United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking “X” in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter “N/A” for “not applicable.” For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name McNabb Mines
other names/site number Shake Rag/McNabb Coal and Coke Company/Consolidated Coal and Iron Company/Site Number 40MI147

2. Location

street & number River Canyon Road between Tennessee River miles 438 and 439
city or town Haletown
state Tennessee code TN county Marion code 115 zip code 37405

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this X nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set for in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property X meets □ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant □ nationally □ statewide □ locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

[Signature and date]
State Historic Preservation Officer, Tennessee Historical Commission

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property □ meets □ does not meet the National Register criteria. ( □ See Continuation sheet for additional comments.)

[Signature and date]
State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby □ certify that the property is: 
□ entered in the National Register. 
□ See continuation sheet 
□ determined eligible for the National Register. 
□ See continuation sheet 
□ determined not eligible for the National Register 
□ removed from the National Register. 
□ other, (explain: )

[Signature and date]
Signature of the Keeper
Date of Action

[Signature and date]
[Signature and date]
5. Classification

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<th>Ownership of Property</th>
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<td>(Do not include previously listed resources in count)</td>
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7. Description

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**Narrative Description**

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)
SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: 08000236 Date Listed: 3/26/08

Property Name: McNabb Mines

County: Marion State: TN

This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

3/26/2008

Amended Items in Nomination:

Section 8: Areas of Significance

Social History as an area of significance is not supported in the nomination. The mine complex contains the remains of an early company town, which may be significant, but there is not enough contextual information in which to critically evaluate the site under this area of significance.

The nomination is hereby amended to delete Social History as an area of significance.

The Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office was notified of this amendment.

DISTRIBUTION:
National Register property file
Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)
8. Statement of Significance

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

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

Criteria Considerations: N/A

(Mark "x" in all boxes that apply.)

Property is:
- **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- **B** removed from its original location.
- **C** a birthplace or grave.
- **D** a cemetery.
- **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- **F** a commemorative property
- **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDUSTRY</th>
<th>ENGINEERING</th>
<th>SOCIAL HISTORY</th>
<th>COMMERCE</th>
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Period of Significance

c. 1882-c. 1910

Significant Dates

1882, 1887, 1903

Significant Person

(complete if Criterion B is marked)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Unknown

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS): N/A

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- Previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency
- Local Government
- University
- Other

Name of repository:
10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: approximately 457 acres

Wauhatchie 105 SW

UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

1. 16 638990 3879472
   Zone  Easting  Northing

2. 16 639977 3879821
   Zone  Easting  Northing

Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

Name/Title: Jaime W. Trotter, Historian/Architectural Historian
Organization: Alexander Archaeological Consultants, Inc.
Date: September 7, 2007
Street & Number: P.O. Box 62
City or Town: Wildwood
State: GA
Zip Code: 30757
Telephone: 706-820-4344

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property’s location

A Sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional Items

(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(name) Prentice Cooper State Forest c/o Jim Lane
(street & number) PO Box 160
(city or town) Hixson
(state) TN
(zip code) 37343

Telephone: 423-634-3091

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listing. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.)

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.
7. NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION

The McNabb Mines site is located on the northern bank of the Tennessee River in Marion County, Tennessee, along River Canyon Road, and includes approximately 457 acres of land now owned by the State of Tennessee as part of Prentice Cooper State Forest. In 2007, Alexander Archaeological Consultants, Inc. conducted an archaeological pedestrian survey and documented 76 features at the McNabb Mines site. Presently, the site consists of the ruins of an elaborate system of railroad beds, roads, waterways, worker housing, commercial and social establishments, industrial buildings, and mine entries and is a significant late-nineteenth-century example of a company town associated with the bituminous coal mining industry in Tennessee's Cumberland Plateau region. The ruins of several buildings and structures constructed circa 1882 with cut and mortarred native sandstone extend from the bank of the Tennessee River eastwardly across River Canyon Road and continue to the top of Hicks Mountain. The site includes two distinct groupings of features that both contain the ruins of residential and industrial buildings and structures linked by the railroad bed of the main incline. During its period of operation, mine workers probably cleared a large portion of the surrounding forest to use the timber for various domestic and industrial purposes. Today, a dense forest envelops the McNabb Mines site and, in many cases, has contributed to the deterioration of buildings and structures. Despite the buildings' and structures' deterioration caused by neglect, weather patterns, and vandalism, the site's relative isolation and state ownership has helped to maintain its original location, design, and setting and, in turn, has preserved a significant level of the coal community's materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Thus, the McNabb Mines site has integrity due to its ability to convey its importance as a unique collection of identifiable features associated with the nineteenth-century bituminous coal and coke industry in Tennessee.

Even though the McNabb Mines operated on a small scale before and during the Civil War, the site includes no extant, above-ground features dating to its antebellum or Civil War-period operation. The sandstone ruins at the site date to the early 1880s, when the McNabb Coal and Coke Company purchased the land and began a full-scale mining operation. As part of its investment in the built landscape at McNabb Mines, the McNabb Coal and Coke Company funded the construction of a hotel, company store, school/church, various work structures, and domestic buildings. The stonework in these buildings and structures exhibits a high quality of local craftsmanship. The grouping of features at the bottom of the incline and closest to the Tennessee River include the coal town's social and commercial public spaces, while the grouping of features at the top of the incline consists primarily of work structures and miner housing. The mine entries at the site are located on the western escarpment of Hicks Mountain. The somewhat thin coal seam at McNabb Mines (averaging 12 to 24 inches) encouraged workers at the site to dig a series of...

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prospect holes along the same elevation of the mine entries. All the mine entries, structures, and buildings are connected by approximately 5,788 feet of railroad bed.

