

The Story of Alexander McClure

Summary:

On April 14, 1860 Alexander McClure, a slave living in Nashville, Tennessee, arranged for friends to place him in a box and ship him to a “Hannah M. Johnson” care of Levi Coffin in Cincinnati, Ohio. At Seymour, Indiana (Jackson County) Alexander’s box needed to be transferred to the southeast bound train. A rushed transfer of cargo caused Alexander’s box to be broken and he was revealed. Alexander was arrested and extradited to Tennessee. He implicated three men who helped him attempt his escape.

Nathan James, a free black living, was arrested and found to be an escaped slave himself. It is unclear what happened to James, but it appears he was sold into slavery. Alfred Savage, the slave who allegedly introduced Alexander to the third conspirator, a White man, whose identity was never revealed, was given 15 lashes for his part. It is unclear what ever became of Savage. Levi Coffin was questioned about his role in the escape, but he denied any knowledge. No Hannah M. Johnson could ever be found. Despite his failed escape, Alexander can be found living and working in Nashville after the Civil War.

The Story:

Such a curiosity the three feet by two feet pine box¹ had. People from all over Nashville, Tennessee came to see the box.² They wanted to know what it would be like to be shipped from Nashville, Tennessee to Cincinnati, Ohio in such a cramped

compartment – a journey Alexander McClure attempted to make to find his freedom. At Seymour, Indiana a chain of events took place that stopped his ride to freedom.

Alexander arranged to be placed in a dry goods box, picked up by the Adam's Express Company,³ and sent to Cincinnati. The box was addressed to a "Hannah M. Johnson," care of Levi Coffin, who was living in Cincinnati at the time.⁴

The box was transported via the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.⁵ The train left Nashville at 10:30 AM⁶ on Saturday, April 14, 1860,⁷ taking Alexander to Louisville, Kentucky. Fairly soon after his departure, his owner began searching for him. By Saturday evening, his owner had notified the Sheriff in Louisville that Alexander was missing and suspected to be on a train. While trains were searched, Alexander's train had obviously already been through Louisville.⁸

At Louisville, the cargo had to be unloaded from the train and loaded onto ferries in order to cross the Ohio River. With no bridges across the river until after the Civil War, riding the ferries was the only way to reach Indiana. On the other side of the Ohio River, in Jeffersonville, Indiana, the boxes were reloaded onto the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis Railroad and headed north.

At Seymour, Indiana (Jackson County) the tracks of the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis Railroad crossed with the tracks of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad. It was here that those boxes heading southeast to Cincinnati were transferred to the southeast bound train. The Jeffersonville & Indianapolis Railroad was completed through Jackson County in the summer of 1852; by June 1854 the Ohio & Mississippi came through Seymour.⁹ The depot for the Jeffersonville, Madison, and Indianapolis Railroad was just a few hundred yards south of the Ohio & Mississippi freight depot.¹⁰

Alexander's train was due in at 1:30 AM on Sunday morning; the train out of the station for Cincinnati was due to leave at 6:05 AM.¹¹ On the day Alexander shipped himself, the train was running late,¹² therefore, the packages were transferred hurriedly. In the rush, Alexander's box was broken and he was revealed.¹³ He had been confined in his box for at least 15 hours.

When arrested, Alexander claimed to be the property of Newton McClure of Nashville, Tennessee. Alexander was taken from Seymour to a jail in Louisville until Newton could be notified and could claim his property; while there, Alexander was intensely questioned.¹⁴ At that time, he informed his interrogators that two Blacks (one free and one slave) and one White man helped in his escape.

Alexander told that Nathan James, a free black living in Nashville,¹⁵ helped place him in the box and had also hired the local drayman to take the box to the train station.¹⁶ James was arrested and on April 26, 1860 was taken before Esquire Ferris for a "full" hearing. While no official record could be located, local newspapers reported that Alexander was forced to testify against James. James was given a \$2000 bond, which he could not pay. He was remanded to the court until the next term of the Criminal Court.¹⁷ In one newspaper report, there was a question as to whether or not James was free.

