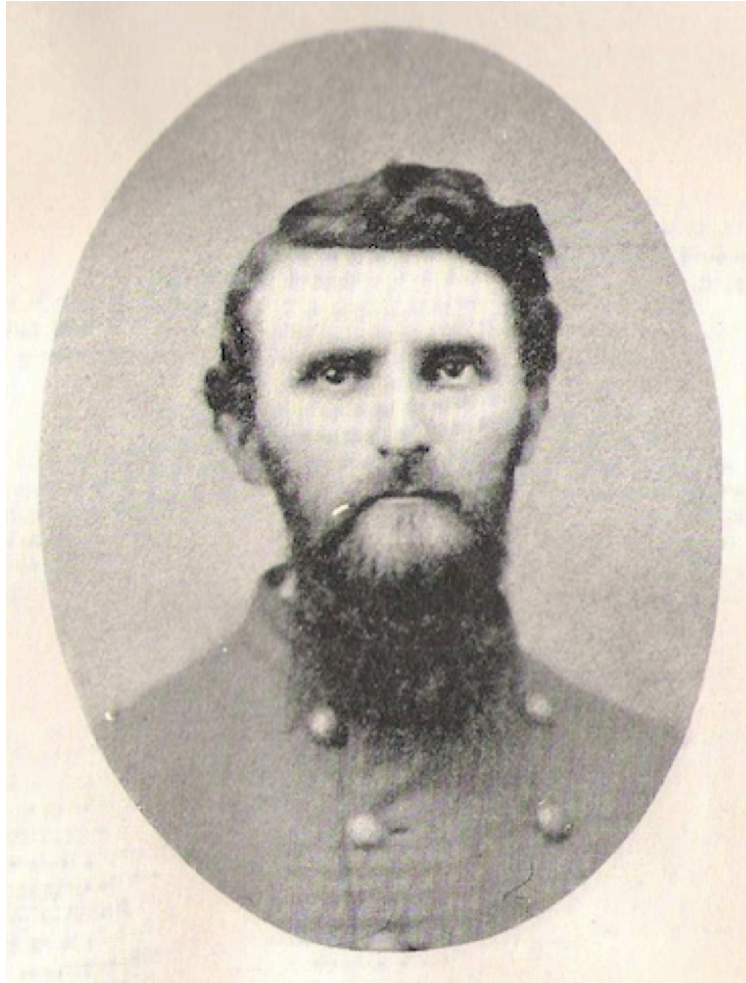


Figure 2 Portrait of Lt. Col. David Campbell Kelley

to its relative difficulty to access from the city, with only one major road in from the north, and partly due to the efforts of local initiatives in the area which aim to keep the area development free (Figure 3) (Law 2005). Despite the amount of work archaeologists have conducted in the area, most of the Civil War era archaeology has been overlooked in favor of the prehistoric components. However, the surveys conducted by the University of Tennessee in 2009 and 2010 produced many historic period artifacts that I analyzed in my study (Miller et al. 2012).



Figure 3 Portion of 1932 *Nashville, Tennessee Quadrangle*  
 U.S. Department of the Interior Geological Survey (Law 2005)

### Research Question Background

My research question is, “Based on the experiences of the inhabitants of the Buchanan House during the Battle of Nashville at Kelley’s Point, is the Buchanan House eligible for the National Register, and would it be a suitable spot for a museum dedicated to the civilian experience during the Civil War?” The decisive and deadly Battle of Nashville, with an estimated 6,600 casualties, was not fought in a vacuum (American Battlefield Protection Program 2016). On the contrary, Confederate and Union troops often engaged in battle in the middle of town and many civilians suffered along with the soldiers. Thousands of forgotten civilians were killed while others participated in numerous ways, fighting alongside soldiers and opening their homes as hospitals (Baker



2011). Local historians claim that in Bells Bend, which is nine miles west of Nashville, there were multiple war crimes committed, with rumors that Union forces beheaded one civilian (Robert Henderson, personal communication 2015). The Buchanan House in Bells Bend is located only a mile across the river from where Confederate and Union forces fought the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point. Kelley's Point is within the viewshed of the residents of the Buchanan House, who likely watched the engagement from their back porch (Wolchover 2012). At the very least, the residents would have been able to hear the battle. In addition, local historians believe that troops used the Buchanan house as a field hospital and/or a prison, potentially increasing the residents' involvement in the battle, over just viewing or hearing it (Graves 1975; Linnann Welch, personal communication 2015).

It was impossible to escape the cruelty of war and so the civilians had as much impact upon the war as it had on them. However, up until a few years ago, the experience of civilian life during the Civil War was neglected in favor of stories from the battlefield (Baker 2011). Recently, some major national parks have included resources related to the civilians' experience during the Civil War, but there are none dedicated to the citizens of Nashville (Baker 2011). Since the Buchanan House site is so close to the Kelley's Point battlefield, it could provide an excellent location for a memorial to the citizens of Nashville's experience during the Battle of Nashville as well as help to fill in gaps in the story of the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point. Having a house on the National Register, or even just a public museum would be a contribution both to local heritage management and tourism for Bells Bend. As it stands, the Nashville battlefield is considered extremely important to local heritage and to the history of the Civil War while

simultaneously being considered extremely endangered due to a lack of preservation (Civil War Preservation Trust 2003). Protecting the Buchanan House would be one step towards preserving an important piece of Nashville heritage that is quickly being forgotten (Henderson 2001). In addition, saving the Buchanan House would increase tourism for the area. The Bells Bend Park is relatively new, having only been opened in 2007, and its main attraction is its wildlife (Metropolitan Government of Nashville & Davidson County, Tennessee 2017). By having a museum dedicated to the history of civilians during the Civil War, there would be a wider selection of attractions and a potential increase in tourism because of it.

## CHAPTER III

### RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to answer my research question I tested three hypotheses, all of which a involvement in the Battle of Kelley's Point if proven true. My first hypothesis is that the house has remained unchanged from its original form (built ca. 1840) and that there are Civil War era (1861-1865) archaeological deposits at the site. I will determine if the house has remained unchanged or changed significantly by analyzing pictures and property records dating from the house's original build date to the present, since both types of documents record additions and updates to the property. Alterations deemed significant are those that would alter the integrity of the house's workmanship and style (i.e. a complete makeover in the style of the 1920s or 1980s) and therefore influence the property's eligibility for the National Register (National Park Service 1995). I will determine if there are deposits of Civil War era artifacts by analyzing the quantity and spatial arrangement of artifacts that date to around the time of the Civil War. If there are a large number of Civil War era artifacts that are clustered together around the site, instead of spread randomly, then it can reasonably be assumed that there are intact deposits at the site. If there are a small number of Civil War era artifacts and/or they are spaced randomly around the site, it could reasonably be assumed that there is not a significant Civil War component at the site. If the house has remained unchanged since the original build and there are intact Civil War era deposits, then these data would support my

hypothesis and would support the idea that the Buchanan House is a suitable spot for a museum dedicated to the civilian experience during the Civil War. If the house has changed substantially since the original build and there are no intact Civil War era deposits, then these data would not support hypothesis. However, the Buchanan House could still be used as a museum, but there would be little basis to prevent a major renovation to the house and property before it was utilized.

My second hypothesis is that troops operated a prisoner of war camp on the property, based on the reports of local historian John Graves in his book, *Northwest Davidson County: The Land and It's People, Historical Sketches of Bordeaux, Jordonia, Scottsboro, Bell's Bend, Joelton, White's Creek, Union Hall, Lickton, Bull Run and Marrowbone* (1975). I will determine if there was a prison located at the site by reviewing historic documents, mostly maps of the area and personal communications, and by analyzing the type, frequency, and distribution of artifacts found at the site. The types of artifacts associated with prisoner of war camps are those that indicate the presence of soldiers and those that indicate the presence of temporary shelters that would have been erected to house the prisoners (Chapman 2012). Artifacts that indicate the presence of soldiers are items like uniform buttons, coins, utensils, smoking pipes, and other various personal items (Chapman 2012; Horn 2005). Artifacts that indicate the presence of shelters are items involved in the construction of the shelter, such as ax heads and nails (Chapman 2012). If there are a high number of personal items like buttons, coins, and pipes, and a high number of construction materials, like nails, and especially if the personal items and construction materials are clustered together, then these data

would support my hypothesis. If there are a small number of both types of artifacts and/or there are no clusters of the artifacts, then this data would not support my hypothesis.

My third hypothesis is that troops set up a field hospital on the property, either in the house itself or in an outbuilding surrounding the house, based on the reports of multiple local historians in the area. I will determine if there was a hospital located at the site by reviewing historic documents, mostly maps of the area and personal communications, and by analyzing the type, frequency, and distribution of artifacts found at the site. There are two types of artifacts that are typically associated with field hospitals, those that indicate medicine and those that indicate the presence of soldiers (Horn 2005). Artifacts that indicate medicine are items like bottles that held medicines and liquor and surgical equipment like saws. Artifacts that indicate the presence of soldiers are items like uniform buttons, breastplates, and belt plates (Horn 2005). In addition, there would likely be human remains present owing to the high mortality rates in these camps. If there are a high number of medicinal items like bottle glass and metal, and a high number of military artifacts like uniform buttons, and especially if the two types are clustered together, then these data would support my hypothesis. If there are a small number of both types of artifacts, then these data would not support my hypothesis.

## CHAPTER IV METHODS AND DATA

### **Site Selection Method**

The Buchanan House is located in Bells Bend at site 40DV246 and although the site has been documented, the house itself never has been. The site is listed only as a prehistoric lithic scatter on its site form (Law 2005; Miller et al. 2012; Norton 1989). The relative lack of document based research or archaeological research that has been done at the site is just one reason the house is an ideal location for studying the civilian experience during the war. Unfortunately, due to this relative lack of knowledge about the site, the house has become susceptible to vandalism, putting the site in greater need for a comprehensive study (Linnann Welch, personal communication 2015). The Buchanan House is also ideal for my study because of its proximal location close to an important Civil War battlefield and the presumed involvement of the inhabitants (Law 2005). The site is located roughly a mile across the Cumberland River from the Kelley's Point Battlefield, as shown in Figure 4., making it likely that the Civil War impacted the residents of the Buchanan House, likely having been eyewitnesses to the battle. Reports that troops used the Buchanan House and its outbuildings as a hospital and to house prisoners during the war and that there was a beheading of a civilian in Bells Bend provides supporting evidence that the occupants of the Buchanan House were likely affected by the war (Law 2005; Robert Henderson, personal communication 2015;



Figure 4 Distance between Buchanan House and Battlefield

Linnann Welch, personal communication 2015). Since the site is so close to the battlefield, information from the site could help to fill in gaps in the story of the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point as well.

### **Fieldwork Methods at Site 40DV246**

In 2009 and 2010, David Anderson and crew surveyed site 40DV246 as part of a survey aiming to locate prehistoric occupations across the Middle Cumberland River (Miller et al. 2012). The purpose of the survey was to locate prehistoric occupations, but during the survey Anderson and crew investigated the area around the Buchanan House in an attempt to relocate the lithic scatter described in the site file record (Miller et al. 2012). In addition to the house, there are six other structures still standing on the site, in various states of preservation, including two barns and two small wooden structures in the field south of the house, and two small wooden buildings near the house. The site was surveyed using systematic shovel testing with the first test pit dug roughly fifty meters south of the house. In total, the Anderson crew dug seventy-five shovel test pits and one feature around the house. Of the seventy-five shovel test pits dug, fifty-nine were positive. One shovel test listed as empty contains brick patio feature in it so I included it in my study. Site 40DV246 produced a wide array of roughly 500 historic artifacts as well as roughly 700 prehistoric artifacts. In addition, during shovel testing, Anderson and crew discovered two burial features of faunal remains and subsequently excavated them. In my analysis, I focused only on the historic artifacts, specifically those dateable to the Civil War era, such as glass, nails, ceramics, artillery, and metal objects like buttons from uniforms (Horn 2005).

### **Historic Document Methods**

In order to establish what the Buchanan House may have looked like, who may have been living in the Buchanan House, and what activities they were involved in,



paying special attention to around the time of the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point, I utilized a variety of historic documents, including land deeds, census records, photographs, property records, probate wills, and historic maps. The Buchanan House was built ca. 1840 (Law 2005), and the battle took place in late 1864 (Henderson 2001), so I focused on land deeds that dated from ca. 1840 to 1870. Land deeds outline the tract of land sold, who sold it, and who bought it, so they are useful for determining who owned the land around the time the house was constructed, and if they were still the owners at the time of the battle or if they had sold the land to new owners (Taylor et al. 1991). Since land deeds only identify the purchaser of the land, typically the head of household, I coupled land deeds with census data to help give a clearer picture of the inhabitants in the Buchanan House. Using the land deeds whose dates fell closest to 1864, I searched census data for both the buyers and sellers. Since the United States only publishes the census every ten years, a land sale could have potentially taken place between census records and so I looked at a wide range of dates in the census data with a focus on the 1860 census and the 1870 census since they occurred most closely to the battle. The format of the United States census changed multiple times over the course of the nineteenth century. The 1840 census data provide the name, age, occupation, and education of each member of the household. The 1850 census eliminated education level and added real estate value and state of birth of each occupant. In addition, the 1850 census is the first census that provides information on the number of slaves owned by the household and information on the household's products of agriculture and industry. The 1860 census provides much of the same data as the 1850 one with the addition of the race of each occupant and the 1870 census only removes the data on enslaved Africans

(National Archives 2016).

