AD 75001747
BC 3900

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.* If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Clover Bottom Farm (previously listed as Clover Bottom Mansion)(Boundary Increase)

Other names/site number: Tennessee Historical Commission; State Historic Preservation Office; 40DV186

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

(Remove "N/A" if property is part of a multiple property listing and add name)

2. Location

Street & Number: 2941 Lebanon Pike

City or town: Nashville State: TN County: Davidson

Not For Publication: N/A Vicinity: N/A Zip: 37214

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this _X_ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property _X_ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

[ ] **national** [ ] **statewide** [X] **local**

Applicable National Register Criteria: [X] **A** [ ] **B** [X] **C** [X] **D**

Signature of certifying official/Title: **Date**

Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Tennessee Historical Commission

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting Official: **Date**

Title: **State of Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government**

Clover Bottom Farm (Boundary Expansion) | Davidson, Tennessee
Name of Property | County and State

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

✓ entered in the National Register
___ determined eligible for the National Register
___ determined not eligible for the National Register
___ removed from the National Register
✓ other (explain:) Accept Additional Documentation and name change

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action: 5.7.2019

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Private	☐
Public – Local	☐
Public – State	X
Public – Federal	☐

Category of Property
(Check only **one** box.)

Building(s)	☐
District	X
Site	☐
Structure	☐
Object	☐

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
10	0	buildings
6	0	sites
5	0	structures
1	0	objects
22	0	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 2

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)	Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)
DOMESTIC/Single Dwelling; Multiple Dwelling;	GOVERNMENT/Government Office
Secondary Structure	RECREATION AND CULTURE/Outdoor Recreation
AGRICULTURE/Agricultural Outbuilding; Storage;	VACANT/NOT IN USE
Agricultural Field; Animal Facility	FUNERARY/Cemetery
PROCESSING/Manufacturing Facility	
FUNERARY/Cemetery	

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions.)
Italianate

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)
Principal exterior materials of the property: BRICK; STONE; WOOD; METAL; CONCRETE

Narrative Description

Clover Bottom Farm consists of about fifty-three acres in the east Nashville area of Donelson in Davidson County, Tennessee. Centered on the property is the two-story Italianate-style Clover Bottom Mansion, originally built in 1853 and rebuilt in 1859. To the north of the mansion is the Hoggatt Family Cemetery. The mansion and cemetery were previously listed in 1975. A third building, a log cabin, was also listed in 1975, but it is no longer extant. To the east of the mansion are two extant ca. 1858 slave/tenant cabins as well as late 19th and 20th century tenant residences and agricultural buildings. Distinct archaeological features and artifact concentrations are also located in this yard space but have no aboveground indications of their exact locations. The mansion is currently used as a government office. Other buildings are currently unused but maintained for interpretive purposes. Historically, the land within the nominated boundaries was used for a variety of agricultural purposes to raise crops, fruits, vegetables, various small livestock, Thoroughbred horses, and finally dairy cows until the late 1970s. The grounds are currently used for outdoor recreation and interpretation.

Setting and Landscape Features

Clover Bottom Farm is located in the Donelson area of Davidson County, about ten miles east of downtown Nashville, in the Central Basin region of Middle Tennessee. The Donelson area is predominantly suburban with 20th century single-family homes, apartment complexes, and low-density commercial developments. Portions of the area are currently being redeveloped for low- and medium-density apartment buildings and

condos. A large portion of the 1,500 acres historically associated with Clover Bottom Farm is owned by the State of Tennessee and has been redeveloped for various state departments. Most of this acreage is excluded from this nomination because of new developments. To the southwest of the nominated boundaries is the Tennessee School for the Blind. The school's property is differentiated by a curved non-historic chain-link metal fence. To the northwest is a wood fence line along Lebanon Pike with single-family residences beyond.[1] The northern boundary runs along a single-car-wide road that historically served as the farm's secondary entrance.[2] Just north of these boundaries, but hidden from view by a mature tree line, is the Donelson-Hermitage Family YMCA recreational facility. To the rear of the YMCA, beyond the northern boundary, are a brick residence, low-density apartment building, and land controlled by the Tennessee Law Enforcement Training Academy with private development further to the north.[3] At the southeast boundary is a railroad line, beyond which are various buildings used by the Tennessee Department of Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities.

The landscape within the nominated boundaries of Clover Bottom Farm is slightly hilly with generally well-maintained grass, mature trees, and newly planted trees. There are two pasture areas, demarcated by non-historic wire fences. A paved single-car wide drive provides access from Lebanon Pike to the mansion. This follows the historical approach to the house except for the entrance. The drive previously proceeded through two late 19th century stone gates (see Figure 19), about 200 feet southwest of the current wooden gates, installed in 2012.[4] The drive wraps around the house, following its historical path, and leads to two small parking lots at the rear of the building. Some parking spaces are also located to the front the mansion along the drive. All parking lots were created in 1994. A paved 2016 walking trail extends from the north edge and southwest corner of the lots and winds in a circular fashion around the property, allowing this to function as a public park and extension of the nearby Stones River Greenway. Historically, other paths and roads crossed the property to connect various agricultural buildings, but these paths are no longer extant. A single-car wide gravel driveway, dating to between 1938 and 1958, extends east from the parking lot towards the rear of the property.[5] It ends at the feed mill ruins and connects at a T-intersection with a paved road. This paved road connects to the secondary entrance road at the northern edge of the boundaries and also continues to the south beyond the boundaries to provide access to other areas of the State's property. Though the path's location has changed slightly over the years, this road was initially established during the farm's Period of Significance. The road currently functions as part of the Stones River Greenway. Non-historic paths and parking lots do not contribute to the significance of the property, but they do not significantly impact integrity as they are minimal intrusions on the historic landscape and could easily be removed.

[1] The current wood fence configuration is the same as a wood fence line photographed in 1964 (during the Period of Significance). Early 20th century photographs show that the fence line previously had a different appearance but had the same height and materials as current. Memories written by T.B. Patton state that the fence was 'rebuilt' during the Stanford era, sometime between 1918 and 1939, but it is unclear if he is referring to the configuration changing at that point.

[2] This road has been upgraded over the years with paving but its location and width is the same as historical.

[3] The apartment building was built with the involvement of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and therefore had to be reviewed pursuant to Section 106 (36 CFR 800) regulations. The project ultimately resulted in a Memorandum of Agreement that required such stipulations as retaining the secondary entrance gate posts, the width of the secondary entrance road, and required that the new apartments be designed in a manner that complimented the historic buildings.

[4] Jenny Upchurch, "Clover Bottom Preserves 1910 Entrance," *Nashville Today,* November 1, 2012, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission. Besides the slightly different path at the entrance, the only change to the road has been paving as it was historically dirt. The width has remained the same. The new entrance and gates were installed to comply with safety and security requirements for the property's current use as a state government office.

[5] Approximate range of construction is indicated by historical aerial photographs. In a 1938 aerial photograph, the road does not appear. Instead, there appears to be a field or orchard in that section of the yard. A 1958 aerial photograph depicts the road. Digital copies of both photos are in the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

1. **Clover Bottom Mansion,** 1853, 1859 (Previously Individually Listed)

Exterior

Summary

Clover Bottom Mansion is a red brick Italianate antebellum mansion, originally with a rectangular footprint and ornamented front porch. The two-story building is elevated with a highly visible dressed limestone basement and topped by a low-pitched hipped metal roof. On the southern elevation is a two-story brick addition, with brick foundation, that dates to the mid-to-late 19th century (see Figure 1 for the earliest known photograph of the mansion, including this addition).[6] The original section of the mansion has four brick, paneled chimneys and the side addition has one; most of these chimneys are not easily visible. On the rear of the mansion is a flat-roofed addition that replaced a two-story porch, constructed during the mansion's rehabilitation from 1993-1994.

Figure 1: Clover Bottom Mansion, January 7, 1898.
Digital Copy of Photo in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

[6] Charles P. Stripling and Katherine A. Sanford, *Archaeological Testing and Monitoring at the Clover Bottom Mansion,* Department of Environment and Conservation, Tennessee Division of Archaeology, December 1993. Stripling and Sanford observed that a portion of the original hipped roof of the mansion was extant within the attic of the southern section, indicating that the southern section was an addition. They theorized that the addition may have been built soon after completion of the mansion, most likely before the outbreak of the Civil War made materials scarce. It is unclear why the addition was built but may have been to provide additional exterior access or simply to add additional living space.

Façade

The dominant feature of the west façade is the two-story ornate portico with a projecting central section, supported at the basement with thick stone piers. The portico is full-width on the first story and covers the central bay of the façade on the second story. Both the first and second stories are further embellished with low molded paneling and heavy molded balusters. Full and flattened arches ending in scrolled brackets appear between supports. Scrolled brackets with flower motifs are also present at the top of each support. The portico is accessed via eleven stone stairs with a modern metal railing.

Shadowed below the portico is the raised three-bay basement level. The northern-most bay has a sixteen-light casement window with wood shutters. The centered double-leaf two-paneled door has three-light sidelights. The southern-most bay has a two-paneled door with a transom window. The doors are accessed via stone stairwells; the openings of which are indicated by modern metal railings.

The first level features a prominent centered recessed entrance. The arched entranceway is highly ornamented with moldings, molded panels, patera motifs, and pilasters. The main entry door is double-leaf with eighteen lights in each leaf. Flanking the door are twenty-light sidelights. Separating the door and sidelights are thick moldings and pilasters. Both door and sidelights are topped by arched transom windows, above which are highly ornamented moldings.

In the bays on either side of the entry door are tall paired, arched two-over-two double-hung sash wood windows with molded frames. Above the juncture of the windows is a red-pane oculus. The entire window is topped by an arched ornamented hood molding. All windows on Clover Bottom Mansion have this same appearance unless otherwise noted.

The placement and appearance of windows on the second level is the same as the first level. Centered on the second level, below the second-level portico, is a window of the same appearance except it is wider than the others and lacks ornamentation above the molded hood. The façade's thick entablature at the wide eave includes molded panels and paired scrolled brackets within the cornice line. This cornice line is present on the entire building except for the rear, east elevation.

At the edges of the elevation, stretching from the top of the basement to the cornice, are painted brick pilasters with molded entablatures. As shown by historical photos, the pilasters were always painted a light color, as were all other decorative elements of the house, such as the portico, cornice line, and window hoods. All were repainted white during the 1994 rehabilitation. All were recently repainted in varying shades of yellow or beige to better reflect color schemes common to Italianate architecture.

Also visible is the west elevation of the south addition. The elevated brick basement is highly visible. The elevation features a two-story portico with the same decorative elements as the main block's portico. The first level of the portico is accessed via a twelve-step stone staircase with modern metal handrails. Centered on the addition's south elevation, on the first and second level, is a paneled double-leaf wood door topped by an arched transom. The door frames are molded with pilasters. Above the transom is an arch consisting of brick headers.

North Elevation
The north elevation has a symmetrical appearance with two windows on each level. At the basement level are sixteen-light casement windows with shutters. The windows on the first and second level are the same as described on the façade. The first level windows also include decorative cast iron balconettes. At the edges and centered on the first and second levels of the elevation are brick pilasters of the same design as described on the facade. On the second level, immediately east of the pilaster, is ghosting from a window that had been installed as part of interior renovations in the early twentieth century. The window was removed as part of a rehabilitation project in 1994.

At the east edge of the elevation is the visible rear wood-frame addition covered in weatherboard siding. The concrete block basement is elevated and visible. There is a one-over-one wood window on the first and second level.

East Elevation
The east, or rear, elevation features a 1994 wood-frame two-story, weatherboard-clad addition set on an elevated concrete block basement. The addition replaced the mansion's original two-story rear portico which had been altered extensively throughout the property's history (such as enclosure of the basement and first level during the 1950s). In keeping with the historic size of the porch, the addition does not extend across the full width of the mansion, allowing the original brick elevation to be visible at the edges.

Centered on the elevation is an elevator shaft that extends the full height of the building. At the basement level are two modern glass doors, situated on either side the shaft, and accessed via a sloped concrete walkway. The first level features the same modern doors in the same configuration. On both sides are two one-over-one wood windows. The first level also features a modern porch with a flat roof supported by square, paneled supports. Modern wood quarter-turn staircases with metal hand railings extend from the north and south sides of the porch to ground-level. The porch was first added during the 1994 rehabilitation (see Figure 2), but its current configuration was built during a recent renovation project.

Figure 2: East Elevation of Clover Bottom Mansion in 2007, prior to porch changes.
Photo in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Six one-over-one double-hung wood windows are on the second level, arranged with three on either side of the elevator shaft. Separating each bay on the first and second levels are pilasters with molded panels. A wood string course that evokes a cornice line differentiates the first and second levels.

At the roof is a thick entablature, similar in character to the historic cornice line present on the rest of the building. The roof is flat and metal handrails on the roof are visible.

South Elevation

Visible on the south elevation is the south elevation of the original block, the south addition, and the south elevation of the 1994 rear addition. Set into the basement level of the original block is a sixteen-light casement window with shutters. The top two lights on the right side of the window have been removed and replaced with a vent. There is one window on the first and second levels, the same as described on the original block's north elevation. Immediately to the east of the window on both levels is ghosting from doors that led to an early twentieth century stucco addition (see Figure 3). This addition was removed during the 1994 rehabilitation project, and the doorways were infilled with compatible brick and mortar. To the east of the ghosting and sheltered beneath the south addition portico is a double-leaf door on each level. Each leaf has three vertically aligned panels. The first level door has a light in the top two panels on each leaf. Above is a two-light transom window and a thick stone lintel. There is a brick pilaster at the western edge of the elevation.

Figure 3: Clover Bottom Mansion in 1975, including the stucco addition.
Photo from Clover Bottom Mansion, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1975.

Below the portico on the south addition is a metal door into the basement, accessed via a concrete staircase with metal hand railing. The remainder of the basement level is obscured by wood louvered walls that conceal HVAC units. The addition features two windows on the first and second level. Each window is four-over-four double-hung with shutters. Each has a simple rectangular stone sill and lintel.

The south elevation of the 1994 rear addition only has a one-over-one wood window on the second level and pilasters at the east edge of the first and second level. Set into the concrete block elevated basement is a double-leaf metal door accessed via a sloped concrete walkway.

Interior

Summary

Every level in the interior of the mansion has a central hall with rooms arranged on either side. Layouts are further described on each floor and closely match the historical layout with alterations in secondary spaces that allowed for the mansion's rehabilitation to a government office in 1994. Original wood floors are covered by carpet on the first and second level and tile in the basement, unless otherwise noted. The ceilings throughout the first and second levels are at least fourteen feet high (and higher in the halls). Ceilings are drywall, dropped slightly, concealing the intact original plaster ceilings and allowing for installation of modern vents and sprinkler systems required by current usage for government offices. The ceilings in the basement are drop ceilings, concealing cabling and other wiring. Unless otherwise described, walls throughout are plaster, which were repaired or replaced as necessary during the 1994 rehabilitation process. All walls have thick wood baseboards. Historically all walls were covered by wallpaper, often with decorative patterns, but they are all currently unadorned.

First Floor

The historical main entrance opens into a large entry hall. The dominant feature of the entry hall is the curved, wood staircase at the back of the hall leading up to the second floor. The banister and newell post of the staircase dates to 1994; the original banister was destroyed by vandals in the 1980s, but the new banister was replicated using photographs. Unknown at the time of the replication was that the banister originally also had a carved pineapple atop the newell post. The pineapple disappeared sometime during the 20th century (prior to the mansion's listing in the National Register in 1975) and was not replicated. The hall walls originally had French wallpaper depicting scenes from Revolutionary War battles (see Figure 4-6). This wallpaper had been removed by 1927.[7] Presently, the walls are unadorned.

[7] Merle Davis interview by Steve Rogers and Amelia Edwards, October 1999 at Clover Bottom Mansion. Transcript in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Figure 4: First Level Hall, ca. 1917. Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Figure 5: Close-up of Wallpaper below Stairs in First Level Hall, ca. 1917.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Figure 6: North Wall of First Level Hall with Doors to Double Parlor, ca. 1917.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The north side of the hall features two tall doorways; the south side features three doorways. The doorways have thick casements with tri-paneled decorative features and moldings. The doors are six-paneled. A paneled double-leaf door with single-light windows is also present at the back of the hall, giving access to the 1994 addition (this historically allowed access to the rear portico).

The hall's north doors (see Figure 6) lead into a double-parlor which features an original massive wood arched double pocket door (see Figures 7-8 for historical photos). Each parlor has a marble fireplace on the south wall, opposite of which are the arched windows. Another window is on the west wall. All windows have interior louvered wood shutters. On the east wall is a double-leaf wood paneled door with one-over-one windows. This door historically allowed access to the rear portico; it now allows access to a modern kitchen. Historically the parlor ceiling had fresco stenciling (see Figures 7, 8, and 44). The stenciling is intact but was concealed by the new drywall ceilings during the rehabilitation.[8] The double parlor is now used as a conference and meeting room.

Figure 7: Double Parlor, looking west, ca. 1917.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

[8] Merle Davis Interview. According to Steve Rogers in the interview transcript, the stenciling was not restored due to high cost. Installing the new ceiling over the historic was viewed as the best option for keeping the stenciling intact while allowing for rehabilitation. By keeping the stenciling intact, it also allows for possible restoration of the stencil later.

Figure 8: Double Parlor, ca. 1917. Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The entry hall's south doors lead to an office and the secondary staircase. The third door, closest to the staircase, was infilled during the 1994 rehabilitation to allow installation of restrooms, but the door casing and appearance of a door was left intact to convey the historic spatial arrangement of the building.

The office features a door (giving access to the secondary stairwell) and black marble fireplace on the east wall and arched windows on the south and west walls. At one time, the south wall also had a non-original door that allowed access to an early twentieth century stucco addition (see Figure 9 for a historical photo of the room, including this doorway). When this addition was removed in 1994, the door was also removed and the wall was returned to its original appearance.

Figure 9: Dining Room, ca. 1917. Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The middle door from the hall leads to the secondary staircase space, which has a non-original tile floor. The staircase is along the east wall. The stairwell includes an original wood staircase descending up to the second floor and an original wood staircase descending down to the basement. This is the only staircase access between the basement and first level. There are six-paneled doors on the east and west walls as well as a double-leaf paneled door with narrow windows on the south wall that gives access to the portico on the south addition. This is an original space, primarily used by the enslaved domestic staff and later by paid domestic staff to move between levels.

The third door from the hall historically entered a room with a fireplace and paneled door (to the secondary stairwell) on the west wall, a paneled door on the south wall (to the south addition), and a double-leaf door (to the rear porch). The door was removed and the room was reconfigured in 1994 to install modern multi-stall women's restrooms, which necessitated installation of partition walls in the northwest section of the room, leaving the doors and access to the south addition and stairwell intact. The door allowing access to the restrooms is the same as those in the hall, suggesting that it is a reuse or replication of the door removed

from the hall. Architectural drawings from the rehabilitation indicate that the fireplace was left intact behind the partition walls.[9] The bathroom has four stalls and three sinks with modern fixtures. The floors are tiled.

The south addition is a single room, which was used as a kitchen in the early to mid-twentieth century. The paneled access door is on the north wall. On the south wall is an original fireplace flanked by windows. The west wall has the arched paneled door to the south portico. The east wall historically had a double-leaf paneled door with double transom allowing access to the rear portico. The door is extant but the opening was infilled due to the installation of men's restrooms within the 1994 addition.

The double-leaf door at the rear of the hall leads to the elevator lobby, which is tiled. A door on the north wall leads to a kitchen and a door on the south walls leads to men's restrooms (both spaces are within the addition). Beside the hall door, the west wall of the lobby also features an opening (historically a door) to the altered space containing the women's restrooms. The east wall of the lobby is primarily the centered elevator, flanked by modern glass doors. The west wall of the lobby is the original rear brick elevation of the mansion.

The kitchen is at the northeast corner of the 1994 addition. It is accessed via a door from the elevator lobby (south wall) and an original double-leaf door from the parlor (west wall). There is one window on the north wall and two on the east wall. The west and north walls have wood cabinets and appliances.

The men's restrooms are at the southeast corner of the 1994 addition. Like the women's restrooms, they have multiple stalls with modern fixtures and a tile floor. There are two windows on the east elevation, which are frosted for privacy.

Second Floor

Like the first floor, the main space of the second floor is the central hall accessed via the curved staircase at the rear of the hall (see Figures 10-11 for historical photos). Above the curved staircase, on the curved back wall, is an arched stained-glass window picturing roses. Originally, the space had a door, which was accessed via a bridge that extended across the stair opening. This door was used to bring in wood from the rear portico. When the furnace was installed about 1918, the wood stove in the hall was removed as were the door and bridge. A stained-glass window replaced the door but it was removed sometime during the late 20th century. The current stained-glass window was installed in the late 1990s. The hall walls historically had wallpaper with scenes of Fox hunts, which was removed sometime before 1927. [10]

[9] Architectural Drawings from the rehabilitation are on file at the Tennessee Historical Commission.
[10] Letter to Mrs. Douglass M. Wright from Richard C. Plater, Jr., January 10, 1967, Richard C. Plater, Jr. Papers, Tennessee Historical Commission; Merle Davis Interview; Claudette Stager informal conversation with Rebecca Schmitt, December 2018.

Figure 10: Second Floor Hall, ca. 1918. Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Figure 11: Second Level Hall, including stove pipe hall from the removed wood stove, ca. 1918. Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The north wall of the hall features two paneled doors with transom windows. The south wall features one door of the same type. The west wall features the centered façade arched windows. This window extends to the floor and gives access to the second level of the façade portico.

The western-most door on the north wall gives access to an office (historically a bedroom, see Figures 12-13). There is a window on the west wall and the north wall. An original fireplace is on the south wall. The east wall features a historical door opening with a transom window; the opening is extant but no longer used. The door is not extant.

Figure 12: Bedroom at Northwest Corner of Second Level, ca. 1917.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Figure 13: Bedroom at Northwest Corner of Second Level, View to the East, ca. 1917.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The eastern-most door on the hall's north wall also gives access to an office (historically a bedroom, see Figures 14-15). An original fireplace is on the south wall. The east wall features a double-leaf door with windows that leads to the 1994 addition (historically it gave access to the portico). The north wall has a centered arched window. During the early-to-mid-twentieth century, a bathroom had been installed at the northwest corner of this room, which included a one-over-one window on the north wall. This window and bathroom were removed during the rehabilitation and there is no longer any visible evidence of its existence within the interior.

Figure 14: Bedroom at Northeast Corner of Second Level. View to the northwest, ca. 1917.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Figure 15: Bedroom at Northeast Corner of Second Level. View to the southeast, ca. 1917.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The door on the south hall wall leads to a hallway. Historically, this opened directly into the secondary stairwell, but there is currently a partition wall that was installed at an unknown date but likely during the state era post-1949. The western wall of this hallway gives access to an office (historically a bedroom, see Figure 16). It retains an original fireplace on the east wall and arched windows on the south and west walls. In the early to mid-20th century the south wall also had a door to the stucco addition, but this was removed during the rehabilitation in 1994.

Figure 16: Bedroom at Southwest Corner of Second Level. View to the Northwest, ca. 1917.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The secondary stairwell space is accessed via a metal fire door on the partition wall in the hallway. A double paneled door with transom windows on the south wall of the stairwell gives access to the second level of the south addition portico.

An opening on the east wall of the hallway indicates the historical presence of a door, but this was removed at an unknown date. Beyond is a space that was historically a room but has been partitioned into a storage

space and a single stall women's restroom. The restroom contains modern fixtures and a tile floor. On the east wall of the storage space is an opening (historically a door) that gives access to the second level elevator lobby. On the east wall of the storage space is a six-paneled door leading to the second level of the south addition.

The second level of the south addition is a single room with a fireplace flanked by windows on the south wall. The west wall has a double door giving access to the second-floor of the south porch. The east wall has a double-leaf door with windows that historically gave access to the second level of the rear porch. Now, it gives access to small office which has windows on the east and south walls.

The tiled elevator lobby is within the 1994 addition and accessed via the opening in the storage space. The elevator is in the northeast corner of the lobby. A door on the south wall leads to a single stall men's bathroom with modern fixtures and a tile floor. There is one window on the east wall, which is frosted for privacy. The west wall of the elevator wall is the original rear exterior brick wall of the mansion.

Immediately adjacent to the north side of the elevator is a partition wall with a six-paneled wood door. The door leads into a narrow office that comprises the remainder of the 1994 addition. The west wall is the original brick exterior wall and contains the arched stained-glass window and double-leaf door that leads into an aforementioned office. The east wall contains three windows, and the north wall contains one window. A metal access door to the roof is in the northeast corner of the ceiling.

Basement

Like the first and second level, the basement features a hall that extends from the façade to the original rear elevation. This hall is currently used as a reception space and storage. Two two-paneled doors are on the north and south walls. A paneled double-leaf exterior access door is on the west wall. All doors have transoms. The east wall has an opening that gives access to the elevator lobby in the 1994 addition.

Both doors on the north wall lead to offices. The offices are separated by a non-original built-in bookcase/wall; historically there was an opening between these two spaces and possibly a door that could allow the spaces to be separate or not. Historically, both offices had a fireplace on the south wall but these have been covered.[11] Each office has a ground level window on the north wall. The western-most office also has a window on the west wall. The eastern-most office originally had a window or door on the east wall but this was infilled, probably in 1994. Originally, these offices were likely storage but they were later used as rooms for waged servants.[12]

The western-most door in the hall leads to the secondary stairwell. A door on the west wall of the stairwell leads to an office, which has a fireplace on the east wall, a window on the south wall, and a paneled exterior access door on the west wall. Remnants of the mansion's servant bell system are extant above the dropped ceiling in this office. This system connected to buttons once located on the sides of fireplaces on the first and second levels to allow the owners to easily call a worker to any of the upper rooms. The presence of the bell system suggests that this room was originally a servant's space.

A paneled door on the south wall of the secondary stairwell leads to a storage space below the south porch. On the south wall of the storage space is a metal exterior access door. On the east wall of the storage space is

[11] Fireplaces are believed to be extant behind the walls as indicated by architectural drawings from the rehabilitation.
[12] Merle Davis Interview.

a door that leads to the mechanical equipment room, which historically and currently houses the mansion's furnace and other mechanical and electrical systems.

The eastern-most door on the hall leads to a file storage room, which is currently windowless. An infilled opening on the east wall indicates the historic location of a window. The opening on the east wall of the hall leads to the elevator lobby containing the elevator and two modern glass doors on the east wall. The southern-most glass door functions as the main public entrance door. The west wall of the lobby is the original exterior brick wall of the mansion; also visible is the limestone foundation. An infilled opening with a simple stone sill corresponds to the infilled window opening in the file storage room. On the south and north walls of the lobby are doors that lead to storage and maintenance rooms. The mansions' original rear brick elevation is visible on the west wall of both rooms. The southern room contains a double-leaf metal exterior access door. It also has an infilled door opening that would have allowed access into the mechanical equipment room.

2. **Cistern,** ca. 1850 (Contributing Structure)

Adjacent to the southeast corner of the mansion is the stone cistern. Though intact, it has been covered for safety reasons. The cistern contributes to the property's agricultural significance due to its use during the Period of Significance for water supply for the farm's operations.

3. **Carriage House**, ca. 1850 (Contributing Building)

The Carriage House is mortise and tenon timber-frame construction, covered by rabbeted wood siding, with saw marks suggesting an early-to-mid 19th century construction date. The building has a rectangular footprint, set on rock piers, with three sets of double-leaf wood doors with metal strap hinges on the western elevation. The bottom of the doors and bottom hinges were first replaced in the late 19th or early 20th century due to water degradation and rot; some boards were replaced during the 2015 restoration of the building.[13]

Centered on the ridge of the side-gable metal roof is a square wood cupola with louvered sides and a pyramidal metal roof. This cupola was reconstructed using historic photographs during the 2015 restoration as it had been removed sometime during the 20th century. An early 20th century four-over-four double-hung sash window is on the north and south elevations; two similar windows are on the eastern elevation. The south elevation window has a vertical wood shutter with strap hinges. Internal wall construction suggests the windows were added in the late 19th century.

The interior is a single room. Remnants of whitewash on the walls indicate that the building was originally whitewashed inside and out. The floor is wood and has occasional paint or oil splotches from its 20th century use storing tractors and other farm machinery. Some 20th century shelving (indicated by wire nails) is on the interior. The roof system is visible; circular saw marks on some pieces suggest that the roof was not original but was rebuilt sometime during the late 19th century.[14]

[13] Approximate date of the first replacements is indicated by the strap hinges on these bottom sections. The hinges do not match the top hinges, which were common in the early-to-mid 19th century. The bottom replacement hinges were common in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Photos from immediately before the 2015 restoration show that other boards had rotted and these were replaced. Digital files for Photos are in the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.
[14] Dan Brown conversation with Rebecca Schmitt, December 2018.

In 2015 the building was restored. The timber framing in the interior of the northeast corner had to be reconstructed due to deterioration. The assemblage matches the original but modern screws were used to convey the new work. The metal roof was replaced in-kind. The cupola, which had been removed sometime during the twentieth century, was reconstructed using historic photos. Original but deteriorated sill plates and joists were left intact while additional foundation supports and joists were added to provide additional structural stability.[15] These added elements can only be seen from a crawl space below the building and therefore do not negatively impact the integrity of the building. The carriage house contributes to the historical significance of the property due to its use during the Period of Significance for carriage and vehicle storage.

4. **Horse Stable/Dairy Barn**, ca. 1895 (Contributing Building)

Originally built as a horse stable ca. 1895, this barn was constructed of red heart pine with very few knots or other visible imperfections.[16] It is covered with original board and batten wood siding. Originally topped by a wood shake roof, the roof was replaced with a 5V metal roof during the 20th century. Some original wood shakes are extant below the metal. Rafter tails are exposed.

The western portion of the building is set on a limestone block foundation while the eastern wall is set on a common bond red brick foundation.[17] The north and south elevations feature large double sliding wood doors on the first level and four louvered openings on the second level. All doors are original except one, which was replicated to match the others during the 2015 restoration. Above the door is a decorative painted #2, which was restored in 2015.[18] The north elevation has an additional vertical wood entry door with metal strap hinges. In the gable of the north and south elevations is a four-over-four double-hung wood window. The siding is scalloped mid-way on the second-level and above the third-level window. Within the gable is decorative verge board.

A centered four-over-four double-hung wood window and six evenly spaced vertical wood stall doors with metal strap hinges and louvered transoms are present on the western and eastern elevations. The northern-most three doors on the eastern elevation have been altered to open as double-doors at the bottom. The building was restored in 2015 when siding was repaired and painted, missing elements replicated, and the metal roof was replaced with an in-kind metal roof.

[15] The joist and floor system had begun to fail in the mid-20th century because the carriage house was used to store tractors and other farm machinery that was too heavy for the original structure. The floor had to be removed to rebuild the joist system. Each floor board was numbered and logged. Using this system, every board was returned to its original place. Dan Brown, Tennessee Historical Commission State Historic Sites Coordinator who oversaw the restoration, has remarked that the paint splotches on the floor provided an additional method for ensuring that each board was put back exactly where it was originally.

[16] Construction date is based on construction materials and methods as well as newspaper clippings stating that the Price's previous barn burned in 1895. Given the importance of the horse stable to the farm's operations during the Price era, it is probable that a new stable was built immediately after the first one burned. The current barn is depicted in 1898 photographs, proving further evidence of its construction before 1898. Photographs and newspaper clippings in the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

[17] The reason for two different foundation types is unknown, but both were present by the end of the farm's Period of Significance.

[18] The reason for the #2 is currently unknown. It may refer to the fact that this stable was the Price's second stable as its predecessor burned in 1895. It may also have been a way to categorize the various agricultural buildings present during the Price era. This possibility is supported by its listing on the Price's 1917 insurance inventory. The list refers to a building known as "Barn No. 2," which may have referred to the Horse Stable.

The first floor of the interior originally had horse stalls lining both sides of the carriage way. Midway down the east side was a tack room, hay room, and steep staircase to the second level. During the early-to-mid-twentieth century, the north portion of the east side was converted to stalls for smaller livestock, possibly goats or swine. About the same time, the entire west side was converted into dairy milking areas. The original grain chute is extant mid-way on the west side. The southern portion of the west side was enclosed in the mid-to-late 20th century.

The second level of the barn (hay loft) is intact. The hay pick and original track are extant as are the large doors in the floor that when opened allowed hay to be brought up into the loft. On the north and south ends, chutes extend from the first level up to the windows in the gables to act as ventilation when the windows were opened. These windows are accessed via vertical wood ladders.

The building contributes to the farm's agricultural significance as representing the farm's historical role in Davidson County's Thoroughbred Horse Breeding and Dairy industries.

5. **Calving Barn**, ca. 1973 (Contributing Building)

The calving barn has a rectangular footprint, side-gable standing seam metal roof, and vertical wood siding. The south elevation has two door openings evident by rusted metal strap hinges, but the doors are no longer extant. A small portion of the siding at the eastern edge is non-extant. On the northern elevation is one large opening on the first level and a loft entrance on the second level. The west and east elevation have no openings. The siding on the east elevation is deteriorating due to vegetation but is overall intact. The building has a rusted metal roof, missing in some sections, and exposed rafter tails. This barn is the ca. 1973 reconstruction of an earlier barn that burned. The reconstructed barn used new materials and portions of the original barn.[19]

Though the condition of the building is deteriorated, the barn retains enough integrity to contribute to the agricultural significance of the property as providing physical evidence of the cattle breeding operation on the property during the State's ownership during the last decades of the Period of Significance.

6. **Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1**, ca. 1858, with addition ca. 1880 (Contributing Building)

One-room wood-frame cabin with a dressed limestone foundation, wood board and batten siding, and a side-gable metal roof. The wood vertical plank entry door on the west façade is accessed via two wood steps. A small mid-to-late 19th century addition is on the north elevation containing two vertical wood plank doors and two square four-light windows.[20] A double-hung six-over-six window is on the east and south elevations of the original section. The south elevation also features a brick chimney set on a limestone base.

The original room has a prominent hearth on the south wall that was rebuilt in 2015. A stove pipe hole is above the hearth. The board walls are visible as are the cotton that was stuffed between the boards for insulation. Remnants of whitewash are visible on the walls as are remnants from multiple layers of

[19] Dan Brown conversation with Rebecca Schmitt, December 10, 2018. A former resident of the property, who lived at Clover Bottom in the 1960s and 1970s, told Brown that the previous barn burned about 1973 and was then reconstructed using salvaged materials and new materials as needed.

[20] Exact date of the addition is unknown but it has similar construction to the original section, suggesting that it was added soon after original construction sometime in the mid-to-late 19th century

coverings, first newspaper and later multiple layers of late 19th and early 20th century wallpaper. The ceiling is beadboard, possibly installed in the late 19th century. The floor has thin wood boards. Most floor boards are original; a small section had to be replaced in-kind in 2015.

Access to the cellar is in the addition, covered by a wood bulkhead. The cellar is deep and has two openings at grade, one each on the west and east elevations. The openings were recently screened to prevent animal infiltration. The cellar's dressed limestone walls have prominent tool marks. The top three courses of limestone, which would have been visible above grade, do not have the prominent tool marks. The depth of the cellar strongly suggests that it was used to store foodstuffs.

This dwelling was restored in 2015 when non-original late 19th century weatherboard siding and a non-original awning over the entry door were removed.[21] The vertical board siding was extant below the weatherboard; battens in the cellar indicated the original siding was board and batten. The weatherboard siding was salvaged to replicate battens. The brick chimney, which had deteriorated above the step in the chimney stack, was reconstructed using similar brick and historically appropriate mortar. A small section of deteriorated floor boards was replaced in-kind as necessary. Non-original beadboard on the interior walls was removed to reveal the original walls.

The dwelling contributes to the architectural significance of the property as representing a distinctive type of building with alterations that represent historic architectural adaptations. The dwelling contributes to the historical significance of the property as representing the enslaved and emancipated African American experience. It contributes to the agricultural significance as it functioned as housing for the work force that allowed the farm to be agriculturally successful. As has been demonstrated during previous archaeological investigations, the dwelling may be examined from a historical archaeological perspective to provide information about the enslaved and tenant experience. Therefore, the dwelling contributes to the archaeological significance as well.

7. **Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2**, ca. 1858 with additions ca. 1890 and ca. 1941 (Contributing Building)

Historically this was a one-story, single-room cabin with a side-gable roof and brick chimney on the southern elevation. The dwelling has a ca. 1890 one-story, single-room kitchen addition on its rear, east elevation, and a ca. 1941 one-story addition, housing a bedroom, bathroom, and closet, on its north elevation.[22] The

[21] Historical photographs dated during the Price era (ca. 1908) and the Stanford era (ca. 1920) show multiple slave/tenant dwellings near the mansion with front porches in the same appearance as Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Based on the building's current construction, former enslaved person John McCline's descriptions of the original construction, and Price family records indicating a large amount of spending on construction and alterations of buildings, it is believed that these porches were added during the Price era, sometime between ca. 1890 and ca. 1905. The façade of Dwelling #1 is obscured in these photos by vegetation so it is unclear whether it also had a similar porch at one time, but it is likely. By the late 20th century, however, it only had the awning above the front door.

[22] As indicated by historic photographs on file at Tennessee Historical Commission, the rear addition was present by ca. 1900. Price family records indicate large spending amounts soon after they bought the farm in 1887, suggesting an approximate date of when they may have paid for the construction of a rear kitchen at the tenant house. The date for the side addition is based on a conversation with Nancy Clark on June 11, 2018. She was born in Dwelling #2 in 1938. She said that her family moved out of the dwelling around 1941, and her aunt's family moved in. She stated that the side addition was built while her aunt's family lived there to better accommodate their needs for additional living space, an indoor bathroom, and closet storage space. The aunt's family lived there until about 1974 when the Period of Significance ends. Historic aerial images also support the approximate ca. 1941 construction date as a 1938 aerial photograph shows that the dwelling did not yet have the side addition, but the addition was present in the next known aerial photograph, dated 1958.

dominant feature of the west façade is the ca. 1890 porch covered by a shed roof, supported by two unadorned square wooden posts. Centered on the façade is a two-panel wood door. A paneled door with four lights is on the north elevation of the rear addition. There is one four-over-four wood window on each elevation; the window on the rear, east elevation is a paired window.

The entire dwelling is covered by a metal roof, replaced in-kind in 2015. Exposed rafter tails are visible on the additions. The top portion of the chimney stack was reconstructed in 2015 using compatible brick and mortar.

The original section of the dwelling is set on a dressed limestone foundation while the rest is on concrete block. Vertical wood plank doors within the foundation give access to the cellar on the east elevation of the bedroom addition and on the south elevation of the kitchen addition. The cellar is unusually deep at fourteen feet, suggesting a historical use to store ice or agricultural products. The interior limestone cellar walls have prominent tool marks.

The interior of the building has wood floors throughout. There are late 19th century or early 20th century bead board walls and ceiling in the original section; the original board walls are extant below the bead board. There is a 20th century fireplace on the south wall with a stove pipe hole above. The additions have drywall and no ceilings.

The dwelling contributes to the architectural significance of the property as representing a distinctive type of building. The dwelling contributes to the historical significance of the property as representing the enslaved and emancipated African American experience. It contributes to the agricultural significance as it functioned as housing for the work force that allowed the farm to be agriculturally successful. As has been demonstrated during previous archaeological investigations, the dwelling may be examined from a historical archaeological perspective to provide information about the enslaved and tenant experience. Therefore, the dwelling contributes to the archaeological significance as well.