James went in front of the Criminal Court on Thursday, August 18, 1860.¹⁸ He was charged with breaking the state law "enticing a slave," for which he pled not guilty. The Court empanelled a jury, which chose to find him guilty of being an escaped slave rather than ruling on his charge of "enticing a slave." The Court ordered that James be "taken before some Justice of the Peace to be tried for said offense...."¹⁹ It is uncertain

which Justice of the Peace James went to, or even if he was taken in front of one. There are no remaining records of the Justice of the Peace for Davidson County.

The newspapers noted that at James' initial trial, Alexander's testimony also implicated Alfred Savage, a slave belonging to J.G. Moore of Nashville.²⁰ Savage allegedly introduced the White man to Alexander. For his part in the escape, Alfred was given fifteen lashes without his shirt.²¹

The White man's identity was never revealed. Alexander, James, and Savage all claimed not to know his name. According to the newspapers, Alexander paid him \$60 - \$70 cash and a watch by Alexander to accompany the box to Cincinnati. This gentleman also provided the box and labeled it.²²

The woman to whom Alexander shipped himself, Hannah M. Johnson, was also never identified. The Louisville Courier accused Delia A. Webster of being "Hannah M. Johnson,"²³ most likely because of her notoriety and the fact that she had spent time in the Frankfort prison for a similar offense. At the time, no Hannah M Johnson could be located. Recent research could also not find a Hannah M. Johnson living either in Ohio or Tennessee.

Levi Coffin went to the train station in Cincinnati to claim the box, unaware of what had unfolded in Seymour. Coffin was questioned intensely for his involvement and knowledge of what, or rather who, was being shipped.²⁴ Coffin claimed he had received a letter on April 11, 1860 from Hannah M. Johnson requesting him to pick up a box from the train station, but had no knowledge of what he would be obtaining.²⁵ Many accused Coffin of knowing what was in the box and lying about his knowledge of the incident.²⁶ In response, he wrote a letter to the *Cincinnati Commercial*, which was subsequently

reprinted in the Nashville papers. In the letter, he again claimed no knowledge that an individual was to be shipped, he did not know Hannah Johnson, nor would he encourage someone to travel in such a manner.²⁷ The papers responded by again calling him a liar.

Coffin recounts the episode in his *Reminiscences* in the section known as “Sambo in a Tight Box.” In his recount, he reprinted the letter that he wrote to the papers and goes on to describe the accusations by the Nashville newspapers.²⁸ Even though his book was published after the Civil War, and he admitted in this book other illegal actions he took, he still claimed no knowledge of either the contents in the box or of the identity of Hannah M. Johnson.

Newton McClure, and the newspapers in Nashville, began calling the escape an abduction, rather than an escape. In several editorials, the editors blamed the White man and the free Black man of “concocting and executing the whole scheme.”²⁹ McClure and authorities laid no blame on the Adams Express Company, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, or on the drayman. The Adams Express Company not only returned Alexander to Newton, the company also paid all expenses incurred by Newton, as well as the bounty reward posted by Newton.³⁰

Very little is known about Alexander. He weighed around 200 pounds – the weight of the box shipped was 265 pounds.³¹ One newspaper article noted that the reward for Alexander was approximately \$1500 - \$2000.³² The exact year of Alexander’s birth is not know, nor is when he came to Nashville or when he came into the McClure Home. Alexander was not individually listed as a slave within the McClure home in the 1860 slave enumerations, but Newton McClure was listed as having five slaves (four males ages 50, 38, 38, and 35 and one female age 45).³³ So estimations are

that Alexander was born around 1822-1825.³⁴ More is known about Alexander after the Civil War. The first mention of Alexander is in 1873, where he is living in Edgefield, on Main Street between Tulip and Minnick.³⁵ Edgefield was located on the east side of the Cumberland River, opposite Nashville. It was settled in 1850 and incorporated in 1869.³⁶ His occupation is listed as a tinner, the occupation he most likely learned as a slave.³⁷ On September 24, 1875 Alexander married Diana Harbour. There is no mention of her background, only her name is listed by the clerk's office formalizing their nuptials.³⁸

After 1875, Alexander is no longer in the Nashville City Directories, nor is he listed in the 1880 Census for Tennessee. His name cannot be found in the listing of those who died in Nashville.³⁹ Currently, we are unaware of where Alexander is after 1876.