To determine what the Buchanan House may have looked like at the time of the battle, I used photographs and property tax records to determine what the house's original dimensions were and if there were any improvements done to it. In addition, I investigated whether or not the Buchanan House remains unchanged from its original form or if it has undergone substantial changes since it was originally built, since the Metropolitan Historical Commission of Nashville considers the property National Register-eligible and substantial changes to the house would influence the property's eligibility (Law 2005; National Park Service 1995). For tax purposes, the United States government keeps property records for each parcel of land in a certain county. These records provide data on any buildings located on the property, including a sketch of the house with a list of improvements, and thus are helpful in identifying changes that may have occurred. Photographs compliment tax records because they provide a visual and sometimes capture aspects of daily life that words and sketches cannot. To look for modern improvements, I chose to use both Pictometry, an [aerial image](#) capture process that generates images of buildings and locations on the ground, and on the ground photographs of the property from site visits, both of which only go back to ca. the early 2000s. Most pictures pre-dating this time came from *Northwest Davidson County: the land, its people* by local historian John Graves, a great resource for learning about the extensive history of Bells Bend and the surrounding areas.

### **Analytic Methods**

To understand the distribution of artifacts across the site, I first created a database of the artifacts collected from the University of Tennessee survey (2012). By limiting the

analysis to only historic artifacts, I eliminated approximately 230 artifacts, leaving a sample size of 701 artifacts. I initially limited my analysis to only definitively datable artifacts, such as nails, ceramic, and glass (Horn 2005). In some cases, I was also able to type artifacts by their specific function, giving a clearer image of the activities occurring at the site (Horn 2005). I used coal, organics, brick, and roofing for secondary, supplemental analysis due to the inability to date them. I then created distribution maps for all the artifacts at the site, for each artifact group, and in some cases, for each artifact sub group. The distribution maps plotted the occurrences of artifacts by shovel test onto a modern schematic of the Buchanan House to provide a visual of the way the artifacts are spread across the site. I conducted Nearest Neighbor Analysis on all artifact groups. The Nearest Neighbor Analysis is a simple statistical test used to identify spatial patterning (Levine 2010). It compares the distance between a point and its closest neighbor point to determine if the pattern is random, clustered, or dispersed (Levine 2010). This allowed me to hypothesize locations of activity areas around the house, and by extension, the activities occurring around the time of the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point. This also allowed me to test if there was in fact a field hospital at the site by looking for concentrations of artifacts associated with hospital activity, such as substantial amounts of glass, metal, and military uniform paraphernalia.

### **Metal Analysis**

For metal analysis, I separated the artifacts into Group A: nails, Group B: bolts, screws and other metal objects and Group C: scraps of unidentifiable metal. I separated nails from the rest because they are the most easily datable of the metal artifacts. United States archaeologists typically divide nail types into hand-wrought nails (ca. pre-1800),

cut nails (ca. 1790s – 1900s), and wire nails (ca. 1890s to present) (Visser 2016). The nail type most commonly in use during the Civil War era was cut nails. Cut nails are visually distinct from earlier hand-wrought nails and later wire nails. Hand-wrought nails have handmade heads that are typically rosehead shaped and have a square shaft that comes to a point (Figure 5) (Visser 2016). This differs from cut nails, which typically square off at the bottom and have square shaped, machine made heads. Between the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and the early nineteenth century, cut nails tended to have irregular square shaped heads that tapered near the head. However, by as early as 1810, cut nails tended to have regular square shaped heads that did not taper at the head (Visser 2016). Over the course of the late nineteenth century, wire nails began to take the place of cut nails, so “in general, if





	Hand-wrought nail, before circa 1800
	Type A cut nail, circa 1790s-1820s
	Type B cut nail, circa 1810s-1900s
	Wire nail, circa 1890s to present

Figure 5 Nail types in the United States

cut nails are found on a site, a date of 1900 or before can be presumed” (Horn 2005).

Wire nails are also machine made and uniform like the later cut nails, but they are visually distinct from their predecessor by their round heads and round shafts that come to a point (Adams 2002; Visser 2016).

Once I categorized the nails by type, I created a GIS layer for all nails and a separate layer for each type of nail. I then plotted the occurrences of these artifacts by shovel test onto a modern schematic of the Buchanan House, both together and separately, to get a distribution map of the nails at the site. I also ran the Nearest Neighbor analyses on each of the three nail layers to determine if the artifacts are clustered, random, or dispersed.

Group B, bolts, screws, and other metal objects, contains those artifacts that I used for supplementary information, to help better understand the activities at the site. I did not attempt to date these artifacts, unless possible, but instead focused on identifying their function. This group contains one horseshoe, two pieces of farm equipment, two metal buttons, two rivets, one washer, one bolt, and two screws. I mapped these artifacts on top of the nail distribution, to help supplement the activity schematic, but I did not run a Nearest Neighbor Analysis since all artifacts from this group were recovered from shovel tests that also contained nails. I did not attempt to date or type any artifacts in Group C, scraps of unidentifiable metal, since they are all so fragmented in nature, but I did note their presence in the artifact database.

### **Brick Analysis**

Like nails, bricks can be helpful in identifying structures at a site. They also have some utility in dating sites due to changes in technology over the course of the nineteenth

century, but the range is broad (Stelle 2001). Bricks did not come into popular use until ca. 1830, with wood being the preferred building medium, and even then, people typically reserved them for small structures like cistern linings and fireplaces. This early type of brick is distinguishable from its successor by its yellow-orange color, its lightness, and often the presence of inclusions in the brick (Stelle 2001). After 1860, a more uniform and better-quality brick became available, but people did not widely adopt them for use in residential structures until the late nineteenth century. In addition to being more uniform, this later type of brick is distinguishable from its predecessor by its dark red color and its increased density (Stelle 2001). For my analysis, I divided the bricks into either early (ca. 1830-1880) or late (1880 - present), when possible, and then created a GIS layer for all brick with the amount of early and late types listed for each occurrence. I then plotted the occurrences of these artifacts by shovel test onto a modern schematic of the Buchanan House to generate a distribution map of the brick at the site. Due to brick's limited utility, I only ran the Nearest Neighbor Analysis on all bricks to determine if the artifacts are clustered, random, or dispersed, instead of running it on each type separately (Whallon 1974). In addition, I chose to represent each occurrence on the map with a pie chart showing the proportion of early to late brick in each shovel test to see if there was any spatial separation between the two. I also varied the size of the pie charts using the sum of the values so that those shovel tests with a large amount of brick had larger points than those that had a small amount of brick.

### **Ceramic Analysis**

To analyze ceramics, I first had to sort them into categories based on paste vitrification and then further categorize them by paste and decoration. Historic ceramics

are typically classified into either stoneware, earthenware, or porcelain based on their vitrification (Stelle 2001). Being the hardest and most vitrified of the three wares, porcelain often looks glass like, and comes in a wide variety of surface treatments including: plain, hand painted, transfer printed, gilded, and decal. In addition, porcelain is typically more expensive than other ceramics and so typically only used for fancy tableware (Stelle 2001). Stoneware is less vitrified than porcelain but more so than earthenware and is often used for utilitarian purposes, like pipes and crockery. For this reason, stoneware is unlikely to have any decorations, but does come in a variety of slips and glazes including: plain, salt glazed, Albany slip, and Bristol glaze. Stoneware types have long production ranges and as such are not overly helpful in dating (Stelle 2001). Earthenware is the softest of the wares, comes in a variety of colors, most notably the white colored wares, and is the most common type of ware found at historic sites since it was most frequently used for containers and tableware. Earthenware is also useful for dating owing to its many different variations in paste, glaze, and decoration (Horn 2005; Stelle 2001).

Since potteries manufactured earthenware in such a wide variety of colors, I further divided earthenware by color variation. The three classic groups for this are creamware, pearlware, and whiteware, but other colors include redware and yellowware (Horn 2005; Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Stelle 2001). Of these colored wares, whiteware, redware, and yellowware are the only types that were prevalent during the Civil War era, being manufactured ca. 1830 to the present, ca. 1725 to the present, and ca. 1840 to the early twentieth century, respectively. Creamware and pearlware predate the era, being manufactured ca. 1760-1820 and ca. 1780-1830 respectively (Majewski

and O'Brien 1987; Stelle 2001). Since each type of ware has a different tint to it, these wares are typically distinguished from one another through visually identifying different colors of glaze pooled in vessel crevices. Creamware has a cream-colored glaze that is yellow-green when pooled, pearlware's glaze gives it a blue tint due to the addition of cobalt, whiteware has a colorless glaze which gives it a bright white tint, redware has a distinct red body, and yellowware has a yellowish tint (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Stelle 2001). In addition to paste vitrification and glaze color, I used surface decoration to further divide the earthenware sherds, since these too varied over time (Stelle 2001).

Once I classified all the ceramics, I created a GIS layer for all ceramics at the site and a separate layer for just earthenware. I also created separate layers for each type of white-colored earthenware. I then plotted the occurrences of these artifacts by shovel test onto a modern schematic of the Buchanan House, both together and separately, to get a distribution map of the ceramics at the site. I then ran the Nearest Neighbor analysis on the total ceramic distribution, and then again on each sub distribution (all earthenware, all whiteware and all porcelain) to determine if the artifacts are clustered, random, or dispersed (Whallon 1974). In addition, I individually mapped whiteware shards by decoration on top of the overall whiteware distribution, to help supplement the date and activity schematic.

### **Glass Analysis**

Due to the fragmented nature of my assemblage, glass was most easily dated by its color, using other characteristics when available. Color can be used to date bottle glass because it reflects different manufacturing techniques and stylistic preferences that changed over time (Lockhart 2006). In addition, glass can often be typed by its color,



since different colors are often favored over others for different uses (Lindsey 2017; Lockhart 2006) I sorted the shards into eleven main color groups: colorless, solarized, carnival, aqua, milk, greens and blue green, olive greens, ambers, cobalt, purple/red, and black. In addition to bottle glass, I analyzed window glass as a separate category. Over the course of the nineteenth century, window glass gradually became thicker. For this reason, I measured the thickness of each piece of window glass, using the Moir method (Weiland 2009). Once I categorized the shard, I created a GIS layer for all occurrences of glass at the site, with the amount and type of glass listed for each occurrence. I then plotted the occurrences of these artifacts by shovel test onto a modern schematic of the Buchanan House to get a distribution map of the glass at the site. I also ran the Nearest Neighbor analysis to determine if the artifacts are clustered, random, or dispersed (Whallon 1974).

### **Coal Analysis**

Charcoal, coal/coke, and clinkers/slag, though not completely diagnostic, are abundant at the site. As a group, they are the third most abundant artifact recovered from the site. These types of artifacts are not dateable by any of their physical properties, but their presence can be diagnostic of certain activities, since they are all typically byproducts of a burning and/or smelting event. For analysis, I identified the artifacts as either charcoal, coal/coke, or clinker/slag. Charcoal is the byproduct of a wood burning event, either for use as a heat source for warmth or for cooking, or as the result of a structure burning (Wilson et al. 2003). In addition, metalsmiths used charcoal as fuel in iron forges until coal/coke largely replaced it in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Coal and coke, which is a product of coal, quickly became the preferred source of fuel for forges because

less of it is required to fuel forges and it cost less than charcoal. For this same reason, it also became the preferred source of fuel for fireplaces and to power industrial machines (Council, Honerkamp, and Will 1992). Slag and clinkers are both byproducts of the forging process; slag is shiny and smooth while clinkers are rough in texture (Wilson et al. 2003). Once I subdivided the assemblage, I created a GIS layer for all the artifacts with the amount of each subtype listed. I also ran the Nearest Neighbor analysis to determine if the artifacts are clustered, random, or dispersed (Whallon 1974).

### **Feature Analysis**

During the Anderson and Anderson survey at 40DV246, the crew discovered and subsequently excavated a burial feature containing the remains of two juvenile pigs (Figure 6). The two pigs were found to be completely articulated, with the first individual laying on its back and the second laying on its right side, just east of the first. The associated artifacts recovered from the feature were nails, whiteware, a metal ring, and brick from near the mandible, or snout, of individual two; and glass. I analyzed these associated artifacts to establish a date range for the feature and to help understand the activities surrounding the feature. I analyzed all the associated artifacts with their collective groups, i.e. I analyzed the nails, ceramics, metal, brick, and glass from this feature with the rest of the nails, ceramics, metal, brick, and glass from the site. There were no other features identified at the site.