Located in the lower grouping of features, the McNabb Mines' hotel (Feature #5) stands out as one of the most significant buildings at the site. Constructed circa 1882, this cut, mortared, and coursed sandstone building had two stories and a wraparound two-story porch. The wraparound porch ran along the western and southern elevations, as indicated by a historic photograph and the placement of porch footers. The 63' wide by 40' long structure has six window or door openings evident along the northern and southern elevations. The foundation is cut sandstone with a 6" water table as well as a 6" interior lip used to support interior floor joists. The interior has evidence of six sandstone and brick fireplaces all of the same approximate size. No floors, windows, or roof remain. Due to its close proximity to River Canyon Road, this building possesses a high risk of human disturbance.

The school and/or church building (Feature #4) is another prominent component of the lower grouping of features at the McNabb Mines site. The building was constructed circa 1882 of cut, mortared, and coursed sandstone. The overall dimensions of the building are 24' wide by 37' long. The building's southern elevation features a distinctive arched doorway that presently has very little structural integrity. There is a chimney on the exterior of the northern wall, and on the same wall's interior, there is a round opening that would have accommodated a stove flue. There is evidence of three window openings on the eastern elevation, and no roof remains. The interior walls were plastered which confirms that this building was most likely used for public purposes, such as a church and/or school. Also close to River Canyon Road, this building is highly visible and is at risk of being vandalized.

Like the other public buildings closest to the Tennessee River, the company store or commissary (Feature #6) was constructed circa 1882 of cut, mortared, and coursed sandstone. The building's present dimensions are 24' wide by 84' long, but a series of road widening projects has significantly disturbed the southern end of this feature. There is a door opening on the northern wall but no window openings on the eastern or western elevations. Also, there is no roof. On the interior there is a sandstone box, possibly a foundation, with an opening in the center. This box is located along the west wall. In addition, there is a sandstone foundation that divides the interior space in half and is constructed of the same cut, mortared, and coursed sandstone used throughout the site. A 6" interior lip is also evident in this building and would have been used as a floor joist support. Again, road construction destroyed or disturbed the entire southern elevation. It is apparent that much of the structure's displaced sandstone was used in the shoring up of the modern roadbed.

Other prominent features near the bottom of the incline include stone piers that protrude out of the waters of the Tennessee River (Feature #8) and a double battery of 10 coke ovens (Feature #9). The stone piers most likely represent only a portion of the features that were submerged by the
Tennessee River following Tennessee Valley Authority’s (TVA) manipulation of natural water levels in the 1930s and 1940s. Since the McNabb Mines depended exclusively upon steamboats and barges to transport its coal and coke, some type of tipple structure or loading system probably stood along the river bank and left behind only underwater evidence of its existence. Due to its proximity to River Canyon Road, the coke ovens structure has been badly vandalized. The structure measures 34’ wide by 76’ long, and archeological survey confirms documentary evidence indicating that the double battery contained 10 ovens.\(^2\) The existing exterior walls are cut, mortared, and coursed sandstone, and the interior appears to have been constructed in the regional beehive oven method with a brick, domed interior.

The incline (Feature #10) was the main artery at McNabb Mines and probably the first major structure built at the site. Historic documentation describes the incline at the McNabb Mines as measuring 4,000 feet in length, but a recent survey estimates the incline’s length to be approximately 2,665 feet.\(^3\) Workers built the incline of stacked rock covered with earth ranging from two to 15 feet in height. As a crucial part of the coal extraction and transportation process, the construction of the rail incline was probably one of the first and most important endeavors in the early years of the McNabb Coal and Coke Company’s work to develop its mines and community. Unlike most other coal mines in the second half of the nineteenth century, all coal mined here was shipped by water due to the fact that the rugged terrain prevented rail lines from being laid to the mines. All the incline rails at the McNabb Mines site have been salvaged, but the structure of the rail bed remains a highly visible feature.

Northeast of the foot of the incline is a grouping of building ruins that most likely include a blacksmith shop with two central interior fireplaces placed back-to-back (Feature #13), superintendent’s house, offices, stables, miner and day worker housing, storage structures, and various other industrial buildings necessary to a nineteenth-century coal mining operation. Of these, a large, two-story building (Feature # 28) made of cut, mortared, and coursed sandstone is one of the most intact features and, based on its placement, size, and solid workmanship could have served as a company office or multiple-dwelling worker housing. Another important building remnant is the ell-shaped foundation of a home offset to the north (Feature #18). Much larger and more elaborate than other housing features at the site, this building had three coal-burning fireplaces rather than one and appears to have been linked to the greater concentration of buildings closer to the incline by its own road (Feature # 80-88). This building could have been used as the superintendent’s home.

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\(^2\) Supreme Court of Tennessee, Vance & Kirby et al. v. McNabb Coal & Coke Co. et al., [no number in original], Supreme Court of Tennessee, Knoxville, 92 Tenn. 47; 20 S.W. 424, decided September 1892. Tennessee State Library and Archives, East Tennessee Box 1526, Nashville.

The second or upper grouping of features begins where the top of the incline meets the bluff line rail. At this important junction, the valuable coal that had been transported out of the mine via driver, mule, and coal car was most likely transferred to larger monitor cars through a second tipple structure. A square 12' by 12' cut, mortared, and coursed sandstone structure (Feature #54) stands at this intersection on a large, leveled area built to support industrial buildings, as well as the bluff line rail. In addition to a tipple, a structure made to house the drum for operating the incline would have also been located in this area.