We know more about Newton McClure. McClure's father, William, was in Tennessee as early as 1812,⁴⁰ accumulating 299 acres of land and 11 slaves over his lifetime.⁴¹ At the time of the incident, Newton McClure was approximately 48 years old, working as a tinner.⁴² In the 1850 Census, he is listed as having a real estate value of \$3000.⁴³ Newton owned a manufacturing and dealership of tin plate, copper, sheet iron, ware, coal, and wood stoves, known as McClure, Buck & Co. The plant was located at 15 South Market Street in Nashville.⁴⁴ The Nashville city directories show the progression of McClure's business. The first city directory in which the business or Newton was found is 1853; he was living at 21 South Summer Street in Nashville as a tinner, working with the firm Maxey, McClure & Co. This is consistent until 1859, when the company changes names to McClure, Buck & Co, located at Market Street in 1860. We can only assume that Alexander was working and living at the same location in 1860 - by 1860, Newton was able to afford the purchase of five slaves.

McClure lived in Edgefield before the Civil War.⁴⁵ After the war, he relocated into Nashville, moving from boarding house to boarding house, while maintaining his company.⁴⁶ In 1874, McClure, Buck & CO is no longer in business; Newton is also not listed in the city directory, but does return as a boarder in 1876.

Newton served as a leader in the community, in both business and his church. In 1866, he served as one of the presiding officers of the Fourth National Bank.⁴⁷ At his Methodist Church, he was on the 1876 building committee, a position he kept until at least 1880.⁴⁸ He married a Louise Sykes of Rutherford (Gibson County), Tennessee in 1874.⁴⁹ She was born in 1837 and died in 1891 of typhoid fever.⁵⁰ She is buried at the Mount Olivet Cemetery in Nashville. Newton died in 1898 at the age of approximately 86.⁵¹ He died of old age and is buried at Mount Olivet Cemetery in Nashville. When he died, his will and inventory reveal a worth of over \$14,500 in cash, plus at least ten properties in Nashville.⁵²

The other characters in this story are lost to time. While Nathan James was arrested and remanded to the court's custody until he could be taken in front of the Justice of the Peace when he was found guilty of being an escaped slave. He is not in the records of the State Penitentiary⁵³ and no records of the Justice of the Peace hearing could be found. One researcher believes he was an escaped slave from Virginia.⁵⁴ No matter his past, it is assumed he was sold into slavery. Even after the Civil War, James is not found in any Census. We are uncertain of what happened to James. The same is case for Alfred Savage. No information could be found about him after the Civil War.

For the people of Nashville, the incident caused much curiosity. Articles in the paper discussed the fact that the box was placed on display and hundreds of people came to see it.⁵⁵

The box in which McClure's Negro was shipped for Cincinnati, was brought back yesterday, and was an object of curious attraction to hundreds of persons who called at the Express office to see it. It bids fair to be remembered as a famous box. One speculator said he had an idea of purchasing it with a view too cutting it up into little pieces to sell as relics to the abolition disciples of Brown and Coffin. He thought the chance for a good speculation very fair.⁵⁶

Such curiosity people had, and still have, regarding one man's willingness to ship himself for hours in a small box to find his legal freedom.

Bibliography

- Accelerated Indexing Systems. *Tennessee 1860 Census Index Vol. 3 – Counties Anderson to Knox*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1982.
- Adams Express Company, Corporate Archives. *The Adams Express Company 150 Years*. Baltimore: Adams Express Company, 2002.
- Blackett, Dr. Richard. *Email to Tina Stark*. September 29, 2004.
- Brant & Fuller, ed. *History of Jackson County, Indiana*. Chicago: Brant & Fuller, 1886.
- Clayton, W.W. *History of Davidson County, Tennessee with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Nashville, Tennessee: Charles Elder, 1880.
- Coffin, Levi. *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad; Being a Brief History of the Labors of a Lifetime in Behalf of the Slave, with the Stories of Numerous Fugitives, Who Gained Their Freedom Through His Instrumentality, and Many Other Incidents*. Electronic Edition, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/coffin/coffin.html>. [January 23, 2006].
- Davidson County Clerk. *Davidson County Marriage Records, roll 471, volume 5-6, 1864-1876*.
- Davidson Criminal Court. *Minutes April 1860 – December 1861 Div 1st Davidson Criminal Court*. Nashville, Tennessee, August Term 1860.
- Davidson County Government. *Davidson County, County Court Wills and Inventories, Vol: 34-35 Date: Jan 1897 – June 1902*.
- Davidson County Government. *Death Records Roll M-1, Index to Nashville 1874-1913 A – Z*.
- Davidson County Government. *Death Records, Roll M-3, Nashville, 1889-September 1896*.
- Davidson County Government. *Death Records, Roll M-4, Nashville, October 1896 September 1899*.
- 1860 Slave Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States by the National Archives and Records Administration*. Roll No. 1.
- 1860 Tennessee Census, Davidson County Roll*.

