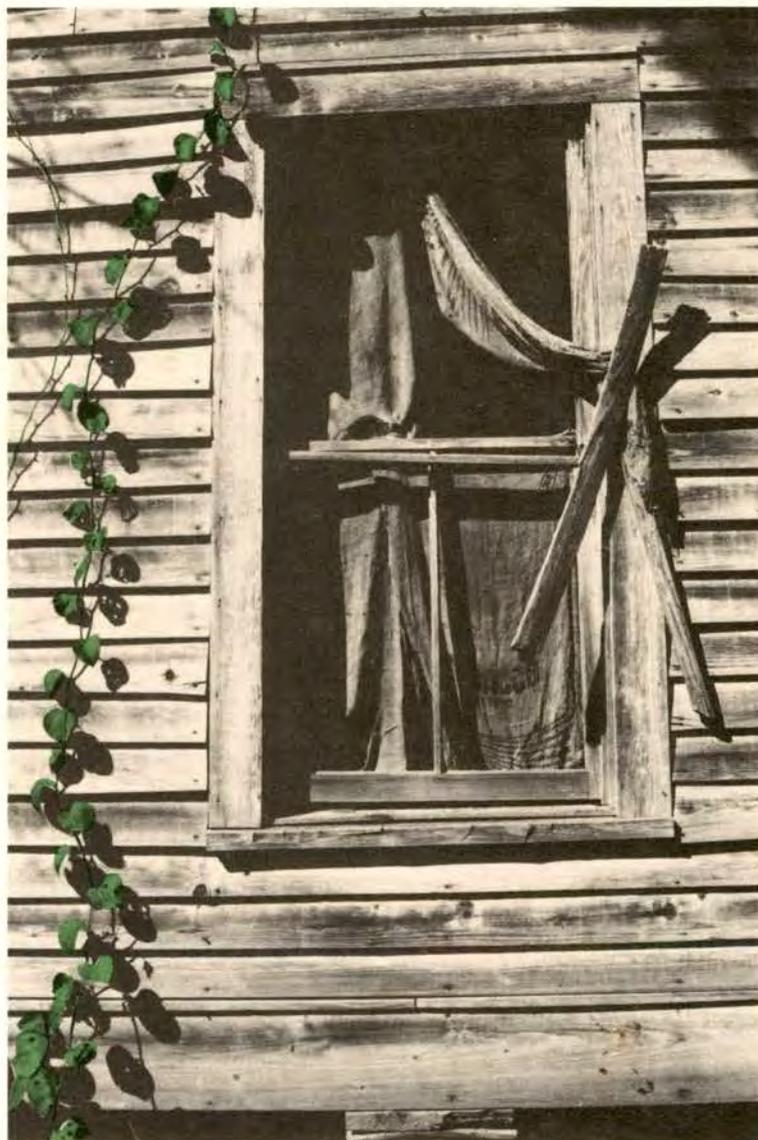


Raised Up In Hard Times,

Circa 1900 - 1940

by

Linda France Stine



RAISED UP IN HARD TIMES: FACTORS AFFECTING
MATERIAL CULTURE ON UPLAND PIEDMONT FARMSTEADS, CIRCA
1900-1940S.

by

Linda France Stine

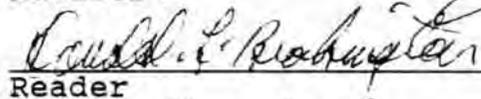
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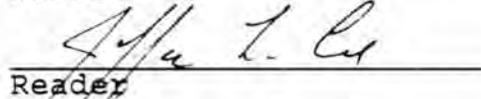
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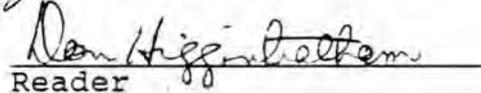
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ABSTRACT

LINDA FRANCE STINE. Raised Up in Hard Times: Factors Affecting Material Culture on Upland Piedmont Farmsteads, circa 1900-1940s (Under the direction of Carole Crumley.)

Social, economic, and ethnic factors of inequality in the Upland Piedmont of North Carolina are examined using an ethnoarchaeological approach. Those factors of social inequality provide the framework for subsequent study of the area's settlement pattern. The relationship of these settlement processes to settlement structure are investigated. The affects of these processes on the material culture of a small farm community are discussed. An archaeological investigation of case-study farmsteads explores the distribution of items at two farms. Both sites were owned. One was inhabited by two generations of a poor black family, the other by two generations of a poor white agrarian family. No significant differences are found between the material culture at the sites.

*Carole,
Thanks again for all -
Linda*

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INTRODUCTION

A recent report on the lack of rural preservation in North Carolina (Southern ND) describes the accelerating destruction of agrarian buildings. Farmhouses and outbuildings, once composing the center picture of the North Carolina landscape, are often bulldozed and burned. This demolition coincides with the passing of many of the people who had worked these farms.

In 1900, 90.1% of the population of the State lived in rural areas, in 1950, 69.8% lived in non-urban environments (Eure 1951:118). North Carolina's farm population shifted from 1,258,000 in 1900 to 155,156 in 1980 (Bureau of the Census 1975:458-464, Series K 17-81, 1980:Table 67). The total farm population in the United States dropped from 41.9% in 1900 to 2.2% in 1985 (Bureau of the Census 1975:457, Series K 1-16; 1987:619, No.1093)¹. Obviously, a transformation has occurred in our society, encompassing a major shift in occupation, settlement pattern and lifestyle. Material culture has changed concomitantly. As a result, study of early twentieth century rural culture and its later transformations lends itself to the research techniques and perspectives of archaeology.

Archaeological investigations of agrarian sites will,

as so aptly stated by Stewart-Abernathy, generate "data on ordinary people of two or three generations ago whose routines of daily life were too recently abandoned to interest many scholars, but are long enough ago to be outside the personal experience of most people today" (1986:1). Dissertation research is aimed, in part, at gathering some of that knowledge of farm life in the early decades of the twentieth century, a time when most farmers still used mules and muscle when plowing the land. One of the purposes for writing this dissertation is to recapture a sense of farm lifestyle from about 1900 to the 1940s, while some of the period actors are still living.

In the case of the present research, data has been provided on two farm families, both self-described as poor, both extended, and each living in their homes on a daily basis for only two full generations. These neighbors were of different ethnicity, one being looked upon locally as black, the other as white. The data are derived from a variety of sources, including primary and secondary historical resources; and archaeological, architectural and graveyard studies. Oral history interviews were conducted with various past and present members of the local community. The community encompasses the town of Harmony, North Carolina, which lies in Turnersburg Township, Iredell County.

The dissertation focuses on agrarian material culture-

crafted, bought, reused, curated and/or discarded. The "things" of early farm life serve as a mirror of processes of cultural maintenance and change. They also provide a unifying perspective for discussions of social structure, family life, labor needs, stores, mills, religion and education, all part of settlement systems.

By focusing on the material culture, research can spiral outward to include a variety of questions. One of the primary questions asked in the present study is "did black and white farmers use similar or different material items?" Its corollary, if the goods prove different, is "is this due to different ethnic membership or to differential access to goods?" Dissertation research will serve as a case-study, by providing an in-depth study of two farmsteads in the Piedmont. These farmsteads were inhabited by two families, the Nicholises and the Stines. Their farms were chosen for study because they appeared typical for the region, have standing structures, are located next to each other, and have living informants. The inhabitants also shared a similar family structure, economic level, occupation and lifestyle. The major difference between the two lies in their ethnic backgrounds.

The old two-story Stine house sits on a red-clay hill, overlooking a washboarded road. Its windows have shredded lace and burlap curtains blowing in the breeze around edges of broken glass. The house is no longer a home. The front

doorbell still turns, able to surprise with its loud ring. This building that seems so empty from the road proves to be rich in discarded things, left behind when the family moved to a new home. Birds nest in the pantry, among canning jars filled with murky fluid. The rain enters from growing holes in the pine-shake roof of the I-house front. Natural light illuminates the old veneer bedstead, linens, books, letters, and other abandoned debris. It also shines on seeds and stored potatoes, leaving a clue as to the house's new function as a farm storage shed.

The Nicholises' one-story hall-and-parlor house can be seen just down the hill from the Stine front porch. On approach, it leaves no doubt of its abandonment. The steel and blown glass lightning rods tilt on the tin roof. The windows and doors are jammed full of bales of hay and cardboard textile cones. No question that this is no longer a home, and now serves for occasional storage. The debris of living (other than the occasional discarded jars, cans, and refrigerator) are less in evidence here. This may be because the family sold out, probably taking what they wanted with them. Also, the new owner, a Stine neighbor, did some cleaning when he purchased the Nicholises' farmland.

At first glance, these two places seem to underline the diaspora of this century's farmers to the cities and towns of the South. They appear to speak of neglect and a disinterest in rural preservation. However, a little bit of

investigation shows that the owner of these farms holds a great feeling for the land, and has carefully preserved the memories and stories of life there. He also has a great desire to preserve the land, land that he still works on weekends up from a city to the east. He and his family have not felt they had the money to pour into refurbishing the old place, even if they had the time or the energy. Instead, the structures are used for storage of farm implements, seeds and tools and even harvested vegetables. They get patched up, using everything from old Coca Cola signs and licenses to new sheets of tin and wire nails. When the rain finally warps the front of one of the houses, it will be pulled down and used to patch other buildings, or burned for firewood.

The remains of the two houses are representative of the material culture of the Stine and Nichols families and the basis for this study. The first chapter of the dissertation entails an introduction to material culture studies and historical archaeology. The first section places the data within the broad theoretical framework of anthropology in general and archaeology in particular. In the second section, the epistemological question of the usefulness of the prevalent archaeological term "socioeconomic status" is debated, and a working definition of ethnicity, class and status is given.

The second chapter of the dissertation outlines some

of the processes of settlement occurring in the Upland South. Chapter II includes an historical overview of the agricultural and social history of early twentieth century North Carolina, placed within the broader context of the changing Upland South. As many New South historians have noted, this was a time of transformations from an emphasis on subsistence farming to cash crops, from traditional production of goods to purchasing ready-made, from relying on mule power to that of gasoline and tractors. As one shall see, some authors also feel that this period spans the transition from the extended to the nuclear family in North Carolina. In Chapter III, the scale of investigation shifts to the township. Similar historical questions will be addressed on a synchronic level, looking at Turnersburg Township in 1910. This portion of the study will help encapsulate the broad diversity occurring in the region at any one time, a distinction oftentimes lost when looking at a region diachronically.

Chapter IV was constructed from oral and documentary sources, and recounts the annual rhythms of farm life. This chapter will give the reader an overview of actual practices common on small Piedmont cotton farms. It also provides a rich context for understanding settlement processes in the area of study.

Chapter V explores questions of settlement systems as related to the Cotton South. "Upland South" is defined,

drawing on anthropological and geographical literature. The landscape of the town of Harmony and environs is investigated, and representative material culture. A section on graveyards is also included as part of the examination of existing artifacts, to help understand possible ethnic differences in the region's material culture.

In Chapter VI, the two case-study farmsteads are described. Both processes and structures of settlement are examined. This chapter is devoted to recounting the landscape as perceived by living descendents, and captured in old photographs of the sites and the region. This discussion will include both social and geographical descriptions of the farmsteads and their immediate neighborhood from about 1900 to 1945.

In the final chapter, the present landscape is described and assessed. The results of archaeological investigations at the two sites will be detailed. Chapter VII also contains a section comparing results to previous archaeological studies of farmsteads, placing the sites within a broad comparative framework.

In the Conclusion, the importance of variables such as ethnicity, occupation, and economic status in the formation of the archaeological record will be summarized. The relationship of the changing material culture of North Carolina farmers to social and economic transformations in

the region will be discussed. Processes of Afro-American acculturation in the early twentieth century will be examined in light of dissertation results.

The chapter following provides the theoretical framework used throughout the dissertation. In particular, concepts such as acculturation, ethnicity, status and material culture are discussed.

INTRODUCTION ENDNOTES:

1. The change in farm tenure in North Carolina and in the United States can be seen in the following tables, adapted from US Bureau of the Census (1975:Series K 1-81):

Year		Farm Population (1,000)	%Population	#Farms (1,000)	Total Acres
1970	US	9,712	4.8	2,954	1,102,769
	NC*	507		119	12,734
1950	US	23,048	15.3	5,388	1,161,420
	NC	1,377		289	19,318
1930	US	30,529	24.9	6,295	990,112
	NC	1,604		280	18,055
1900	US	29,875	41.9	5,740	841,202
	NC	1,258		225	22,749

*North Carolina data are from 1969

Chapter I Theoretical Overview

A family that depended upon agriculture as a major source of support was not simply engaged in an economic pursuit. Farming entailed a whole, interrelated lifestyle centered around the farmstead. These families made a conscious choice to live a rural life. The cycles and demands of agriculture permeated a family's beliefs, social interactions, and economic activities. Agrarian lifeways also influenced the type of material culture present on the farmstead¹. Farm life in North Carolina, circa 1900-1940s, was part of a specific type of regional Southern culture. This subculture held the seeds of its own subsequent transformation, as seen in the regionally adjusted economic and social structures of post World War II.

Understanding the social and economic ramifications of being an Upper Piedmont farmer in the early twentieth century can be approached in various ways. The primary focus of the present research is on the material culture of farm families living in the shadow of the mountains of North Carolina. Dissertation research is centered on comparing the material world of black and white farmers, based primarily upon the archaeological investigation of two representative farmsteads. Local settlement pattern study

will also provide comparative data on material culture. Processes of settlement will also be addressed (see Chapters II-IV). This will necessarily mean exploring the nonmaterial aspects of area culture, to provide context, which will aid in forming a richer picture of life on a small farm.

As defined by Deetz (1977:10), material culture is "that segment of man's physical environment which is purposely shaped by him according to culturally dictated plans." It consists of humankind's deliberate organization of space and materials. Material culture studies are usually not simple descriptions of items, but include research on an object(s)' aesthetic value, technological construction, and function(s). In some studies, subcultural or cultural influences on the item or items are discussed².

Archaeologists share an interest in understanding manufacturing techniques and, as much as possible, the culture of the artisan or craftsman. However, unlike most scholars from related disciplines, archaeologists investigate how items get used, re-used, re-cycled, and ultimately thrown away³. For example, folklorists distinguish between folk, elite, and popular categories of material goods. An alkaline glazed stoneware crock would be viewed as folk if it fit two major criteria. First, it would have to have been created using traditional techniques. Second, the crock would have to still be

relationship of the artifact distribution to past activities. Understanding behavior, however, is not the primary goal of archaeologists. Behavioral studies lead to questions about the structural aspects of a culture, and eventually to study of possible changes in those structures over time and/or space. Archaeologists seek to delineate those processes that affect culture change⁵.

Acculturation is one process that is one part of culture change. Modifications in a people's material world are often related to this process. To understand the concept of acculturation, one may turn to the definition developed by anthropologists.

Anthropologists have been refining related, explanatory concepts such as culture change, diffusion, acculturation, ethnicity, and class since at least 1936 (Redfield, Linton, Herskovits 1936). Herskovits and others have been investigating Afro-American acculturation processes since the 1920s (Herskovits 1958:xii-xxix passim). This work has been built upon sporadically. This is shown in a recent (Stoffle and Shimkin 1980:1-5) statement calling for many more black acculturation studies. For instance, from 1935-1977 there were only eight published dissertations in the United States whose topics related to Afro-American acculturation (Stoffle and Shimkin 1980:5-8).

Archaeologists involved in plantation and farmstead research have been examining the material remains of

specific ethnic groups. They have been searching for distinctive patterns indicative of acculturation processes (e.g. Handler and Lange 1978, Wheaton and Garrow 1985). As later discussed, attempts to isolate material correlates of ethnicity and acculturation have met with limited success, partially due to a lack of clear conceptual distinctions on the part of researchers.

In the classic "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation" (1936) Redfield, Linton and Herskovits produced epistemological guidelines for the use of certain concepts. Although "acculturation" is sometimes used interchangeably with "culture change", the authors clearly state that the former is only one of many possible types and processes of the latter. They believe that acculturation should be reserved for the following situations:

1. when a culture is changed as a result of contact with another culture by the diffusion and assimilation of ideas and goods, and
2. members have had face-to-face contact with people from that other culture (1936:144-150).

Certain elements of the "intruding" culture are combined with those of the first culture. The manifold dynamism involved in acculturation has come to be recognized as an important aspect of the phenomenon (Stoffle and Shimkin 1980:3-5, Wolf 1982:8-9). As a result, it is a process of interrelating elements of both cultures that are in contact. According to Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936), the

process of acculturation is often forced through political and/or social inequalities, but does also occur through the open exchange of ideas, goods, services, and people. Members of the "receiving" culture could select some traits to assimilate, and reject others; or accept some that would eventually have unexpected consequences. Depending upon the congruity of the existing cultural elements with the new, acculturation would draw to a close. Over time, through conflicts and adjustments, the process would be complete.

The results of acculturation are three-fold. In some cases, acculturation results in acceptance, where the majority of the "older cultural heritage" is lost in terms of values and behaviors. Second, it often leads to adaptation, where a smooth cultural whole, either homogeneous or heterogeneous, is achieved. Third, acculturation may result in reaction, where oppression or disillusionment can influence the development of counter-acculturation movements. These movements confer prestige and/or allay feelings of cultural inferiority (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits 1936:151).

In the case of Afro-Americans, acculturation was begun through slavery, which included the forced movement of peoples to a new country, as well as an introduction to a different culture. American culture prior to the instigation of the African slave trade already embraced people from many different European and Amerindian

backgrounds. This heterogeneity, combined with the fact that incoming slaves originated and were "seasoned" in diverse regions, indicates that acculturation in colonial and post-colonial America would have been extremely complex. Adaptation and reaction have resulted through the acculturation of so many diverse peoples. These processes have helped to create distinctive ethnic groups in American society.

The concept of ethnicity should be applied to discussions of the processes and effects of acculturation in America. For example, it may be used in cases where certain social groups have conflicting constellations of behaviors and beliefs, but are joined by an overarching ideal, economic system, and/or other shared values. Ethnicity may also be applied to describe subgroups or a subgroup that is set in direct opposition to the prevalent culture. "Ethnicity" would imply that the subgroup is reaching back to follow values, behaviors and beliefs from a perceived ancestral past⁶.

Ethnic groups are, by definition, self-conscious. As Barth (1963, 1969) and others have discovered, ethnic groups maintain social boundaries. These boundaries are recognized by the ethnic group and by members of the mainstream culture (Berreman 1981:15-16, Kelly and Kelly 1980:131-135). An ethnic group shares certain behaviors, and often the use of ethnic-specific marker items. Ethnic symbols and behaviors

should be articulated with material culture. The remains of ethnic groups should be transformed in similar ways in the archaeological record (Etter 1980, Evans 1980).

For example, Barth (1963, 1969) and Leach's (1954) ethnographic work in Asia indicates that lineages and/or family groups can manipulate cultural elements (myth, speech, dress, consumption patterns) in reaction to political transformations. Groups living along borders were especially adept at changing their outward appearances to conform to new allegiances. This suggests that ethnicity can sometimes be used as a cloak, to be taken off or put on at will⁷. Nonetheless, one suspects that certain unconscious behaviors would be maintained consistently, and by-products transformed into the archaeological record.

Individual members of an ethnic group can choose to assimilate to mainstream culture. If the entire membership does so, by definition, the ethnic group disappears (Berreman 1981:16).

Historical archaeologists have shown that specific patterning does occur at sites occupied by people from specific cultural heritages⁸. Patterns of garbage disposal (e.g. Rathje and McCarthy 1977), distinctive marker artifacts (e.g. Etter 1980:97-101), and the relative proportions of shared artifact types (e.g. South 1977a) have been shown to indicate cultural differences. The patterning of German-American, Afro-American, Chinese-American, and

English-American material remains were decidedly different in significant ways.

Ethnic identity has played an important role in the process of Afro-American acculturation. Aspects of culture carried from Africa have been maintained or transformed into something more syncretic, or have entered mainstream American culture. Herskovits has shown that many aspects of African culture are apparent in early twentieth century Afro-American music and religion. He has demonstrated that Afro-Americans' use of extralegal arbitrators and emphasis on associations harken to African antecedents. The occurrence of distinctive motor habits, such as carrying heavy loads on the head, is also seen as an ethnic trait.