The bluff line rail (Feature #70-74 and 76-78) extends southeastwardly from the large, leveled area and continues along the western escarpment of Hicks Mountain adjacent to the multiple mine entries (Feature #53, 55, 56, 63, 67, 68, and 79). The remaining elevated and leveled rail bed suggests that the bluff line rail was approximately 1,682 feet long. Like the incline, the rail bed of this structure was built of stacked sandstone of varying heights, and the rails have been salvaged. One mine entry (Feature #56) does include the remains of iron rails that would have extended from the bluff line rail into the mining areas or “rooms.” This particular mine also shows evidence of the use of timber props to stabilize mine overburden.

One of the most significant and intact structures in the upper grouping of features is a ventilation furnace (Feature #66). Nineteenth-century state records compiled by the inspector of mines in Tennessee indicate that ventilation by furnace was one of the most prevalent methods of creating proper airflow in coal mines. The ventilation furnace at the McNabb Mines site was built of cut, mortared, and coursed sandstone, and recent archaeological survey documents that brick was also a building material utilized on a portion of the structure. The main chimney portion of the structure measures 9' by 8'3" and has a current height on its western elevation of 15'. The ventilation furnace has a segmental arch above the firebox opening that measures 6' wide and is flanked on both sides by walls that extend under the escarpment into an air shaft entrance in the side of the mountain. Mine entries other than the air shaft associated with this feature would have been closed off while miners worked inside so that the fire in the ventilation furnace could draw fresh air from air shafts on top of the mountain through the mine tunnels. Today, a large amount of sandstone and brick surround the structure and suggest deterioration caused by weather and gravitational collapse. The structure’s distance from any road trace and the rough terrain in which it is set has deterred the vandalism and human disturbances associated with buildings and structures in the lower grouping of features. Thus, this structure is a significant and rare example of a nineteenth-century engineering system linked to the operation of drift mines throughout Tennessee’s Cumberland Plateau.

A third rail bed moves from the southeastern terminus of the bluff line rail in a northeastwardly direction toward the top of Hicks Mountain. While this is a very steep slope, archaeological survey suggests that this cove rail bed (Feature #102-105, 120-122, 123, and 130) featured stone footers
that could have supported a wooden trestle of some kind. Like the main incline and bluff line rail, the rails have been salvaged. The cove rail measures approximately 1,441 feet and could have provided the people who worked and lived in the upper grouping of features access to the goods and services offered by McNabb Mines' commercial and social institutions located at the bottom of the mountain near the Tennessee River.

The majority of buildings in the upper grouping of features were most likely either miner housing or some type of work building. The great distance between these utilitarian features and the public town space closer to the river seems to have influenced the McNabb Coal and Coke Company's choice in building materials for the upper grouping of features. Many of the buildings near the Tennessee River were constructed primarily in the same style of cut, mortared, and coursed sandstone, but the more functional dwellings and work structures built far away from the public gaze appear to have been constructed of wood with stone foundations and chimneys. The wood has deteriorated, but the stone foundations and chimney collapses indicate the buildings' locations. By choosing to employ the abundant native sandstone for its most visible buildings, the McNabb Coal and Coke Company attempted to portray a permanence and security that the company did not actually possess.

The 76 documented features at the McNabb Mines site create a view of a largely intact late-nineteenth-century coal mining community. Abandoned in the first decade of the twentieth century, McNabb Mines is a complex of interconnected features that all contributed to the operation of the coal mines themselves, as well as the town the mines inspired and supported. The exact function of many of the features contributing to the significance of this site cannot be determined by a survey of above-ground cultural resources alone. However, the site's high level of integrity lends researchers a unique opportunity to investigate the remaining archaeological evidence and learn from McNabb Mines the workings of a late-nineteenth-century coal and coke operation and company coal town.
8. NARRATIVE STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

McNabb Mines is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A for its local significance in industry, engineering, social history, and commerce associated with the bituminous coal and coke industry in the Cumberland Plateau area of Tennessee. The McNabb Mines site, known locally as Shake Rag, is an important example of industrial development and expansion following the Civil War in the American South. In addition, it is a significant reminder of the substantial impact the coal and coke industry had on the landscape of the Cumberland Plateau. The small-scale coal mining operation that began at McNabb Mines circa 1850 grew when the McNabb Coal and Coke Company purchased the property from local families in the early 1880s and established a fully-functional company town to support its coal and coke interests on Hicks Mountain. Despite the McNabb Coal and Coke Company's high hopes for the town and mines, the community was abandoned in the early-twentieth century (circa 1910), and its sandstone remnants illustrate both the "boom and bust" trend that typified the industry in the southern coal fields and the imposition of a new social order in the southern mountains in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Located on the northern bank of the Tennessee River in Marion County, Tennessee, the property that the McNabb Coal and Coke Company acquired in the 1880s was owned by the McNabb family beginning in the 1830s. According to extant sources, David McNabb began mining coal at a site on the north side of the Tennessee River near Whiteside "to supply steamboats, and etc." sometime "before the [Civil] war." McNabb came to Marion County and settled there "when the Indians were still on the south side [of the Tennessee River]." A Marion County, Tennessee, certificate of survey completed on 11 June 1835, described what was most likely the first two hundred acres of land acquired by David McNabb on the northern bank of the Tennessee River. The 1850 census lists him as a 35 year old farmer along with his wife, Margaret, four daughters and five sons. By 1862, the McNabb family had amassed 1584 acres worth $2200 in the Sixth District of Marion County. A few years after his death in 1880, one source described David McNabb as a successful farmer "who also owned and operated the McNabb Mines." So, the McNabb Mines began as a way for a Marion County citizen and farmer to supplement his earnings.

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7 Marion County Certificate of Survey, "Survey of Marion County, Tennessee, Grant Entry Number 1066 (5 September 1832)," surveyed 11 June 1835, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Certificate Number 10,219, Nashville.
8 Lloyd A. Tate, 1862 Tax List for Marion County, Tennessee (Whitwell, TN: Privately published, 1996).
9 Goodspeed Publishing Company, Goodspeed's Biographies of Marion County.
by capitalizing on both his property’s natural resources and his proximity to the steamboat traffic on the Tennessee River.