- Jackson, Ronald Vern. *Tennessee 1860 Slave Schedule*. North Salt Lake, Utah: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1990.
- Klein, Maury. *The History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1972.
- Louisville & Nashville Railroad Historical Society. "History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad." <http://rrhistorical-2.com/lnhs/history.html>. [23 May 2006].
- Marsh, Timothy R. and Helen C. Marsh. *Early History & Genealogy Digest of Bedford County, Tennessee*. Greenville, South Carolina, Southern Historical Press, 2005.
- Metro Archives, Nashville, Tennessee. *Davidson County Government Archives. Index to Wills, Inventories & Settlements 1861-1902*. Nashville, Tennessee: Metro Archives, 2000.
- Mitchell, John L. *John L. Mitchell's Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1860-61 no 1*. Nashville, Tennessee: John L. Mitchell in Nashville, 1860.
- Miscellaneous Newspaper Records, Maury County, Tennessee 1848-1904, Tennessee State Archives Roll #199*.
- The Nashville Daily Gazette*. 14-30 April; 1-31 May; 1-30 August 1860.
- Nashville Daily News*. 14-30 April; 1-31 May; 1-30 August 1860.
- Nashville Patriot*. 14-30 April; 1-31 May; 1-30 August 1860.
- Porch, Deane. *1850 Census of the City of Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee*. Nashville, Tennessee: American Reference Publishers, 1969.
- Republican Banner*. 14-30 April; 1-31 May; 1-30 August 1860.
- Republican Review*. 14-30 April; 1-31 May; 1-30 August 1860.
- R.L. Poli & Co. *Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1876 – 7*. Nashville, Tennessee: R.L. Poli & Co, 1876.
- Seymour Times*. 14-30 April; 1-31 May; 1-30 August 1860.
- Sherrill, Charles. *Tennessee Convicts: Early Records of the State Penitentiary Volume 2 1850-1870*. Nashville, Tennessee: Charles Sherrill, 2002.
- Sistler, Barbara and Byron Sistler. *1870 Census – Tennessee, Vol 2. Lev – Z*. Nashville, Tennessee: Sistler and Associates, 1985.

Smith, Mary Sue. *Davidson County Tennessee Deed Book H 1908-1821*. Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, 2000.

¹ “That Box,” *Republican Banner*, 20 April 1860, page 3, column 1.

² “A Box Immortalized,” *The Nashville Daily Gazette*, 20 April 1860, page 3, column 2; *Nashville Patriot*, 20 April 1860, page 3, column 2.

³ The Adam’s Express Company was incorporated in 1854 as one of the nation’s leading independent express companies; today it is a close-end investment fund. Adams Express Company Corporate Archives, *The Adams Express Company 150 Years* (Baltimore: Adams Express Company, 2002).

⁴ “Novel Express Freight,” *Republican Review*, 26 April 1860, page 2, column 2.

⁵ The Louisville & Nashville Railroad was founded in 1850, with a charter from the Commonwealth of Kentucky and then in December 1851, an act of the Tennessee General Assembly authorized the company to extend its road from the Tennessee state line to Nashville. On October 27, 1859, the first train operated from Louisville to Nashville. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Historical Society, “History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad,” <http://rrhistorical-2.com/lnhs/history.html>, accessed 23 May 2006; Maury Klein, *The History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1972,) 41 & 23.