Figure 6 Photographs and sketch of Feature 1

## CHAPTER V

### RESULTS

#### **Results of Metal Analysis**

Overall, the most abundant artifact at the site was metal, with 246 pieces recovered. Nails are the most abundant metal object, making up 144 of the 246 pieces. From my sample of 85 identifiable nails, I identified 41 as cut nails (ca. 1790s – 1900s), and 39 as wire nails (ca. 1890s to present), making the sample fairly evenly split between the two. There are no hand-wrought nails. There are no obvious visual clusters on the map (Figure 7). The Nearest Neighbor (Whallon 1974) produced a result of significantly dispersed (test statistic: 781.955; p-value: 0.00), meaning that the nails are “dispersed in a consistent distribution” (Niknami and Amirkhiz 2008). I then plotted the occurrences of cut nails onto the modern schematic of the Buchanan House since those are the type that would have been most prevalent during the Civil War era occupation of the site. There appears to be two small clusters of cut nails in the southern portion of site, one in the southeastern quadrant and the other in the southwestern quadrant. However, the Nearest Neighbor analysis again produced a result of significantly dispersed (test statistic: 1.86; p-value: 0.06). Similarly, I analyzed the distribution of wire nails, and the Nearest Neighbor analysis produced a result of significantly dispersed (test statistic: 848.46; p-value: 0.00). Since wire nails and cut nails overlapped for 30 years or so (ca. 1890s to the early 1900s), I decided to plot the cut nails and wire nails and found that even though both cut nails and wire nails are significantly dispersed across the site, they only occur

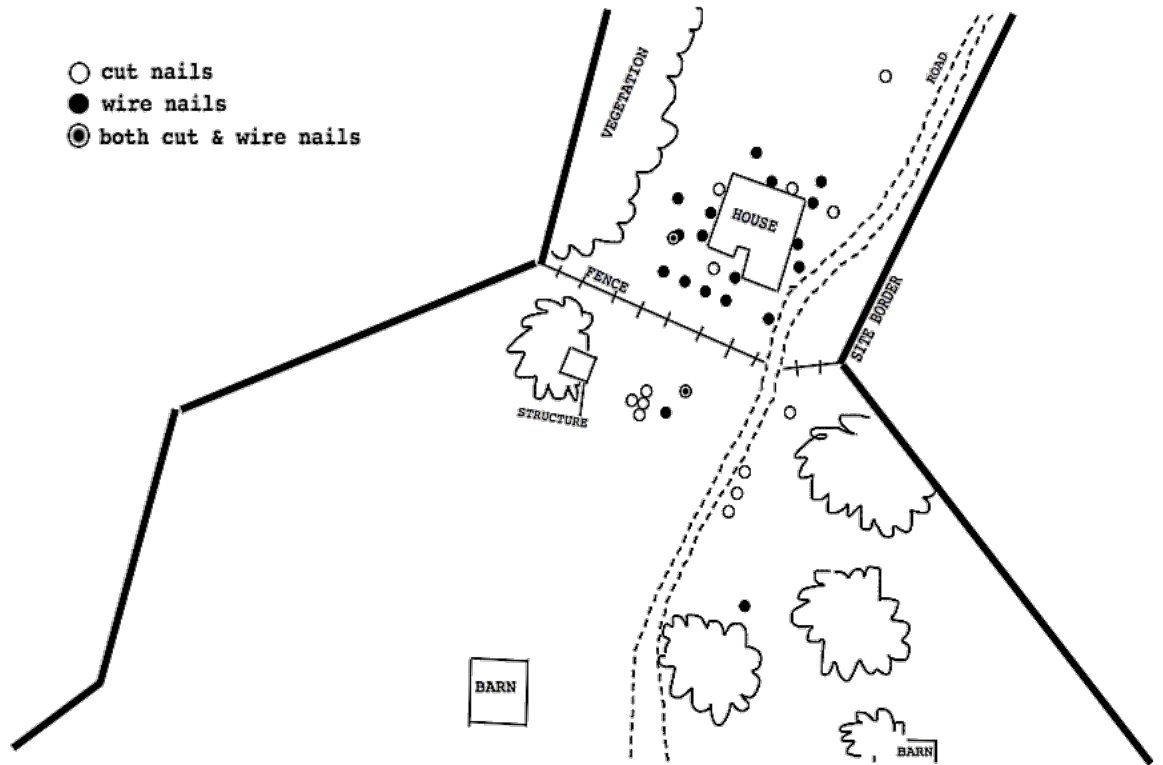


Figure 7 Nail Distribution

together in two shovel tests and in both instances, there are more cut nails than wire. In addition, most of the cut nails, roughly 83 percent, were recovered from the field to the west of the house, while most of the wire nails were recovered from the area directly surrounding the house. To help get a clearer picture of metal distribution at the site, I mapped the artifacts from Group B, bolts, screws, and other metal objects, on top of the nail distribution (Figure 8). This group contained one complete horseshoe and one fragment of a horseshoe, one piece of farm equipment, two rivets, one washer, one bolt, two screws, and two metal buttons. The Anderson crew recovered these artifacts from nine different shovel tests scattered around the site. The complete horseshoe had some defining features that helped to narrow its date and use. The horseshoe was slightly larger and thicker than average, measuring 5.25 inches wide and 6 inches long, which

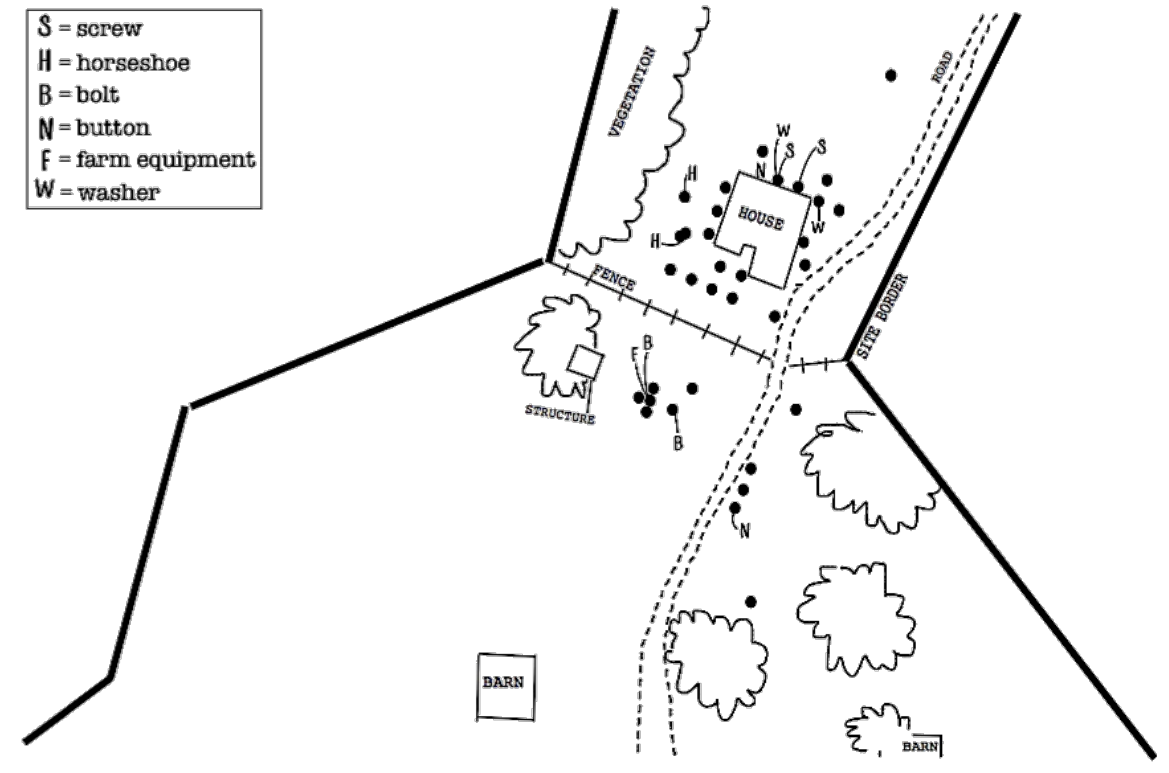


Figure 8 Group B on top of nail distribution

indicates that the shoe probably belonged to a draft animal since they are a much heavier and larger breed. The horseshoe also has a toe grab on it, a feature typically reserved for pack animal shoes because the toe grab helps to keep the shoe from slipping off under heavy strain. In addition, toe grabs were not introduced until the mid-1800s (Hume 1970). The horseshoe was recovered with three cut nails and one wire nail and was in the western side yard of the house, between the house and a standing outbuilding. The horseshoe fragment was recovered from the same side yard, just seven and a half meters north of the complete horseshoe. Unfortunately, due to fragmentation, dating and typing was not possible, but it is the same width as the complete horseshoe. There was only one other piece of metal recovered with the horseshoe fragment, a rusty piece of bent wire.

The piece of farm equipment, unidentifiable or dateable beyond this generic

distinction, distinction, was recovered from the field south of the house along with two cut nails and a solid, metal rivet with a mushroom head. Unfortunately, solid, mushroom head rivets have been in use since the Bronze Age, so dating the rivet is all but impossible, but typing is not. This type of rivet was typically used to hold two pieces of metal or wood together, in applications where dependability counts, such as in ship building, farm equipment, or rigging for pack animals (Bhardwaj 2014; Jindal 2010). Much of the shank is broken off but it is unclear if that is the result of use or natural fragmentation. The Anderson crew recovered a second type of rivet just five meters east of where they found the solid, mushroom rivet and piece of farm equipment. This second rivet is a two-piece copper rivet, typically referred to as burr or belt rivet. Burr rivets have been in use for almost as long as the solid type, but they are smaller and less durable than the first type. Leather works often use burr rivets for items like horse harness or leather clothing straps (Baker and Harrison 1984; Scott and Fox, Jr. 1984).

The two buttons were recovered from separate, very distant shovel tests, but both appear to be cloth-covered, metal ring buttons. The Anderson crew recovered the first button from the field behind the house, along with eight cut nails, roughly 20 meters east and south of where the rivets were recovered. The Anderson crew recovered the second button five meters north of the front porch with no other metal objects. The type of buttons at the site consists of a single metal ring with one hole in the center that would have been covered in cloth or with a crocheted covering. The metal ring is often the only part recovered for these types and that is all that was recovered for these two buttons (Aultman and Grillo 2012). Metal, cloth-covered buttons were first manufactured in the eighteenth century and were popular until around the mid-nineteenth century, but without

the cloth covering, it is hard to give a precise date (Venovcevs 2013). In addition, both buttons measured 20 millimeters in diameter, which is fairly large for a button, making it likely that someone used them to fasten a coat or a pair of trousers (Lindbergh 1999).

Although there are no other metal objects from the same shovel test as the button by the front porch, many other metal objects were recovered from three shovel tests directly to the east of the button, all five meters north of the front porch. Listed from west to east, a washer and screw were recovered together, along with one wire nail, a single screw was recovered with four cut nails, and a bolt was recovered with one wire nail. The screws are green coated, self-fastening, roofing screws, which puts their earliest date around the mid-twentieth century (Hulsey 2014). Bells Bend Park replaced the roof of the house with green metal, sometime between 2007 and 2009, so it is likely that these screws are remnants of that construction. The washer found with the first screw is rusted and has no identifiable features other than that it is a flat washer, which is typically used when working with soft materials or irregular sized holes. The bolt has regularly spaced threads and a uniform head so it is likely machine made, dating it to post-1860. Also, the threads go all the way to the head, which is typical of tap bolts, a type of bolt often used in agricultural equipment (Dhawan 1996; Von Fange 2016). Taken all together, the metal artifacts indicate that there was a farming operation present at the site over the course of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

### **Results of Brick Analysis**

Brick was not overly abundant at the site; with only 60 pieces, brick ranked fourth most abundant out of the five artifact categories analyzed. However, it had the potential to provide good supplementary data on structures at the site (Stelle 2001). From my



sample of 47 identifiable pieces of brick, I classified 21 as early (ca. 1830 - 1880), and 26 as late (1880 - present), making the sample fairly evenly split between the two. I first plotted all occurrences of brick onto a modern schematic of the Buchanan House (Figure 9). Visually, there is not any obvious clustering, except that most of the shovel tests are located around the house, specifically directly north, east, and south of the house. This is not surprising as there is a chimney on the east and the south side of the house, and the Anderson crew dug a brick patio feature to the south of the house. Due to brick's limited utility, I only ran the Nearest Neighbor Analysis on all bricks and it produced a result of random distribution (test statistic: 0.381; p-value: 0.703). The bricks indicate a

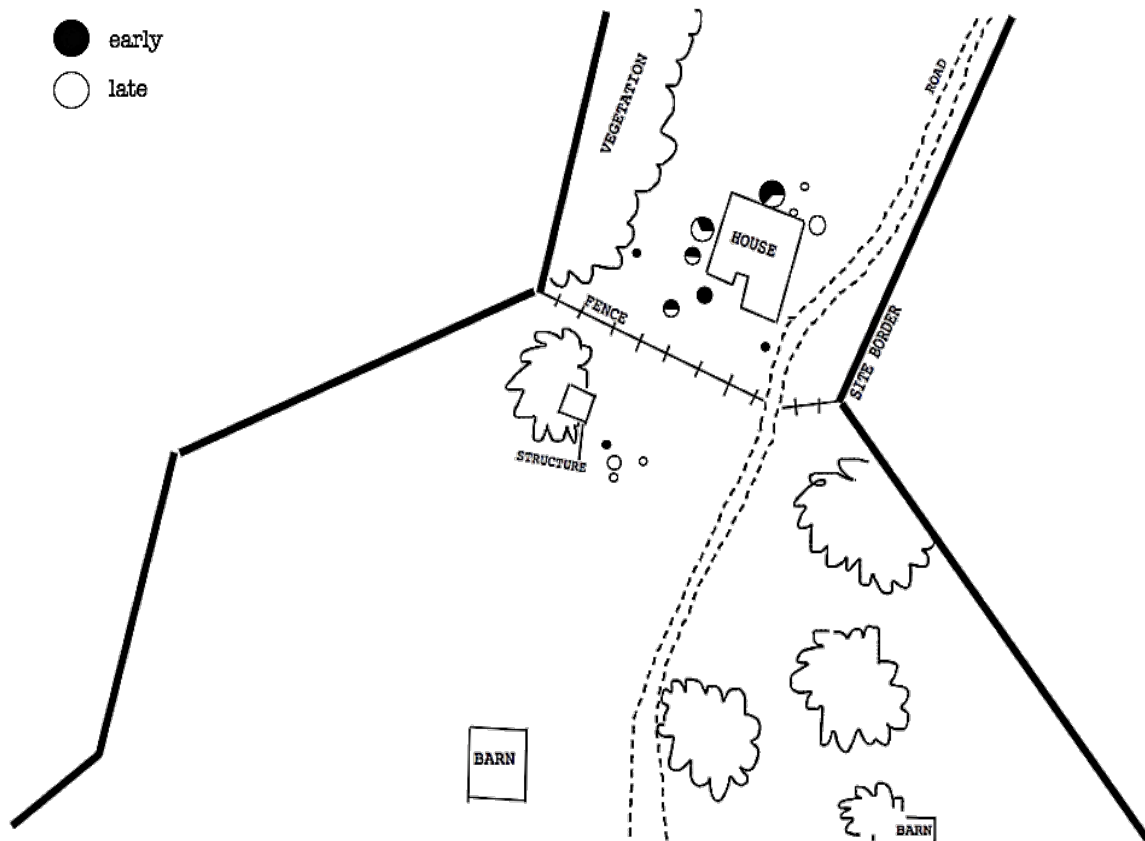


Figure 9 Brick distribution

continuous occupation from ca. 1830 to the present, with most of the activity occurring around the house.