When Union forces occupied the Sequatchie Valley area during the Civil War in 1863, the McNabb Mines were commandeered and placed under control of the U.S. Army. Jonathan Frater, an experienced mine operator from the area, was appointed by Quarter Master General George Gordon Meade to run the mines "for the use of the government" and have the coal mined there hauled to Chattanooga. Forty miners from the St. Louis area were brought in to work the mines, but they, being used to working coal seams that ranged from four to six feet thick, complained bitterly about the thin, 12 to 24 inch thick seams at the McNabb site. They also expressed concerns about being captured by Confederate forces since the mine lay north of the Union lines, which were on the south side of the Tennessee River. Frater eventually convinced Meade to allow him to abandon the McNabb Mines to work a more promising seam near Kelly's Ferry on the south side of the river. After the war, the mines were returned to David McNabb who had been a staunch Republican and pro-Union man before the conflict.10

Following the close of the Civil War, several factors combined to force the rapid growth of the coal, coke, and iron industries in the Appalachian South. The expansion of railroads into the region combined with the huge amounts of northern capital that were freed up for investment in the West and the South at war's end prompted a search for new sources of iron and coal to fuel the burgeoning industrial revolution in the United States. The coal lands in the Appalachian South held the nation's largest supply of bituminous coal, and, as the demand for coal increased during the nineteenth century, these reserves were widely exploited by northern capitalists who were eager to profit from the region's largely untapped natural resources.11 In addition to the timber and milling industries which began to thrive in the southern mountains beginning in the 1870s, northern businessmen also used their capital to buy coal land, hire miners, and open mine shafts. To induce miners to work in their mines, they often built mining camps or towns to provide housing and basic necessities for the miners. McNabb Mines was an early example of a coal company town—a community pattern that became a common feature on the landscape of southern coal lands by the 1920s.

David McNabb died in 1880, and, over the next five years, a series of land transactions facilitated the McNabb Coal and Coke Company's acquisition of coal lands once owned by the McNabb, Nowlin (also spelled Nolin), Foster, Hale, and Ellis families. Deeds show that these families, for the most part, did not sell their land directly to the McNabb Coal and Coke Company but, instead, sold it to locally-prominent men who, in turn, sold the land to G. N. Leighton, the general manager of the

10 Frater, passim.
company. Then, Leighton sold the land to the McNabb Coal and Coke Company.\(^\text{12}\) This series of land transactions often took place over a short amount of time, usually within a couple of days or weeks. While the purpose for executing the land transfer in this way is unclear, the records show that the McNabb Coal and Coke Company quickly acquired large tracts of land and began to expand the mining operations at McNabb Mines.

The McNabb Coal and Coke Company was incorporated in the state of Indiana and officially registered with the State of Tennessee as a “foreign corporation” on 7 February 1882.\(^\text{13}\) A deed registered on 27 February 1882, transferred 2284 acres of land to the McNabb Coal and Coke Company and included “all privileges and appurtenances . . . , and all rents, issues and profits” associated with its new property.\(^\text{14}\) An important piece of this transaction was a tract of land “containing one thousand acres more or less and including the coal mines which said [J. C.] Foster has now [February 1882] running.”\(^\text{15}\) The fact that various deeds described the property in the specific terms of profits, rents, and coal mining is evidence that McNabb Mines probably included some buildings and other assets when the McNabb Coal and Coke Company purchased it. However, the major effort to construct the mining town at McNabb Mines most likely began when the formal company was organized in 1882. Also during this period, a double battery of beehive-type coke ovens was built on the side of the mountain below the mines and close to the river to provide coke for the growing iron industry of the area.

The coke ovens at McNabb Mines are a feature that links the site to the larger context of the iron industry in the southeastern United States in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. By 1880, Hamilton County (Chattanooga, in particular) was the leading county in Tennessee in terms of iron production, and Marion County was second.\(^\text{16}\) The vast stores of bituminous coal hidden in the Cumberland Plateau were crucial to the manufacture of valuable iron products. Even though the region’s coal was valuable in its raw form, bituminous coal became even more important to the area’s economy once it was converted to coke. When coal is heated in an oxygen-free environment until all its volatile components evaporate, a metallurgical coke is produced. Operators of the iron and steel industries preferred to use coke to fuel their blast furnaces and foundries because it burned hotter and longer than simply coal and ultimately produced a better product. Thus, the rapid growth of the iron industry in cities and towns like Chattanooga and South Pittsburg, Tennessee, in the 1870s and 1880s was dependent upon the commercial mines and

\(^\text{12}\) Marion County Deed Book N, 27 February 1882, Marion County, Tennessee, 64-5; and Marion County Deed Book N, 15 October 1883, Marion County, Tennessee, 571-2.
\(^\text{14}\) Marion County Deed Book N, 64-5.
\(^\text{15}\) Marion County Deed Book M, 7 February 1882, Marion County, Tennessee, 550.
coke ovens which dotted the Cumberland Plateau by the late-nineteenth century. The McNabb Mines' remaining double battery of 10 coke ovens is evidence that the owners of the McNabb Coal and Coke Company planned to contribute to and profit from the region's flourishing iron industry.