8. **Chicken Coop**, ca. 1920 (Contributing Building)

Wood-frame chicken coop set on a concrete foundation with weatherboard siding.[23] The first level of the coop has linear openings covered by metal screens and awning windows at the top of the wall, sheltered by a large overhanging metal roof with exposed rafter tails. The east portion of the building extends further up to create a half wall with four six-light windows allowing light into the building. On the south side is a half-story metal roof shed addition with a vertical wood door with strap hinges. Exposed rafter tails are visible on the southern elevation, and a narrow horizontal eight-light window is on the south and east elevation of the shed addition. The foundation extends further to the south, indicating the former presence of another addition.

[23] As explained by Carroll Van West in the Historic Family Farms in Middle Tennessee, 1780-1960, Multiple Property Documentation Form, it was common for early 20th century farms to construct chicken houses based on standardized plans distributed by mail order catalogues or government farm agencies. The coop at Clover Bottom is similar in design to a coop advertised in a 1916 Sears and Roebuck catalogue, which has led some people to speculate that it may have also been built using a mail-order kit or perhaps using the design with adaptations. A ca. 1920 photograph of Clover Bottom's front lawn includes a view of the top windows of the coop, providing evidence that the coop was built sometime before 1920.

The interior of the chicken coop remains open with no interior wall or ceiling finishes. It retains a roosting shelf with ramp. The interior of the shed addition has stalls, probably used for small livestock such as goats. The north section of the addition is screened off with a screen door. There is an interior screen door behind the entry door. The coop contributes to the agricultural significance of the farm as it represents past agricultural operations.

9. Pig Shed, ca. 1958 (Contributing Site)

Built about 1958, this shed has a rectangular footprint, rusted corrugated metal siding and a metal, extremely low-pitched shed roof with exposed rafter tails.[24] Structural elements include dimensional lumber, round logs, and split logs. A light socket on the unfinished ceiling indicates that the shed was once electrified. Vegetation has infiltrated the south portion of the structure. As a result, almost all siding on the southern elevation is non-extant. As the building is missing a portion of its exterior structure, it has to be considered a ruin, but its overall structure retains enough integrity to contribute to the agricultural significance of the farm as providing physical evidence of past agricultural uses, particularly of the swine operation during the State era, and contributing to the spatial understanding of the farm. It may have value for historical archaeology though it has not yet been specifically investigated.

10. Foundation, ca. 1930 (Contributing Site)

Rectangular red brick foundation covered by a concrete slab. Documentation has established that there were once multiple buildings in that area of the yard, including a garden house (or greenhouse) that was associated with nearby agricultural and flower gardens. A past archaeological excavation attempted to find evidence regarding the greenhouse but did not locate any features. This foundation was not investigated as part of that project, but historical archaeological investigations of the foundation and immediate surrounding area could provide information about the site and its history, which in turn could provide more information about the farm's history and agriculture in Davidson County.[25] This foundation is considered contributing because it provides evidence of non-extant buildings and furthers understanding of the farm's spatial layout. If associated with the garden house, it provides physical extant evidence of that portion of the yard's past use as agricultural gardens. The foundation may have value for historical archaeology to better understand the farm's agricultural history, whether the garden operation or some other use, which in turn could shed further light on agricultural patterns in Davidson County.

[24] The building first appears in a 1958 aerial photograph, digital copy in the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission. Use as a pig shed is based on information told to Dan Brown by a former resident of the mansion. A 1958 construction date is consistent with a ca. 1960 decision by the State of Tennessee to start a swine program at the farm.

[25] A 1959 aerial photograph shows multiple buildings in that section of the yard; their use is currently unknown. Digital copy of the photo is in the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission. A Historic Structures Report prepared by Middle Tennessee State University discussed the presence of the gardens (based on oral history with Merle Davis, a former owner). Stripling and Stanford's archaeological report also discusses the historical presence of the gardens and greenhouse. During their excavation, they placed a test unit in the yard, about fifty feet south of the mansion, to attempt to locate features from the garden or the greenhouse. However, they did not find any features, and artifacts appeared to be simply "yard trash" and did not provide any useful information. Therefore, the possibility still remains that the foundation was associated with the gardens or may have had an entirely different use.

11. Caretakers House, ca. 1960 (Contributing Building)

Rectangular footprint with weatherboard siding, asphalt roof, and concrete block foundation, built about 1960 to replace the original Overseer's House.[26] A paneled entrance door is on the north and east elevations. Both doors are accessed via concrete stoops. Two-over-two double-hung windows are located on the east, south, and west elevations. Some windows are covered by wood. A wood door set into the foundation on the south elevation gives access to a crawl space.

The house contributes to the agricultural significance of the property due to its use housing farm employees during the Period of Significance. It also provides physical evidence of the farm's historic spatial layout. As explained further in Section 8, the house may have value for historical archaeology as possibly providing information about the architectural evolution of the farm (in particular the possible reuse of older dwellings or materials).

12. Privy, ca. 1920 (Contributing Building)

The single-room privy has vertical wood siding and a modern metal shed roof. The narrow vertical wood entrance door with metal hinges is on the east elevation. Narrow openings at the top of the north and south elevations allow light into the interior. Interior has a concrete floor, concrete stool, and wooden seat. The privy contributes to the historical significance of the property due to its use during the Period of Significance.

13. Hoggatt Family Cemetery, 1823 (Previously Listed with Clover Bottom Mansion)

At the northern edge of the nomination boundaries is the Hoggatt Family Cemetery. An ornamental iron fence surrounds the rectangular burial plot, containing seven granite grave markers for members of the Hoggatt Family and one limestone marker for Joseph Gould. Based on condition and material, the granite markers were likely installed in the 20th century, likely to replace earlier markers. Gould's original limestone marker, dated 1823, is extant. The known graves date from 1823 to 1887. A large northern portion of the enclosed yard does not contain any grave markers, suggesting that there are likely unmarked graves. Stones are also found nearby outside of the enclosure, suggesting that stones may have been moved or that there may be graves outside of the enclosed burial yard.

14. Manager's House, ca. 1920 (Contributing Building)

Side-Gabled one-story residence with ell addition, weatherboard siding, metal roof, and stone or concrete block foundation. The façade (south-facing) has a non-original porch with square wood porch supports and a simple wood railing.[27] Some doors and windows have been covered with plywood. The visible windows

[26] The construction date is based on photographs of the farm. The original two-story overseer's house was extant in a 1952 aerial photograph of the Tennessee School for the Blind, which included sections of the farm in the foreground. Aerial views from 1958 and 1959 also appear to show a house with rear additions. The next available image, a 1963 aerial image, shows the current residence.

[27] As indicated by photographs on file at the Tennessee Historical Commission, the current porch was installed sometime after 1990. According to Merle Davis, her husband Arthur Stanford had this house built sometime after he bought the farm in 1918 but before she moved there in 1927, but she did not witness the construction herself. Therefore, it is possible that the information is inaccurate and the house was built at an earlier time. Dan Brown of the Tennessee Historical Commission has indicated that the

have a wide variety of sizes and configurations including four-over-four double-hung on all elevations of the original portion and on the north elevation of the ell, a smaller six-over-six window on the western elevation, and a series of small one-over-one windows on the ell. Three brick chimneys sit on the gable roof ridge lines.

The house contributes to the agricultural significance of the property due to its use housing farm employees during the Period of Significance. It also provides physical evidence of the farm's historic spatial layout during the 20th century.

15. Barn, ca. 1955 (Contributing Building)

This barn has a rectangular footprint with corrugated metal roof and siding. There is a shed addition at the north edge of the east elevation. Large, off-center openings are on the north and south elevations.[28] The barn has been used for livestock and hay storage. It therefore contributes to the agricultural significance of the property.

16. Silo, ca. 1930 (Contributing Structure)

Cylindrical concrete stave silo with a domed metal roof approximately fifty to sixty feet tall. A vertical metal ladder is attached to the east side. The west side retains a concrete chute. Metal catwalk stretches east to west across the interior of the dome.[29] The silo contributes to the agricultural significance of the property as it was historically used as part of the farm's operations to store silage.

17. Stock Barn Ruins, ca. 1959 (Contributing Site)

Adjacent to the silo are the frame remnants of a barn, originally built about 1959.[30] The remnants include dimensional lumber and show the barn's overall form with a wide carriage way down the middle from gable end to gable end. A ca. 1990 survey of Clover Bottom Farm named this resource as a Stock Barn, but there is almost no known information about the barn's agricultural use. Though in a state of ruin, the remnants contribute to the agricultural significance of the farm by providing evidence of past agricultural use and allowing for understanding of the spatial relationships of the property's various buildings. The remnants may have value for historical archaeology by providing evidence of past agricultural uses.

house has some interior construction elements that suggest an earlier construction date, or perhaps expansion or reuse of an older building. Therefore, there is the possibility that the Manager's House may have value from a historical archaeological perspective.

[28] Construction Date is estimated based on the barn's construction and materials, as well as a possible depiction on a 1957 topographical USGS Map. Aerial photographs from the mid-20th century show vegetation in that area that would have obscured any buildings or structures.

[29] Construction Date based on historical documentation establishing that when Stanford changed the agricultural use of the property, he built multiple silos which national agricultural magazines described as the tallest in the South. A 1930 newspaper article described a barn and silo as burning down on March 21, 1930. The current silo was likely built shortly thereafter to replace the one that burned. The current silo is shown on a 1938 aerial photograph providing further evidence of an earlier construction date. All documentation referenced is on file at the Tennessee Historical Commission.

[30] Construction Date is based on the fact that it does not appear in a 1958 aerial photograph but does appear in a 1959 aerial photograph.

18. Tenant House, ca. 1920 (Contributing Site)

Metal Side Gable roofed one-and-half story tenant house set on a concrete block foundation with weatherboard siding. The roofline extends over the front porch and features exposed rafter tails. The second floor is accessed via a steep enclosed wood staircase. There is an extant concrete block addition on the rear. The two-room front section of the house and the second-floor space have exposed wall boards with remnants of paint, while portions of the rear additions have deteriorated drywall. A rear addition has collapsed exposing the interior to the elements. A single brick chimney is in the center of the building. The floor is wood and the ceilings are bead board.

Oral history indicates that the building was constructed in the early 20th century. [31] However, some interior construction features, such as floor boards, indicate a possible earlier 19th century construction date or perhaps reuse of salvaged materials. The house has been vacant for the last few decades (see Figure 17 for a 1990 Photo of the house). Although the house is being overtaken with vegetation, and the rear addition has collapsed, the oldest portion of the house is stable and in fair condition. Therefore, the building has enough integrity as a ruin to contribute to the farm's significance, providing physical evidence of the tenant farmer experience and having the potential to be further investigated from a historical archaeology perspective for greater understanding of the building's history and evolution, which in turn can provide more information about the farm's history and how buildings were adapted for new needs or uses.

Figure 17: Tenant House in 1990. Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

[31] According to Merle Davis, the second wife of Arthur Stanford, Stanford built multiple tenant houses when he bought the property. However, she did not personally witness the construction. Therefore, it is possible that her information is incorrect and the tenant house could have been built earlier.

19. Feed Mill Ruins, ca. 1920 (Contributing Site)

At the southeast edge of the nominated boundaries are the ruins of a feed mill. Originally built ca. 1920, the mill burned down in 2017 (see Figure 18 for an image of the Mill before its destruction).[32] Extant is the foundation and lower portion of the chimney. The interior of the foundation was infilled with dirt for safety reasons because a public greenway trail runs alongside the ruins. The remnants provide evidence of past agricultural use, therefore contributing to the historical significance of the property. The ruins may also have value for archaeological investigation to provide more information about the farm's history and operations.

Figure 18: Feed Mill in 1990. Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

20. Main Entrance Gates, ca. 1890 (Contributing Structure)

Stone main entrance gates are located on Lebanon Pike, at the northwest boundaries of the property (see Figure 19 for the earliest known photograph of the gates).[33] The gates have prominent stones piers connected to curved stone walls that terminate at a smaller set of stone piers. The north pier has an engraved inscription that says "Clover" and the south pier says "Bottom." The entrance gate is no longer used because the space between the piers was too narrow and unsafe for modern egress requirements. To prevent visitors from mistakenly using the gates, a wood fence has been installed in front. This fence also extends from the gates to define the northwest boundary and portions of the north boundary of the property. The gates are contributing due to their use as the property's main, formal entrance throughout the Period of Significance.

[32] Merle Davis Interview; Dan Brown conversation with Rebecca Schmitt, December 2018.

[33] Former enslaved resident John McCline described the original main entrance gates as "highly ornamented gates, the huge posts of which were capped by great round balls," as quoted in Jan Furman, ed., *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms: John McCline's Narrative of His Life During Slavery and the Civil War* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 11. McCline's description does not quite match the current appearance of the gates, providing evidence that they were built later, but it is possible that his description is inaccurate due to misremembrance or the gates could have been altered. The earliest known image of the gates, dating to about 1900 during the Price era, shows the gates as they currently appear.

Figure 19: Clover Bottom Gates, ca. 1900. Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission

21. Secondary Entrance Gates, ca. 1890 (Contributing Structure)

The Secondary Entrance Gates are located about 400 feet northeast of the Main Entrance Gates on Lebanon Pike. The gates consist of stone piers that match the small piers at the Main Entrance. They are located on either side of a single-car-wide road that historically served as a secondary entrance to Clover Bottom farm. A non-historic sign is affixed to the north gate, but this sign could easily be removed and therefore does not detract from the gates' integrity. The gates are contributing due to their use demarcating the farm's secondary entrance during the Period of Significance.

22. Column Fragments, 1853, 1859 (Contributing Object)

To the north of the mansion, alongside the circled driveway, are fragments of stone columns that were part of the 1853 Greek Revival-style Clover Bottom Mansion. After the mansion burned in 1859, the fragments were left in the yard in four piles, evenly spatially distributed in a south-north row.[34] The column fragments contribute to the significance of the farm by providing information about the construction techniques and architectural evolution of Clover Bottom Mansion. They have been a yard feature throughout the Period of Significance.

[34] Stephen T. Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm: A Tennessee Agricultural Treasure," Tennessee Historical Quarterly (Fall 2001), 160.

23. Concrete Structure, ca. 1950 (Contributing Structure)

Located along the edge of the southeast boundary is a concrete structure, probably constructed in the early-to-mid-20th century. Use is currently uncertain but it may have been a water or feed trough from when the front lawn was used for cattle grazing during the 20th century. It contributes to the agricultural significance of the farm by providing physical evidence of the farm's structures and the lawn's past use for agricultural purposes.

24. Archaeological Features and Artifact Concentrations (Contributing Site)

Clover Bottom Farm (40DV186) has been investigated for archaeological potential several times. Excavations have uncovered intact stratigraphy patterns and hundreds of artifacts, strongly suggesting that there are still extant stratigraphy patterns and artifacts in areas not yet excavated. The excavations have also located several intact archaeological features, which have provided information about the farm's history. Because each feature was not completely excavated, they retain potential to provide further information about the farm's history.

About 50 feet to the north of Dwelling #2 is Feature #1, a dressed limestone building foundation, partially excavated in 2015. Artifacts suggested the associated building was built in the mid-19th century and was destroyed by fire ca. 1931. The associated building is believed to have been a slave dwelling due to the artifacts found and the foundation's spatial orientation in relation to known slave dwellings. After partial excavation, the foundation was recovered with soil to preserve remaining artifacts and stratigraphic evidence. Above ground, a depression in the earth from the excavation is the only visible evidence of its presence.

About 50 feet to the north of Feature #1 is a probable feature (demarcated as Feature #2 on the site plan). The area was minimally investigated in 2015 through four test units. Artifacts included limestone blocks (most likely a portion of a foundation) and a NATCO architectural ceramic block. Due to time constraints, the site was not further investigated but covered with soil to preserve other extant evidence. It is believed that Feature #2 may possibly be the foundation of a Slave Dwelling due to its spatial orientation with the extant slave dwellings and Feature #1.

About 65 feet to the east of the mansion is a limestone building foundation (Feature #3), believed to have been associated with a demolished two-story brick building visible in some historic photos (see Figures 26 and 29). A Small portion of the foundation was excavated in 1993 revealing a wide variety of artifacts. The foundation was recovered with soil to preserve remaining artifacts and stratigraphic evidence. It was partially covered in 1994 by a modern parking lot and road that did not extend below grade and therefore likely did not disturb the site.

Approximately 350 feet to the northeast of the mansion, or approximately 180 feet to the west of the Horse Stable, is the former site of a late 19th century barn. A foundation associated with that barn was discovered in 2015 (Feature #4, see Figure 20). The foundation was not excavated but was covered with soil to preserve extant stratigraphic evidence or artifacts. A small portion of the greenway path crosses over the site. Little is known about the barn's function and contributions to the agricultural significance of the farm. Therefore, the feature retains the ability to potentially yield information that could contribute to a greater understanding of the farm's historical and archaeological significance.

Figure 20: Foundation of Barn, Photo taken October 26, 2015.
Digital File in the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Previously Listed Non-Extant Resources

The 1975 Clover Bottom Mansion National Register nomination mentioned a deteriorated saddlebag log cabin (see Figures 21-22). Since listing, the cabin continued to deteriorate and collapsed in sections. This log cabin was recently demolished due to extremely poor condition, and there is no longer any above-ground extant evidence of its existence. There is likely archaeological evidence associated with this structure but it has not yet been specifically investigated.

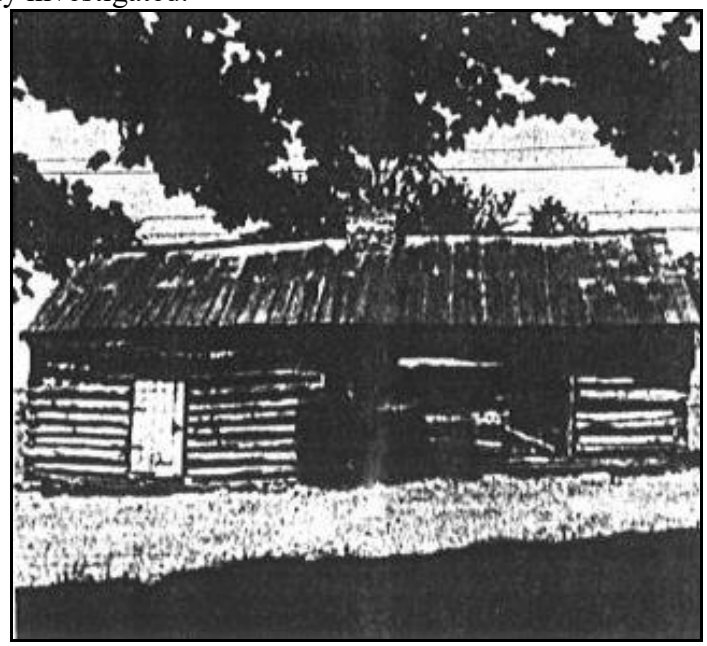

Figure 21: Saddlebag Log Cabin 1953. Photo from *The Nashville Tennessean Magazine*, December 6, 1953.

Figure 22: Ruins of the Saddlebag Log House, ca. 1990.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission

Integrity

Clover Bottom Farm retains excellent integrity of location, feeling, association, design, materials, and workmanship. Architecturally significant buildings retain a high degree of integrity of all seven aspects necessary to convey their significance. Any changes, such as those resulting from the 1994 rehabilitation of the mansion, were completed sensitively, mostly on rear elevations and in secondary spaces and therefore do not negatively impact any areas of significance. Most of the agricultural outbuildings, in particular the Horse Stable, Carriage House, Chicken Coop, and Silo also have excellent integrity. Extant buildings classified as ruins/sites retain integrity of location, setting, association, and feeling. Their integrity of materials, design, and workmanship have been impacted by degradation, but they retain enough integrity as sites to contribute to the significance of the farm by providing information about the spatial relationships of buildings, past agricultural processes and uses, and they may have value for historical archaeology.

The nominated acreage of about fifty-three acres in combination with the intact mansion house, slave and tenant dwellings, and agricultural outbuildings are able to convey the farm's historical significance. The acreage includes areas historically used for agricultural purposes. The setting changed throughout the latter half of the Period of Significance as Clover Bottom's owners sold portions of the farmland for private and state developments. As such, the suburban setting and smaller intact acreage reflects the farm's role in the development of the Donelson community and should not be seen as a significant detraction from its integrity.

Archaeologically, the farm (40DV186) retains excellent stratigraphy, intact features, and potential for additional intact features and artifacts. Non-historic changes to the property, such as installation of modern parking lots and a walking trail, were installed at grade and have not negatively affected archaeological potential. These surface lots and trails are minimally visible and do not significantly detract from the overall property's integrity to convey its architectural or historical significance. There is also potential for further investigation of above-ground resources classified as sites from a historical archaeological perspective to yield information about the farm's history and uses.

Clover Bottom Farm (Boundary Expansion) | Davidson, Tennessee
Name of Property | County and State

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- [X] A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- [ ] B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- [X] C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- [X] D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations
(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)
Property is: N/A

- [ ] A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- [ ] B removed from its original location.
- [ ] C a birthplace or grave.
- [ ] D a cemetery.
- [ ] E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- [ ] F a commemorative property.
- [ ] G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions.)
Architecture
Agriculture
Archaeology: Historic Non-Aboriginal
Ethnic Heritage: Black/African American
Government/Politics

Period of Significance
1797- ca.1974

Significant Dates
1797; 1853; 1858; 1859; 1887; 1918; 1949

Significant Person
(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)
N/A

Cultural Affiliation
African American/Black
European American/White

Architect/Builder
Multiple
Unknown

Statement of Significance Summary

Clover Bottom Mansion was listed in the National Register of Historic Places for local architectural significance on April 3, 1975. Per requirements of the time, the nomination was brief and focused on the architectural significance of the mansion. It did not explore the wider historical, architectural, or archaeological significances of the property. While the mansion continues to be a significant and central part of the property, this updated and expanded nomination provides more information on the property's broader agricultural usage from its establishment to the end of the Period of Significance. This nomination also establishes the farm's importance in related areas of historical, architectural, and archaeological significance. To better reflect the comprehensive significance of the property, a listing name of Clover Bottom Farm is more appropriate than Clover Bottom Mansion.

Clover Bottom Mansion continues to be locally significant under Criterion C as an excellent example of an antebellum, upper-class Italianate residence. Recent changes to facilitate the mansion's adaptive reuse for government offices have not altered its ability to convey this significance. The property is also locally significant under Criterion C for its extant dwellings originally built to house enslaved people ca. 1858 and architecturally adapted in the late 19th and 20th centuries to meet the modern needs of tenant farmers. Clover Bottom Farm is one of the few properties in Davidson County, Tennessee to retain slave dwellings.

Clover Bottom Farm is locally significant under Criterion A in the areas of Agriculture; African American/Black Ethnic Heritage; and Government/Politics. Established in 1797 by the Hoggatt family and enslaved African American people, Clover Bottom Farm was once one of the largest farms in the Donelson area at the eastern edge of Davidson County, Tennessee. Its varied agricultural uses collectively represent the full range of agricultural operations that were common in Davidson County during the 19th and 20th centuries. As an antebellum plantation, Clover Bottom's success was due to the labor of enslaved African Americans, who comprised the majority of Clover Bottom's population. After emancipation, African Americans continued to play a key role as tenant farmers and domestic workers up until the early 20th century. After purchase by the state in 1949, the property served a dual role providing government housing for state employees and as an Institutional Farm worked by patients from an adjacent mental health institution, representing the state government's attempts at institutional self-sustenance/frugality and participation in controversial labor practices.

Clover Bottom Farm is locally significant under Criterion D in the area of Historic Non-Aboriginal Archaeology. Previous archaeological investigations have discovered features and artifact concentrations that have revealed information about the farm and the lives of the people who once lived and worked there, including the majority African American work force, as well as the European American owners and workers. The property has potential to reveal additional information that can provide a fuller understanding of Clover Bottom Farm. As the farm represents a microcosm of agricultural life throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, this information in turn can contribute to a greater understanding of rural historical life in Davidson County, Tennessee.

The period of significance begins in 1797 when the Hoggatt family bought the property and enslaved people began to develop the land for an agricultural purpose. The period of significance ends in 1974 after events related to the farm led to institutional changes in Tennessee State Government, which significantly altered the management of Clover Bottom Farm and resulted in its complete closure by 1980. The property retains integrity to convey all areas of significance.

Narrative Statement of Significance

Architectural Significance

Clover Bottom Mansion and the Italianate Style

Clover Bottom Mansion was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on April 3, 1975 for its local architectural significance as an excellent example of the Italianate style, the popular style for homes constructed between 1840 and 1885.[35] The mansion continues to be significant under Criterion C. Due to the brief nature of the 1975 nomination, this expanded nomination provides additional detail about the mansion's architectural significance, changes that have occurred in the almost 50 years since its listing, and additional contextual information for the mansion's architectural significance in Davidson County, Tennessee.

Originally built in 1853 and rebuilt in 1859, the mansion retains character-defining Italianate characteristics including paired decorative brackets, molded paneling in the cornice, and a low-pitched hipped roof with wide eaves. One of the mansion's most significant characteristics is the dominating front portico. The portico retains ornate details including molded paneling on columns, scrolled brackets with flower motifs, and flattened and full arches between columns. The projecting center of the portico draws attention to the centered main entrance, which features an arched opening and highly ornamented recessed doorway flanked by twenty-light sidelights. The mansion also has a two-story portico on the southern addition, which features the same decorative details as the façade's portico.[36]

Another significant feature of the Italianate style as exemplified at Clover Bottom are the tall, paired arched windows visible on the first and second levels of the façade, north elevation, and south elevation. Right above the juncture of the windows is a red glass oculus. Topping the entire configuration is an ornamented arch. Sills are also decorative, typically featuring brackets or a balconette.

The mansion retains significant interior spaces characteristic of antebellum upper-class homes, particularly the first-level entry hallway with curved staircase at the rear; the first-level double parlor, separated by the massive original wood pocket doors; and the second-level hall. High Ceilings are present throughout the first and second levels, as are original fireplaces and original wood paneled doors with moveable transoms to facilitate air flow.

Architectural Context

Within the local context of Davidson County, Clover Bottom Mansion continues to be one of the best examples of an upper-class antebellum Italianate home. Most housing stock in the area was built in the 20th century when the area suburbanized. The few 19th century extant examples typically showcase middle and working-class homes that are smaller and less ornate, but nonetheless retain key characteristics. One example

[35] National Register of Historic Places, Clover Bottom Mansion, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee, National Register #75001747; Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses: The Definitive Guide to Identifying and Understanding America's Domestic Architecture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 286.

[36] This side porch was enclosed when the Price family added an addition for bathrooms sometime between 1887 and 1918. During the 1993-1994 rehabilitation, the addition was removed and the side porch was restored.

is the Vaughn-Brindley House at 811 Riverside Drive in Nashville. Built in 1853, it has characteristic Italianate features including a single-story porch with flattened arches between porch supports, paired brackets, arched windows and door openings, and a prominent arched dormer at the roofline with an oculus.

Two Rivers Mansion (NR Listed 2/23/1972), located about three miles northwest of Clover Bottom and built the same year, is the most similar house in Davidson County (see Figure 23).[37] It has similar massing and size to Clover Bottom and historically functioned as the mansion house for a plantation comparable to Clover Bottom. Two Rivers has many of the same Italianate characteristics, though often in a different variation. For example, Clover Bottom frequently uses tall narrow arched windows with ornamented hood molding, Two Rivers utilizes similar ornamentation but windows are not arched. Two Rivers only uses a rounded arch on the façade's second-level portico door. Both buildings have a full-width first level portico with a centered second-level portico, drawing attention to the central entryway, though only Clover Bottom's centered portion projects. Two Rivers has a prominent second-level door that provides access to the second level of the portico in contrast to Clover Bottom which uses windows for portico access. Both houses exemplify upper-class antebellum Italianate residences and continue to retain integrity for that significance.

Figure 23: Two Rivers Mansion, December 8, 2017.
Photo by Rebecca Schmitt, Tennessee Historical Commission

[37] National Register of Historic Places, Two Rivers, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee, National Register #72001238. Two Rivers Mansion was extensively documented by the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1970 with edited written data supplied in 1985, Call Number: HABS TENN, 19-DONEL, 1-. Available online, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/tn0038/, accessed October 16, 2018.

Architecture of Slave/Tenant Dwellings

Clover Bottom Farm is also architecturally significant for its extant Slave/Tenant Dwellings that are representative of a distinctive housing type common in rural agricultural areas during the 19th century. Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1 reflects the architectural form of dwellings during the period of enslavement and the immediate post-enslavement era. In contrast, Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2 reflects the architectural adaptation of slave dwellings in the late 19th and 20th centuries for tenant housing, a common use for slave dwellings after the end of slavery.

While the popular image of slave houses was that they were constructed of wood and one room, recent historical and archaeological scholarship has shown that dwellings for the enslaved varied. The geographic context and type of work tasks strongly affected what type of dwelling an enslaved person might have had. For example, enslaved people in urban settings often lived in the same house as the slave owner; their sleeping spaces may have been under stairs, in closets, basements/cellars, kitchens, or other utilitarian spaces. This was also the common arrangement for enslaved people who fulfilled domestic roles in rural settings.[38]

Separate dwellings were common on farms and plantations, especially for the enslaved people who worked outside of the slave owner's home. Most commonly, dwellings were constructed of wood, either log or wood-frame, but a small portion of known examples used masonry. While many were a single room, recent scholarship has shown that many were multi-room. Spatially, these slave dwellings were typically arranged in groupings or in a row, usually to the rear of the plantation mansion house though some might be located near the house and others further out near the fields.[39]

Clover Bottom's dwellings for the enslaved were initially scattered across the property and were of varying sizes. About 1858, a new overseer ordered the construction of new dwellings. According to John McCline who was born into slavery at Clover Bottom, the new dwellings were constructed of wood harvested from forested sections of the farm. They were a single room with a fireplace and chimney on one end. In some instances, two single-room houses were connected in a saddlebag formation to allow them to share a chimney. The wood walls were whitewashed on the interior and exterior twice yearly, and the wood floors were washed weekly. Each dwelling had its own twenty-foot yard space, kept clean by sweeping. The cabins were arranged in two rows, one just east behind the mansion and the other further east, near the overseer's house. Though McCline's childhood memoir states that twenty houses were built, the 1860 Davidson County slave census only recorded twelve cabins.[40]

[38] John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 153-181; Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg, eds., *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Michael Strutt, ""Yes I was a House Slave: I slept under the Stairway in the Closet." Slave Housing and Landscapes of Tennessee 1780-1860: An Architectural Synthesis" (PhD diss., Middle Tennessee State University, 2012).
[39] Ibid.
[40] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,*19-20, 131; Steve Rogers Notes on the 1860 Davidson County Slave Census, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The materials and size of the extant dwellings are consistent with McCline's description. Both dwellings were originally single room with chimney on one end. They were clad with board and batten siding, and cotton was stuffed between the boards for insulation. This siding was restored on Dwelling #1. The original siding of Dwelling #2 is extant below weatherboard siding added during the tenant era. Both have remnants of whitewash on the interior walls, later covered by newspaper and layers of wallpaper followed by bead board during the tenant eras; the bead board on Dwelling #1 was recently removed to restore the interior's original appearance. Cotton is still extant stuffed between the boards.

The dwellings' spatial arrangement is consistent with McCline's description of a row of dwellings near the mansion house. A recent archaeological investigation identified the foundation of a structure of similar size and spatial arrangement to the extant dwellings. The archaeological team dated the foundation to the mid-19th century, strongly suggesting that it was also a slave dwelling built within the same row as the others, thereby providing further evidence of their original construction as dwellings for Clover Bottom's enslaved population. The team also discovered a possible foundation for another structure, in line with the others, but the limited investigation could not determine whether the structure was originally a slave dwelling.[41]

After emancipation, the dwellings continued to be used by African American tenant farmers, most of who were formerly enslaved at Clover Bottom. By the early twentieth century, the demographic makeup of the tenants shifted to mostly white. As tenants developed new needs for modern conveniences and additional space, they adapted the dwellings accordingly. Dwelling #2, closest to the mansion, had a rear indoor kitchen addition built about 1890. About 1941, tenants built an addition on the north side to add a bedroom, bathroom, and closet. Dwelling #1 has an addition on the north side that housed the cellar entrance, added in the post-slavery era of the late 19th century.[42]

These dwellings not only represent typical housing for enslaved populations but also the architectural adaptation of slave dwellings for tenant housing in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The adaptation of slave dwellings for tenant housing or other uses was typically the only way that these significant buildings were able to survive to the present day. In particular, Dwelling #1 with its single, small addition best reflects the slave dwelling architecture from the era of enslavement and the post-emancipation period. Dwelling #2's original form and massing is evident therefore also representing its early history as a slave dwelling, but the dwelling's current form best reflects architectural adaptations characteristic of the transition of slave dwellings to tenant housing during the late 19th century and early-to-mid 20th century.

Architectural Context

The extant slave/tenant dwellings are a rare architectural resource in Davidson County, Tennessee. During the antebellum era, Tennessee was among the states were slaveholding was legal. Almost one-quarter of the

[41] Kathryn Sikes, et al. *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186).* Department of History, Middle Tennessee State University, 2017.

[42] Backyard Photograph, undated, Price Family Photographs, digital copy on file at Tennessee Historical Commission. Nancy Clark conversation with Rebecca Schmitt and Patrick McIntyre at Clover Bottom Mansion, June 11, 2018. Rebecca Schmitt's notes on the conversation are in the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission. Nancy Clark was born in Dwelling #2 in 1938. The rear kitchen addition had already been built by that time. Clark's aunt's family (the Harvey family) lived in Dwelling #1. After Clark's family moved in 1941, the Harvey family moved into Dwelling #2 and built the north addition soon after. The Harvey's son, Luther and his wife, Juanita, later lived in Dwelling #1.

state's population was enslaved as of 1860.[43] In the rural agricultural areas of Davidson County, such as Donelson, the majority of the population was enslaved. At Clover Bottom in 1860, the almost sixty enslaved African Americans vastly outnumbered the six European Americans who owned or oversaw the plantation. A few miles up the road at President Andrew Jackson's plantation The Hermitage (NHL12/19/1960), approximately 150 people were enslaved there at the time of Jackson's death in 1845.[44] At Two Rivers there were fifty-one slaves in 1855.[45] As such, housing for the enslaved population was much more numerous than the houses for the wealthy plantation owners.

Despite their prolific nature historically, the vast majority of slave dwellings have not survived. Post-Civil War many slave dwellings were deliberately destroyed due to embarrassment, shame, or guilt over the association with slavery. Other slave dwellings deteriorated over time and eventually collapsed. Typically, preservationists at the time did not consider these structures worthy of preservation because they were generally more concerned with saving the grand, high-style homes of Statesmen or other wealthy European Americans. As a result, smaller, modest homes or worker housing, such as the dwellings of the enslaved, were often ignored and demolished by neglect. In rare instances, slave dwellings were moved to architectural history museums to ensure their preservation. For example, two brick dwellings from Henry McAlpin's Hermitage Plantation, near Savannah, Georgia, were moved to Greenfield Village (NR Listed 10/20/1969; NHL 12/21/1981) in Dearborn, Michigan. Other former slave dwellings continued to be used to house tenant workers or sharecroppers, such as at Clover Bottom. They were commonly adapted for modern needs, but this use allowed them to survive to the present-day.[46]

As of 2018, Andrew Jackson's The Hermitage is one of the only other former plantations in Davidson County known to retain slave dwellings, as well as known archaeological sites and reconstructed dwellings.[47] One log dwelling predated Jackson's purchase of the property while a second log building was built for the Jackson's kitchen. Enslaved cook Betty and her family also lived in the kitchen. After the mansion and a brick kitchen were built, the buildings were repurposed for slave dwellings. Also extant is Alfred Jackson's log saddlebag cabin, near the rear of the mansion. It may have been built as early as 1841. After

[43] Strutt, ""Yes I was a House Slave: I slept under the Stairway in the Closet," 417.
[44] "Slavery: Understanding the Other Families at The Hermitage," Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, https://thehermitage.com/learn/mansion-grounds/slavery/, November 2, 2018.
[45] *Two Rivers Mansion Master Plan,* Metro Parks Nashville, November 2016, 38, https://www.nashville.gov/Portals/0/SiteContent/HistoricalCommission/Plans%20and%20Structure%20Reports/2017%20TR%20MP%20Final%20reduced.pdf, accessed November 2, 2018. This master plan was partially funded by a Historic Preservation Fund grant from the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Department of the Interior.
[46] Stephen Small, "Still Back of the Big House: Slave Cabins and Slavery in Southern Heritage Tourism," *Tourism Geographies* 15, no. 3 (2013): 405-423.
[47] Strutt, ""Yes I was a House Slave." Michael Strutt surveyed slave dwellings, including sleeping quarters within enslaver homes, from 1999-2002. The Hermitage was the only Davidson County property he cited as retaining original slave dwellings though he noted other sites such as Travellers Rest likely retain slave spaces within the white owner's house. Strutt notes a possible slave dwelling at the Ogilvie-Holt House south of downtown Nashville but he explains that the building has features consistent with earlier construction for a different purpose other than housing the enslaved population, so its true historical use is unclear. Strutt's task of attempting to identify all extant slave dwellings across the state was onerous and his final survey report was extremely detailed regarding identified dwellings and spaces, but the survey did miss some dwellings, such as those at Clover Bottom, so it is possible that there are other extant slave dwellings that have not yet been identified.

emancipation, Alfred Jackson stayed at the plantation and lived there until his death in 1901.[48] Compared to Clover Bottom's dwellings, the Hermitage's dwellings reflect slightly different architectural forms (log construction) as well as the practice of repurposing unused buildings for housing for the enslaved people.

Numerous archaeological investigations at the Hermitage have revealed that the size and arrangement of slave dwellings varied widely. The largest dwelling was a three-unit brick building that has been called the Triplex, which was destroyed by a tornado in the late 1860s. The plantation also had brick duplexes. Arranged to form a square with a central courtyard area, the dwellings were likely built around 1821 but were later destroyed. Archaeological investigations have revealed that the enslaved used the fenced courtyard for most activities.[49]

Much more common in Davidson County is to encounter former plantations with reconstructed slave cabins, typically log construction, which serve interpretive purposes. For example, Belle Meade (NR12/30/1969), a plantation south of Nashville, has reconstructed a log slave dwelling. Belle Meade also has a log cabin, originally built for the plantation owners, that was used after the Civil War by formerly enslaved hostler Bob Green.[50] Other sites may retain slave spaces within the former homes of slave owners, but these areas are often difficult to identify. For instance, Judge John Overton's home, Travellers Rest (NR 8/1/2018), may have housed enslaved people in the cellar or kitchen house.[51] The Hermitage also may have housed enslaved people in the basement.[52]

In recent years, historians and historic preservationists have begun and increased efforts to preserve extant slave dwellings. One example of this is historian Joseph McGill's Slave Dwelling Project. The project's mission is to identify extant slave dwellings and provide assistance to property owners, government agencies, and relevant organizations to preserve the dwellings. McGill began the project by finding extant dwellings and requesting to spend a night there as a way of drawing attention to the often-ignored dwellings to promote their preservation. On May 22, 2014, McGill spent a night in one of Clover Bottom's Slave Dwellings as part of his first overnight visit in Tennessee.[53]

[48] "First Hermitage," Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, https://thehermitage.com/learn/mansion-grounds/garden-grounds/first-hermitage, accessed December 31, 2018; "Slave Sites," Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, https://thehermitage.com/learn/mansion-grounds/garden-grounds/slave-sites/, accessed November 7, 2018.