Herskovits (1958) discovered that blending of African and Euro-American traits is and was common. Reinterpretation, with some change in form or function of a material item, is more prevalent than retention of a pure African trait. Syncretism, or fusion of parallel Euro-American and Afro-American elements, is also found, especially when investigating aspects of Afro-American religion.

Many scholars have thought that the material culture of slaves was solely derived from their masters'. More recent investigations have shown that slaves and subsequent Afro-Americans had managed to maintain a distinctive tradition in the material arts (Vlach 1980). Those arts include

basketmaking, pottery manufacture, musical instrument construction, iron foundaries, boat construction, wood carving, textiles production, and cooking. Afro-American quilts were once perceived as garish, amateur renditions copied from Euro-American designs. It was discovered that quilters were incorporating techniques and stylistic variations originating in Africa. These motifs were joined with more traditional European and Colonial designs.

Afro-American material culture often demonstrates that African elements have been imposed upon European mediums. In other cases, African items have actually entered the mainstream American culture as is ("survivals"). Vlach states that black material culture often looks white, when in fact a closer examination shows that it is "largely the result of reinterpretation, not imitation."⁹ This indicates that Afro-American material culture, with its survivals, reinterpretations, and syncretisms, was uniquely created through the historical processes of acculturation. One may consider modern Afro-americans as an ethnic group. As such, one expects to find certain reinterpreted behaviors and symbols. The material manifestations of most elements of Afro-american culture should be visible. This should hold true for both the present and the past.

Recent attempts by archaeologists to uncover evidence of Afro-American ethnicity on the plantation have led to some confusion as to interpretation of results. For

example, the identification of slave-made colonoware (e.g. Ferguson 1978, Henry 1980, Wheaton et al. 1983) has led to its use as a marker artifact for identifying possible slave quarters. However, researchers are uncertain if these artifacts are the result of planter economics (need for low-cost pots), slave economics (sale/trade of pots), subsistence needs (communal cooking vessels), or symbolic of resistance and/or slave acculturation. Of course, colonoware may well have been symbolic of conflicting ideologies, as well as having had diverse economic functions. This uncertainty as to interpretation is perhaps due to the lack of conceptual distinctions made by many archaeologists between ethnicity, acculturation, and social and economic status.

The term "socioeconomic status" is often seen in the archaeological literature¹⁰. "Socioeconomic status" conflates the varied effects of ethnicity, occupation, landownership, and wealth on archaeological site patterning. As Fallers (1973:29) states, use of such a word "oversimplifies by attempting to capture, in a single graphic image the multiple bases of differentiation and inequality which exist in Western societies." Fallers prefers the overarching term "social inequality". Various aspects of social inequality could be investigated in the archaeological record, by differentiating multiple causes of inequality. These causes could be discovered through study

of explicit variables such as wealth, occupation, ethnicity, and class. The relationship of these variables to the archaeological remains could then be assessed.

Ethnicity is dynamic, in the sense that groups are created through circumstances that can and do change. What is of particular interest to archaeologists is whether or not certain unconscious behaviors of ethnic groups would be maintained, and leave recognizable material remains. Although members of different ethnic groups and mainstream culture could share in their ownership of certain items, behaviors, institutions, and shared values and beliefs, their behavior in terms of the use, reuse, recycling, and/or disposal of material goods could prove very different. An ethnic group should, by definition, share certain group-specific beliefs and values that are translated into specific activities. Their material remains are formed within that context, and should be observable in the archaeological record.

Lewis and Haskell (1980:73) have stated that "ethnic and socio-economic distinctions are best discovered from ceramics, whose form, relative value, and locus of manufacturing provide clues not only to the users' status, financial capabilities, and commercial ties, but also to ethnic idiosyncrasies in their daily domestic routines." These particular researchers were not able to clearly distinguish whether ceramic choice and use was a result of

ethnicity (Afro-American), economic status (slaves), and/or availability of goods. Again, this is due in part to blurring the categories of ethnicity, social status, and economic status during research. There is an assumption, especially in slave studies, that those three factors are somehow inseparable in the case of antebellum Afro-Americans. They are strongly related, but can be maintained as distinct categories of analysis. As results of excavations of poor white farmsteads of the period have yet to be published, one is left wondering if artifact patterns from slave sites reflect lack of wealth or ethnic differences or some combination of both (see Lewis and Haskell 1980, Otto 1980).

Ethnicity should be kept as an analytical category separate from economic status. Ethnic group members can and do cross boundaries of class and other social and economic statuses. Berreman (1981) clearly distinguishes different means of social stratification. He believes, after Weber, that stratification occurs along two distinctive lines. First, there is status, based upon honors and privileges, and second, there is class, based in the main upon economic factors. Status strata would include the sub-category of ethnicity, based upon criteria extrinsic to the individual, but intrinsic to the stratum (i.e. any one individual might decide to disassociate himself from the group). Class strata would include social classes based upon extrinsic

criteria (associations, sodalities, parties) and on economic classes (Berreman 1981:12-17, see especially Table 1.3) Berreman states that cultural codes concerning language, dress, and behavior are often used to support the believed fiction that there are natural biological differences between status strata. Thus social inequalities are perpetuated by social ascriptions and ideologies (1981:28-29). Of course, social inequalities are also reflected through differential access to economic means.

Ossowski demonstrates that the concept of class should involve self-consciousness and boundaries based upon economic differences (1963:121-156). A particular class could correspond to a particular ethnic group, if that group is the sole inheritor of a specific economic layer in a society. This may have been the case for Afro-American slaves. Whether black slaves formed a self-conscious group, and thus a class, is unclear. That issue is still debated in the literature pertaining to American slavery (see for example Fogel and Engerman 1974, Genovese 1974).

Nonetheless, in post-bellum America, blacks and whites did not form distinct economic classes. Poor blacks and whites tended to enjoy similar "daily conditions...despite differences in racial, legal, and social status" (Otto 1980:4). Whether these "similar conditions" resulted in a shared, similar material culture has been investigated by Adams (et al. 1980) and Moir and Bruseth (1987). These

archaeologists arrived at somewhat contradictory conclusions. The former feel that some remains (e.g. canning glass ratios) may be markers for Afro-American acculturation. The latter found no differences in material culture that they would term significant. This suggests that the issue of Afro-American acculturation after Emancipation has yet to be resolved.

Acculturation can be a longterm process. Herskovits (1958) and Powdermaker (1966:Part III) have shown that American blacks had indeed formed a unique constellation of traits (now called Afro-American culture) by the early decades of the twentieth century. These traits incorporate Euroamerican and African cultural aspects, as well as unique traits formed from the experience of slavery and post-bellum life. They include specific motor habits, such as carrying heavy items on the head, and mortuary behavior, including burial associations, waking and interment practices. Other traits are related to kinship patterns, religious ceremonies, and paralegal activities (see Herskovits 1958 and Powdermaker 1966).

Afro-American culture includes distinctive beliefs, behaviors, and material goods. It was developed through the process of acculturation, and specific elements may have changed over time. Nonetheless, distinctive Afro-American cultural elements should be discernible through analysis of the archaeological record. For example, Afro-American

influences on settlement systems should be visible.

The interplay of social factors, such as ethnicity, and economic ones, such as market access, must be comprehended. This exploration of context will lead to more precise understanding of the material record left by Upland farmers.

In the following chapter, the interpretation of data garnered by historical research is described. It will include a discussion of changing regional economic and social trends in the South from about 1900 to the 1940s. This discussion will provide an understanding of factors affecting settlement processes in the Upland South.

CHAPTER I ENDNOTES:

1. Arensberg 1968 aptly demonstrates this connectedness for Irish farmers in the early twentieth century. For North American farmers, see for example discussions in Bennett 1969, Daniel 1985, Hagood 1939:5, Newton 1971 and Resnick 1984:5-22.
2. Quimby 1978 has edited a collection of essays on American material culture by scholars from myriad fields. Their essays underline the breadth of such studies, and serve as examples of the various approaches used. Schlereth 1980 also serves as a fine introduction to the subject. Ferguson 1977, and Gould and Schiffer 1981's edited volumes offer numerous examples of material culture studies by archaeologists. McDaniel's 1982 book, a study of the material culture of Afro-Americans living in southern Maryland, serves as an additional example that is closely related to the present research topic.
3. Folklorists' interests in material culture have accelerated over the last 25 years. (See for example Kniffen 1965, Kniffen and Glassie 1966, Glassie 1968 and 1975 and Zug 1986.) Their research tends to center on the performance of traditional craftsmen within a social context, on the spread of traditional material culture, and on the initial use of material items. The subsequent functions of these goods, and their discard are not of research interest (see discussions in Bronson 1985, Dorson 1972 and 1973).
4. See Welsch 1980's discussion of folklore research categories. This example was provided by Charles Zug in a personal communication.
5. A number of paradigms influencing archaeological theory and method are evident in the literature. They range from behavioralist (i.e. Schiffer 1976) to structuralist (i.e. Glassie 1975, Kent 1987:Chapter 1) to human ecological (i.e. Butzer 1982, especially Chapter 1) to the "archaeology of mind" (i.e. Leone 1982). (Kent 1987:Chapter 11 offers a current overview.) In the main, archaeologists using any of the above paradigms ground their work in solid techniques of excavation and analysis. Their research is clearly formulated and informs their subsequent methods. The many spheres of the natural and cultural environment are viewed in a systemic context, and their interrelationship is emphasized. However, the particular emphasis on a certain relation between system components differs with specific research interests. In the present case, dissertation research has been guided by the desire to investigate culture change in the North Carolina Piedmont in the early

twentieth century. Evidence of transforming social and economic structures should be discovered upon examination of agrarian material culture. (Changes in the culture of the region are discussed in detail in Chapter II.) Analysis of the artifacts of the Piedmont farmer's world should reflect those modified structures, as indirect indicators of those transformations. The artifacts and their contextual relations will also be examined for evidence of Black American acculturation. (Acculturation is discussed beginning with page 4 of this chapter.)

6. Gordon 1964 and Keefe 1980 provide discussions of various theories pertaining to the acculturation of American ethnic groups. These theories are related to the question, is American society best characterized as plural, assimilated or as a melting pot? Gordon believes that American ethnic group members now differentiate themselves into what he calls "ethclasses". Members of the same economic class and ethnic background associate primarily with people from the same class and ethnic background, or "ethclass". As a result, Gordon views American society as multiplex, structured along lines of class and ethnic affiliation, not just class or ethnic affiliation. He and others (see Glazer and Moynihan 1975) have shown how American ethnicity is used as a vehicle for fighting social inequality both within and between class lines. Ethnicity is generally defined by them as having ascribed membership that is based upon race, religion and national origin. Certain symbols, formation of family groups, recreational activities, religious beliefs and associational membership become bound-up in the ethnic group members' lives.

7. A review of ethnographic studies of acculturation shows that a group's material culture may be among the first or the last aspects of culture to change (i.e. Linton 1963, Herskovits 1958:40-43). Obviously, the role of material culture as a marker for ethnic identity may be generalized, but the rate of change or intensity of transformation must be examined within the context of a specific culture. Isaac 1982 offers a fine example of how material culture was used in the Colonial Period to bolster both ethnicity and class identity.

8. See for example Carillo 1977, Deetz 1977, Drucker 1981, Fairbanks and Mullens-Moore 1980, Otto 1975 and 1977, South 1977, Singleton 1985, Wheaton, Friedlander and Garrow 1983; also citations in Salwen and Gyrisco 1978.

9. Vlach 1980:216. For a discussion of non-material African survivals, see Mintz and Price 1976:5-7, Herskovits 1958:intro, 159, 198-199 and Powdermaker 1966:Part III. For material items as expressions of Afro-American culture,

begin with Glassie 1968, Hutchinson 1979, Vlach 1980. For a comparison of North Carolina quilting motifs, see McDonald 1986 on Afro-American quilts and Newman 1978 for more traditional types.

10. See for example discussions in Bronitsky et al. 1985, Drucker and Anthony 1985, France 1985, Orser 1984, Otto 1980 and Riordan 1985.

Chapter II Stratification in a Cotton Economy

Transformations in the post-bellum southern economy modified the structure of rural society. New and old forms of social and economic relationships were combined and inculcated into an explicit cultural system by the late nineteenth century. The structure of southern agriculture was again changed through the vagaries of the cotton market. By the time of the New Deal, modified social and economic forms were again crystallized through federal legislation and implementation.

The Emancipation of the slaves forever changed the economy of the South. Planters had to devise new methods of guaranteeing their farm labor, or learn to adapt existing structures to new economic circumstances. Credit systems and marketing strategies also had to be metamorphized. Smaller farmers were caught up in a rural economy that forced them to switch from growing primarily subsistence crops to concentration on cash crops such as tobacco and cotton (Wright 1986:107-111). As the new century progressed, time-honored methods of animal-plow agricultural became devalued in the eyes of the federal government and large landowners. Instead, mechanization came to the fore,

with concomitant need for large capitalization in agriculture. As a result, many southern farmers found themselves off the farm, switching occupations. Those who remained tended to be large landholders engaged in a new form of farming, that of agribusiness¹.

The late nineteenth through early twentieth century changes in the southern agricultural system were reflected in the creation of a rigid, hierarchical order of social stratification, the "agricultural ladder". This system of categorization was based upon criteria of farm occupation and one's relationship to credit. The categories were formalized by Depression-era, government census enumerators and used by rural sociologists.

The agricultural ladder, from highest achievement to lowest, is reproduced in Table 2-1 below:

Table 2-1. The Agricultural Ladder

Owner, part-owner no mortgage
Owner, part-owner with mortgage
Share, cash, standing renter
Share-cropper
Day laborer (away from home)
Paid laborer, cropper, tenant (family farm)
Unpaid family laborer

(Hamilton 1937:74)

This system of stratification was soon equated with economic strata that had specific connotations of social superiority and inferiority. Both black and white agriculturalists knew that this idealized version of the ladder represented hope

for their own upward mobility. Moving up the ladder was equated with gaining autonomy. The highest rungs assured control over your labor, your crops and your profits.

Status strata position, usually less explicit, appears also to have been based in part upon ladder category. In this case honors and privileges were supposed to be awarded to those on the highest rung. Hagood (1939:39) writes that the idealized version of the ladder "guarantees opportunity to all- that economic and social classes are open, an essential of a functioning democracy." She discovered that for white tenants in 1937 Piedmont North Carolina, the agricultural hierarchy was more rigid than mobile. Many of the interviewed tenants indicated they knew they could not improve their economic status. Instead, they attempted to improve their social status. Tenants stated they did this through working hard, living right, and raising good children (Hagood 1939:86). White tenant girls were watched very closely by their parents, to insure that they remained untouched and thus respectable (Hagwood 1939:148). Children were dressed as well as economically possible, and farm owners' children were only slightly better dressed than most tenants' (Hagood 1939:130).

Status ranking may also have been based upon the neighborhoods' perceptions of any individual or family, regardless of one's occupational ranking on the farm scale. Tenant/landlord relations were modified if they shared ties

of kinship, and certain family names became synonymous with specific traits (Hagood 1939:48-49).

Many North Carolina farmers knew the legend of the dogwood, "that the Lord forced to grow crooked in repentance for serving as the wood for the Cross" (Kenneth Stine, personal communication). This seems related to the belief that crooked crop rows reflected upon a crooked or shiftless personality (Daniel 1985:67). One son of a tenant farmer in Illinois (circa 1910) remembers his father repeatedly telling his children to plant corn straight, "so straight that when he looked down that row of corn all he could see was one stalk" (Wellman France, personal communication). The informant was never sure if his father was simply a hard task-master instilling pride in his children, or a man overly concerned with his neighbors' perceptions.

In her study of white Piedmont tenants, Hagood discovered that there was a definite verbal distinction between owners and tenants. Many of the adults interviewed made a point to label farm owner neighbors as such, regardless of how friendly the two families were (Hagood 1939:180-181). These tenants had an awareness of farm owners as a separate class, but do not seem to have had a similar awareness of themselves as a class for themselves (in the Marxist sense) (Hagood 1939:180-182).

Status strata appear to have been based upon honors and privileges corresponding to achieving active control over

one's farm and labor. This was accomplished through reaching a high rung on the agricultural ladder. Ranking was also based upon the general neighborhood perception of a family as hardworking and straight or slovenly and crooked. Class and status ranking were also cross-cut by criteria of race and/or ethnicity². Having Indian and/or Afro-American blood would lead to being categorized as black, even by census enumerators (cf. Thirteenth Census IV.) Apparently a person's race affected their ease in moving up, or down, the stratification system (Hamilton 1937:60).

In some cases race may have cut across ladder ranking. Some individuals may have seen any black- owner, tenant, or laborer- as a social inferior (Wright 1986:100-101). One Afro-American farmer in Alabama, Nate Shaw, fought against that kind of racism in the early through mid-twentieth century. In his autobiography, Shaw (1974:34) states that "years ago I heard that president Lincoln freed the colored people; but it didn't amount to a hill of beans." Shaw's story of his attempts to move up the ladder, in spite of race, demonstrates how his "blackness" often put him at a disadvantage. For example, Shaw sometimes had two different grades placed on his cotton from the same place. It would be low if he brought his cotton in himself, high if a white friend brought the same examples in (Rosengarten 1974:188-189).

Subjective perceptions of race and ability to farm

"straight" and "hard" were combined with objective ladder ranking to help determine social ranking. However, movement up the ladder was influenced by ability to get credit. Obtaining credit in the rural South was based upon personal ties of friendship and kinship, and informed by race and perceived ability to farm well.

C. Horace Hamilton, of the North Carolina State Agricultural Experiment Station, headed a 1937 project to study the affect of certain federal legislation on farm operators and their families. He and his team interviewed 1703 families in five rural areas of North Carolina, incorporating samples from the Coast, Piedmont and Mountains (see Hamilton 1937:13-15, 41). They discovered that:

The agricultural ladder in rural North Carolina is used only by a small percentage of farm families; and from one-third to one half of those using the ladder are coming down rather than going up. About three-fourths of those families at the top of the ladder were placed there by their parents or jumped there, barely touching some of the lower rungs.
(Hamilton 1937:88)

The actual percentage of these families that changed their ladder position is shown in Table 2-2 below:

Table 2-2. Changes in Ladder Status, Five Rural Areas of North Carolina, 1915-1935.

Year	%Owners	%Tenants	%Croppers	%Laborers	%Nonfarm
1935	4.2	13.1	15.1	19.1	9.3
1925	5.0	11.5	13.4	20.2	15.6
1915	4.8	11.9	14.2	13.5	11.5

(Modified from Hamilton 1937:55, Table 18)

Hamilton discovered that approximately one in nine farm family heads changed in status every year. However, those on the lower rungs tended to change position much more often than those on the highest (Hamilton 1937:55). This study also demonstrates that agriculturalists had a chance to move both up and down the hierarchical structure, albeit initial position strongly influenced farm status as of 1935. This is clearly shown in Table 2-3 following:

Table 2-3. Relationship of Beginning Ladder Position to Position in 1935, by Race, Five Rural Areas.

1935	%Owner	Tenant	Cropper	F.Laborer	G.Laborer	Other
B.Owner	40.6	7.8	14.1	20.3	17.2	
W.Owner	31.8	20.2	9.3	22.0	15.1	1.6
B.Tenant	1.3	28.8	22.5	23.8	22.5	1.3
W.Tenant	3.3	29.1	21.8	26.5	18.5	0.7
B.Cropper	2.2	6.7	42.2	26.7	22.2	--
W.Cropper	2.0	5.6	38.6	33.9	19.9	--
B.F.Laborer	--	--	37.5	31.3	25.0	6.3
W.F.Laborer	3.2	3.2	29.0	48.4	14.5	1.6
B.G.Laborer	1.3	1.3	17.9	19.2	60.3	--
W.G.Laborer	2.5	7.5	11.7	15.0	62.5	0.8

(Adapted from Hamilton 1937:78, Table 24.)