Large iron furnaces like those of the Chattanooga Iron Company and the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company (TCI) required thousands of tons of coal and coke every year and largely depended upon local coal reserves to satisfy their industrial needs. This regional industrial boom prompted the McNabb Coal and Coke Company to invest in coal land in not only Marion County, but in the neighboring Hamilton and Sequatchie counties as well. Even though the company owned more than 18,000 acres in three counties in the southern Cumberland Plateau by the late 1880s, McNabb Mines, with 76 documented buildings, structures, or cultural features north of the Tennessee River in Marion County, appears to have been the McNabb Coal and Coke Company’s most significant investment in the built environment.

McNabb Mines included the structures and buildings required for a functional mining community, but the materials used in the construction of some of the community's buildings reveal a significant difference between the buildings at McNabb Mines and most other company towns. Rather than using wood to construct all the buildings, the investors who developed McNabb Mines chose to make use of cut, coursed, and mortared native sandstone for the majority of its public buildings. In a study of the development of coal mining in the Cumberland Plateau region of Tennessee, James B. Jones maintains that there are so few remaining cultural resources associated with southern Appalachian coal mining because "such resources were never intended to be permanent—their existence and maintenance were a function of the coal supply which was limited from the outset." The McNabb Coal and Coke Company's choice to use the more permanent material of stone is an important aspect of the community's history because it displays the mine owners' apparent confidence in the McNabb Mines' ability to generate considerable wealth for the company's investors. The decision to employ stone masons to construct the hotel, commissary, church/school, other unidentified buildings, and many more foundations and chimneys produced a more durable mining community and, in turn, left behind a rare collection of cultural resources associated with a highly significant era of the region's social, economic, and industrial history.

The mines themselves were located on the western bluffs of Hicks Mountain above the Tennessee River. The McNabb Mines were a type of underground coal mine called a drift mine in which a

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18 Marion County Deed Book P, 15 July 1886, Marion County, Tennessee, 166-174.


shaft is dug horizontally into the side of a mountain to get to the coal seam. This type of mine was the most common because it is the easiest and cheapest to excavate and operate. A recent archaeological pedestrian survey shows that there were at least ten, and probably more, mine shaft openings dug by the McNabb miners during the operational life of the mines. The McNabb miners most likely used a system of mining known as the “room and pillar” method because of the thinness of the coal seams and the weakness of mine roofs in southern Appalachia. In the room and pillar technique of coal mining, miners dug tunnel-like openings in the side of the mountain that would divide the coal seam into square or rectangular blocks. The blocks of coal became the “pillars” that supported the overhead rock, and the openings were the “rooms” worked by one or two miners until the coal seam was exhausted in that particular area. Pillar sizes varied according to the type of haulage system used in the mine and were usually supplemented by timber props to ensure that the mine roof was secure.

In addition to the collapse of mine overburden, poor air quality was another major safety concern in the mining industry. At McNabb Mines, physical evidence points to the use of a ventilating furnace (Feature #66) or “air stack” and air shafts to create a steady flow of fresh air within the mine. The fire in the massive fire box would have drawn fresh air through the air shafts dug from the top of the mountain above the mines. Stone walls extend from each side of the arched fire box opening and continue under a rock overhang toward the air shaft opening. Also, mine entries often had trap doors attached so that air flow could be better regulated by sealing off certain entrances. If constructed properly, the draft created by the ventilating furnace would have forced the fresh air to travel through the web of rooms and pillars. By attempting to solve the problem of poor air flow with the ventilating furnace method, the operators of the McNabb Coal and Coke Company employed an engineering system common to nineteenth-century coal mines in the Cumberland Plateau.

At McNabb Mines, coal was removed exclusively by hand. Miners employed coal oil (kerosene) head lamps that produced low light for only about two hours and emitted a high amount of smoke. Using his short-handled pick, a miner worked to undercut coal seams, often lying on his side for hours at a time. Next, he separated his coal from rock, loaded his coal car, and used a mule to haul the car to the “room” entrance where it would be picked up by a driver and mule and hauled out of the mine to the bluff line rail. Outside the mine, a network of rails, roads, structures, and buildings facilitated the processing and transportation of coal and coke and contribute to the site’s significance under the category of engineering. Although they have not been identified in the preliminary survey of the McNabb Mines site, structures like a coal tipple and washer were important components of the early bituminous coal industry and were most likely a part of this company’s operations as well. If McNabb Mines functioned like other area coal mines of this era, the loaded coal cars carrying about one ton of coal each were hauled along the bluff line rail to the

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21 Eller, 176.
tipple at the top of the incline. At the tipple, the coal could have been washed and sorted before it was loaded into larger monitor cars and transported to the base of the mountain where it would either be converted into coke at the coke ovens or loaded directly onto barges to be shipped via the Tennessee River.

A dependable means of transportation was crucial to the success of any mining operation, and by the late-nineteenth century, the railroad industry became an essential partner to the coal and coke industry. While investors paid to extend lines from the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad to mining operations in nearby places like Tracy City and Cowan as early as the 1850s, the McNabb Mines' commercial success depended solely on the Tennessee River. It is unclear how the absence of rail transportation to major industrial centers affected the McNabb Mines, but it probably limited the McNabb Coal and Coke Company's ability to compete with the several other mining operations in Marion and surrounding counties. If the isolation and rugged environment of the area prohibited the mine's inclusion on a rail line, it also limited the transportation options for potential mine workers. In response, the McNabb Mines' owners and operators became early participants in a community development trend that, by the turn of the twentieth century, changed the southern Appalachian region in significant ways—the company town.

Since the coal mining town at McNabb Mines developed in the early 1880s, it serves as an early example of the company town ideal and contributes to the history of the region's evolving social structure in the late-nineteenth century. The McNabb Mines was common in that it was just one of numerous coal mining towns in the southern highlands between the 1880s and 1930s that came into existence from necessity, flourished for a number of years, slowly died as the coal seams failed or economic conditions made them moribund, and were finally abandoned. The McNabb Mines also followed the historic pattern in which large corporations became the absentee landowners of vast tracts of resource-rich lands in Appalachia and the Cumberland Plateau—a process that stripped many people of property that had been in their families for generations and funneled the region's potential wealth out of the area and into the hands of northern investors.