### **Results of Ceramic Analysis**

With only 49 pieces, ceramics are the least abundant artifact at the site. From my sample of 45 identifiable sherds, I identified 37 as earthenware, four as stoneware, and four as China.

#### **China**

Starting with the hardest ware, I identified two of the pieces of China as plain and the other two as hand painted in a red floral motif. Unlike earthenware, China is not overly useful for dating since its paste, glaze, and decoration stayed fairly consistent over time. However, one of the plain pieces had a partial maker's mark on the back. The mark belongs to the Illinois China Company of Lincoln, Illinois. The Illinois China Company opened in Roodhouse, Illinois in 1917 and moved to Lincoln just two years later, in 1919 (Lincoln Evening Courier [LEC], 26 August 1953:11). Once in Lincoln, the Illinois China Company was a large producer of decorated semi-porcelain for almost 30 years, until the Stetson China Company bought it in 1946 (LEC, 26 August 1953:11). Of the three wares found at the site, China was and is the most expensive ware and for this reason, it is not uncommon that it was rare, making up only 8.9 percent of the ceramic collection. However, its presence does indicate some degree of wealth.

#### **Stoneware**

Only four pieces of stoneware were recovered and I identified two of the pieces as salt glazed and the other two as having an Albany slip. Salt glaze was a simple glazing

technique that was popular over the course of the nineteenth century, but saw a decline in popularity after ca. 1860. Albany slip was also fairly simple and saw a rise in production starting ca. 1825 but became less common after ca. 1920 (Stelle 2001). Even though stoneware only made up 8.9 percent of the ceramic collection, its presence indicates the presence of utilitarian wares, like crocks, jugs, pitchers, and storage jars. In addition, the surface treatments indicate a date range spanning the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century (Shelton 2015, Stelle 2001).

### **Earthenware**

Earthenware was by far the most abundant at the site, making up 82.2 percent of the collection (Figure 10). Of the 37 pieces, I identified one as redware, two as creamware, and 34 as whiteware. Redware is the softest of the three and as such, is one of the least recovered wares due to deterioration. In addition to being the softest, redware is also the earliest of the three, dating from ca. 1725 to the present, and people often produced it at home, as opposed to purchasing it from mass producers. Of the three types of earthenware found at the site, creamware is the next oldest, dating from ca. 1760 to 1820, when it became less common, in favor of the harder and whiter pearlware and whiteware.

Whiteware dominated the earthenware collection, as well as the entire ceramic collection, accounting for 92 percent of the earthenware and 82 percent of all ceramics. Whiteware is the hardest of the earthenware and “by the 1830’s it had become the most familiar earthenware in America and remains common through the present day” (Stelle 2001). Despite this long production range and widespread popularity, whiteware can still be useful for dating owing to its many different variations in decoration. I identified the

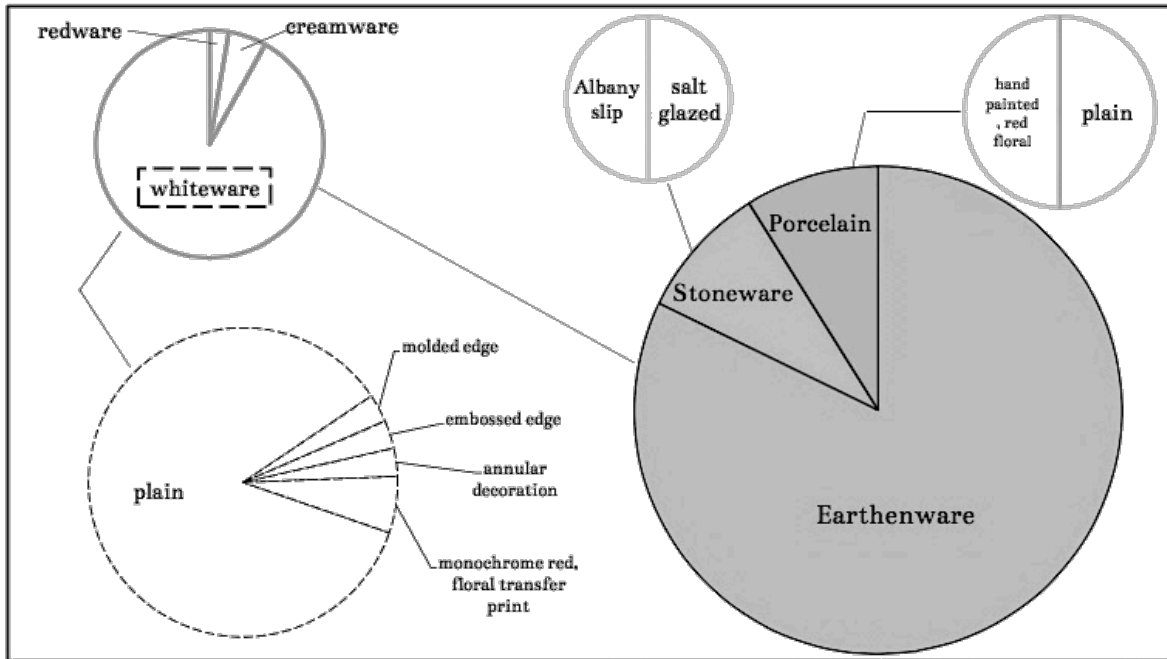


Figure 10 Ceramic collection composition

majority of the whiteware as plain, with 29 of the 34 pieces, but I also identified one piece with a molded edge, another piece with an embossed edge, one piece as having annular decoration, and two pieces as having a monochrome red, floral transfer printed design. Plain whiteware, including molded rim decorations, was the “cheapest form of table service and was found in most households by 1840” (Stelle 2001). Potteries produced embossed, or raised, patterns on whiteware rims from ca. 1820 to 1845, but they were at the height of popularity between 1823 and 1835. Annular decoration gives the vessel raised bands that circle its entirety. This type of decoration was produced on whiteware from ca. 1815 to 1860. Transfer printing was the most popular surface decoration in the nineteenth century, with potteries manufacturing massive amounts for the American market, but the date can be refined based on color. Monochrome red was in production from ca. 1829-1850 but was at maximum popularity from ca. 1829 to 1839.

Taken all together, based on physical analysis, the collection represents a continuous date range from ca. 1725 to the present. In addition, the ceramic collection represents a wide variety of activities, from utilitarian stoneware to high quality china. This wide range in function and quality seemingly represents the presence of utilitarian household wares with limited access to more expensive China.

For the spatial analysis, I first plotted all occurrences of ceramics onto a modern schematic of the Buchanan House. There are no obvious clusters from a purely visual analysis and the Nearest Neighbor analysis produced a result of significantly dispersed for the ceramic distribution (test statistic: 762.16; p-value: 0.00) (Figure 11). In addition, all wares are scattered around the site, except for the two pieces of creamware, which are only located in the field south of the house. Since whiteware dominated the collection, I plotted them separately and ran a separate Nearest Neighbor Analysis, and got a result of random dispersion (test statistic: -0.92; p-value: 0.36). In addition to plotting whiteware separately from the other wares, I mapped whiteware based on surface decorations (Figure 12). As with the other ceramic distributions, decoration types are evenly spread across the site. For example, there are only five decorated pieces, i.e. not plain, and three were recovered near the house, while two were recovered from the field behind the house, while two were recovered from the field behind the house. Taken all together, the ceramic spatial distribution indicates a fairly consistent and evenly spread occupation at the site.

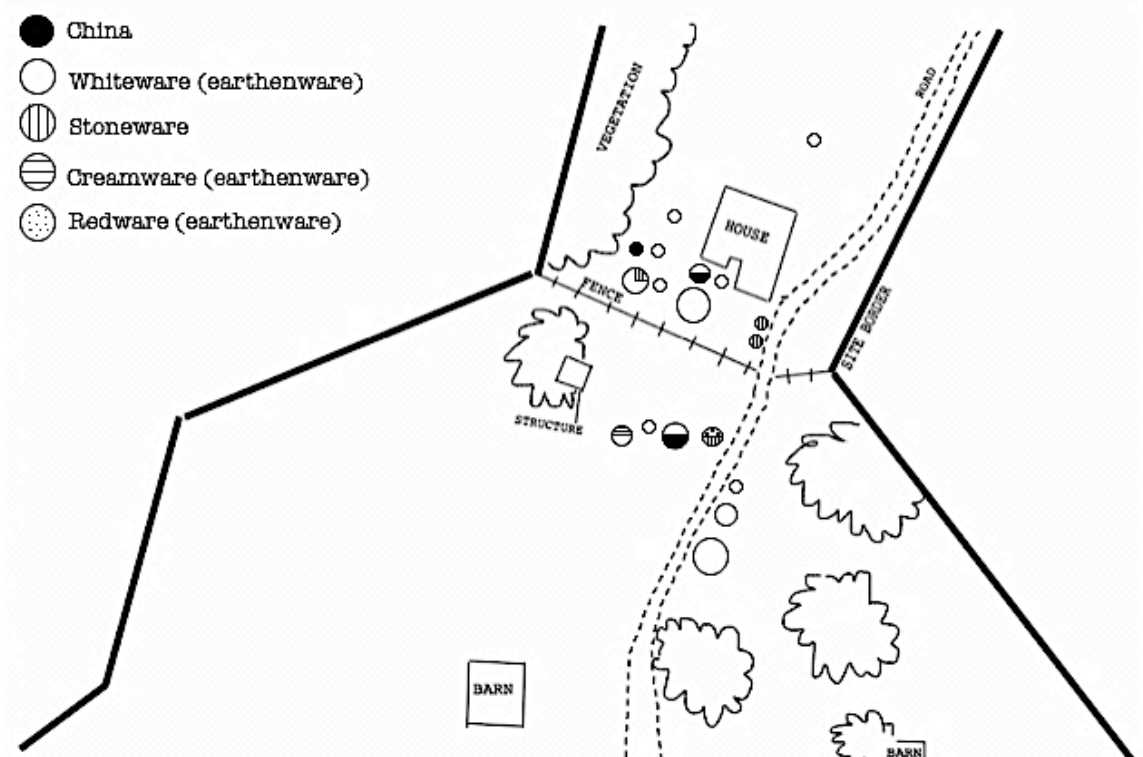


Figure 11 Ceramic distribution

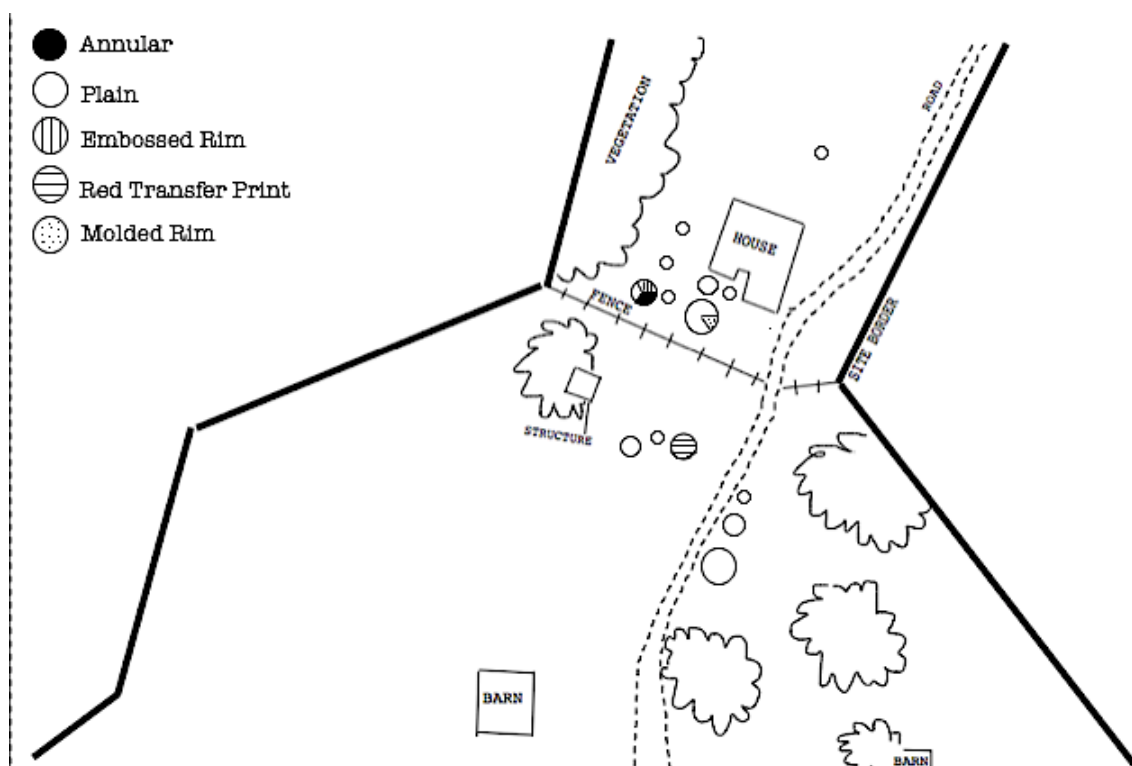


Figure 12 Whiteware distribution

## Results of Glass Analysis

Glass was the second most abundant artifact at the site with 128 pieces (Table 1). From my sample of 128 identifiable shards, I identified 64 as colorless (post 1870), 23 as aqua (ca. 1800 – 1920s), 15 as window glass (date varied based on thickness), 10 as amber (pre 1920), five as solarized (ca. 1900 – 1915), five as olive (ca. 1860s – 1880), three as carnival (peak 1920s), two as milk (post 1870), and one as cobalt (1840 – 1930). I did not have any blue greens, purple/reds, or blacks.