[49] "First Hermitage," Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, https://thehermitage.com/learn/mansion-grounds/garden-grounds/first-hermitage, accessed December 31, 2018; "Slave Sites," Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, https://thehermitage.com/learn/mansion-grounds/garden-grounds/slave-sites/, accessed November 7, 2018; Brian W. Thomas, "Power and Community: The Archaeology of Slavery at the Hermitage Plantation," *American Antiquity* 63, no. 4 (Oct., 1998): 531-551; Larry McKee, "The Archaeological Study of Slavery and Plantation Life in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 188-203.

[50] "African Americans," Belle Meade Plantation, https://bellemeadeplantation.com/African Americans/, accessed December 10, 2018.

[51] National Register of Historic Places, Travellers Rest, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee, National Register #RS69000179, 18.

[52] Strutt, ""Yes I was a House Slave," 223-225.

[53] "Slave Dwellings: Tennessee Civil War 150," PBS, aired March 27, 2018, https://www.pbs.org/video/project-slave-dwelling-tennessee-civil-war-150-2liamn/, accessed November 7, 2018; "Tennessee Historical Commission Announces slave Dwelling Project at Clover Bottom Mansion on May 22," Press Release, May 8, 2014, https://www.tn.gov/news/2014/5/8/tennessee-historical-commission-announces-slave-dwelling-project-at-clover-.html, accessed November 7, 2018. After his night at Clover Bottom, McGill stayed in Alfred Jackson's cabin at The Hermitage followed by a night in Bob Green's cabin at Belle Meade.

In 2015, the Tennessee Historical Commission restored the slave/tenant dwellings at Clover Bottom, as well as multiple agricultural buildings. Hazardous materials including lead paint were removed from the dwellings. On Dwelling #1, the non-original weatherboard siding was removed and the original board-and-batten siding was restored. Dwelling #2, whose original form plus additions better reflect later architectural adaptations by tenants, retained its late 19th century weatherboard siding. The metal roofs of both dwellings were severely deteriorated and were replaced in-kind. The chimneys of both dwellings had deteriorated and the top of the stacks had crumbled, necessitating the rebuild of the upper part of the chimney with similar brick and historically appropriate mortar. The interior of Dwelling #1 was returned to its early appearance, showing remnants of whitewash on the walls as well as pieces of newspaper and some wallpaper remnants, while the interior of Dwelling #2 with beadboard walls and ceilings continues to reflect its later appearance when it was adapted by tenants. Both dwellings are currently used for interpretive purposes. Both dwellings retain integrity of location, setting, materials, design, workmanship, feeling, and association to convey their architectural significance. Necessary reconstructions, such as the reconstruction of the top of the chimney stacks on both dwellings, are consistent with the historic appearance and materials.

Historical Significance

Overview

Clover Bottom Farm's period of historical significance generally follows four eras defined by ownership and character of agricultural usage. During the first era from 1797 to 1887, the Hoggatt family established the farm and bought additional tracts, bringing it to its peak acreage of 1,500 acres. Prior to emancipation, enslaved people performed the labor that allowed the farm to become among the area's largest and most significant farms. They produced diverse farm products, including various foodstuffs, lumber, and livestock. During the Reconstruction era, many of the formerly enslaved people remained and transitioned to tenant farming producing much of the same products.

The second era, the Price Family era, was from 1887 to 1918. This era witnessed the rise of Clover Bottom's Thoroughbred breeding and racing operation. Corn and wheat crops as well as livestock feed continued to be grown in limited areas, allowing the farm to continue to be self-sustaining and profitable. Farm workers and domestic servants, most of whom were African American, lived in the former slave dwellings and performed most of the labor that allowed these ventures to be successful. Minor subdivision of the farm occurred during this era for charitable ventures and railroad expansion.

The third era, from 1918 to 1949, was the final era of private ownership when the Stanford family utilized the land for a substantial dairy operation. Tenants, both white and black, lived in the former slave dwellings as well as other newly constructed tenant houses. Subdivision of the farmland for state and private developments increased during this era, contributing to the development of the Donelson area from an agricultural landscape to suburban.

The fourth and final era of Clover Bottom's historical period of significance occurred from 1949 to ca. 1974 when the farm moved into state ownership. The State continued to use the farm for agricultural purposes as an Institutional Farm while using the mansion to house teachers from the Tennessee School for the Blind,

built nearby on a portion of the farmland. Patients from the adjacent Clover Bottom mental and developmental health facility provided the farm's labor, representing the state government's attempts at self-sustenance and controversial labor practices. The farm ceased functioning in the mid-to-late 1970s and the mansion was vacated in 1980.

The Hoggatt Era: Establishment and Growth of Clover Bottom, 1797-1887

Early History

The Central Basin region of Middle Tennessee is a large low-lying area in the geographic center of the state. Characterized by nutrient-rich soil, the region has been called the "Garden of Tennessee."[54] Paleoindians were living in the areas as early as 12,000-15,000 years ago as well as during the following 2,000-year Archaic period. During the subsequent 2,000-year Woodland period, Native Americans established farming communities with organized tribal societies. The next major era from 900-1600 A.D. was the Mississippian period. Native Americans constructed large towns, often with earthen mounds. Later such Native American tribes as the Cherokee, Shawnee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek used the Central Basin region as a hunting ground, often competing for control of the area.[55]

French fur traders arrived in the area in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. European and European American settlers began moving to the Central Basin region in the mid-18th century. During the winter of 1779-80, European Americans James Robertson and John Donelson founded Nashville, which later became the capital of Tennessee. The surrounding area of Davidson County was formally established in 1783 by the North Carolina legislature, which claimed the entire land until formally ceding it to the Federal Government in 1789. In 1796 the area became part of Tennessee, the 16th State to join the Union.[56]

Establishment of Clover Bottom Farm

Clover Bottom received its name in 1780 when John Donelson named it for the white clover growing in the bottom land along the Stones River. Though the region had fertile soil, early attempts to farm Clover Bottom were unsuccessful due to flooding and conflicts with Native Americans. The land lay undeveloped until after 1797 when Revolutionary War veteran John Hoggatt purchased 360 acres. He gradually purchased adjacent tracts bringing the farm's total acreage up to 775 by 1816.[57]

[54] Donald L. Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers: Antebellum Agriculture in the Upper South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 4.

[55] Wayne C. Moore, "A History of Tennessee," in *Tennessee Blue Book* (Nashville: Tennessee Secretary of State, 2017), 499-502, https://publications.tnsosfiles.com/pub/blue_book/17-18/2017-2018BlueBook.pdf, accessed November 5, 2018; Ophelia Paine and John Lawrence Connelly, "Nashville (Metropolitan Nashville/Davidson County)," Tennessee Encyclopedia, October 8, 2017, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/nashville-metropolitan-nashville-davidson-county/, accessed November 5, 2018. As of December 2018, the Tennessee Division of Archaeology has recorded a total of 490 prehistoric sites in Davidson County. Broken down by time period, there are 27 sites associated with the Paleo era; Transitional Paleo - 16 sites; Archaic - 209 sites; Woodland - 108 sites; and Mississippian - 132 sites. There are currently no known archaeological sites associated with Native Americans within the nominated boundaries. However, Native American sites have been identified nearby, on land historically associated with Clover Bottom Farm but excluded from this nomination due to new developments. Therefore, it is possible that there is unidentified archaeological evidence associated with Native Americans within the nomination boundaries.

[56] Moore, "A History of Tennessee," 502-510,

[57] Hoggatt is frequently spelled as Hockett or Hackett in historical documentation. Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 145; Anne-Leslie Owens, "John Donelson," *Tennessee Encyclopedia,* accessed June 13, 2018, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/john-

The Hoggatt family included John, his second wife, Diane (or Dianna), one daughter, Rhoda, and three sons, Abraham S., John H., and James W. Hoggatt.[58] The 1798 tax records recorded a dwelling house on the property, but the type of dwelling is unknown. Some people have speculated that the Hoggatts initially lived in a log building that was located a few hundred feet to the rear of the present-day mansion.[59] This could be possible given that it was common for settlers' first dwelling to be a log building.[60] However, there is no known primary source documentation substantiating that they lived in a log house or that it was that particular building.

After initial settlement, families typically enlarged their first log dwellings or built new, larger homes.[61] Some documentation has stated that the Hoggatts lived in a two-story side-gable brick house, historically located immediately southeast of the current mansion. This may have been their second house, built after initial settlement, though at least one source has described it as their first house.[62]

The 1798 federal tax records also note the presence of thirteen enslaved people, whose names are unknown.[63] Hoggatt also paid for the labor of additional enslaved people through a practice known as 'hiring out' where the individual continued to be owned by a different person but worked for Hoggatt.[64]

Among the crops grown in the earliest decades were cash crops of cotton and tobacco and fruits, some of which was distilled to make brandy. Enslaved workers also made use of timber throughout the property, processing it at an on-site sawmill.[65] For additional income, Hoggatt leased portions of his land.[66]

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donelson/; W.W. Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis & Co., 1880), 134.

[58] Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 146.

[59] Margaret Lindsley Warden, "Estate of Romanic Memories: State Institutions Now Occupy Clover Bottom but its Exciting Past Remains," *The Nashville Tennessean Magazine*, December 6, 1953.

[60] Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers,* 19. A log building was included within the 1975 Clover Bottom Mansion nomination. However, the log structure was demolished due to poor condition in the mid-2000s. Much of the information stating that the Hoggatts lived in the log cabin appears to have come from newspaper articles in the twentieth century. There are no primary sources documenting that use. One other source stated that the log building was used as the residence for an overseer.

[61] Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers,* 23.

[62] Richard C. Plater, Jr., who grew up visiting Clover Bottom as the great-nephew of Anna Gay Price during the early twentieth century, stated in a 1990 letter that the brick building to the rear of the mansion was the Hoggatts' original house. Given that the Price family were distant cousins of the Hoggatts, his memories may be considered a family oral history but the temporal distance between initial settlement and Plater's memories still presents the possibility that his statement may be inaccurate. Plater's first-hand experience at Clover Bottom does establish that during his childhood this brick building was used as a Chicken Coop and Garage for Anna Price's first car. Other documentation has stated that it was a laundry building, suggesting that the building had a wide variety of uses over its lifetime. It was demolished c. 1930s.

[63] Notes on 1798 Federal Direct Tax List for Davidson County TN, 13th Assessment District, October 1, 1798, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

[64] John Hoggatt, "Will Be Hired," *Nashville Whig,* December 13, 1814. The advertisement sought to hire "three likely young negro men and a girl."

[65] Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 146.

[66] Hoggatt leased portions of his land to Andrew Jackson and his business partners, William Preston Anderson and John Hutchings, to operate a horse track and a variety of commercial buildings, including a roadside tavern, inn, and general store. Jackson operated the store between April 1805 and July 1807. Neither the horse track nor commercial buildings are extant. Their

John Hoggatt died in 1824 and was buried on the property in an area that became known as the Hoggatt Family Cemetery. Ownership of the farm passed to his youngest son, John H. Hoggatt, who died shortly thereafter followed by the oldest son, Abraham. Diana Hoggatt took over management of the farm. When she died in 1828, the farm passed to John H. Hoggatt's son, Sandefur Hoggatt who lived in Mississippi. In 1847, his uncle Dr. James W. Hoggatt purchased Clover Bottom. Coming to live at Clover Bottom with Hoggatt was his second wife, Mary Ann Hoggatt, and their nieces Mary Ann and Emily Gentry.[67]

Initially 750 acres when Hoggatt gained ownership in 1847, Clover Bottom Farm quickly experienced major growth. Hoggatt purchased land on both sides of Lebanon Pike within the bend of the Stones River. In 1850 Hoggatt also purchased land on the southern side of Stewarts Ferry Pike, including the parcel with the ca.1800 "Old Blue Brick," one of the oldest brick dwellings in the area.[68] By 1860, Clover Bottom Farm had reached its peak acreage of about 1,500 acres with the Stones River forming a natural boundary on most sides (see Figure 24 for a map of the 1860 property boundaries).[69] About half of the acreage was 'improved' meaning that it had been developed for agriculture or buildings while the other half was unimproved, likely containing wooded acreage. Total cash value of the farm was $75,000.[70]

Besides Clover Bottom, Dr. Hoggatt owned multiple tracts of land in Tennessee and Mississippi. Nearest to Clover Bottom was his Wilson County 1,000-acre cotton plantation worked by thirty-six enslaved individuals. He also owned a Rutherford County 1,530-acre cotton plantation worked by 107 enslaved individuals. When combined with their peak acreage, these three plantations totaled 4,030 acres of land worked by 197 enslaved people with a total value of more than $350,000, making Hoggatt one of the wealthiest landowners in Middle Tennessee.[71]

historic site is not within the nominated boundaries as it has been redeveloped. Robbie Jones E-Mail to Steve Rogers, October 19, 2006, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

[67] Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 146-149.

[68] Aiken, *Donelson, Tennessee: Its History and Landmarks;* Steve Rogers Letter to Jan Furman, February 29, 1996, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Davidson County Deed Book 15, Folio 545. Old Blue Brick was considered to be one of the oldest brick houses in Middle Tennessee until it was razed in 1951. The land on which it sat has since been redeveloped for housing and the Donelson Middle School. Due to redevelopment, this land is excluded from this nomination. Old Blue Brick was surveyed by Charles E. Peterson for the the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1940 (Call Number: HABS TENN, 19-DONEL.V,1-), available online http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/tn0025/, accessed October 16, 2018.

[69] Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 149.

[70] 1860 Agriculture Census, Davidson County, Tennessee.

[71] Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 149-150; Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 130-149.

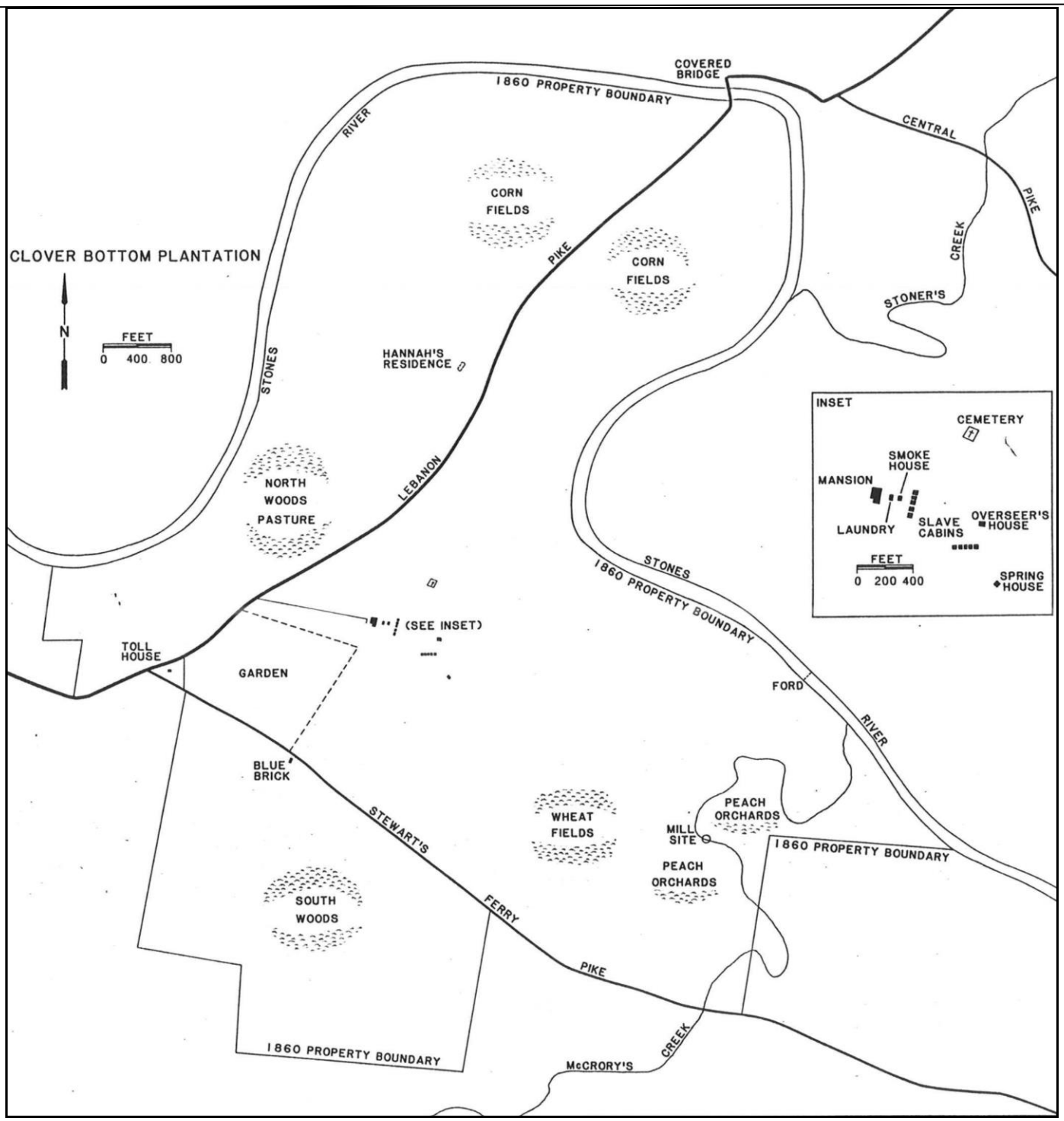

Figure 24: Conjectural Map of Clover Bottom Farm's 1860 Boundaries and Spatial Layout based on Historical Documentation and John McCline's Memoir. Map Courtesy of Steve Rogers (Tennessee Historical Commission) and C. Paris Stripling (Tennessee Division of Archaeology).

In 1853, the Hoggatts had a new two-story brick Greek Revival-style home built, which the enslaved people called the "White House."[72] Only six years later, on February 7, 1859, the Hoggatts' residence burned. The fire evidently began on the roof and was attributed to a defect in the chimney flue. Though furniture and oil paintings were saved before the fire spread, the majority of the house was destroyed, leaving only the masonry exterior walls and chimneys.[73]

The Hoggatts hired craftsmen and carpenters from Nashville to build their new house in the fashionable Italianate style. During construction the Hoggatts temporarily stayed with the Phillips in the overseer's house until April when they travelled north for two months to procure new furnishings. Their new mansion was completed soon after.[74] An addition was later built on the south elevation with a two-story porch that emulates the Italianate design characteristics of the façade porch. The date of the addition is unknown though historical archaeologists have theorized that it may have been added as early as ca. 1861.[75] The earliest known photographs of Clover Bottom Mansion confirm that the addition was built sometime before 1898 (see Figure 1).

Agriculture and the Enslaved Population at Clover Bottom

Clover Bottom Farm represents common historical Davidson County agricultural activities. Like most other successful southern estates, the success of the farm during the antebellum era was dependent on the labor of enslaved people of African descent. The earliest known presence of enslaved people at Clover Bottom is in 1798, the year after John Hoggatt bought land at Clover Bottom. The Federal Tax List recorded thirteen enslaved people, seven of whom were exempt from taxation due to disability or age, leaving six who were under the age of fifty and subject to taxation as property.[76]

[72] The construction of the Hoggatts' first mansion was mentioned in a letter from Elizabeth Martin Donelson to John Samuel Donelson, January 17, 1853. The original letter was in papers belonging to Andrew Jackson at the Hermitage. Robbie Jones E-Mail to Steve Rogers, July 31, 2003, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 17.

[73] *Nashville Union and American,* February 12, 1859; "Burning of Dr. Hoggatt's Residence on the Lebanon Turnpike," *Republican Banner,* February 9, 1859; Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 149.

[74] Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 149; Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms*, 28. The two-story overseer's house was located to the rear of the mansion near the fields, but it was demolished during the mid-twentieth century. McCline stated that the Hoggatts hired "mostly white" craftsmen and carpenters, which suggests that some of the builders were African American. There is no other known information about any of the craftsman or carpenters. It is unknown whether the black builders were freedmen or slaves. Given that leasing the time and labor of enslaved people was common in Nashville (known as 'hiring out'), it is possible that some of the people who contributed to the construction of the house were enslaved.

[75] Charles P. Stripling and Katherine A. Sanford, *Archaeological Testing and Monitoring at the Clover Bottom Mansion,* Department of Environment and Conservation, Tennessee Division of Archaeology, December 1993. Stripling and Sanford observed that a portion of the original hipped roof of the mansion is extant within the attic of the mansion, indicating that the southern section was an addition, which is further supported by the different foundation materials and windows on that section as compared to those on the original mansion. They theorized that the addition was likely built soon after completion of the mansion, most likely before the outbreak of the Civil War made materials scarce.

[76] Steve Rogers unpublished research notes on the 1798 Federal Tax List; Steve Rogers E-Mail to Kathryn Sikes and Tiffany Momon, July 1, 2015, both in the Clover Bottom Files, Tennessee Historical Commission

In 1805 Davidson County tax records documented the presence of nine unnamed people belonging to John Hoggatt. By the time he died in 1824, the number had grown to thirty-seven enslaved people.[77] As his son Dr. James Hoggatt acquired more land and enlarged the farm, the number of enslaved people grew as well. By 1850 Hoggatt enslaved more than sixty individuals.[78] The next census recorded almost the same number of people. Their ages ranged from less-than-one-year-old infants to a ninety-year-old woman.[79] Most individuals were younger, either teenagers or in their twenties.

One of the enslaved people was John McCline, who was born at Clover Bottom about 1852 and lived there until he was about ten years old when he left to join Union forces during the Civil War. Later in life, he recorded his childhood memoirs which have since been published by Jan Furman as *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms: John McCline's Narrative of his Life during Slavery and the Civil War.* Besides official government records, such as census reports, and scant newspaper clippings, McCline's childhood memories are the only primary source documentary account of Clover Bottom's early history during the Hoggatt era as well as enslaved life on the estate.

During the antebellum era the main characteristic of Middle Tennessee and Davidson County farming was the production of diversified crops. The central basin's soil was relatively fertile and farmers produced a wide variety of crops, some specifically for subsistence and others for sale at market. Common crops included corn, wheat, hay, tobacco, cotton, and grains. The most common livestock were cattle, swine, horses, mules, and sheep. Typically, an antebellum Middle Tennessee farmer would focus either on subsistence or producing for the market.[80]

Clover Bottom however did both. The 1850 agricultural census listed several crops produced at Clover Bottom, including wheat, rye, corn, oats, wool, peas, beans, potatoes, sweet potatoes, hay, and other grass seeds including millet.[81] About fifteen enslaved men oversaw all aspects of the growing these crops, including the planting, cultivating, and harvesting. They planted wheat along Stewarts Ferry Pike, to the southeast of the mansion. Nearby were peach and plum orchards. Typical of Tennessee farming, Clover Bottom's major product was corn, planted along both sides of Lebanon Pike and in the river bottoms (see Figure 24).[82]

After the rebuilding of the mansion in 1859, the Hoggatts further diversified the crops. According to McCline, they returned from their trip to the North with "Yankee notions" about new crop ideas. New crops included buckwheat, oyster plant, spinach, and cauliflower, which had not been planted in the area prior and further provides evidence of the Hoggatts' concerted effort to plant diversified crops.[83]

[77] Kathryn Sikes, *Research Design for Survey and Test Excavations of Clover Bottom Plantation, Site 40DV186 Nashville, Tennessee.* Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.
[78] 1850 U.S. Census, Davidson County, Tennessee, Slave Schedule, 2nd District, Ancestry.com, accessed November 27, 2018.
[79] 1860 U.S. Census, Davidson County, Tennessee, Slave Schedule, 2nd District, p. 9, Ancestry.com, accessed November 27, 2018.
[80] Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers*.
[81] 1850 U.S. Census, Davidson County, Tennessee, Agricultural Census, Ancestry.com, accessed November 27, 2018; Steve Rogers Letter to Jan Furman, April 24, 1996, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 40.
[82] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 21Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers,* 31.
[83] Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers*, 28.

A typical subsistence farm not only grew all the foodstuffs and livestock necessary to live, but also built support structures, such as blacksmith or carpenter's shops, that would allow the farm to craft its own tools and make repairs. Some farms also had their own mills to process crops.[84] Clover Bottom had its own blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, a grist mill, saw mill, and a combination grist and gin mill. These structures allowed Clover Bottom to be self-sustaining, fulfilling all needs for tools, repairs, and foodstuff processes onsite. The saw mill allowed for the harvesting of the farm's wooded land, providing materials for building or sale. Skilled enslaved tradesmen fulfilled these jobs. McCline's uncle Stephen was the head carpenter and a miller. He was assisted by Austin. Abe was the blacksmith. Daniel was a painter. The location of one mill has been identified by archaeological investigation; it was located outside of the nomination boundaries to the southeast in an area that was redeveloped in the early 20th century for a mental health institution. The locations of the others mills are currently unknown but could possibly be found through archaeological investigation.[85]

For those farmers who pursued monetary profits, typically most focused on the production of cash crops, such as cotton or tobacco.[86] Though cotton and tobacco were early cash crops at Clover Bottom, neither was being grown by 1850. Instead James and Mary Ann Hoggatt focused their attentions on expanding operations of other crops and products. The farm produced all the goods and livestock necessary for subsistence living, but they grew excess amounts that brought profit at the market in Nashville.[87]

For example, Clover Bottom Farm had an approximately fifty-acre garden near the junction of Lebanon Pike and Stewarts Ferry Pike (the garden was located southwest of the nomination boundary, though a portion may have extended to within the southern area of the nomination boundaries). An enslaved man named Jordan was the head gardener though Mary Ann Hoggatt personally oversaw his work. About ten acres were specifically used for apples and strawberries. Enslaved women and children old enough to pull weeds worked the garden (women that could not work in the garden because of age or nursing babies spun wool in the overseer's house). The garden provided food for the plantation and also brought about $1,000 in annual profits from the market. An enslaved man named Richard was responsible for bringing the vegetables to the market every morning and returning with the profits to give to Mary Ann Hoggatt. When Richard retired due to old age, the Hoggatts hired Italian-American Synor Zuccorilla to replace him. Zuccorilla and his family lived in the Old Blue Brick House.[88]

The farm also raised a variety of livestock including cattle, milk cows, oxen, sheep, and swine. Overseeing the dairy was another of Mary Ann Hoggatt's self-appointed tasks. Eight enslaved women milked the farm's

[84] Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers,* 31-32.
[85] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 18.
[86] Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmer,* 48-75; Middle Tennessee MPS Section E page 8-9.
[87] Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm;" 1850 Agriculture Census, 2nd District, Davidson County, Tennessee. Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms.* Throughout McCline's memoir, he remarked on the large amounts of excess crops, garden products, or livestock that were sold at market for large profits.
[88] 1850 Agriculture Census, 2nd District, Davidson County, Tennessee; Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 13, 17, 28-29, 31, 47, 133.; E-Mail Steve Rogers to Valerie Phillips Gildehaus, May 8, 2006, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission. As noted by Winters, *Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers,* 32, a large garden for foodstuffs for the farm (and possibly for profit) was typical of Tennessee's farms.

forty cows, while four boys helped with the calves. Twice weekly, they churned the milk.[89] Breeding and selling mules was one of the Hoggatts' more profitable ventures. An enslaved man named Wyatt was in charge of the mules. The farm reportedly sold about 100 mules per year at the market in Nashville.[90]

Every December was the hog slaughter, which was a labor-intensive process involving dozens of enslaved workers. This likely took place somewhere within the nomination boundaries, possibly in the domestic yard space to the rear of the mansion where archaeological investigations have found animal bones with butcher marks. Enslaved men began the slaughter process by killing the hogs and then scraping the bristles off the hides. Women scraped the lard from the innards, which was collected under the supervision of Mary Ann Hoggatt. Much of the lard was strained and canned for the market, but the enslaved women received a portion for their own use. The men cut up the hogs and salted the largest parts. Women received smaller scraps to make sausages. Much of the meat and lard, described by McCline as enough to fill multiple wagons, was sold at market in Nashville, but enough was retained, cured, smoked, and stored in a Smokehouse (non-extant) near the rear of the Mansion for use the rest of the year.[91]

Beyond agricultural and skilled labor, some of the enslaved people performed domestic roles within the mansion. The Hoggatts could easily call somebody through a bell system installed alongside the fireplaces in the mansion. Located approximately three feet above the floor were metal and wood handles which could be pulled to ring bells located in two of the basement rooms, summoning an enslaved worker.[92]

Although African Americans provided the labor that allowed Clover Bottom Farm to be self-sustaining and profitable, their lives were not only defined by work. The social lives of African Americans functioned within the limits of an enslaver's society that restricted what they could do and where they could do. For example, John McCline's father was owned by Jack Smith at Silver Springs in neighboring Wilson County. McCline was able to see his father once or twice a week, usually receiving a present, when his father made bi-weekly trips to Nashville to hire his time as a huckster. McCline frequently noted visits from other enslaved people from neighboring plantations, but also noted how their freedom to visit was restricted by the requirement to get permission for movement.[93]

A common technique of enslaved African Americans to express their agency was to combine required work with social events. For example, McCline remembered that corn husking time brought the corn husking bees, the event "most enjoyed by the colored people." After the enslaved farmhands removed the corn from the stalks and husked them, they shucked the corn at night. The shucking brought visitors from the neighboring

[89] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 18-19.
[90] Ibid., 16, 18-19.
[91] Ibid., 16-17. Archaeological investigations have attempted to locate features related to the smokehouse but none have been located thus far.
[92] Stripling and Sanford, *Archaeological Testing and Monitoring at the Clover Bottom Mansion,* 69. In comparison to descriptions of the agricultural activities, John McCline has little description of the domestic activities. This was almost certainly because McCline did not work in the mansion and therefore had little experience with that aspect of enslaved life. As Michael Strutt has shown, sometimes domestic slaves lived within the homes of the slave owners; it is currently unknown whether any enslaved people lived within the mansion but the bell system indicates that slaves certainly spent time in the basement. It is possible that at least one enslaved person slept in the basement to be able to respond to bell calls from the Hoggatts at any hour.
[93] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 26-28, 34,

plantations, which led to socializing and singing during the work until the group went to one of the larger cabins for supper around midnight. After supper, Vann, a singer and fiddler, and the blacksmith Abe (on the banjo) played music for a dance.[94]

Despite the agency of enslaved peoples, much of their lives were still affected by the actions of the Hoggatts and their white employees. McCline described Dr. Hoggatt as a refined "typical southern gentleman." He was mostly frequently seen walking the grounds, seemingly happy and content.[95] As an enslaver, Hoggatt was an active participant in the institution of slavery though McCline insisted that he did not actively participate in the slave trade.[96] Though ultimate power at the farm lay with Dr. Hoggatt, McCline rarely mentions Hoggatt acting as an enforcer. A notable exception was when Jordan, the gardener, was murdered. His assistant, a young woman named Cynthia, was accused of the murder. Though she denied responsibility, Dr. Hoggatt whipped Cynthia while interrogating her until "blood ran in streams down her back" and she fainted.[97]

In contrast, McClines's remembrance of Mary Ann Hoggatt always referenced the strict and violent side of life for enslaved people. He described Hoggatt as a "business like woman" who was an attentive task master that woke up early and ensured the enslaved workers were doing their assigned duties. When dissatisfied, she used a three-foot-long raw hide whip to deliver a punishment that would leave a "stinging and lasting impression one never forgot."[98] He remarked that since she was never without the whip, it was "as much a part of her being as her pink sun bonnet."[99]

Though Mary Ann Hoggatt played a major role overseeing work on the plantation, the white, male overseer managed the day-to-day operations. James Anderson was employed as overseer for a short time. McCline remembered him as "kind, considerate, and well educated, and did no whipping. During his two years stay on the place the colored people were perfectly happy and there seemed to be no appearance of the existence of slavery."[100] However, that peace did not last long as Anderson resigned in 1858 to marry and move elsewhere.

The new overseer was Richard Phillips, a "brutal, ignorant" man who lived in the two-story overseers' house behind the mansion.[101] McCline described his tenure as a "reign of terror." Phillips used various implements, including a whip and a blood hound dog, to enforce work expectations. According to McCline, the enslaved people experienced numerous beatings at the hand of Phillips. At one point, just days before the 1860

[94] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 21-22, 47.
[95] Ibid., 11-12
[96] Ibid., 16.
[97] Ibid., 31-32.
[98] Ibid., 13.
[99] Ibid., 19.
[100] Ibid., 16.
[101] Ibid., 17. McCline named the overseer as William Phillips, but historical documentation including the 1860 and 1870 census and newspaper articles reveal that this was a misremembrance. The two-story overseer's house is no longer extant but its site is within the nomination boundaries. There could be archaeological evidence associated with the house but it has not yet been investigated.

presidential election, Phillips shot and killed the enslaved man Austin for disobeying an order to submit to a whipping.[102]

The existence and contributions of enslaved African Americans are evident on the current Clover Bottom property by the physical buildings that they worked in, helped to construct, and lived in. Among these are two dwellings that were originally used as housing for enslaved people. According to McCline the nature of housing for the enslaved differed according to who was the overseer. Prior to the arrival of the overseer Phillips, the enslaved lived in "cabins and houses promiscuously scattered about the place."[103] McCline, who was raised by his grandmother Hanna due to the fact that his mother died when he was two years old, remembered Hanna as living in a two-story frame house near Lebanon Pike, about a mile from the river. The house was shared with Buck (the shoemaker), his wife Betsy, and their son Frank.[104]

According to McCline, Philipps viewed the allowances for visitations with other enslaved or freed people, the social events (corn husking or quilting bees), and the arrangement of the housing as allowing "too much liberty…. which would lead to a spirit of unrest."[105] In response, he instituted physical changes on the landscape. In the fall of 1858, after the crops had been harvested, he planned and ordered the construction of two rows of equally sized and spaced cabins. Each dwelling was wood-frame with one room and a chimney on a gable end. Some dwellings were constructed side by side, in a saddlebag formation, to share a chimney. The wood was harvested from forested sections of the Hoggatt's land. One row was built just east (to the rear) of the mansion, while the second row was further east, near the two-story overseer's house and the fields. The second row was primarily for the field hands. The enslaved people whitewashed the houses on the exterior and interior twice yearly, and scrubbed the wood floors weekly. The overseer's wife, Margarette Phillips, oversaw the care of the dwellings and aided the enslaved when anybody was sick. Each dwelling had its own twenty-foot front yard space, which was kept clean by sweeping.[106] Scholarly historical research has shown that the swept yard was an expression of African culture and therefore also reflects the agency of the enslaved population.[107]

The construction of the dwellings and landscape changes can be read as an extension of Phillips' power to control the enslaved population. Whereas before the scattered housing and allowances for socializing permitted small amounts of freedom, much outside of the Hoggatts' or overseer's supervision, the change to the housing brought the enslaved population into close proximity of the main house and the overseer's house, better allowing Phillips to surveil and control every aspect of the enslaved population's lives. This spatial arrangement of slave dwellings is consistent with typical arrangements on southern plantations.[108]

[102] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 38.
[103] Ibid., 19.
[104] Ibid., 20-21.
[105] Ibid., 19.
[106] Ibid., 19-20
[107] Barbara J. Heath and Amber Bennett, ""The Little Spots Allow'd Them": The Archaeological Study of African American Yards," *Historical Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2000): 43; Grey Gundaker, "Tradition and Innovation in African American Yards," *African Arts* 26, no. 2 (Apr., 1993): 58-71 and 94-96.
[108] Vlach, *Back of the Big House.*

Clover Bottom during the Civil War

McCline marked the election of Abraham Lincoln as a watershed moment at Clover Bottom. Though the enslaved at Clover Bottom could not read newspapers, they maintained social networks through which the news of the day could be transmitted. The coachman, Jesse, brought back news whenever he drove the Hoggatts to Nashville. At night, the men would meet in the cabin of McCline's uncle Richard and discuss new developments, such as the actions of John Brown and the election of Abraham Lincoln. In response to Lincoln's election, McCline remembered that there was change in the actions of Phillips and Mary Ann Hoggatt. Whereas both were previously harsh and violent, both suddenly acted kindly and considerate towards the enslaved.[109] This was likely a manifestation of the widespread fear that Lincoln's election would lead to slave revolts. By changing their actions towards the enslaved, Hoggatt and Phillips were likely trying to pacify any thoughts of rebellion.

Soon after, the Civil War began. At that time, Tennessee was a border state within which its citizens had conflicting views on the question of secession. In the agricultural slaveholding areas of West Tennessee and the Middle Tennessee Central Basin area, the white population tended to lean more heavily towards secession whereas East Tennessee residents heavily favored remaining in the Union. In 1861 the legislature organized a referendum on the secession. The final vote was 68,282 against and 59,449 in favor. West Tennessee overwhelmingly supported seceding; East Tennessee overwhelmingly rejected it, and Middle Tennessee was divided. The question of secession continued as armed conflicts began, and another referendum a few months later recorded higher support for secession. On June 8, 1861, Tennessee became the last state to secede from the Union.[110]

On the ground in Davidson County, the conflicting views on secession manifested as conflicts between neighbors where many Tennesseans chose to join the Federal forces while others from the same area joined the Confederate forces. For the enslaved at Clover Bottom, McCline remembered the work initially continuing on as normal even as Confederate forces from Wilson County marched past down Lebanon Pike towards Nashville.[111] By February 1862 however Union forces arrived in the area and occupied Nashville. A group of a few thousand came to the Donelson area and made a camp less than a mile from the mansion. The farm's livestock had been clustered into a lot, just south of the overseer's house and slave dwellings, to prevent thievery. McCline remembered that this effort was futile as the next morning Union Forces began to slaughter livestock. Although Dr. Hoggatt and Phillips tried to stop them, they did not stop until after the Union Generals Crittenden and Morgan arrived. At the offer of Dr. Hoggatt, Morgan established a headquarters in the mansion for about six weeks. Crittenden stayed for about eight to ten days. Though McCline stated that the soldiers stopped slaughtering livestock, government records indicate that they continued to use other resources from the farm including thousands of bushels of corn, lumber from the sawmill, fence rails (taken for use as fuel), four mules, and timber cut from the property.[112]

[109] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 30, 39.
[110] Larry H. Whiteaker, "Civil War," *Tennessee Encyclopedia,* https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/civil-war/, accessed October 18, 2018; Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 136.
[111] Furman *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 41-42.
[112] Ibid., 43; Steve Rogers's Notes from the National Archives, Office of the Quartermaster General – Claims Branch 1861-1889, Documents File – Miscellaneous Claims, Box 325 Claims #765-840, Book 113, Claim #767.

While the mansion served as a temporary headquarters, the soldiers drilled on the plantation's lands. McCline remembered the soldiers as kind and friendly, paying the enslaved men and women if they did any work for them. McCline also remembered when they "learned, with surprise, that every one of us were free – that is, all who agreed to follow the army and be of such use to it as it saw fit to put us."[113] At least two of the men, Abe and Henry, apparently took that offer as they disappeared from Clover Bottom shortly thereafter.