While northern entrepreneurs invested in land, equipment, and transportation when they began working a mine, the topographical and social conditions of the region also forced them to devote time and money to the establishment of a functional community for the workers as well. The low cost of labor in the region was an attractive feature for prospective mine owners, but the expense and time required to create the infrastructure essential to mining the southern coal fields were often major obstacles. Unlike the large number of coal mines that sprang up in the north in or near areas that were already settled, bituminous coal mines in the southern mountains were almost

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always located in difficult terrain without good roads or an adequate local work force. In response to these circumstances, coal companies established new communities to insure that a stable labor supply would be close at hand instead of having to depend solely upon native workers who usually lived scattered throughout the mountains on family farms.  

When mine operators entered the southern mountains in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, they encountered a group of people largely dependent upon agriculture. Historians often comment on local farmers’ reluctance to accept the industrial order associated with coal mining. Ronald D. Eller contends that mountain residents were often unenthusiastic about leaving their farms for work in the mines and resented the intrusion of outside industrial interests. Despite their reluctance, many mountain farmers accepted work in local mines during the early years of the industry as a way to supplement their farm income. As coal property became more and more valuable and mining more competitive by the end of the nineteenth century, large mining companies forced many self-sufficient farmers off their land and into company towns. Census records indicate that many of the men and boys listed in 1880 as farmers in the Sixth District of Marion County were listed as mine workers in the same district by 1900. Whether they were forced or lured by the McNabb Coal and Coke Company, the local men who became employees at McNabb Mines and the families who became residents of McNabb Mines all lived and worked in a planned industrial community that differed from their traditional lives in significant ways. Thus, McNabb Mines represents a crucial period in rural mountain residents’ transition from a largely self-sufficient agricultural population to a group of people dependent upon wage labor.

The McNabb Coal and Coke Company attempted to create a fully functional community when it built the town at McNabb Mines. Building remnants and documentary evidence reveal that this early example of a company coal town in the Cumberland Plateau included a hotel, church/school, and commissary—all social institutions important to the vitality and success of a community. The dominant historical scholarship on company towns contends that the establishment of “traditional institutions for social stability” came to coal communities later in their history, usually in the twentieth century, when the industry matured. The inclusion of such non-essential social establishments built of solid sandstone masonry at the McNabb Mines in the early 1880s indicates that the company hoped to present its community as a permanent and stable village complete with the services offered by larger towns and wanted to be able to attract and support local family-based workers. The company’s decision to provide social services and establishments, like a church/school and hotel, at such an early date makes McNabb Mines an important and unique cultural resource.

25 Jones, 18-20.
26 Eller, 165-6.
27 U. S. Census Bureau, Tenth Census of the United States (1880), Marion County, Tennessee, Sixth District, Series T9, Roll 1269, p. 258-9; and U. S. Census Bureau, Twelfth Census of the United States (1900), Marion County, Tennessee, Sixth District, Series T623, Roll 1587, p. 22-4.
28 ibid., 187.
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In addition to providing the miners and their families with an important connection to the world beyond the coal mine, the company coal town also allowed the mine owner to exercise a great degree of social control over the employees whose houses the company owned and whose credit accounts were kept at the company store or commissary. The creation of a wage labor system based on the issuance of scrip redeemable only at the company store as a form of payment illustrated the McNabb Coal and Coke Company’s desire to control the employee/employer relationship. The practice of paying workers in company scrip guaranteed that all wages miners earned were returned to the company through purchases made at the company store and undermined the local traditional cultural values of independence and self-sufficiency.\(^29\)

Two surviving ledger books from the company store at McNabb Mines illuminate the trends in commerce associated with the nineteenth-century company town. The company store was an important social center for any coal town, but it also provided commercial goods to workers who spent their time in mines and machine shops, not corn fields and garden plots. Mine families had to depend on the company store to supply the food, clothing, and household items they no longer produced themselves. In addition to household goods, workers at McNabb Mines were not only required to purchase their own equipment from the company store, but they were forced to buy coal from the company as well. In a surviving 1901-1903 ledger book, day workers’ debits and credits for each month are listed and show that a typical day worker made an average of $1.00 to $1.25 a day. Every month, workers could expect to pay $1.00 to $5.00 for rent, $1.25 for coal, $1.00 for a doctor’s visit, and $0.55 for dues. A mine worker’s debts quickly added up at the company store, and he was rarely able to earn more money in a pay period than he owed the company. As a consequence, the company store system largely benefited the coal company, not the miner and his family.

In many mining communities, mine workers attempted to organize labor unions as a way of exercising some measure of control over their work environment. While it is difficult to assert with complete certainty why $0.55 in dues were collected from mine workers, this monthly deduction most likely went toward the payment of union dues. Labor unions became active in the southern counties of the Cumberland Plateau in the 1880s, when powerful companies like Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company (TCI) began to rely on extremely inexpensive convict labor rather than hiring free laborers.\(^30\) In 1884, the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor organized a chapter in nearby Tracy City, and, after this group disbanded, the United Mine Workers of America established its local chapter in 1898. With such an active labor union presence in neighboring Grundy County, it is likely that union representatives attempted to address the needs of miners in

\(^{29}\) Jones, 21; and Eller 188-9.