The percentages in Table 2-3 do not portray a steady shift upwards through each category. For example, a greater number of farm owners originated within the farm laborer categories than those of cropper or tenant. Furthermore, share and cash renters tended to remain in one of those rental categories or to slip to laborers. Both General and Farm laborers, however, appear to have had an equal tendency

to acquire any of the positions on the agricultural ladder. In terms of race, white tenants had a much greater chance of becoming farm owners than did black tenants. Further, none of the black farm laborers interviewed had slid from an original owner or tenant position, unlike a small percentage of 1935 white farm laborers.

Ladder position, or tenure status, changes for various reasons. For example, a farm family undergoes the general life cycle of other families. Rural families tend to start and finish at the lower rungs of the ladder as family composition and age is modified over the years (Hamilton 1937:72). Perhaps of even greater importance would be a family's access to credit and the vagaries of the marketplace.

The agricultural ladder was developed because of changes in the post-bellum southern economy. The emancipation of slaves forced many white landowners to switch from a class of what Wright terms "laborlords" to that of "landlords" (1986:34). These landlords created various arrangements with freedmen in order to obtain needed agricultural laborers. These diverse arrangements can be categorized into types of wage laborers, sharecroppers, and renters (Sutch and Ransom 1977:44-55).

Large planters wished to regain control over their labor force. They preferred hiring wage labor, as they could insure direct control over these laborers'

activities³. However, they needed capital to pay wages, and cash was hard to come by during the years of Reconstruction. Many landowners were forced to settle on some sort of cash or share tenant arrangement (Rose 1982:83, Wiebie 1967:15). "Reliable," that is personally known and trusted, blacks and whites were engaged as "standing renters". These farmers usually provided their own agricultural implements, livestock, and subsistence foods. They also had some credit. Their landlord simply provided housing and land in return for cash rent or a certain amount of a cash crop (Saloutos 1960:21). If the planter had to furnish additional equipment or money, the tenant would work on a share agreement, promising the landlord a portion of the next harvest as rent. Sharecroppers also often owed a certain number of days of labor in lieu of rent. Shares were usually figured on the basis of a half, third, or quarter of the crop (Saloutos 1960:21).

Many large farmers saved the best lands for their own use, allowing tenants to break new lands or farm the poorer-quality soils (Saloutos 1960:6). A large planter often split his land into "portions assigned to sharecroppers, portions rented out to tenants, and a portion retained for himself and cultivated by wage labor" (Wright 1986:91)⁴.

Sharecropping was reinstigated in the South as a compromise between freedmen's and planters' desires for control over land and labor (Morgan 1975:93, 220-225;

Saloutos 1960:20-21). Afro-Americans generally shared a desire for personal and economic autonomy. Many freedmen had labored in agricultural-related activities as slaves, and wished to continue as agrarians (McDaniel 1982:189). Rose states that freedmen knew that their previous owners had gained their power through landownership (Rose 1982:102). That is why, according to Rose (1982:102, see also page 109), their "major aspiration of all aspirations was to own land, and that failing, to rent it."

Agricultural land reform never became an actuality during Reconstruction. Congress neglected to approve the Freedman's Bureau land reform aims (Berlin 1974:394-395). Some Afro-Americans were able to purchase land, usually smaller and poorer quality acreage. Often former masters sold land to "known" or "good" blacks, serving as incentive to keep potential laborers nearby (McDaniel 1982:190-191, Saloutos 1960:104-107)⁵. Many Afro-Americans could not finance land purchases, or find available lands. Those who desired to continue in farming had to settle for a cash rent, sharecropping, or wage labor agreement with a white landlord (Rose 1982:88, Saloutos 1960:4-5, 21; Tindall 1952:Chapter 6, pp.92-123; Williamson 1975:126).

These labor arrangements grew out of the characteristics of the post Civil War southern economy. Wright (1986:33) describes it as "dispersed, agricultural, isolated" with "a poor transportation system, few cities and

towns, and undeveloped markets." The war had left many Southerners bereft of capital, and most of their Northern neighbors had no desire to help capitalize Southern industrial growth (Escott 1985:197, Soloutos 1960:7, 11-12; Tang 1958:62). During Reconstruction a system of credit was established, the crop-lien. It grew out of the farmers' need for capitalization of the next season's crops.

The crop-lien system was a modification of the traditional antebellum factor system. Planters had borrowed money from a tobacco or cotton factor in a nearby city. He would give the planter a cash advance on the next crop. The planter would use the cash to purchase needed supplies, for the next crop, and plantation inhabitants. He would then send his crop to the cotton or tobacco factor, who in turn would market the harvest. The planter would receive the cash profit from the sale of his crops, minus the initial advance (Saloutos 1960:23, Tang 1958:39).

The traditional factor system of credit was disrupted during the War and Reconstruction. What few banks that survived did not usually loan money on expected crops (Escott 1985:174, Saloutos 1960:9, Sutch and Ransom 1977:110-116, Wright 1986:112). National banks were not allowed, under law, to loan money if only land was used for collateral (Saloutos 1960:10). State banks could loan money by obtaining a lien on land, stock, or even crops. Most banks preferred not to give out loans in return for a

promise of payment from the next year's crops (Saloutos 1960:23). Rural banks were usually small, and concentrated their financing on larger landowners and furnishing merchants (Sutch and Ransom 1977:110-116).

The idea of taking a lien on the anticipated harvest was developed out of the needs of a capital-poor region. Agriculture was the largest income producer, and needed to be supported. For example, North Carolina's agricultural income provided 82% of all state monies in 1880, and 63% in 1900 (Wright 1986:59, Table 3.4). Some form of credit was needed, and the owners of burgeoning cross-roads community stores, or furnishing merchants filled that void in the southern economic structure.

The growth and development of the furnishing system was predicated on capital provided by wholesalers to small-town storekeepers. These local merchants became middlemen for many industries, such as "the big wholesale mercantile houses, the fertilizer manufacturers, the meat packer, and the grain, feed, and cotton speculators" (Clark 1946:25). They would be financed by these firms, in return for pushing or selling their respective products on the local community⁶. This system was really an adapted, regionalized version of its precursor, the factor system (Clark 1946:25, Sutch and Ransom 1977:106-109, Tang 1958:39-40). It began to fade with the growth of federal programs during the Great Depression. This system was further changed by effects of

the spread of the bollweevil and cotton decline, and the prominence of cash stores after World War II (Clark 1946:43).

Agriculturalists tended to patronize the same businesses, as the credit system was primarily based upon personal relationships. Many tenants did not have any collateral except for the next year's crop. Local storekeepers loomed large in their lives, as they were often the only source of credit available. Share and cash tenants often moved to another farm, in search of better soil. However, they appear to have moved more often to farms located in the same general vicinity. Wright (1986:97-98) believes this was to insure a continued line of credit with the local owner of the cross-road community store. (See discussion of mobility in Hamilton 1937:Chapter V.)

The merchants had to evaluate their prospective creditors, and could do so more readily if they were personally known to them or to other patrons (Clark 1946:28). Their stores stocked myriad goods, ranging from fertilizers to slop jars to food staples. In 1937, Hagood saw a local store window filled with "horse collars, singletrees, churns, bananas, Shirley Temple dolls, suspenders, and silk hose" (1939:49). This diverse array of items was sometimes offered to farmers at different prices. A customer paying cash often was charged up to 25% less for the items than those purchasing on credit (Clark 1946:28).

Many times goods were not priced for all to see. Some storekeepers used a secret coding system, listing three prices for the same item: cost, cash and credit (Clark 1946:28). Price fixing was a matter for personal ethics, and giving credit was a matter of choice. In the small community of Harmony, North Carolina, the owner of the largest mercantile establishment would never sell on credit. However, he would allow cash-poor neighbors to barter herbs or farm produce for store goods (John Gaither, interview 10/9/87). An owner of a smaller local store stated that she and her husband sold to many people on credit, but used one price system for all of their inventory (Carrie Shaw, interview of 10/9/87).

Local merchants tended to be relatively well-off. They could combine civic positions, such as post-master or magistrate, with their roles as local storekeeper and source for credit. It was also not uncommon for them to acquire land in lieu of cash payment of debts. Thus many were also landlords (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87, Hagood 1939:49).

When accounts were settled after harvest, usually from October through December, the merchant often tagged an additional 10% charge onto the list of items bought on credit (Clark 1946:30-31). This made it difficult for many tenants to ever get ahead of their debts. Landlords often "stood for" accounts of their tenants, asking them to

patronize a specific store. At the end of the season, the tenant had to settle with the landlord, and could not deal directly with the store. As many tenants could or did not keep track of their debts, landlords and merchants had the final word as to the amount owed (Clark 1946:32)⁷.

Lien rights were also traded as payment for landlord debts, and some farmers found that their debt was owed to someone other than the storekeeper or landlord. For instance, Nate Shaw, a black tenant in Alabama in the early twentieth century, found that his lien had been purchased by someone else. This gentleman, a Mr. Tucker, was trying to get Nate's stock as additional collateral on the note. Nate knew better than to sign a new note. Tucker pressured him repeatedly to sign, and finally black-balled Nate Shaw in the small town. Tucker had all the white fertilizer merchants and storekeepers refusing to give Shaw any credit to buy fertilizer (guano). He offered guano to Shaw at an exorbitant price, including signing of the lien on Shaw's mules. Fortunately, some white area residents refused to be a part of this ruse, as Shaw had dealt fairly with them over the years. One man in particular helped Nate Shaw receive fair financing (Rosengarten 1974:156-157). In Shaw's words, Mr. Tucker "fell out of the box when I told him that. I was my own man; I'd found somebody that would deal with me" (Rosengarten 1974:157).

Tenant farmers such as Nate Shaw were always embroiled

in a credit arrangement, having to grow enough cash crops to pay off last year's account. Those who were not able to clear the books had to ask for extensions, or to be allowed to work off the debt. It could be worked off through cutting wood for their creditors, or working a certain number of days. Someone like Shaw's Mr. Tucker might have preferred to take a debtor's assets, especially if he or she owned livestock (Clark 1946:39-43). Mules, for instance, were expensive. The cost of mules doubled from 1899-1905 and tripled from 1899-1918 (Wright 1986:119-120). Tucker would have known that Nate Shaw's mules were worth about \$100.00 apiece in the first few decades of the twentieth century⁸. Landowners and merchants were legally able to gain ownership of stock, farm implements, and land in return for non-payment of debts. As Clark states, "It was much simpler to secure a transfer of ownership of chattels and deeds to land than to foreclose by forced sale" (1946:43). Debt-ridden farmers were well aware of this, and worked hard to pay off accounts. Some farmers, such as Shaw's brother, did not attempt to finance the purchase of their own property. Shaw believes that his brother had no belief in the promises of the agricultural ladder. He states:

So, it might have been to his way of thinking that it weren't no use in climbing too fast; weren't no use in climbing slow, neither, if they was goin to take everything you worked for when you got too high.

(Rosengarten 1974:27)

Although the crop-lien system provided financing for

agriculturalists, it often proved a vicious cycle (Saloutos 1960:23, Wright 1986:97-98, Tindall 1952:120). The price of cash crops such as cotton and tobacco determined if a farmer was going to clear his debts or not. Those who barely scraped by were sure to be in debt again in order to finance their next planting.

Small farm owners and tenants were producing cash crops to help pay off their debts. Post-bellum Southerners tended to concentrate meager resources on intensified agriculture, gaining cash through the sale of their cotton, tobacco, or rice crops. In North Carolina, there was a "momentous shift" among later nineteenth century yeomanry, from growing primarily subsistence crops to concentration on yielding more cash products (Escott 1985:175). Most small farm operators had been involved in a "safety-first" agriculture, growing their crops for home consumption at the expense of cotton, rice or tobacco (Wright 1986:107). During and immediately after Reconstruction, cash was needed to pay higher county taxes (e.g. Durrill 1985:768-769), pay mortgages, and to finance the next growing season. Many farmers had to sell portions of their land, exemplified by the 1880-1930 steady decrease in farm size (Wright 1986:53). With fewer acres, many farmers intensified their cash crop plantings, often at the expense of subsistence crops. In Shaw's words:

People didn't have sufficient help to handle wheat like it was due to be handled and owing to conditions they learnt they could make more by foolin with cotton and not fool with cotton and wheat both, but buy the flour they used in place of growin the wheat.

(Rosengarten 1974:37)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, cotton was, in Wright's (1986:34, emphasis his) words, "far more valuable PER ACRE than were alternative uses of land." By 1900, cotton was seen as the only investment around in many areas of the South⁹. With the 1865-75 railroad building boom in the South, cotton suppliers had ready market access (Wright 1986:39). Cotton growing steadily increased, often at the expense of other crops. Table 2-4 below demonstrates this change in the use of North Carolina's 31,193,600 acres from 1900 to 1929:

Table 2-4. Number of North Carolina Acres in Various Crops, 1900-1929.

	1900	1910	1929
Farmland	22,749,356	22,439,129	18,593,670*
Improved	8,327,106	8,813,056	7,738,826*
Farm Crops	5,609,000	5,736,000	7,339,000
Cotton	1,007,000	1,478,000	1,782,000
Tobacco	203,023	221,890	764,000
Corn	2,483,000	2,650,000	2,259,000
Wheat	621,000	598,000	457,000
Oats	363,000	221,000	258,000

London 1931:141

(*From 1925 Census)

Table 2-4 illustrates the decline in corn, wheat, and oat

acreage and the increase in acres of tobacco and cotton. It also demonstrates the drop of 4,165,686 acres in production from 1900-1925. Concomitantly, actual number of farms in North Carolina increased in the same period by a total of 58,845 farmsteads. (Farms numbered 224,637 in 1900, 253,725 in 1910 and 283,482 in 1925 according to London [1931:141].) It appears that an increasing number of North Carolina farmers were growing a greater percentage of cash crops, overall on fewer acres.

Table 2-5 shows that farmers grew more cash crops in the beginning decades of the twentieth century. However, it also demonstrates that although total acres devoted to subsistence crops decreased, the actual number of bushels of corn significantly increased, and number of oats and wheat fluctuated. Amounts are listed below in Table 2-5:

Table 2-5. Amount of Crops Produced, North Carolina 1900-1929.

Crop	1900	1910	1929
Cotton Bales	433,000	706,000	735,000
Tobacco Lbs.	127,503,400	138,813,163	508,060,000
Corn Bu.	29,790,000	49,290,000	48,568,000
Wheat Bu.	5,961,000	6,817,000	5,347,000
Oat Bu.	5,046,000	4,022,000	6,192,000

(London 1931:141)

Although fewer acres were devoted to grains, yields per acre must have been increasing. Farmers may have been increasing grain yields intentionally to feed an increased number of livestock. In North Carolina, however, the number of all

livestock except for mules decreased from 1900-1929. This is shown in Table 2-6 following:

Table 2-6. Numbers of Various Livestock Produced, North Carolina, 1900 to 1929.

Livestock	1900	1910	1929
Cattle	625,000	701,000	537,000
Sheep	302,000	214,000	103,000
Swine	1,300,000	1,228,000	803,000
Horses	159,000	166,000	93,000
Mules	136,000	175,000	279,000

(Adapted from London 1931:141)

The information in Table 2-6 implies that agriculturalists in North Carolina were not growing grains to feed an increasing number of farm animals. These farmers were growing more cash crops than ever before, but also growing grains. One explanation is that both categories of crops significantly increased in value during the first few decades of the twentieth century. Their respective values are shown below in Table 2-7:

Table 2-7. Dollar Values of North Carolina Farmland and Various Crops, 1900 to 1929.

	1900	1910	1929
Farmland	141,955,840	343,164,945	686,424,921*
Farm Crops	68,625,000	131,072,000	294,857,000
Tobacco	8,038,691	13,847,559	93,991,000
Cotton Lint	15,697,000	49,710,000	61,372,000
Cotton Seed	2,291,000	9,666,000	9,454,000
Corn	16,980,000	37,460,000	48,568,000
Wheat	4,888,000	7,499,000	7,539,000
Oats	2,271,000	2,413,000	4,644,000

*1925

(After London 1931:141)

Table 2-8 below lists the value per weight and per acre for each crop as planted. This information underlines the relative higher value per weight for all crops from 1900 to 1929. It also demonstrates that cash crops were much higher in value per acre than grains. The information in Table 2-8 serves as a crude indicator of value, as actual profits (gross value minus production and sales costs) have not been computed. It is known that overall cotton was more valuable per acre than corn, although not directly edible (Wright 1986:109).

Table 2-8. Values of Various Crops per Acre and per Weight, North Carolina, 1900-1929.

Crop	1900	1910	1929
\$ Tobacco/acre	39.59	62.41	123.02
\$ Tobacco/lbs.	.06	.09	.18
\$ Cotton/acre	17.86	40.17	39.75
\$ Cotton/bale	41.54	84.11	96.36
\$ Corn/acre	6.84	14.14	21.50
\$ Corn/bu.	.57	.76	1.00
\$ Wheat/acre	7.87	12.54	16.50
\$ Wheat/bu.	.82	1.00	1.41
\$ Oats/acre	6.26	10.92	18.00
\$ Oats/bu.	.45	.60	.75

(Calculated from figures provided in London 1931:141.)

A farmer's choice as to what crops to grow was not, however, based solely on what crop was most valuable per acre. A farmer had to consider soil type, climate, size of farm,

preparation effort, access to markets and availability of credit. Most financiers readily gave credit for cash crops, such as cotton, but were reluctant to support growing of grains. Furthermore, fertilizer companies promoted crops such as cotton, as it needed an exhorbiant amount of extra fertilization to grow well (Saloutos 1960:28, Wright 1986:110-111).

Fertilizers were needed on the exhausted and poor-quality soils usually rented to tenants and croppers (Saloutos 1960:3, Tang 1958:35). Fertilizer companies, often the major financier of local stores, supported the switch from subsistence to cash crops. Farmers growing more cash crops needed to purchase a lot of fertilizer, as well as more foodstuffs at the corner market (Clark 1946:38-39, Tang 1958:40-41). Furnishing merchants were glad to offer credit to those primarily growing cotton. This would guarantee ready cash for re-payment of larger debts. In fact, some local storekeepers may have forced cash-poor clients to grow more cash crops. They were following the policy that the less cotton grown, the less credit available to the farmer (Tang 1958:41).

Table 2-9 following lists the number of farms growing specific crops as well as the percentage of tenant-operated farms per category. It illustrates the higher percentage of tenants growing cash crops, as opposed to safety-first or subsistence farming. It also demonstrates that the majority

of farm owners tended to grow cash crops, with self-sufficing farms ranking third in occurrence.

Table 2-9. North Carolina Farms by Type of Production, 1930.

Farm Type	#Owners	%Owners	#Tenants	%Tenants
General	26,956	9.6	5,080	18.8
Cash (grain)	1,053	0.4	412	30.1
Cotton	77,116	27.6	47,098	61.1
Tobacco*	103,810	37.1	63,526	61.2
Fruit	1,641	0.6	272	16.6
Dairy	2,515	0.9	372	14.8
Animal Spec.	1,975	0.7	233	11.8
Self-Sufficing	34,422	12.3	8,176	23.8
Truck Farms	1,205	0.4	403	33.4
Stock Ranch	122	--	9	7.4
Poultry	1,063	0.4	135	12.7
Unclassified	27,830	9.9	11,899	42.8

Totals: 279,708 100.0 137,615 49.2

*includes other crop specialties

(Adapted from Hamilton 1937:35, Table 4.)

It was up to the individual farmer to break the cycle of debt involved in the cotton-lien system. Nate Shaw, for example, was able to keep his annual debt low by his and his family's production of all but a few staples (Rosengarten 1974:159). It was a matter of personal choice as to how much foodstuffs were grown for home consumption. In a 1937 study of 254 white tenant farm families in the Piedmont, Hagwood discovered that personal choice was the prime factor affecting source of home foods for those making some cash. Some families preferred to eat home-grown foods, others store-bought (1939:81). Obviously, the more autonomy a farmer had, or the farther up the agricultural ladder he

was, the more choice he would have as to percentage of cash and subsistence crops grown.

