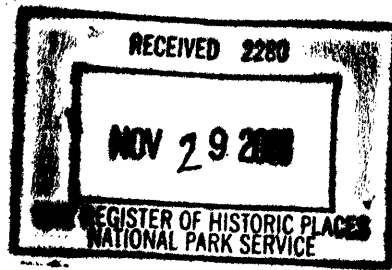


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**National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form**

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

 X New Submission Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

The Transformation of the Nolichucky Valley, 1776 - 1960

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

1. Settlement Patterns, 1776 - 1960
2. Patterns of Appalachian Agriculture, 1780 - 1960
3. From Folk Traditions to Pattern Book Architecture: Patterns in Vernacular Architecture, 1784 - 1960

C. Form Prepared by

Name/title Jen Stoecker and Carroll Van West /MTSU Center for Historic Preservation

Street & number PO Box 80

telephone 615/898-2947

City or town Murfreesboro

state TN

zip code 37132

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (___ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Herbert L. Hays 11/28/01
Signature and title of certifying official Date

DSHPO, Tennessee Historical Commission

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Edson W. Beall 1-16-02
Signature of the Keeper Date

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Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

Page Numbers

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H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation

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Primary Location of Additional Data

- ☒ SHPO
☐ Other State Agency
☐ Federal Agency
☐ Local Government
☐ University
☒ Other

Name of Repository: MTSU Center for Historic Preservation

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E. Statement of Historic Contexts

I. Introduction

An exploration of the cultural landscape of the Nolichucky River Valley in Greene and Washington counties, Tennessee, sheds light on significant themes in Tennessee history and architecture, including the themes of agriculture, settlement patterns, and vernacular architecture, from the early nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. Extant historic properties within the Nolichucky River Valley such as houses, agricultural outbuildings, the Ebenezer Church, and its cemetery contribute to our understanding of the evolution of rural life in this Appalachian river valley.

Surprisingly little historical attention, or historic preservation fieldwork, has been directed to this area of Tennessee. The pioneering studies of Samuel Cole Williams on early Tennessee history in the early twentieth century shed no light on the history of the Nolichucky settlements, except to note that they existed and that there had been a long debate about the origins and meaning of the word "nolichucky." In the mid-twentieth century writers Donald Davidson and Wilma Dykeman studied in depth the legacies of the Tennessee River and the French Broad River, respectively, but neither included the Nolichucky settlements in their narratives. In most standard accounts of Tennessee or East Tennessee history, scholars have continued this tradition of ignoring the Nolichucky region. Historic preservationists have fared little better, although preservationists nominated the Mauris-Earnest Fort House in Greene County (NR 1/30/78), part of the historic Earnest farm immediately west of the Nolichucky, to the National Register of Historic Places, and also listed the nearby Col. George Gillespie House in Limestone (NR 8/22/77) and the Broylesville Historic District (NR 3/28/85), again west of the Nolichucky, both in Washington County. The designation of the Earnest Farm (established by 1777) as the oldest Tennessee Century Farm in the state brought additional attention to the region in the 1980s. As part of the planning process for a new concrete bridge, in 1991, preservationists from the Tennessee Department of Transportation, in consultation with the SHPO, determined that the Earnest Farms Historic District was eligible for listing in the National Register.

All of this earlier work has been incorporated into this multiple property study of the Nolichucky River Valley, with the primary study area being the region of the valley roughly between the railroad villages of Chuckey and Limestone at the river's confluence with Big Limestone Creek.

I. Settlement Patterns, 1776-1960

The Nolichucky River is strongly associated with significant settlement patterns in Appalachia Tennessee. Here, in 1776, militiamen built Fort Lee near the confluence of the Big Limestone Creek and the Nolichucky River. Future Tennessee Governor John Sevier, then a lieutenant, was in charge

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of constructing and garrisoning the fort, built to defend the frontier settlers of Upper East Tennessee (then North Carolina) against an invading Cherokee army during the Revolutionary War. However, once news arrived of the Cherokee advance, many settlers fled, taking their livestock and possessions with them. Lt. Sevier lacked the men to complete the fort and he abandoned the position to move to the Watauga Fort near Sycamore Shoals (NHL 10/15/66) in present Carter County. The Cherokees burned Fort Lee in July 1776. The site of the fort is believed to be in the vicinity of the David Crockett Birthplace State Park; no archaeological investigations have been undertaken to confirm the fort site.

In 1777, Heinrich Ernst (later anglicized to Henry Earnest) established the oldest historic family farm in Tennessee on 360 acres acquired on December 11, 1777. This location proved ideal for settlement as the river provided water not only for the family's agricultural and personal needs; it also established a valuable transportation link to local communities and their agricultural markets. According to the Goodspeed history of Tennessee, which was published in 1887, at the time that Earnest moved to his Nolichucky property, there was only one other family west of him. Earnest and his wife Mary Stephens Earnest had eleven children, several of whom, especially sons Peter and Felix, became prominent second generation settlers of the region.

Earnest's location on the Nolichucky River followed in the footsteps of earlier Native American occupation. South of Chuckey, at the confluence of Camp Creek and the Nolichucky River is the Camp Creek site, excavated by members of the Tennessee Archaeological Society, together with members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Tennessee, in the mid-1950s. The report on the excavation, written by T. M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg, concluded that Camp Creek had been occupied for a very long period by Woodland Culture groups, who lived in small permanent villages.

Earnest, like the Native Americans before him, was well aware that he was claiming some of the most valuable land, with excellent river access and plentiful hunting, in all of East Tennessee. By settling on the land permanently, however, Earnest presented an intrusion to surrounding Native American groups, who viewed his farm as a threat to their own access to the abundant natural resources of the area. The Earnest family's rather tenuous relationship with the Native Americans is evident by the construction of the Mauris-Earnest Fort House circa 1782.¹ The house is a large two-story log structure that rests on a full limestone basement set into the river bluff. It provided excellent views of the river and the adjacent trails. Local tradition, repeated in the 1978 National Register nomination of the property, claimed that John Mauris, a local entrepreneur, first built the house. However, thorough research into local deeds and other records do not indicate that Mauris was a settler of this immediate area nor did he appear in the records as having any interests in the area, besides perhaps being the miller at the Earnest Mill, in the late 1770s and early 1780s. It is more likely that Henry Earnest built the fort house.

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The Mauris-Earnest Fort House was on the west side of the Nolichucky River; sometime between 1777 and 1800, Earnest built a two-story brick house, now incorporated as a rear wing on the Henry and Peter Earnest house, on the opposite side, or the east side, of the Nolichucky River. Another important early settlement site in this region of the Nolichucky is the David Crockett Birthplace, now part of the David Crockett Birthplace State Historic Area. Located at the confluence of Big Limestone Creek and the Nolichucky River, the park preserves the site of the original farm of John Crockett; his son David was born at this property in 1786. The Snapp Inn, constructed between 1815 and 1820, on a hill overlooking the confluence of the Nolichucky River and Big Limestone Creek, shows how the once rudimentary trail system had developed into a permanent road system by the end of the first generation of settlement. A handsome brick Tennessee Federal-style residence, the house/tavern served travelers along the roads between Jonesborough and Greeneville. Constructed circa 1810 to 1820, the Glaze House, a one-story five bay brick Federal style dwelling, overlooks the river at a former ferry site, now crossed by the historic Smith Bridge.

Southeast of the Smith Bridge area is Broylesville (NR 3/28/1985), another settlement associated with the Nolichucky and agricultural development in Washington County during the nineteenth century. As documented in the National Register historic district nomination by Martha Hagedorn, Broylesville also developed initially as a German settlement, when Nicholas and Cyrus Broyles acquired 840 acres on Little Limestone Creek in 1783. During the 1790s Adam Broyles, Jr., began the commercial development of the area by building the Broylesville Inn circa 1797 as well as lumber mill and grist mill. Around the inn would eventually develop a small rural commercial center. The inn served as a post office and inn while there was a shoemaker, tin factory, tan yard, and general merchandise stores. Michael Bashor and Charles H. Swatzel built the Bashor Mill in Broylesville, a flour and saw mill, circa 1869.

After 1870, when the local post office moved from Broylesville to Limestone, Broylesville's commercial significance was slowly eclipsed by the rising railroad town of Limestone. Circa 1890 Jacob F. Broyles sold the family's general store and the Broylesville Inn, ending the founding family's involvement in the town. In 1912, B. F. Parker, who acquired the Bashor Mill, built the last contributing building in the Broylesville Historic District, an American Four-Square home. The mill remained in business into the late twentieth century.

Another significant property associated with the early settlement of the Nolichucky is the Ebenezer Methodist Church and Cemetery. In the 1790s the Earnests formed a Methodist society with other families in the area. Bishop Francis Asbury, an influential leader in American Methodist history, met with the Earnest group during his extensive travels in 1793 "...road to Nolachucky and attended a meeting at Squire Earnest's, where I had about 200 hearers. We have formed a society in this place of about 31 members, most of them new."² As a circuit rider, Bishop Asbury aimed to bring Methodism

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to the large number of settlers that headed west at the end of the eighteenth century.³ He accomplished this by following the settlement patterns of the people, most of which trace prominent rivers. In the "Holston Country," which included North Carolina, East Tennessee and parts of Kentucky, Asbury traced his paths along the Holston, New, Powell, Nolichucky, Clinch, Watauga, Doe, French Broad, Pigeon, Little and Tennessee rivers.⁴

By 1795 brothers Henry and Felix Earnest donated a parcel of land on the south bank of the Nolichucky River to build a structure for the "Methodist society".⁵ Bishop Asbury dedicated the building on April 27, 1795. Asbury wrote of the dedication "Our brethren have built a meeting house and I must needs preach the first sermon. Exodus 20:24. Notwithstanding, it was a time of great scarcity, we were treated well and most kindly entertained."⁶ The Ebenezer Methodist Church, thus, is considered the oldest church of the Holston Conference; the present sanctuary of the late 1890s stands at roughly the same location as the initial log cabin church building. The adjacent Ebenezer Church Cemetery had its first known burial in 1809.

In the years between 1795 and 1821, Ebenezer Methodist Church also became the site for six sessions of the Holston conference, a regional Methodist organizational meeting. Large numbers of people typically attended the sessions of the Holston Conference held at Ebenezer Church; the 1806 conference drew a crowd of over 1,500 participants.⁷ The 1806 Holston Conference also provided the venue for the ordination of Felix Earnest by Bishop Asbury. Felix had acted as the minister for the Ebenezer Church since its inception.

Due to their immense size, some gatherings of the Holston Conference and other meetings were held outside. The Holston Conference constructed the Stone Dam Campground to accommodate the large outdoor gatherings. The Stone Dam Campground, located about 1.5 miles from the Ebenezer Church, was utilized until post Civil War and reported to be "one of the largest campgrounds built by the Holston Conference."⁸ There are no extant structures at the site of the Stone Dam Campground.

The first known burial in the Ebenezer Cemetery occurred in 1809 with the death of Henry Earnest. Henry's descendants, in addition to his brother's descendents, the Rev. Felix Earnest, represent the majority of the graves.⁹ Some of the other family names represented in the Ebenezer Cemetery are Miller, Mitchell, Thompson, Ge'fellers, and Broyles. The most recent interment present in the cemetery is Liza B. Doggett Earnest who died in 1947. Two small stones are cordoned off in a section for slaves. These stones are marked "Zona" and "Corby", with no other markings.¹⁰ Many of the graves in the cemetery remain unmarked, and their occupants could have been enslaved or free. The cemetery is located immediately south of Ebenezer Methodist Church on a slightly sloping bluff that leads to the Nolichucky River.