Marion County as well. Just like the miner’s outstanding balance from the company store and coal, rent, and doctor’s fees, union dues could be “checked-off” or deducted from a miner’s wages before payday.31 A more conclusive piece of evidence indicating the presence of labor union activity at McNabb Mines is a column out of the Sequachee Valley News from 9 November 1899, that noted “[t]he Miners’ Union met at Sexton’s school house Saturday night to transact business.”32 During the period in the late-nineteenth century when leasing convict labor was a common practice among large coal and iron companies in the area, the miners at the McNabb Mines apparently felt compelled to organize so that they could negotiate or strike to protect and improve their work environment. Despite the effort miners put forth to insure their jobs were safe from company abuses, labor unions could not control the vicissitudes of the American marketplace.

By the late 1880s, the southern part of the Sequatchie Valley in Marion County was the site of numerous coal and iron mining operations, iron foundries, and a host of other industries located in and around the growing cities of Kimball, Jasper, and South Pittsburg. The TCI’s factory in South Pittsburg, with 200 employees in 1887 and 385 employees in 1902, was able to keep its furnaces working day and night on coal and coke from the Cumberland Plateau for over two decades.33 However, overproduction, saturated markets, labor unrest, and emerging new sources of energy such as oil and hydro-electric power combined to place severe economic pressure on many of the mining operations in the Sequatchie Valley. In 1893, a major financial panic drove coal prices down to their lowest point in 20 years, and many southern iron producers were forced into bankruptcy.34 The industry experienced an upswing by the end of the century, but coal and iron companies suffered once again following the “money panic” of 1907, when depositors simultaneously withdrew millions of dollars from their financial institutions. The unstable economic environment of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries created problems for many small businesses associated with the coal and iron industries and often forced older and smaller companies to sell their property to larger corporations.35 While these national and regional economic circumstances apparently coincided with the abandonment of the McNabb Mines circa 1910, the McNabb Coal and Coke Company clearly experienced financial difficulties years before the major economic panics of 1893 and 1907.

In 1887, the McNabb Coal and Coke Company ran into financial trouble, and the officers attempted to transfer the company’s assets to a new corporation, the Consolidated Coal and Iron Company, without providing for the creditors of the former company. In response, the creditors of the McNabb

34 Chamberlain, 4-5; and Eller 128.
35 Eller, 155.
Coal and Coke Company began a protracted lawsuit in 1890 that was decided by the Supreme Court of Tennessee in favor of the creditors in 1892. When the defendants associated with the company issued an appeal, the court upheld the previous ruling in 1897. The transcripts from both court cases described the 1887 transfer of 18,630 acres from the McNabb Coal and Coke Company to the Consolidated Coal and Iron Company, including "the 2,891-acre tract, known as the 'McNabb Tract'." Together with the coal land, the McNabb Tract included "all improvements, steamboat, barges, stock of goods, and property of all sorts belonging to the McNabb Company."36

The company apparently amassed a large amount of capital in the 1880s, including the McNabb Mines property, but was unable to pay its debts. Ultimately, the court concluded:

The truth is, that by a series of unusual offers and agreements, one corporation, while largely indebted and without providing for its creditors, has, without a valid consideration, denuded itself of all its property, and vested the same in another corporation, conceived and brought into existence for the sole purpose of such successorship.

A transaction of that kind will not stand for a moment against creditors of the former corporation, but they may follow and subject the property in the hands of the latter corporation, the same as if no transfer had been made (Supreme Court of Tennessee 1892).

At the same time the Supreme Court of Tennessee was hearing the case, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and Mines of the State of Tennessee began publishing annual reports describing the state's mining operations. According to these records, the McNabb Mines produced a mere 500 tons of coal in 1891 and 1,000 tons in 1892, while the nearby Etna Mines produced 71,932 tons in 1891 alone.37 Since the state did not provide compiled statistics like these in the 1880s and company records have not been found, the McNabb Coal and Coke Company's production levels before the protracted court case are unknown. However, the company's significant investment in the McNabb Mines seems to indicate that the operators determined that the site was capable of producing considerable amounts of coal. Between 1893 and 1899, the state records do not mention the McNabb Mines at all, but columns from the Sequachee Valley News point toward the continued, although intermittent, mining done at the site. In August 1896, the newspaper reported that "the McNabb mines, under the supervision of Mr. [J. C.] Foster, seem to be on a boom just now, and are giving employment to several hands."38 The Sequachee Valley News reported the

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38 Harris, 27.
boom again in September 1896 with news that “the steamer, R. T. Coles, took on board a large quantity of coal at McNabb Mines Sunday.” In addition to informing local citizens about the success (or lack of) of the mining operations at McNabb Mines, the newspaper also described the social environment of the town. The hotel and “Rock Church” at the McNabb Mines were frequently mentioned as locations to enjoy a party and entertain visitors or host a “box supper” and popular circuit-riding preacher. Apparently, life at McNabb Mines carried on in the 1890s, despite the uncertainty surrounding the mines’ ownership and fate.

The McNabb Mines reappear in Tennessee’s annual report for 1900, and the Inspector of Mines describes the McNabb Mines as a mine that had been in operation “for a number of years,” employing about thirty miners (this figure most likely does not include day laborers), and one that had never been inspected. The McNabb Mines are included again in the state report encompassing the years 1901 to 1903, but these records indicate the apparent end of mining operations at this site. This report reveals a reorganization and new ownership of the McNabb Mines that seems to have taken place around the turn of the century. The state records listed the McNabb Mines as being under the operation of the New McNabb Coal Company, the new owner as H.S. Worthington of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the president of the corporation as T.R. Preston of Chattanooga, Tennessee. J.C. Foster, whose name appears frequently in the 1901-03 McNabb Mine ledger books and who had been working the mines even before the McNabb Coal and Coke Company bought the land, was listed as the general manager, superintendent, and inside foreman of the operation. Both before and after the change in management, the McNabb Mines seemed to turn out only a small and intermittent supply of coal. Various reports indicate that the mines only operated part of the year and only employed 14 to 30 miners between 1891 and 1903. How accurate these statistics are is hard to say, but it is reasonably certain that the McNabb Mines did not live up to the hopes of J. D. McNeale, E. R. Donohue, W. B. Burnett, G. N. Leighton, and F. J. Mitchell—all elected directors of the McNabb Coal and Coke Company who were personally involved in the fraudulent transfer of the company’s property. By attempting to bypass their debts through the formation of another company, the operators of the McNabb Coal and Coke Company exacerbated their problems by inviting a seven-year lawsuit that most likely slowed the McNabb Mine’s production drastically.