Agriculturalists living near urban centers, or with a relatively inexpensive access to market, could also afford to grow more diverse crops. They would also have increased access to myriad credit sources, and not be dependent upon the good will of a few locals. For these reasons, North Carolina Piedmont farmers had more autonomy than their Coastal Plain brethren (Hobbs 1930:79) in the first few decades of the twentieth century.

Frugality was the by-word for most agriculturalists, whether they were tenant farmers dependent upon local credit or owners of their farms. Tenants and small farm owners had to maintain a fragile balance between profit and loss. A number of economic strategies were developed by individual farm families to generate cash and prevent debt. Numerous families did increase their production of cash crops, but myriad families also developed various economic strategies to generate cash flow.

Over the long term, the most successful agriculturalists appear to be those with the most diversified income¹⁰. During the period under study, the largest amounts of cash for North Carolina farmers were received from sale of tobacco and cotton crops (Hagood 1939:14-15, 81). (Alabama tenants made the most cash from selling their cotton bales, according to Nate Shaw.) (See

Rosengarten 1974:282.) Money was also made from the sale of excess farm produce and livestock. Some members of farm families would occasionally earn wages working off the farmstead. Extra cash could also be earned through the sale of collected wild resources. By the mid-1930s, poorer agriculturalists could also qualify for federal relief monies. Each individual family would choose within a specific range of cash-generating options. Regardless of the particular options emphasized, most farmers first focused efforts on maintenance of their tobacco and cotton crops.

The value of a bale of cotton was affected by the fluctuations in the world cotton market. In the 1890s there was a severe depression in the United States, helping to lower the price of cotton. After 1898 there was a boom, with cotton generating high prices until the economic panic of 1907-1908. Farmers received good returns for their investment in cotton over the 1909-1913 years (Wright 1986:67, 117). Initially, World War I drastically reduced access to cotton markets, bringing on the panic of 1914. Nate Shaw remembers that cotton sold for only 5 cents per pound at that time. Because of the low market value, Shaw owed his furnisher "over two hundred dollars after I sold my cotton and paid him what I could " (Rosengarten 1974:143). The number of acres of cotton grown was subsequently reduced.

Shortly, the Armies' and citizens' demands for cotton greatly increased. Southern farmers were able to obtain high prices for their cotton (Daniel 1985:18, Wright 1986:205). As realized by Nate Shaw (Rosengarten 1974:161), "the war was good to me because it meant scarce cotton; and scarce cotton, high price." These increased profits enticed many growers into increasing their cotton output once again. Prices plunged dramatically after cessation of hostilities, lasting until the 1920s. Farmers once again voluntarily reduced acres planted, and cotton prices improved by 1921. Again, like a seesaw, farmers planted more cotton to take advantage of high prices, and again prices plunged because of oversupply. By 1926, the actual costs of producing a bale of cotton exceeded the sale price of that bale (Daniel 1985:18).

The voluntary reduction program was not working as well in the last years of the 1920s (Daniel 1985:18-22). As a result, the federal government began to pass a series of acts, such as the Bankhead Cotton Control Act of 1933, to regulate cotton production (Wright 1986:227). These acts would significantly affect the structure of southern agriculture. Be that as it may, most cotton farmers continued to grow at least a few bales for cash. They also continued to supplement their income in diverse ways, to help defray the costs of an agrarian life.

Cotton acreage typically measured 15-20 acres (Daniel

1985:xii). Renters and croppers were used to figuring the amount of bales produced as "bale-per-plow". According to Daniel (1985:82), 10 acres per plow, the amount one man and animal plow could handle, would produce from four to five bales of cotton. Those who rented would pay the landlord by giving him one of those bales, or selling one and giving him the cash. Another bale would go to pay off the fertilizer debt. The remainder would be kept by the tenant, to pay off additional debts and help buy a few items for the family. Those two to three bales of cotton were in an average year worth from \$155.00 to \$195.00 (Daniel 1985:82).

An acre would yield a lot more cotton if it was first fertilized. Early twentieth century farmers used both natural and chemical fertilizers. Guano, bird droppings, was a favored type used in Alabama. It came in 200 pound sacks, at least in 1907, and was expensive (Rosengarten 1974:107). The average farmer in Georgia spent \$80.00 per year in 1909. He would spend about \$222.00 in 1919, \$141.00 in 1924, and about \$150.00 in 1929 for fertilizer (Daniel 1985:83).

As mentioned, the cotton farmer had to find financing for yearly fertilizer needs, and would arrange credit with a local fertilizer agent and/or storekeeper and/or landlord. For example, Nate Shaw once wanted to use extra fertilizer on his fields, but his landlord would furnish him with only enough money to buy a smaller amount of guano. Shaw had to

find additional financing for his fertilizer elsewhere (Rosengarten 1974:107). In 1914, the low cotton prices forced Nate Shaw into deep debt. He owed \$130.00 for the year's fertilizing, and could pay off only \$30.00 of it. Even with the subsequent escalating value of cotton, it would take Shaw five years to pay his fertilizer supplier back (Rosengarten 1974:143-144).

The cotton farmer may also have had to pay rent for additional cropland (Rosengarten 1974:236). As mentioned, tenants were often given poor quality fields. Some farmers tried to compensate for this through renting additional acres. Rental payments would be in the form of cash or shares, depending upon the character and the needs of the individual landowner and the tenant.

The cotton farmer also had to pay for the initial processing, or ginning, of his cotton and its packing into bales. In 1900, there were about 32,000 gins in the United States (Daniel 1985:251). A farmer could pay a certain amount of cash per bale ginned, usually \$5.00-\$6.00, or could trade the resulting cotton seed for the ginning (see Chapter IV). A typical gin charged 90 cents per one hundred pounds of cotton. The seed from one ginned bale of cotton usually paid for processing at least two bales (Daniel 1985:251, Rosengarten 1974:186). During the early twentieth century, Shaw preferred to sell his seed to one of two seed merchants in town, and paid direct cash for his cotton

ginning (Rosengarten 1974:75).

Agriculturalists often had to supplement their income to repay furnishing debts, as well as other cash debts. An average profit of \$150.00-\$195.00 per year had to be stretched a long way to pay for taxes, doctors, clothes, food staples, and sundries (Daniel 1985:82). Excess farm food and feed such as "corn, sweet potatoes, peas, cane syrup, wheat or garden produce" were sometimes sold in local towns, including Piedmont North Carolina (Hagood 1939:81, and 21; Chapter IV). One woman from the Carolina mountains remembers selling excess eggs and vegetables to help pay for her children's clothing (Thomas 1981:52). Even tenants often had an overabundance of sorghum syrup, and would sell what their families did not need. The families would take their cane to a local syrup mill owner for refining. He would take the first three gallons produced in payment. The next five gallons belonged to the tenants, but the next five would be divided between the landowner, tenant, and miller (Hagood 1939:78).

Many farmers sold excess eggs, milk, butter, and garden produce in local markets. Prices for vegetables and fruits sold on the way-side depended on how much had been grown in the area. A farmer, such as Nate Shaw, could develop a personal route selling produce house to house. Nonetheless, farmers generally found that they could not depend upon selling garden produce to generate their major source of

income (Rosengarten 1974:282).

Additional income was sought through selling livestock or their products (Hagood 1939:81). Some folks sold pork or beef sections by marketing them house to house in their wagons or cars (Margaret Preckler, interview 5/25/87; Rosengarten 1974:278). A family could also sell steaks to a local storekeeper. Shaw states that he sold beef to a neighboring merchant at 15-20 cents per pound (Rosengarten 1974:278). Shaw preferred to furnish his family with all of their own meat, selling "a few along" only if they were extra stock (Rosengarten 1974:278).

Extra income could be garnered through trapping wild animals, such as mink, fox, and other peltry (Hagood 1939:81). Many farmers also turned to the fields and forests to collect herbs. Herbs not only could be consumed at home, they could be sold or bartered at local stores (John Gaither, Kenneth Stine, interviews 10/9/87 and 2/16/86). One seventy-year-old woman remembers gathering galax for sale, in the North Carolina mountains. Lillian Fox was paid 50 cents per 1,000 branches collected. She says "You put twenty-five branches in a bunch and it took forty branches. I could usually get five or six thousand in a day" (Thomas 1981:49-50).

Various types of nuts were available in the woods, and collected to eat or to sell. In his tale Sounder, Armstrong describes how a tenant family collected walnuts after the

first frost. The husks were:

beaten off on a flat rock outside the cabin. On the same rock the nuts were cracked after they had dried for several weeks in a tin box under the stove. When kernel-picking time came, before it was dark each day, the boy or the father took a hammer with a hand-made handle, went to the flat rock, and cracked as many as could be kerneled each night.

(Armstrong 1969:9)

The mother would pick the kernels with a bent hairpin, extracting clean halves. In this character's words, "I try to pick two pounds a night. That's thirty cents' worth. Fifteen cents a pound at the store if they're mostly half-kernels and dry" (Armstrong 1969:9). Two women remember cracking nuts out by their woodpile, using available stones and/or their father's hammer. The nut meat was used in cooking by their mother. They do not recall if she ever traded or sold the results of their efforts (Margaret Preckler and Betty Stine, interview of 5/25/87)¹¹.

Forests also offered raw materials for production of baskets. Baskets were used in a variety of ways, and large ones were produced to hold freshly-picked cotton. Nate Shaw's father taught him how to turn strips of white oak into containers. The Shaws often sold or traded baskets as partial payment of debts (Rosengarten 1974:31, 81, 85). Slats could also be turned into chair seats, for use, barter, or sale.

A talented farmer could also serve as a local blacksmith or unofficial animal doctor. In this manner, he

or she could not only save money, but make money or trade labor for other services¹². Money could be made in tobacco-producing areas by stringing tobacco sacks, usually making 10 cents a day in profit. Adults were paid 40 cents per 1,000 "for clipping, turning, stringing, knotting, and tying in bunches of twenty-five the small sacks in which tobacco is sold for a nickel" (Hagood 1939:51). This laborious manner of obtaining cash was outlawed in North Carolina in 1938, which halted "sweatshop" labor (Hagood 1939:51-52, 82).

Many cash-poor rural residents supplemented their income with part-time work¹³. Women in Piedmont North Carolina, at least white tenants, preferred extra cash from millwork (Hagood 1939:71). Some women, especially older blacks, found occasional employment as the local midwife or "granny" (Jones 1985:107, Hagood 1939:64).

Men occasionally found work well outside the region. During the 1920s, some farmers from Harmony, North Carolina, found work constructing Miami out of the Florida swamps (Margaret Preckler, Kenneth Stine personal communications). At least one tobacco tenant farmer in North Carolina would harvest his crop, then become a seasonal Canadian tobacco harvester (Hagood 1939:82). Young men especially would help form traveling harvest crews, which regional farmers could hire to help in their fields. These crews often had large equipment, such as mule-drawn wheat combines, with them,

saving the local farmers the cost of additional equipment capitalization. Such was the case with George Stine, who traveled with a crew through the Brushy Mountains of North Carolina when he was seventeen years old. He learned a lot about himself and about his region through those 1925 travels (George Stine, personal communication).

Up through the 1920s, lumbering was the South's biggest industry (Wright 1986:159, see Table 6.2). Pine timber supplies lasted only about 10-15 years in any particular area (Wright 1986:159). During the lifespan of a milling operation, local farmers were able to hire-on as cooks, mill workers, or haulers. Some, such as Nate Shaw in Alabama, hauled lumber after every harvest while the mill was in operation. Both black and white workers were usually paid the same wages, good wages for the time period (Rosengarten 1974:194-196, Wright 1986:182-183).

Forests were also culled by locals for cordwood to sell to their neighbors, or in a nearby town. Cutting cordwood could also pay off a debt to a furnisher and/or landlord. The railroads proved good customers for wooden ties, cut with hand tools to specific measurements (Rosengarten 1974:19-21). Men with a knack for working with wood could also generate extra cash, or barter services, through carpentry (Kenneth Stine and Carson Nichols, interview 2/16/86).

Regardless of the additional income gained through

part-time labor and produce sales, an agrarian family was dependent upon their cash crop income. The fortunes of many rural cultivators rose and fell with the cotton market. The United States government became increasingly involved with Southern agriculture, purportedly to fight pests such as the boll weevil (Daniel 1985:6). By the end of World War II, government economic policies set to help stabilize the markets would induce tremendous change in the southern hierarchy. The many-stepped agricultural ladder would disappear, replaced by a hierarchy consisting of owners, managers, and wage laborers.

One last source of income for farmers was found in the New Deal government relief and loan programs. These programs have their antecedent in the onslaught of the bollweevil, circa 1894 (Daniel 1985:6). The fight against this cotton pest was waged through a combination of USDA county agents and local agriculturalists. Extension agents discovered that the wealthier farmers had the resources to implement federally inspired programs to fight the infestation, unlike small farm owners. Federal agendas emphasized using expensive poisons and mechanization to fight this weevil. Agents also concentrated their efforts on disseminating information to owners, not tenants (Daniel 1985:8-10). Tenants and poorer farmers were dependent upon larger landowners for help against the pest, or upon their own observations of the bollweevil cycle (Rosengarten

1974:222-225).

The union of government extension agents and producers of farm machines began by about 1915 (Daniel 1985:16-18). Federal agents were enamoured of new, scientific methods of farming instigated by land-grant universities (Daniel 1985:16, 104-109). These methods utilized the newest developments in mechanization.

The first marketable gasoline tractor was developed in 1892. Many farmers did not have the credit or capital to invest in gasoline-powered machines (Daniel 1985:6). The majority of cotton farmers used mule-drawn attachments for farming. Mechanical planters and stalk-cutters were ubiquitous by 1900, as were different plowshares and harrow attachments (Daniel 1985:155, 162). Government agents urged cotton cultivators to invest in tractors, even if funding was not readily available for such capitalization. Nonetheless, southern farmers slowly replaced their mules with tractors in the 1920s. According to Daniel (1985:xii), they then "increased their use greatly in the mid-1930s, and by the late 1940s invested in mechanical cotton pickers and chemical weed killers that ended the need for seasonal labor." In his study of mechanization of agriculture, Whatley discovered that nonplantation counties in the southeast increased in tractor use by 11% from 1930-1940. Plantation counties had a 77% increase in their use over the same ten year period (in Wright 1986:234, Table 7.12).

Much of the venture capital for gas-powered machinery was derived from government sources. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), formed in 1933, paid farmers to plow-under cotton acreage. Cotton growers were allotted \$7.00 per acre yielding 100-124 pounds, or \$20.00 per acreage producing 275 lbs. or more per acre. This served as incentive for the acreage reduction program, hoping for a 40% voluntary reduction to drive up cotton prices (Daniel 1985:82, 92-93, 227). This program was somewhat effective. For example, North Carolina cotton acreage was reduced some 51% over the period 1929-1935 (Hamilton 1937:39, Table 5).

One problem with the program was that checks were initially sent to landlords, leaving it to owners to distribute payments to tenants and croppers. The extent of abuse of this privilege is unknown. By 1936, the AAA was abolished, and replaced by the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act. The SCDA used the same program as the AAA, but mailed checks directly to individual farmers, regardless of ladder position (Daniel 1985:94-96, 230; Hamilton 1937:174; Wright 1986:228-232). A comparison of AAA payments sent to owners, tenants and croppers, by race, is given in Table 2-10. Benefit payments were based upon numbers of acres reduced, thus those with more available acres potentially could receive the greatest amount of money.

Table 2-10. Average AAA Benefits, 1934, Five Rural Areas North Carolina

Group	Relief Farms		Nonrelief Farms	
	#	\$	#	\$
White Owners	7	52	334	102
Black "	9	30	36	48
White Tenants	9	127	243	57
Black "	14	22	53	24
White Croppers	32	18	171	24
Black "	31	9	93	17

(Source: Hamilton 1937:107, Table 41)

Farmers already receiving some relief (n=102) were given an average of \$2.53 each (n=\$258.00). Nonrelief farmers (n=930) reported a typical benefit payment of \$.29 for the year (n=\$272.00). Black tenant groups appear to have received a disproportionate amount of benefits. This may reflect landlords reporting more reduction in black tenant acreage. They may have been appropriating these funds for their own use. It may also be an indication that black tenants were sometimes forced to cultivate smaller plots.

During the Depression, numerous small farm owners, tenants and croppers were left with little cash money at the end of the year. This was not an unusual situation for some farmers, and many rural children of that time recall that they hardly noticed the Depression. Families that practiced some sort of subsistence agriculture still had plenty of food on the table, and were used to running short on cash (Betty Hendrix, Margaret Preckler, Carson Nichols, Kenneth

and Treva Stine, personal communications; see discussions Chapters III-VI). Table 2-11 provides examples of gross and net farm income from the rural areas studied by Hamilton in North Carolina.

Table 2-11. Average and Median Gross and Net Farm Income, 1934, by Race, Five Rural Areas in North Carolina.

Group	# Farms	Gross (\$)		# Farms	Net (\$)	
		Average	Median		Av.	Median
W. Owners	381	1,131	760	372	647	413
B. "	53	463	294	51	268	144
W. Tenants	270	841	686	256	403	321
B. "	75	643	563	66	274	217
W. Croppers	231	777	650	218	342	274
B. "	150	638	544	137	212	168

(Source: Hamilton 1937:106,109, Tables 40,43)

From the 1160 records for gross income and the 1100 for net, one can see that income differential was much greater between races than between farm tenure groups. This may, in part, be due to the furnishing system, with landlords directly receiving benefit checks. Also, black farmers may have had their cotton graded lower than that of whites, such as reported earlier by Nate Shaw. In addition, black farm owners usually held much smaller acreage than white owners (Hamilton 1937:111). Nonetheless, black agriculturalists in the 1930s did not, according to Hamilton (1937:111), "share proportionately with white farmers in increased incomes

either from crops, sales or benefit payments."

During the Depression, many farmers of both races discovered that they could survive only by going on relief. Certain federal agents, such as with the FERA, or Federal Emergency Relief Administration, began urging these families to practice subsistence-first agriculture (Daniel 1985:78). This departure from previous government advocacy of cash-crop farming helped numerous small farmers retain their places and eventually get off the relief rolls. New Deal Work Progress jobs, FERA training and lending programs, and short-term relief payments helped many tenants, croppers and farm owners survive the Depression (Daniel 1985:77-78, Hagood 1939:27-32).

Agriculturalists, like most North Americans of the times, tried to keep ahead of their Depression-era debts. Drawing again on Hamilton's study, Table 2-12 indicates the spread of farm debts, by type and group.

Table 2-12. Percentage of Debt Owed to Creditors, 1934
Five Rural Areas of North Carolina.

Group	#Families	Landlord	Bank	Merchant	Gov't Credit	Other*
Owners	489	1.5	8.4	2.6	35.4	52.1
Tenants	370	6.8	3.3	15.7	2.1	72.1
Croppers	407	18.8	-	15.8	-	65.4
Laborers	160	0.1	-	34.8	-	65.1
All Others	260	0.1	5.2	5.2	17.6	71.9

*lending agencies, private loans (Source: Hamilton 1937:110)

These 1,686 records were taken from 1,186 white and 500 black families. Their average debt was \$212.00 for the year. The typical white debt equaled \$285.00; black debt was less at \$39.00 for the average black family sampled (Hamilton 1937:109-110).

The majority of debt was to "Others"; Hamilton states this category consisted mostly of loans from lending agencies and private individuals (1937:109). This indicates that farmers of any position on the agricultural ladder had to turn to less traditional credit sources for financing. Table 2-12 also shows that local banks did not loan money to croppers and laborers, mostly loaning to owners. Those tenants receiving loans probably had stock of their own for collateral. Merchants obviously were furnishing tenants, croppers and laborers. Farm owners appear to have dealt with merchants on more of a cash only basis. Owners were less likely to need cash advances on farm equipment, seed and storegoods than were tenants and croppers. Further, many owners did not want to get caught in a cycle of debt to a storekeeper (Kenneth Stine, personal communication says his family always paid cash at the local stores in Harmony, N.C.). Government credit was obviously more readily available to farm owners than to tenants, and not obtained by croppers and laborers. Federal credit may have depended upon ownership of stock and/or land for collateral (Rosengarten 1974).