The next significant shift in the settlement patterns of the Nolichucky River region came with the iron

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tracks of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, incorporated in 1848, which in turn created two new small railroad towns, Chuckey and Limestone. The presence of the railroad spurred the development of new roads, bridges (such as the Earnest Bridge Company in 1856), and new town plans. Both Limestone and Chuckey have symmetrical town plans, with the tracks dividing the towns into two parts. The symmetrical town plan was a popular railroad plan for small communities between 1840 and 1880. Chuckey and Limestone also retain their historic depots, both good examples of surviving small town artifacts of the railroad era in Upper East Tennessee. Built by the Southern Railway, the Chuckey depot is listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NR 12/19/79). The Limestone Depot also dates to the era of the Southern Railway consolidations (1890s) and retains its exterior architectural integrity.

Limestone was still a small place at the time of the Civil War, and was referred to in several records merely as "Limestone Station." With railroad consolidation leading to the creation of the East Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia Railroad by 1869, and a general decade of local agricultural recovery in the 1870s, Limestone Station became the town of Limestone by the time of the Goodspeed history of Greene County in 1887. It had six businesses at that time as well as the Klepper Grist Mill, which is partially extant on the western outskirts of the town. In addition to the railway depot, Limestone grew to have a linear block of commercial buildings, erected between 1890 and 1930, and vernacular domestic dwellings on both sides of the track. Today, Limestone is a largely intact railroad town, with the majority of its historic resources dating between 1890 and 1940.

The other railroad community, Chuckey, had its greatest period of expansion in the early twentieth century. The impact of automobile traffic via the original route of the Andrew Johnson Highway (US 11E) shifted the town's historic commercial center from a linear plan facing the railroad tracks west to an intersection between a local road and the new highway. Today at the railroad, however, are two significant resources: a neoclassical styled brick bank and the Southern Railway depot. Chuckey also possesses significant churches, especially one constructed with rusticated concrete blocks, bungalow homes, and a historic cemetery.

With the expansion of railroad traffic in the region at the turn of the century came local improvements. Two bridges were constructed to cross the Nolichucky between Chuckey and Limestone, both providing better access for farmers east of the river to the towns and the railroad. In 1901 Greene County officials contracted with the American Bridge Company to build a metal truss bridge (not extant, collapsed 1967) at the site of the earlier Earnest toll bridge. It was adjacent to the Earnest Mill (which also existed until circa 1967 when it was demolished to make way for a new bridge). That same year Washington County officials also contracted for a bridge at the Glaze's Ford, near Limestone, that became known as Smith Bridge. The Southern Bridge Company finished the Smith Bridge in 1902, but ten years later 1912-1913 repairs were made to the bridge. The bridge remained in use until 1983 when Washington County closed the bridge to traffic. It remains extant, a key artifact

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of early twentieth century transportation in rural Washington County.

The twentieth century witnessed the construction of the Andrew Johnson Highway, which roughly paralleled the railroad tracks, through Limestone and Chuckey in the late 1910s. This modern road system led to another reorientation of commercial services from the railroad right-of-way to the right-of-way along the new highway.

In the years following World War II, the surrounding towns of Greeneville and Johnson City in Washington County experienced a boom in their populations. The population of Greeneville steadily increased from 6,784 in 1940 to 8,721 in 1950 and 11,759 in 1960. Johnson City's population increased from 25,332 in 1940 to 27,864 in 1950 and 29,892 in 1960.¹¹ As people moved away from the rural areas to the cities, agriculture in the Nolichucky River Valley changed. The tradition of mixed agriculture gave way to more mechanized, commodity-driven farming practices in the 1950s and 1960s when families began to establish large dairy operations. Fewer tenants were employed, leading to the abandonment of tenant dwellings throughout the area. New barns and outbuildings were constructed for dairy production and the protection of valuable livestock and machinery. Also, new house types, such as the ranch house, began to appear in the Nolichucky.

The consolidation of farms and agricultural production also mirrored a general movement toward consolidation in several key rural institutions. The 1950s were the years of the significant consolidation movement in Tennessee public education as many small one- to two-room rural schools were closed and consolidated into new one-story, brick, flat asphalt roof schools throughout not only the Nolichucky but Tennessee in general. With the closing of rural schools came the closing of rural churches; improved transportation also encouraged rural residents to commute to church in the surrounding towns and cities. These same improved roads also diminished the need for country stores at every crossroads by the 1960s.

II. Patterns of Appalachian Agriculture, 1780-1960

The study of agricultural change, especially the changes that occurred in Appalachian communities, is often underrepresented in traditional historical scholarship.¹² However, other fields, such as cultural geography and landscape archaeology have studied this region. This oversight is partially due to the formidable challenge of studying a massive regional landscape with rugged terrain that facilitates diversity within each community.¹³ The dilemma of diverse communities provides an opportunity to study individual areas in an effort to understand the complexity of the whole region. Interpreting the landscape within the scope of its cultural and natural resources help us to decipher the motivations for settlement and also the effects of isolation on rural farm communities. Geographical features such as the Nolichucky River and the Valley's fertile soil add important layers to this area's history, offering concepts that are germane to understanding the agricultural legacy of the Nolichucky River Valley.

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The natural resources that first attracted Earnest settlement, and their buildings and fields that altered the landscape, add dimension to a study of the historical processes aimed at improving transportation and agriculture, creating, in turn, a dynamic rural landscape.

The natural resources available in the Nolichucky River Valley lured settlers to the area in the late eighteenth century. The fertile soil available in the Nolichucky River Valley helped settlers quickly cultivate successful harvests. Surveyors noted that the area continued to enjoy this fertile soil almost one hundred years later. According to an 1876 survey of mineral and agricultural resources along the Cincinnati Southern, Knoxville and Ohio Railroads, the "best lands of the county lie on the Nolichucky and Little Chuckey rivers."¹⁴ J. Wesley Hatcher suggested in 1935 that those settlers who took advantage of Appalachian valley farming resources were different than those who farmed in Appalachian hills and mountains.¹⁵ Hatcher drew class distinctions among Appalachian farmers; those who farmed the valleys represented the wealthy profit farmers, while the mountain farmers cultivated for subsistence.¹⁶

Certainly the earliest settlers near Chuckey were profit-minded farmers. While their remote location affected all areas of trade for the farmers in this area, including the transportation of goods to market, interactions with merchants, and the availability of cash, evidence suggests that farm families, including the Earnests, were able to participate in many different trade avenues despite these challenges.¹⁷ The trade simply began on a much smaller scale and eventually spread out as changes in transportation aided in the development of local markets. Widely accepted measures of capitalist activity, such as the availability of cash, location of and transportation to markets, and involvement in the farm economy and nearby towns help to define the parameters in which farmers along the Nolichucky River both accepted and resisted changes in their agricultural production.

The relative isolation of the Nolichucky River Valley may have hampered the Valley farms' transition to farming for profit, but its successful harvests were not ignored for very long. From early settlement to the 1950s, the Earnest farms, for example, produced corn, wheat, and livestock for market consumption in addition to small amounts of tobacco, dairy and other items that were considered "staples" for household consumption. Historian Blanche Henry Clark places great importance on the limited accessibility of markets as holding Greene County back from realizing its economic potential before 1840, a conclusion echoed by the later work of historian Donald Winters.¹⁸ However, as historian Durwood Dunn pointed out in his study of Cades Cove, another Appalachian community, isolation is often falsely viewed as absolute, either a community is isolated or it is not. Dunn argued that isolation is relative, and communities may be isolated in some respects and connected to outside communities in other ways.¹⁹

When examining the degree of isolation in the Nolichucky River Valley, one must look at the transportation methods both internal and external to the county. Before the coming of the railroads in

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the 1850s, the Nolichucky, Holston, and French Broad Rivers provided most of the transportation.²⁰ Travel by water often proved to be a lengthy and expensive method of transporting goods. In 1831, the creation of a water freight line on the Holston River, thereby linking Kingsport in Sullivan County to Knoxville in Knox County, would have opened those markets to Greene County. However the condition of the roads and distance to the Holston River for those farms along the Nolichucky would not have proved convenient or cost effective.²¹ The mere presence of a road does not necessarily mean it was easy to travel or cost effective.

While the use of early transportation systems in upper East Tennessee provides a broad picture of the markets that were available for farmers and their produce, store account books and ledgers help to indicate specific locations in which farmers regularly engaged in business. Historian Christopher Clark cites the 1820s and 1830s as a critical era in the development of rural New England markets.²² Farmers began cultivating with the intention to sell their crops outside of the community rather than using it for their family and others nearby. This focus on production for outside markets represented a shift away from subsistence farming, or cultivating simply the amount of produce for the family to live from. The changing focus on profit farming also meant that they could not produce all the family's supplies, as the farm labor became primarily focused on profit. These farm families became increasingly dependent on nearby markets in trading for some supplies. . According to the account ledgers of D. B. Barkley of Washington County, both Henry Jr. and Jacob Earnest traveled to the community of Leesburg/ Bowman to purchase items from his general store.²³ This community was located roughly seven miles from the Nolichucky Valley and connected by a county road. Records indicate that the Earnest family held accounts with Barkley as early as 1836, regularly conducting business within the town of Leesburg until 1860, the year that the records end. The Earnest family reflects this reliance on local merchants. For example, in 1836, the Earnest family charge at D. B. Barkley's store was \$6 for the year. In 1860, the yearly charge totaled \$142, indicating the increasing interaction and dependence of farmers on local merchants.²⁴

The steady commercial growth of Broylesville in these same decades shows how rural communities could be prosperous in the pre-railroad era. For example, the Broyles family built an impressive vernacular Greek Revival style mercantile store circa 1835. When Adam Alexander Broyles bought the family businesses from his father in 1853, it included a store, tan yard, saw mill, shoemaker's shop, tin factory, and blacksmith shop.

The Barkley account books also yield information about the use of paper currency as a mean for exchange. The use of cash for trade, instead of barter, is an important aspect that scholars have set as criteria for determining capitalist development. Even though the ledgers do not indicate the specific items purchased, each entry was settled in cash. County inventory and sale records show that the Earnest family used cash to pay for the items needed for Henry Earnest, Sr.'s funeral in the amount of \$73.62 as early as 1809.²⁵

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The interdependence among farm families in the Nolichucky River Valley is also an important method by which to measure the presence of trade within this agricultural community. Estate inventories and debt notes highlight this pattern of interdependence among farm families. In 1831, the Last Will and Testament of Samuel Gauntt required payment from Henry Earnest for a principle loan and the interest charged in the total of \$66.50.²⁶ Peter Earnest owed the Gauntt estate \$185.09. In 1837, Henry, Jr. and Peter Earnest collected \$17.54 from the estate of Alexander Thompson.²⁷ The records do not indicate how the money was used, but one can surmise it was either for services rendered or the purchase of goods.

Farmers in the Nolichucky Valley practiced mixed farming throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The Broyles family raised livestock and wheat for market, but a wide range of agricultural products for their own use. Earnest family inventory and sale records indicate that diversification of crops and livestock raising made up the center of family farm operations. This diversification of farming stood in opposition to the State of Tennessee's long-standing agricultural policy of that time, which encouraged farmers to specialize in one or two money crops.²⁸ This specialization policy changed as agriculture reports from the northeastern United States warned that focusing on money crops such as corn, tobacco, and cotton could bring soil exhaustion. Tennessee agriculturists warned that crop specialization also developed a need to increase importation of staple foods and other items. If the current system of specialization continued, experts warned, the local and statewide markets would focus only on "money crops," thereby sending money for other essential items out of state.²⁹ Fear of these issues grew so prevalent after 1830 that state agriculturists called for an "agricultural awakening" and looked to science to make improvements in the fertility of the soil. State and local groups organized agricultural societies, published periodicals, and taught scientific farming to future farmers at new schools. The state looked to diversifying crops as a way to rest the soil by eliminating the constant stripping of the soil by a single crop.³⁰ It was in the climate of the "agricultural awakening" that families continued mixed farming in the Nolichucky Valley and refused to join the growing numbers of tobacco only farmers in Greene County.