⁶ The departure times for Saturday, April 14, 1860 on the Louisville and Nashville were at 4:30 and 10:30 AM. Various newspaper reports state the box was shipped around 10:00 AM. “Railway Matters – Departure of Passenger Trains,” *The Nashville Daily Gazette*, 14 April 1860, page 4, column 1; “U.G.R.R. – Miscarriage,” *Nashville Daily News*, 17 April 1860, page 3, column 2; “Running Off by Express,” *Louisville Daily Journal*, 16 April 1860, page 3, column, 1.

⁷ *Nashville Daily Gazette*, Tues., April 17, 1860.

⁸ “A Flight Northward: A Negro in a Bad Box,” *Louisville Daily Courier*, 16 April 1860, page 1, column 5.

⁹ Brant & Fuller, *History of Jackson County, Indiana* (Chicago: Brant & Fuller, 1886), 463.

¹⁰ The earliest maps of the Seymour area are the 1887 and 1892 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. This two maps show the location of the depot buildings. Today, no buildings are extant.

¹¹ “Arrival and Departure of Trains at Seymour,” *Seymour Times*, 19 April 1860, page 2, column 5.

¹² *Seymour Times*, 19 April 1860, page 3 column 5.

¹³ *The Nashville Daily Gazette*, 17 April 1860, page 3, column 1; *Seymour Times*, 19 April 1860, page 3 column 2; “Novel Express Freight,” *Republican Review*, 26 April 1860, page 2, column 2.

¹⁴ “Novel Express Freight,” *Republican Review*, 26 April 1860, page 2, column 2.

¹⁵ *Nashville Daily Gazette*, 17 April 1860.

¹⁶ This drayman was arrested until it could be proven that he did not know a person was in the box. *The Nashville Daily Gazette*, 17 April 17, 1860, page 3, column 1.

¹⁷ *The Nashville Daily Gazette*, 26 April 1860, page 3, column 1; *Nashville Patriot*, 27 April 1860, page 3 column 2; *Nashville Patriot*, 26 April 1860, page 3, column 3; “Sequel to the Story of the Nigger in the Box,” *Republican Banner*, 26 April 1860.

¹⁸ Davidson Criminal Court, *Minutes April 1860 – December 1861 Div 1st Davidson Criminal Court*, Nashville, Tennessee, August Term 1860, 126.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ “The Underground Negro Case,” *The Nashville Daily Gazette*, 26 April 1860, page 3, column 1; *Nashville Patriot*, 26 April 1860, page 3, column 3.

²¹ *Nashville Patriot*, 27 April 1860, page 3, column 2; *Republican Banner*, 27 April 1860, page 3, column 2; *Nashville Daily Gazette*, 27 April 1860, page 3 column 1.

²² “The Underground Railroad,” *Seymour Times*, 19 April 1860, page 3, column 2; *Nashville Patriot*, 26 April 1860, page 3, column 3; “Sequel to the Story of the Nigger in the Box,” *Republican Banner*, 26 April 1860.

²³ “At Her Old Tricks,” *Louisville Daily Courier*, 21 April 1860, Page 1 column 5; *The Nashville Daily Gazette*, 22 April 1860, page 3, column 2; *Miscellaneous Newspaper Records, Maury County, Tennessee*

1848-1904, *Tennessee State Archives Roll #199*, Columbia, Tennessee The Maury Press, Volume 1 No. 18, 2 May 1860.

²⁴ *Nashville Patriot*, 19 April 1860, page 3, column 2.

²⁵ *The Nashville Daily Gazette*, 20 April 1860, page 3, column 3.

²⁶ *Nashville Patriot*, 19 April 1860, page 3, column 2.

²⁷ "A Card from Levi Coffin," *The Nashville Daily Gazette*, 20 April 1860, page 2, column 2.

²⁸ Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad; Being a Brief History of the Labors of a lifetime in Behalf of the Salve, with the Stories of Numerous fugitives, Who Gained Their Freedom Through His Instrumentality and Many Other Incidents*, Electronic Edition, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/coffin.html> accessed 23 January 2006.

²⁹ *The Nashville Daily Gazette*, 21 April 1860, page 3, column 1. *Louisville Daily Journal*, 19 April 1860, page 1, column 1.

³⁰ No records of the reward bill or the amount ultimately paid to Newton could be located. "The Underground Railroad," *Seymour Times*, 19 April 1860, page 3, column 2; *Republic Banner*, 20 April 1860, page 2, column 2; "The Underground R R Case," *Nashville Daily Gazette*, 21 April 1860, page 3, column 1; *Louisville Daily Journal*, 19 April 1860, page 1, column 1.