The initial infusion of government funds in the early 1930s helped to capitalize large landowners. Using their cash allotment checks, and perhaps those of their tenants before 1936, these owners purchased tractors. During these years, 111,399 of these vehicles replaced the labor of 100,000 and 500,000 tenant and cropper families. Daniel writes that "Of the 148,096 fewer farm operators over the 1930s, mechanization displaced from one-fifth to two-fifths" (1985:175)¹⁴. The diaspora of Southern tenants and croppers was enhanced by the Depression, with foreclosures on numerous farms leading to commercial ownership of myriad farm acreage (Daniel 1985:162-164, 172). For example, in 1937 South Carolinian farms were owned by both private individuals and commercial corporations. The typical size of these farms was as follows:

Individuals-	102 acres
Banks-	153 acres
Insurance Co.-	259 acres
Other Co.-	457 acres

(From Daniel 1985:169)

As early as 1934, life insurance companies and banks owned approximately 30% of the cotton fields in the United States (Daniel 1985:168). These corporations had the resources to centralize their operations on typically large farms. They tended to combine heavy mechanization, funded by the private institution as well as through government benefit checks, with use of seasonal laborers (Wright 1986:232-233, 241-243). After World War II, developments by

firms such as International Harvester negated the need for intensive wage laborers at harvest time. By the 1950s, mechanization and centralization of farmland into large agricultural units had helped to virtually abolish the tenant and cropper system. The agricultural ladder was reduced to landowners, managers and some wage laborers¹⁵.

These changes had far-reaching affects for southern agriculturalists, In Daniel's words:

A work culture that utilized hoes, mule-drawn implements, and family-operated farms yielded to machines, chemicals, and large units of production. Agriculture, as a refuge for those who like fieldwork and abhorred cities, factories, and complexity, had become reconfigured into a machine culture that relied upon federal programs to maintain its structure. The change in the mode of production, in social organization, and in the nature of rural life, proved the most revolutionary in southern history.

(Daniel 1985:240)

The magnitude of this change in rural lifeways has not been over-stated. The majority of small farm owners, tenants, and wage-hands had to restructure their entire way of life.

In the next two chapters, the rhythms of social and family life on the pre-World War II farms in the South will be described. Much of the material will be drawn from interviews with North Carolinians who farmed for a living in the decades prior to the War. The succeeding chapters will provide depth to our understanding of what these families left behind when they left the farm.

The following chapter will provide a region-specific basis for understanding the social and economic changes detailed above. In particular, the distribution of agrarian families in one township during 1910 will be discussed.

CHAPTER II ENDNOTES

1. See discussion in Daniel 1985:xi, 6, 73, 104, 156- on federal policies and mechanization. See also Wright 1986:232-246.
2. Race should be considered as an imposed category, with associated characteristics intrinsic to both the group and the individual. A racial category may be interchangeable with an ethnic one, if 1. group members are aware of group unity, 2. accept the designation, and 3. individuals may escape group designation/affiliation if they so desire. (See discussion, Chapter I.) Throughout this paper, if the emphasis is on an imposed category with associated social and economic aspects of inequality, race is the term preferred. If discussion centers on actions of particular individuals, ethnicity is used.
3. Planters were able legally to force laborers to stay for specified amounts of time, based upon certain state codes. These became known as the "Black Codes". See discussions in Cohen 1976, McDaniel 1982:132-135, and Saloutos 1960:16-17.
4. See Wright 1986, plan 92, Figure 4.3. It shows how the old quarter settlement pattern was adapted for wage laborers, while share and cash tenants were dispersed across the plantation. McDaniel 1982:19, Figure 11, shows the plan or site structure of three tenant houses in Maryland. Prunty 1955 offers a classic article on changes in plantation structure from the antebellum to post-bellum periods. See also discussion this dissertation, Chapter V.
5. McDaniel writes that black farm ownership in the South was as follows: 179,418 in 1900, 211,087 in 1910. Ownership increased to 212,365 by 1920 (1982:187).
6. Clark 1946, footnote 3, and pages 27, 30 ties small, local merchants to the larger, urban marketing houses. The goods offered furnishing merchants was sometimes of lower quality than usually sold by wholesalers.
7. Clark (1946:44) sums up the pluses and minuses of the furnishing system. He points out that many storekeepers were honest men. Nonetheless, the system did allow dishonest individuals to reap benefits at great cost in tenant suffering.
8. Rosengarten 1974 discusses mules. Hamilton 1937:105, Table 39, shows that ownership of livestock was highly correlated with status, in five rural counties of North Carolina, 1935. For example, 88% of white owners and 88% of white tenants owned mules as opposed to 2% white croppers.

Sixty and 87% of black owners and tenants, respectively, owned mules. This contrasts strongly with the one percent ownership of mules among black croppers.

9. Tang 1958:40-41, Wright 1986:59-60 write of cotton's value. Of course, in appropriate topographic areas rice and tobacco were also viewed as good cash investments. Monocropping cash crops was definitely not unique to the Upland South.

10. This appears true for Colonial America. See for example Issac 1982, Morgan 1975. McDaniel (1982:190-192) discovered this was the case for black tenant farmers, at least those in late nineteenth and twentieth century Maryland.

11. Nuts were collected from local woods, and from planted orchards. They were, in the main, used as ingredients in pies and cakes. Desserts were a common sight on the supper table of most farm homes (see e.g. Hamilton 1937).

12. As discussed in Chapter VI, Curt Nichols was respected locally as a source of esoteric knowledge about animal husbandry. He served in place of a veterinarian, when needed. Mr. Nichols also depended upon his knowledge of the Signs to guide his farming endeavors. Many community members would ask his opinion or interpretation of specific signs. He would not receive money for his advice. He apparently received gifts of goods or labor in return for his services. Such was the case with neighbor Jim Stine. He was a part-time carpenter, and would help a neighbor out when in need of carpentry. In return, he usually did not receive direct payment. Instead, he was given a meal, or produce, or traded a service such as roof repair (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/16/86). See discussion in Rosengarten 1974:235).

13. Daniel (1985:68) mentions the importance of part-time wage labor. Women in Piedmont North Carolina, at least white tenants, preferred extra cash derived from millwork (Hagood 1939:71). See discussion in Chapter IV for the Harmony area.

14. See Daniel's discussion pages 16, 18, 91, and 175-182; also Wright 1986:236-241, 282-230, on the displacement of tenants and croppers due to increased mechanization of southern agriculture.

15. See discussions in Daniel (1985:245-246) and Wright (1986:243-248) for further details.

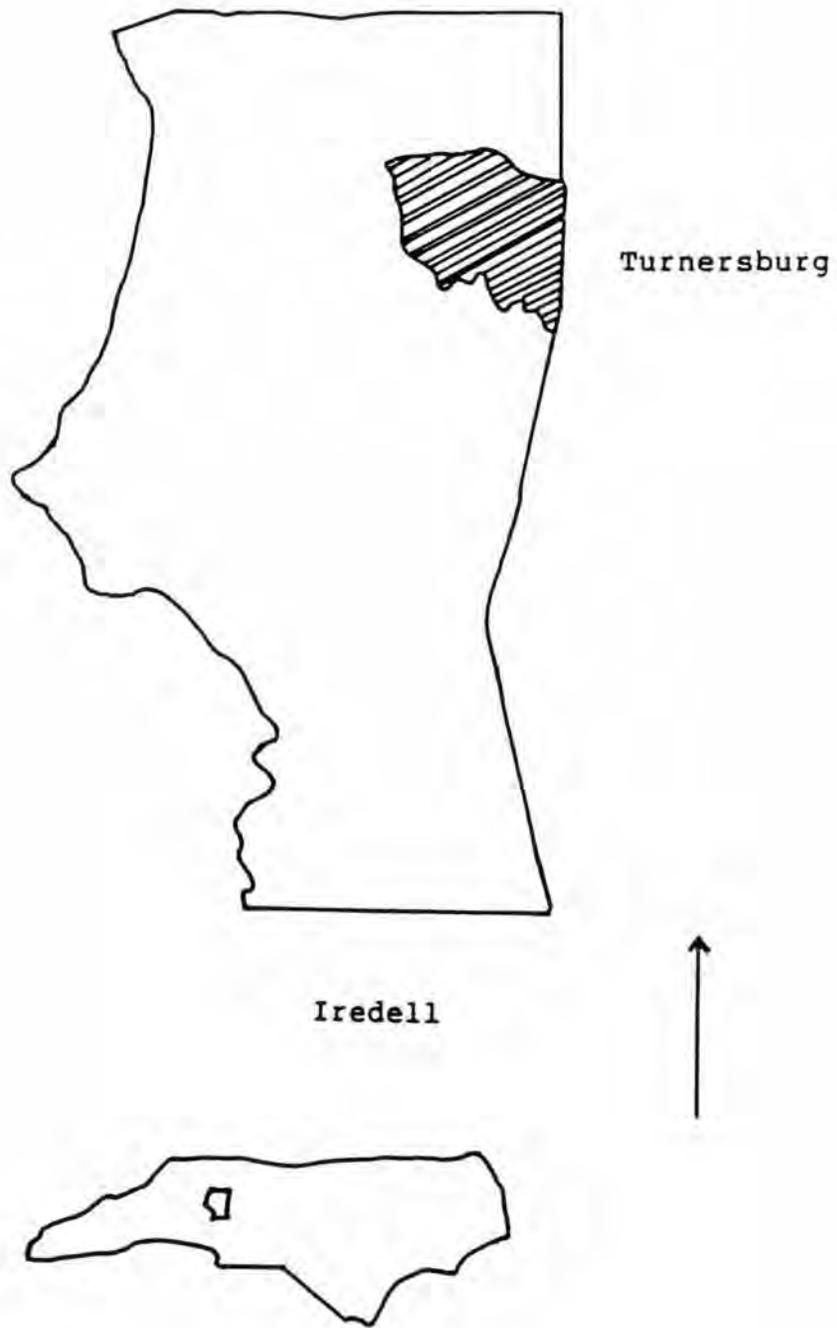
Chapter III

Social and Household Structures, Turnersburg 1910

In the succeeding pages, the scale of study shifts from the general region (e.g. Cotton South), to that of the township. The families and households of Turnersburg Township provide a sample of the agricultural ladder and its effects in one politically bounded area during one census year, 1910. The possible interrelationship of ethnicity and economic status, and their affects on household formation in 1910 are also investigated.

Primary statistical data for the following study was obtained from the manuscript Census of Populations for Turnersburg Township, taken by federal enumerators in 1910. Statistics at the state and county level were derived from summary tables located in the published Thirteenth Census of the United States¹.

Agriculture has traditionally been emphasized in Iredell County, North Carolina, since its inception from Rowan County in 1788 (Connor 1915:224-225, Crittenden and Lacy 1938:324). In 1985, Iredell's number one industry was agriculture, employing 3,100 farmers on 1,306 farms averaging 125 acres each (Greater Statesville Chamber of Commerce 1987:2, 19). The County incorporates about 592



Source: Stout Map of 1976

Figure 3-1. Location Map of Turnersburg Township, Iredell County, North Carolina

square miles of rolling Upland Piedmont lands (96%) and streams (4%). To date, Iredell contains 1,714,000 timbered acres, 190,000 urbanized acres, and 1,664,000 acres of croplands and pastures (Connor 1921:403, Greater Statesville Chamber of Commerce 1987:16). Figure 3-1 illustrates the location of Iredell County, as well as the Township. Turnersburg Township is found in the northeastern section of the County.

The Township is and was characterized by rolling farmland interspersed with the occasional cross-road community². On a clear day, the Brushy Mountains are visible to the north and west. During this era, North Carolina was populated by 2,206,287 individuals. Iredell, in 1910, was occupied by 8,840 people (0.4% of the state population). Turnersburg Township was inhabited by 1,401 individuals, forming 15.9% of the county's population.

In Table 3-1 following, the official frequencies of occupations, separated by category of race, are given.

Table 3-1. Occupations in Turnersburg, All Ages, 1910.

Occupation	Black		White		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Laborer	27	28.13	31	12.56	58	16.91
Farmer	60	62.50	177	71.66	237	69.10
Ret. Farmer	0	0.00	6	2.43	6	1.75
Blacksmith	1	1.04	1	.40	2	0.58
Carpenter	0	0.00	2	.81	2	0.58
Errand Boy	1	1.04	0	0.00	1	0.29
Errand (G)	1	1.04	0	0.00	1	0.29
Servant	1	1.04	1	0.40	2	0.58
Cook	2	2.08	2	0.81	4	1.17
Housekeeper	0	0.00	2	0.81	2	0.58

Seamstress	0	0.00	1	0.40	1	0.29
Miller	0	0.00	1	0.40	1	0.29
Sawyer	0	0.00	1	0.40	1	0.29
Lumberman	0	0.00	1	0.40	1	0.29
Merchant	0	0.00	6	2.43	6	1.75
Salesman	0	0.00	3	1.21	3	0.87
Minister	2	2.08	1	0.40	3	0.87
Doctor	0	0.00	2	0.81	2	0.81
Teacher	1	0.29	5	2.02	6	1.75
Mailman	0	0.00	3	1.21	3	0.87
Postmaster	0	0.00	1	0.40	1	0.29
Totals:	96	99.99	247	99.96	343	99.97

The data in Table 3-1 demonstrate that, for those recorded as working, the social structure consisted mainly of farmers (69.10% farmers plus 1.75% retired farmers). These individuals (70.85%) made at least \$200.00 per year from farming. Agricultural was their major means of support. This contrasts with the USA total percentage of males involved in agriculture, husbandry and forestry. For those over age ten, only 36.06% were listed in those occupations. For the State in 1910, 66.53% of the enumerated males were involved in agrarian pursuits³.

The information in Table 3-1 also points to the unequal population distribution in the Township. Only 96 blacks (n=27.99%), as opposed to 247 whites (n=72.01%), are listed as working. (The ratio for the total sample of 1,401 individuals is 72% white, 28% black.) Of the total sampled, one can see that both ethnic groups relied heavily on farming. It was the primary means of gainful employment. Also in both cases, the second most frequent job was that of laborer (includes farm laborers). Of the other 18

occupations listed, only 7 were filled by blacks, as opposed to 16 by whites. This indicates that there may have been a significant relationship between race and occupation in Turnersburg in 1910.

The information in Table 3-2 shows the distribution of primary occupation in relation to race, for all those over age 19. The results of a Chi-square test of association between the variables show the relationship was probably significant, and not due to chance (Prob.=0.0098). (However, two of the cells held three observations each, less than the optimum five. Altogether, though, less than twenty percent of the cells had questionably low frequencies.)

Table 3-2. Occupation by Race, Turnersburg 1910, for All Over 19 Years of Age.

Race	None		Laborer		Farmer		L.Intensive		Support	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
White	287	42.21	24	3.53	183	26.91	10	1.47	21	3.09
Black	71	10.44	18	2.65	60	8.82	3	0.44	3	0.44
total:	358	52.65	42	6.18	243	35.74	13	1.91	24	3.53

(Labor Intensive includes blacksmith, carpenter, errand boy, errand girl, servant, cook, housekeeper, seamstress, miller, sawyer, and lumberman. Support includes merchant, salesman, minister, physician, teacher, mail carrier, and postmaster.)

For the 680 people in the sample, 77.21% were white (n=525), 22.79% black (n=155). Although the highest percentage in Table 3-2 is for those not working (52.65%),

many of those so listed may actually have been working on their family farms. (They would be listed as working only if they received an actual wage, which excludes room and board.) If one drops the first category of those listed as unemployed, one can calculate the following results. For 322 individuals over age 19, 13.04% (n=42) were laborers, 4.04% (n=13) were involved in specific labor intensive jobs, 7.45% were in support industries (n=24), and 75.47% primarily farmed for a living.

In 1910, 71.9% (22,439,129 acres) of North Carolina lands were in farms. However, in Iredell, 93.5% (351,764 acres) were agricultural⁴. Table 3-3 below lists the average acreage and value of these farms at the state and county levels. One can see that although Iredell County farms were within the average for the State in size, they were slightly above these average in value of land and farm property. Notice the discrepancy between state black and white farmlands. Black farms were, on the average, much smaller than white farms (48.5 acres versus 102.4 acres), but more valuable per acre (\$17.38 as opposed to \$14.95)⁵.

Table 3-3. Average Acres Per Farm, \$Value of Land Per Acre, \$Value of Property Per Farm for North Carolina and Iredell County, 1910.

	av. acres per farm	av. value land per acre	av. value property per farm
Blacks, NC	48.5	17.38	-----
Whites, NC	102.4	14.95	-----
Total, NC	88.4	15.29	2,119.00
Iredell	88.7	17.93	2,506.00

(From Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, with Supplement for North Carolina, Table 2.)

Rates of farm tenancy and ownership are comparable at the state, county, and township level. The relative percentages of black and white farm owners and tenants is given in Table 3-4, below:

Table 3-4. Ownership and Tenancy Rates, North Carolina, Iredell County, Turnersburg Township, 1910.

	North Carolina	Iredell	* Turnersburg *	**
White Owners	49.04%	54.52%	53.09%	72.10
Black Owners	8.49	6.00	13.45	24.17
White Tenants	25.00	29.29	22.18	3.75
Black Tenants	17.47	10.18	11.27	0.00
Total %	100.00	99.99	99.99	100.02

(* Percent of tenants derived from number of renters as opposed to owners of homes. ** Percent of tenants determined from number farmers working for others.)

The data in the last row of Table 3-4 appear to represent those farmers who were share tenants in Turnersburg. Most important is the fact that no black farmers were counted in that category. Only a few white

families were listed (n=9) as such. By far the majority in both groups in Turnersburg were farming on their own account, or employing farm laborers. The agricultural ladder appears to have been truncated in this particular study area.

In the series of tables following, one can see the age distribution for farm-related jobs by age cohort and by race.

Table 3-5. Turnersburg Laborers by Age and Race, 1910.

Age	#Black	%Black	%All	#White	%White	%All	#total	%total
10-20	10	37.04	17.24	8	25.82	13.79	18	31.03
21-30	13	48.15	22.42	16	51.62	27.59	29	50.00
31-40	2	7.41	3.45	4	12.90	6.70	6	10.34
41-50	0	0.00	0.00	1	3.23	1.72	1	1.72
51-60	1	3.70	1.72	1	3.23	1.72	2	3.45
61-70	1	3.70	1.72	1	3.23	1.72	2	3.45
Totals:	27	100.00		31	100.02		58	99.99

By far the majority of laborers fall into the two youngest categories (10-30). This proves true for both blacks and for whites. This is in sharp contrast to the distribution found below in Table 3-6.

Table 3-6. Distribution of Farm Employers, Turnersburg 1910

Age Cohort	# Black	% Black	# White	% White	# Total	% Total
10-20	0	0	2	6.25	2	6.06
21-30	0	0	3	9.38	3	9.09
31-40	0	0	5	15.63	5	15.15
41-50	1	100.00	11	34.37	12	36.36
51-60	0	0	5	15.63	5	15.15
61-70	0	0	5	15.63	5	15.15
71-80	0	0	1	3.12	1	3.03
Totals:	1	100.00	32	100.01	33	99.99

The overwhelming majority of farm employers in Turnersburg were white. Only one black, as opposed to thirty-two whites, was an employer. (These farm employers were those who hired labor on a long-term basis, and do not seem to include those who may have hired an extra hand for a few days each harvest.) In contrast to laborers, the majority of employers (36.36%) were in the 41-50 cohort. Overall, most employers appear to have ranged across the older cohorts. This is in direct opposition to the age distribution of enumerated farm employees, shown in Table 3-7.

Table 3-7. Frequency of Farm Employees, Turnersburg 1910

Age Cohort	# Black	%	# White	%	# Total	%
10-20	0	0	2	22.22	2	20.00
21-30	0	0	6	66.66	6	60.00
31-40	1	100.00	1	11.11	2	20.00
Totals:	1	100.00	9	99.99	10	100.00

In all, there were only 10 full-time farm employees in Turnersburg Township, as recorded in the 1910 census. It is interesting that nine of the ten farm workers were white. This frequency contradicts the expectations raised when reading Shaw (Rosengarten 1972) or Hamilton (1937). In their cases, in Alabama and coastal North Carolina, respectively, the majority of laborers were blacks (see Chapter II). This is related to the higher incidence of large plantations in those regions, as well as the higher

ratio of black to white farmers. Labor on these white-owned plantations was often garnered through hiring wage laborers and/or using a cropper system (see Chapter II).