### Bottle Glass

Colorless glass was the most abundant at the site, accounting for 50 percent of the collection. Colorless glass did not become common until after the 1870s, when it gradually replaced aqua glass for use as several different types of bottles, particularly

Table 1 Glass recovered from 40DV246

Glass Color	Date Range	Amount
Colorless	post 1870	64
Aqua	ca. 1800 – 1920s	23
Amber	pre 1920	10
Solarized	ca. 1900 – 1915	5
Olive	ca. 1860s – 1880	5
Carnival	peak 1920s	3
Milk	post 1870	2
Cobalt	1840 – 1930	1
Window	based on thickness	15

food storage (Lindsey 2017). Aqua was the second most abundant color, making up roughly 18 percent of the collection. As mentioned above, aqua glass was popular for food containers in the mid-nineteenth century, but it was also popular for many other types of bottles before it was phased out in favor of colorless glass around the late nineteenth century (Lindsey 2017). Together, colorless and aqua glass dominated the collection at 68 percent. Since both colors have been used for a wide variety of containers, particularly food storage, that is not uncommon for a farmstead that was occupied over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Amber glass was the most abundant at that site. Amber glass came in a variety of shades until ca. 1920, when glass makers refined their techniques and a consistent, uniform brown became the standard. However, all shades of ambers were and are the most common color for beer and liquor bottles due to the light protection it provides. The amber recovered from this site ranged in color from “old” amber to the modern plain brown. Two of the 10 pieces are “old amber”, which is uncommon post-1890, and two are the uniform brown that became the dominant amber color after 1920. Five of the pieces are a yellow amber and two are a red amber, both of which were common pre-1920.

The remaining non-window glass assemblage consists of five pieces of solarized glass, five pieces of olive glass, three pieces of carnival glass, two pieces of milk glass, and one very small fragment of cobalt glass. Solarized glass is colorless glass decolorized with manganese, a technique popular between 1890 and 1920, that has turned a shade of purple upon exposure to UV light (Lindsey 2017). Olive glass was favored for a variety of containers prior to the late-nineteenth century, namely ink, medicinals and liquors and



flasks, and some foods. Carnival glass was produced in a variety of shades and surface decorations but is distinguishable by its iridescent coating. It was produced from 1907 to 2011, but was at its peak popularity in the 1920s, and was used for a variety of items, ranging from plates to candlesticks (Doty 2017). Milk glass came into popular use around the 1870s and was used primarily for cosmetics, creams, and other toiletries. Cobalt glass was commonly used for poisons and cosmetics but it was also frequently used for mineral water bottles and ink wells from the 1840s into the early twentieth century (Lindsey 2017). Based on color alone, the glass at the site indicates a date range from ca. 1800 to the present and the presence of colors typically used for food containers, alcohol, medicines, and other household items, indicates that the site was a homestead. Based on the distribution of the glass at the site (Figure 13), there are no obvious clusters from a purely visual analysis and the Nearest Neighbor analysis produced a result of random dispersion for the glass distribution (test statistic: -0.66; p-value: 0.51). So, to get a more refined picture of the glass distribution at the site, I attempted to assign each shovel test a rough date based on its color composition. Every shovel test that yielded examples of more than one color glass had pieces that ranged continuously from the early 1800s to the present (Table 2). For example, shovel test number 66 is composed of three pieces of aqua glass (ca. 1800-1920), one piece of olive glass (ca. 1860-1880), and three pieces of colorless glass (ca. 1870s – present). In addition, there was no clustering for those shovel tests composed of only one color, which mostly occurred with colorless glass. Consequently, the spatial analysis indicates that there was continuous occupation at the site over the course of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.



Figure 13 Glass distribution

### Window Glass

Window glass is a common occurrence at historic sites and so serves as a “potential source of valuable dating information” (Weiland 2009). Over the course of the nineteenth century, houses started favoring bigger and bigger windows, and so window glass got gradually thicker to accommodate this. For that reason, window thickness can be used as a dating tool. I adopted Moir’s (1983) method because its region of application is the U.S. South (Weiland 2009). The Moir method also has a lot of helpful strictures on what glass can be used, which helps to reduce misidentification of bottle or mirror glass. For this method, each piece of window glass is measured using a micrometer and the results are averaged. This average is then inserted into a regression formula which calculates a mean initial construction date for the site (Weiland 2009). Using the Moir

Table 2 Glass collection composition

STP	Window	Aqua	Amber	Cobalt	Olive	Clear	Milk	Solar	Carnival	more than 1 color
26	2									
32						1				
34	1		1			4				✓
36	1					1				
37	1	1				2				✓
38			1			2		2		✓
40						1				
42						1				
43		1				1			1	✓
45						5				
49			2							
52						3				
57				1		2			1	✓
58	3	1				3			1	✓
59		3								
60		1	1			2				✓
61		1				2	1	1		✓
62	1									
63						3				
64						1				
65		2	1		2	2				✓
66	2	3			1	3				✓
71		1						1		✓
72	2	2			2	3	1	1		✓
73		2	1			7				✓
74		1								
75						3				

method, I dated the 15 pieces of glass and received a mean date of  $1890 \pm 7$  years. Given that initial construction date of the house is ca. 1840, one potential explanation for this late date is that when the Buchanans acquired the house around 1890, they carried out extensive renovations. This extensive amount of construction, which included the addition of new windows, could have potentially skewed the initial construction date.

### **Results of Coal Analysis**

Based purely on physical attributes, coal is not overly useful for providing dates, but it can provide good supplementary activity data, and it was plentiful at the site. With 119 pieces recovered, it was the third most abundant artifact recovered. From my sample of 103 identifiable pieces, I identified 63 as coal, 23 as slag, and 17 as charcoal. Visually, coal as a whole looked concentrated around the house, with only two small clusters in the field south of the house (Figure 14). A Nearest Neighbor Analysis on all coal found the distribution was clustered (test statistic: -1.79; p-value: 0.07). To locate the clusters, I ran a K-means analysis on the coal data, and there looked to be three distinct clusters (Figure 14). The first cluster was a small one located north of the house, in the front yard, ca. 15 meters from the front porch. The cluster was 90 percent charcoal, with only one piece of coal. There is only one piece of plain whiteware and two pieces of amber glass in this cluster, but a large number of lithics are present. This suggests that the first cluster could have been the result of a prehistoric burning event as opposed to a historic one.

The second cluster was located south of the house, surrounding the back, brick patio. Coal was the most abundant in the cluster, accounting for almost 60 percent of the collection, slag was the second most abundant, making up roughly 36 percent of the collection, and there was little charcoal, with only three of 53 pieces. Interestingly, coal

and slag seem to form their own clusters within the larger cluster. Most of the coal was recovered from the eastern portion of the cluster, while most of the slag was found in the western portion of the cluster. In addition, coal and slag are only together in two of the eight shovel tests that comprise the cluster, and the shovel test containing significantly more coal was further east, while the shovel test containing significantly more slag was further west. As with the first cluster, I mapped the other artifact distributions on top of the second cluster. The metal distribution shows that nails, mostly wire, were recovered from all but one of the shovel tests in the cluster. In addition, the horseshoe was recovered from one of the shovel tests in the cluster, the same shovel test that contained three cut nails and one wire nail. The glass distribution showed that glass was recovered from exactly half of the shovel tests in the cluster. Most of the glass is colorless, almost 60 percent, but lesser amounts of amber, solarized, aqua, and window glass were also recovered from the shovel tests. The brick distribution showed that brick was recovered from exactly one-third of the shovel tests in the cluster, with around 67 percent being the early type. The ceramic distribution showed that ceramics were recovered from exactly two-thirds of the shovel tests, with all but one piece being plain whiteware. The other piece was semi-porcelain, more commonly referred to as china. Altogether, the artifacts recovered from this coal cluster look to be relatively utilitarian, containing nails, brick, a horseshoe, majority colorless glass, which is most commonly used for food containers, and majority plain whiteware, which is the cheapest form of containers and table service. This combination of artifacts suggests that this area was likely used as either a workspace, perhaps a location for forging and repairing horseshoes and other agricultural

equipment; as a slave quarters; or perhaps as a combination blacksmithing area and slave quarters.

The third cluster was in the field south of the house, in the eastern portion of the field, not near any standing structures. The cluster was majority coal, with only one piece of charcoal. Glass, ceramics, and metal were recovered from all three shovel tests that make up the cluster. The artifacts are distributed fairly equally between the three shovel tests and in total there are 28 pieces of glass (12 colorless, six aqua, four olive, two window, two amber, one milk, and one solarized), 25 cut nails, seven pieces of ceramic (six plain whiteware and one plain creamware), and one button recovered. In addition, two fully articulated juvenile pig skeletons were recovered from one of the shovel tests. The range in artifacts suggests that there may have been a small structure present. All the items of a domestic structure are found in this cluster: glass, nails, ceramics, coal, and a clothing item. The colors of glass found in this cluster represent a wide range of functions, from food storage to cosmetic containers, suggesting either a domestic structure, in which a wide range of activities would have occurred, or a storage structure. All the ceramics are plain, and the overall lack of ceramics indicates either a relative lack in material goods, or that the structure was not domestic in nature. The considerable number of cut nails and the absence of brick suggests a wood structure since wood is highly unlikely to survive in the U.S. South. Finally, the two slaughtered but unbutchered pigs suggest either a natural death, a storage pit, or a sacrifice of some sort, a common practice among slaves (Raboteau 2004). Taken all together, the artifacts suggest that this cluster represents the presence of a small structure, either a food storage structure or a small dwelling.

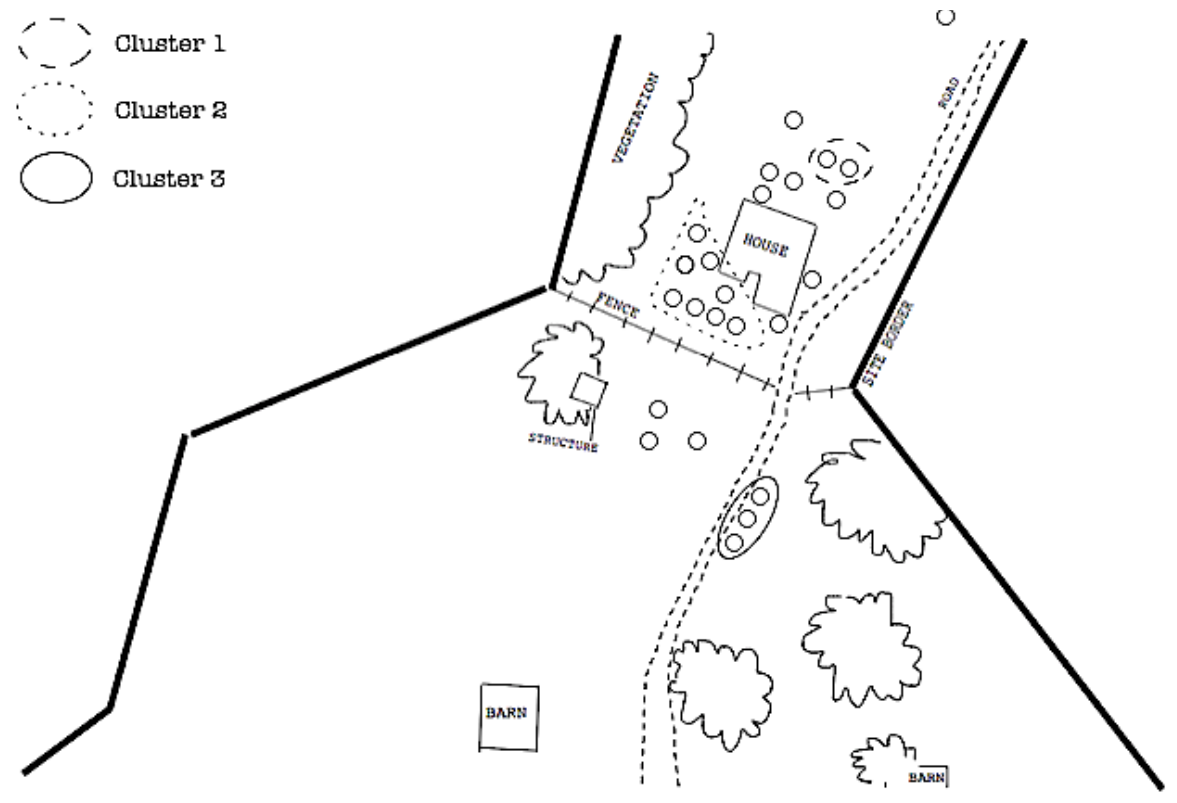


Figure 14 Coal distribution with K-Means clusters

### Results of Feature Analysis

Feature 1, a burial feature containing the remains of two juvenile pigs, was recovered from the middle shovel test of the third coal cluster, in the eastern portion of the field that is south of the house. The Anderson crew found the juvenile pigs completely articulated and the remains are unbutchered. Individual 1 was lying on its back, immediately west of Individual 2, which was lying on its side. In addition to these remains, metal, glass, ceramic, and coal were recovered from Feature 1 (Figure 15). Metal was the most abundant artifact in the feature, and with 10 cut nails, Feature 1 contained the most cut nails, and the most nails in general, of any shovel test at the site. This is especially interesting since the feature is not located near any standing structures.