As part of their mixed agriculture strategy, some Nolichucky residents also established and operated commercial and small manufacturing concerns. The earliest evidence of Henry and Peter Earnest's business activity is recorded as 1819, but their involvement in commerce might have occurred earlier. In the 1887 Goodspeed's *History of Tennessee*, the two men are listed as merchants. Estate records also mentioned claims against "Jacob Earnest & Sons" or "Peter Earnest & Sons" in 1839.³¹ Goodspeed further implies the success of Greeneville merchants; "...the merchants were quite prosperous and many acquired a large amount of wealth, hence a sort of aristocracy sprang up." An aristocratic image possibly aided Henry Earnest, Jr. in becoming one of the charter board members of Tusculum College in 1818, also making it possible for his nephew, Benjamin Franklin Earnest, to attend that college. Benjamin was the youngest son and heir to part of the Earnest property upon his

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father Peter's death. The Earnests also operated a ferry across the Nolichucky, which remained in business until at least 1863, since one account of the Battle of Limestone noted that Nicholas Earnest ferried 35 Federal soldiers across the river (and to safety) after the battle.

The Broyles family at Broylesville also operated a wide range of small mercantile and industrial ventures, with the sawmill on Little Limestone Creek and the red brick Broylesville Inn being the most important. Michael Bashor's purchase and expansion of the mill circa 1869 indicates that outsider investors also saw possibilities in light industry in the Nolichucky Valley after the Civil War.

Although specific research on this topic is lacking, the Civil War did not seem to bring significant economic hardships to the farmers, merchants, and artisans along the Nolichucky. Certainly all families suffered from property losses through the demands of both armies traveling through the area. Slave owners were hurt the most due to their property losses, as former slaves became emancipated freedmen. Estate and sale records indicate that Henry Earnest, Sr. owned a small number of slaves, though the exact number is unavailable. In 1807, Henry paid \$833.65 to Mathius Hoover for "Negro man, Jim about 21; Negro girl Clara 19." However, just two years later, Henry's last Will and Testament only mention one slave, "Gilly" that Henry willed to his wife Mary. However, the later records indicate that the next generation of Earnests owned substantial numbers of slaves, particularly for farmers in the Unionist East Tennessee. The 1850 census lists Peter Earnest as owning 17 slaves and his brother Henry, Jr. as the owner of 15 slaves.³²

Peter Earnest and Adam Alexander Broyles were certainly two of the most involved farmer/merchants in the Nolichucky Valley. Their involvement in local commerce through the "Earnest and Sons" company and the Broylesville Mercantile, respectively, helped them to see the potential for market expansion brought by the railroad to Greene County. Poor transportation conditions before the railroad likely made many farmers optimistic about its potential. As late as 1847, river transportation continued to frustrate farmers as railroad lines constructed both to the north and south bypassed Greene County. Appalachian Historian David Hsiung reports that Tennesseans in the upper east portion of the state held a string of transportation conventions and rallies to raise public support for the construction of a railroad. The largest convention, assembled in Greeneville in 1847, brought together delegates from ten East Tennessee counties and three counties in Virginia. Washington County enlisted Greeneville native, House Representative Andrew Johnson, to petition the federal government for support, "praying that Congress would grant a part of public lands to aid in the construction of the railroad..."³³

Private sources raised about \$150,000 for the development of railroad tracks, and East Tennessee leaders decided to apply to the Tennessee General Assembly for the subscription of \$1.5 million.³⁴ The state did not grant the funds requested and communities began looking locally for money. The hope shared by many at the end of the transportation conventions turned to tense competition as

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communities vied for position along the railroad tracks, thus compromising the total amount of funding raised.³⁵ After coming close to financial bankruptcy, the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad finally sold enough stock to begin construction in 1850.

As construction workers slowly narrowed the gap between Knoxville and Bristol, farmers became interested in establishing connections with the new transportation network. The Earnest family was better situated than the Broyles family to take advantage of the new technology due to their proximity to the new railroad village at Chuckey, while the adjacent railroad town of Limestone, on Big Limestone Creek, was not so advantageously located for the Broyles family's properties on Little Limestone Creek. In 1856, Peter Earnest organized another enterprise, the "Earnestville Bridge Company", and sold stock at \$25 per share, the proceeds going to the construction of a toll bridge across the Nolichucky River. This bridge gave the farmers access to the railroad depot in Chuckey, a town on the north side of the river less than one mile away from the farm. The railroad connected present-day Bristol, Sullivan County, in the east to Knoxville, opening the markets along the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad to farmers in the Nolichucky Valley.³⁶ Peter Earnest followed the example set by many wealthy farmers in East Tennessee by taking advantage of the new money that the railroad ushered in. Appalachian Historian W. Todd Groce wrote that these businessmen still considered themselves "farmers," though they attained considerable amount money through the second income provided by other enterprises.³⁷ Earnest's efforts in securing construction of the bridge demonstrates his understanding of the importance of the railroad and its potential for expanding local markets. His ability to supply the initial capital for bridge construction and to secure investors infers Earnest's elite status in the community.

Better transportation linkages became a reality in 1856, when Peter Earnest and the Earnestville Bridge Company built a bridge over the Nolichucky River in order to link their farm to the newly constructed East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad line, which was less than a mile away in the town of Chuckey. Peter Earnest sought stakeholders to invest in a bridge that would enable valley farmers to bring their agricultural produce north across the Nolichucky River. His move to increase the availability of markets reflected the actions of many farms and towns alike; they were eager to participate in the railroad's potential. The existing bridge abutment was first built in 1869 and then rebuilt in 1903, when it was also raised five feet.³⁸

The better market access provided by the railroads encouraged larger farmers to expand production, especially of wheat.³⁹ This movement away from the traditional staples of corn and hogs to increasing wheat production would ultimately lead to a "wheat boom in the 1850s-1860s."⁴⁰ W. Todd Groce writes that wheat became a major focus for farmers in this region and "by 1858, East Tennessee wheat demanded a premium on the New York market." The large volume of wheat production lead to an increase in the small slave population of some East Tennessee counties, particularly Greene County. Agriculture census records indicate Peter Earnest's heavy involvement in wheat cultivation

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as 1,545 bushels in 1860, representing a sizeable investment in the crop.⁴¹ The other crops and livestock entered in the Peter Earnest's agricultural census record reflect a diversity of crops, with wheat representing the third largest crop yield after Indian corn and oats. Though involved in the wheat boom, Peter Earnest also continued raising a variety of livestock and crops.

On September 8, 1863, the Civil War came to the Nolichucky Valley during the Battle of Limestone Station. A Confederate force of approximately 1,000 troops, under the command of General Alfred E. Jackson, attacked and captured a large portion of the 100th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which had positioned itself around the railroad trestle that crossed Big Limestone Creek. While Confederate losses were not reported, Union casualties included six dead and 250 captured. This brief battle, and Confederate victory, was the largest Civil War engagement to take place along the Nolichucky Valley.

The divided loyalties of East Tennesseans are illustrated among the families in the Nolichucky River Valley. According to a local historical account, a Nolichucky River ferry, operated by Nicholas Washington Earnest, enabled some 35 of the Union soldiers to cross the river and evade capture. Earnest's actions reflect the prevalent Unionist sentiment in Greene County, a county that W. Todd Groce labels as "most ardently Unionist."⁴² This allegiance to the United States most likely derived from the first generation of settlers', many of who were Revolutionary War veterans. This connection to colonial patriotism ran true in the Earnest family. Nicholas Washington Earnest's grandfather, Henry served under Col. George Washington and his Uncle Felix fought in the Battle of King's Mountain. For the 51-year-old Nicholas, these Unionist bonds ran deeper than his connection to slavery through his father Peter Earnest.

However, this loyalty to the union did not necessarily extend to the younger generation of Earnests, Nicholas' 30-year-old cousin, Felix W. joined the Confederacy where he served as captain, then as quartermaster for the 61st Infantry. Felix' father, Henry Earnest, Jr. also owned slaves. Other records are unclear as to the extent of change that the Civil War brought to the Nolichucky Valley. Oral tradition supports the claim that Benjamin F. Earnest provided flour from his mill for "Civil War Troops," but the nature of this military trade is unknown.⁴³ Furthermore, Felix W. Earnest, the grandson of Henry and Mary Stephens Earnest, joined the Confederacy, where he served as a captain then as a quartermaster to the 61st Tennessee Infantry. His quartermaster position probably accounts for the family tradition that the mill supplied food to Civil War soldiers.

The Earnest agricultural assets survived remarkably intact from the 1860 to the 1870 census as Benjamin Earnest's farm demonstrated only a decline in livestock numbers, the crop yields approximately the same as produced by his father ten years earlier.⁴⁴ This quick regain of wealth is notable, as both Union and Confederate soldiers repeatedly robbed Upper East Tennessee farms leaving a largely destitute region in 1864. But it is also comparable to what historian Robert Tracy McKenzie has found for agricultural elites statewide—they certainly endured significant property

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losses during the war but they maintained their overall position as an agricultural elite, holding a similar percentage of the region's wealth in 1870 as they did in 1860.⁴⁵

Following the Civil War, many Greene County farmers turned to the cultivation of tobacco on a large commercial scale as a means to quickly rebuild previously thriving agricultural markets. Until 1885, the Greeneville Tobacco Manufacturing Company joined production in addition to several small plug chewing tobacco businesses and tobacco auctions in the county.⁴⁶ Until 1887, the county's farmers cultivated mainly Virginia tobacco (flue-cured) tobacco. Then, Clisbe Austin, product manager for the Greeneville Tobacco Manufacturing Company, introduced the white burley tobacco seed, claiming that the soil and climate in the area were ideal for growing burley tobacco.⁴⁷ Greeneville soon emerged as the largest market in the Tennessee-North Carolina-Virginia Burley Belt. By 1889, Greene County dramatically led all other East Tennessee counties in the production of tobacco. Greene produced 613,028 pounds of tobacco on 1,182 acres, with Cocke County the second largest producer at 275, 393 pounds of tobacco on 699 acres.⁴⁸

Benjamin F. Earnest did not follow his neighbors' lead into the tobacco industry on a commercial scale. Even with the largest burley tobacco markets in the state a little more than ten miles away, the Earnest farm produced tobacco for household consumption and only a small surplus for trade. Benjamin Earnest's farm continued the family's 100-year tradition of diversifying crops and livestock. Circa 1880, his son Jim Earnest built a large Italianate-styled two-story home on the south bank of the Nolichucky River near the Ebenezer Methodist Church. The large stylish farmhouse was another indicator that the Earnests did not suffer unduly from the war and Reconstruction years.

The Goodspeed biographies of prominent farmers in Greene and Washington counties in 1887 include Peter Earnest's son Felix W. Earnest, W. B. Glaze of the Smith Bridge area, and Samuel Keebler, who was described as a successful stock farmer, with 700 acres of the best land in Washington County. The most prominent of the Nolichucky elites in the late nineteenth century was Nicholas Peter Earnest, who embodied the career of a southern "progressive" farmer at the turn of the century to the time of the Great Depression. In addition to operating his family's farm, Nicholas Earnest became heavily involved in community affairs, including the East Tennessee chapter of the Farm Bureau and the Greene County Bank. Groups such as these supported and promoted progressive changes in farming methods. For example, in the 1920s, these local groups followed a statewide dairy campaign and encouraged Greene County farmers to invest more resources in dairying.