In the vicinity of Harmony, in Turnersburg, the majority of farmers were not employers or employees, but farmed "on their own account". These agriculturalists either owned their own farms, were working to pay for their farms, or were renting their acres. Occasionally one of these self-employed farmers would also rent additional lands from a neighbor. (This was not recorded by the population enumerater.) Table 3-8 following gives the distribution of this group of black and white farmers by age.

Table 3-8. Self-employed Farmers in Turnersburg, 1910, by Race and by Cohort.

Age Cohort	Black		White		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
10-20	0	0	1	0.71	1	0.51
21-30	6	10.53	23	16.31	29	14.65
31-40	12	21.05	36	25.53	48	24.24
41-50	12	21.05	29	20.57	41	20.71
51-60	18	31.58	27	19.15	45	22.73
61-70	4	7.02	20	14.18	24	12.12
71-80	5	8.77	5	3.55	10	5.05
Total:	57	100.00	141	100.00	198	100.01

Overall, the great majority of farmers listed as working on their "own account" fall into the three cohorts spanning the ages 31 to 60. The highest percentage of black farmers, however, fall within the 51 to 60 year cohort. The highest frequency of white farmers was in a much younger group, in

the 31 to 40 year cohort. The data in Table 3-8 indicate that white self-employed farmers were slightly more evenly distributed across the age spectrum than their black counterparts. This may be a function of the smaller sample available for black farmers in this group, n=57, as opposed to the larger white sample, n=141.

Table 3-9 was constructed to examine the different types of farmers in relationship to age grade. This provides an answer as to how well the agricultural ladder was working in the Township in the early twentieth century. The table was based on the information from the census, and includes data on 86 black and 213 white workers.

Table 3-9. Turnersburg Agricultural Ladder, by Age, 1910.

Age Cohort	Laborers		Employers		Employees		Own Account		Totals	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
10-20	18	6.02	2	0.67	2	0.67	1	0.33	23	7.69
21-30	29	9.70	3	1.00	6	2.01	29	9.70	67	22.41
31-40	6	2.01	5	1.67	2	0.67	48	16.05	61	20.40
41-50	1	0.33	12	4.01	0	0	41	13.71	54	18.06
51-60	2	0.67	5	1.67	0	0	45	15.05	52	17.39
61-70	2	0.67	5	1.67	0	0	24	8.03	31	10.37
71-80	0	0	1	0.33	0	0	10	3.34	11	3.68
Totals:	58	19.40	33	11.04	10	3.34	198	66.22	299	100.0

The agricultural ladder was apparently truncated in this area at the turn-of-the-century. By far the greatest number of individuals were farming on their own account, regardless of ethnicity or age. Very few people were officially listed

as croppers, under the rubric "farm employees" (only 3.34%). Approximately 11.04% were farm employers, who must have preferred to hire out farm laborers, versus using tenants. The laborer group was the second highest in percentage, 19.40%. However, this group includes farm laborers, as well as general laborers used occasionally by non-farm employers.

Table 3-10 was created to compare the age distribution by ladder position in 1910. The information was based on data concerning the same 299 individuals as that Table 3-9, as a result, counts have not been included. (Counts are provided in Table 3-9.) It is clear from the distribution in Table 3-10, that the agricultural ladder was present, but not conforming to the ideal. (See Chapter II for discussion of ideal as opposed to actual working of the agricultural ladder in the Cotton South.)

Table 3-10. Position on Ladder by Age Cohort, 1910.

Cohort	%Laborer	%Employer	%Employee	%Own Acc.	Total%
10-20	78.26	8.70	8.70	4.35	100.01
21-30	43.28	4.48	8.96	43.28	100.00
31-40	9.84	8.20	3.28	78.69	100.01
41-50	1.85	22.22	0	75.93	100.00
51-60	3.85	9.62	0	86.54	100.01
61-70	6.45	16.13	0	77.42	100.00
71-80	0	9.09	0	90.91	100.00

In the idealized version of the agricultural ladder, laborers should entail the youngest cohort, farm employee the next and so forth through the groups. However, one can

see from the information provided in Table 3-10 that statistically Turnersburg residents did not completely conform to the model. The first cohort, the youngest, was mostly formed by laborers (78.26%). There were laborers, however, recorded for every age group except for the last (71-80 years). The second cohort was almost equally divided between laborers and those who farmed on their own account. There were only six farm employees in this age grade (only 8.96%). Many of these young farmers were apparently skipping some of the "rungs" of the ladder. Looking at the next cohort, ages 31 to 40, one can see that the largest number (78.69%) of individuals fall into the expected category, that of farming on their own. This is the last age grade that contains any farm employees (only two). The next cohort almost replicates the previous one's distribution. Farm employers can be found at every age, but never in any great numbers. However, one would have expected from the model for the majority to fall within the older cohorts. A total of 23 of the 33 farm employers ranged in age from 41 to 80. This conforms to the model; however, the greatest percentage of farm employers fall within the younger 41 to 50 group (22.22%). For all of those placed in the 51 to 60 cohort, 86.54% fall within the self-employed farm group. Only 7 out of 31 people of this age grade were not farming on their own. A total of 2 were laborers, and 5 were employers. The next age grade

distribution is almost exactly the same. The last cohort (71 to 80), was represented by only 11 people. There were no laborers in this cohort, no farm employees, and only one farm employer. The remainder farmed on their own account (n=10). If the numbers conformed completely to the model of the agricultural ladder, one would have expected this last cohort to have had the most farm employers. Obviously, most older farmers in Turnersburg were not officially retiring in this age bracket. Only six farmers stated to the enumerator that they were definitely not farming any more, and were retired.

In a Chi-square test of association between the variables, cohort and type of employment (employer, employee, own account), a significant relationship was evident (Prob.=0.0001). This test includes all those over age 19 recorded as working for which all necessary data was available (n=315). For this population as a whole, the data is very similar to that concerning farmers only. Table 3-11 following shows the distribution.

Table 3-11. Distribution of Employers, Employees, and Self-Employed by Age Group, Turnersburg, 1910

Age Group	Employer		Employee		Own Acc.		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
20s	4	5.56	44	61.11	24	33.33	72	100.00
30s	8	11.94	8	11.94	51	76.12	67	100.00
40s	12	19.05	6	9.52	45	71.43	63	100.00
50s+	14	12.39	10	8.85	89	78.76	113	100.00
Totals:	38	12.06	68	21.59	209	66.35	315	100.00

In general, these Piedmont farmers were able to purchase their land at a higher percentage than the average for the State. Of the black Turnersburg farmers, 64.86% (n=24) owned their farms freely in 1910, while 35.14% (n=10) had mortgages to pay. White farmers appear to have purchased their farms at a greater frequency, with 81.51% (n=119) owning freely and only 18.51% (n=27) making mortgage payments. Race, freely owning and mortgaging one's farm are significantly related on a Chi-square test of association, using the traditional 0.05 measure of acceptance of significance (Probability of 0.0287). The variables race, owning one's home and renting are also significantly related (Prob.= 0.0145). These correlations are all very significant, but not particularly strong. This indicates that these variables are related, but may be affected more by additional factors not represented in the census data, and thus not considered in the analysis.

One factor that was not measured in this study was that of clientage and its probable affect on the variables in question. Afro-Americans were often forced to use a system of white clientage to receive bank loans. Perhaps a combination of good ethnic social relations and access to urban banks (i.e. Statesville, Winston Salem) offered Turnersburg blacks a greater opportunity to purchase their lands⁶. Piedmont, as opposed to Coastal, farmers in North Carolina were able to purchase lands more readily due to

greater access to markets at industrial centers. These centers, such as found in Winston and Statesville, offered a relatively close market for agricultural products, as well as some banking facilities⁷.

As will be discussed in the next chapter, North Carolina agriculturalists thought of farming as much more than a means of economic survival for their families. They held to the ideal of independent yeomanry and its incorporated constellation of values of independence, moral virtues and religious beliefs⁸. Farm life was a means to ensure good food on the table, honest work from the children and healthy minds for all. This was especially true for Afro-Americans, who learned the value of land ownership during slavery and in the aftermath of Reconstruction⁹. Early-to-mid twentieth century agrarians worked six days per week, eleven hours per day except for Sundays, when they tended to only work a half day. Farm families were still able to enjoy leisure hours together during and after their mealtimes¹⁰. Work on the farm was somewhat segregated, with men in the fields and women in the subsistence gardens, or tending children, animals and the housework. Of course, all would labor in the fields when needed, and every family member would help in any aspect of work if need be. Children helped whichever adult needed the extra hand, before, after and sometimes during schooldays¹¹.

These households will be examined in the following

pages in light of their organization as household structures. Anthropologists, sociologists, and historians have recognized that the household and the family serve as a vital component to social reproduction in Western societies. Households and families mediate and translate social and economic transformations in their respective subcultures and/or cultures. Members are joined in a structure of relations and live in any one of a number of possible types of household patterns that tend to change over time¹².

Although revisionist interpretations of the structure of historic Western households began in the late 1960s, there remains heated debate as to specific theoretical approaches and consequent methods. These debates center on the basic issue of the significance of learning the actual, statistical behavior of a people as opposed to their shared norms and ideals. Researchers are also concerned with the relative value of synchronic as opposed to diachronic studies of the family and/or household unit.

As most anthropologists now realize, normative, statistical and synchronic or diachronic investigations are not mutually exclusive, Ideals conflict with demographic, economic and other social factors. These factors are then mediated by the household members and translated into actual behavior¹³. Results derived from different approached can then be incorporated into the development of a general picture of intra- and inter-household relations.

The present preliminary examination of Turnersburg Township household and family structures in 1910 is an attempt to combine perspectives and approaches from both statistical and normative studies. (The texture or quality of relationships is discussed in Chapter IV.) It is also offered as an additional case study of historical American rural households. The occurrence of household forms and relations within the population will be examined in light of three variables: ethnicity, age and economics. Households organize social labor and mediate economic effects in different ways. Turnersburg household transformations of social labor will be examined in light of household structures.

Prior to discussion of specific structures, general characteristics of the 1401 Township inhabitants should be described. The great majority of individuals and their fathers and mothers were born in North Carolina (respectively 98.86%, 97.36%, 98.29%). The majority of residents were white (72.19%), with a smaller percentage of blacks (23.95%) and mulattos (3.86%). Females outnumbered males with a sex ratio of 93.24 (676 males divided by 725 females).

Marital status for the entire population and for those over age 19 is listed in Table 3-12 following:

Table 3-12. Marital Status for Turnersburg Residents, those Age 19 Years and Over, 1910.

STATUS	TOTAL POPULATION		Age 20 PLUS	
	#	%	#	%
Single	859	61.31	147	21.59
Widowed	29	2.07	29	4.26
Divorced	2	.14	2	.29
Married 1	443	31.62	435	63.88
Married 2	57	4.07	57	8.37
Married 3	11	.79	11	1.62
Totals:	1401	100.00	681	100.01

(From Manuscript Township Census, 1910)

About 21.59% of the population over age 19 were single, as expected with such an unbalanced sex ratio. By far the majority of adults were married once (63.88%). The number of years married varied from less than one to 65 years, with 51.31% of the Township married from less than one to 17 years, and 90.64% married from less than one to 38 years. The average years of marriage by 1910 was 19.34 years. For all of those married only one time, white males (n=194) were married at the typical age of 22.79 years. Black males (n=31) married at the mean age of 25.84, a bit later in life than their white counterparts. Black females also married at a slightly later time, at an average of 21.42 years (n=48). Blacks in the Township may have married later to help ensure family labor longer, or to help accumulate goods towards landownership.

These numbers are partially the result of the age pyramid of Turnersburg in 1910. Figure 3-2 depicts the

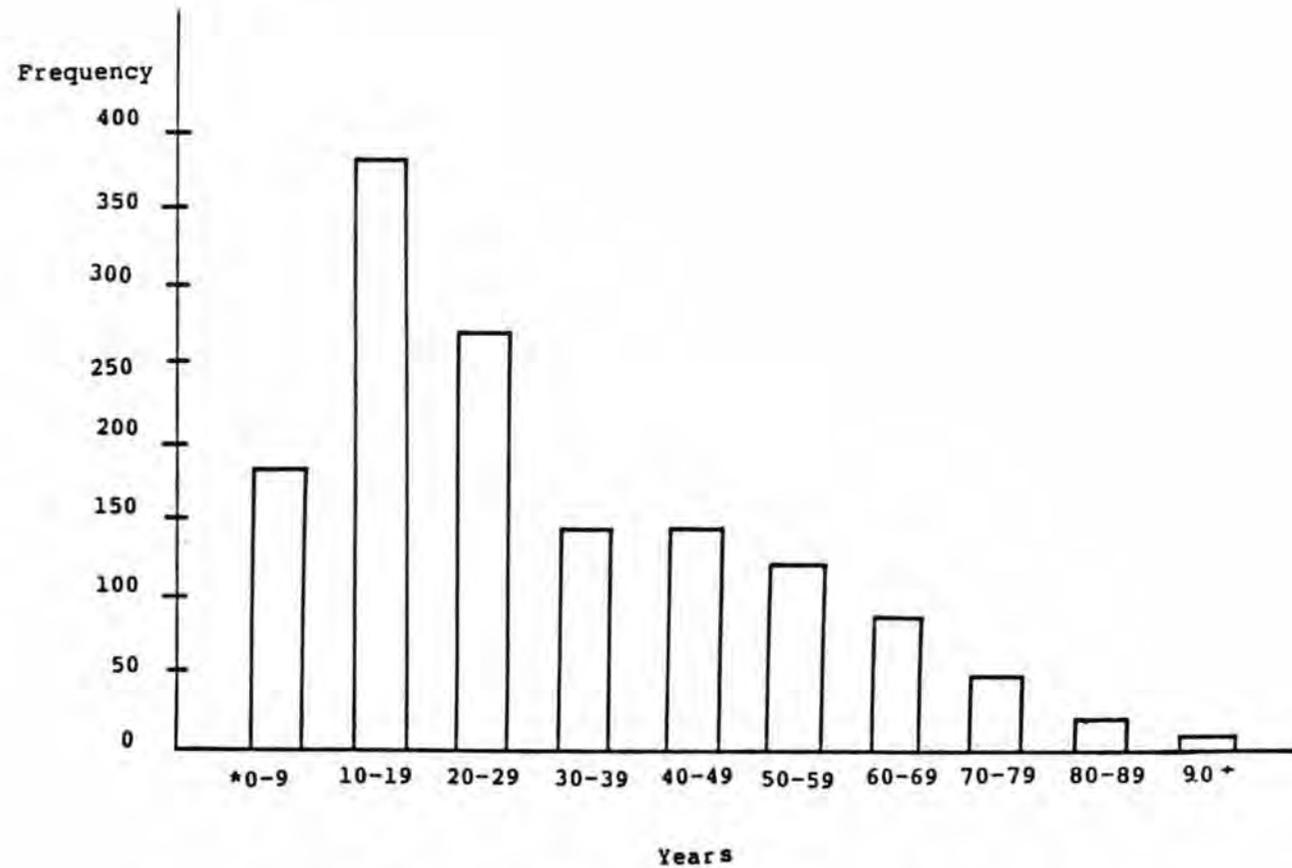


Figure 3-2. Age Distribution of Inhabitants of Turnersburg Township, Iredell County, North Carolina, 1910

*Less Than One Year to Nine Years Old
 Source: Manuscript Census of Population Schedule, 1910

range and frequencies of ages. The Township had a relatively young population, with 51.32% of the inhabitants being under age 20. Only 8.85% lived beyond 57 years, although inhabitants ranged from infants through those aged 96¹⁴. The manuscript schedules do not record information as to deaths, except for the numbers of children ever born and those presently living per mother. The mean number of births was 5.12, ranging from 1-16 for the 257 listed mothers. The average number of living children was only 3.96, ranging from 1-12 for 253 mothers. Although black and white infant mortality rates are often found to be significantly different due to social and economic factors, Turnersburg rates were similar. The results of a Chi-square test of association between race, number of babies and number of living children supported the null (no significant relationship between the variables) in both cases (Prob.=0.0770 and 0.5756 respectively). The number of children ever born (average 5.12) does indicate that Turnersburg mothers were limiting the number of births slightly more than the general Southern mother¹⁵. They may have done so because of their higher literacy rate (99.67% for those in school or over age 19) and/or perhaps due to the limited amounts of available farmland negating the need for large families¹⁶.

These numerous individuals lived in households that can be classified by structure. There has been debate as to the



Photo 3-1. Stine Family, circa 1910
(Courtesy of Alva Pent)

definition of the household, and its subsequent analysis. Households can be categorized as including those people who share at least one meal and/or occupy the same space, or as those related by blood who share meals and space, or as either of the above with the addition of all or some lodgers and/or servants¹⁷. For the purpose of this investigation of household structures, the 1910 census enumerators' guidelines will be followed. In the early part of this century, the household was defined as that group of individuals living under one roof, including family members, boarders and hired help. The manuscript census contains a column listing household members' relationship to the head, and such a distinction can thus be made with confidence¹⁸.

Turnersburg Township consisted of 275 households, representing 277 families and associate lodgers, servants and boarders. Of these households, 208 were classified as white, 64 as black and 3 as mulatto¹⁹. Females headed only 33 households, males headed the overwhelming majority, numbering 242.

Photographs such as those in Photograph 3-1 may have helped to give rise to the impression that farm families were perhaps extended, and certainly large. The data from Turnersburg, however, indicate that many farm families were often small, and usually nuclear.

Household sizes ranged from solitaries to those with thirteen individuals. The modal size for this sample was 5

people, with a similar mean calculated at 5.04. The average household size in Turnersburg was slightly higher than the 4.5 Laslett discovered for the United States in 1910. The slightly higher size for Turnersburg households was probably a reflection of the inclusion of boarders within these households. (Laslett excluded all household members from his counts except for kin and servants.) A total of 61.45% (n=169) of the Turnersburg households contained from one to five individuals, with the remaining 38.55% (n=106) holding six or more members²⁰.

Levy (1965) has shown that well over 50% of the world's households have been small in size. He believes that demographic factors such as fertility, mortality rates, and age of motherhood have influenced global household size²¹. This was confirmed in Laslett's work for England and the United States. However, this does not mean that subcultures and cultures have not overcome the influence of leveling demographic factors. Fallers (1985) has demonstrated that in many cases social "fictions" such as adoptions and wardship can offset biological forces, providing a means for a household to ameliorate the effects of demographic rates.

Families in Turnersburg do not appear to have utilized fictive kinship to any great degree. Only one wardship was listed in the manuscript census materials. Factors such as age and ethnicity of household head seem to have had the most influence on household size. Ethnicity of head had a

significant correlation with the variable household size in a Chi-square test of association (Prob.=0.0130). A total of 65.86% (n=137) of the white households were small, consisting from one to five individuals. Black households were almost evenly divided between small and large households, measuring 49.25% (n=33) and 50.75% (n=35) respectively. It has been suggested that larger households will be structured along extended lines (consanguineal), and smaller along that of nuclear (conjugal). Laslett and others have shown that such was not the case in England²². However, as will be shown, Turnersburg black extended households were slightly larger than nuclear black ones.

Afro-Americans in Turnersburg may have been augmenting their immediate families with the addition of boarders, hired help or with additional, non-immediate kin. In order to interpret the significant relationship between race of head and household size, Chi-square tests were run for the variables fertility, rates of living children, and age of head in relation to ethnicity. Fertility rates for black and white mothers were not significantly related, indicating that black households were not larger due to differential fertility (Prob.=0.077). The variables ethnicity of mother and rate of living children were also not significantly related. (Prob.=0.5756). This indicates that infant mortality rates were most likely the same for both groups. The age of head was related to household size, which is only

logical (Prob.=0.0001), but there does not seem to have been any great difference in the racial distribution of age cohorts in Turnersburg (Prob.=0.1376). As a result, the reasons for the significant bimodal distribution of households and their sizes cannot be explained fully.