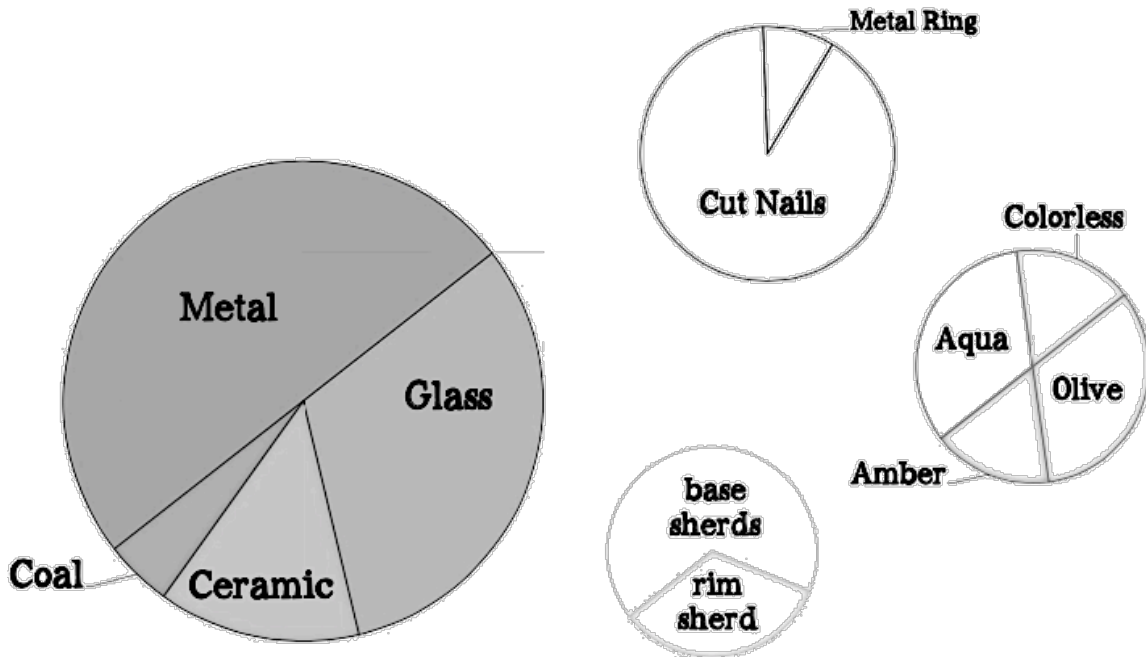


Figure 15 Feature 1 Artifact Composition

In addition, the total lack of wire nails gives the metal in the feature a date range of ca. 1790s – 1900s. Glass was the second most abundant artifact recovered from the feature. Of the seven pieces, there are two aqua, two colorless, two olive, and one amber. The date ranges for each color glass produce an overall range of ca. 1800s to the present. It is of note that all colors present in the feature were only in production at the same time between ca. 1870 and 1880, but that does not necessarily assign this feature that date. Ceramics were the third most abundant artifact with two base sherds and one rim sherd, all of which are plain whiteware. As mentioned previously, plain whiteware dates from ca. 1840 to the present and was most commonly used as a cheap form of dishes. Finally, coal was the least abundant artifact recovered from the feature, with only one piece. Taken all together, the artifacts represent a time range of ca. 1790s to the present, with an overlap time between ca. 1870 and 1880. In addition, the glass and ceramics indicate the presence of food and liquor storage, while the sizable amount of nails, coupled with the



absence of brick, suggests the presence of a wooden structure that is no longer standing. These artifacts, coupled with the presence of the unbutchered pigs, suggests that a food storage building might have once stood where Feature 1 was located.

## **Historic Document Search Results**

### **Land Deeds and Census Records**

The first land deed in the Davidson County Register of Deeds that mentions the Bell's Bend tract, referred to as White's Bend in records prior to 1850, is a Revolutionary War grant of 3,840 acres from the State of North Carolina to a Dr. James White, son of Thomas White, in 1789 (Taylor et al. 1991). Thomas White was the original grantee of the land but died before claiming it, thus it fell to his son, Dr. James White. In 1796, Dr. James White deeded all this acreage to business partners William Stothart and William Taitt. Shortly after, in 1802, Stothart transferred all his acreage over to Taitt and then the land deeds do not mention it again until 1850, when Montgomery Bell, a well-known iron maker, sold it (Taylor et al. 1991). In the title records, it is unclear how Montgomery Bell came to own the Bells Bend property and it is during this gap that the Buchanan House was built. It is thought that a John Bell built the house in 1840 and is the namesake for Bells Bend. However, several John Bells resided in Davidson County over the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In local history, the John Bell that the Buchanan House is accredited to is described as a supplier of mules for plantations, "whose water mill on the southern end of the bend marked the location of the Civil War Battle of Bells Mill" (Law 2005: 12). However Montgomery Bell came to own the land, he sold the original 3,840 acres, plus an additional 2,403 acres to a George and James Anderson in 1850. In the deed, James Anderson is listed as a resident of Davidson

County, while George is listed as a resident of Clark County in Kentucky. Two years later, George and James Anderson ran a line across the middle of Bell's Bend and sold the northern half, keeping the southern portion that contains the Buchanan House. They then partitioned this southern half equally between themselves, with one getting the eastern half and the other getting the western half, with special provisions for joint ownership of the Bell's Steam Mill. From the deeds, it seems that James received the tract with the Buchanan House on it and the land seems to have stayed within the Anderson family over the course of the Civil War, until George W. Anderson, son of James Anderson, sold his tract of land to a Jacob Bloomstein in 1869.

I began looking for the Anderson family (Figure 16) in the 1850 United States census, which I accessed through Family Search. In the 1850 census there is one James Anderson from Kentucky living in Davidson County. He is listed as a 60-year-old male with a 62-year-old wife and four grown children living with him. His wife, Sarah, is listed as from Virginia, but all their children are listed as being born in Kentucky. They are Matthew, age 29, Susan, age 25, George, age 22, and James, age 18. James and his three sons have Farmer listed as their professions and James has property valued at 40,000 dollars, while his eldest son has property valued at 3,000 dollars; the other two sons have no property listed. When compared to what others earned in 1850, James and his eldest son had the equivalent of 20,800,000 dollars and 1,560,000 dollars in property value, respectively. There is also a George Anderson living in Clark County, Kentucky listed in the 1850 U.S. Census. He is listed as a 58-year-old male, living with his 36-year-old wife Susan and their three children, George W., age seven, Mary E., age four, and Susan, age two. George is also listed as a Farmer, with 60,000 dollars in property value,

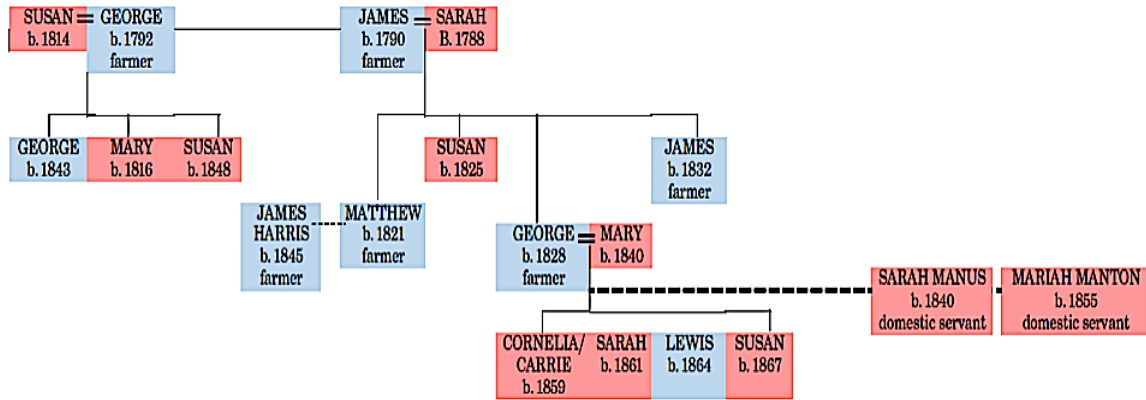


Figure 16 Anderson geneology

respectively. There is also a George Anderson living in Clark County, Kentucky listed in the 1850 U.S. Census. He is listed as a 58-year-old male, living with his 36-year-old wife Susan and their three children, George W., age seven, Mary E., age four, and Susan, age two. George is also listed as a Farmer, with 60,000 dollars in property value, which equates to 31,100,000 dollars today. Taking the deed and census data together, it appears that James and George were brothers from Kentucky that already had a significant amount of property, and then bought Bell's Bend from Montgomery Bell. It seems James was the one to move his family and take up residence in Bell's Bend while George stayed behind in Kentucky, presumably because George's family was much younger than James'. In addition, there is one James Anderson listed in the 1850 U.S. census slave schedule. He is listed as owning 21 slaves, ranging in age from one to 38 years old. This, coupled with his profession, makes it appear that James was running Bell's Bend as a successful farm.

Since George W. Anderson did not sell the land until 1869, I checked the 1860 census for the Anderson family as well. The 1860 census was the first to distinguish between property and personal estate. According to the instruction book for census

takers, property just includes all real estate owned, while personal includes “all bonds, stocks, mortgages, notes, livestock, plate, jewels, or furniture” (U.S Department of Commerce, 1979). In the 1860 census I only found a Jas Anderson. He is the approximate age of George W. Anderson, and is listed as a 70-year-old man from Kentucky, and is also listed as a Farmer. However, he is listed as residing with a 60-year-old female named J Anderson and an 18-year-old male named Wm Anderson, both white and both from Pennsylvania. In addition, he is listed as residing in the nineteenth district, while Bell’s Bend would have been in the twenty-fifth district in 1860. In the 1860 census, there are still two Andersons listed as residing in the twenty-fifth district of Davidson County, an M. Anderson and a GW Anderson. Presumably, these are James’ two eldest sons, Matthew and George. They are listed as separate households but are one after the other, which indicates that their households are close to one another, if not directly adjacent. GW Anderson is listed as a 32-year-old male from Kentucky living with his 20-year-old wife, Mrs. H Anderson, and their one-year old daughter named Cornelia. Both his wife and child are listed as from Tennessee. M Anderson is listed as a 34-year-old male from Kentucky with no other persons in his household. Both GW Anderson and M Anderson are listed as farmers with considerable amounts in real estate and personal estate. GW is listed as having 18,000 dollars in property and 14,000 dollars in personal estate. When compared to what others earned in 1860, GW Anderson had the equivalent of 7,450,000 dollars in property value and 5,790,000 dollars in personal estate. M is listed as having 20,000 dollars in property and 9,500 dollars in personal estate, which equates to 8,270,000 dollars in property and 3,930,000 dollars in personal estate. I did not find any

Susan Anderson from Kentucky residing in Nashville or another James Anderson. I also did not find a Sarah Anderson from Virginia living in Nashville.

Since the land deeds only mention George W. selling land in 1869, but not his brother Matthew, I analyzed the 1870 U.S. Census as well. In the 1870 census there is a Matthew Anderson from Kentucky, now age 45, living in the twenty-fifth district of Davidson County, Tennessee. He is listed as living with a 25-year-old white male from Tennessee by the name of James Harris. Both men have Farmer listed as their occupation, but only Matthew has property listed. Matthew has 46,000 dollars in property and 3,700 in personal estate, which when compared to what others earned in 1870 would today be 13,500,000 dollars in property and 1,090,000 dollars in personal estate. James Harris had considerably less in personal estate, with just 150 dollars, which equates to 44,100 dollars. In addition, there is a 41-year-old George Anderson from Kentucky listed in the 1870 census. He is listed as living in the twenty-first district of Davidson County and there is a high likelihood this is the same George Anderson, brother of Matthew Anderson, from the 1860 census. Based on the fact that George is residing in a different district than Matthew, and Matthew is living in the district Bells Bend is located in, it would seem that George W. moved with his family. He is listed as living with his 30-year-old wife, Mary Anderson, and their five children: Carrie, age 11, Sarah, age nine, Lewis, age six, and Susan, age three. In addition, there are two black, female domestic servants listed as living with the Andersons: Sarah Manus, age 30, and Mariah Manton, age 15. George Anderson is still listed as a Farmer with 8,800 dollars in property, and 20,000 dollars in personal estate, which today would be 2,590,000 dollars and 5,880,000 dollars, respectively. In addition, I cross-referenced this census data with county maps of

the 21<sup>st</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> districts of Davidson County, dated 1871. In the 21<sup>st</sup> district, there is only one Anderson noted and he is living along White's Creek, which confirms that George Anderson moved his family and farming operation to the 21<sup>st</sup> district of Davidson County. In the 25<sup>th</sup> district, both Matthew Anderson and Bloomstein, the purchaser of James Anderson's land, are marked on the map. Bloomstein is noted where the current Buchanan House sits, while Matthew Anderson is marked further up the river. Again, the map confirms that James sold his tract of land, while Matthew remained in Bells Bend. When I checked the 1880 census, I did not find any evidence of either Matthew or George's households residing in Davidson County. There are some interesting patterns in George W. and Matthew's personal and property values between 1860 and 1870. George W.'s property value dropped by 65 percent, which is likely the result of him selling his land to Bloomstein, but his personal property slightly increased. Meanwhile, Matthew's property value increased by 63 percent, while his personal value, which included the value of slaves, dropped by 72 percent. This drop in Matthew's personal value is likely the result of a loss of slaves after the war. It is unclear what caused the sharp increase in Matthew's real estate value.