This campaign gathered momentum upon the announcement of the Pet Milk Company's intent to build a milk condensing plant in Greeneville. The Greene County extension agent's report pointed to efforts by both the extension office and the chamber to "hold numerous meetings in rural communities" to encourage interest in dairy farming.⁴⁹ The banking community took an active role in

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recruiting cattle and farmers for the Pet Milk Company. Four Greeneville banks ordered six carloads of dairy cattle by railroad and sold them to farmers at cost.⁵⁰ The banks furthered their participation in the dairy promotion campaign by holding public meetings to explain different employment options associated with dairying. They also funded trips for three men to attend the National Dairy Exposition in Memphis and published a pamphlet for 4-H members entitled "The Dairy Cow, the Mother of Prosperity."⁵¹ Though effective in convincing some Greene County farmers, Nicholas P. Earnest, the President of the Greene County Bank, continued to farm a variety of crops.⁵²

Nicholas P. Earnest's involvement in agricultural reform was not limited to the local level. Beginning in 1921, Nicholas Earnest represented Upper East Tennessee on the Board of Trustees for the State Fair.⁵³ His involvement with the Agriculture Department suggests an interest in the efforts of agricultural education in the state. Earnest's involvement also implies that he supported the state message of progressive farming, including the heavy encouragement of dairying in the early 1920s. Through his involvement with the fairs, Earnest associated with state leaders who promoted the dairy industry, and though he might have been influenced by its reported benefits, his own mixed farming practices suggested otherwise.

Nicholas Earnest continued his participation in state agricultural efforts through the County Extension office. The 1930 Extension report for the town of Chuckey listed Earnest as both a "demonstrator" and "leader." The report also designated the area around Chuckey as "starting dairying."⁵⁴ Tennessee agricultural programs and County Extension Agents worked closely with the Farm Bureau from the Bureau's 1919 creation in Tennessee.⁵⁵ Earnest became a charter officer in the Greene County chapter of the Farm Bureau in 1935. Records indicate that Earnest served initially as secretary and then director in the Greene County chapter.⁵⁶

After World War II, during a decade of urban growth and suburban boom in such surrounding towns as Greeneville and Johnson City in Washington County, the farms of the Nolichucky Valley abandoned the earlier tradition of mixed agriculture to embrace modern dairy farming. In the 1950s, families began to establish large dairy operations. The dairy resources located at the Earnest-Broyles farm provide more examples of the structures used in dairy cultivation. Directly east of the Earnest-Broyles farm and across a small field stand two concrete silos, a result of the dairy boom in the 1950s. Directly north of the tobacco barn is a two story dairy milking house. This structure is constructed with concrete blocks and contains a metal roof. Two roughly constructed board fences lead directly from the milking building to a wide path between the two fence lines. Each fence is reinforced with wire in an effort to keep animals inside the chute-like path area. By the mid-1960s, a large dairy complex was also constructed on the Henry and Peter Earnest Farm.

The new emphasis on dairy production changed the landscape in more ways than merely adding large concrete buildings and silos to the countryside. Fewer fields were cultivated, and those under

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the plow were typically producing corn for silage, or burley tobacco. More fields were converted to pasture, or set aside for hay production, thus producing the open, little cultivated landscape so admired today. Wire fences set aside pastures and divided herds into manageable groupings. Local roads were paved, and eventually the construction of a new four-lane highway replaced the earlier reliance on the two-lane Andrew Johnsonville Highway that passed through the towns of Chuckey and Limestone.

III. From Folk Traditions to Pattern Book Architecture: Patterns in Vernacular Architecture, 1784-1960

As shown by Bernard Herman in his book *Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware* (1984), the study of the housing structures within a rural community can reveal much about the community itself.⁵⁷ Reflected in housing style and construction methods are the cultural traditions, intended function, and reaction to the environment of the people who designed and built the dwellings.⁵⁸ The earliest extant resource in this section of the Nolichucky River Valley, the Mauris-Earnest Fort House, was built about 1782. This dwelling is three stories, with limestone construction forming the bottom level and V-notched logs forming the second and third stories. An exterior stone chimney is placed in the center of the south elevation. The front elevation contains a central entrance flanked by windows. This inclusion of the door on each story, even on the second and third levels where the doors would not become functional, reflects a Germanic tradition of symmetrical style. Also, log construction represents German, Swedish, and Finnish building traditions, with the German construction method providing the most extensive influence.⁵⁹

The German influence spread throughout the eastern United States and continued as people left the densely populated coastal cities for more land in the western United States. These settlers spread German influenced building techniques across the area known as the Upland South, which includes most of the southern states, with the exception of the coastal areas and the majority of Louisiana. Southern portions of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania form the northern boundary of the Upland South. The eastern boundary begins with the western edges of Virginia and the Carolinas. The western boundary includes eastern Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas.⁶⁰ The German, Swiss, Bohemian and English settlers influenced the architecture of the Upland South. Geographer Allen G. Noble denotes East Tennessee as part of the "cultural hearth" of the region.⁶¹

In addition to reflecting the cultural tradition of the area, the construction of the Mauris-Earnest Fort House offers clues to help determine the function that this building fulfilled for its residents. The oral history of the area and the name of the structure, "Fort House" suggests that this building provided refuge for area families against Indian attacks. During the early settlement of this area, the threat of Indian attacks represented a very real fear among the people as increasing numbers of settlers drove Indians out of their native lands. The isolated nature of many East Tennessee communities made

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them particularly vulnerable to violence. Bishop Francis Asbury, a Methodist circuit rider, traveled extensively throughout this area from the late 1700s through the early 1800s. In his journals, he frequently mentions traveling in unsafe territory and meeting with victims of Indian attacks.⁶² A structure such as the Mauris-Earnest Fort House would provide both security and residential shelter for its inhabitants. Oral tradition suggests that the lower level was constructed of limestone in an effort to protect the house from invasion.⁶³ Another, more plausible explanation for the log structure is that it follows German folk tradition, brought across the Atlantic Ocean from Switzerland, southwestern Germany, and eastern Germany.⁶⁴ According to Edward A. Chappell, another distinguishing feature of German construction is the method of "hillside siting, with a relatively direct entrance into two floors." This style of construction is very prominent in the Mauris-Earnest Fort House as Henry Earnest built this dwelling into the side of a hill; however with only one direct entrance leading to the cellar.

The second oldest extant building in the Nolichucky Valley is the Colonel George Gillespie House (NR 8/22/77) on Big Limestone creek in the town of Limestone. Constructed circa 1792, this two-story limestone house also exhibits German influence in its three-room interior plan. This plan, known as the Penn plan, is a variant of the hall and parlor plan. William Penn recommended this house form to colonists in the 1670s. The house, unfortunately, has been abandoned and has suffered deterioration in the last ten years.

While German immigrants also settled the village of Broylesville, its development came in the late 1790s and early 1800s, about fifteen to twenty years after the first settlements by Earnest and Gillespie. The built environment at Broylesville was much more traditional English in its architecture. The Broylesville Inn, circa 1797, is a five-bay two-story vernacular Federal style building. The Thomas Telford House, circa 1815, is in a similar five-bay two-story vernacular Federal style.

After the death of Henry Earnest, Sr. in 1809, the built environment began to change around the Earnest properties. Henry and his wife, Mary, had eleven children - five sons and six daughters. The children gradually divided their parents' estate, with son Peter Earnest settling on the land south of the Nolichucky River and across from the Mauris-Earnest Fort House. This movement away from the fort and its protective hillside suggest that the Earnests perceived the area around them as safe and ventured out to settle closer to their fields. Circa 1820, Peter Earnest constructed an I-house on the south end of an existing two-story brick structure.⁶⁵ The original structure had four bays with one central chimney. The building suggests the German tradition of establishing symmetry with its off center windows on the second story matching those of the first story and its central chimney.

Like the earlier buildings at Broylesville, Peter Earnest's choice to build an I-house in the 1820s-1830s reflects a movement that first generation Americans made away from the Germanic building forms to the Anglo-American I-house model.⁶⁶ The I-house represented a national trend in domestic architecture during the early nineteenth century and became the popular house form for German and

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Swiss settlements as cultural distinctions began to lessen intensity among the children of the original immigrants.⁶⁷ Geographer Fred B. Kniffen defines the I-house as a derivative of several English house types, with its original core one room deep with two full stories.⁶⁸ Kniffen also points out that the I-house could be created with the use of many different building materials and is often times built onto or from an existing dwelling such as a two-story dogtrot or saddlebag house.⁶⁹ Peter's addition of the I-house form onto an existing brick structure demonstrates the principle of adding onto and reusing buildings. The tall, imposing structure appealed to farmers as a symbol of high status within rural communities.⁷⁰ This architectural style became widespread in the Delaware-Chesapeake region by the late seventeenth century and "moved southward along the Appalachian axis".⁷¹ The extant Peter Earnest I-house is a symbol of this migration to the west and also representative of the most widely distributed form of domestic rural architecture.⁷² Its existence also demonstrates the early efforts of the Earnests to follow progressive national trends even in the relatively isolated Nolichucky River Valley. The construction of the I-house style in the expensive medium of brick also portrayed the Earnest's agricultural success and gradual accumulation of wealth.

The Peter Earnest farmhouse is a five bay dwelling with two exterior chimneys flanking the center of each side gable. The house's front facade faces away from the Nolichucky River and its additional ell, added in the 1850s, is built into the side of a sloping hill that leads to the river. This ell, attached to the house's original structure, contains two stories, with a large smokehouse on the second story and slave quarters on the bottom level. A concealed staircase exists directly outside of the slave space and leads to the porch on the second level and also to the smokehouse and kitchen areas. This staircase is currently concealed with latticework that is painted green.

The location and manner in which the slave quarters and staircase exist suggest that those who lived in the bottom level worked in the house, particularly within the smokehouse or the kitchen. However, as census records note, Peter Earnest owned 17 slaves in 1850 and 15 in 1860.⁷³ It is likely that in addition to the slaves that worked within the Earnest household, many also worked in the fields completing various agricultural tasks. Also, the two rooms within the Earnest home, though large, could not have sheltered 15-17 slaves, which suggests that other housing separate from the farmhouse, existed for those slaves who did not work within the house. No individual slave cabins remain today.

Very few agricultural outbuildings associated with the Peter Earnest Farm exist from the nineteenth century. As many of these buildings were probably built out of wood and for temporary use, it is likely that they were intentionally removed or altered as the needs of the farm changed over time.⁷⁴ Fires and neglect become other reasons that typically lead to the destruction of barns and other outbuildings. The buildings that the Earnests used would have reflected the diversification of crops and livestock that they raised, and adapted to meet the changing needs of the farm. Corn, wheat, horses and hogs represented part of the farm's crop production during this time, in addition to small

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amounts of tobacco, dairy and other items considered "staples" for household consumption.