Visits from soldiers were not limited to the Union forces. Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest and his group of a few thousand men spent the night at Clover Bottom in July 1862. McCline remembered that in contrast to the harmonious and well-groomed look of the federal forces, the Confederate forces were starving and only half dressed in uniform with the other in civilian clothes.[114]

In late December 1862, then ten-year-old John McCline joined a group of Union soldiers from the Thirteenth Michigan Regiment as they passed in front of the mansion on Lebanon Pike. Serving as a teamster, McCline went on to participate in their campaigns southward to Murfreesboro, Lookout Mountain, and into Georgia as part of General Sherman's march through Georgia and the Carolinas.[115]

Besides the loss of resources and labor, the Civil War also affected Clover Bottom monetarily. The occupation of Nashville by Union forces led to the city becoming a gathering point for widows, wives, and orphaned children. By early 1863, the government was no longer able to assist them all. To raise money for aid, military governor Andrew Johnson ordered a monetary assessment to be paid by wealthy pro-Confederate supporters in the area. Though he had pledged an oath of allegiance to the Union, Dr. Hoggatt was one of eighty-four men ordered to pay; he was one of the few who did so.[116] Soon after, Dr. Hoggatt died of Bright's disease (a type of kidney disease) on March 17, 1863. He was buried in the family cemetery on the property. After Dr. Hoggatt's death, Mary Ann Hoggatt left Clover Bottom and traveled south for the remainder of the war

After the Civil War

After the Civil War ended in 1865, Mary Ann Hoggatt returned and took over management of the plantation, aided by Phillips who stayed at Clover Bottom until his retirement.[117] While many of the formerly enslaved people left Clover Bottom during the war and initially after its end, many returned and became tenant farmers, again providing the main source of labor for the farm. For instance, John McCline's uncle, Richard, returned to Clover Bottom after the war. He worked as a farm hand while his wife Eleanor worked in the dairy. Sometime between 1870 and 1880 he and his family changed their last name to Watson, as did his brother Stephen and his family. McCline's brother, Armstead, also initially remained at Clover Bottom though he later moved elsewhere.[118]

[113] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 44, 137.
[114] Steve Rogers Letter to Jan Furman, July 18, 1997, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 45.
[115] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 51-105.
[116] Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 150; "Assessment for Relief of the Poor," *Nashville Dispatch,* December 14, 1862.
[117] "One of County's Oldest Citizens: Mr. R.S. Phillips, who lived near Donelson," *Nashville Banner,* July 6, 1914. Copy in the Clover Bottom Files, Tennessee Historical Commission.
[118] Sikes, et al, *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186),* 20-26.

Per custom of the time, many of the formerly enslaved people used the Hoggatt surname (alternatively spelled Hockett).[119] There is no complete list of all of the people who lived and worked at Clover Bottom, but historical documentation well establishes that African Americans comprised the majority of the workers immediately following the war and up until the early 20th century when white, European American tenants became more common.[120]

The Civil War decimated many southern plantations. Although it appears that Clover Bottom's physical structures mostly survived, the war still left an impact, such as the loss of products taken by military forces. In the aftermath of the war, the Federal government paid reimbursements to cover the monetary value of products used by Federal forces. Mary Ann Hoggatt submitted a claim on behalf of her late husband, asserting that Federal troops had taken corn, fodder, hay, seed millet, oats, lumber, plank fence, cords of wood, nails, mules, and firewood. She claimed the total worth of the products was $15,904.70. The federal government approved a reimbursement of just $6,437 based on their record keeping of what had been taken at the farm. Mary Ann Hoggatt and Dr. Hoggatt's heirs continued to apply for reimbursements for supplies taken from Clover Bottom and the Hoggatts' other plantations for the next few decades but were unsuccessful.[121]

[119] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 135; The 1870 U.S. Federal Census recorded multiple Black or Mulatto (mixed) families with the last name of Hoggatt at Clover Bottom. Most were noted as working in agriculture. Usage of the same last name as the plantation owners does not necessarily imply any biological connection between the owners and the emancipated people, or any biological connection between the emancipated people. Sexual relations between male enslavers and enslaved females were common throughout the south, often resulting in biracial children who were also enslaved. There is currently no known evidence that this occurred at Clover Bottom. The distinction between naming someone in a census as black or mulatto was imprecise, typically based on best guess or skin color shades, so the notation of a mulatto person in census records does not necessarily imply that that person was the result of procreation between a white person and black person. There are many instances where a person is described as black on one census and then mulatto on another census.

[120] Numerous people have contacted the Tennessee Historical Commission with family accounts that their African American ancestors had worked at Clover Bottom Farm during the 19th century and into the 20th century, both as enslaved people and/or as tenant farmers. Many of those people related that their ancestor's surname was Hoggatt or Hockett. Most of these accounts are supported by documentary evidence such as the recordation of the individuals in census records as historically living at or near Clover Bottom Farm. Records of these contacts are in the Clover Bottom Files at the Tennessee Historical Commission. Among the specific records are: E-Mail from Carole Lannom to Ask TDEC, October 12, 2006; Letter to Carole Lannom from Steve Rogers, October 16, 2006; E-Mail from Diana Bilger to Ask TDEC, May 31, 2015; E-Mail from Marion Hockett to Patrick McIntyre, May 17, 2015. The lives of Clover Bottom's emancipated population and their descendants were also explored through documentary research by Tiffany Momon, who participated in the archaeological excavation at Clover Bottom in 2015. Results of her research are noted in the report for the excavation, Kathryn Sikes, et al, *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186),* Middle Tennessee State University, 2017. Report is on file at the Tennessee Historical Commission, the Tennessee Division of Archaeology, and in the Department of History at Middle Tennessee State University.

[121] "Southern War Claims," *Memphis Daily Appeal,* February 11, 1886; Steve Rogers's Notes from the National Archives, Office of the Quartermaster General – Claims Branch 1861-1889, Documents File – Miscellaneous Claims, Box 325 Claims #765-840, Book 113, Claim #767. Notes and photocopies of the claims are in the Clover Bottom File at the Tennessee Historical Commission. Mary Ann Hoggatt's exact claim was for 21,100 bushels of corn; 22,500 pounds of fodder; 80,000 pounds of hay at $20 per ton; 500 bushels of seed millet at $1 per bushel; 500 bushels of oats; 8000 feet of lumber; 28,678 feet of plank fence; 160 cords of wood; 850 pounds of nails, 4 mules, and 4000 cords of firewood. The reimbursement covered 10,000 bundles of fodder at 15 cents each; 54,000 pounds of hay at 1 cent per pound; 40 bushels of oats at 50 cents per bushel; 3,900 bushels of corn at 50 cents per bushel; 4 mules at $100 each; 415 cords of wood (rails) at $3 each; and 1927 cords of wood.

In 1878, James Hoggatt's grand-nephews began to lease the farm to distant cousin James B. Price of Lebanon on a twenty-year lease term. In 1882, Mary Ann Hoggatt and the heirs sold the farm to James Price's son, Andrew Price. However, he and Mary Ann Hoggatt signed a life estate agreement that allowed her to keep ownership of the mansion until her death. Despite the agreement, Mary Ann Hoggatt soon moved to Birmingham, Alabama to live with her niece, Emily Gentry Hillman. She died there on April 28, 1887 and was returned to Clover Bottom for burial in the Hoggatt family cemetery.[122]

Price Era, 1887-1918

A native of Louisiana, Andrew Price was educated in Lebanon, Tennessee and had family ties to the area. He and his wife Anna "Nan" Margaret Gay bought Clover Bottom to use as their summer home. They wintered at the Gay family sugar plantation, named Acadia, near Thibodaux, Louisiana, which they managed and eventually purchased from Anna's father, Edward Gay.[123] The Prices also occasionally lived in Washington, D.C. while Andrew Priced served five terms as a Democratic Congressman for the Third District of Louisiana. His main legislative interest focused on continuing tariffs on imported sugar to keep the price high for domestic sugar, such as that produced at Acadia.[124]

Clover Bottom Stables

Though Clover Bottom's diversified crop production continued after the farm's sale, the farm underwent a significant transformation as Andrew Price established Clover Bottom as a prominent Thoroughbred horse breeding establishment, joining one of Tennessee's most popular upper-class recreational pursuits. The Thoroughbred breed originated in England in the 17th and 18th centuries when the English began breeding their native stock with imported Middle East Arabian horses. By the early 18th century, the Thoroughbred had emerged as a recognized breed, characterized by height and leanness well suited for speed and racing. As upper-class English began to immigrate to the English colonies in North America, they took the sport of Thoroughbred racing with them.[125]

[122] Though Andrew Price began owning the farm in 1882, the Price era is not considered to have begun until 1887 due to the life estate agreement. With the exception of some furniture purchases in 1886, the Prices did not begin to make improvements at Clover Bottom until after the life estate agreement ended in 1887. Clover Bottom Farm Abstract of Title, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 152.

[123] Steve Rogers Letter to Carole Lannom, October 16, 2006, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Acadia Plantation in Thibodaux, Louisiana was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on May 29, 1987 (NR#87000849) for its significance in architecture and information potential. The plantation's lands were used to create the campus of Nichols State University in 1948. The plantation house was demolished in 2010 and the land redeveloped for a subdivision.

[124] "Price, Andrew (1854-1909)," Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=P000521, accessed November 6, 2018; Letter Hickman Price, Jr. to Mrs. Douglas M. Wright, December 12, 1968. Price was the grandson of Andrew Price's brother, John Ewing Price, so the information in the letter was from family history papers, as explained in the accompanying Hickman Letter to Richard C. Plater, Jr., December 12, 1968. Both letters are available in the Richard C. Plater Papers on microfilm at the Tennessee State Library and Archives; Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 153.

[125] Andra Kowalczyk, *Tennessee's Arabian Horse Racing Heritage* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), Introduction, Nashville Public Library Ebook, accessed October 8, 2018.

During the first decade of the 19th century, Thoroughbred racing and breeding spread throughout Tennessee. The Central Basin became the center of the industry in the state.[126] One of the earliest enthusiasts was President Andrew Jackson. Jackson once managed a horse racing track on the northeast edge of what would later become part of Clover Bottom Farm. Known as the Clover Bottom Turf, Jackson used it to train his horses and hosted well-attended races. Part of the force driving the popularity of racing was profit from gambling on the races. Among the prizes typically won were horses and enslaved people. In one infamous incident, a quarrel between Jackson and Charles Dickinson resulting from a horse race led to a duel between the two. Jackson survived but Dickinson did not.[127]

John Hoggatt participated in Thoroughbred breeding, as evidenced by a 1799 newspaper notice advertising the stud services of his grey, four-year-old horse Bellair.[128] However little else is known about Hoggatt's participation in the horse racing industry. Although his son Dr. James Hoggatt continued to own horses for typical farm work, such as pulling the carriage, he did not appear to have continued to participate in the horse racing industry.

During the Civil War, the Thoroughbred industry suffered as military forces commandeered horses for service, depleting the entire stock of many farms. After the war, Tennessee's breeders rebounded and the state again enjoyed prominence alongside Kentucky in the horse racing and breeding industry. Within Davidson County, one of the most well-known thoroughbred operations was Belle Meade Plantation (NR 12/30/1969), about fourteen miles southwest of Clover Bottom, which operated from 1807 to 1904.[129]

In the late 1880s, Andrew Price began building Clover Bottom's horse breeding and racing operations, as well as its reputation. By 1892, farm ledgers indicate that he had spent more than $32,500 on building construction, horse purchases, and construction of a racetrack just southwest of the mansion (see Figure 25).[130]

The horses were housed in a stable near the Mansion. The first stable burned down in 1895, resulting in $12,000 in monetary losses and the deaths of thirteen horses.[131] A family relative recalled later that Price erected tombstones for his favorite horses after they died, but the stones are no longer visible or extant.[132] The current stable was built soon after, likely the same year. The stable was constructed using red heart pine, which was typically used in public buildings or as flooring in homes. The use of this type of wood for the stable indicates that Price intended the stable to function as a symbol of status, particularly among the horse breeding and racing community.

[126] Andra Kowalczyk, "Purebred Breeding and Racing Horses," *Tennessee Encyclopedia* (October 8, 2017), https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/purebred-breeding-and-racing-horses/, accessed October 8, 2018.
[127] Aiken, *Donelson, Tennessee: Its History and Landmarks,* 65-66.
[128] John Hoggatt, "Bellair," *Nashville Intelligencer*, March 11, 1799.
[129] Kowalczyk, "Purebred Breeding and Racing Horses," *Tennessee Encyclopedia;* "The Equestrian Lineages of Belle Meade Plantation," Belle Meade Plantation, https://bellemeadeplantation.com/equestrian/, accessed October 8, 2018;
[130] Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 153; Clover Bottom Farm Ledger, Copy in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission
[131] "Barn and Horses Burned: Congressman Andrew Price's Farm Visited by Fire," *The Tennessean,* June 24, 1895.
[132] Hickman Price, Jr. Letter to Mrs. Douglas M. Wright, December 12, 1968. Richard C. Plater Papers at the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Figure 25: Clover Bottom Horse Track with Mansion and Slave/Tenant Dwellings visible at rear, ca. 1900. Digital File in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Among the farm's prized horses was Egotist, a bay horse descended from Electioneer, a well-regarded stud horse.[133] Though Egotist never brought Andrew Price's long-standing goal of being the first breeder in Tennessee to produce a trotting horse that could win a race in two minutes and ten seconds, newspapers frequently carried news of Egotist's success on the race track, as well as the news that his offspring born from him and Clover Bottom mares found similar success as race horses.[134] One newspaper article stated that he was a "magnificent specimen of the ideal American trotting horse….and has proved himself a great sire" with twenty-four offspring as of 1898.[135] Egotist's offspring, Egotist Bell, also quickly gained a reputation as a solid race horse; the newspaper reported that he "is a very fine gaited trotter with an abundance of speed, while his manners are faultless."[136]

[133] "At Clover Bottom: Andrew Price will not sell all horses as reported," *The Tennessean,* January 30, 1905; "Electioneer," Harness Museum Hall of Fame, https://harnessmuseum.com/content/electioneer, accessed October 3, 2018.
[134] *The Tennessean,* May 8, 1905; "News and Notes about the Harness Horses," *The Tennessean,* August 23, 1907.
[135] "Clover Bottom Farm and Its Grand Collection of Broodmares – Other Sporting Gossip," *The Tennessean*, September 10, 1898.
[136] "Many Trotters Training Here," *The Tennessean*, July 16, 1906.

Besides Egotist and Egotist Bell, Clover Bottom typically had between thirteen and thirty-five horses at any one time, including trotters, pacers, and carriage horses. Many of the names of the horses were references to the farm and its owners, such as the mares Clover Belle and Anna Gay.[137]

Though most horse racing occurred at Cumberland Park in Nashville, Clover Bottom's track occasionally hosted races as well as well-attended horse auctions.[138] By the early 20th century, Clover Bottom Farm had become known as "one of the leading trotting horse nurseries of Tennessee."[139] It enjoyed success on and off the track. For instance, during the 1906 season, *The Tennessean* reported that Clover Bottom horses placed and won monetary prizes at every race they participated in. They placed in first place four times, second place six times, third place twice, and once in fourth place. Egotist Bell was described as "the best trotter yet bred at Clover Bottom Farm" and would be a worthy successor to Egotist as a sire in the horse breeding business.[140] On the subject of broodmares, the newspaper reported that "few farms anywhere show a better looking lot of brood mares than those at Clover Bottom."[141] This success was followed by such awards as first for the best foal and first for the best filly foal at the 1907 Tennessee State Fair.[142]

The success of Clover Bottom's horse operation declined soon afterward, partly as a result of legal reforms. During the early 20th century, social reformers advocated for legislation to address what they viewed as immoral vices corrupting society. Among their targets was gambling. In 1906 the Tennessee Legislature passed an anti-betting law, which severely affected the horse race industry and resulted in 1906 being the last year that races were held within the state. Although horse racing continued in neighboring states, such as Kentucky, the law limited the incentive to breed horses for race purposes. As a result, horse breeding declined as a major part of Tennessee's agricultural industry.[143]

The Price family continued to breed horses and raced them out of state, but Andrew Price's declining health led to a gradual sale of the horses, including his favorite horse Egotist.[144] After Andrew Price died in 1909, the remaining horses were sold.[145] The sale advertisement described the horses as "trotters and pacers royally

[137] "At Clover Bottom: Andrew Price will not sell all horses as reported," *The Nashville American,* January 30, 1905; "News and Notes about the Harness Horses," *The Tennessean,* August 23, 1907; "Coming to Nashville: Trotters and Pacers Bound for Cumberland Park," *The Tennessean,* April 18, 1902. "Many Trotters Training Here," *The Tennessean,* July 16, 1906; "Coming to Nashville: Trotters and Pacers Bound for Cumberland Park," The Tennessean, April 18, 1902; "Now at Cumberland Park," The Tennessean, May 19, 1902.
[138] "Blooded Horses Sold at Auction: Annual Clearance Sale at Clover Bottom Attracts a Good Crowd," *The Nashville American,* May 16, 1901; *Herald and Tribune,* August 21, 1895.
[139] "Light Harness Horse Gossip: John Thomas Ships Mares to Clover Bottom Farm," *The Tennessean,* July 29, 1907.
[140] "Stable from Clover Bottom," *The Tennessean,* January 13, 1907.
[141] Ibid.
[142] "Live Stock," *The Tennessean,* September 28, 1907; "Horse Events were Ended Yesterday," *Nashville Tennessean,* September 28, 1907.
[143] Ridley Wills II, "Thoroughbred Horse Breeding and Racing," *Tennessee Encyclopedia,* https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/thoroughbred-horse-breeding-and-racing/, accessed September 5, 2018.
[144] "At Clover Bottom: Andrew Price will not sell all horses as reported," *The Nashville American,* January 30, 1905; Anna Gay Price's nephew Richard C. Plater acted as the agent in the sale of the horses as indicated by multiple letters, variously dated but all in 1909 after Andrew Price's death, in the Richard C. Platers Papers Collection on microfilm at the Tennessee State Library and Archives.
[145] Advertisement for Dispersal of Trotting and Pacing Horses at Clover Bottom Farm, *The Columbia Herald,* May 7, 1909.

bred and of great merit."[146] The sale brought almost $15,000 to the farm and attracted buyers from as far away as New Jersey. The newspaper announcement of the sale results noted the "Clover Bottom Farm collection of trotting and pacing horses was one of the best in the State of Tennessee. The simple recommendation that a horse had been bred by the Clover Bottom Farm always brought a ready sale for the animal."[147]

Although Clover Bottom became known during the Price era for its horse operation, the farm continued to produce crops and other livestock. The area between the horse track and the mansion was used for an orchard for apples, cherries, and other bush fruits, a strawberry patch, and a flower garden. The bottoms area along Stones River rotated between corn and wheat. Higher ground, west of the mansion, grew feed for the livestock, which included not only horses but mules, a dairy and cattle herd, and hogs. The Prices sold the milk throughout the Donelson area. The crop production allowed the farm to be self-sustaining and profitable as any excess was sold. Profit was supplemented by the sale of hardwood timber.[148]

Though some have referred to Clover Bottom as the Prices' luxury estate, Anna Gay Price's great-nephew Richard "Dick" C. Plater, Jr., who grew up visiting the farm, adamantly argued that the Price family ran Clover Bottom as a "real business." He said that the Prices were "good managers, made things pay off, and paid their debts religiously." Among their expenses was payment to their large staff.

Labor during the Price Era

Though Price altered the agricultural character of Clover Bottom, what did not change was the fact that the farm still required immense amounts of labor to function. Employees at Clover Bottom during the Price era typically were tenant or waged labor, depending on their exact job and whether they lived on the property or not. The majority was African American but the numbers of European or European Americans increased as time progressed. Those that lived on the property typically lived in extant slave dwellings or newly constructed tenant houses. The former slave dwellings reflect changes in living during the tenant era, such as the need for indoor kitchens, as evidenced by a rear kitchen addition built during this time on Dwelling #2.

Just as during the Hoggatt era, there is no comprehensive list of every worker during the Price era, but the names and backgrounds of some staff are known. For instance, living in the mansion with the Prices was their nurse/companion, Lina Kaminsky. Born in Berlin, Germany in 1875 she immigrated to the United States in 1895 and enrolled in nursing school in Indiana. After she graduated in 1903, she began working for the Prices, at first nursing Andrew Price and later Anna Price. She continued to work for the family until Anna Price's death in 1939.[149]

[146] "Dispersal Sale," *The Tennessean,* April 19, 1909.
[147] "Thoroughbreds are Sold," *The Tennessean,* May 13, 1909. The sale was also described in "Clover Bottom Horse Sale," *Nashville Tennessean,* May 13, 1909.
[148] Letter from Richard C. Plater, Jr. February 27, 1988, copy in Clover Bottom File at the Tennessee Historical Commission; Dick Plater Letter, January 10, 1969, Tennessee Historical Commission; "Trip to Clover Bottom Farm," *The Tennessean,* December 30, 1917; "Fine Cattle: Fifty Head of Clover Bottom Farm Average 1,543 Pounds," *The Nashville American,* December 17, 1905.
[149] Dick J. Plater Letter, January 6, 1987 to Bill and Joanna; Declaration of Intent Naturalization Record for Lina Kaminsky, June 15, 1922; U.S. Census 1900, 1930, 1940; Death Certificate for Lina Kaminsky, May 5, 1945; "Miss Lina Kaminsky Dies Unexpectedly," *The Tennessean,* March 30, 1945.

Responsible for the development of Price's horse operation was the horse trainer. Through the Price era, there were a few different horse trainers, such as Sam Gilbert. A long-term trainer was John "Johnny" Thomas who oversaw some of the farm's most successful seasons.[150]

Among the many African American workers were Sam and Katie Washington. Katie Washington worked as a laundress, at first for $10 per month and later for $15 per month, while her husband Sam (see Figure 26) worked as a chauffeur and later as a dairy man. Pictured with Sam Washington in Figure 26 is Edward Hill, who worked as a domestic servant within the mansion for $15 per month.

Figure 26: Sam Washington and Edward Hill, 1898.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

In a separate photo (see Figure 27) Hill and a young girl named Martha are shown performing "pattin' juba," which was a rhythmic musical form involving striking parts of the body to make different sounds. This music form was common throughout the American South and derived from African forms, showing the persistence of African culture at Clover Bottom.[151]

[150] "Coming to Nashville: Trotters and Pacers Bound for Cumberland Park," *The Tennessean,* April 18, 1902; "Clover Bottom: Many Good Horses Standing at Mr. Price's Nursery," *The Nashville American,* May 21, 1906.
[151] Sikes, et al, *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186),* 26; Dick Plater Letter, January 6, 1987 to Bill and Joanna; Clover Bottom Farm Account Book, Gay-Price Family Papers Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee (Digital copy also on file at Tennessee Historical Commission); Tanya Y. Price,

Figure 27: Martha and Edward Hill Performing "Pattin' Juba," August 1899.
Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The Cartwrights were another African American family at Clover Bottom. Alfred, commonly known as 'Uncle Alfred,' and his wife, Martha (or 'Aunt Martha') were one of the only families to stay when the farm was sold in 1918.[152]

Notable are the descendants of Clover Bottom's enslaved population that still lived and worked at Clover Bottom. Among them was Wesley Hoggatt who worked as a tenant farmer. His wife, Josephine or "Josie"

"Rhythms of Culture: Djembe and African Memory in African American Cultural Traditions," *Black Music Research Journal* 33, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 236.
[152] Merle Davis Interview.

worked as a waged laundress for the Price family. By 1917, workers also included their children Bessie Hoggatt (housemaid) and Ernest Hoggatt (houseboy).[153]

The Price's farm ledger notes numerous women who fulfilled domestic roles, such as cook, house girl, or laundress. One of the more frequently noted people was African American Josephine "Josie" Lanier who worked for the Prices between 1896 and 1909. She and her husband, Thomas, their children Mary and Frank, niece Cleo, and her mother Sylvia Davis lived at Clover Bottom until they moved to Memphis in 1909.[154]

In 1910 and 1911, Anna Price noted payments to Lizzie Matthews, who worked as a cook, and her husband, Frank Matthews. According to the 1910 Federal census, Frank Matthews was a Plasterer, suggesting that he was either working on newly constructed tenant houses or perhaps on renovations within the mansion.[155]

Other known workers at Clover Bottom were the coachman, Joe Holmes, and European American Milton C. Wright who worked as the farm overseer/manager for the Price family. Given that the Prices were frequently away from the farm, Wright would have overseen all manner of operations in their absence. He lived with his family in the two-story overseer's house (not extant) behind the mansion. Wright's son was named Plater, which was the last name of Anna Price's nephew who spent much time at the mansion. The use of the namesake suggests a considerable level of respect and familiarity between the families.[156]

Physical Changes at Clover Bottom during the Price Era

Besides changing the agricultural character of the farm, the Price family altered the mansion and the surrounding property to suit their needs. Throughout the property, the Prices had buildings constructed for the horse operation, including the stable and the racetrack. Andrew Price planted trees throughout the front lawn, creating a thick forest. African American workers cut the lawn and gathered the grass for agricultural purposes (see Figure 28).[157]

Some buildings evidently altered usage according to need. One example was a two-story brick building to the rear of the mansion. John McCline's narrative described the brick building as a laundry building. The Price's great-nephew later described the building as "the original Hoggatt house." During the Price's ownership he stated that the building was used as a chicken coop with an upstairs apartment for servants and later as a garage for Mrs. Price's first car.[158] The owner that followed the Prices also stated that the building

[153] Clover Bottom Farm Ledger; Copy in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.
[154] Sikes, et al, *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186),* 26.
[155] Clover Bottom Farm Ledger, Copy in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission, 1910 U.S. Federal Census, 58th District, Davidson County, Tennessee, Population Schedule, pg. 6. Their last name may be spelled Mathews. In the 1910 census, Lizzie's name was spelled as 'Lizia.'
[156] Dick Plater Letter, 1-6-198; Diane Bilger E-Mail to Ask TDEC, May 31, 2015, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Steve Rogers E-Mail to Diane Bilger, June 2, 2015, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; "Fine Cattle: Fifty Head of Clover Bottom Farm Average 1,543 Pounds," *The Nashville American,* December 17, 1905; 1910 U.S. Census; "Milton C. Wright," *The Tennessean,* February 8, 1954.
[157] Photographs of the Front Lawn, June 1899. Digital copy on file at Tennessee Historical Commission;
[158] Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms*, 23; Richard C. Plater, Jr. Letter, January 10, 1969, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

was used as a garage and apartment. At some point, an indoor toilet was added as a small addition on the north end but was only accessible from the exterior.[159]

Figure 28: Workers Cutting and Gathering Grass from the Front Lawn, June 1899.
Photo from the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The Prices constructed an addition, finished with stucco, on the south elevation to house a breakfast room and a buffet pantry on the first floor and a bathroom with indoor plumbing on the second floor (see Figure 29). They took advantage of the naturally cold air in the basement to store meat and vegetables, as well as tools or harnesses. On the north side of the second floor, they constructed a bathroom between the two bedrooms, which required installation of a new window.[160]

[159] Stripling and Sanford, *Archaeological Testing and Monitoring at the Clover Bottom Mansion,* 65-66.
[160] Aiken, 73; Richard C. Plater, Jr. Letter, January 10, 1969, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Merle Davis Interview.

Figure 29: Clover Bottom Mansion after Construction of the Stucco Addition, ca. 1920. The Brick building behind the mansion is also visible. Photo from Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Some of the changes in the mansion were related to Andrew Price's health issues. Like Dr. Hoggatt, Price had Bright's disease, or chronic inflammation of the kidneys. The condition caused pain and fatigue. As a result, Price was confined to a wheelchair in his later years. To help him move between the levels of the house, a rope pull elevator was installed on the back portico. The installation required cutting an opening of three and a half feet by four feet into the ceiling of the first level and the floor of the second level. Price could then be lifted from a carriage to whichever level he needed to go to.[161] A later historical archaeological

[161] After Andrew Price's death, the opening was sealed. The opening was observed and measured by Tennessee Division of Archaeologists (insert names) during the mansion's rehabilitation in 1994. They described it as "in the third section from the south end of the porch." The opening was demolished during the rehabilitation project due to required changes to the rear porches to accommodate additional office space.

investigation of the mansion revealed boards dated 1889 and 1897 and signed by a local carpenter, suggesting that some of these changes to the rear portico occurred during those years.[162]

As Price's health deteriorated, the family spent increasing amounts of time at Clover Bottom. One of Price's favorite activities was to be wheeled outside in his wheelchair to watch the horse training (see Figure 30).

Figure 30: Andrew Price observing the Horse Training. Other people in the photograph were noted as Somon, Page, and Howie. Digital file in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

During the last year of his life, Price's wife Anna spent much of her time and energy watching over him, as evidenced by her almost daily notations in her diary on his fluctuating weight, fatigue, and pain levels.[163] Andrew Price died in 1909 while visiting Acadia Plantation. His remains were brought back to Tennessee for

[162] Stripling and Sanford, *Archaeological Testing and Monitoring at the Clover Bottom Mansion*, 66-67.
[163] Anna Price's Diary, Price-Gay Family Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

burial at Mount Olivet Cemetery (NR Listed 11/25/2005).[164] After his death, Anna Price took over management of the farm.

Sale of the Farm

During the Price era, relatively small sections of Clover Bottom Farm were sold. Around 1900, the Prices sold linear sections to railroad companies to construct a railroad through the farm; the trains then stopped at the farm, allowing for an easier sale and shipping of farm products.[165] In 1904, the Price family donated 1.96 acres of land along Lebanon Pike, west of the nomination boundaries, to the trustees of the Methodist Church in Donelson for construction of a new church building. They also donated funds for stained-glass windows. The new church was named the Andrew Price Memorial United Methodist Church in honor of its benefactor.[166] Along with conveyances to allow the construction of railroad lines, this land transfer was the first subdivision of the farm since it had reached its peak acreage.

In 1918 Anna Gay Price decided to sell Clover Bottom Farm. Her great-nephew, Richard Plater, Jr., remembered that her decision to sell Clover Bottom was driven by what she felt was her best interest, particularly regarding safety. After the United States officially entered World War I, DuPont built and operated a gun powder plant about seven miles north of Clover Bottom Mansion at Old Hickory. The railroad tracks that had been constructed through the farm connected to the plant. According to Plater, on Friday nights, workers who lived in company housing at Old Hickory (NR Listed 5/25/1985) went to downtown Nashville for food and entertainment. When returning to Old Hickory following the railroad tracks, some trespassed on the farm's property, stealing produce and banging on the mansion's windows and doors begging for food. Anna Price lived in the mansion with only Lina Kaminsky. Given that the male workers, such as Sam Washington and Joe Holmes, did not live in the mansion, Price felt that she could not defend herself against a possible intruder. Although she attempted to keep the farm within the family by selling it to relatives, the deals fell through, and she sold the farm to brothers Arthur Fuqua Stanford and Robert Stanford for $220,000.[167]

Stanford Era: Subdivision and the Dairy Industry, 1918-1949

Both born in Hartsville, Tennessee, brothers Arthur Fuqua and Robert D. Stanford moved to Oklahoma City in 1903. They established a wholesale furniture business, headquartered in the seven-story Stanford Furniture Company building (NR Listed 8/12/1983). When the United States' entrance into World War I adversely affected their business, they decided to return to Tennessee. They purchased Clover Bottom Farm from Anna Price and divided the farmland. Robert Stanford took 464 acres north of Lebanon Pike and about half of a 257-acre tract on the south side of Stewarts Ferry Pike, while Arthur kept the remainder. Robert Stanford subdivided his section and sold it for single-family residential developments. The first development, along Lebanon Pike, became known as "Millionaire's Row." This was the first residential development in

[164] *The Tennessean,* February 8, 1909. "Hon. Andrew Price Called From Earth," *The Tennessean,* February 6, 1909.
[165] "Horse Sale," *The Tennessean,* May 10, 1909; *The Tennessean,* October 30, 1899. Deeds for sale to railroad company in Price-Gay Family Papers at the Tennessee State Library and Archives.
[166] "New Donelson Church," *The Tennessean,* June 10, 1904.
[167] Letter from Dick Plater to Bill and Joanna, January 6, 1987, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Letter from Richard C. Plater, Jr. February 27, 1988. Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission. After selling Clover Bottom, Anna Price moved to the Belle Meade Apartments in Nashville (NR Listed 04/19/1984). She lived there until her death in 1939.

Donelson and effectively began the suburbanization of the Donelson area, a process that would only intensify during the remainder of the 20th century. Robert Stanford continued to develop his portions of Clover Bottom's former agricultural land (and other purchased land) into residential subdivisions well into the 20th century.[168]

Like the owners who came before him, Arthur Stanford made significant changes to the agricultural character of Clover Bottom. Stanford converted Clover Bottom into a large dairy operation. This decision mirrors national and regional developments in agriculture. In the early-to-mid-20th century, farm populations dropped as former farmers found employment off the farm. The farmers that remained increasingly turned to livestock, especially beef or dairy cattle, or growing silage crops due to expanding markets and good prices. Middle Tennessee was among the regions that became known for commercial dairying.[169] Stanford's second wife, Merle, later confirmed that his decision to focus on dairying was because, in comparison to other possible farming ventures, dairy farming was more profitable.[170]

Stanford quickly purchased Jersey and Guernsey cows, amassing a herd of 250 cows. He converted half of the horse stable into milking stations. Possibly because the stable did not have sufficient space, he also constructed a modern 200 stanchion dairy barn (see Figure 31) north of the stable. This dairy barn is no longer extant; its site was later used to construct an apartment building and is therefore excluded from the nomination boundaries. Its site has not yet been investigated for archaeological potential.

Corn and other silage used as livestock feed was still grown in the bottom lands.[171] Stanford attempted to create his own grain brand and constructed a feed mill along the railroad tracks to facilitate sale and distribution using rail. However, the task proved too great, so the mill was only used to grind feed for use at the farm.[172] This mill is now in ruin and included in the nomination boundaries. Initially, the tenant families on the property milked the cows, but Stanford later electrified the barn and purchased electric milkers. According to a former tenant worker, the Stanfords later had the electric milkers removed, reportedly because the tenants could not properly use the machines and harmed the cows.[173]

[168] Steve Rogers Letter to Carole Lannom, October 16, 2006, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Leona Taylor Aiken, *Donelson, Tennessee: Its History and Landmarks* (Nashville, TN: Self Published, 1968); Scott Daniel Aiken and James Bruce Stanley, *Donelson & Hermitage: A Suburban History* (Franklin, TN: Hillsboro Press, 2004), 19, 118-119. Robert Stanford's developments included the Bluefields Historic District, NR Listed 3/22/2016, near Clover Bottom.
[169] Gilbert C. Fite, *Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture 1865-1980* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 158-159, 166-167; Halene Hatcher, "Dairying in the South," *Economic Geography* 20, no. 1 (Jan., 1944): 54-64; National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Historic Family Farms in Middle Tennessee, 1780-1960, National Register #64500605.
[170] Merle Davis Interview.
[171] Letter from Gary Patton to Herbert Harper, January 26, 2005, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; "Memories written by T.W. Patton", November 11, 1991, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Merle Davis Interview.
[172] Merle Davis Interview.
[173] Memories written by T.W. Patton, November 11, 1991, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Figure 31: Dairy Barn and Silo constructed by the Stanfords, ca. 1930.
Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

While some of the milk was used by residents at Clover Bottom, Stanford sold the majority of the milk to the Nashville Pure Milk Company; it was then used in a variety of Tru-li-Pure pasteurized products.[174] In the vicinity of the dairy barn, he also constructed two silos, which collectively could store 600 tons of silage produced annually, a granary, mule barn, stock barn, and tool shed. One of the silos stood at seventy-five feet tall while the other was sixty feet tall, leading national farm magazines to describe them as the tallest in the south. The southern-most silo burned in 1930 and was rebuilt using fire-proof concrete stave construction.[175]

[174] Ibid.; Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 155.
[175] "Clover Bottom Farm Barn is Burned," *The Tennessean,* March 22, 1930.

The concrete stave silo is extant and included in this nomination's boundaries. The tool shed is non-extant but is known to have been located within the boundaries somewhere in the rear yard near the Slave/Tenant Dwellings. The locations of the other buildings are unknown but historic photographs taken during the Stanford era have shown that there were other buildings in the rear yard. Archaeological investigations could possibly provide additional information about these buildings.[176]

The Stanfords had various gardens in the yard just south of the mansion, including a vegetable garden, grape arbor, flower garden, and fruit orchard. Associated with these gardens was a domed garden house, or greenhouse, that is no longer extant. An extant foundation may have been associated with that building. According to a former resident, the flower garden was based on the design of Rachel Jackson's garden at The Hermitage. Beside the north elevation of the mansion, the Stanfords had a rose garden. Figure 32 shows a conjectural drawing of Clover Bottom Mansion's domestic yard space during the Stanford era. The drawing is based on historic photographs, documentation, and oral history, though it is missing the domed garden structure shown in a historic photograph and possibly other unknown buildings.[177]

Although Arthur Stanford continued to manage the dairy farm, like many other early 20th century farmers he pursued ventures beyond the farm, such as serving as director of the Davidson County Milk Producers Association. He became vice-president of Southern Creamery in 1925. He later took over managing the daily operations and renamed it Morning Glory Creamery. While working at the creamery, he met Merle Hutcheson, the company's bookkeeper. In 1927 the two married at Robert Stanford's home, Belair (NR Listed 5/6/1971).[178]

According to Merle Stanford, there were a few changes within the mansion during the Stanford era. Almost immediately after purchase from the Prices, Arthur Stanford had a coal-burning cast iron furnace installed which sent heat throughout the house through vents in the halls. Because the halls no longer required a wood stove, the stoves were removed. In the upper hall, the door to the porch was replaced with a window. The bridge to the door over the stairwell was also removed. Sometime before 1927, the French wallpaper in the lower and upper hall was covered by new wallpaper. The stencil on the ceiling of the parlor was restored. Woodwork on the exterior was also restored. Telephones were installed in the mansion and tenant homes. The house and tenant houses were electrified using a Delco system. The Stanfords continued the Price's tradition of planting trees in the yard; they were responsible for planting evergreen trees right next to the mansion in 1928.[179]

[176] Rogers, "Clover Bottom Farm," 155; Merle Davis Interview.
[177] Middle Tennessee State University Historic Preservation Program, *Clover Bottom Historic Structures Report*, 129-130, in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission. The historic photograph referenced in the report is not included here because the report's copy only had a poor quality Xerox copy that did not adequately show the greenhouse.
[178] Pauline Gamble, "Spotlight on Merle Davis," *The McKendree Villager*, Clover Bottom Files, Tennessee Historical Commission; Rogers, Clover Bottom Farm," 155-156. Merle Hutchison Stanford remarried after Arthur Stanford's death and changed her name to Merle Davis. Arthur Stanford's first wife was Fleta C. Stubblefield; they divorced in 1926.
[179] "Work of Restoring and Preserving Wallpaper at Hermitage Begins," *The Tennessean,* October 23, 1930; Merle Davis Interview; Stripling and Sanford, *Archaeological Testing and Monitoring at the Clover Bottom Mansion,* 67. During the 1993-1994 restoration project, a cast iron furnace was removed from the basement mechanical equipment room. The boiler plate doors had the inscription "Spencer Type A Williamsport, Pennsylvania." It is believed that this was the same furnace installed by Stanford.