Between 1869, when George W. Anderson sold his tract of land to a Jacob Bloomstein and 1899, when the Buchanan family took ownership, the land was split up and transferred between a few short-term owners (Taylor et al. 1991). Eventually, Sallie Buchanan purchased some of the acreage from a B.F. Brown in 1899, with her husband Robert G. Buchanan becoming trustee to her estate in 1919. In addition, her two sons, Thomas W. and Windor G., acquired the rest of the acreage in 1898 from Davidson County, who received Jacob Bloomstein's acreage, and in 1918 from the State Bank and

Trust, which obtained Susan Anderson’s inheritance. Once acquired, the Buchanan’s ran a highly successful farming operation until the mid-twentieth century and did not sell the land outside of family until between 1969 and 1973, when the last owners gradually sold their acreage to the Spring Land Co. (Graves 1975; Taylor et al. 1991).

Since the Buchanan family (Figure 17) first obtained some of the land in 1899, I first analyzed the 1900 U.S. Census. In the 1900 U.S. Census, I found a 58-year-old Robert G. Buchanan from Tennessee, living in the twenty-fifth district of Davidson County, which is the district Bell’s Bend was still located in. Robert Buchanan is listed as living with his 55-year-old wife Sarah G. Buchanan and their two sons and three daughters, Thomas W., age 22, Winder G., age 19, Eugenia P., age 17, Sadie C., age 14, and Catherine W., age 11. The Buchanan’s are also listed as living with two black servants, John and Mary Mitchle, age 26 and 21 respectively, and their two young sons, Oly, age three, and John, age eight months. In addition to him being listed as a servant to

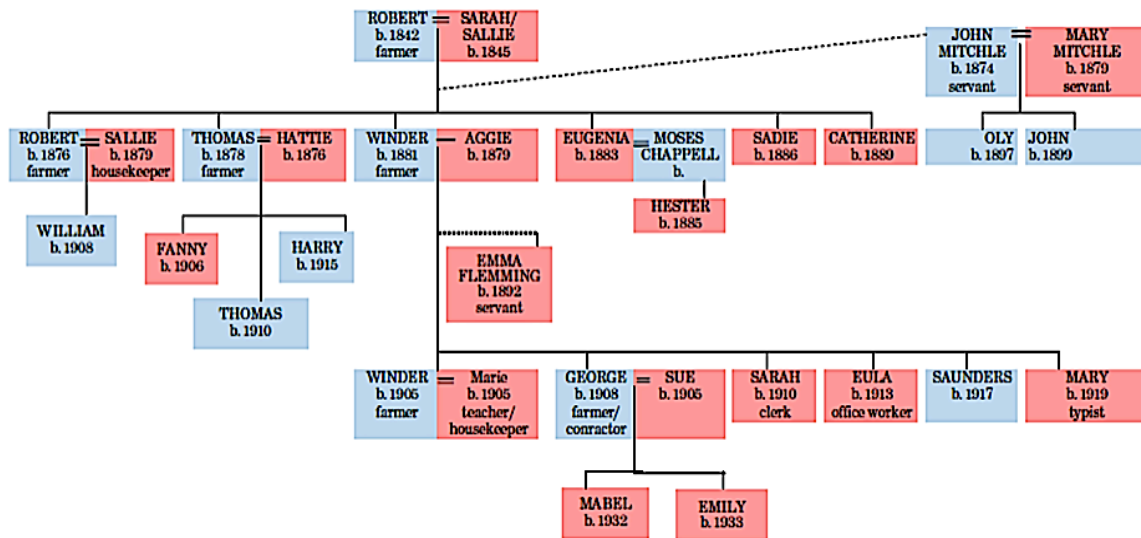


Figure 17 Buchanan genealogy

Robert Buchanan, John Mitchle's occupation is listed as Farm Laborer. His wife is also listed as servant in relation to the head of house but she has no occupation listed.

Since the Buchanan's did not start selling the land outside of the family until 1969, I checked the 1910 - 1940 censuses as well and found a large number of related Buchanans living in Davidson County. I did not check the 1950 and 1960 censuses because they are not yet available to the public. In the 1910 U.S. Census, I found three separate Buchanan families, all living in the thirteenth district of Davidson County, the district that Bell's Bend is currently located in. Redistricting took place sometime between 1900 and 1907.

The first Buchanan listed in the 1910 census was Winder G. Buchanan, son of Robert G. and Sarah Buchanan. Now aged 29, he is listed as living with his wife of eight years, Aggie S., aged 31, and their three children: Winder G. Jr., age five, George S., age two, and Sarah, age two months. In addition, an 18-year-old black girl by the name of Emma Flemming is listed as their servant. Winder Sr.'s occupation was listed as Farmer at his home farm, Emma Flemming's occupation was listed as House Girl for a private home, and the remainder of the family had no occupation listed. The second Buchanan listed in the 1910 census is Winder Buchanan and was the same Robert G. Buchanan listed in the 1900 census. He is listed as now being 68 years old and still living with his 65-year-old wife, who is listed as Sallie G. instead of Sarah G. In addition to his wife, Robert is listed as still living with his two youngest daughters, Sadie C., age 24, and Catherine W., age 21. He is also listed as living with his eldest son Robert M., who was not listed in the 1900 census, along with Robert M.'s wife Sallie W., age 31, and their son, William M. Buchanan, age two. Robert is no longer listed as living with his other



two sons, Thomas W. and Winder G., who are listed separately in the census, or his eldest daughter Eugenia P., who is listed as living in Texarkana with her husband of two years, Moses E. Chappell, and his daughter from a first marriage, Hester Chappell, age 25. In addition, the Mitchles are no longer listed as living with the family. Robert G.'s profession is the same as it was in 1900, a Farmer on his home farm, but his son Robert M. is now also a Farmer at the home farm. In addition, all the women, minus the matriarch Sallie G., are listed as housekeepers/help at the farm house. The final Buchanan listed in the 1910 census is located one household away from Robert G. and is Robert's second oldest son, Thomas W. Thomas is listed as living with his wife of six years, Hattie Buchanan, age 34, and their daughter Fanny C., age 4. Like his father, Thomas W.'s occupation is listed as Farmer on his home farm, but unlike his father, Thomas is listed as renting his home instead of owning it. In addition, I cross-referenced the 1900 and 1910 census data with a county maps of the 25<sup>th</sup> district of Davidson County, dated 1907. On the map, Winder G. Buchanan, is living either in or near the old Matthew Anderson house, Robert G. Buchanan is living in the Buchanan House, and Thomas W. is living further down the road, on the opposite side of what is now Old Hickory Boulevard. This map confirms that Robert and his two sons Winder G. and Thomas W. were all residing in Bells Bend between 1900 and 1910, and it would appear that Winder G. and Thomas W. split into their separate households sometime before 1907.

In sharp contrast to the 1910 census, the 1920 U.S. census only lists one Buchanan as living in the thirteenth district of Davidson County. The one Buchanan is Thomas W., second oldest son of Robert G. and Sallie G. Buchanan, now age 40. He is still living with his wife, Hattie C. and their daughter Fanny, now spelled Fannie, in

addition to their two new sons, Thomas W. Jr., age 10, and Harry J., age five. As in the previous census, Thomas is still listed as a Farmer on the house farm, still living in a rented house.

The 1930 census shows two Buchanans living in the thirteenth district of Davidson County. A 52-year-old Thomas W. is still residing in the thirteenth district, simply listed as T.W. Buchanan in the 1930 census. In addition, he is still living with his wife Hattie, now 55, and their three children: Fannie Care, age 25, Thomas Jr., age 20, and Harry, age 15. Thomas Sr. is still listed as a Farmer on the home farm, but he now owns the house he is living in and it is valued at 30,000 dollars. When compared to what others earned in 1930, Thomas Sr. had the equivalent of 2,310,000 dollars in property value. In addition, two of his three children now have occupations listed. Fannie is listed as a Teacher and Thomas Jr. is listed as a Farmer, while Harry is listed as still in school. The 1930 census is the only one to ask if the family owned a radio unit, and Thomas Buchanan's family did. In the 1930s, owning a radio was not as much of a luxury as it would have been in the 1920s, but was still considered a luxury nonetheless. The second Buchanan family listed in the 1930 census is located 10 households up from Thomas Buchanan and is Thomas' younger brother, Winder G. Buchanan, listed simply as W.G. Winder is 50 years old and still residing with his wife Aggie, age 51, in a home they own worth 23,000 dollars, which equates to 1,770,000 dollars today. Winder's oldest son, Winder Jr., age 25, is still living with them with the addition of his new wife, Marie Buchanan, also age 25. Winder's other children, George (22) and Sara (19), are still living with them as well, with the addition of three new children: Eula, age 17, Saunders, age 13, and Mary Frances, age 11. As in the 1910 census, Winder is still listed as a

Farmer on the home farm, but he is now listed as Manager, instead of just generic farmer. In addition, all of his above school-aged children have occupations listed. Winder Jr. is a Farmer on the home farm and his wife was a Teacher. George is also a Farmer, but he is noted as working in Sumner County, instead of on the home farm. Sara Buchanan is the only daughter not in school and she is listed as being a Clerk/Salesman at an insurance company. Like Thomas' family, Winder's household is listed as owning a home radio too.

The 1940 census is like the 1910 census in that there are a large number of related Buchanans living in the thirteenth district of Davidson County. The first Buchanan listed is Winder G. Buchanan, Jr., age 35, still residing with his wife, Marie B., age 36, and still with no children. Winder Jr. is listed as being the Assistant Manager of a home farm while his wife has no occupation. They reside in a home they own, worth 800 dollars. When compared to what other property was worth in 1940, Winder Jr. had the equivalent of 59,100 dollars in property value. The second Buchanan listed in the 1940 census is located one household away from Winder Jr. and is Winder's younger brother, George S. Buchanan, now age 32. George is listed as living with his new wife Sue F., age 35, and their two young daughters, Mabel Ann, age 8, and Emily Sue, age 7. They reside on a farm, in a home they own, worth 3,000 dollars, which equates to 222,000 dollars, but George's profession is no longer listed as Farmer. Instead, he is listed as a Contractor for a construction company, and no other member of his family has an occupation listed. The third Buchanan listed in the 1940 census is located one household away from George Buchanan, and two households away from Winder Jr. This Buchanan is Thomas W. Buchanan, Winder Jr. and George's uncle. Thomas is now 62 and still residing with his

wife Hattie, age 65, and three out of the four of their children. The children residing with them are their daughter Fannie, age 34, and their oldest son, Thomas Jr., age 29. It is unclear what happened to their youngest son Harry, who would have been 25 in 1940, but he is not listed as residing anywhere in Davidson County, Tennessee. Thomas Sr. is now listed as a Manager of the home farm, while his son Thomas Jr. is listed as an Assistant Manager of the home farm. Fannie is listed as being a Teacher at a public high school, bringing in an annual salary of 1,200 dollars, while the matriarch Hattie still has no occupation listed. Like his nephews, Thomas is also listed as living on a farm, in a home he owns, worth 2,000 dollars, which today would be valued at 148,000 dollars. The fourth and final Buchanan listed in the 1940 census is Winder Sr., now age 69, located one household away from his brother Thomas Buchanan, two households away from his middle son George, and three households away from his oldest son, Winder Jr. Winder Sr. is still living with his wife Aggie, now age 61, and two of his daughters: Eula, age 27, and Mary Frances, age 20. It is unclear what happened to his oldest daughter Sara, who would have been 29, or his youngest son Saunders, who would have been 23, but neither of them are listed as residing with Winder Sr. or anywhere else in Davidson County, Tennessee. Like his brother, Winder Sr. is listed as Manager of the home farm, while his daughter Eula is listed as a General Office Worker for an electric company, bringing in a salary of 948 dollars, and his other daughter Mary Frances is listed as a typist for an insurance company, bringing in a salary of 912 dollars; his wife Aggie has no profession listed. Also like his brother and two sons, Winder Sr. is listed as living on a farm, in a home he owns, worth 2,500 dollars, which today would equate to 148,000 dollars. There are some interesting patterns in Winder G. Sr's and Thomas W. Sr's property values

between 1930 and 1940. Both men's property values drop drastically, with Thomas's decreasing by 93.5 percent and Winder's decreasing by 89.5 percent. This decrease in value could be the result of the Great Depression, which occurred between 1929 and 1939. Meanwhile, Winder Sr.'s sons, Winder Jr. and George, obtain property value for the first time, which is likely the result of Winder's two oldest sons moving out of their father's house to start their own families.