³¹ *Nashville Patriot*, 19 April 1860, page 3 column 2; "A Story of a Box," *Daily Nashville Patriot*, 17 April 1860.

³² "U.G.R.R. – Miscarriage," *Nashville Daily News*, 17 April 1860, page 3, column 2.

³³ *1860 Slave Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States by the National Archives and Records Administration, roll No. 1*, 3 Edgefield enumeration, 4 June 1860; Ronald Vern Jackson, *Tennessee 1860 Slave Schedule*, North Salt Lake, Utah: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1990.

³⁴ The editor assumes that it was one of the younger men (ages 38 and 35) who escaped and not the 50 year old male slave in the enumeration.

³⁵ R.L. Poli & Co., *The Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Director for 1876 – 7* (Nashville, Tennessee: R.L. Poli & Co, 1876), 130; Jackson, *Tennessee 1860 Slave Schedule*.

³⁶ R. L. Poli & Co, *The Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Director for 1876 – 7*, 130.

³⁷ "U.G.R.R. – Miscarriage," *Nashville Daily News*, April 17, 1860, page 3, column 2.

³⁸ Davidson County Government, *Davidson County Marriage Records, roll 471, volume 5-6, 1864-1876*.

³⁹ The listing of those who died was searched until 1925.

⁴⁰ *1812 Tax List, Nashville, Tennessee*, 271.

⁴¹ Mary Sue Smith, *Davidson County Tennessee Deed Book H 1908-1821* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, 2000), 61; Timothy R. & Helen C. Marsh, *Early History & Genealogy Digest of Bedford County, Tennessee* (Greenville, South Carolina: Southern Historical Press, 2005), 207, 210.

⁴² Tombstone located at Mount Olivet Cemetery, Nashville Tennessee; *1860 Tennessee Census, Davidson County Roll*, stamped page 500 - page no. 12; Byron Sistler and Barbara Sistler, *1870 Census – Tennessee, Vol 2. Lev – Z* (Nashville, Tennessee: Sistler and Associates, 1985).

⁴³ Deane Porch, *1850 Census of the City of Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee* (Nashville, Tennessee: American Reference Publishers, 1969), 60.

⁴⁴ John L. Mitchell, *Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1860-61 no 1* (Nashville, Tennessee: John L. Mitchell, 1860), 223.

⁴⁵ Accelerated Indexing Systems, *Tennessee 1860 Census Index Vol. 3 – Counties Anderson to Knox* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1982), 241. *1860 Tennessee Census, Davidson County Roll*, stamped page 500 - page no. 12.

⁴⁶ R.L. Poli & Co, *Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Director for 1876 – 7*, 130.

⁴⁷ W.W. Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Nashville, Tennessee: Charles Elder, 1880), 229.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 326.

⁴⁹ While Ancestry.Com lists their marriage as 1874, no marriage license could be found.

⁵⁰ *Death Records, Roll M-3, Nashville, 1889-September 1896*, 5 September 1891, record number 1252; *Death Records Roll M-1, Index to Nashville 1874-1913 A – Z*.

⁵¹ *Death records, Roll M-4, Nashville, October 1896-September 1899*, 9 December 1898, record number 1496, Newton (Neuton) McClure; *Death Records, Roll M-1, Index to Nashville 1874-1913 A-Z*; Metro Archives, *Index to Wills, Inventories & Settlements 1861-1902*, Nashville, Tennessee: Metro Archives, 2002.

⁵²Davidson County Government, *Davidson County, County Court Wills and Inventories, Vol: 34-35, Jan 1897 – June 1902*, 86- 90 and 113- 115.

⁵³ Charles Sherrill, *Tennessee Convicts: Early Records of the State Penitentiary Volume 2 1850-1870* (Nashville, Tennessee, Charles Sherrill, 2002).

⁵⁴ Email from Dr. Richard Blackett to Tina Stark September 29, 2004.

⁵⁵ *Republican Banner*, 20 April 1860, page 3, column 1.

⁵⁶ *Nashville Patriot*, 20 April 1860, page 3 column 2.