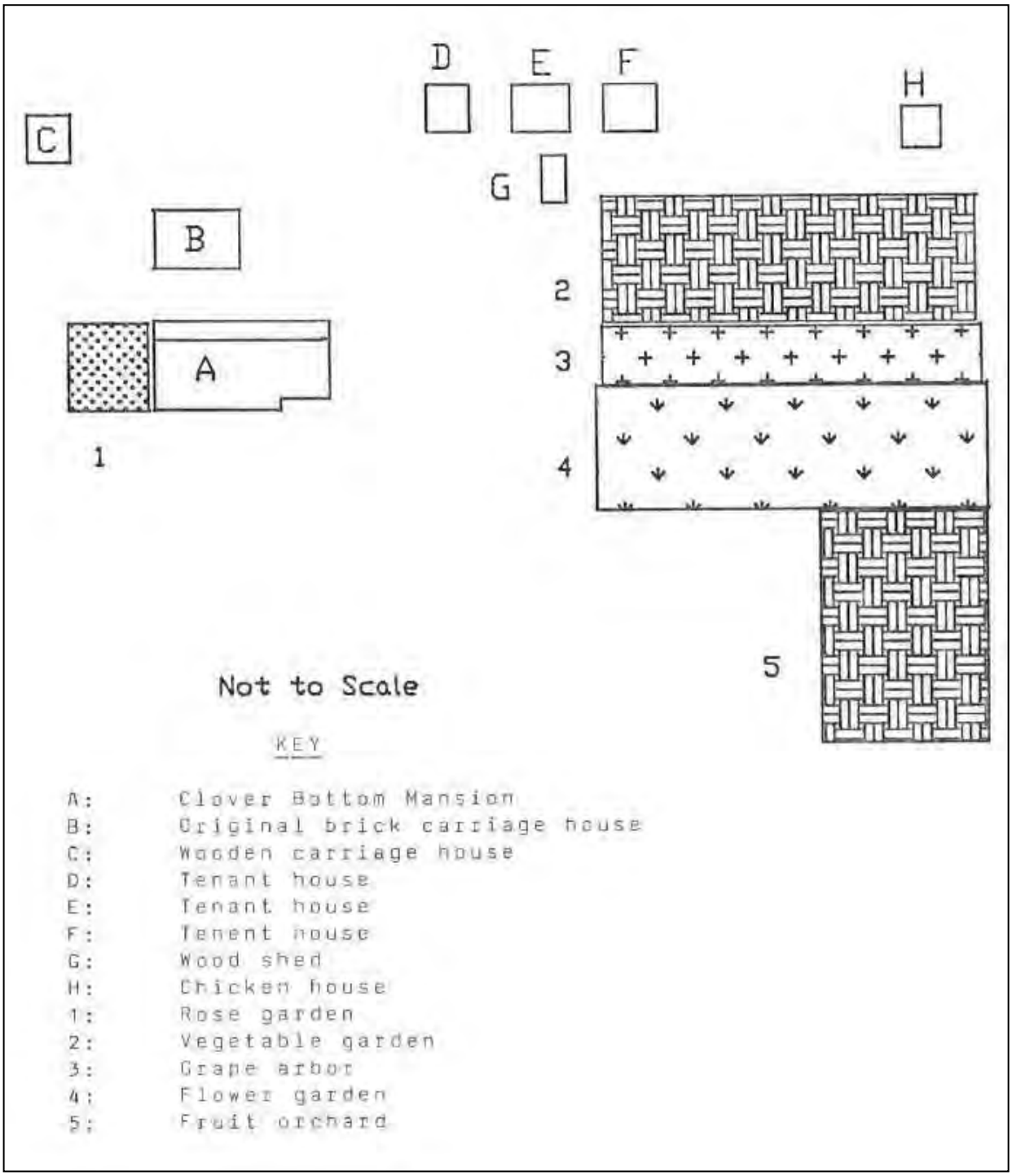

Figure 32: Conjectural Drawing of Clover Bottom Mansion's Domestic Yard Space during the Stanford Era. From a Historic Structure Report prepared by Middle Tennessee State University Historic Preservation Program, 1988.

Clover Bottom Tenants

Similar to earlier eras and despite the invention of labor-saving amenities, Clover Bottom Farm still required immense labor to operate successfully. By the 1930s, there were seven separate families living at Clover Bottom, most of which were white. One family was the W.B. Patton family, who came to Clover Bottom with four children in 1932 after they lost their family farm due to the economic conditions of the Great Depression. The Patton's teenage son, Thomas W. Patton, remembered getting up at 3:30 a.m. every morning to bring the cows up from the low bottom lands, just south of Lebanon Pike within the bend of the Stones River. He and the other tenant workers would milk the cows with each milking about fifty cows. In the evening, after he returned from school, he and the other workers would milk the cows again before ending the work day. Patton received $5 per month for this work, which he gave to his parents to help with the family's expenses. His father received $15 per month, which later increased to $20.[180]

Multiple tenant houses were constructed during this era near the Hoggatt Cemetery and stretching along a road near the Dairy Barn. Most of these houses are non-extant; therefore, the area along the road is excluded from the boundaries, but future archaeological investigations of the area may justify expanding the boundaries. Among the families living in these tenant homes were the Pattons, the Sutton family, and the Cantor family. The African American Winters family lived in Old Blue Brick on Stewarts Ferry Pike. Ike Winters drove the tractor for cultivating the crops while his wife Sadie worked as a laundress and cook. Merle Stanford later remembered that Ike Winters was known for singing hymns "at the top of his voice" while he drove the tractor. Living behind the mansion, possibly in the apartment in the brick building, was an older man with the surname of Alexander who cared for the grounds including eliminating weeds that made milk taste bad.[181]

Tenants also occupied the former slave dwellings. Vera Winchester Avril worked as an aid for Arthur Stanford's elderly mother, Lizzie Mai Stanford. She and her family lived in Dwelling #2 while her sister Josie Harvey and her family lived in Dwelling #1. The Avrils' daughter, Nancy, who was born in the dwelling in 1938, remembered the Stanfords as extremely kind. As an example, she said that even after Lizzie Stanford died of a heart attack in 1934, the Stanfords allowed the Avril family to continue living there even though they no longer worked at Clover Bottom. They left Clover Bottom about 1941. After they left, Josie and Mack Harvey moved into Dwelling #1. Soon after, they built the side addition, housing a bedroom, bathroom, and closet. Their son, Luther, and his wife Juanita lived in the other slave/tenant dwelling. They did not further alter Dwelling #2, such as to add a kitchen, because they simply joined Josie and Mack for meals in Dwelling #1.[182] The Harveys continued to live in the dwellings into the 1970s.[183]

According to oral history, the mansion also occasionally housed domestic staff with quarters in the basement. The rooms on the north side of the basement hall were used as a living room and kitchen room for the

[180] Letter from Gary Patton to Herbert Harper, January 26, 2005, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission
[181] Memories by T.W. Patton, November 11, 1991, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Merle Davis Interview
[182] Ibid.; Clover Bottom Structures Survey, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Interview with Nancy Clark; 1940 U.S. Federal Census.
[183] Nancy Clark Interview. Josie and Mack Harvey were Nancy Avril Clark's aunt and uncle, so she continued to visit Clover Bottom even after her family moved elsewhere.

servants; the rooms were separated by a folding door. Housemaids Mary and Minnie Robertson, who worked as cooks, were known to have lived in these basement rooms.[184]

Subdivision and Sale of Clover Bottom

Beyond farming, Stanford found other ways to make a profit from the farm. One example was the creation of a commercial beach on the Stones River. While popular for swimming, the beach was destroyed when a bridge was constructed in the 1930s.[185] The location is excluded from the nominated boundaries due to new development, but the story of this beach provides further evidence of Stanford's motivation to use his property profitably, in any manner that could be successful.

Stanford's main non-agricultural profitable enterprise was sale of the farmland. Although minor subdivision had occurred during the Price era, the subdivision was more frequent and larger during the Stanford era, beginning with the immediate subdivision between the Stanford brothers. The subdivision of the farm land contributed to the development of the Donelson community as the area was converted from farmland to residential and commercial developments.

A major subdivision occurred in 1921 when it was announced that the State of Tennessee had purchased 450 acres at the southwestern portion of the property to develop a school and residential home for people with intellectual or behavioral disabilities. Known then as the State Training School and Home for Feeble-Minded Persons, the institution continued to develop and eventually became known as the Clover Bottom Hospital and School.[186] The sale of this land began the state's involvement with the Clover Bottom property, which has continued to the present-day and has defined the character of this area of Donelson.

A 1938 aerial view of the Donelson area reveals the changes that had occurred to this point (see Figure 33). The land across Lebanon Pike had been developed for single-family residences with circular drives (the Millionaire's Row development). The land in front of the mansion had been fenced and had grown thick with maple trees, creating the appearance of a forest. According to Merle Stanford Davis, the lawn area was used as part of the dairy operation. The Stanfords installed a low fence around the mansion to prevent cows from running into or eating the rose bushes and other shrubs that were adjacent to the mansion. The mansion and outbuildings were generally clustered but surrounded by open farmland that had not yet been developed. Several of the outbuildings depicted in this view are no longer extant and little else is known about many of these buildings, but archaeological investigations could provide additional information.[187]

In 1939 Arthur Stanford died, leaving Merle Stanford to run the dairy business.[188] In 1940 her nephew, Jasper Hutchison, came to live with her at the mansion.[189] The 1940 census lists several tenant families who worked in agricultural roles, almost all of whom were white. The only black resident recorded at Clover

[184] Merle Davis Interview.
[185] Ibid.
[186] "State School Near Nashville," *The Leaf Chronicle,* March 30, 1921.
[187] Aerial Photo of the Donelson Area, March 25, 1938. Digital copy on file at the Tennessee Historical Commission.
[188] "Davis, Merle Hutcheson Stanford," *The Tennessean*, November 21, 2011; "A.F. Stanford Dies Saturday at Home," *The Tennessean,* November 26, 1939; Pauline Gamble, "Spotlight on Merle Davis," The McKendree Villager, Clover Bottom Files, Tennessee Historical Commission.
[189] Merle Davis Interview.

Bottom was Ruth Martin, a domestic servant who lived in the mansion with Stanford.[190] By 1947, sales of the land had decreased the farm's acreage to about 375 acres. That same year, Stanford sold Clover Bottom Farm to the Guaranty Mortgage Company which owned it for the next two years.[191]

Figure 33: 1938 Aerial View of Donelson with a closeup of Clover Bottom Farm. Digital File of the Map in the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission

[190] 1940 U.S. Census, Davidson County, Tennessee. Population Schedule, 3rd District, p. 7. Ancestry.com, accessed November 27, 2018.
[191] "Former Andrew Jackson Farm Sold Again," *The Daily News Journal,* April 23, 1947.

State Era, 1949-ca.1974

In 1949, the State of Tennessee purchased Clover Bottom Farm for $150,000 as part of a plan to build new state facilities and expand existing adjacent institutions.[192] The sale rejoined the farm with much of the land that the Stanfords had sold off. Although Clover Bottom Farm and Mansion remained part of the same legal parcel, the state ownership divided usage of the mansion, farm buildings, and land between multiple government agencies and departments.

Clover Bottom Mansion during the State Era

The Department of Safety used the mansion as their headquarters for a couple years until it was converted into government housing, at first for teachers from the adjacent Tennessee School for the Blind (TSB), which had been constructed in 1952 on the former site of the Hoggatts' garden and the Price's horse track (outside of the nominated boundaries, see Figure 34).[193]

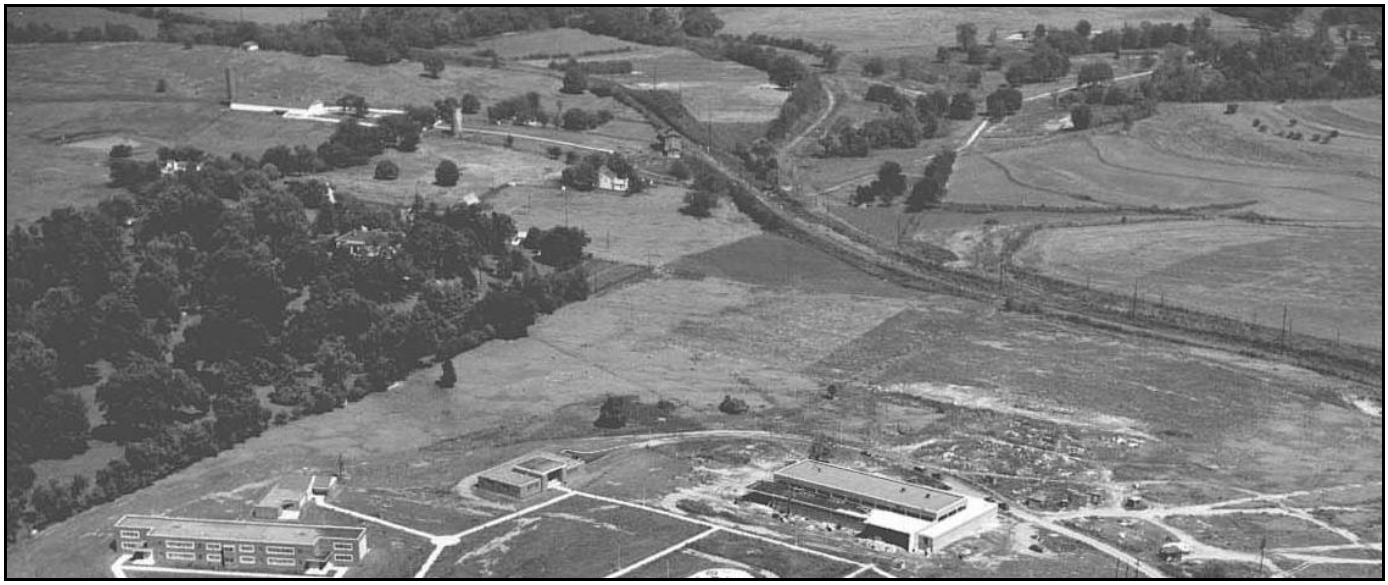

Figure 34: Aerial Photo of the Tennessee School for the Blind under construction in 1952 with Clover Bottom Farm behind. Image #15279 from Tennessee State Library and Archives.

The mansion was subdivided into multiple apartments with partition walls, allowing it to serve multiple families and individuals. The rear portico was enclosed on the basement and first floor to provide additional

[192] Nellie Kenyon, "Farm Considered for Blind School," *The Tennessean,* February 25, 1949; "Patrol May Move to Donelson," *The Tennessean,* November 11, 1949; Elmer Hinton, "Clover Bottom Site For School Protested, "*The Tennessean,* February 28, 1949; "Mansion to Become Safety Headquarters," *The Tennessean,* April 9, 1950.

[193] "Mansion to Become Safety Headquarters," The Tennessean, April 9, 1950; "Modernism Begins at Clover Farm," January 19, 1950; "History of TSB," The Tennessean, June 7, 2002; Margaret Lindsley Warden, "Estate of Romanic Memories: State Institutions Now Occupy Clover Bottom but its Exciting Past Remains," *The Nashville Tennessean Magazine,* December 6, 1953; "Welcome Information," Tennessee School for the Blind, accessed December 6, 2018, https://www.tsbtigers.org/about/13-about.html.

space. Harold and Jean Bates lived on the first floor in the double parlor while Harold served as Assistant Superintendent of TSB from 1951 to 1963. Their children had a bedroom located within the enclosed rear portico that connected to the rear parlor. School Principal Claude A. Wilson and his family lived on the second floor during the 1960s. Many of the single teachers living at Clover Bottom were blind, and their living assignments were divided by gender. Female teachers lived on the second floor, while male teachers lived in the basement. All teachers took meals in the basement kitchen, prepared by Josie Harvey. When not preparing meals for the teachers, she helped with the farm's dairy operation.[194] The teachers paid $40 a month for room and board, later decreased to $25 per month with shared payment of food.[195]

Other physical changes in the mansion were to "modernize" it, including painting all the woodwork, installation of asphalt tile on the pine wood floors, replacement of electrical and plumbing systems, and installation of a new central heating system.[196] All of these changes had already been completed when the mansion as listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1975.

The tenant houses on the grounds were used by other state employees. Roy Hendrix and his family lived in the 'Manager's House,' (see Figures 35-36) the white frame house next to the cemetery They moved in February 1950 when Hendrix took a job as the Farm Manger for Clover Bottom Institutional Farm. In 1961, he transitioned to engineer for Clover Bottom Developmental Center. In 1963 the Hendrix family moved into the basement of the mansion.[197] About the same time, the single teachers from TSB moved out of the mansion to their own, private housing while the mansion continued to house the Hendrix family and the senior staff from TSB.[198] The mansion continued to house state employees until 1980 when it was vacated.

[194] Notes about a visit from Mrs. Jean Bates and Linda Bates Cross, April 11, 1997, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; MTSU Historic Structure Report; Aiken, 72-74.
[195] Letter to Joe Morgan, State Board of Education from E.J. Wood, Superintendent at Tennessee School for the Blind, July 19, 1962, microfilm, Roll 130, Department of Education Commissioner's Records, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee.
[196] "Modernism Begins at Clover Farm," January 19, 1950.
[197] Letter Phillip L. Hendrix to Steve Rogers, undated, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Steve Rogers Notes on a conversation with Phillip Hendrix, March 8, 2010. Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.
[198] Letter to Joe Morgan, State Board of Education from E.J. Wood, Superintendent at Tennessee School for the Blind, July 19, 1962, microfilm, Roll 130, Department of Education Commissioner's Records, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee.

Figure 35: Hendrix Family next to the north elevation of Clover Bottom Mansion, ca, 1960. Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission

Figure 36: Joyce Hendrix Coffman in the Manager's House Side Yard, with Dairy Barn and Pastures Behind, 1957. A portion of this pasture is included within the nomination boundaries. The Dairy Barn is no longer extant. Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission

Clover Bottom Institutional Farm

While the mansion was used for housing, the farmland and agricultural buildings became part of the institutional farm associated with the adjacent Tennessee School for the Feeble-Minded, renamed Clover Bottom Hospital and School in 1961.[199] Institutional Farming was based on the idea of government self-sustenance, financial frugality, and arguably peonage. State-owned farms would grow the foodstuffs and livestock for consumption at their corresponding institution. In instances where food could not be used institutionally, it would be sold on the market and the profits would be used to support the institution. In theory, this process would provide food and save the institution/State money by minimizing external food

[199] Nellie Kenyon, "Farm Considered for Blind School," *The Tennessean,* February 25, 1949; "State Will Buy Clover Bottom," *The Tennessean,* March 10, 1949; Elmer Hinton, "Clover Bottom Site For School Protested," *The Tennessean,* February 28, 1949.

purchases. The sale of excess products would also make profits that would help meet the financial needs of the institution.

Financial savings were also achieved through labor practices as most of the labor for the Institutional Farms was provided by inmates of the associated institution. This resulted in financial savings for the institution because these inmates were often paid little or not at all. Inmates also did not receive any benefits such as a pension, which would be another financial saving as compared to benefits that may be available to state employees.

Institutional labor had long been a common practice at institutions across the country. Prisoners at corrections institutions worked in various industries as part of their incarceration, ostensibly to 'earn their keep' or pay their debt to society for the harm they caused. Common work practices included farming, road construction, and creation of goods for sale. For instance, The Tennessee State Penitentiary in Nashville included such industries as metal working, shoe making, production of cotton, and farming. Brushy Mountain State Penitentiary in East Tennessee had a long history of leasing prison labor to private industries such as the railroad or coal mining companies. After this practice was outlawed in 1893, the prisoners worked at state-owned coal mines, the prison farm, and other state-owned industries.[200]

While institutional farming is best known for its association with prisons, it was also routinely part of mental health institutions. Administrators commonly described the labor as 'vocational training' or 'rehabilitation' where patients received training in skills that would theoretically help them upon leaving the facility. Although vocational training could theoretically help patients learn valuable skills, critics of the practice argued that it created situations where institutions were reluctant to let patients return to their families because the free or low-paid labor of those patients had become too valuable to the financial well-being of the institution. They argued that the practice was peonage, or involuntary servitude to pay a debt, which had been outlawed by the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.[201]

During the 20th century, Tennessee had institutional farms associated with penal institutions and mental health facilities. The Department of Institutions, renamed the Department of Corrections in 1955, managed the penal farms, which were spread across the state. Only one, the State Prison, was located in Davidson County.[202]

The Department of Mental Health, which had been formed from the Department of Institutions in 1953, also oversaw institutional farms.[203] In the 1950s these included those associated with Central State Hospital in

[200] The *History of the Tennessee Penal Institutions, 1813-1940* produced by the Tennessee Department of Corrections described the various work of prisoners at Tennessee prisons, arguing that the work allowed prisoners to pay their debt to society. Pamphlets such as this argue that the work prevents idleness and promotes rehabilitation. Tennessee's convict lease system is also discussed by Randall G. Shelden, "From Slave to Caste Society: Penal Changes in Tennessee, 1830-1915, *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (Winter 1979): 462-478. The Tennessee Historical Commission has determined both the Tennessee State Penitentiary and Brushy Mountain State Penitentiary as eligible for the National Register.
[201] Ruthie-Marie Beckwith, *Disability Servitude: From Peonage to Poverty* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 5-27.
[202] *Tennessee State Institutional Farms: An Inside Look*, Tennessee Department of Agriculture, 1963, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Tennessee Department of Corrections 1700-2013 Historical Timeline.
[203] Tennessee Department of Correction, 1700-2013 Historical Timeline.

Nashville, Eastern State Hospital in Knoxville, Greene Valley Hospital and School in Greeneville, and Western State Hospital in Bolivar (NR Listed 6/25/1987). Clover Bottom was the fifth institutional farm within the Department of Mental Health and the tenth institutional farm overall.

Prior to the State's purchase of the remainder of Clover Bottom Farm, the School for the Feeble Minded was already engaged in institutional farming, primarily through a dairy herd. However, the purchase of the remainder of the acreage allowed for an expansion of the herd and facilities.[204] The increase in land also meant that the institution could grow corn and other crops, as well as hogs and beef cattle. Among the enclosed grazing land for the dairy and cattle herd was the mansion's lawn.[205] Throughout the next few decades, the institutional farm utilized the extant farm buildings and built a few others to facilitate the farm's expanded operations. These include the stock barn, small barn nearby, and the calving barn. The calving barn indicates breeding and birth of cattle onsite, which is supported by historical documentation of agreements between the farm, the Agricultural Experiment Station, and the Agricultural Extension Service at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville for bull stud services.[206] The institutional farm's swine operation of about 400 hogs is conveyed by the Pig Shed, also built during the State Era (see Figure 39).

While Clover Bottom's livestock operation continued and expanded during the state era with little delay, the farming of crops faced difficulty at first. Despite enthusiasm for the possibilities of Clover Bottom's farmland, the reality of the land's condition quickly became apparent. The soil was depleted from overwork, as was common of farms that had not adopted conservation methods advocated by the Progressive Farming movement. After Roy Hendrix was hired as Farm Manager in February 1950, he procured the aid of J.A. Bozeman from the Soil Conservation Service, an agency within the United States Department of Agriculture that had been formed during the Great Depression to aid farmers with conservation techniques to control erosion and renew depleted soil.[207]

Hendrix and Bozeman utilized conservation techniques to renew the soil and make the farm profitable. They planted fescue and white clover for three years to renew the soil. They constructed W- and V-shaped ditches to improve drainage from the highlands into the Stones River and correct problems with puddling. To improve yields, they used terracing techniques to plant crops on the hilly landscape (see Figure 37).

Other areas remained pasture lands for livestock, including sixty-five dairy cows and between eighty and 100 beef cattle. Crops included corn, hay, and feed for livestock (see Figure 38). The conservation techniques were credited with raising Clover Bottom's corn production from 40 to 75 bushels an acre.[208]

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[204] *Annual Report of the Department of Institutions State of Tennessee for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1950.*
[205] Notes about a Visit from Mrs. Jean Bates and Linda Bates Cross, April 11, 1997, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.
[206] Memorandum of Agreement, July 26, 1962, Folder 21, Box 1, Record Group 94, Tennessee State Library and Archives.
[207] Phillip L. Hendrix, Letter to Stephen Rogers, undated. Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; "More than 80 Years Helping People Help the Land: A Brief History of NRCS," United States Department of Agriculture, Natural Resources, Conservation Service. https://www.nrcs.usda.gov/wps/portal/nrcs/detail/national/about/history/?cid=nrcs143_021392, accessed September 4, 2018.
[208] Hendrix Letter; U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Conservation and the Ministry," *Soil Conservation* (May 1963), Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission. Leon J. Sisk, "Clover Bottom Project," *The Tennessee Conservationist,* August 1960, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission. Different sources say Bozeman's first name was 'Johnny' while

Figure 37: C.H. Rogers, Roy Hendrix, and Eddie Edwards demonstrating the Terraces after usage of conservation techniques, Fall 1956. This land has since been redeveloped by the State of Tennessee, but visible behind the men are farm buildings, including the Feed Mill, Concrete Stave Silo, and Tenant House. The area of these building is included in the nomination boundaries. Photo originally from Soil Conservation Services, but donated to the Tennessee Historical Commission by Roy Hendrix.

others state 'Johnie.' Aerial Photograph of the Donelson Area, October 23, 1958. A Digital copy is held by the Tennessee Historical Commission in the Clover Bottom Files. The area depicted with terracing has since been redeveloped and is therefore excluded from the boundaries of this nomination, but the land does retain its hilly appearance that was a characteristic of terrace farming which better allows the nominated property to retain integrity of setting and association with agricultural history.

Figure 38: Corn Crop at Clover Bottom Farm (this land was later redeveloped and is excluded from the boundaries). From Department of Agriculture's *Biennial Report*, 1970.

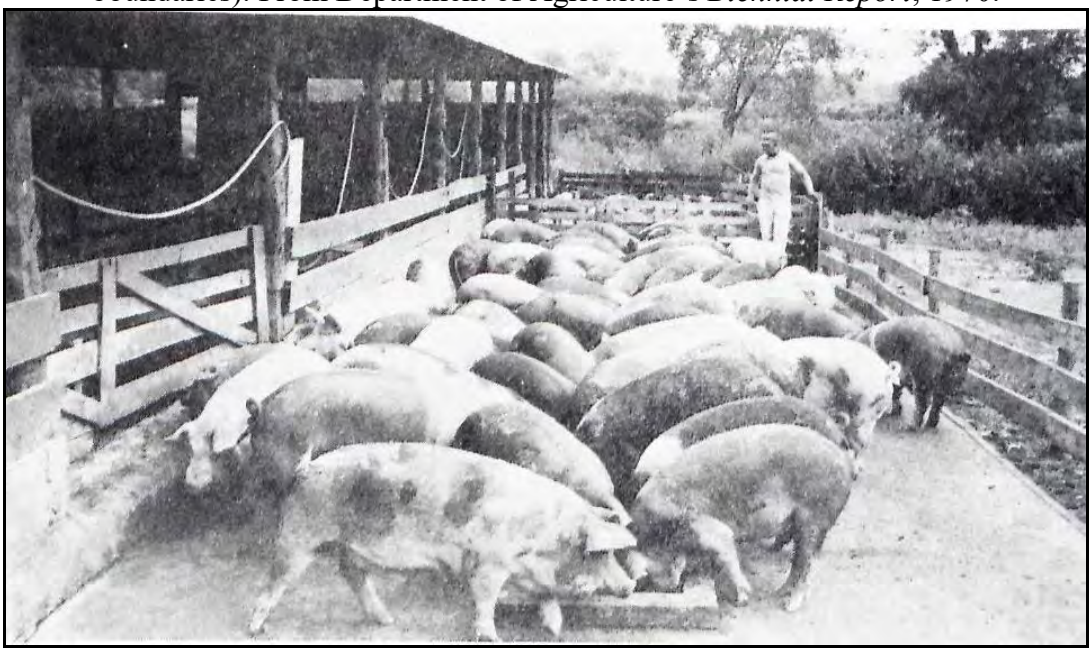

Figure 39: Swine Operation at Clover Bottom, ca. 1963. A portion of this shed appears to be extant (Pig Shed) but it may also have been a different building at another unknown exact location but certainly within the nomination boundaries. From *Tennessee State Institutional Farms: An Inside Look,* Tennessee State Library and Archives.

In 1960 Governor Ellington issued an executive order putting all institutional farms under unified management within the Department of Agriculture. The State Legislature codified the arrangement the following year. The Departments of Correction and Mental Health continued to be involved in the arrangement, but all farm matters from thereon out went through the Agriculture Department's Division of Institutional Farms.[209] Possibly as a result of the administrative reorganization, Roy Hendrix transitioned to Plant Engineer for Clover Bottom Hospital and Selmer Mears became Clover Bottom's Farm Manager, followed later by Robert Stone.[210]

Clover Bottom as an institutional farm represents not just the continuation of Clover Bottom's agricultural history but also the property's new significance in Government by representing a publicly owned institutional industry and the government's attempts at self-sustenance. Annual and biannual reports consistently describe and analyze the farm's value, revenues and cost, showing that the government's primary concern regarding the farm was its financial stability, and by extension, its ability to be self-sustaining and contribute to the government's financial frugality.

Despite the efforts to increase efficiency and productivity, Clover Bottom continued to have problems with profitability. For example, in a 1963 report on the State's Institutional Farms, Clover Bottom Farm was noted as having lost $1,605.31 in net income from 1961-1962, which increased to a loss of $4,049.52 the following year when there were additional expenses associated with restarting the farm's swine operation.[211] About the same time, the State announced that it would sell portions of the farmland in eleven parcels, decreasing the size of the farm.[212] Throughout the 1960s, the State continued to decrease the farmland as it developed other state facilities onsite. For example, in 1966 State built the Tennessee Law Enforcement Training Academy northeast of the farm's nomination boundary.[213]

Clover Bottom Farm during the State Era also represents issues of Institutional Labor, which experienced significant changes in the 1970s at a time when academics and journalists were scrutinizing conditions and practices at mental health facilities across the nation.[214] Locally, living conditions for patients at Clover Bottom Hospital and School were garnering negative press attention. Despite the efforts of Clover Bottom Staff to invite journalists and legislators to see the positive aspects of the institution and the challenges faced

[209] *Tennessee State Institutional Farms: An Inside Look,* Tennessee Department of Agriculture, 1963, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Gilbert C. Fite, *American Farmers: The New Minority* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1981), 112-114.
[210] Letter from George L. Wadsworth, Superintendent of Clover Bottom Home and School, to J.J. Baker, Commissioner for the Department of Mental Health, Folder 6, Box 4, Record Group 94 Department of Mental Health Records, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN; Tennessee Department of Agriculture, *45th Biennial Report, July 1, 1962 to June 30, 1964;* Tennessee Department of Agriculture, *Biennial Report, July 1, 1968-June 30, 1970.*
[211] *Tennessee State Institutional Farms: An Inside Look*, 13 Tennessee Department of Agriculture, 1963, Tennessee State Library and Archives.
[212] "Auction," *The Tennessean,* April 27, 1961.
[213] Aiken and Stanley, 29. Originally opened in 1966, the academy quickly ran out of space and expanded at least twice during the 1970s.
[214] Beckwith, *Disability Servitude.*

by staff, frequent press articles revealed poor conditions, overcrowding, understaffing, underfunding, and alleged abuse and mistreatment, including forced, underpaid labor.[215]

In 1972, four former patients filed class action suit Townsend v. Treadway against the Department of Mental Health alleging that they had been required to perform labor at Clover Bottom against their will and without fair pay. The patients argued that the work constituted peonage in violation of the U.S. Constitution and the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) because they were only paid six and one-half cents per hour (well below the federal minimum wage of $1.60 per hour) and the State did not withhold retirement or contribute to Social Security on their behalf. As a result, the patients were not eligible to draw on Social Security benefits when they reached retirement age. The suit sought back wages and benefits.[216]

The former patients stated that they performed janitorial, maintenance, and farm work. For example, 34-year-old Arrol Townsend, who lived at Clover Bottom from 1951 to 1971, stated that he had worked twelve hours per day, seven days per week, which later was shortened to seven hours per day, six days a week. For the last eight years of his stay at Clover Bottom, he worked in the dairy. Another plaintiff, Herman Kaplan, also worked in the dairy, as well as in the boiler room and grounds maintenance.[217] Their attorney Larry Woods later described the patients' labor as all-encompassing: "They raised animals, planted crops, harvested and shucked corn, painted walls, mowed lawns, made beds. They had done any job, orderlies for the profoundly retarded, food cleanup, cooked in early days, and worked in the cannery."[218]

Press accounts through the years help to substantiate the patient's claims. For example, in 1956, *The Nashville Tennessean* newspaper published a series of articles about Clover Bottom Hospital. In the last article, the journalist described the types of work patients did, including women making clothes and men working in the on-site butcher shop. The article also stated that the Clover Bottom patients produced their own milk, foodstuffs and ice, as well as heating, water purification, and laundry.[219] A series of articles in 1971 and 1972 also mention jobs fulfilled by patients within the hospital and on the grounds.[220]

Government reports also confirmed much of the patients' experiences. For example, the Department of Mental Health's annual report for 1967-1968 reported that "Jobs are held by 495 on the campus. The majority are in dietary and nursing areas. These residents received token payments of 25 cents to $2.50 per month. Many are considered to be almost as efficient and effective as full-time employees."[221]

[215] Example articles include "Clover Bottom Story Poses Hard Decisions," *The Tennessean,* January 7, 1972; John R. Mott III, "A Story Not Easy To Tell," *The Tennessean,* December 26, 1971; John R. Mott III, "Experts Advise Restricted Use of Clover Bottom," *The Tennessean,* December 30, 1971; "Law Violations at Clover Bottom Claimed," *The Tennessean,* March 16, 1972; John R. Mott III, "2 State Mental Units: A Study in Contrast," *The Tennessean,* February 1, 1972; John R. Mott III, "Clover Bottom Overpopulated, Understaffed," *The Tennessean,* December 29, 1971.
[216] Paul Friedman, *Mental Retardation and the Law: A Report on Status of Current Court Cases*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Mental Retardation Coordination (Washington, D.C., April 1973).
[217] Friedman, *Mental Retardation and the Law*; Ruthie-Marie Beckwith, *Disability Servitude: From Peonage to Poverty* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 49-51.
[218] As quoted in Beckwith, *Disability Servitude,* 50.
[219] Fred P. Graham, "State Ranks Next to Last in Aid for Feeble-Minded," *The Nashville Tennessean,* May 6, 1956.
[220] John R. Mott, "A Story Not Easy to Tell," *The Tennessean,* December 26, 1971; "Law Violations at Clover Bottom Claimed," *The Tennessean,* March 16, 1972.
[221] State of Tennessee Department of Mental Health, *Annual Report 1967-1968,* 46.

The case worked its way through the courts and appeals process until it was heard by the Tennessee Supreme Court in 1978. The court ruled against the patients stating that a recent U.S. Supreme Court decision in National League of Cities v. Ursery exempted all state employees from Federal minimum wage and hour regulation as enacted by FSLA. Therefore, the justices ruled that the patients as state employees did not fall under the purview of FLSA and could not sue based on violations of FSLA. The justices also stated that the work performed by patients was part of an educational program and that the patients had not had any expectation that they would receive full compensation for their labor. Rather their labor was part of their contribution for the state's cost to house and care for them. In other words, the patients were indebted to the State for caring for them and they had to work to pay off the debt.[222]

Though the lawsuit was ultimately unsuccessful for the patients, it did contribute to changes far earlier than the eventual Supreme Court decision. By 1974, in direct response to Townsend v. Treadway, the Department of Mental Health ended the practice of involuntary servitude and unpaid labor at mental health institutions. A concurrent lawsuit, Saville v. Treadway, resulted in a guarantee of rights and treatment. The combination of these lawsuits, other lawsuits in other states and at the federal level, negative press and legislature attentions, and changing philosophies in the mental health field resulted in a move towards deinstitutionalization and increased focus on educational programs in the interests of allowing patients to return to their families and communities to be productive members of society. Clover Bottom Hospital and School was renamed Clover Bottom Developmental Center in 1973 to reflect the change in mission (see Figure 40 for a 1973 aerial photo of Clover Bottom Developmental Center including farm buildings at top).[223]

The institutional changes in Tennessee state government and at Clover Bottom Developmental Center contributed to changes at Clover Bottom Farm. According to the Tennessee Department of Agriculture's 49th Biennial report in 1972, all mental health farms closed on December 31, 1971. However, subsequent reports reveal that the farms did not close, the State simply transferred control to the Department of Corrections. Many of the farms continued, just under rental or lease agreements with private farmers. Others were managed by Department of Corrections personnel. At Clover Bottom, farming activities were eventually taken over by state personnel from the Cockrill Bend Prison Farm at the Tennessee State Prison in Nashville.[224]

[222] *Townsend v. Clover Bottom Hospital & School,* 560 W.W.2d 623 (1978), https://law.justia.com/cases/tennessee/supreme-court/1978/560-s-w-2d-623-2.html, accessed October 9, 2018.
[223] Beckwith, *Disability Servitude*, 49-51, 74; "Milestones-1960s and 70s: A Timeline," Tennessee Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services, https://www.tn.gov/behavioral-health/who-we-are/history-of-the-department1/milestones---1960s-and-70s.html, accessed October 24, 2018.
[224] Statement of the closure and alteration of organization regarding mental health farms was announced in the Tennessee Department of Agriculture's 49th Biennial Report for July 1, 1970-June 30, 1972. However, the department's biennial report for 1972-1974 and 1974-1976 reveals the farm's still in operation, just under lease agreements or being managed by Department of Corrections personnel.

Figure 40: Clover Bottom Developmental Center, 1973. At the top of the photo are the Institutional Farm Buildings. Digital File of Photo in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

The Period of Significance ends in 1974. By this year, the institutional labor at Clover Bottom farm had ended as the result of the class action lawsuit, the change in mission at Clover Bottom Developmental Center, and the transfer of jurisdiction to the Department of Corrections. Farming at Clover Bottom continued for a few more years, but ended by the late 1970s when state reports no longer mention Clover Bottom Farm as a functioning agricultural entity.[225] This is also supported by a 1984 newspaper article that

[225] State of Tennessee, Department of Correction, *Annual Report Fiscal Year1978-1979,* 51-52*;* State of Tennessee, Department of Correction, *Annual Report 1979-1980,* 60-62.

stated the farm was "discontinued in recent years."[226] In 1980 the government ceased using the mansion for housing.

Clover Bottom Farm remains one of the few extant properties from the agricultural era of Davidson County's history, particularly the Donelson area. Once covered entirely by large farms, Donelson developed rapidly during the 20th century with suburban, commercial, and state developments. Through its combination of extant buildings and acreage, Clover Bottom Farm is one of the only extant agricultural properties able to convey its history as a significant farm worked historically by enslaved people and later by tenant farmers, all African American at first and later European American. The farm's current smaller acreage within the nominated boundaries, as compared to its historical peak of 1,500 acres, reflects the central role Clover Bottom Farm played in the community development of Donelson through decisions to subdivide the land for philanthropic endeavors, suburban developments, and eventually the sale to the State of Tennessee, which had a profound effect on the transformation of the area from privately held agricultural land into one of the centers of state operations within Davidson County outside of Downtown Nashville. The farm reflects the State Government's attempts at frugality and self-sustenance. Its involvement in disputes regarding institutional labor at the farm played a key role in state government institutional decisions to end the practice of institutional labor at mental health facilities in the state.