Prior to further discussions of household structure, the typological system followed should be detailed. Many of the studies of household structures follow the classification scheme developed by Laslett and the Cambridge Group²³. Basically, they use three major types (with subvariations) as follows: 1)SIMPLE- one conjugal unit of parents and unmarried children. 2)EXTENDED- simple with the addition of other kin. 3)MULTIPLE- two or more related conjugal units which can also include other unmarried children.

Table 3-13 illustrates the classification scheme followed for the present investigation of household forms and their occurrence in Turnersburg Township. "Nuclear" is equal to Laslett's SIMPLE, but excludes any servants. "Simple-extended" includes all households with one married couple, their unmarried children, and other relatives. "Multiple-extended" is similar, except married children are present in the household. The remaining classificatory types are self-explanatory:

Table 3-13. Distribution of Turnersburg Township Households by Structure, 1910.

Household Structure	Number	Percentage
Nuclear	160	58.18
Simple-Extended	67	24.36
Multiple-Extended	7	2.55
Nuclear and Nonkin	26	9.46
Nuclear, Nonkin, Extended	5	1.82
Coresident Siblings	1	0.36
Solitary	9	3.27
Totals:	275	100.00

(Manuscript Census, 1910)

The single household formed by coresident siblings contained two unmarried black sisters, their young children and their married brother (with no wife listed). All three siblings were in their twenties. This was not a household form often chosen for residence in the Township, at least in 1910.

Another household structure that was apparently less favored was that of solitaries. The nine singles were characterized by seven females (5 white, 2 black, and the majority elderly), and two white men ages 77 and 56. These individuals either preferred to live alone, or had no kin to move in with.

The majority of residents lived in the basically structured nuclear household (58.18%). The second structure most often chosen was the simple-extended, which is the nuclear with the addition of other relatives (24.36%). In order of prevalence, Turnersburg inhabitants also lived in households structured as follows: Nuclear with nonkin

(9.46%), multiple-extended (2.55%), and nuclear with nonkin and with other kin (1.82%).

Table 3-14 enumerates the percentages of each household type by race. No Afro-American households fit into the nuclear plus nonkin class, or in that of multiple-extended.

Table 3-14. Ethnicity of Households by Household Structure, Turnersburg Township, 1910.

Household Structure	White		Black		Total %
	#	%	#	%	
Nuclear	123	76.88	37	23.13	100.00
Simple Extended	45	67.16	22	32.84	100.00
Multiple Extended	7	100.00	0	0.00	100.00
Nuclear and Nonkin	21	80.77	5	19.23	100.00
Nuclear, Nonkin, Ext.	5	100.00	0	0.00	100.00
Coresident Sibs	0	0.00	1	100.00	100.00
Solitary	7	77.78	2	22.22	100.00
Totals:	208		67		

(Manuscript Census, 1910)

The data in Table 3-14 are somewhat confusing, due to the disproportionate population distribution of the ethnic groups. (This may have skewed the results.) One can see that the relative percentages between the two races appear very different per household form. For example, all multiple extended households were white, as were all with nuclear, nonkin and extended. The category coresident sibling was represented only by blacks. However, Table 3-15 below demonstrates that black and white households were really more similar than different²⁴.

Table 3-15. Frequency of Household Forms Per Race, Turnersburg Township, 1910.

Household Structure	White		Black	
	#	%	#	%
Nuclear	123	59.13	37	55.22
Simple Extended	45	21.63	22	32.84
Multiple Extended	7	3.37	0	0.00
Nuclear and Nonkin	21	10.10	5	7.46
Nuclear, Nonkin, Ext.	5	2.40	0	0.00
Coresident Sibs	0	0.00	1	1.49
Solitary	7	3.37	2	2.99
Totals:	208	100.00	67	100.00

(Manuscript Census, 1910)

The relative percentages between the two ethnic groups is not too dissimilar. White households were slightly more nuclear and less extended than black households. A comparison of Afro-American household distributions from two additional sources (Table 3-16) demonstrates that black households in the rural South and in Boston were most likely to be nuclear. Furthermore, families in these areas tended to live in an extended household to a lesser extent than black Turnersburg families. In fact, the percentages for extended households for blacks in these two areas is more similar to the frequency discovered for white families in Turnersburg Township in 1910.

Table 3-16. Frequencies of Afro-American Households by Type, Turnersburg Township 1910 (1), Rural South 1900 (2) and 1880 (3), Boston 1880 (4).

Household Structure*	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)
Nuclear	55.22	70-71	72-83	58.26
Extended	34.33	21-23	15-18	9.53
Augmented	7.46	9-10	2-12	32.21
Solitary	2.99	-	-	-
Total	100.00			100.00

(*Turnersburg information from the Manuscript Census, data for Rural South from Gutman 1976, Appendix A, page 500, Boston data from Pleck 1973, page 169. In order to compare information, household types were collapsed into these four categories: 1)Nuclear- one or two parents and unmarried children 2)Extended- nuclear plus any other kin 3)Augmented- 1 or 2 with addition of any nonkin in the household 4)Solitary- one individual forms the household.)

Pleck 1973 has shown that in Boston extended household types were found among the higher status and income groups. Lower income groups appear to have increased their household size through the addition of nonkin, in using the augmented form as opposed to extended. In the main, black households in Boston in 1880 were structured to conform to the nuclear or augmented forms²⁵. In general, poorer families of any Boston ethnic group were more likely to accept boarders and lodgers than their wealthy counterparts. Renters were usually younger persons working for wages outside of the home²⁶. This pattern for industrialized Boston was in fact the opposite of that discovered for rural Turnersburg Township, as will be demonstrated.

Black households in Turnersburg, recall, formed a bimodal distribution between nuclear and extended forms.

Black families in the area may have perceived the nuclear family and household as an ideal structure to work towards, connected to the ideal goal of land ownership. On one hand, black farmers in the area tended to be renters, and may have needed more labor to put money by to break the cycle of debt (e.g. Chapter II). As black fertility rates were not very high, or significantly different than that for whites in the area, black farmers with smaller nuclear families may have turned to their relatives for additional labor support. Furthermore, black agrarians may have found it difficult to successfully farm on their own. Black farmers in Warren County, North Carolina, in 1910 did share a strong belief in working towards land ownership and in gaining kinship support for this endeavor²⁷. Extended family labor may have helped Afro-Americans reach that goal of ownership. However, in a Chi-square test of association, it was discovered that knowing the form of a household does not help one to predict whether a home would be owned freely, mortgaged, or rented²⁸. The lack of a significant relationship between those variables indicates that household form may not have strongly affected a family's chance to own their farm. This does not, however, negate the possibility that such a social conception or ideal had been held.

To help to clarify the meaning of the relative occurrence of household forms in Turnersburg, the perspective

of analysis was shifted to that of the individual. The manuscript census does list each person's relationship to their head of household. For the entire population in 1910, (n=1401), 88.01% (n=1233) lived with direct kin, 9.14% (n=128) abided with other kin and only 2.85% (n=40) resided with nonkin. These ratios are not unexpected, as the population was weighted towards those under age 19. If one eliminates that portion, to the 633 individuals over age 19, the percentages shift slightly. A total of 85.31% (n=540) of the area inhabitants lived with their immediate kin. Only 11.22% lived with non-immediate kin (n=71). A total of 3.48% (n=22) resided in households consisting totally of nonkin. These percentages still show that any one person in the Township in 1910 would overwhelmingly have had the greatest chance of living with immediate family. Whether these individuals did so through choice or necessity remains unclear. Nate Shaw stated that "I was at home anywhere I went amongst my mother's and daddy's folks" (1974:59), but preferred to live with his wife and immediate family on a separate farm. (See discussion Chapter IV.)

Table 3-17 is provided to show the relationship to household head for 1126 residents of Turnersburg Township in the year 1910.

Table 3-17. Relationship to Head, Turnersburg 1910.

Resident	#	%	Resident	#	%
(kin) wife	221	19.63	grandson	26	2.31
son	355	31.53	granddaughter	19	1.69
daughter	357	31.70	g.grandson	2	0.18
stepson	6	0.53	niece	7	0.62
step-daug.	12	1.07	nephew	4	0.36
father	4	0.04	great-nephew	1	0.09
mother	17	1.50	great-niece	1	0.09
step-dad	1	0.09	daugh.-in-law	9	0.80
step-mom	1	0.09	son-in-law	1	0.09
sister	18	1.60	mother-in-law	5	0.44
brother	2	0.18	brother-in-law	1	0.09
aunt	5	0.44	sister-in-law	4	0.04
ward	1	0.09			
(nonkin)			housekeeper	1	0.09
f.companion	2	0.18	hired man	15	1.30
m.companion	1	0.09	hired boy	7	0.62
f.servant	9	0.80	f.boarder	3	0.27
m.servant	1	0.90	m.boarder	2	0.18
relationship unknown-	4	(0.04%)			
Total kin:	1080	(96.26%)			
nonkin:	42	(3.74%)			
male heads:	242	(88.00%)			
female heads:	33	(12.00%)			

It appears that families were augmenting their households with nonkin. Companions, servants, boarders and hired laborers lived with these families, regardless of race. Actual living arrangements are not known, but in a casual survey of former farmers, most believed that nonfamily members lived in a side room or in an outbuilding on the farmstead. The inhabitants of the Township seem to have turned to these accomadations only when their family option ran out. (Only 3.74% resided with a family headed by

nonkin.)

The overwhelming majority of residents lived with some sort of family member or members (96.26%). At least 25 different kin relations to head were recorded in the 1910 census. Marriage was one way to augment your family- Table 3-17 lists numerous step-relations and in-laws. At least 4 generations could abide in one household, as there was a number of great-grandsons, nieces, and nephews listed. An examination of this table suggests that the majority of Turnersburg family members lived with their immediate children and/or parents.

The female-headed households (n=33) were headed by diverse women, mostly farmers. They ranged in age from 24 to 71, with an average age of 50 years. In this era of few divorces, both widows and married women could have headed the farm. In these cases, 9 white farm women worked their own places, as did 10 black females. Only 3 white women used farm employees on their farms. In all, there were 22 farm women heading their households.

The population structure in light of household relationships was not significantly associated with race (Prob.=0.0588). The majority of Turnersburg residents lived with immediate relatives (80.12% blacks, 84.16% whites). About 12.76% of the white inhabitants lived with other kin, as opposed to only 6.12% of the black population. In contrast with Pleck's 1973 findings for Boston, the majority

of area residents did not live with nonkin. Both whites and blacks were less likely to live with nonkin (3.09% and 4.76%, respectively), but blacks did have a slightly higher occurrence of living outside of a family structure.

The household structure of Turnersburg Afro-Americans analyzed by family was almost equally divided between nuclear and extended forms. By shifting scale to that of the individual, one discovers that black extended households were not much larger than black nuclear ones, on the average. In fact, black extended households had a mean of 5.79 members, with a range of 2-13. The mode, however, was a common 8 persons. Black nuclear families averaged 5.69 individuals, ranging from 1-12 members. The mode was lower, at 6 people per household. (White household sizes were more evenly distributed across the variable household form, explaining why household size correlated with race, while household form was not significantly related to size.) This suggests that black nuclear and extended households were constructed consciously or unconsciously to conform to a particular size. This also appears to have been true for white households, where the majority (65.86%) consisted of one to five individuals, regardless of form. Constraints on size could have been due to demographic factors, or to the amount of available living space on the farm, or the amount of farmland needed to support the household.

In general, women appear to have lived with their

families. (In a Chi-square test of association, gender was significantly related to the structure of household relations, Prob.=0.001.) Females did not commonly hire out as laboreres or as servants in this sample. A few young and older men did hire out as laborers, especially as farm laborers in the Township. A total of 4.25% of the men in Turnersburg lived with nonkin, contrasted to only 2.4% of the women. As would be expected, females also resided more often with other relatives (16.27% versus men's 3.27%). These figures probably reflect residence rules of patrilocality. At least, the data suggests that a woman was considered too vulnerable to live alone. Women who did not have their own homes tended to live with their husbands' families, albeit most married couples had their own homes.

These individuals abided within households that were mostly geared towards the production of subsistence and cash crops. These farm households had to serve to organize labor, and did so along lines of kinship. This was demonstrated in the high occurence of nuclear and extended households in the Township in 1910. The answer as to why these families chose kin labor may lie in the data from Chapter II. Farm families had little cash flow, and could perhaps trade labor more readily with their relatives. Nonkin labor may simply not have been available in this rural area, as opposed to in cities such as Boston or Winston-Salem. Basing farm labor on kinship may also have

been a matter of normative choice in the area. (One farm woman did mention that she would much rather help with outside work than to have to hire, board, and lodge with some unknown male laborer²⁹.) Area farmers may have also chosen to hire kin over nonkin, to provide needed monies to relatives. Of course, the explanation for the high occurrence of nuclear and extended households, as opposed to other types, is most likely connected to all three possibilities.

It has been demonstrated that the proportion of Turnersburg household structures do not directly correspond to the percentages of relations from the perspective of any one individual. This viewpoint is important, as it suggests that Township residence most often occurred with the immediate nuclear family. However, Afro-Americans did reside with extended relatives at a slightly greater rate than whites. Furthermore, women, who greatly outnumbered the men in terms of the sex ratio for both races, were most often found living with members of their family. Women also had a greater tendency to cohabit with other relatives than did the area men. This information is conflated when one uses the perspective of the household as an analytical entity. Both viewpoints, that from the individual and that from the household, point to important distinctions in the structure of household relations.

It has been shown that the majority of inhabitants of

Turnersburg Township, North Carolina, in 1910 were farmers. They maintained households formed along family lines, with nuclear relations taking precedence over the extended kin. Afro-Americans, however, were more nearly equally divided as to nuclear and extended household forms. The assumption that farm families were usually large is not applicable to Turnersburg, where the modal size was only 5 individuals. It has also been demonstrated that the size of nuclear and extended families tended to be similar (small), but that in both cases the possible range was equally quite large.

Numbers do not bring to light the quality of social relationships. Although most of these households were organized in relation to family connections, the actual temper of those family interactions has not been discussed. Also, kinship networks were maintained outside of the household. Additional social relations connected to association and church membership also helped to organize emotional and economic support networks for farm families³⁰.

These relationships and the actual tempo of farm lives will be discussed in the next chapter. The quality of ethnic and economic relations, which were discussed in Chapter II for the region, will be examined at the local scale, of Harmony and its environs. Much of the information in Chapter IV comes from oral history spanning the years from about 1910 to the 1940s.

CHAPTER III ENDNOTES:

1. A copy of the manuscript Census Population Schedules for Turnersburg Township (District 8, Enumeration District 88) is located in Davis Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It is listed as "U.S. Census Population Schedule 1910 volume 47 Iredell microfilm 1-2327 T 624 Reel 1118". Data from the schedules were coded and entered into the UNC-CH computer center for subsequent statistical analysis. As the majority of census data were nominal and/or ordinal, investigation was limited to univariate analysis and cross-tabulations. The only statistical test of association between variables used in relation to the present paper was the Chi-square test of association. Throughout the project, a Probability result of 0.05-0.00 was deemed an acceptable level of association for rejecting the null. (Published sources for the Thirteenth Census are listed in the Bibliography.)

2. Township information is from Stout 1976. Hobbs (1930:79-81) describes the Piedmont area of North Carolina.

3. See the Thirteenth Census, volume 4, Population, Tables 1 and 7. The distinctions black, mulatto, and white were left to the discretion of the enumerators, based on their personal perceptions (and perhaps those of neighbors). For the purposes of this analysis, data on all 12 mulatto individuals have been conflated with the category "black". (This would include possible triracial isolates.) In addition, women and children were not included in the occupational category as working and/or farmers, unless paid an actual wage for their labor. Women were included as farmers, however, if they headed the household. See the discussion in the Thirteenth Census, pages 15-20. A farm was defined as land of 3 or more acres used for agricultural purposes, and/or a rural homestead that produced at least \$250.00 per year in agricultural products, see 1913 Abstract of the Thirteenth Census...Supplement for North Carolina, page 619.

4. Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, with Supplement for North Carolina, Table 1.

5. Comparable data was not available at the county and township level. An explanation for black land being more valuable per acre has not been uncovered as yet. One possible avenue for further research would be comparing dates of land acquisition to land value. If blacks were able to buy their smaller farms earlier than small white farmers in the area, blacks could have purchased the better lands first. Of course, black acreage may have been overvalued, with the intention of gaining increased tax

revenues. This possibility should also be researched.

6. See Ogbu 1981:285-290; Darling 1983:20-21, 36-37, 62-67, 85-86. The grueling lifestyles of many tenants and the economic system in which it developed and was maintained is discussed in Chapter II of this dissertation, and in Agge 1941. See also Escott 1985:220-221 and C. Van Woodward 1971:185-189. At present, the town of Harmony has one bank, Statesville has eight plus three savings and loans (Greater Statesville Chamber of Commerce 1987:6). Harmony obtained its first bank in the 1920s, which failed during the Depression (Keever 1976:446). Social relations in Harmony during the early twentieth century are discussed further in the following chapter. See Eisenstadt and Rangier 1980, especially pp.42-51, for a review of the literature on patron-client relations.

7. Escott 1985:177 and Durrell 1985:766-769 discuss the change in North Carolina from primarily subsistence farming to a more cash-oriented agricultural system. Apparently, this change was well under way by 1910. (See also discussion, Chapter II this dissertation.) Hobbs 1920:79-81 describes farming in Piedmont North Carolina. (One must remember Hobbs's Rural Sociologist background when interpreting his work.) Tang 1958:72, 109-110, 114-136, and 218 discusses the economic advantages of Piedmont, as opposed to Coastal, farmers. Iredell farmers grew 48.32% cash crops, as contrasted with the State average of 3.4%, according to the Abstract of the Thirteenth Census...Supplement for NC, Table 4.

8. Gaston 1973:206, Escott 1985:178-179 recount the farmers' generally held conception of themselves. See also the next chapter, this dissertation.

9. After Darling 1983:10, 112-113.

10. Vanek 1980:424-427 describes daily farm life from work schedules kept by farmers. Her work is useful, but spans the first few decades to mid-century without specifying any chronological differences that may have been present. See also Darling 1983:183, 161-162, 112-113. He writes that black families in Warren County, North Carolina, in 1910 were even more egalitarian than their white neighbors.

11. Oral histories collected by Patsy Moore Ginns recount farmwork and lifestyles in North Carolina from circa 1900 to mid-century. See especially 1977:3, 3-5, 23, and 53-54. The results of oral histories gathered by the present author about early twentieth century social life in Harmony and environs are discussed in the next chapter of this dissertation.

12. See the discussion in Gailey 1985:76,80; Moch (Introduction), in Moch and Stark 1983:3; Wall (Introduction), in Wall, Robin and Laslett 1983:13; Stone 1981:52-56; Tilley and Cohen 1982:153-154; Levy 1965:1-37; Sanjek 1984:57).

13. These different perspectives are discussed in Kertzer 1984:208-209. General reviews and reflections on modern family history are found in Tilley and Cohen 1982 and Stone 1981. Berkner (1975), in a review essay, relates the importance of learning the ideal and emic viewpoint in family investigations. Taylor 1985 and Issac 1982 (Discourse on Method, pp. 323-357), offer good examples of the "social drama" approach in historical analyses of social relations. Wachter, Hammel and Laslett 1978 give a detailed account of their use of microsimulation models in statistical studies of households. Hill 1964 describes methods in family development research. Hareven (1979, 1978a, 1978b) is a major proponent of the "life cycle" approach. She was the guiding force and editor of one collection of investigations of household and family using that perspective (1978a), which is reviewed by Vann 1980. Vann also reviews the first major structural analysis of households by modern historians (Laslett and Wall 1972) during that same year. Laslett 1970; Wall, Robin and Laslett 1983; Moch and Stark 1983; and Flandrin 1976 are all good examples of the use of household classification systems for the structural analysis of the family and household. (Some authors are better than others at including any attempt to discuss household relations and other processes influencing the development of the household structures.) Archetti 1984:251-252, 277 describes the importance of including cultural context in any cross-cultural comparison of households. He is distressed by the structural, abstract approach favored by Laslett and others and prefers the use of analogy to abstract comparisons of structural relations and categories. Sanjek 1984:58 writes that one should attempt deeper studies than simple household classifications and comparisons, that one should look at the "share of production, social reproduction, sexual union, and socialization which takes place within households; the amount which occurs across household boundaries; and the portion which takes place outside household settings" (his emphasis, 1984:58). He also states that roles within a household and/or a family will vary, and cross-cut those defined by gender, age or kinship (1984:58, 77-79). Although I strongly concur, I have had to limit this investigation to a general overview of household structures and of general social relations in Turnersburg in 1910. However, these topics are broached in the following chapter in regard to the Harmony area from about 1920 to 1950.