In summary, the land deed and census data, with support from various historic maps, indicate two substantial occupations at the Buchanan House and the surrounding land over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Anderson's seem to have acquired the land in 1850 and run a successful farming operation on it until the two sons of James Anderson went their separate ways in 1869. In addition, the historic records show that Matthew Anderson's house was burned down during the Civil War and subsequently rebuilt (Graves 1975). The land then transferred between short term owners until the Buchanan family reunited it in 1899. The Buchanan family then ran their own highly successful farming operation on it, with one of the Winder Buchanans and his family occupying Matthew Andersons rebuilt house, and passed the land down through the family, until the last of the Buchanans sold their parcel in 1973. Additionally, over the course of their occupation, Winder G. Buchanan reportedly recovered a Confederate sword on his land as well as cannon balls and other Civil War items (Graves 1975).

In addition to the land deeds and census data, there is correspondence regarding the Buchanan House and Bells Bend. In a letter dated June 18, 1998, a Dr. Robert McClellan wrote to a Harold Pearson regarding his plan to retire and cease operating the farm at Bells Bend, and the plan for James (Bubba) Barnes and his family to take over

operations and move into the Buchanan House. In a separate letter with the same date, Dr. Robert McClellan wrote to the directors of the Division of Public Property and the Public Works Department regarding the future operation of Bells Bend. In this letter, he again mentions that Harold Pearson will cease operating the farm and that a Wesley Barnes will oversee the farm and improvements while his son, James Barnes, will occupy the old Buchanan House. In addition, he mentions that a P.B. Crowell will farm some of the bottom land. These letters, coupled with the land and census data indicate that the Buchanan House and its surrounding acreage was utilized for family farming operations from at least ca. 1850 to 1998, a little under 150 years.

### **Photographs and Property Tax Records**

To determine what, if any, changes occurred to the Buchanan House since it was built in 1840, I started with Property Tax Records. The records show that someone enclosed two porches on the back of the house sometime after the house was originally built, probably occurring around 1900, and that someone also added a third fireplace. In addition to property tax records, I obtained some notes made from a site visit in 2003. The notes describe the house as having Tudor detailing (ca. 1920s and 1930s) in addition to some other more recent additions.

For the photographs, I looked at Pictometry aerial pictures as well as images gathered from the Nashville Metropolitan Archives. Pictometry pictures for Davidson County begin in 2007 and are taken every two years, meaning there are aerial photos of the Buchanan House for 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, and 2017. Looking at these images, it is apparent that Bells Bend Park added a new roof to the Buchanan House sometime between 2007 and 2009. In 2007 the pictures show a brown, shingled roof on

the house, while in 2009 there is a green, metal roof instead (Figure 18). Other than the roof, there are no other obvious changes to the house between 2007 and 2017. The Nashville Metropolitan Archives produced a few images of the Buchanan House and its surrounding acreage. One image shows Mr. and Mrs. Buchanan, Sr. sitting on the front porch with the caption “Mr. Buchanan served 18 years on County Court. Operated large farm ... Additional rooms were added by Buchanans” (Figure 19). The image is undated but based on the census data, it was likely taken in the 1930s or 1940s. Another image shows Winder Buchanan, Sr. standing next to a tractor that is being manned by a male, black farmhand. The final image from the Archives shows local historian John Graves, “examining chimney of slave dwelling on Winder Buchanan farm. Prisoners kept here during Civil War may have been captured at Battle of Bells Mill” (Graves 1975). The



Figure 18 2007 Pictometry image (left); 2009 Pictometry image (right)

2007 Pictometry image shows brown roof; 2009 Pictometry image shows green roof



Figure 19 Mr. and Mrs. Buchanan, Sr.

Buchanans are sitting on the front porch of the Buchanan House

first two images reiterate that the Buchanans resided in the house and operated a large farm on the land, and the caption of the first image shows that the Buchanans did in fact make alterations to the original house. The third image indicates that enslaved people did reside somewhere on the acreage surrounding the Buchanan House and that a prisoner of war camp was located in the same area.

Overall, the property records and the photographs indicate that the house has had



some substantial changes made to it since its original build date in ca. 1840. In addition to pictures of the house, there was a picture of local historian John Graves, “examining chimney of slave dwelling on Winder Buchanan farm. Prisoners kept here during Civil War may have been captured at Battle of Bells Mill” (Graves 1975).

## CHAPTER VI

### DISCUSSION

The goal of this study was to assess the Buchanan House's historic and architectural significance and the significance of the associated archaeological remains, in the hopes that it will be protected and conserved either by being listed on the National Register, or by being converted into a museum dedicated to the civilian experience during the Civil War. I aimed to accomplish this by testing my three hypotheses. My first hypothesis is that the house has remained unchanged from its original form (built ca. 1840) and that there are intact Civil War era (1861-1865) archaeological deposits at the site. The historic document analysis shows that significant alterations have been made to the house since it was originally built, rejecting the first half of my hypothesis. Alterations deemed significant are those that alter the integrity of the house's workmanship and style (i.e. a complete makeover in the style of the 1920s or 1980s) (National Park Service 1995). The new metal roof, the enclosed porches, and the Tudor detailing added to the house are likely to influence the property's eligibility for the National Register. The second part of my hypothesis, that there is intact Civil War era archaeology, could not be rejected or accepted because the artifact analysis was inconclusive. While many artifacts at the site were being produced over the course of the Civil War, they are all household items with relatively long date ranges, most extending into the early twentieth century. While the artifacts and historic documents indicate that

the house was likely occupied over the course of the Civil War, there is no deposit at the site that could be definitively tied to the Civil War, or the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point.

My second hypothesis is that there was a prisoner of war camp located on the property. I reviewed historic documents to find mention of such and analyzed the artifacts for types that indicate the presence of soldiers, like uniform buttons, coins, utensils, smoking pipes, and other various personal items, and those that indicate the presence of temporary shelters that would have been erected to house the prisoners (Chapman 2012). The historic document search did not provide any mention of a camp located on the property. The closest thing to a personal item recovered from the site are two buttons, one located near the front porch, and the other located in the southeastern portion of the field behind the house. There is slight evidence of a temporary structure located in the same southeastern section as the button. There is a small coal cluster located in the field south of the house, in the eastern portion of the field, not near any standing structures. The cluster also contains a substantial number of other artifacts. Glass, ceramics, and metal were recovered from all three of the shovel tests that make up the cluster, but brick was absent. The artifacts were distributed fairly equally between the three shovel tests and in total there are 28 pieces of glass (12 colorless, 6 aqua, 4 olive, 2 window, 2 amber, 1 milk, and 1 solarized), 25 cut nails, 7 pieces of ceramic (6 plain whiteware and 1 plain creamware), and 1 button. In addition, two fully articulated juvenile pig skeletons were recovered from one of the shovel tests. The range in artifacts suggests that there was some sort of non-substantial structure here, but it is impossible to say if it was a prisoner of war camp, a small dwelling, or a food storage building.

My third hypothesis is that there was a field hospital located on the property, either in the house itself or in an outbuilding surrounding the house. I looked for clusters of two types of artifacts that are typically associated with field hospitals, those that indicate medicine, such as medicine and liquor bottles, and those that indicate the presence of soldiers, such as uniform buttons and plates (Horn 2005). There are no artifacts that indicate soldiers but there are some artifacts that indicate medicine. The most common indicators are amber and olive glass, since those colors were most commonly used for liquor and medicines bottles. While a large amount of glass was recovered from the site, being the second most abundant artifact at the site, amber and olive glass only make up 7.8 and 3.9 percent of the collection, respectively. Interestingly, all of the olive glass was recovered from the southeastern portion of the field behind the house, along with some amber glass, aqua glass, window glass, colorless glass, solarized glass, and milk glass. In addition, ceramics, nails, a button, coal, and faunal remains were all recovered from the same area as the olive glass. However, there are no obvious indicators of soldiers or other indicators of medical equipment so I cannot definitively claim that a field hospital was located in the southeastern portion of the site.

In addition to testing my three hypotheses, my other goal was to assess the Buchanan House's historic significance and the significance of the associated archaeological remains, in the hopes that it will be protected and conserved. Initially, I thought this significance would be tied to the Buchanan House's connection with the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point. While I did not find any definitive Civil War era deposits indicative of a field hospital or a POW camp, and thus cannot definitively tie the

Buchanan House or its residents to this battle, I still argue that the Buchanan House has historic significance and should be protected and conserved.

While the historic documents show that the Buchanan House was occupied and being run as a farming operation for nearly a century and a half, and that the occupants at the time of the Civil War owned slaves who made up over 50 percent of the Anderson's personal wealth before the War, the artifacts indicate that the Civil War had little impact on the residents. Despite its close proximity to a major battle, there were no obvious Civil War deposits at the site. The only indication that there was any kind of disruption at the site was the separate concentrations of nails, which suggest that there were two, separate building episodes at the site. Based on the location of the nail concentrations and the date ranges of the nails in them, the cut nail concentration is likely connected to an initial build on the land, while the wire nail concentration suggests a rebuild of only the main house after the War. It is probable that the second building episode only included the main house because the area south of the house likely contained quarters for enslaved Africans, and after the War there was no need to rebuild these quarters. For these reasons, in addition to the Buchanan Houses' proximity to the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point, I believe the Buchanan House provides an ideal spot for a museum commemorating the Battle of Bells Bend and the citizens of Nashville's experience during the war, including the enslaved population, because it offers a unique perspective on that experience, one that demonstrates a long history of resistance and resilience. Since the Buchanan House is not likely to qualify for the National Register due to the amount of changes made to it, converting it into a museum would be more cost effective.

Converting the Buchanan House into a museum would also be more cost affective than constructing a new museum.

In addition, I argue that the Buchanan House is historically significant because of its residents' century and a half long connection to and involvement with the farming community of Bells Bend. The Nashville governments website acknowledges that Bells Bend park, the park in which the Buchanan House is located, is “defined by its agricultural history, is bountiful opportunities for viewing wildlife, and a landscape shaped by the river” (Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee 2017). However, most of their conservation efforts have been directed towards wildlife and landscape conservation, and less towards the conservation of buildings significant to the agricultural history of the area. My study illustrates that the Buchanan House is important to the agricultural history of Bells Bend. The Andersons ran a successful farming operation on land in Bells Bend during the nineteenth century and the Buchanans ran an arguably more successful farming operation on the same land throughout most of the twentieth century. I believe the house should be preserved for this reason. The house could add another source of interest to the Bells Bend Park and help illustrate the history of agriculture in the area. I argue that the Buchanan House will increase tourism to the area if it were restored and dedicated to telling the history of agriculture in Bells Bend over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In addition, having the house open to the public could aid the efforts of the Beaman Parks to Bells Bend Conservation Community and the Bells Bend Farms initiative. The mission of the Beaman Parks to Bells Bend Conservation Community is “to promote and protect the rural character of the Beaman Park to Bells Bend Corridor by establishing an outdoor

recreational, agricultural, and residential conservation district...” (Beaman Park to Bells Bend Conservation Corridor 2017). Bells Bend Farms is part of the Beaman Park to Bells Bend Conservation Corridor and is an initiative to show that “sustainable agriculture creates jobs, improves the land, builds community, and preserves prime farmland, while providing much needed, healthy food to Nashville” (Bells Bend Farms 2015). The Bells Bend Farm, which is made up of three separate farms located in Scottsboro/Bells Bend, was created in 2008 to keep the area free of development. The inhabitants of the Buchanan House were deeply involved with the farming community of Bells Bend and the house and its outbuildings could be preserved to help illustrate the history of agriculture in the area, in addition to the history of the Civil War and its impact on the free and enslaved civilians, and draw public interest to these various initiatives.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

Though I wasn't able to identify any definitively Civil War era deposits at the site, the historic document research, and the presence of artifacts that were in production over the course of the Civil War, leads me to believe that further research could turn up deposits that are definitively datable to the Civil War, providing even more valuable information about the Civil War and peoples' experience during it. The historic documents show that James Anderson owned 21 slaves in 1850 and that his sons were considerably wealthy in 1860. In addition, the historic records show that the Andersons, and the Buchanans, owned substantially more acreage than was surveyed in the Anderson and Anderson survey. The historic records also show that Matthew Anderson's house was burned down during the Civil War and subsequently rebuilt. One of the Winder Buchanans and his family then occupied the rebuilt house for at least the early 1900s. Finally, the records show that Winder G. Buchanan recovered a Confederate sword on his land as well as cannon balls and other Civil War items (Graves 1975). Mapping and surveying the rest of the acreage owned by these two families could provide valuable information in locating Civil War era deposits as well as adding more knowledge about the agricultural history of Bells Bend. In addition, there is a large field between the Cumberland River, where the Battle of Nashville at Kelley's Point occurred, and the field behind the house that was surveyed. This second, larger field is roughly 821 meters in



length and has been surveyed, but I did not analyze the artifacts recovered in my study. I believe analyzing these artifacts would be beneficial in identifying Civil War deposits. In addition, as stated previously, there was a large number of artifacts recovered from the site that were in production over the course of the Civil War, but they were mixed with more modern deposits because they were collected through shovel testing. Excavating in the areas that turned up a large number of artifacts, specifically the southeastern portion of the field behind the house and directly behind the house, could provide better clarity for the different occupations at the site. I also believe a metal detector survey would be beneficial in locating Civil War deposits, as they are capable of locating Civil War era metal artifacts, like uniform buckles and artillery that may have been missed in the shovel test survey. This would be especially useful in the two fields south the house, as metal detector surveys can efficiently cover a large amount of area (Connor and Scott 1998). In summary, the Buchanan House has a great deal to offer the area already, but I believe further research at the house would be beneficial in helping to understand why an event as cataclysmic as the Civil War, which resulted in a major loss in labor, seemed to have little impact on the residents of the Buchanan House and their agricultural endeavors.

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