Clover Bottom Since 1980

After 1980 the vacated mansion and outbuildings began to deteriorate. Vandalism became a common occurrence. In 1986 the State of Tennessee installed a chain-link fence around the mansion, but it failed to stop vandals (see Figures 41-44). Vegetation on the grounds quickly became overgrown, and the bottom of the hill behind the mansion became an unofficial garbage dump.[227]

[226] Ann Betts, "Nightmarish Past at Clover Bottom Limited to 1 Room," *The Tennessean,* July 4, 1984.
[227] Christine Kreyling, "Architecture Crime: Tough Times for Clover Bottom," *Nashville Scene,* September 19, 1991. Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission; Sharon Curtis, "Vandals Destroying Mansion," *Nashville Banner,* August 16, 1987, Richard C. Platers Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Jim Molpus, "Clover Bottom's Time Rapidly Running Out." *Nashville Banner,* April 21, 1992.

Figure 41: Clover Bottom Mansion, 1990. Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission

Figure 42: Rear (East) Elevation of Clover Bottom Mansion in 1990 showing the changes that had occurred during the State Era. Photo from the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Figure 43: Vandalism of First-Level Hall, ca. 1990.
Photo in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Figure 44: Deteriorated Ceiling in the Parlor, including stenciling, 1990.
Photo in Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Alarmed by the property's rapidly worsening condition, various groups lobbied the State of Tennessee to create and implement a plan for the mansion's use and rehabilitation. Local people created the Historic Clover Bottom Association and lobbied the State Legislature to appropriate funding to repair the mansion. The group eventually became the Donelson/Hermitage chapter of the Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities, which actively promoted fundraising drives and proposed adaptive reuse.[228]

In 1992, the State Building Commission approved funds to convert the property for an adaptive reuse as the offices of the Tennessee Historical Commission (State Historic Preservation Office). The rehabilitation cost $1.3 million and was completed in 1994. The building's exterior façade was restored to its early appearance, necessitating the removal of the Price era stucco addition on the southern elevation, but keeping the first southern addition. The rear elevation was altered to rebuild and enclose the portico on the first and second

[228] Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities Files, Tennessee Historical Commission.; Johanna Benz to Richard C. Plater, Jr., September 4, 1987, letter, Richard C. Plater Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

levels to add additional office space, men's restrooms, maintenance closets, and a kitchen. A wood porch was added on the first level as well as an elevator. Significant interior spaces were retained, including the halls on all levels, the double parlor on the first level, and most bedroom spaces. Vandalized elements were repaired and replicated where possible according to available documentation, including elements of the banister that had been stolen by vandals.[229] Some interior layout changes were implemented at the southeast corner of the building on all levels to provide women's restrooms and additional office space, facilitating the building's new use as a public government office building. They were implemented in secondary spaces and elevations and therefore do not compromise the mansion's architectural integrity. The building was dedicated for its new use on October 23, 1994 (see Figures 45-46).[230] The mansion continues to house Tennessee Historical Commission staff, serves researchers, and provides space for meetings and special events. The grounds are open to the public. Signage around the mansion and near outbuildings provides interpretations of the farm's history. The grounds are a popular location for photoshoots and outdoor recreation.

Figure 45: Rear of the Mansion at the Dedication Ceremony for Clover Bottom Mansion's Reopening after Rehabilitation, October 1994. Photo from the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

[229] Historically the newel post had detailed ornamentation and was topped by a pineapple. This pineapple had already disappeared when the mansion was listed in the National Register in 1975. There was no documentation or evidence of the pineapple when the mansion was rehabilitated so the newell post was replicated using photos known at that time. It therefore lacks the pineapple but the banister and newell post otherwise match the historical appearance.

[230] Program from the Clover Bottom Mansion Dedication Ceremony, Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Figure 46: Dedication Ceremony for Clover Bottom Mansion's Reopening after Rehabilitation, October 1994. Photo from the Clover Bottom File, Tennessee Historical Commission.

Archaeological Significance

Clover Bottom Farm is significant under Criterion D for previously yielded information and its potential to reveal new information about the farm's history and the lives of its residents, including its European American owners and workers, and African American workers, at first enslaved and later emancipated tenants. While historical records document much of the farm's history, there is much information not known, particularly regarding the earliest era. It is known that there were historically other buildings, domestic and agricultural, but their number, function, locations and appearances are mostly unknown. For example, McCline's memoir stated that the farm had a carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, saw mill, grist mill, and combination grist/gin mill, but only the location of the grist mill (outside of the nominated boundaries in the vicinity of Clover Bottom Developmental Center) is known. Historic early to mid-20th century aerial photographs also show additional buildings in the rear yard that are no longer extant. Their roles at Clover Bottom Farm are mostly unknown. Archaeological evidence such as foundations, associated features, or artifacts could provide information about these places which in turn can provide information about the farm's history.

Beyond the remembrances of John McCline, little is known about the lives of the enslaved people whose labor allowed the farm to be successful. McCline described the dwellings that enslaved people lived in, but today only two extant buildings are known to have been these dwellings. The locations and exact number of other dwellings are unknown. The location of where the enslaved buried their dead is also currently unknown. Beyond their ethnicity, some of their names, and job titles, there is little known about the tenants that performed the farm's labor after the Civil War. Foundations or remnants of tenant homes, artifacts, and archaeological features found nearby could reveal more information about their lives.

Once one of the largest farms in Davidson County, Clover Bottom Farm represents a microcosm of rural life and the varied agricultural uses that characterized farming in Davidson County during the 19th and 20th centuries. As such, its history could potentially provide broader information about Middle Tennessee historical life and culture. While the farm's extant above-ground resources provide physical evidence and knowledge of the past, these extant resources represent only a fraction of the resources known to have existed at one time. Extant archaeological features and remains can provide further evidence, such as stratigraphic patterns and artifacts that could provide evidence about the non-extant built environment and cultural landscapes, giving a fuller view of the historical lived experience of Middle Tennessee's people.

Clover Bottom Farm has been professionally evaluated for archaeological potential several times, beginning with a preliminary survey in 1975 by Samuel D. Smith from the Tennessee Division of Archaeology (TDOA). Every investigation concluded that the farm has archaeological integrity of stratigraphy and retention of artifacts, therefore retaining archaeological potential, primarily for association with historic archaeological remains of the 19th and 20th centuries, and meeting National Register requirements for Criterion D significance.

TDOA Investigation, 1992-1993

From 1992 to 1993, TDOA archaeologists Samuel D. Smith and Benjamin C. Nance directed an archaeological investigation at Clover Bottom. The assessment was conducted in advance of the rehabilitation of Clover Bottom Mansion for the new offices of the Tennessee Historical Commission (State Historic Preservation Office). The conversion of the mansion to a state office required landscape changes, including the installation of parking lots and removal of some concrete and asphalt from prior mid-20th century parking areas. The goal of the assessment was to assess the potential for archaeological evidence to allow the State to develop avoidance or mitigation strategies for potential adverse effects. The assessment was limited to the area where the work would be done, immediately to the rear (or southeast) of the mansion.

The assessment team excavated four three-foot-square test units, each placed in an area either believed to have been near a non-extant building or near where the rehabilitation work would be done. Initial shovel testing revealed a limestone foundation, partially below a concrete pad that had been used for parking. Test unit D was placed near the foundation, but the foundation was not excavated further due to time constraints (see Figure 47 for a map of the excavation).[231]

The foundation consists of a double course of limestone blocks. The depth of the foundation suggests that the building had a cellar, which was later filed in and covered by the concrete parking slab. The location of the foundation is consistent with a brick building, historically located immediately to the rear of the mansion and partially depicted in historic photos (see Figures 26, 29, and 33). Written documentation differed on the function of this structure. Some sources stated that it was the Hoggatt's home prior to the construction of the mansion. Others sources state that it was originally a garage/carriage house that at one time was also used as a chicken coop and later an apartment. It has also been described as the laundry building. It is possible that the building use changed over time, accounting for conflicts in documentation.[232]

A total of 984 artifacts were found during the excavation. The majority of the artifacts (739) were found in Test Unit D. The largest category of artifacts was glass, both bottle and window glass. Nance cautiously dated the window glass to between 1855 and 1885. Another large category of artifacts were nails (168) with 76 of them machine-cut. There were also forty-nine ceramic sherds with varying decorations.[233]

Nance categorized remains from coal, brick fragments, faunal material, and chert flakes separately. The vast majority of the brick fragments (about 12.3 kilograms) were recovered from Test Unit D. The largest fragments were determined to be hand-made brick. The majority of coal was recovered from Test Unit B. A total of twenty pieces of bone were found, most of which were consistent with the bones of small animals but two large mammal bones featured butchering marks.[234]

[231] Nance, *Historical Background and Archaeological Assessment of the Clover Bottom Mansion,* 27.
[232] Ibid.; Letter to Mrs. Douglas M. Wright from Richard C. Plater, Jr., January 10, 1967, Richard C. Plater, Jr. Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Merle Davis Interview; Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms,* 23.
[233] Nance, *Historical Background and Archaeological Assessment of the Clover Bottom Mansion*, 28-35.
[234] Ibid., 35-36.

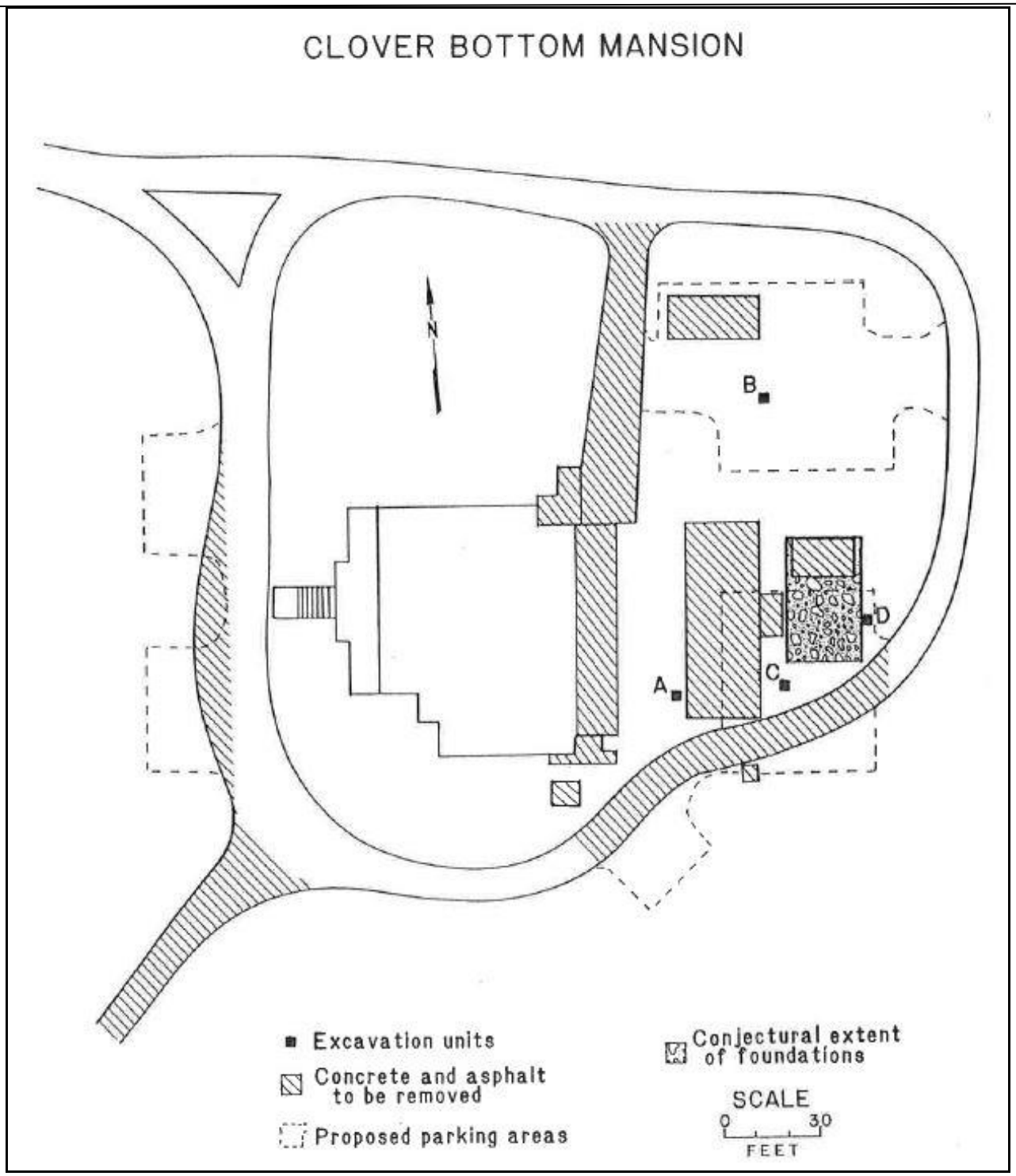

Figure 47: Map of the Excavation at Clover Bottom in 1992-1993. From Nance, *Historical Background and Archaeological Assessment of the Clover Bottom Mansion,* Department of Environment and Conservation, Tennessee Division of Archaeology, March 1993.

The artifact assemblage indicates 19th and 20th century cultural materials are present in that portion of the yard. Nance stated that the larger number of artifacts in Unit D may indicate a higher level of historic activity, likely due to the presence of a building that once stood in that area.[235]

Nance concluded that Clover Bottom was "an important historical and archaeological resource with great potential for future study" and that "the Hoggatt's plantation is a significant resource for the study of the Davidson County plantation system."[236] Although the study had revealed the presence of a foundation and hundreds of artifacts, the testing was limited to only one very small area of the farm. Therefore, much remained to be investigated, such as the locations of other buildings and artifacts, which could provide further information about the lives of the people who once lived and worked at Clover Bottom.

TDOA Investigation, 1993

Shortly after Nance's study concluded, Charles P. Stripling and Katherine A. Sanford, also of TDOA, conducted further tests at the request of mansion's rehabilitation architects. The goal of the project was to determine feasibility for reusing a ceramic septic drainage system, which had been known to exist and was uncovered in one of the Nance's test areas, and to further investigate the foundation that had been found during Nance's assessment.

The investigation occurred from April to May 1993 (see Figure 48 for map of the investigation). They excavated ten slot trenches, averaging two feet in width and of varying lengths. Six of the trenches were dug to locate the drainage system; they uncovered two drainage systems, one leading away from the rear of the mansion and one leading away from the limestone foundation. The other four trenches were located in the area of the foundation, primarily to learn more about the foundation and the concrete pad that covered it. For the most part, soil from the trenches was not screened with the exception of the soil from trench ST-6 and ST-10 which contained artifacts. A combination of the trenches and Test Unit D from Nance's investigation revealed three of the four corners of the foundation. The fourth corner could not be excavated because of the presence of a hickory tree covering that corner.

The team also excavated five test units within and around the limestone foundation. The soil was screened for artifact recovery. The test units revealed dressed limestone blocks extending at right angles from the foundation's east side. The blocks formed a five by six-foot enclosure, suggesting that they served as a chimney base. A builder's trench was discovered along the exterior of the south wall of the foundation. It was rubble-filled and contained some window glass fragments. Two units were located within the interior of the foundation to investigate the possibility of a cellar or basement.

[235] Nance, *Historical Background and Archaeological Assessment of the Clover Bottom Mansion*, 28, 36.
[236] Ibid., 37.

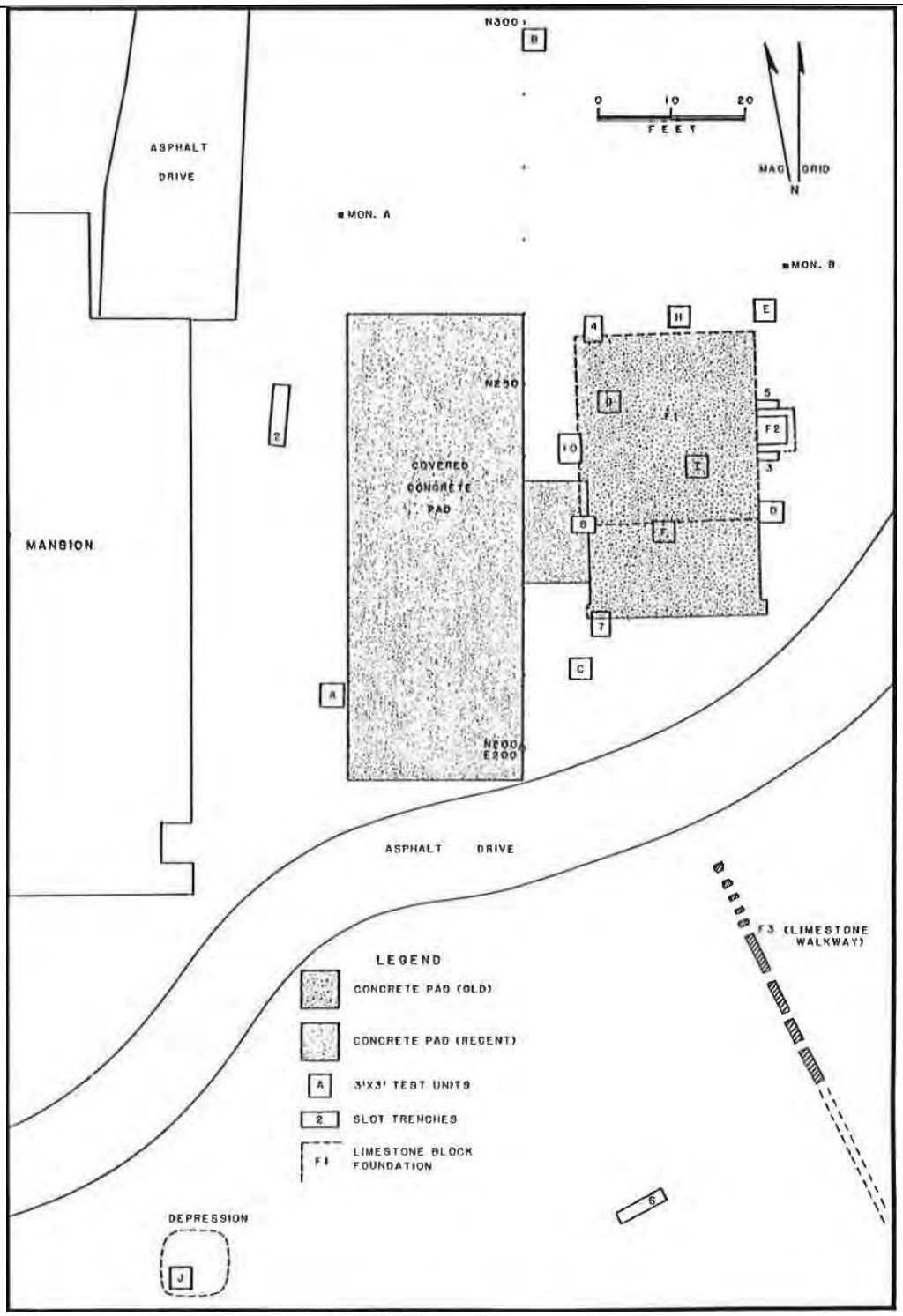

Figure 48: Map of the Investigation in 1993. From Stripling and Sanford, *Archaeological Testing and Monitoring at the Clover Bottom Mansion*, 45.

Towards the end of the investigation, Merle Hutchison Davis, who had been married to Arthur Stanford and lived in the mansion from 1927 until 1947, was interviewed by the team. When asked about the building that once stood behind the mansion, Davis stated that her understanding was that it was a two-story brick building with a two-car garage level and an apartment on the second level. She stated that the foundation extension on the east side was a downstairs toilet that was only accessible from the outside of the building. She stated that there had never been a chimney associated with the building.[237]

Davis also showed her family photo album to the team. A 1918 photo shows the presence of a domed-roof structure southeast of the mansion. The team interpreted it as a greenhouse, and Davis confirmed that there was a garden in that area of the yard. The photo led the team to place a final test unit at the corner of a small depression that roughly corresponded to the location of the structure. The excavation of this test unit only revealed "the usual 'yard trash' collection consisting of nails, glass, and ceramics" and no features, indicating that further investigations would be necessary to find the historic location of the greenhouse.[238]

The assessment report also included information about monitoring that TDOA completed during the mansion rehabilitation project, including work done within the mansion. This monitoring illustrates the potential to examine Clover Bottom's extant aboveground resources from a historical archaeological perspective to determine new information about the farm's history. Though limited during this investigation to the mansion, the same techniques could be applied to Clover Bottom's farm buildings, such as those in a state of ruin.

The mansion rehabilitation project required demolition of non-original interior partition walls and changes to the rear elevation to rebuild the rear porches and enclose them for additional space. The work revealed artifacts, such as dated structural pieces, that have provided documentation to date the mansion's evolution. For example, during demolition of the rear porch enclosure, pine boards with pencil inscriptions of "D.W. Jenkins 1889," "AD 1897," and "D.W. Jincking's (sic) July 1, 1897 Carpenter & Builder Donelson Tenn." The inscriptions suggest that the messages were left by the person who altered the porch during the Price family's ownership. The differing dates indicate that the work occurred at different times.[239]

Work on the exterior required removal of vegetation and the stucco side addition. The archaeologists examined the hole left behind when a holly tree was removed from the southwest corner of the front porch. At about a half foot below the surface they observed a dressed limestone block, just outside the foundation line of the mansion. They theorized that this block may relate to the original mansion that burned down in 1859.[240]

The south side of the mansion has a small addition with porches. The archeologists examined the boards in the attic and recorded a difference between this section and the rest of the house. The boards in the main portion of the house ranged between eighteen and twenty inches in width. The boards in the addition averaged between fourteen and sixteen inches wide. They also observed the original southern roof of the

[237] Stripling and Sanford, *Archaeological Testing and Monitoring at the Clover Bottom Mansion,* 65-66.
[238] Ibid., 66.
[239] Ibid., 66-67.
[240] Ibid., 68.

house, still extant below the then-current roof. Based on the evidence, the team concluded that the addition was probably constructed very soon after the completion of the main house and likely before 1861 when the Civil War resulted in material scarcity.[241]

This investigation provided important information about the farm and the mansion. The examination of the mansion from a historical archaeological perspective during rehabilitation provided essential information about the evolution of the mansion. The investigation also revealed more information about the brick structure once located near the mansion.

MTSU Investigation, 2015-2017

In 2015 Dr. Kathryn Sikes, Registered Professional Archaeologist and Assistant Professor at Middle Tennessee State University (MTSU), received a federal Historic Preservation Fund grant from the Tennessee Historical Commission to conduct an archaeological field school and Phase I and II excavation at Clover Bottom. The goal of the project was to improve understanding of the site as a whole, with particular emphasis on gaining a better understanding of the lives of Clover Bottom's African American population, both during enslavement and after emancipation.

The onsite investigation occurred from May to July 2015. It included a shovel test survey covering an area of 650 ft. by 650 ft. to the east and southeast of the current extant concentration of buildings, excluding the fenced and overgrown pasture to the east of the stable for logistical reasons (see Figure 49 for a map of the survey with indications of artifact counts). The investigation also involved nineteen 3 ft. by 3 ft. unit test excavations, generally limited to the area immediately to the rear (southeast) of the mansion, between Dwelling #2 and the Carriage House. Historical documentation and previous archaeological investigations suggested that these areas had the highest probability of containing buried foundations, artifacts, or other archaeological features. The team also performed historic archaeological analysis of the extant slave dwellings.[242]

The archaeological investigation revealed portions of a cellar foundation wall, most likely associated with a non-extant building, labelled as Structure A in the report. There were also features associated with a possible non-extant building, labelled as Structure B, but the limited investigation could not conclusively confirm that the features were associated with a building (see Figure 50).[243]

The western foundation wall of Structure A's cellar aligned with facades of Dwelling #1 and #2 (see Figure 51). The interior of the structure was filled with destruction fill of ash, charcoal, large burned timbers, whole and broken brick, and numerous artifacts. The excavation of the cellar did not extend beyond 2.82 feet in depth due to the presence of large limestone stone fill, which would have been too difficult to excavate given the time restrictions of the project. The brick scatter appeared to originate from the southern end of Structure A, suggesting that the building had a similar plan as Dwelling #1 and #2 with a brick chimney on a gable end.[244]

[241] Stripling and Sanford, *Archaeological Testing and Monitoring at the Clover Bottom Mansion,* 68-69.
[242] Sikes, et al, *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186),* 1, 5-6, 27-35
[243] Ibid., 31-43.
[244] Ibid., 35-36.

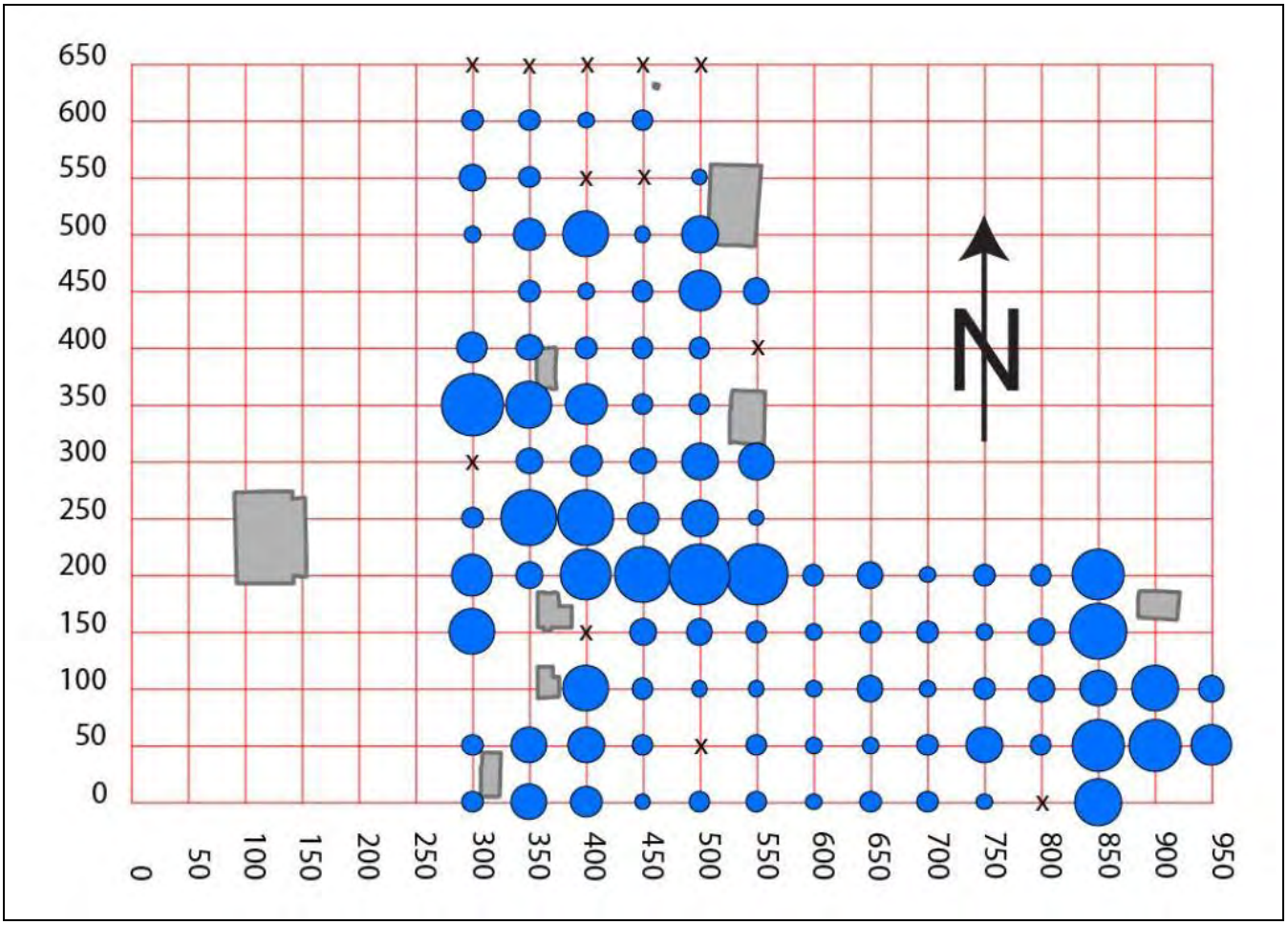

Figure 49: Map of the 2015 MTSU Shovel Test Survey. The building at the far left is Clover Bottom Mansion. The circles correspond to artifact counts. From Sikes, et al, *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186),* 30.

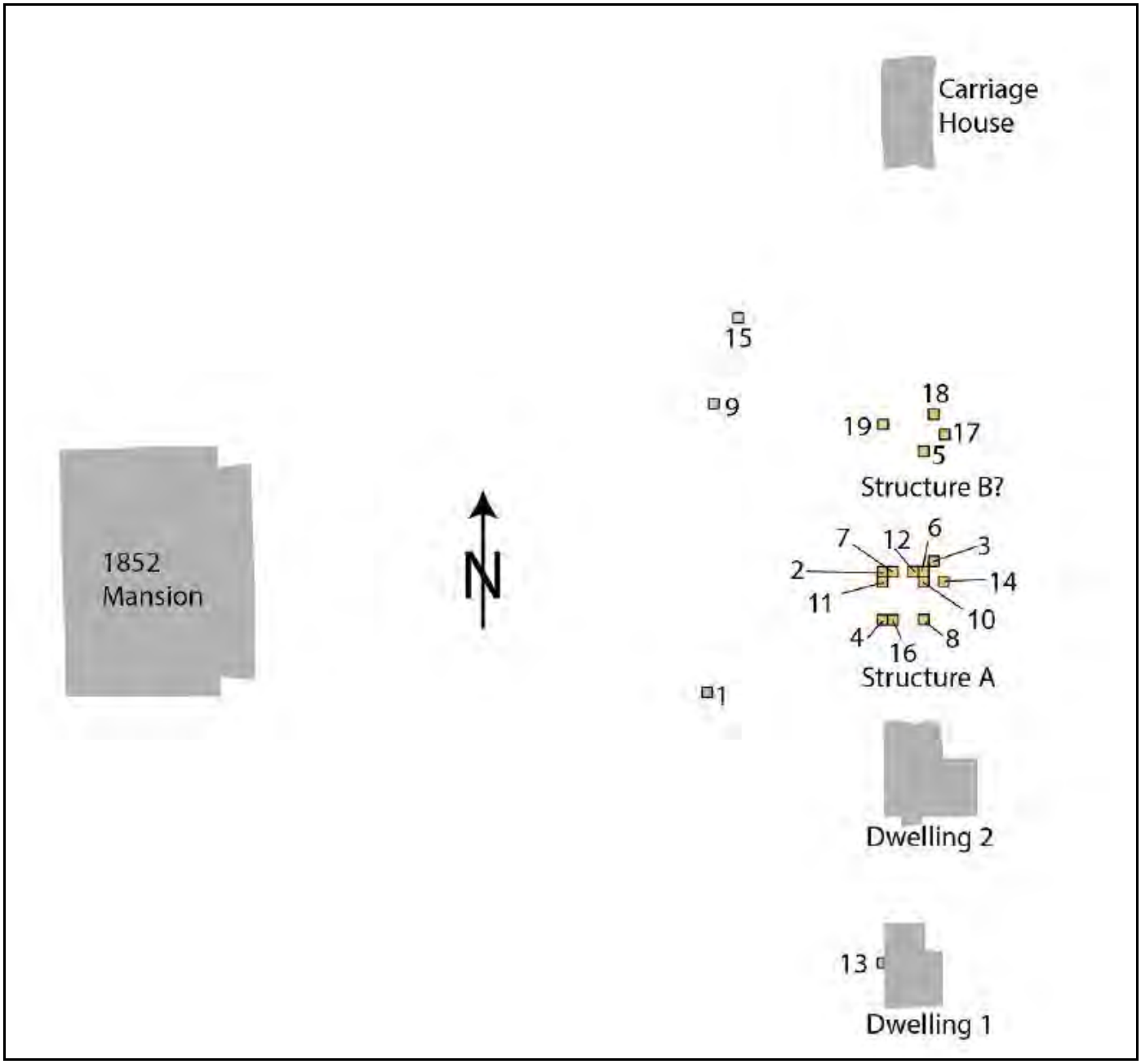

Figure 50: MTSU Test Unit Locations in relation to extant buildings. From Sikes, et al, *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186),* 31.

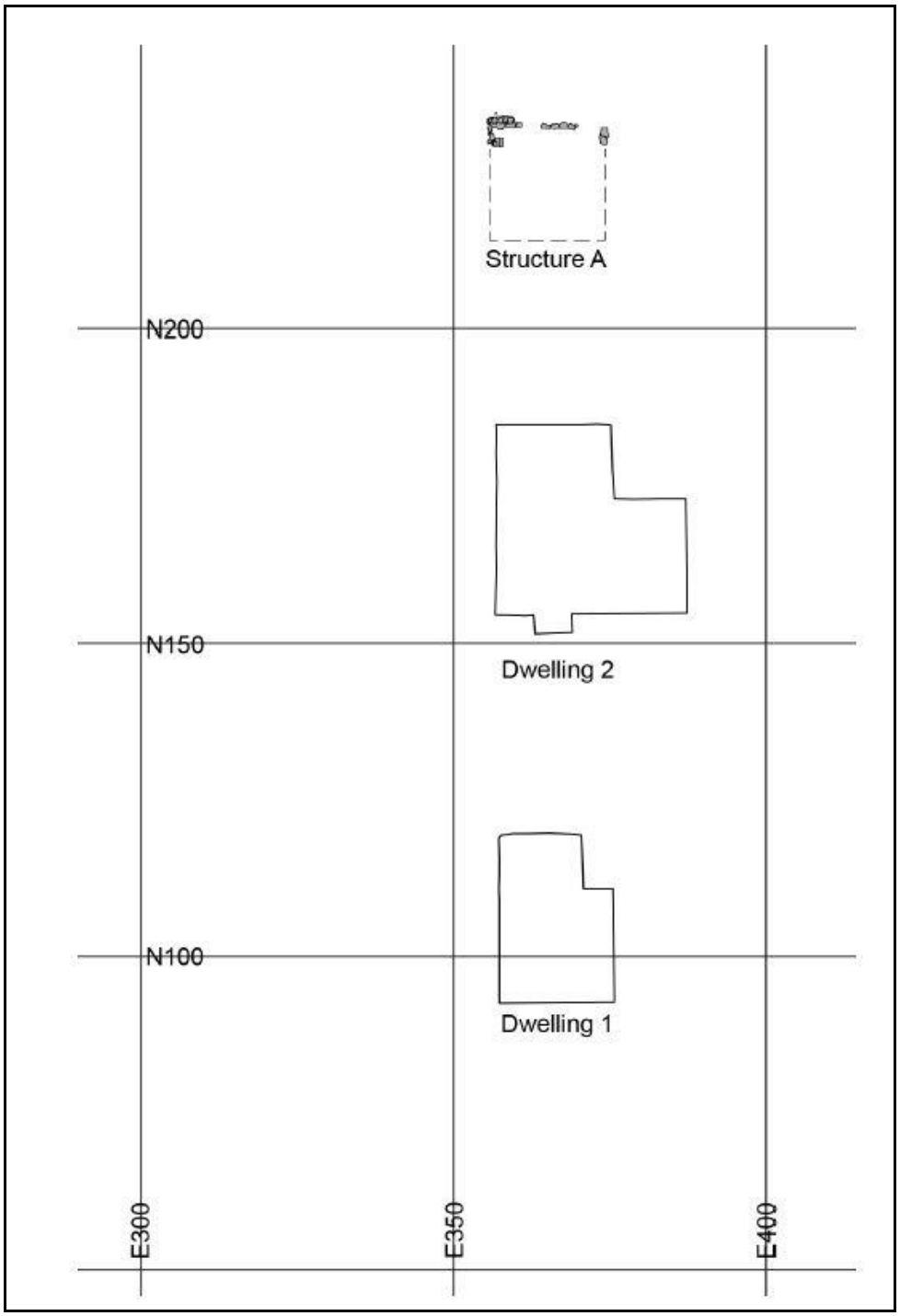

Figure 51: Location of Structure A's foundation in relation to Slave/Tenant Dwellings #1 and #2. From Sikes, et al, *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186),* 34.

The test units revealed a builder's trench associated with Structure A but the limited excavation time and resources did not result in a total excavation of the trench. Present in the trench was debris (limestone chips) from the dressing and construction of the limestone foundation, which suggests that the historic occupational ground surface has been preserved around Structure A beneath the topsoil. Due to the limited time and resources of the excavation, the entirety of Structure A's features were not excavated. Using the exposed portions, the excavators estimated the length of the structure to be 18 feet 6 inches from north to south, which is consistent with the dimensions of the original portions of the extant Dwelling #1 and #2.[245]

Based on the spatial relationships of Structure A, Dwelling #1, and Dwelling #2, test units were dug in a location north of Structure A to investigate the possible presence of another non-extant building, named in the report as Structure B. The test units revealed limestone block and architectural debris, possibly related to a building foundation, and concentrations of pea gravel, which may date to a buried road or to the construction of a past parking lot. A similar concentration was found in another test unit from a possible fence line that was infilled with brick and stone.[246]

The archaeological team also placed two test units east of the current parking lot and southwest of the carriage house in an attempt to locate evidence of a smokehouse that John McCline described in his memoir. The test units revealed no features and very few artifacts; the few artifacts were twentieth century colored glass and located close to the topsoil. Therefore, the investigation did not provide any information on the smokehouse's location.[247]

The excavation project also began exploration of Dwelling #1's builder's trench, but the team could not complete a full investigation due to time restraints and health concerns stemming from the dwelling's ongoing rehabilitation involving lead abatement. The investigation did reveal limestone and brick remnants within the foundation hole of Dwelling #1, similar to what was found within the interior of Structure A.[248]

While investigating Dwelling #1's builder's trench, the team also examined Dwelling #1 using historic archaeological techniques and perspectives. The team noted that the cellars of both dwellings are unusually deep, suggesting usage for storage, possibly for foods that would have benefited from the colder temperatures below ground. Cut nails installed in the walls of Dwelling #1's cellar suggest that items were hung from the walls for storage.[249] Though the team could not further investigate the dwellings due to the ongoing restoration and hazardous material abatement, their brief investigation did reveal information that has led to a greater understanding of Clover Bottom's built environment, particularly regarding homes built for the enslaved people.

[245] Sikes, et al, *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186),* 36, 40,
[246] Ibid., 40-42.
[247] Ibid., 43.
[248] Ibid., 43.
[249] Ibid., 57-60.