Immediately west of the Earnest farmhouse is a two-story brick smokehouse with a cantilevered roof extension. A tin gable roof covers the structure and a small wooden cupola decorates the middle of the roof. Two rectangular doorways are present on the east facade, with one servicing the bottom level of the structure and the other at the top of concrete stairway on the second floor. The north side contains a small square opening on the bottom floor of the smokehouse. Some question exists as to the intended function of this structure. The farm already had a sizeable smokehouse connected to the rear ell of the main farmhouse. Also, the placement of the square, lower level opening resembles that of a German bake oven, which Henry Glassie attributes a similar style to Appalachia, though his study focused on upper Appalachia.⁷⁵ The three openings also might comprise the airtight nature of a smokehouse, thereby promoting the idea of a bake oven.⁷⁶ However, bake ovens are attributed to very early settlement in the United States and the brickwork and size of this structure suggests a high style that would not necessarily come with early settlement. This structure was also used for milk storage as the farm began to focus more on dairy production in the twentieth century.

Directly south of the main farmhouse, and framing the front yard is a row of boxwoods. This landscaping style becomes yet another example of the Earnests' efforts to participate in the progressive trends of the era. Beginning in the 1800s, it was fashionable to cultivate a row of boxwoods, in many cases to cordon off yards or to line driveways. For example, the owners of "Boxwood Manor", just ten miles away from the Earnests in Greeneville, surrounded their mansion in 1855 with boxwoods that had been "brought over the mountains in oxcarts from Charleston, South Carolina."⁷⁷ Other examples of this boxwood landscaping existed across Tennessee. The John Netherland Home in Rogersville, Hawkins County, lined the main entrance with "boxwoods at regular intervals".⁷⁸ The Meux Place in Stanton, Haywood County, Tennessee displayed "borders of magnificent boxwoods" planted soon after house construction in 1836.⁷⁹ The tradition of boxwood landscaping continued into the twentieth century as the Garden Study Club of Nashville noted examples of exclusive Tennessee houses incorporating boxwoods into their present land design.⁸⁰ In addition to the boxwoods, a concrete walkway leads from the façade of the farmhouse to a concrete stairway that ultimately leads to the road that is now Highway 351.

Another Earnest I-house and farm exists to the east of the Peter Earnest's complex; it is commonly known as the Earnest-Broyles House (circa 1820). The two dwellings are very similar in appearance, suggesting that they were built roughly at the same time. Though Earnest ownership of this building has been established, it is not clear which member of the Earnest family is responsible for its construction. The existence of slave spaces and its resemblance to the Peter Earnest I-house suggest that the other major Earnest slave owner, Peter's brother Henry, Jr., built the house. The one major difference between the two five bay I-houses is the presence of a door on the second level to establish symmetry with the front door on the first level. Slave quarters also exist in the rear ell of the

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second Earnest house, though they are present on the top story rather than in the bottom level. Fine woodcarving is evident on the mantels in the first floor rooms and rounded arch doorframes. This craftsmanship is also present on the staircase and was reportedly created by an itinerant English craftsman.⁸¹ This fine workmanship reinforces the theory that the Earnests were wealthy farmers, represented in the finely crafted interiors of their brick I-houses. The existence of slave spaces and its resemblance to the Peter Earnest I-house suggest that the other major Earnest slave owner, Peter's brother Henry, Jr., built the house. In 1904 the Broyles family purchased this I-house and they continue to operate the farm today.

At about the same time as the construction of the Peter Earnest House and the Earnest-Broyles House, circa 1810 to 1820, Valley residents built the Snapp Inn and the Glaze House. The Snapp Inn is a brick, two-story five-bay I-house, with vernacular Federal style detailing. The dwelling originally was a residence for the Snapp family but also a tavern for travelers along the adjacent road. The Glaze House is a brick, one-story five-bay I-house. Both brick dwellings are evidence of the recent wealth gained by local farmers, their adoption of prevailing Federal architectural styles, and of how the settlement landscape on the Nolichucky had taken on a permanent appearance by the 1820s. For example, the Cobbler's House at Broylesville is a fairly typical frame, three-bay house, circa 1845 while the Garst House, circa 1847-1850, is another vernacular central hall two-story brick dwelling. Its corbelled cornice, however, is similar to that found on another two-story brick house, the Hillmon House, which is near Smith Bridge in Washington County.

Perhaps the most interesting building from the antebellum era is the vernacular Greek Revival styled Broyles Mercantile Establishment in Broylesville. Built circa 1835, the building is a two-story brick store, with three bays defined by four giant stucco pilasters that have Doric capitals, supporting an elaborate entablature and pediment.

Four key buildings represent the post-Civil War patterns of architecture. The Jim Earnest house (circa 1880) is a three-story Folk Victorian style building with three of the elevations containing the original board-and-batten siding. This vernacular interpretation of Victorian era Italianate style is much simpler than its urban cousin as it lacks the delicate tracery and spindle work characteristic of the high style Victorian era form. However, the small center gable and front porch, in addition to the concave cornice molds within each side gabled overhang, demonstrate the Italianate influence. Another Italianate styled dwelling is the Thompson House (circa 1880), a frame two-story dwelling with Italianate-influenced bracketing and tracery. In Broylesville the Ira Green House (circa 1812, 1867) shows how the Italianate style could be used to update the architectural appearance of an earlier frame vernacular dwelling.

The fourth building is a community institution. The Ebenezer Methodist Church was built at the end of the nineteenth century. The current church building stands in the same location of the original

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meetinghouse built in 1795. It is reportedly the third Ebenezer Methodist Church building, and its construction began in 1897 and concluded in 1899.⁸² The church is a one-story frame building under a gable roof, resting on a concrete block foundation. The facade has a two-story octagonal shaped and louvered bell tower. The interior of the church remains virtually unaltered. Hand-painted grained wood is located on the pews, windowsills and the altar. The interior features the original wood paneling on the top portions and wainscoting on the bottom portions of the walls. A year after the building's construction, Ebenezer Methodist Church purchased a bell from the Cincinnati Bell Foundry and a group of 10 men met to install the bell in the tower. Church records indicate that the only Earnest present for the bell installation was Frank Earnest, and the designation "(colored)" appears beside his name.⁸³

Representing early twentieth century architectural patterns are the Alexander House, the Crum House, the Keebler House, the second Glaze House, the Parker House, and various agricultural outbuildings. Located near Limestone, the Alexander House, circa 1910, is a two-story, frame and hipped roof version of the American Four-Square farmhouse, a very popular choice for progressive farmers of the early twentieth century. The Parker House, in Broylesville, is another American Four-square style house built in 1912. The Crum House is a circa 1920 brick one-story bungalow, with river rock incorporated into the front porch and throughout the original landscaping of the yard. The house is an excellent example of Craftsman aesthetic as expressed in a rural Tennessee farmhouse. The Keebler House, circa 1920, is an excellent example of a brick, two-story American Four-Square farmhouse, which also contains the original brick farm office building (circa 1850) of the Keebler Farm. The second Glaze House, circa 1910, is also an impressive brick, two-story American Four-Square style farmhouse, which stands adjacent to the much earlier one-story Tennessee Federal style Glaze House at the Smith Bridge crossing of the Nolichucky. The second Glaze House faces the river and affords a commanding view of traffic on Smith Bridge as well as the surrounding valley.

In the evolution of the domestic architecture of the Nolichucky Valley, there is a dominant pattern of the shift from folk forms, such as the Earnest houses and the Gillespie House to house types typical of the standardized, mass produced architecture of the early twentieth century, such as the Crum House, the Keebler House, the Parker House, and the second Glaze House.

As would be expected of an agricultural region, there is a large and diverse array of outbuildings on several different properties. Perhaps the oldest barn in the valley stands on a parcel of land, near the confluence of the Nolichucky River and Big Limestone Creek, owned by Mike Alexander. The Alexander Barn (circa 1820, 1920) began as a log barn, with mortise and tenon joints and hand-hewn logs still visible today, that was then expanded into a hay and stock barn by 1920. Perhaps the oldest extant barn on the Earnest farms is a transverse crib barn with two large sloping sheds added on either side that stands between the Peter Earnest House and the Nolichucky River. This circa 1880-1900 building is enclosed in metal. This type of barn served a variety of functions over time, providing

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everything from animal shelter to hay storage. It currently stores burley tobacco. Another outbuilding, a single crib barn with board and batten construction stands near the larger transverse crib barn. A tin metal roof covers the medium pitched gable. A small rectangular door is located in the south gable. The Keebler stock barn (circa 1920) is a huge transverse crib barn, complete with a prominent central cupola, designed for the Keeblers's use in their booming early twentieth century livestock and dairying business. The dominant trend in the evolution of barn types is the shift from small multipurpose barns to large, more commercially oriented outbuilding complexes, devoted largely to the production of single agricultural commodities, such as dairy products and burley tobacco. Concurrent with this pattern is the increasing dominance of standardized architectural plans, typically provided through the agricultural press or the extension service, for barns, dairy buildings, silos, and machine sheds.

The best example of the evolution of a modern agricultural outbuilding complex can be found at the Earnest-Broyles farm. It has an outstanding collection of outbuildings, many of which reflect its mid-twentieth century dairy farming heritage. Directly across from the Earnest-Broyles farmhouse and a small field is a board and batten transverse crib barn, with a long sloping metal roof that covers the barn extensions. It may be dated as circa 1880-1900. The north extension is extremely long with two openings. This barn is currently used for tobacco, however similar to the transverse crib barn located in the Peter Earnest farmstead, this barn likely sheltered many different types of crops and livestock over the years. Another smaller barn, circa 1900, lies slightly northwest of the tobacco barn covered with board and batten siding and a metal roof. This barn contains three bays on the south side and one asymmetrical door on the west gable.

Surrounding these earlier structures are the impressive remnants of a once major dairy operation, with most of the buildings dating between 1945 and 1950. Directly east of the two concrete silos are two shed-like structures covered with tin metal roofs. Board and batten siding covers three sides of one of the sheds and the other is open to all sides. These structures likely housed equipment (circa 1920). North of the Earnest-Broyles farm complex and across a field is an elongated machine shed with ten openings for equipment. This open structure is constructed from wood with a metal roof. West of the machine shed is a large, two-story barn with a small-pitched gable roof (circa 1940). The barn is constructed with board and batten siding and a metal roof. The concrete milk house (circa 1950), two large concrete silos (circa 1950), concrete walkways for cattle, pond, and milking stalls complete the dairying complex.

North of the Earnest-Broyles dairy complex is a small concrete tenant house (circa 1945). Tenants played a major role in agricultural production throughout the Nolichucky Valley, but few of their residences remain extant. The Jim Earnest House has a nearby frame, board-and-batten tenant house (circa 1920), but it has been abandoned and has deteriorated.

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F. Associated Property Types

FI. Historic Family Farms

The following descriptions apply to the farms in the Nolichucky River Valley and some of these structures have earlier dates of construction than all of Tennessee.

Description

Historic family farms in the Nolichucky Valley range from at least ten acres to several hundreds of acres. This range of farm acreage embraces farms of one hundred acres or less that families operated solely with their own labor, perhaps assisted at seasonal times by hired labor; farms of less than five hundred acres where the family worked with ten or less slaves in the antebellum period or with a small number of tenants in the post-bellum era; and plantations of five hundred or more where the family owned ten or more slaves or employed a like number of tenants after the Civil War. Whatever their size, these farmsteads have three broad categories of buildings and/or structures: 1) dwellings, 2) outbuildings, and 3) fences and fields. For the descriptive section of this discussion, we will consider each of these categories in order and list the primary types of buildings and/or structures found in each category. However, for general assessment purposes, the following should be kept in mind. We argue that for a property to meet the description of a "historic farm," it should, at least, contain extant historic resources from the first three categories. That is, the nominated farm complex usually should contain a historic dwelling; outbuildings that are associated with the dwelling and/or associated with a significant agricultural period in the history of the farm; and historic fields that are associated with a significant period of agricultural production in the history of the farm. Nor is it necessary for the same family to have owned and operated the farm over a long period of time; depending on the individual situation, changing ownership may add to, or detract from, the architectural significance of the property. It is highly doubtful that a "historic farm" is present, if the dwelling was built after 1945 and/or there are no extant historic outbuildings or historic fields.