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39 Ibid., 26.
40 Ibid., passim.
42 Ibid.
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Even though the coal industry in Tennessee was booming in the late 1890s and early 1900s and the supply was unable to meet demand in that brief period before the Panic of 1907, the owners of the McNabb Mines halted operations in 1903. It is probable that, by that time, the lack of rail transport facilities and the general trend toward corporate consolidation in the mining industry rendered the operation of the McNabb Mines unprofitable. In consequence, the mines, like hundreds of others throughout the Appalachian South, were abandoned, and the town quickly followed the same fate. By 1910, the Sequachee Valley News no longer mentioned McNabb Mines in its columns, and the names of people once associated with the site began to appear in stories referencing nearby communities like Kelly’s Ferry and Stanley instead. A century later, all that visibly remains are the collapsed mine shafts, overgrown roads, and the crumbling walls and foundations of the houses and industrial and administrative buildings that once hummed with the bustle of an active coal mining community.

Very little documentary or oral information has survived about the history or operation of the McNabb Mines. Despite the lack of written evidence on this rare site, the physical remains of the mines and town stand as an uncommon and exceptional example of a nineteenth-century coal town and have the potential to provide valuable information on questions of mining technology, mining society and culture, and historic mining landscapes. It is probable that future archaeological investigations could illuminate industrial processes, engineering systems, and the lifeways or class structure connected to McNabb Mines. The various above-ground features documented in 2007 by Alexander Archaeological Consultants, Inc. represent only part of the cultural resources left behind at the McNabb Mines site. Taken together, the location, design, setting, workmanship, and materials of the 76 documented features at the McNabb Mines site on the Tennessee River in Marion County help to reveal a way of life in rural nineteenth-century Tennessee that has almost been entirely lost in its physical form. With its historical significance related to industry, engineering, social history, and commerce in the Cumberland Plateau of Tennessee, McNabb Mines meets the requirements for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A.

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________ Twelfth Census of the United States (1900). Marion County, Tennessee, Sixth District, Series T623, Roll 1587.


10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Additional UTM References

5. 16 639883 3878473
6. 16 639402 3878101

7. 16 638879 3879180

Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary for the McNabb Mines site nomination encompasses approximately 457 acres within the boundaries of Prentice Cooper State Forest and is delineated by the polygon on the USGS map whose vertices are marked by the following UTM reference points: A 16 638990 3879472, B 16 639977 3879821, C 16 640731 3878476, D 16 640133 3878175, E 16 639883 3878473, F 16 639402 3878101, G 16 638879 3879180. This land includes all 76 documented features associated with the nominated site.

Boundary Justification

The boundaries for the McNabb Mines site nomination were chosen based on the high concentration of features located there. The Supreme Court of Tennessee case, Vance & Kirby et al. v. McNabb Coal & Coke Co. et al., lists the “McNabb Tract” as including 2,891 acres. So, there is a possibility that Hicks Mountain contains scattered, undocumented features associated with this site. However, the nominated boundary incorporates the center of activities associated with McNabb Mines and provides the greatest potential for future research.
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PHOTOGRAPHS

McNabb Mines, Marion County, Tennessee

Photos by: Sandra Smith Photography; Mitchell Sohn, John Levenger, and Johnny O'Donnell, Alexander Archaeological Consultants, Inc.

Date: January and February 2007

Digital Copies: Tennessee Historical Commission
                 Nashville, Tennessee

1. Feature #4, church/school, facing north
2. Feature #4, church/school interior wall with plaster, facing northwest
3. Feature #5, hotel, facing east
4. Feature #6, company store, facing southeast
5. Feature #8, sandstone foundation pier in Tennessee River, facing west
6. Feature #9, coke ovens, facing southeast
7. Feature #9, coke ovens, facing northwest
8. Feature #10, 35, 57-63, incline, facing southeast
9. Feature #10, 35, 57-63, incline, facing south
10. Feature #10, 35, 57-63, incline, facing west
11. Feature #18, large residence, facing east
12. Feature #18, large residence, facing northwest
13. Feature #25, large sandstone-lined cellar/store room, facing north
14. Feature #28, large two-story unidentified building, facing north
15. Feature #28, large two-story unidentified building, facing southeast
16. Feature #44, worker housing with sandstone foundation and chimney, facing southeast
17. Feature #54, square building at junction of incline and bluff line rail, facing south

18. Feature #70-74, 76-78, bluff line rail, facing southeast

19. Feature #56, remaining iron rail inside mine entrance, facing east

20. Feature #66, ventilation furnace, facing west

21. Feature #66, segmented arch firebox opening in ventilation furnace, facing south
Table 1. Index to Map Features.

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Continuation Sheet

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McNabb Mines Marion County, Tennessee

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Map of nominated site boundary.
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Marion County, Tennessee

Map of all feature locations.
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Map of lower grouping of feature locations.
Map of upper grouping of feature locations.
Map of upper building locations.
1893 Topographic map illustrating location of McNabb Mines.
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McNabb Coal and Coke Company scrip provided by Billy Ray McNabb collection.