A total of 8,152 artifacts were found during the investigation and catalogued according to SHARD methodology. Almost half (49.36%) of the artifacts were structural materials related to the construction and destruction of buildings, including cut and wire nails, brick, mortar, and limestone debris. Domestic items totaled 26.31% of the artifacts, primarily ceramic and porcelains. The next most-represented artifacts were those with an indefinite use (17.5%). Industrial items and artifacts associated with activities were not well represented. The types of artifacts recovered suggest the area was primarily domestic and not industrial, which fits with the belief that this area primarily served as domestic space featuring living quarters and domestic outbuildings, such as the laundry. The report did not include analysis of possible dates for every artifact, but the artifacts that were investigated dated between 1860 and the 1960s. [250]

The team concluded that Clover Bottom Farm has excellent stratigraphic integrity below the topsoil. The investigation revealed the presence of a previously unknown structure. The text excavation units suggest the building was domestic in nature. The team did not conclusively determine that the structure was a dwelling for enslaved people. However, the revealed information can be interpreted to support the assertion that Dwelling #1 and #2 were originally built as housing for enslaved people and that Structure A was likely another slave dwelling, destroyed sometime after 1931. This is based on the shape and size of Structure A's features, spatial relationship between the structure and dwelling, the presence of artifacts, and oral history testimony of John McCline. Domestic items within the fill date to 1820-1840, suggesting use around the antebellum period. Artifacts from later periods do not date past 1931, suggesting that 1931 is the earliest date the structure could have been destroyed. The presence of burned structural timbers and broken brick within the fill of Structure A's cellar is consistent with destruction by fire.[251]

The archaeological report for the investigation argues that the project revealed a high degree of potential for additional archaeological information. The site retains excellent stratigraphic integrity, and future investigations could reveal a wealth of more information, such as the location and size of additional buildings, artifacts that help establish the historical uses of different areas, landscape features such as swept yard spaces, and the spatial relationships between sites and buildings, thereby providing further information about the lived experience at Clover Bottom Farm.

Potential Additional Areas of Investigation

The previously identified archaeological concentrations and features are significant for the information they have yielded; further excavation of these sites could yield additional significant information. In addition, Clover Bottom retains other resources or areas that could potentially contribute to knowledge about the farm's history and significance within the local context of Davidson County.

A potential archaeological concentration is near the Caretaker's residence at the rear of the property. In the vicinity of this residence was the site of the two-story overseer's house that predated the Civil War and was extant until the mid-twentieth century. A former resident described the house as log covered by weatherboard with columns.[252] While most of the landscape in this portion of the yard slopes downward, there is a flat section, possibly corresponding to the foundation of the Overseer's House. In the vicinity of

[250] Sikes, et al, *An Archaeological History of Clover Bottom Plantation (Site 40DV186),* 45-55.
[251] Ibid., 56-57.
[252] Merle Davis Interview.

this area was another log structure that possibly dated to the earlier 19th century and was extant until the 2000s. As previously explained, the log structure was speculated to have been the Hoggatts' original house built for initial settlement during the farm's earliest years. Archaeological investigations of evidence related to the structure may provide information about its history, which could clear this speculation and provide information about the early history of Clover Bottom Farm and the Hoggatt family. The MTSU shovel test found relatively high concentrations of artifacts at the edge of this area, suggesting that there is likely additional intact evidence below ground, possibly associated with either non-extant structure.

Investigations of other portions of the property could provide information about the historic location of the second line of ca. 1858 Slave Dwellings. This in turn can provide further information about the lived experienced of the enslaved African American population and the spatial layout of the farm. According to McCline, the second line of ca. 1858 dwellings was in the vicinity of the overseer's house. Previous shovel testing west of the overseer's house location did not reveal any foundations or artifacts concentrations that indicated the historical presence of dwellings. The areas south, east, and north of the overseer's site have not yet been investigated but may contain archaeological evidence, such as building foundations or artifacts, which can answer the questions of where these dwellings were located and whether their form and materials is consistent with the extant dwellings and McCline's descriptions. Extant evidence may also reveal information about the lives or culture of the people who once inhabited the structures.

According to McCline's memoir, the pre-1858 dwellings for the enslaved were scattered across the farm but there is little information beyond that. Although McCline indicated that his grandmother's house would have been outside of the nominated boundaries, it is unknown where any of the other dwellings were located. It is possible that some may have been located within the nominated boundaries, and archaeological investigations could provide further information regarding those dwellings as well as that early era of the farm's history.

The Tenant House and Manager's House could provide additional sites for historic archaeological investigation. Oral history from the last private owner (Merle Stanford Davis) indicates construction of these buildings in the early 20th century. However, she did not actually witness this construction but was relaying information told to her by her husband, Arthur Stanford. Therefore, there could be aspects of the construction, such as reuse of older buildings or materials, of which she was unaware. Both buildings contain materials and construction evidence that support an early 20th century construction date, such as the concrete block foundation of the Tenant House. However, both also contain interior construction materials more common in 19th century construction. One possible conclusion to draw from the materials is that the dwellings were built using salvaged materials. Another is to speculate that the core of the buildings may be 19th century and then were moved, significantly altered, or expanded in the 20th century. Given the known reuse of Slave Dwellings for Tenant housing at Clover Bottom, there is the intriguing possibility that the materials or entire structure of the slave dwellings may have been involved in the construction or evolution of the extant tenant and manager dwellings. Further investigation of the extant buildings from a historic archaeological perspective could provide answers to these questions.

Further investigation of agricultural buildings could provide new information about the farm. For example, there is little known about the role of the stock barn in the farm's history during the State Era. Investigation

of the extant ruins and its site may reveal information that can fill in this gap in knowledge. Though more is known about the swine operation during the State era, investigation of the pig shed could provide additional information not currently known. Similarly, archaeological investigations of the foundation in the side yard and the concrete structure in the front yard could provide more conclusive information about their uses and roles in Clover Bottom Farm's agricultural history.

In the front yard, there is a landscape feature that may have been associated with a road or perhaps an original driveway. The earliest known images of the front yard, dating to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, depict the driveway following the same path as current, running along the mansion's north side and circling the mansion. The landscape feature has a clearly raised section, consistent with a built-up road bed, in a section of the lawn that otherwise slopes downward. Though it has not been investigated, the visible landscape feature suggests that there may be archaeological features or stratigraphic evidence below ground that can provide further evidence about Clover Bottom's historical cultural landscape and the farm's larger history.

National Register Boundaries and Archaeological Potential

The boundaries of this nomination have been limited to a contiguous area that retains integrity to convey the property's above-ground historical and architectural significance as well as areas that have been investigated for archaeological potential and retain evidence that can provide information about the past. However, it should be noted for planning purposes that archaeological remains historically associated with Clover Bottom Farm may be located outside of the nominated boundaries in areas that have been left unused since the mid-20th century (but are currently under the jurisdiction of state agencies other than the Tennessee Historical Commission) or have been redeveloped for new uses by the State of Tennessee, private organizations, or private individuals. The majority of these areas have not been investigated for archaeological potential, but future archaeological investigations of these areas may reveal evidence that may justify expanding the farm's nominated boundaries.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):		Primary location of additional data:	
	preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)	X	State Historic Preservation Office
X	previously listed in the National Register	X	Other State agency: Tennessee Division of Archaeology
	previously determined eligible by the National Register		Federal agency
	designated a National Historic Landmark		Local government
	recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #	X	University: Middle Tennessee State University
	recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #	X	Other
	recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey #	Name of repository: Tennessee State Library and Archives	
Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): 40DV186			

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 53 **USGS Quadrangle** Nashville East 311-NW

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates
Datum if other than WGS84: N/A

A.	Latitude: 36.169978	Longitude: -86.654316
B.	Latitude: 36.171406	Longitude: -86.651647
C.	Latitude: 36.171274	Longitude: -86.647783
D.	Latitude: 36.170790	Longitude: -86.644958
E.	Latitude: 36.169410	Longitude: -86.544246
F.	Latitude: 36.167354	Longitude: -86.648895
G.	Latitude: 36.167829	Longitude: -86.651102

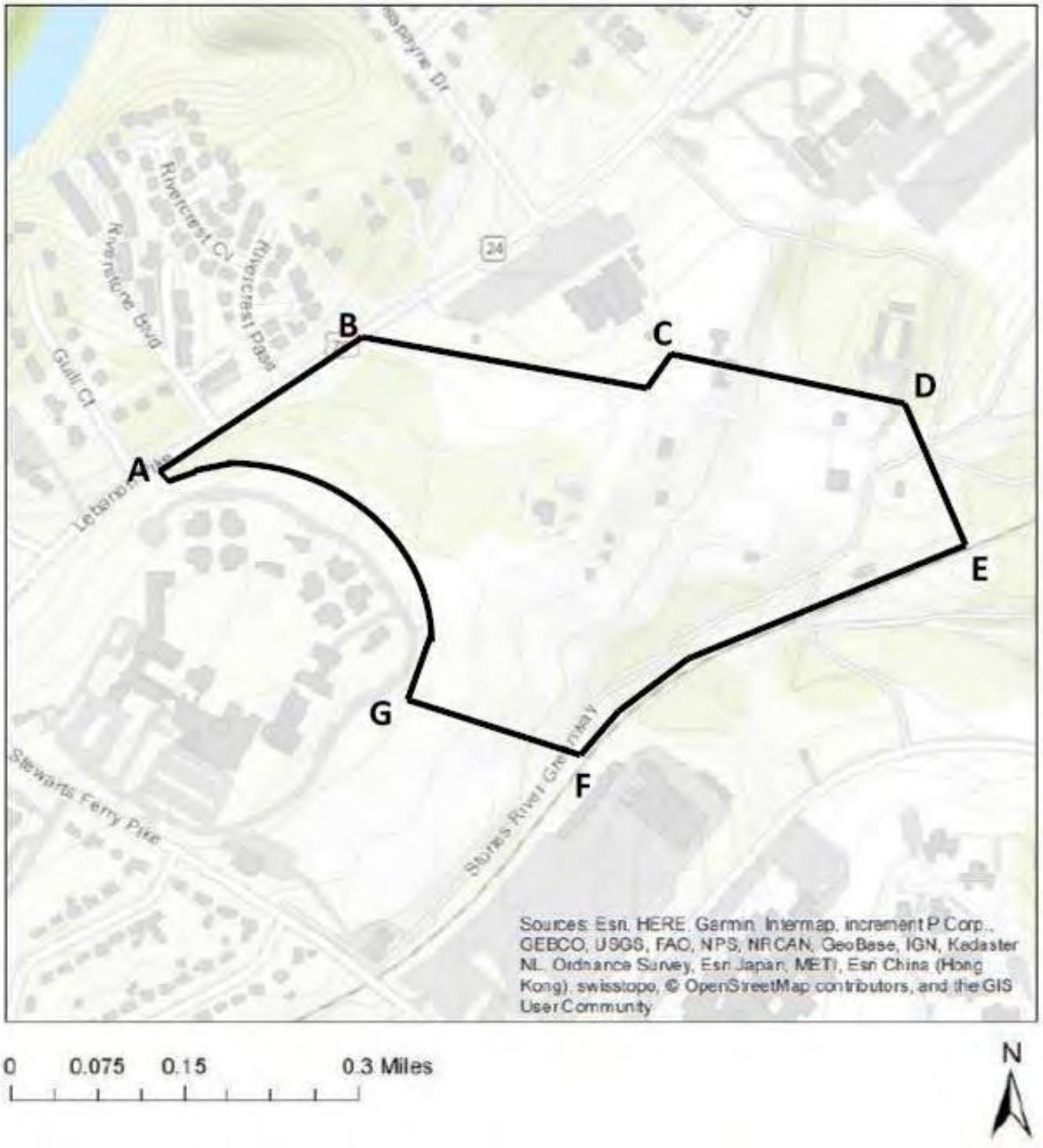
Verbal Boundary Description

The western corner of the boundary begins at the intersection (Coordinate A) of a wooden fence and chain-link fence next to Lebanon Pike. The boundary then proceeds northeast along Lebanon Pike for approximately 900 feet to a paved one-car-wide road. The boundary then proceeds eastward along the road and the legal property line for approximately 1,100 feet before turning north and running approximately 220 feet along the west side of the Hoggatt Family Cemetery and the YMCA property line. The boundary then turns eastward and extends approximately 830 feet before turning southeast and proceeding for approximately 575 feet until it reaches railroad tracks (land owned by the railroad company is not included in these boundaries). The boundary then turns and proceeds southwest along the curving rail line for approximately 1,600 feet. It then turns west and follows a chain-link fence line for approximately 700 feet. The boundary then proceeds north and west along the curving chain-link fence line for approximately 1,550 feet before it meets the west corner of the boundary at Lebanon Pike. These boundaries are depicted on the enclosed maps.

Boundary Justification

These boundaries encompass the resources historically associated with Clover Bottom Farm. Although the nominated property is part of a much larger legal parcel owned by the State of Tennessee, the boundaries of this nomination are limited to areas that retain integrity to convey the property's above-ground historical and architectural significance as well as areas that have been investigated for archaeological purposes and retain evidence that can provide information about the past. These boundaries serve as an expansion of the 1975 Clover Bottom Mansion nomination, which did not set precise boundaries but limited the nomination to the mansion, cemetery, and log cabin.

USGS Topographic Map (Nashville East 311-NW) with Clover Bottom Farm National Register Boundaries and Latitude/Longitude Points



Aerial Map with Clover Bottom Farm National Register Boundaries

Clover Bottom Farm (Boundary Expansion) | Davidson, Tennessee
Name of Property | County and State

11. Form Prepared By

Name	Rebecca Schmitt with research contributions by Steve Rogers		
Organization	Tennessee Historical Commission		
Street & Number	2941 Lebanon Pike	Date	January 4, 2019
City or Town	Nashville	Telephone	(615) 770-1086
E-mail	Rebecca.Schmitt@tn.gov	State TN	Zip Code 37214

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to map.
- **Photographs (**refer to Tennessee Historical Commission National Register *Photo Policy* for submittal of digital images and prints**)**
- **Additional items:** (additional supporting documentation including historic photographs, historic maps, etc. should be included on a Continuation Sheet following the photographic log and sketch maps)

Photo Log

Name of Property: Clover Bottom Farm
City or Vicinity: Nashville
County: Davidson State: Tennessee
Photographer: Rebecca Schmitt
Date Photographed: November and December 2018

1 of 109. Front façade. Photographer facing east.

2 of 109. Front Portico Detail. Photographer facing southeast.

3 of 109. Front Door Detail. Photographer facing east.

4 of 109. North Elevation. Photographer facing south.

5 of 109. Oblique view of north and east elevations. Photographer facing southwest.

6 of 109. Rear, east Elevation. Photographer facing west.

7 of 109. South Elevation. Photographer facing north.

8 of 109. Oblique View of south elevation and Façade. Photographer facing northeast.

9 of 109. First Level Hall. Photographer facing west.

10 of 109. First Level Hall. Photographer facing east.

11 of 109. Staircase at back of First Level Hall. Photographer facing east.

12 of 109. Double Parlor. Photographer facing southeast.

13 of 109. Office on south side of Hall, First Level. Photographer facing south.

14 of 109. Kitchen. Photographer facing south.

15 of 109. First Level Elevator Lobby. Photographer facing south.

16 of 109. First Level Men's Restroom. Photographer facing south.

17 of 109. First Level Women's Restroom. Photographer facing southwest.

18 of 109. First Level Hallway. Photographer facing south.

19 of 109. First Level Hallway towards Secondary Stairwell. Photographer facing west.

20 of 109. Office on Southeast Corner of First Level. Photographer facing south.

21 of 109. Secondary Stairwell, First Level. Photographer facing southeast.

22 of 109. Second Level Hall. Photographer facing west.

23 of 109. Second Level Hall. Photographer facing east.

24 of 109. Office in Northwest Corner of Second Level. Photographer facing northwest.

25 of 109. Door Detail in Northwest Office. Photographer facing southeast.

26 of 109. North Office, Second Level. Photographer facing northeast.

27 of 109. Fireplace Detail in North Office, Second Level. Photographer facing southeast.

28 of 109. Northeast Office (in Rear Addition), Second Level. Photographer facing south.

29 of 109. Stained Glass Detail, Northeast Office, Second Level. Photographer facing west.

30 of 109. Elevator Lobby, Second Level. Photographer facing north.

31 of 109. Storage Area, Second Level. Photographer facing southeast.

32 of 109. Southeast Office, Second Level. Photographer facing south.

33 of 109. Door Detail in Southeast Office, Second Level. Photographer facing west.

34 of 109. Small Office in Rear Addition, Second Level. Photographer facing east.

35 of 109. Southwest Office, Second Level. Photographer facing southwest.

36 of 109. Hallway, Second Level. Photographer facing east.

37 of 109. Secondary Stairwell, Second Level. Photographer facing south.

38 of 109. Secondary Stairwell, Second Level. Photographer facing northeast.

39 of 109. Elevator Lobby, Basement. Photographer facing northwest.

40 of 109. Storage Space, Basement. Photographer facing southeast.

41 of 109. Custodial Storage Space, Basement. Photographer facing northeast.

42 of 109. Hall, Basement. Photographer facing west.

43 of 109. File Storage Room, Basement. Photographer facing southwest.

44 of 109. Northeast Office, Basement. Photographer facing northeast.

45 of 109. Northeast Office, Basement. Photographer facing southwest.

46 of 109. Window Detail in Northwest Office, Basement. Photographer facing west.

47 of 109. Northwest Office, Basement. Photographer facing southeast.

48 of 109. Door Detail in Hall, Basement. Photographer facing west.

49 of 109. Secondary Stairwell, Basement. Photographer facing southeast.

50 of 109. Southwest Office, Basement. Photographer facing northwest.

51 of 109. Fireplace and Door Details in Southwest Office, Basement. Photographer facing east.

52 of 109. Storage Space, Basement. Photographer facing south.

53 of 109. Mechanical Equipment Room, Basement. Photographer facing southeast.

54 of 109. Cistern. Photographer facing west.

55 of 109. Parking Area at Rear of Mansion and Approximate Location of Feature #3. Photographer facing northwest.

56 of 109. Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2, Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1, Chicken Coop, and Pig Shed. Photographer facing east.

57 of 109. Carriage House, Horse Stable/Dairy Barn, Calving Barn. Photographer facing northeast.

58 of 109. Oblique View of Façade and North Elevation of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1. Photographer facing southeast.

59 of 109. Oblique View of Façade and South Elevation of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1. Photographer facing northeast.

60 of 109. Oblique View of South and East Elevations of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1. Photographer facing northwest.

61 of 109. Oblique View of East and North Elevations of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1. Photographer facing southwest.

62 of 109. Interior of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1. Photographer facing southeast.

63 of 109. Interior of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1. Photographer facing northwest.

64 of 109. Interior of Addition on Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1. Photographer facing northeast.

65 of 109. Cellar Entrance on north elevation of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1. Photographer facing south.

66 of 109. Cellar of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1. Photographer facing southeast.

67 of 109. Oblique view of Façade and North Elevation of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Photographer facing southeast.

68 of 109. Oblique view of Façade and South Elevation of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Photographer facing northeast.

69 of 109. Oblique View of South and East Elevations of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Photographer facing northwest.

70 of 109. Oblique View of East and North Elevations of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Photographer facing southwest.

71 of 109. Interior of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Photographer facing south.

72 of 109. Interior of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Photographer facing southwest.

73 of 109. Interior of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Photographer facing northeast.

74 of 109. Interior of Bedroom in ca. 1941 Addition of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Photographer facing northwest.

75 of 109. Interior of Bathroom in ca. 1941 Addition of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Photographer facing north.

76 of 109. Interior of Kitchen Addition of Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2. Photographer facing north.

77 of 109. Chicken Coop. Photographer facing southeast.

78 of 109. Pig Shed. Photographer facing southeast.

79 of 109. Façade and South Elevation of Carriage House. Photographer facing northeast.

80 of 109. Calving Barn. Photographer facing northeast.

81 of 109. Calving Barn. Photographer facing southeast.

82 of 109. Horse Stable/Dairy Barn. Photographer facing northeast.

83 of 109. Privy. Photographer facing northwest.

84 of 109. View of Slave/Tenant Dwellings, Carriage House, and Mansion from Privy. Photographer facing southwest.

85 of 109. Hoggatt Family Cemetery. Photographer facing northwest.

86 of 109. Detail of Stones in Hoggatt Family Cemetery. Photographer facing south.

87 of 109. Manager's House. Photographer facing northeast.

88 of 109. Barn. Photographer facing northwest.

89 of 109. Pasture. Photographer facing southwest.

90 of 109. Porch of Tenant House. Photographer facing east.

91 of 109. Rear of Tenant House. Photographer facing north.

92 of 109. Silo. Photographer facing northwest.

93 of 109. Stock Barn Ruins. Photographer facing south.

94 of 109. Mill Foundation. Photographer facing east.

95 of 109. Mill Foundation. Photographer facing southwest.

96 of 109. Caretaker's House. Photographer facing east.

97 of 109. Yard Behind Caretaker's House (Historic site of Overseer's House and Saddlebag Log Cabin). Photographer facing east.

98 of 109. Pasture. Photographer facing east.

99 of 109. Front Yard and Clover Bottom Mansion. Photographer facing east.

100 of 109. New Entrance from Lebanon Pike. Photographer facing north.

101 of 109. Historic Stone Gates/Entrance from Lebanon Pike. Photographer facing west.

102 of 109. Front Yard and Landscape Feature. Photographer facing east.

103 of 109. Concrete Structure. Photographer facing east.

104 of 109. Foundation. Photographer facing east.

105 of 109. Front Yard view from Front of Mansion. Photographer facing west.

106 of 109. Drive, Parking Area, and Column Fragments in Front of Mansion. Photographer facing south.

107 of 109. Column Fragments. Photographer facing south.

108 of 109. Approximate Location of Feature #4. Photographer facing north.

109 of 109. Secondary Entrance Gates. Photographer facing east.

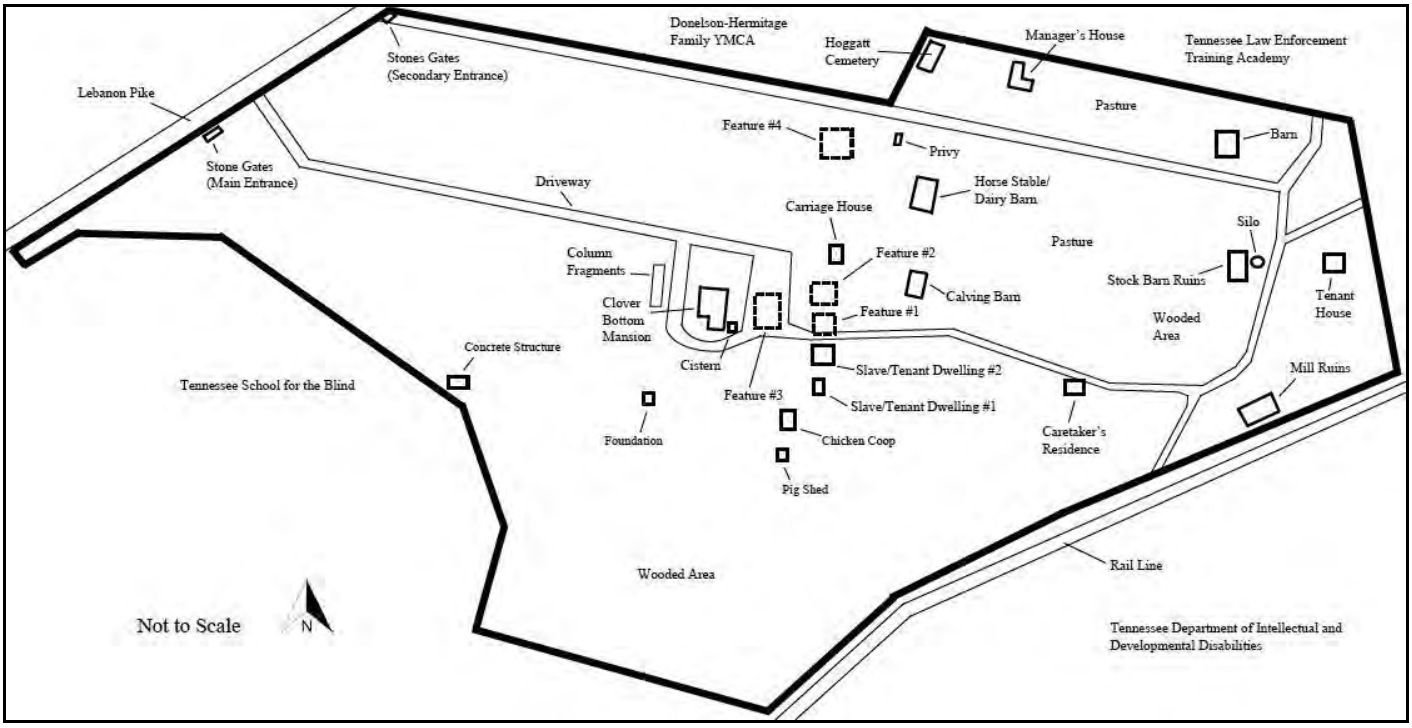
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Clover Bottom Farm
Name of Property
Davidson County, Tennessee
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Photos and Plans Page 128

Site Plan



See Oversized Version

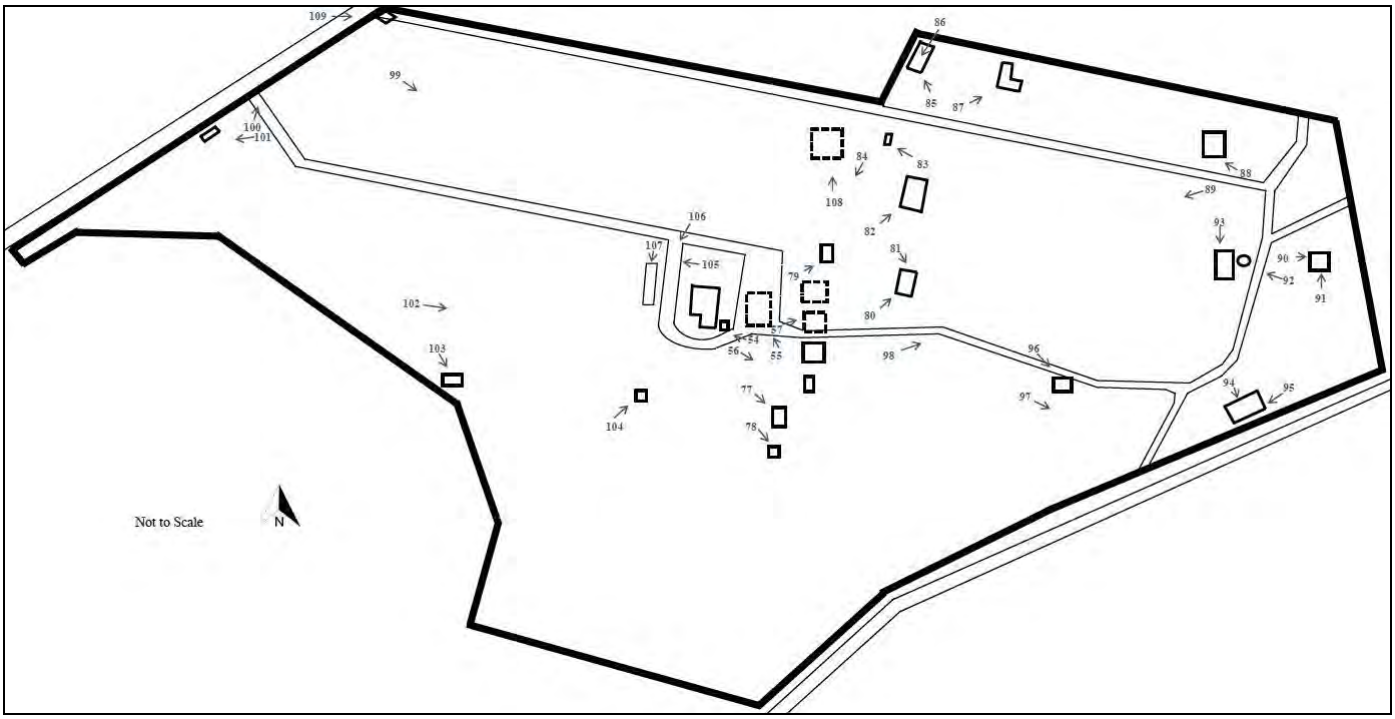
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Clover Bottom Farm
Name of Property
Davidson County, Tennessee
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Photos and Plans Page 129

Site Plan with Photos Keyed



See Oversized Version

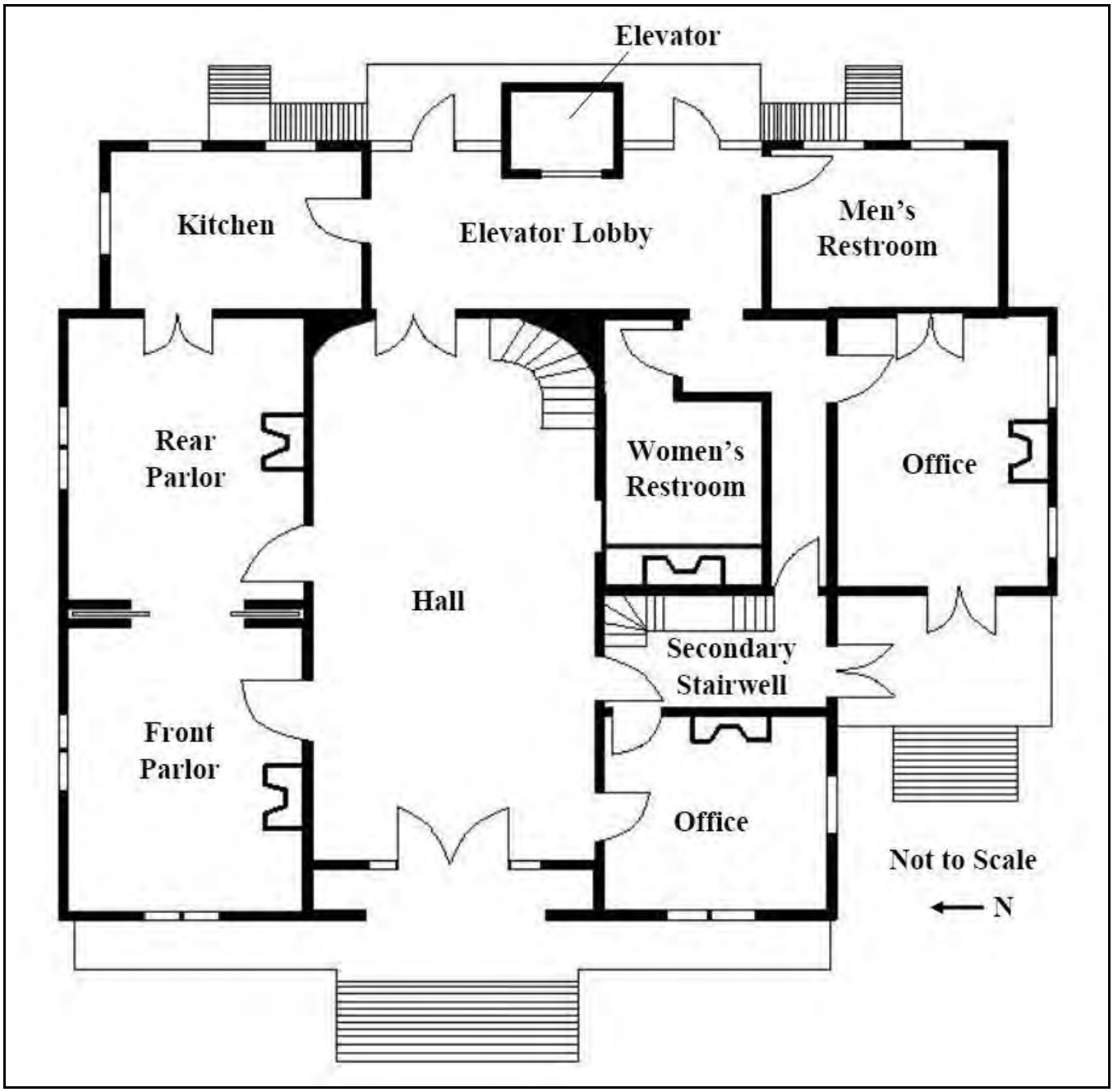
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Clover Bottom Farm
Name of Property
Davidson County, Tennessee
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Photos and Plans Page 130

Mansion First Floor Plan with Rooms Labelled by Current Use



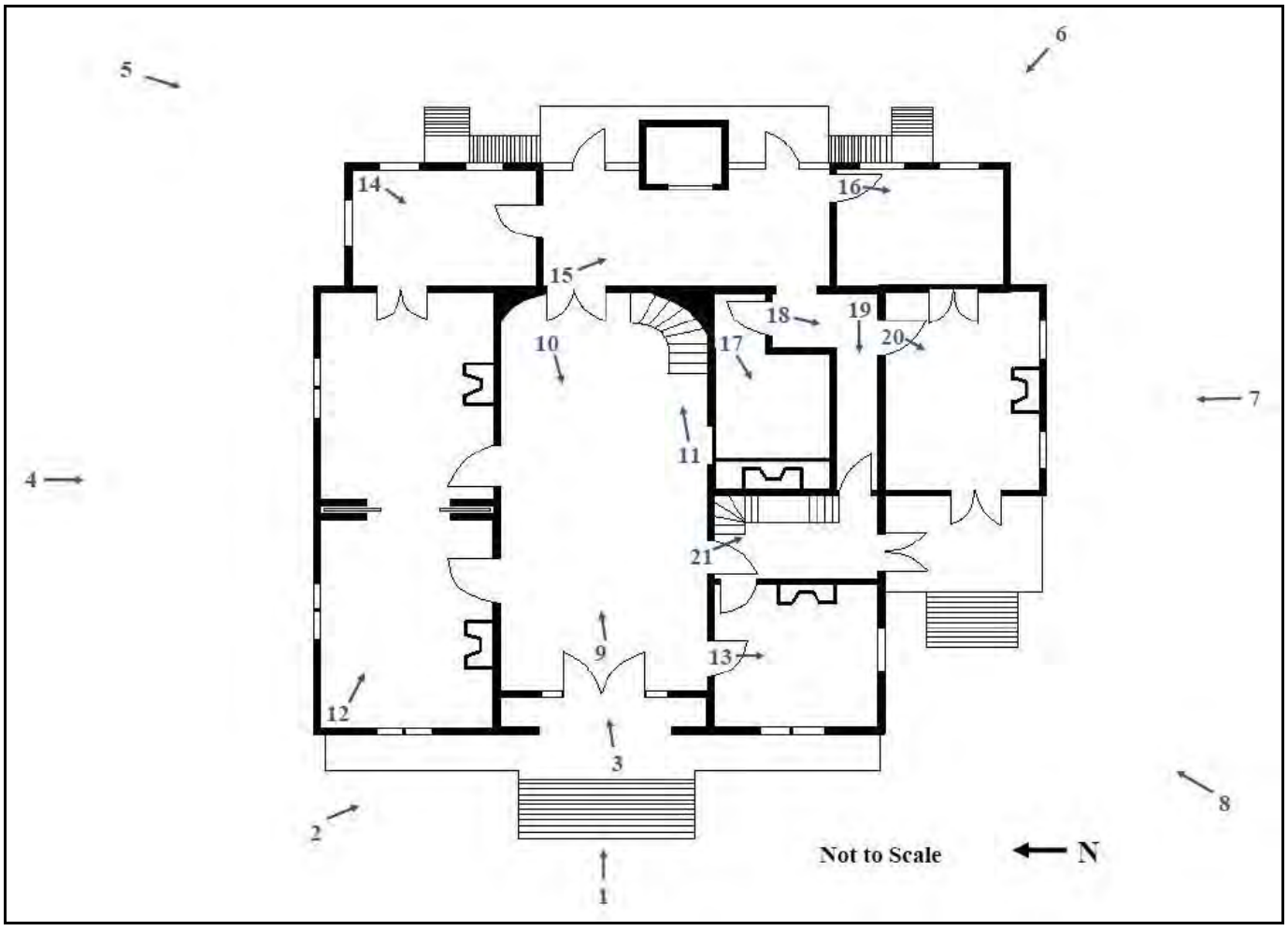
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Clover Bottom Farm
Name of Property
Davidson County, Tennessee
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Photos and Plans Page 131

Mansion First Floor Plan with Photos Keyed



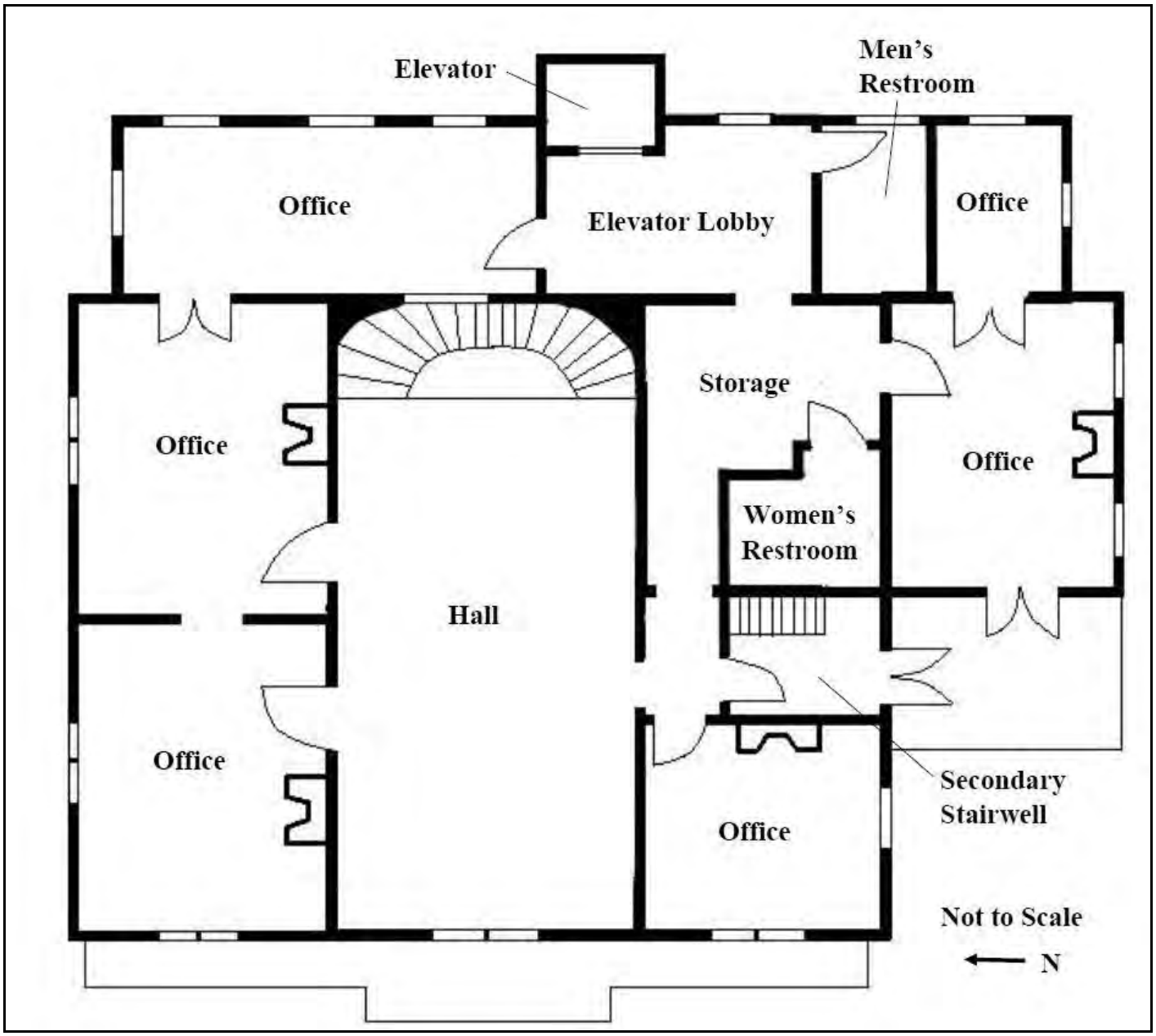
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Clover Bottom Farm
Name of Property
Davidson County, Tennessee
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Photos and Plans Page 132