The chronological period for the extant resources in the three categories of dwellings, outbuildings, and fields may be mixed; that is, the house may be more recent than the field patterns or the outbuildings may be more recent than both the dwelling and fields. The nominated property's period of significance, especially for the agriculture theme of Criterion A, will define the chronological range represented by the individual resources of a historic family farm. A farm might have a founding date of 1860, for example, and the fields and some outbuildings may well date to the mid-nineteenth century. The house, on the other hand, might be a 1920s bungalow. This chronological range is not unusual; farm families updated outbuildings and dwellings as circumstances on the farm changed, particularly in the early twentieth century in response to the progressive farming movement. The crucial determination for a historic farm is to determine the period of significance for agriculture or

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settlement patterns. If the property does not have significance in agriculture, however, it should be carefully assessed for architectural significance under Criterion C as a historic district. A "historic farm" may not be present, but a significant "farm complex" may be extant "if the buildings had integrity and were good examples of a type, period, or method [of] construction." [Letter from Claudette Stager, Tennessee SHPO, to author, 9/27/94] This architectural grouping may be associated, as well, with significant developments or periods in agricultural history and may be eligible under Criterion A for the theme of agriculture.

1) Dwellings: places of human occupation in the present or in the past that remain on the farmstead

Hall-kitchen house (German-influenced vernacular plans) (1780-1790). A German-influenced house plan that is found in the southern highlands (at Old Salem in Winston-Salem, North Carolina) and in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia is a three-room plan house, located in a hillside setting that creates a full basement. Called a hall-kitchen house by architectural historians, this German-derived type of vernacular architecture may be found in the Mauris-Earnest Fort House and the first Henry Earnest brick home, which is now a wing on the larger Peter Earnest House outside of Chuckey.

Penn-plan house (1780-1800). This early settlement form of housing, typically of stone or brick construction, takes its name from a recommendation that William Penn made to Quaker immigrants to western Pennsylvania in 1670. Penn called for a house that would be 30 feet long and 18 feet wide, with partitions in the middle and ends of the dwelling. While there has never been any direct evidence connecting early Tennessee houses (constructed 100 years later) with Penn's published plans, there are several extant early dwellings in East Tennessee that exhibit the characteristics of Penn's plan. Thus, architectural historians in the 1970s designated these early homes as "Penn-plan" houses. The plan is a variation of the two-room hall-parlor house in that the smaller of the two rooms has a dividing partition, creating a three-room interior plan. The Gillespie Stone House in Limestone is an extant example of this house type in the Nolichucky Valley.

Central passage house (1800-1930). The basic form of this one-story frame or brick dwelling is a central passage or hall flanked by roughly equaled sized rooms. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, an ell-wing had usually been added to the dwelling for the purposes of creating a separate dining room, additional bedrooms, and connecting the kitchen to the main house.

I-house (1800-1930). First identified and defined by geographer Fred Kniffen, this is a frame or brick (and in rare instances log) two-story dwelling, based on a central passage plan, with two or four flanking rooms on each story. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, a one-story (sometimes two-story) ell-wing was added to the dwelling for the purposes of creating a separate dining room, additional bedrooms, and connecting the kitchen to the main house. I-houses can also be part log or braced frame in one or two pens/rooms. The Earnest Houses near Chuckey, the

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Telford House in Broylesville, and the Snapp Inn near Limestone are examples of this house type in the Nolichucky Valley.

Italianate (1850-1880). Architectural style popular with wealthy farmers, strongly associated with the general boom in the southern agricultural economy during the 1850s and in the postwar agricultural recovery of the 1870s. Two important characteristics are brackets under the eaves and round arches that appear on windows and doors, and, quite often, repeated in the porch design. An asymmetrical facade, with a square tower, would be found in more formal statements of the style. Elements of Italianate design, especially the bracketed eaves and rounded arches, were often added to houses of an earlier period and more vernacular style, when owners wanted to "Victorianize" their homes. Milled woodwork is frequently seen in this style. The Thompson House near Smith Bridge is a example of the Italianate style house as interpreted in the Nolichucky Valley.

Gable-Front and Wing (1870-1910). Described as Folk Victorian by the McAlesters, this house type was the dominant rural dwelling of Tennessee during the late nineteenth century. The gable-front and wing profile was created when builders added a side, gable wing at right angles to a gable front plan. A porch, usually with Victorian era millwork, was placed on the front façade within the "L" made by the joining of the two wings. Extant examples are located in the town of Limestone.

Bungalow (1905-1940). A one to one and a half story brick, stuccoed, or frame dwelling with a low pitched overhanging roof and porch that, in its pure state, eschews historical ornament for more naturalistic decorative details. This house style became very popular with "progressive farmers" in the early twentieth century, but many examples in Tennessee would embrace the "classical bungalow" form, that is, the dwelling would be a bungalow but its porch and windows would reflect the influence of classical revival design by using classical columns, capitals, and Palladian-like windows. Often buildings were "modernized" with a bungalow porch. The Crum House near Chuckey is an excellent example of this house style in the rural sections of the Nolichucky Valley; other examples are present in the towns of Limestone and Chuckey.

Four-Square (1905-1930). A two-story brick or frame house, with the wide eaves and typically a dormer on the hip roof. Popular among "progressive farmers" during the early twentieth century. It would sometimes take on the appearance of the Classical Revival house by the addition of a two-story classical portico, but more common was the addition of a largely unadorned one-story portico that gave the dwelling a more Colonial Revival appearance. The Craftsman influence is seen in eave bracketing or the use of different materials on each story. The Alexander House and Keebler House near Limestone, the Glaze House at Smith Bridge, and the Parker House at Broylesville are excellent examples of this house style in the Nolichucky Valley.

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Colonial Revival (1920-1960). Very popular style in rural Tennessee, especially between World War I and World War II. "Georgian Revival" would typically be a two-story brick house with a steep gable roof, symmetrical facade, and dormer windows. The "Georgian cottage" would be a one-story version of this same style, built in either frame or brick. Extant examples are located in the towns of Limestone and Chuckey.

Minimal Traditional (1935-1955). Identified and defined by the McAlesters, this one-story frame or brick dwelling is a small (three to five rooms) one-story house that features a symmetrical facade and has little ornamentation. Popular among farmers of smaller amounts of acreage and can be found on larger estates as tenant housing. Sometimes this house form is referred to as a "tract house," identifying its origins in the immediate post-World War II housing boom. Extant examples are in the towns of Limestone and Chuckey.

Ranch (1950-1980). The one-story, hipped or gabled roof, typically brick ranch house became a very popular form of domestic architecture in the decades after World War II. In the Nolichucky, these homes combine earlier design traditions, such as a Colonial Revival-influenced porch or stoop, and a general three- to five-bay symmetrical facade, with such new design ideas as the attached, interior garage. Extant examples are located in Limestone and Chuckey as well as the rural districts of the Nolichucky Valley.

2) Outbuildings: places of human work and where animals, agricultural products, and equipment may be stored. In general, the outbuildings for historic family farms are arranged in a domestic complex, usually defined by a fence or tree/shrubbery line, that surrounds or lies in close proximity to the dwelling, and in the agricultural complex, or work complex, that would lie farther away from the dwelling and to the rear or the side of the domestic complex.

Within the domestic complex, the following outbuildings would be most typically located:

carriage house (1800 to 1920) A rectangular one-story gable roof frame or brick building used for the storage of carriages and/or horses for carriages.

cellars (1800 to 1990). A few nineteenth century cellars may still be located (the structures were known then as root cellars) and they used were for the underground storage of potatoes, turnips, and other root vegetables. In the middle decades of the twentieth century, many progressive farmers constructed cellars out of concrete so canned goods could be stored there throughout the year.

Chicken house (1900-1960). Progressives urged farm women to raise poultry products to help supplement farm income and enable families to purchase new technology for the home. These are

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typically rectangular one-story board-and-batten buildings with a metal shed roof. Some are built to standardized plans provided by USDA or the extension agent.

dairy (1840-1920). A small frame building, with ventilation grills in the top half, that is taller than it is wide (but not as tall as a smokehouse) and used for milk storage. As families turned to more modern, market-oriented dairy production by the 1920s, the earlier small dairy buildings were either replaced by the milk house or they were used for storage or other agricultural purposes.

garage (1910 - 1960). A rectangular one-story gable roof frame or brick building used for the storage of automobiles and/or motorized farm equipment.

gas tanks (1930-1960). These metal cylinder containers, either located underneath the ground and serviced by a gas pump or located on a metal stand above ground, were used by families who relied on several motorized pieces of farm equipment. Gas wholesalers would deliver the fuel on weekly or monthly trips through the region.

kitchen (1785-1900). A rectangular one-story gable roof frame or brick building used for the preparation of meals. Typically by 1900, the separate kitchen had been incorporated into the dwelling by means of a L-wing.

office (1780-1960). A rectangular one-story gable roof frame or brick building used for administering and managing farm work and sales. Often part of the domestic complex, it may also be located as a "buffer" between the domestic complex and the agricultural complex.

privy (1785-1970). Although built early in a farm's history, these tall structures, with usually side ventilators, for human waste disposal are rarely found on extant farms and if they do remain, most date from the twentieth century.

smokehouse (1785-1990). A tall but fairly narrow log, brick, or frame structure used for the smoking and preservation of meats, usually pork. Most log smokehouses in Middle Tennessee date prior to 1860; the frame smokehouses are mostly of the twentieth century.

spring house (1785-1940). A small usually gable roof building of brick, limestone, log or frame used to protect the family water supply and to provide a cool spot for the temporary preservation of perishable dairy items. The increase in constructing wells in the early twentieth century led to the demise of many spring houses.

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washhouse (1800-1950). Typically a frame one-story gable roof rectangular building that housed the machinery, pans, and pots for washing clothes until the increasing availability of rural electricity led to families installing washers and dryers inside the house. Still stands on some farms and used for storage today.

well (1785-1990). Wells refer to the structures built over a dug-out or drilled well to underground water. It is uncommon to find a frame or log well head today; beginning in the twentieth century, farmers built either a frame well house to cover the well opening and pump or located the machinery within a concrete well head.

wood shed (1800 to 1990). A small rectangular typically frame building with an overhanging gable roof used to protect the wood supply from rain. Still used on properties that rely on fireplaces and/or wood stoves for winter heating.

The agricultural complex typically contains the larger outbuildings of a historic farm. The centerpieces are the various barns, around which are loosely arranged cribs, granaries, equipment sheds, and other buildings devoted to agricultural production and storage. On larger farms, especially tobacco farms, barns may be located throughout the farm, closer to the productive fields with which they are associated.

Barn types would include:

single crib barn (1785-1960). According to Noble, single crib barns are a single room covered typically by a gable roof. Commonly, the barns are between eight and twelve feet in length and have a door on the gable end. Used for corn and grain storage, this type of barn was constructed of frame in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Often, the original log crib remains intact, but flanking frame (or even metal) sheds have been added to increase the barn's storage capacity.

double crib barn (1785-1960). Double crib barns have two separate cribs connected by a common gable roof, creating an open space, or breezeway, between the two cribs

four crib barn (1820-1920). Four crib barns have four separate cribs placed at the corner of a rectangular shape, and then covered by a common gable roof, thus creating two separate aisles for breezeways that cross in the middle of the structure.

transverse frame barn (1820-1990). A very common barn type in Tennessee. The four crib barn design was basically filled in as the side aisle openings were eliminated, leaving only a center aisle open at the gable ends. Another pen replaced the side aisle opening, giving farmers six storage pens rather than the four of the double crib barn. Over time, the center aisle has been elongated, with

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some transverse crib barns having five or six pens on either side of the center aisle. The USDA developed standardized plans for transverse crib barns, used for curing either burley or dark-fired tobacco, in the mid-twentieth century. This barn type has also been transformed into a stock barn, particularly on the increasing number of farms, which no longer produce tobacco.

three-portal barn (1850-1990). Attributed to the Midwest and a German ethnic influence by Allen Noble, these barns may also be found in large numbers in the Upper South. This type is a transverse crib barn to which has been added large sloping sheds on either side, creating a large barn with three gable to gable aisles.

bank barn (1850-1990). Attributed to German cultural traditions, the bank barn is a large gable-roofed barn that has either been built into a bank or has had a sloping ramp that allows direct wagon access to the threshing rooms of the second floor.

pole barn (1945-1990). A popular post-World War II barn type, this low-pitch roofed, one-story frame or metal barn is placed on a concrete slab and upright poles provide the framing of the barn walls and steel-girder trusses provide support for the roof.

burley tobacco barn (1880-1990). Burley tobacco is air-cured and does not require a special type of barn configuration. Most burley tobacco barns in Tennessee are tall, elongated gable roofed barns, with entrances on the gable end. The barns have ventilators along the roof ridge to enhance air circulation and they often have movable panels on both the sides and gable ends to increase circulation.

Crib types would include:

corncrib (1785-1990). A basic element of most Tennessee farmsteads. Different types of cribs are located throughout the United States, but in this region, most cribs are elongated, narrow buildings constructed off the ground on wooden supports that have slatted walls to provide proper ventilation for the corn.

front drive crib (1800-1920). A single crib barn built of logs or frame with a projecting front roof which is then braced and supported by corner poles.

Other agricultural production/storage buildings would include:

chicken coop/house (1900-1990). The production of poultry became a major agricultural commodity during the progressive agriculture era. Extension service agents provided farmers with standardized plans for small, medium, and large chicken houses and many of these buildings are still extant on

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farms, although few are in use today. Farms that produced small amounts of chicken utilized a coop that featured two to three windows on one side with a shed roof. Larger chicken coops have a low pitched roof over an elongated building with six to ten window openings on each side.

granary (1785-1990). First constructed of logs, and later frame, and most recently of metal, these typically gable-roofed structures provided storage for wheat, oats, and other small grains. Cylinder shaped metal granaries have become common in the second half of the twentieth century.

milk house (1930-1990). Associated with the boom in the Tennessee dairy industry during the twentieth century. Most extant milkhouses are built of concrete blocks and are one-story in height, unadorned, and have a gable roof. Inside the building is where the modern dairy equipment is located.

silos (1880-1990). A tall usually circular storage system for ensilage. Since their introduction to the United States, silos have evolved from rectangular wooden structures (1880 to 1900) to circular wooden-stave structures (1900 to 1920) to huge concrete silos (1920 to 1980) and to the modern Harvestore systems of today (1945 to 1990)

Storage sheds would include:

equipment shed (1920-1990). Associated with the gas-powered engine mechanization boom in agriculture during the twentieth century. These one-story frame structures, often with a shed roof, are garages for farm equipment, with typically multiple bays to shelter tractors, combines, seeders, wagons, etc. Extension agents also provided farmers with standardized plans for these buildings.

hay shed (1940-1990). Since the mid-century, farmers for reasons of cost have turned increasingly to building one and even two-story hay sheds to protect their hay crop. These are rectangular gable roof buildings, with the roof supported by wooden or metal poles that are open on the sides.

Other features:

pond (1900-1990). Associated with the progressive farming period and the twentieth century switch to livestock production. Certainly ponds were constructed on farms before 1900, but those identified in the Center's fieldwork for the Nolichucky Valley have dated to the mid-twentieth century (or later).

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III. Fences and Fields

When assessing the fences and fields that comprise an individual farmstead, it is crucial to remember that family farms are individual units of production. Comparing a historic family farm to a historic factory building is a valuable analogy. Like a historic factory building, the outside (that is, the farm boundaries) are constants (although additions may be made through the years). How space is divided on the inside (or within the fields), however, may change through the years, according to the commodities being produced at a given period.

On a historic family farm of 150 years in age, in other words, the size of fields, and the types of crops produced, have undoubtedly changed from the date of establishment to today. If such changes have not happened, the farm would probably not have remained successful and remained as a farm today. Also, due to changes in farm technology and mechanization, as well as the decline of farm tenancy, fields from the mid-twentieth century are often larger in acreage than those that could be managed efficiently by earlier available technology and labor systems. This change in field size, in most cases, is significant to the agricultural history of the property in that the changes reflect the general trends of labor, farm management, and crop production of twentieth century agriculture. The fields, in other words, become valuable documents of how agricultural production evolved from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

When assessing fields, consider whether boundary lines between fields have been defined by past historical markers or by past historical behavior. Sometimes, historic fence lines are in place; sometimes, historic documents (soil conservation surveys from the 1930s; deed records; aerial photography from the 1930s-50s) will document the definition of the fields. Most often, however, "natural" fence lines, such as trees, bushes, and terraces, are still apparent around the boundaries of fields. If these types of historic boundaries exist around the fields, defining their historic boundaries as individual production areas within a larger unit of production, a significant agricultural sense of time and place is conveyed. In the Nolichucky, most extant field patterns date between 1920 and 1950, due to the influence of the dairy industry, the livestock industry, and burley tobacco production on the region's agricultural products.

board fence (1850-1990). Square lumber posts connected by three to five wooden boards (typically four were used). Used primarily to enclose livestock lots.

barbed wire fence (1900-1990). Although introduced in the Midwest during the 1870s, and gaining immense popularity in the Western states in the late 1800s, the barbed wire fence in Tennessee is usually twentieth century in origin and is associated with the shift to cattle production in this century.

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net wire fence (1900-1990). Like the barbed wire fence, woven wire fences were first available in the 1880s, but in Tennessee most extant fences are twentieth century in origin. This type of fence is very common.

electric fence (1935-1990). Once the Rural Electrification Administration began to provide cheap electricity to rural areas, farmers began to use single or double strands of electric wire to fence livestock.

F-II. Rural Historic Districts

The various historic family farms of the Nolichucky Valley may be related by history, family, place, and/or agricultural products and can thus be better understood as a rural historic district. The registration requirements for a rural historic district would follow those generally set for rural districts throughout the country—a contiguous set of properties that convey a sense of time and place and may be distinguished as a related entity from the surrounding countryside.

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F-III. Assessing Significance

In the Nolichucky Valley, historic family farms and rural historic districts are most often significant for their association of the history of agriculture and the history of settlement in that area (Criterion A). They may well be the homes of individuals significant in the history of agriculture (Criterion B) or in other areas where the property would have its own context for potential Criterion B eligibility. Many contain examples of architecture and craftsmanship that would be significant under Criterion C of the National Register. Some farms or districts may best represent farm complexes eligible under Criterion C as a collection of buildings with integrity that are good examples of a type, period, or method of construction. If the district is associated with significant developments and periods in agriculture, it may be eligible under Criterion A for the theme of agriculture

Agriculture, settlement, and architecture, then, are the primary historical themes of significance for historic family farms and rural historic districts in the Nolichucky Valley. But properties may have secondary areas of significance, due to extant historic properties such as offices (medicine), commerce (such as Broyles Mercantile), churches (religion), light industry (blacksmith shops, mills), road systems and/or transportation-related buildings (inns, gas stations), and slave and/or tenant housing (ethnic identity and labor) or due to a significant association with an individual of significance (politics, science, medicine, law, education, ethnic identity, etc.)

Several historic farms have extant archaeological resources; some even have extant prehistoric archaeological resources. These resources must be carefully evaluated for their eligibility, both individually and as contributing elements, under Criterion D.

F-IV. Registration Requirements

Key thematic and analytical questions to assess the significance of eligible properties under the three historic contexts of this nomination have been discussed above. Properties that possess significance under these different inquiries may still not be eligible for listing in the National Register, however, if they no longer possess architectural integrity or do not reflect historic associations. The integrity of a property is assessed by evaluating its design, workmanship, materials, setting, location, feeling and association, and how these characteristics have been altered since the property's period of significance. Determining the farm's or district's period of significance, consequently, becomes a key step in determining its eligibility. A farm that no longer contains an adequate number of historical and architectural characteristics that date to its period of significance will not be eligible since it no longer conveys a sense of time and place nor is it a historical artifact of a significant period in the history of agriculture, settlement, and architecture. In assessing integrity, careful attention should be directed at the exterior and interior integrity of the farmhouse, since it was the administrative center of the farm,

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and careful attention should be directed to the extant historic outbuildings. Distribution and type of outbuildings, type of "farming" (domestic sphere or field crops or livestock) will also help determine boundaries and significance. It will be important to identify whether the modernization of the interior and/or exterior took place as part of the progressive farm improvement programs of the twentieth century, programs like the "Better Homes, Better Farms" initiative of the 1920s.

Properties which contain physical resources that may be significant under Criterion D may be of such a nature, extent, and potential significance that an evaluation by a professionally certified archaeologist is required. Such resources which are to be contributing elements in a nomination may often be adequately assessed by a historic preservation professional. Resources that may be individually eligible must be assessed by a professionally certified archaeologist.

These registration requirements should be used when assessing properties in all three historic contexts of this multiple property submission.

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G. Geographical Data

This Multiple Property Submission concentrates on what may be called the central Nolichucky Valley, which begins at the confluence of the Nolichucky River and Little Limestone Creek in Washington County and extends to Ripley Island on the Nolichucky River in Greene County. Largely comprised of farms and rural landscapes, it includes on the west side of the river the towns of Broylesville and Limestone in Washington County and Chuckey in Greene County.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

In 1984-1985, Martha Hagedorn of the Upper East Tennessee Development District surveyed and nominated to the National Register the eligible resources in the town of Broylesville. In 1985-1986, the Tennessee Department of Agriculture and the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation verified and updated the listings of Century Farms in Tennessee in order to produce a book about the history of Tennessee's Century Farms. During that time, Center staff gathered material about the state's agricultural properties. Through the Century Farms data, and the earlier National Register nomination of the Mauris-Earnest Fort House, it identified the Henry and Peter Earnest Farm as the oldest century farm in the state. Staff visited the property and took photographs for inclusion in the Century Farms book, titled *Tennessee Agriculture: A Century Farms Perspective*, which was published in January 1987.

In 1990, staff from the Tennessee Department of Transportation surveyed the area due to a pending bridge replacement over the Nolichucky River at the Earnest Farm. (The bridge would be named the Nicholas P. Earnest Bridge.) In assessing the National Register eligibility of properties within the vicinity of the bridge, TDOT staff determined that the Earnest Farm Historic District was eligible for the National Register; staff at the Tennessee Historical Commission concurred with this assessment.