Mansion Second Floor Plan with Rooms Labelled by Current Use



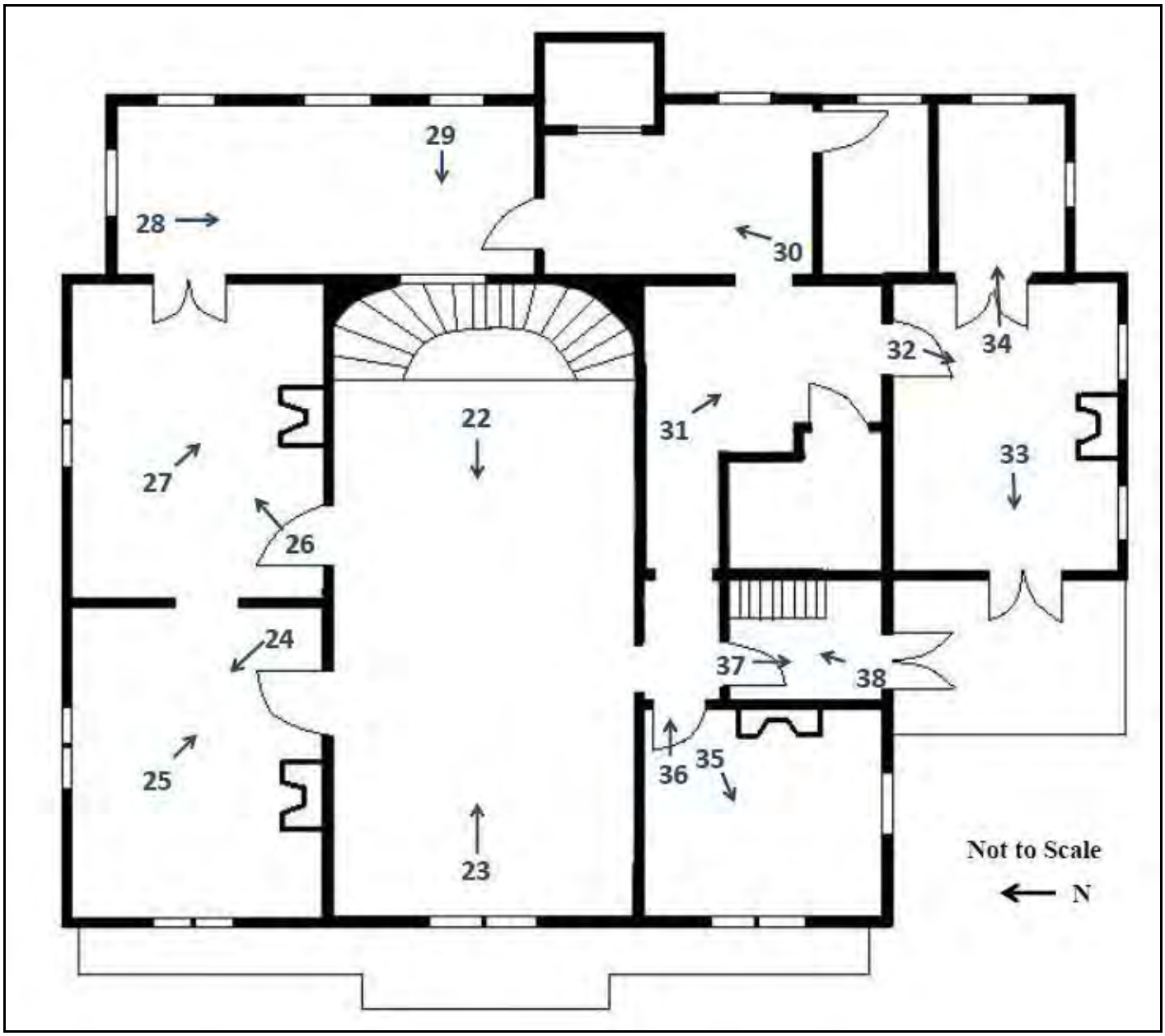
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Clover Bottom Farm
Name of Property
Davidson County, Tennessee
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Photos and Plans Page 133

Mansion Second Floor Plan with Photos Keyed



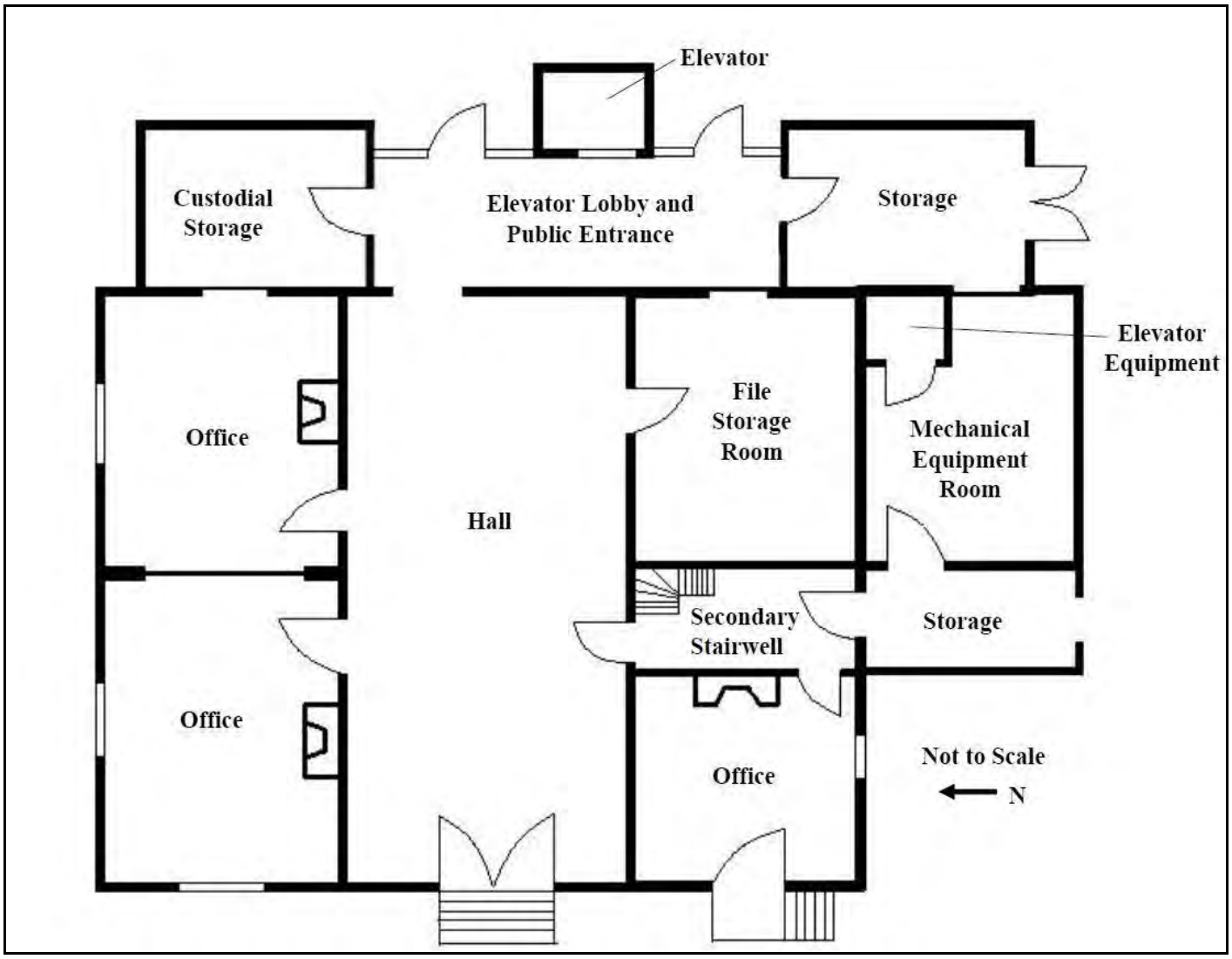
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Clover Bottom Farm
Name of Property
Davidson County, Tennessee
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Photos and Plans Page 134

Mansion Basement Floor Plan with Rooms Labelled by Current Use



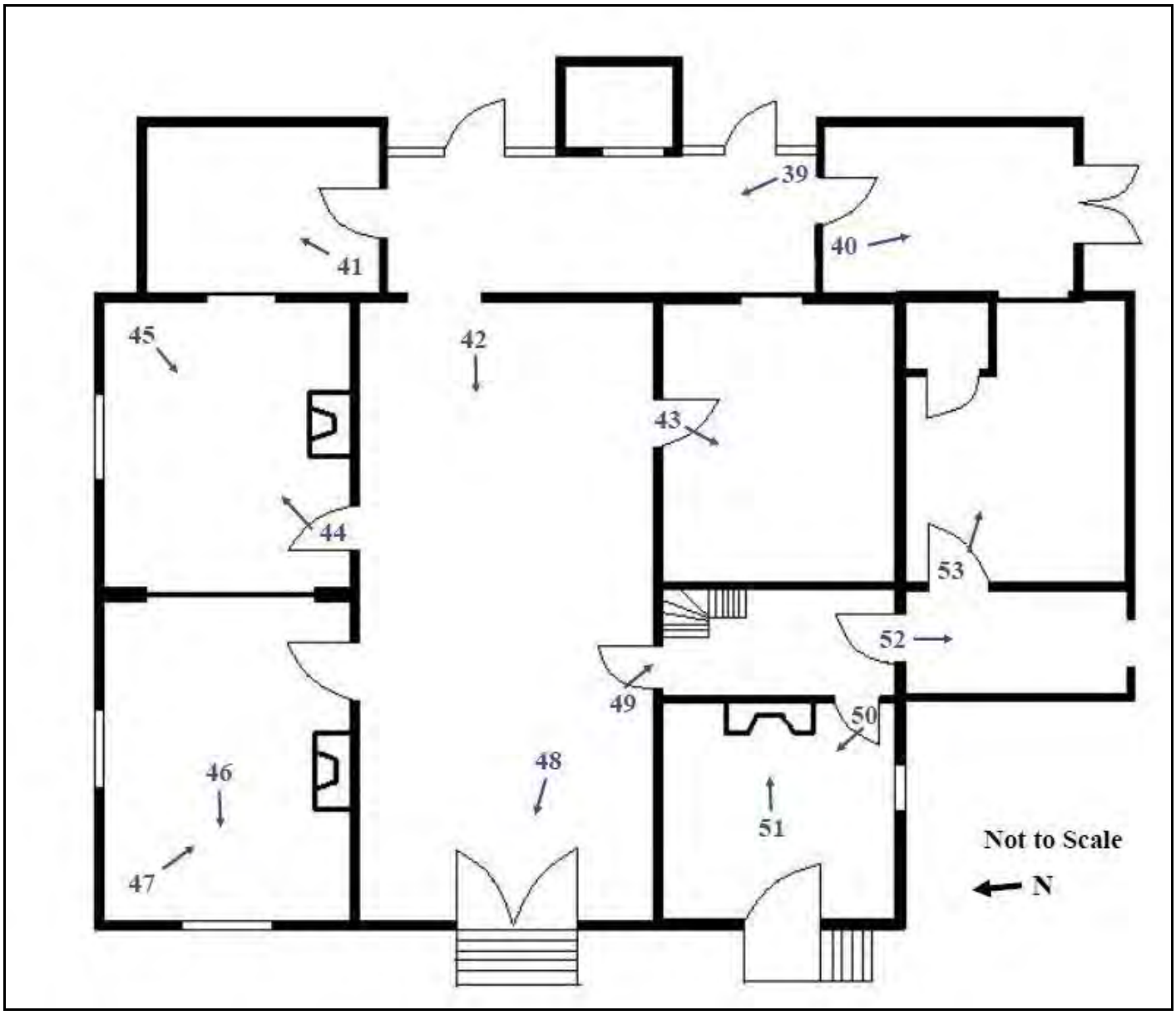
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Clover Bottom Farm
Name of Property
Davidson County, Tennessee
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Photos and Plans Page 135

Mansion Basement Floor Plan with Photos Keyed



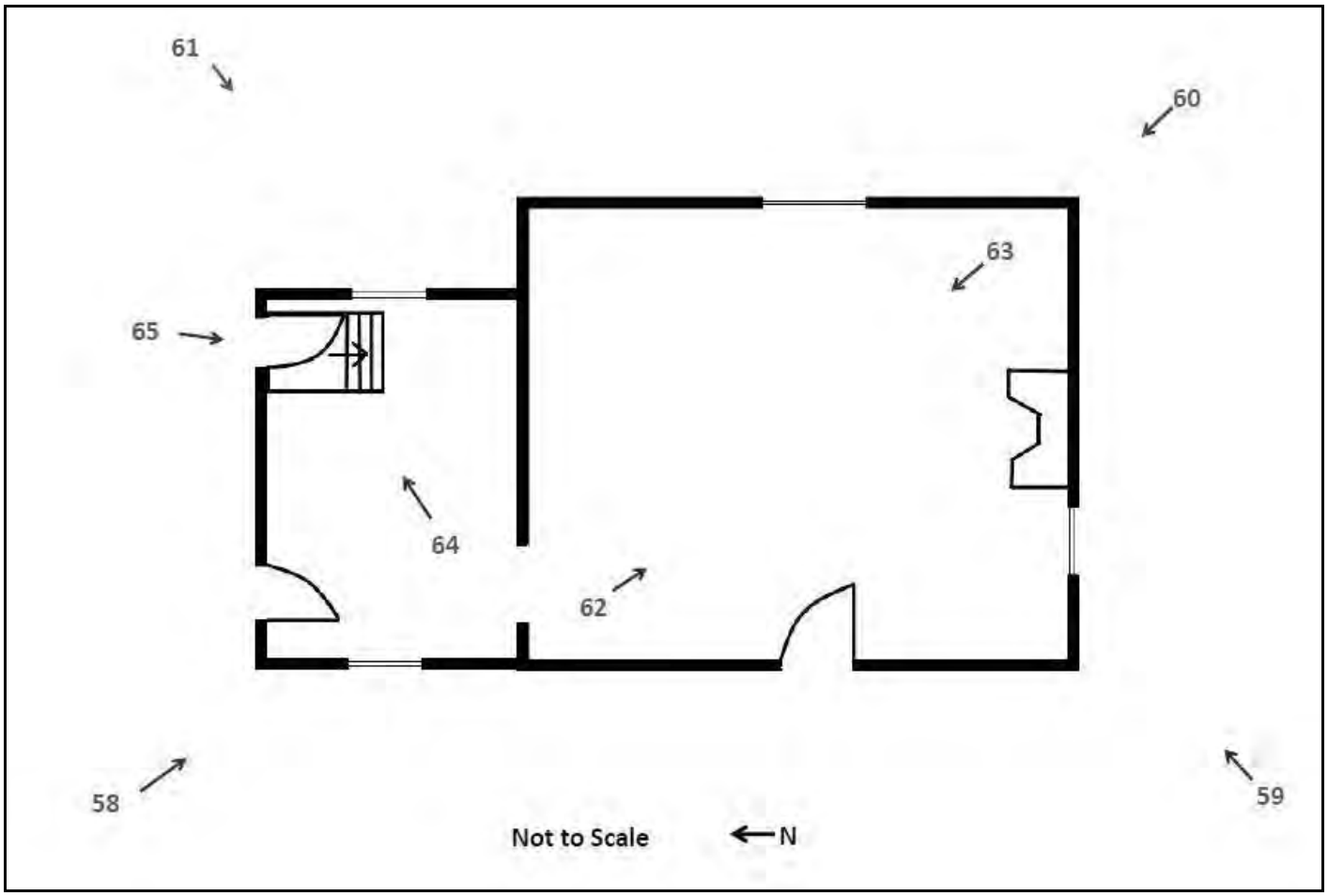
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

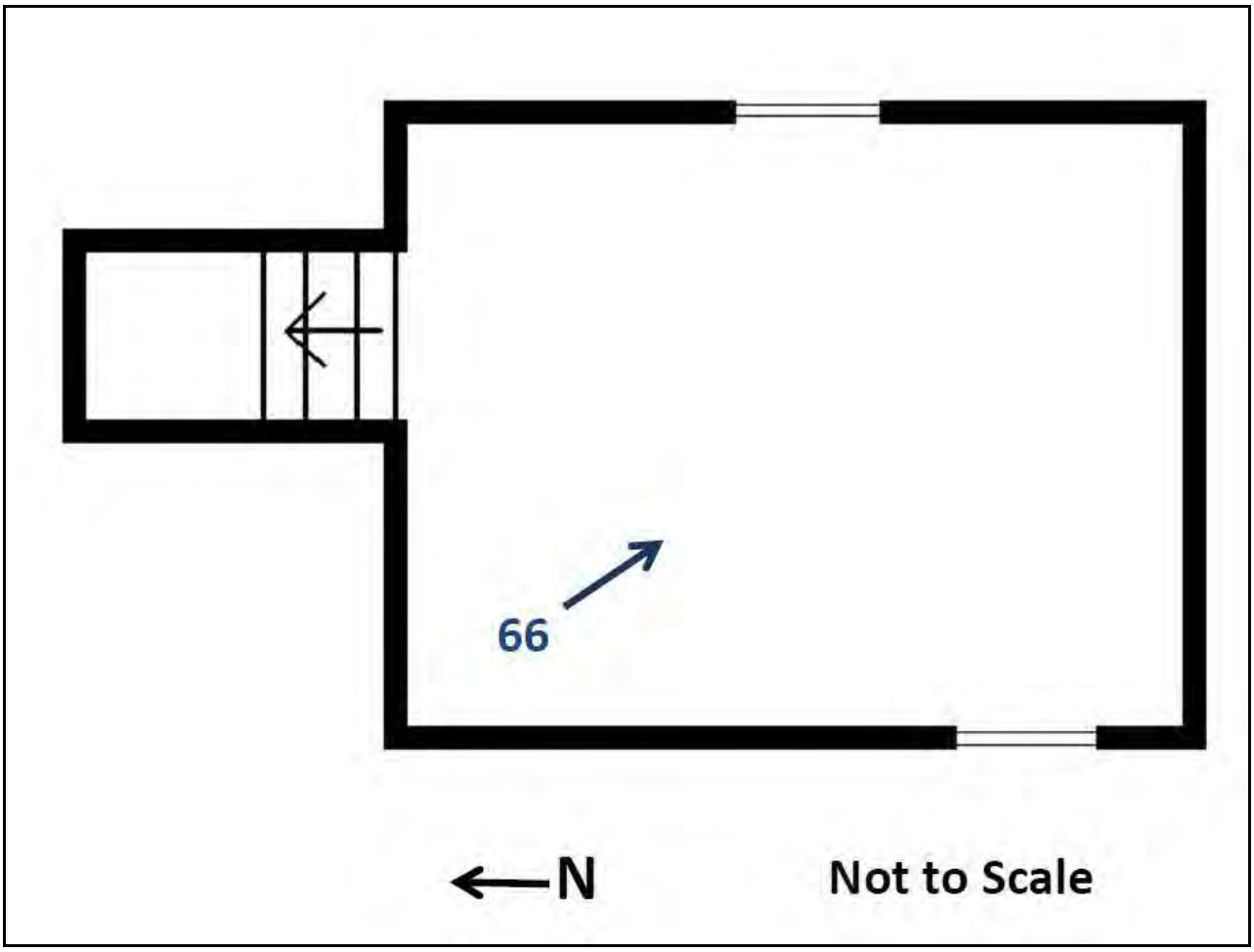
Clover Bottom Farm
Name of Property
Davidson County, Tennessee
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Photos and Plans Page 136

Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1: First Level Floor Plan with Photos Keyed



Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1: Cellar Floor Plan with Photos Keyed



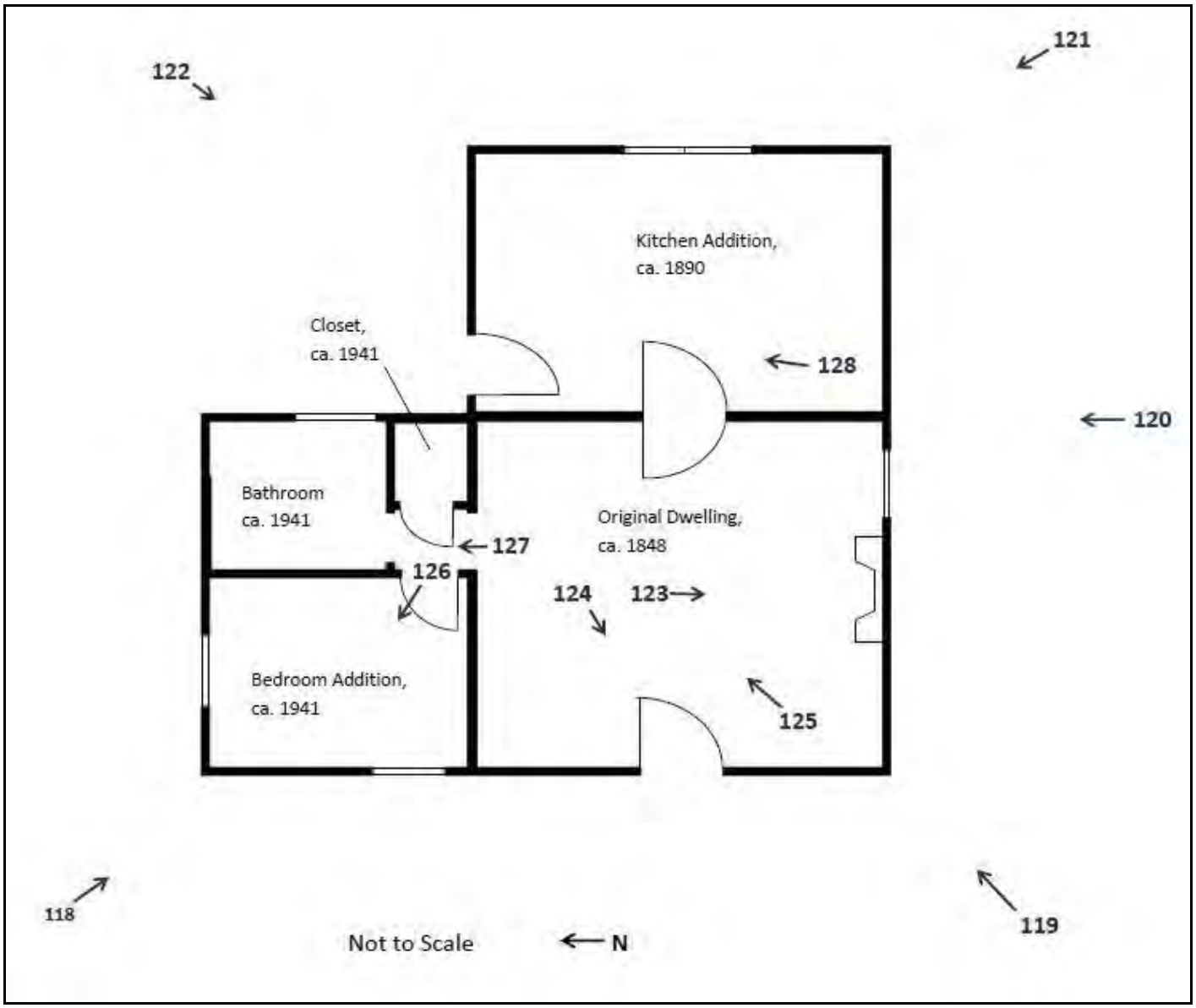
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Clover Bottom Farm
Name of Property
Davidson County, Tennessee
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Photos and Plans Page 138

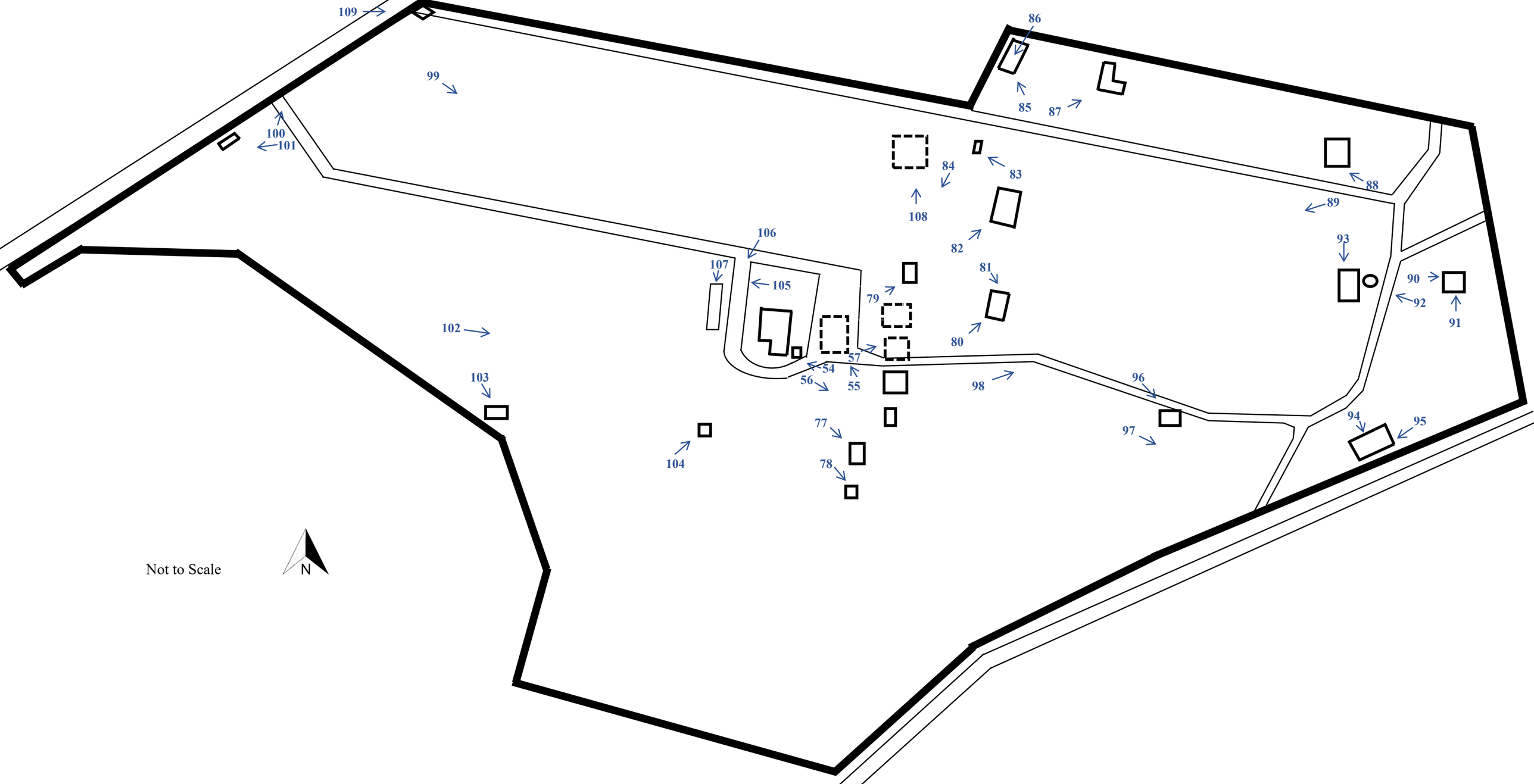
Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2 Floor Plan with Photos Keyed



Property Owner:

(This information will not be submitted to the National Park Service, but will remain on file at the Tennessee Historical Commission)

Name	State of Tennessee		
Street & Number	312 Rosa L. Parks Ave	Telephone	N/A
City or Town	Nashville	State/Zip	37243


109
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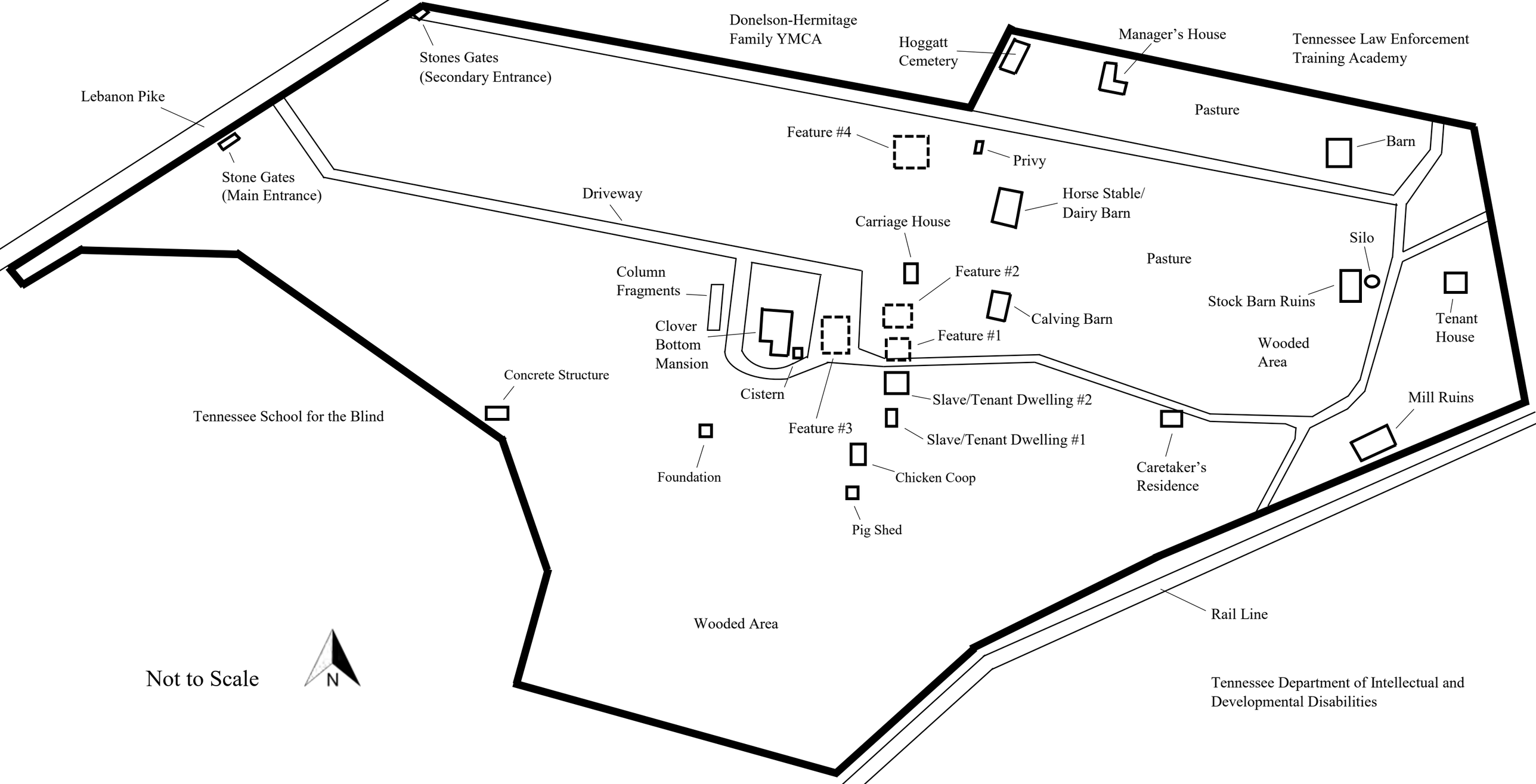
Not to Scale
N


Donelson-Hermitage
Family YMCA
Hoggatt
Cemetery
Manager's House
Tennessee Law Enforcement
Training Academy
Stones Gates
(Secondary Entrance)
Lebanon Pike
Pasture
Feature #4
Privy
Barn
Stone Gates
(Main Entrance)
Driveway
Horse Stable/
Dairy Barn
Carriage House
Silo
Pasture
Column
Fragments
Feature #2
Stock Barn Ruins
Tenant
House
Calving Barn
Clover
Bottom
Mansion
Feature #1
Wooded
Area
Concrete Structure
Cistern
Slave/Tenant Dwelling #2
Mill Ruins
Tennessee School for the Blind
Feature #3
Slave/Tenant Dwelling #1
Foundation
Chicken Coop
Caretaker's
Residence
Pig Shed
Rail Line
Wooded Area
Not to Scale
N
Tennessee Department of Intellectual and
Developmental Disabilities


Receiving


CAUTION
DRIVEWAY
AHEAD


EXIT
EXIT


EXIT
EXIT


EXIT


FIRE EXTINGUISHER
MESSAGE BOARD


SEQUOYAH

Ashlee Pierce

Administrative Secretary


Canon


EXIT


EXIT


EXIT
OUT
OUT


PROPERTY OF
STATE OF TENNESSEE


HAMMERMILL
Copy Plus


NATIONAL REGISTER
FILES
W-Z
NATIONAL REGISTER
FILES
U-W
NATIONAL REGISTER
FILES
W


Merry Christmas
ecember 2018


National Register
of Historic Places
Ms. Holly Barnett
Rebecca Schmitt
IN CASE OF FIRE
USE STAIRS

EXIT


GOVERNOR WILLIAM BLOUNT
Governor Of The Territory South Of The River Ohio


Sam Houston


JACKSON POLK JOHNSON


VISITORS MUST


Fluorescent lamps
GE Lighting
Fluorescent Lamps
FRAGILE
12 EACH
16 x 20 x 1
INDUSTRIAL
PLEATED FILTERS


BRUTE


PRIORITY
MAIL
Shelby County
Slides
Hamilton County
ASPEN 30


Slides
Knox County
Rutherford County
WEAKLEY County SURVEY CARDS


WD-40
Lysol
COMPREHENSIVE CATALOG
BATTLES IN THE EASTERN THEATER
BATTLE OF PALMITO RANCH
1864-1994


THE VIEUX CARRÉ - NEW ORLEANS, LA.
HISTORICAL
CONSERVATION
COMMISSION
HOTEL HALB
CONSTRUCTION
Starkey


CLOVER BOTTOM
MANSION
(1853)
TENNESSEE HISTORICAL COMMISSION
STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE
3A 97
WHOLE FOODS
BANKERS BOX


Property of
State of TN


Young Memorial


STATE
PROPERTY
NO


FIND
Bold
as love

CAUTION
DRIVEWAY
AHEAD


HALEY'S
PARK
Apartments
3015
Lebanon Pk.
2967
Lebanon Rd.
New Horizons

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

Requested Action:	Boundary Update
Property Name:	Clover Bottom Farm (Boundary Increase)
Multiple Name:	
State & County:	TENNESSEE, Davidson

Date Received:	Date of Pending List:	Date of 16th Day:	Date of 45th Day:	Date of Weekly List:
3/28/2019	4/22/2019	5/7/2019	5/13/2019	

Reference number: BC100003900

Nominator: Other Agency, SHPO

Reason For Review:

__ Appeal	__ PDIL	X Text/Data Issue
__ SHPO Request	__ Landscape	__ Photo
__ Waiver	__ National	__ Map/Boundary
__ Resubmission	__ Mobile Resource	__ Period
__ Other	__ TCP	__ Less than 50 years
	X CLG	

__X__ Accept _____ Return _____ Reject __5/7/2019__ Date

Abstract/Summary Comments: Expands the boundary of the Clover Bottom Mansion and changes name to better reflect the history of the property. Extensive archeological investigation is reflected in the addition of new criteria and areas of significance; the new period of significance brings in the transition of the property into government service and its eventual adaptive use as government offices and a laboratory for preservation and interpretation.

Recommendation/ Criteria: Accept / A, C, and D

Reviewer Jim Gabbert Discipline Historian

Telephone (202)354-2275 Date

DOCUMENTATION: see attached comments : No see attached SLR : No

If a nomination is returned to the nomination authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the National Park Service.

CERTIFIED LOCAL GOVERNMENT NATIONAL REGISTER REVIEW

CLG: Nashville-Davidson County
PROPERTY: Clover Bottom Farm
ADDRESS: 2941 Lebanon Pike

HISTORIC PRESERVATION COMMISSION EVALUATION

NAME OF COMMISSION: Metropolitan (Nashville) Historical Commission
DATE OF MEETING: January 28, 2019
HOW WAS THE PUBLIC NOTIFIED OF THE MEETING? meeting agenda posted on website; via email to meeting agenda subscribers
☒ **ELIGIBLE FOR THE NATIONAL REGISTER**
☐ **NOT ELIGIBLE FOR THE NATIONAL REGISTER**

REASONS FOR ELIGIBILITY OR NON-ELIGIBILITY:
The Metropolitan Historical Commission concurs with THC staff that Clover Bottom Farm remains eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and supports the comprehensive update of the National Register listing to expand the significance of the property and include additional contributing resources, per the reasons outlined below.

SIGNATURE: Scarlett C. Miles
TITLE: Scarlett C. Miles, Historic Preservationist, MHC Staff **DATE:** January 28, 2019

THC STAFF EVALUATION

☒ **ELIGIBLE FOR THE NATIONAL REGISTER**
☐ **NOT ELIGIBLE FOR THE NATIONAL REGISTER**

REASONS FOR ELIGIBILITY OR NON-ELIGIBILITY:
Clover Bottom Farm is eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage: African-American/Black, and Government/Politics. Once one of the largest farms in the Donelson area of Davidson County, Clover Bottom's varied agriculture usage represents broader agricultural trends. African-American workers, at first enslaved and later emancipated, provided the labor that allowed for the farm's success. During the 20th century, the property became an Institutional Farm, representing the state government's attempts at self-sufficiency and institutional labor practices. Clover Bottom Farm is eligible under Criterion C for the mansion's Italianate style and the intact dwellings for the enslaved, later altered to meet the needs of tenants. The farm is also eligible under Criterion D for information potential in Historical Archaeology. Multiple assessments have revealed that the farm contains intact archaeological sites containing stratigraphic patterns, features, and artifacts that can reveal information about the lives of Clover Bottom's former residents, particularly its majority enslaved and emancipated populations.

SIGNATURE: Rebecca Schmitt
TITLE: Historic Preservation Specialist, National Register Program **DATE: 11/30/2018**

PLEASE COMPLETE THIS FORM AND RETURN BEFORE: January 29, 2019

RETURN FORM TO:

REBECCA SCHMITT
TENNESSEE HISTORICAL COMMISSION
2941 LEBANON PIKE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37214
REBECCA.SCHMITT@TN.GOV

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL COMMISSION
STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE
2941 LEBANON PIKE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37214
OFFICE: (615) 532-1550
E-mail: Claudette.Stager@tn.gov
(615) 770-1089

March 15, 2019

Joy Beasley
Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places
National Register Program
National Park Service
1849 C Street, NW, Mail Stop 7228
Washington, DC 20240

National Register Nomination

- *Clover Bottom Farm (Name Change and Boundary Increase), Davidson County, Tennessee*

Dear Ms. Beasley:

The enclosed disks contain the true and correct nomination for listing of the *Clover Bottom Farm (Name Change and Boundary Increase)* to the National Register of Historic Places. We received only CLG comments in support of the nomination.

If you have any questions or if more information is needed, please contact Rebecca Schmitt at (615) 770-1086 or Rebecca.Schmitt@tn.gov.

Sincerely,

Claudette Stager

Claudette Stager
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer

CS:rs

Enclosures(3)