In 2000, property owners in the Broylesville to Chuckey region requested the assistance of the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation for the potential listings of their individual properties and possible historic districts to document the history and architecture of the early settlement of the Nolichucky Valley. After gathering earlier survey information from the Tennessee Department of Transportation and the Tennessee Historical Commission, as well as its own Century Farms data base, Center staff concluded that such a Nolichucky Valley-focused project would be feasible. During 2000 staff at the Center for Historic Preservation held public meetings at Davy Crockett Birthplace State Park, outside of Limestone in Washington County, and at Chuckey in Greene County, in order to inform property owners of the project and its goals, and to solicit material and information from the owners about the history of their properties. Center staff also worked closely with a local citizens group, the Friends of the Nolichucky River, to identify potential eligible properties and sources of information. A letter about the project and its goals was published in a Washington County newspaper in 2001. Primary

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fieldwork for the project was carried out by the Center's Carroll Van West and Center research assistants Jen Stoecker and Nathan Kinser. Initial fieldwork concentrated on the Earnest Farms district in Greene County, which Stoecker further developed as her M. A. thesis topic. Other areas explored with fieldwork visits, interviews, and photography included the Smith Bridge area (conducted by Kinser), the towns of Limestone and Chuckey (conducted by West), the Battle of Limestone site (conducted by Kinser), and several other potentially eligible properties (the Alexander Farm, the Keeble Farm, the Snapp Inn, Davy Crockett Birthplace State Park) that were initially identified during the preliminary fieldwork and visits that took place during 2000.

This combination of archival work and fieldwork provided the foundation for both the narrative of this multiple property submission as well as the listing of property types. All of the property types described in this submission may be found in the Nolichucky Valley.

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¹ Mauris-Earnest Fort House, National Register Nomination (1978). The oral history claims that John Mauris built the house, but no supporting documentation has been located.

² Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts and Jacob S. Patton, eds. *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*. (London: Epworth Press and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), 754, Vol. 1 Bishop Francis Asbury has been compared to John Wesley in the spread of Methodism in the United States, according to Marvin Kincheloe and Robert L. Hilton's *Bishop Asbury Comes to Holston*, 1984.

³ Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1986). Kniffen notes that settlers began their interest for the "trans-Appalachia West" beginning about 1790, 7.

⁴ Bishop Francis Asbury, Marvin Kincheloe and Robert L. Hilton. *Bishop Asbury Comes to Holston*. (Holston Annual Conference, 1984), 55. Please refer to the appendix for a map of Asbury's travels in the Holston Conference.

⁵ Elmer T. Clark, p. 48, Vol. II. Community accounts differ about the date of construction, some implying that the log building constructed in 1785 was actually the second church building to stand there, the first being built in 1792.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁸ Goodspeed Publishing Co, *History of Tennessee Containing Historical and Biographical Sketches of 30 East Tennessee Counties*, (Chicago and Nashville: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1887), 883. Goodspeed mentions that the Stone Dam Campground was "near what is now Henderson's Depot." At the time of this writing, it is unknown whether any remains of this campground exist.

⁹ Soderberg, Gertrude and Mildred S. Archer, "Ebenezer – A Greene County, Tennessee Cemetery," Pamphlet, assembled 1973.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ United States Census Bureau, the Decennial Census of the United States, Census of Population: 1940, 1950, 1960, Vol. 1, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Publishing Office) 1941, 1951, 1961.

¹² The majority of historical scholarship about agricultural change is based on studies about the New England region.

¹³ The area encompassed in Appalachia is sometimes defined as broad as the boundaries of the Appalachian Trail encompassing 14 states from Maine to Georgia. More specific definitions limit the area known as Appalachia to West Virginia, the western sections of Virginia and the Carolinas, East Tennessee and Kentucky, the northern portions of Georgia and Alabama, and the southern portion of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Map available at the Center for Appalachian Studies at East Tennessee State University, <http://cass.etsy.edu/archives/aapprac>.

¹⁴ J. B. Killebrew, *Mineral and Agricultural Resources of the Portion of Tennessee Along the Cincinnati Southern, Knoxville and Ohio Railroads including the county between the two*, (Nashville: Tavel, Eastman, and Howell, 1876), 499.

¹⁵ J. Wesley Hatcher, "Appalachian America," in *Culture in the South*, ed. W. T. Couch (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 382.

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¹⁶ Ibid. In "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion", Fred B. Kniffen attributes Hatcher's distinctions to a "vertical range of natural conditions" that reflects the settlement patterns. He also notes that social status declines in Appalachian communities as the elevation increases, 22.

¹⁷ Brabson Family Papers, "Alexander Brabson's General Store Account Ledger 1833-1850," original manuscript, p. 30, Appalachian Archives, Center for Appalachian Study, East Tennessee State University.

¹⁸ Blanche Henry Clark, *The Tennessee Yeomen, 1840- 1860* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1942), 23.

¹⁹ David Hsiung, *Two Worlds in the Tennessee Mountain: Exploring the Origins of Appalachian Stereotypes* (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1997), 11.

²⁰ Constance Kramer, *Greene County Bicentennial: 1783-1983* (Greeneville, Tennessee: The Greeneville Sun, 1983), 49.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism, Western Massachusetts, 1780-1760* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press) 1990, 155. Clark maintained that during this time, local merchants and traders increased their business and more vigorously inserted themselves in the already existing exchanges among farmers within the community.

²³ Brabson, 28, 38.

²⁴ (Brabson, 1836, 1860.)

²⁵ Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, *Tennessee Records of Greene County, Inventory and Sale, 1828-1843*, WPA Project # 465-44-3-115, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

²⁶ Ibid., 270.

²⁷ Ibid., 437.

²⁸ Blanche Henry Clark, 111.

²⁹ Ibid., 112.

³⁰ Ibid., 116.

³¹ Ibid., 437, 225.

³² National Archives and Records Administration, *Slave Schedules of the 7th Census of the United States, 1850*, Tennessee: Fayette and Hardeman Counties.

³³ www.loc.gov. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*, 1789-1973, January 15, 1851.

³⁴ <http://moa.umd.umich.edu>, p.482.

³⁵ Ibid., 136.

³⁶ www.loc.gov. For further information about route of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, search the map database for "East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad", 1882 Rand McNally map of this railroad and its connection with others in the Southwest portion of the United States.

³⁷ W. Todd Groce, *Mountain Rebels: East Tennessee Confederates and the Civil War, 1860-1870* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press: 52.

³⁸ Architectural Assessment for the Proposed Bridge Replacement, Earnest Bridge Spanning the Nolichucky River at Chuckey, Greene County, Tennessee, Tennessee Department of Transportation (Carver, 1991).

³⁹ W. Todd Groce, 9.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

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⁴¹ National Archives, *Non-Population Schedules for Tennessee, 1850-1880*, Greene County, 1860 (Washington, D. C.: National Archives) 63.

⁴² W. Todd Groce, 41. D. W. Remine, who operated a large farm west of the Nolichucky, near Limestone, was one of these Unionist leaders. He was a vocal abolitionist, but was captured in an unspecified military operation and served in military prisons in both Virginia and East Tennessee.

⁴³ Clemmer, Katherine Earnest. "Elmwood Farms- Century Farm Application Addendum" (Murfreesboro, Center for Historic Preservation, photocopied), 1986.

⁴⁴ National Archives, *Non-Population Census Schedule for 1870, Greene County, Tennessee* (Washington D.C.: National Archives), 17

⁴⁵ Robert Tracy McKenzie, "'Oh! Ours is a Deplorable Condition': The Economic Impact of the Civil War in Upper East Tennessee," in *The Civil War in Appalachia, Collected Essays*, eds. Kenneth W. Noe and Shannon H. Wilson (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 206.

⁴⁶ Mitzi Bible, *Community in Transition: Greene County 1865-1900*. (Greene County Historical Society, 1986.), 25.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ D. G. Goodwin, *Tennessee: Its Resources, Capabilities and Development* (Nashville: State Department of Agriculture, 1892), page unknown.

⁴⁹ Department of Agriculture, "Extension Service Annual Reports, Greene County, 1927" (Nashville: Tennessee State Library and Archives), 4. This effort continued in 1928 as the county extension report notes 47 "general dairy promotion" meetings with an attendance of 3,997 people. The county extension included targeted topics as well, the "pure bred aire campaign" held 34 meetings with 1300 in attendance

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Department of Agriculture, "Extension Service Annual Reports, Greene County, 1928" (Nashville: Tennessee State Library and Archives), 6.

⁵² Katherine Earnest Clemmer, "Elmwood Farms- Century Farm Application Addendum" (Murfreesboro, Center for Historic Preservation, 1986, photocopied), Section II. Katherine recorded her father as the president of the Greene County Bank "for more than 50 years."

⁵³ *Tennessee Agriculture* (Nashville) September 1921.

⁵⁴ Department of Agriculture, "Extension Service Annual Reports, Greene County, 1930" (Nashville: Tennessee State Library and Archives), F-51.

⁵⁵ Christiana McFayden Campbell, *The Farm Bureau and the New Deal: A Study of the Making of National Farm Policy, 1933-40* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 8. The author maintains that in the early years of the Farm Bureau, Alabama and Tennessee were the only Southern states in which the Extension Agents encouraged partnership with the Farm Bureaus.

⁵⁶ Director of Communications Tennessee Farm Bureau, Pettis Reed, phone interview by author, 23 February 2001, notes in the author's possession.

⁵⁷ James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: an Archaeology of Early American Life*, (New York: Anchor/ Double Day, 1996), 130. Deetz cautions against relying completely on extant buildings because they "...tend to be an oversimplified view of early American architecture...." While this caution is most certainly considered by the author of this paper, archeological research is most certainly beyond the scope of this project. Also, every effort has been made to identify records that indicate structures within this district that are no longer extant.

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⁵⁸ Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 4.

⁵⁹ Allen G. Noble, *Wood, Brick and Stone: The North American Settlement Landscape*, Vol. 1 Houses (Amherst, The University of Massachusetts Press, 1984) 110.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 113, 7. Noble defines "Cultural Hearths" as areas in which "a culture displayed most strongly its essential features."

⁶² Bishop Francis Asbury, Marvin Kincheloe and Robert L. Hilton. *Bishop Asbury Comes to Holston* (Holston Annual Conference, 1984), 30, 48.

⁶³ Claudius Clemmer, phone communication by author, 25 February 2001, notes in the author's possession.

⁶⁴ Allen G. Noble. *To Build a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America* (Baltimore: Maryland, 1992), 104.

⁶⁵ James Patrick, *Architecture in Tennessee, 1768-1897*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 17. Patrick has found evidence to suggest that there were "brickmakers, bricklayers, and oil makers in the Holston settlements..." by 1795. In *Small Things Forgotten*, James Deetz remarks that it is sometimes necessary to "carefully analyze the various builds exhibited by a house" to locate its core structure, p. 127.

⁶⁶ Edward Chappell, "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 42.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Kniffen, 17.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Kniffen, 17. Howard Wight Marshall, when writing about the I-house style as it spread to Missouri in the *Folk Architecture in Little Dixie*, calls the I-house "the farmers mansion," 62.

⁷¹ Kniffen, 8. Kniffen's study notes that the I-house architectural form swung as far west as Texas and moved northward across Ohio.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ National Records and Archives, Slave Census for 1850 and 1860.

⁷⁴ Kniffen, p. 22. He writes that barn form and function changed to meet the natural changes and loss of traditional crops.

⁷⁵ Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961).

⁷⁶ Noble, Vol. 2, 96.

⁷⁷ Roberta Seawall Brandau, *History of Homes and Gardens in Tennessee* (Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1936), 49.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 57

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 308.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 330. The "Modern Homes" section of this 1936 book notes the Kincaid home in Clinton as having boxwoods that were "...neatly trimmed like an English box."

⁸¹ Richard Doughty, *Greeneville, One-Hundred Year Portrait 1775-1875* (Greeneville, Tennessee: Doughty, 1975).

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⁸² Ebenezer Church, "Brief History about Ebenezer United Methodist Church: Gatherings at the River, 1795-1973," Pamphlet, assembled 1973.

⁸³ Ibid.