14. Unless otherwise noted, all statistics are derived from the manuscript Census Schedules, Turnersburg Township, 1910. See footnote 1 for more details.

15. Tolnay 1983:316, Table 1 records that rural black fertility rates in the South in 1910 ranged from 7.01 to 7.942. Rural white rates ranged from 6.239 to 6.634. Urban whites had fewer births, 3.672 to 5.066, while urban blacks varied from 4.159 to 6.441. This suggests that factors other than race influence fertility rates. Living in a city, as opposed to the country, appears to have had the strongest effect on fertility rates.

16. Wells 1975:9 writes that white fertility rates from 1800 to 1860 were greatly reduced in direct proportion to the scarcity of farmland. Land in farms in Iredell County decreased from 353,363 in 1900 to 351,764 in 1910, according to the Thirteenth Census (Abstract... Table 1). This indicates that there may have been less land available in the Township, which could have influenced some individuals to limit births. Tolnay 1983:326 discovered that rural fertility rates increased with wife illiteracy, but appeared to decrease with farm ownership. Pleck 1973:165 suggests that illiteracy was a factor in higher fertility rates in Boston, among certain ethnic groups in 1880.

17. Gutman 1976:448; Wall, Robbin and Laslett 1983:1-2, 7-9. 35; Flandrin 1979:65; Vann 1974:108; Laslett 1969:202; Berkner 1975:726-728.

18. Census Monographs volume VI 1920:136, footnote 2. Laslett and the Cambridge Group's term "houseful" corresponds to my use of "household". See the discussion in Wall, Robin and Laslett 1983:35. As Laslett et. al. include the presence of servants in either houseful or household, this author felt that she could avoid what she considers an unwarranted distinction.

19. The three households with a majority of mulatto members were conflated in this analysis with black households, to aid in statistical comparisons with white ones. Their presence in the population schedules does, however, indicate that sexual unions could and did cut across racial lines in the area. Their small number, on the other hand, implies that "mixed" unions were not common.

20. Laslett discovered that for England, 1574-1911, the mean size was 4.57. In England and Wales in 1911, it was 4.56, and in the United States, 4.5 in 1910. See Laslett 1969:216, Table 8 and P.210, Table 3 as well as pp. 200, 202, 207, and 212, Table 5. The distributiton of households

by structural form in relationship to size was, from small to large, as follows: family only, no other relatives, 61.88% small to 38.13% large. Simple extended ranged from 56.72% small to 43.28% large; multiple extended from 61.54% to 38.46 %; nonkin, nuclear and simple extended from 60.00% to 40.00%. One small household with coresident siblings existed, and Turnersburg also had all "small nuclear" joined with "nonkin" households. See below for discussion of categories.

21. Levy 1965:50-55. Levy contains an interesting account of the debate concerning biological and social factors and their relationship to family composition and household size. See Fallers' rejoinder in the same volume, pp.76-77 in particular. Goody 1969:55-78 describes the cross-cultural occurrence of adoption, in particular between African and Western families. (He sees property relations and inheritance rules as primary factors in the use of the social fiction of adoption.)

22. See Laslett 1969:199-200.

23. Laslett 1972:31, as stated and followed in Flandrin 1979:65; and Wall, Robin and Laslett 1983:7-9, 19 footnote 33.

24. A Chi-square test of association between race and household formation was not useful, as over 20% of the cells were equal to less than one. A Chi-square test between nuclear and simple extended forms and race resulted in $Prob.=0.1281$, supporting the null (any relationship between race and these two forms was most likely due to chance).

25. See Pleck 1973:153, 168-169.

26. As discussed in Model and Hareven 1978:57-58, 64.

27. Reported by Darling 1983:17, 28-29, 67, 86.

28. In a Chi-square test of association, for 6 Degrees of Freedom, a probability of 0.1202 was derived. However, more than 20% of the cells had counts less than 5, which may invalidate this particular test. See Tables 3-15 and 3-16 for frequencies.

Chapter IV. The Rhythms of Farm Life

We enjoyed it.
We had everything.
We had outdoors and we had the
streams, and we had all the
beauty of God's creation.

Nora Wagoner
Born 1882
North Carolina
(Ginns 1977:3)

Early twentieth century rural culture had a unique texture in its weave. Its warp was provided by the economic system, with its resultant hierarchical structure. Its woof consisted of that unquantifiable dimension called "quality of life". An immanent aspect of country living was the perception that farm families upheld the best of American traditions. The Southern agrarian subculture was partially woven by shared values, pertaining to the importance of kinship, religion, work and neighborliness.

Escott writes that most farmers believed in the ideal of an independent yeomanry, where farming was a great "way of life". This perception of farming held true in North Carolina even after the late nineteenth century switch from subsistence-first to cash crop agriculture (Escott 1985:220-221). One tenant farmer in the Piedmont felt, in spite of all hardships, that "Farming is the sweetest work man ever

done" (in Hagood 1939:182). Many farmers felt that "country life is best" (Hagood 1939:26).

A contradiction did exist in the agrarian value system. Most seem to have loved the land and the lifestyle of farming, but hated the cycle of debt and harshness of poverty¹. A small farm owner states that "Anyway, you just running a risk farming; you don't know whether you goin to win or lose. You can bet on it ever so much, but sometimes you lose your bet and if you a poor farmer, you in a hole then." (Shaw in Rosengarten 1974:182).

One method developed to help stay out of that "hole" was setting up reciprocal work networks with neighbors. This casual exchange of labor in the rural South was one way in which a sense of community was underlined. Communities were important sources of support. Members of farm families were affected by the economic and social needs of their communities, as well as by their own desires and routines.

A sense of community was definitely felt in the environs of Harmony, North Carolina. "Everybody was neighbors back then" (Carson Nichols, interview of 2/15/86). Folks felt safer about leaving doors unlocked, and children could and would walk throughout their township. Kenneth Stine remembers that they "Never locked the doors ... On the house, only had a screen door to keep the dogs and cats out. You could go off and stay gone all day" (interview of 2/15/86). In the following pages, the reader will see that

neighborhood and community efforts in Turnersburg helped farmers survive economic and social hardships.

Arensberg, in solid anthropological tradition, views a community as a microcosm of a culture. He writes that communities originated in "a rural network of relationships running across countrysides and cantons, round occasional and ephemeral centers of assemblage at shrine or fair or crossroads hamlet" (Arensberg 1955:1155). He states that open-country neighborhoods with a dispersal of individual farms is a settlement pattern long established in the United States (Arensberg 1955:1153-1155). These communities were often kin-based, and loosely structured. (See discussion, Chapter V.)

Hagood determined that tenant farmers in Piedmont North Carolina used the terms "community" and "neighbors" interchangeably. She found that tenants used both in two ways, referring to "the area within two or three miles of their homes and to the people living in it" (1939:170). This conforms to the cognitive maps developed during interviews with Harmony area locals. These farmers and their children apparently felt that their community consisted of their neighbors, black and white². Neighbors would often work together, visit one another, and generally help each other out. Their community was segregated in the sense that blacks and whites attended different schools and churches. However, these same people did participate in one

another's celebrations as well as funerals (Kenneth Stine, Carson Nichols, interview of 2/15/86). Their community was bounded by kinties, as well as economic needs. The actual town of Harmony wasn't thought of as the community center. Their community was dispersed, in Arensberg's terms. Its physical boundaries were fluid, and included sites of grist mills and cotton gins. Schools, churches and stores also served as rural community boundaries (see Figure 4-1). In Figure 4-1 one can see that farmers living in the Harmony area were able to be schooled, married, doctored, and buried in a relatively small area. Individual farmsteads dotted the worn dirt roads and paths leading to neighbors' homes, as well as to various businesses.

"Community" and "neighborhood" were perhaps perceived slightly differently by members of each household. Kinship ties would broaden or contract the boundaries of the neighborhood, from the viewpoint of each family. As a result, "community" would and should have both a physical and a social connotation³.

Being a good neighbor in the rural Piedmont meant helping those community members who needed help, without conscious tallying of who owed whom. If a man was sick, neighbors would make sure his crops were plowed, or hoed, or harvest gathered, as needed (Hagood 1939:177). This would often be a joint local effort. In one man's words, "Anybody be sick, everybody would come over and help"

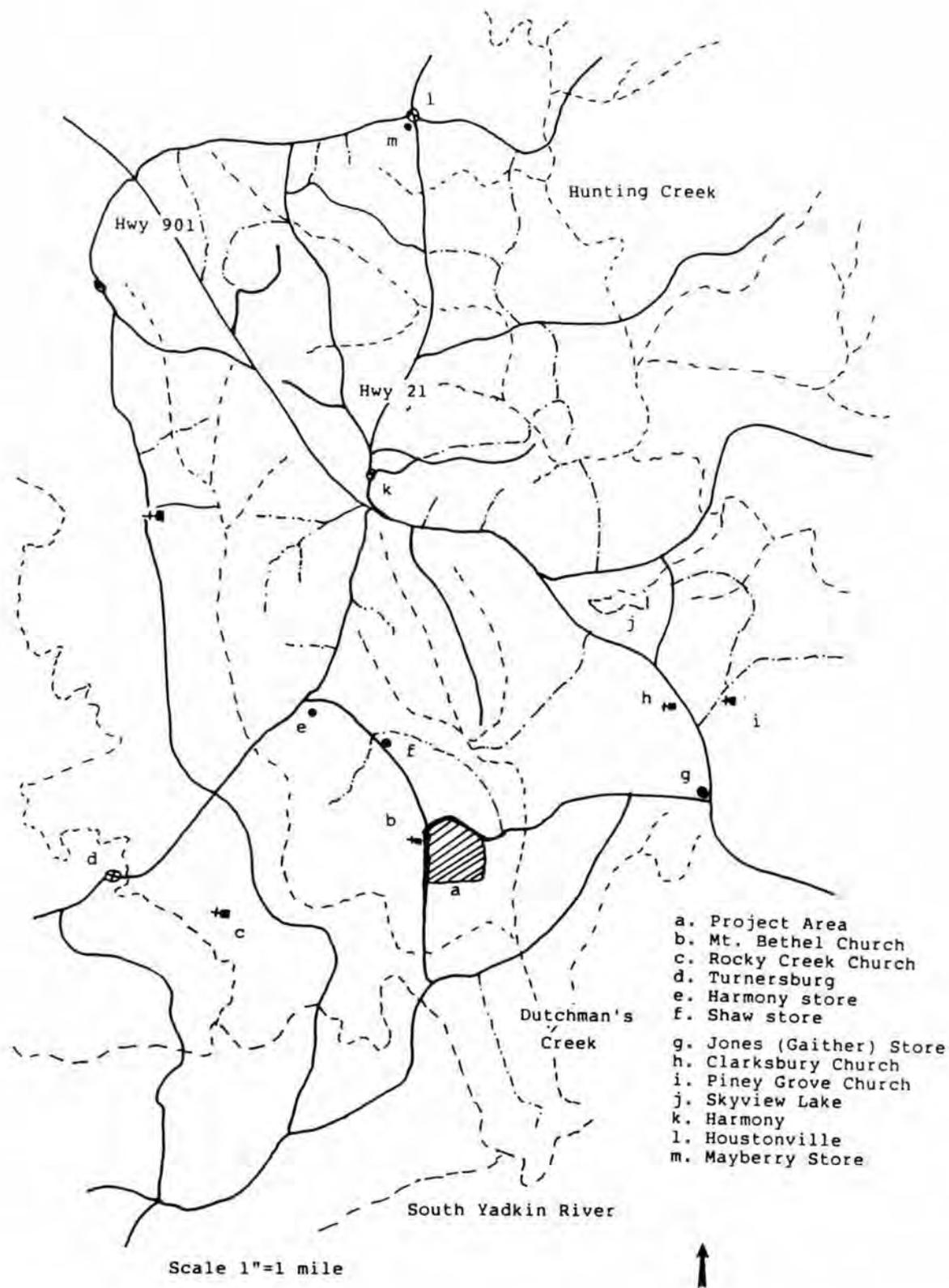


Figure 4-1. Harmony, North Carolina, and Environs

Source: Stout 1976

(Kenneth Stine, interview 2/15/86). If your cow happened to go dry, you could count on your neighbors sharing their cows' milk (Hagood 1939:103). White tenants did not help each other with jobs such as painting homes, chopping wood or thrashing wheat (Hagood 1939:177). However, many were involved in labor "swapping", especially for plowing and harvesting (Hagood 1939:177).

Sometimes farmers would help others to gain a portion of the produce. In northeast Iredell County, agriculturalists would help grind sorghum in the mill and charge a "toll" of one gallon per every so many gallons produced. This was called "tolling the molasses". Farmers sometimes "tolled the wheat", by collecting every sixth bushel bound for their own use if they participated in a neighborhood wheat thrashing (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88, see also Cowan and Cole's discussion in Ginns 1977:36-37).

In the Harmony area, some jobs were undertaken for cash, but most in expectation of reciprocal labor. Farm duties were multiple and varied. Work loads changed with the seasons, and families occasionally were swamped, especially at harvest time. During these peak labor periods, neighbors would help neighbors. In one man's word's, "Everyone...had to do...and the rest of them were there to help. That's the way we worked...we helped" (Carson Nichols, interview 2/15/86). When asked about

paying to have a neighbor dig a well, one Harmony resident remembers "...we usually were broke...mmm, didn't have nuting to pay nobody much with in them days. Just a neighbor coming together to help you work...they'd help one, then they'd help the other, that's the way we got most of the work done" (Carson Nichols, interview 2/ 15/86). For example, one man remembers helping his in-laws go to an older neighbor's yard and spending the entire day cutting firewood for him. At the end of this 1940s day, the neighbor thanked them and said "I owe you a day" (George Preckler, interview 2/16/88). People did not keep exact records, just assumed that work would be shared when needed⁴.

It didn't matter in this community if you were black or white, when it came to sharing labor. The Stine barn roof was torn away during a small tornado sometime prior to World War II. Most of the neighbors, black and white, came and helped replace the roof in one day (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). Another time, the two-story I-house of a black neighbor burned down. The entire community came and helped them rebuild (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88).

Those few farmers in the Harmony area with cash would hire occasional laborers to help during these times. Laborers, black or white, would eat together. The occasional temporary farm worker in the Harmony community

would stay in a room in the farmhouse, or a shed or barn out back, depending on the individual personalities of those involved (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview 2/15/86).

Black and white laborers' relations were apparently different in some other communities in the Piedmont. In 1939, Hagood, Herring, Lang and Post witnessed an all-day corn shucking in the vicinity of Stem, Granville County, North Carolina (Hagood 1939:132c). In the photographs provided, one can see that a great number of individuals were involved. (Hagood does not state if shuckers were paid laborers or friends.) Hagood describes the scene as follows:

This was an all-day cornshucking with about 20 men working at one time, although some of the morning workers were replaced by others in the afternoon. The food was prepared by the wife and her four sisters-in-law and one Negro woman....Two tables were put together in the dining room. All the white men ate first, then the table was cleared and dishes washed and the table re-set for the white women and children. After they ate the dishes were washed and the table reset again for the Negro men.

(Hagood 1939:facing page 132)

If one looks closely at the photographs, one can see that both black and white men ate off of the same dishes, and were fed the same foods. Nonetheless, their meals were segregated. This was the case for a young Nate Shaw in Alabama circa 1910. He and his step-mother would work a cotton field for white employers at the rate of \$.50 per adult, \$.25 or \$.35 per child per day. They would be given



Photo 4-1. Granville County Corn Shucking, c.1939
Odum Papers #225, SHC, UNC-CH



Photo 4-2. After the Corn
Shucking, c.1939, Odum
Papers #234, Granville Cty
Southern Historical Collection
UNC-CH



Photo 4-3. Mealtime at Cornshucking, Granville County, NC. Odum Papers #232, Circa 1939, SHC, UNC-CH

both breakfast and lunch ("dinner") usually consisting of the same foods eaten by the employers' families. However, Nate remembers eating out on the porch, alone or with his mother (In Rosengarten 1974:14-15, 79-80). This contrasts sharply with the etiquette in Harmony, where all workers ate together, at least all male workers.

For example, one important Stine family tradition was the Thanksgiving dinner and hunt. The women in the family would spend the day before and that morning cooking enough food for all the gathered kin. In the meantime, the men and young boys would rise early and spend the morning hunting. Apparently it was also customary for the women to wait on the men, who were almost always late for dinner. Usually, the men were served first, tables cleared, and then the women and youngest children would sit down to eat. Present Stine family members remember the "Thanksgiving Day Revolution". The female members of the family had been "cooking up a storm" as usual, and had everything ready at the appointed afternoon hour. The male hunters did not show, and did not appear. Finally, one of the young wives-by-marriage said "Why don't we just go ahead and eat, and feed the men when and if they get here?". Shocked silence answered her statement, and all eyes turned to Aunt Bertie, the oldest living female in the gathered family. Instead of condemnation, she turned and said "That's the best idea I've heard in years!". The women felt a delicious sense of

mischievous at the notion, and the men were speechless when they finally returned from their hunt. (As told by numerous family members- it is becoming part of family mythology). (It was traditional for the wife to sit down to eat her dinner only after the rest of the family had been served (Abbott 1983:22, also Margaret and Treva Stine, personal communications).)

Celebrations such as Thanksgiving were part of the farmers' annual cycle of hard work and leisure. Farmers felt a strong, if often inarticulate tie to their lands. (Hagood writes of how hard it was for her to convey "the depth of their real love for the farming that rewards them so poorly" 1939:vi.) For example, one man decided not to harvest a stand of hardwoods on his property, even if they were worth a lot of money as lumber. He passed this appreciation for these trees to his son, who in turn impressed his son. At present, this deep feeling and resulting caretaking is being passed to a nephew⁵. This love of the land is expressed and invested during the annual work cycle of farming.

In one historian's words (Daniel 1985:156), "whether tenant or owner, each cotton farmer had certain tasks that were tied to the pages of an almanac, to experience, and to the weather." Most southern farmers apparently shared a cultural idea of the rhythms of their annual rounds (Newton 1971:63). In great part, the annual round was guided by

functional needs associated with agricultural seasons. However, in some cases traditions in the Upland South that had originated in the colder north were followed regardless of environmental parameters. For instance, Kniffen writes that the slaughter of animals in the fall of the year originated in the cold north, where farmers could feed only a small number of livestock through the winter months. Most southern farmers, however, continued the tradition (Kniffen 1965:576). In many southern families, livestock were fattened up for Thanksgiving week slaughter as a special treat for the holiday table. (Thanksgiving celebrations also guaranteed a supply of harvest labor from visiting kin.) Hagood reports that even a poor tenant farmer had his "livestock" fattening for Thanksgiving- an opossum caught by his children for that purpose (1939:53)⁶.

The annual round of the cotton farmer has been described in detail by Shaw (in Rosengarten 1974:179-190), Newton (1971:63-70) and Daniel (1975:3-4). In Harmony, North Carolina, the mean annual temperature is 60.1 degrees Fahrenheit, with about 212 frost free days per year. Precipitation averages 54.76" a year. The coldest month is usually January (av. 40.4 degrees), the hottest is July (77.1 degrees). In terms of rainfall, the driest month is November (2.9"), the wettest July (4.4") (Statesville Chamber of Commerce 1987:16). This Upland Piedmont area has, as a result, a relatively long growing season. The

Harmony area provided the necessary rainfall and temperatures for cotton growing. Cotton needs about "two hundred frost-free days, a temperature of seventy-seven degrees Fahrenheit for three months of the year, and ...at least twenty-five inches of rainfall each year" (Wright 1986:81).

In the early spring of the year, area farmers would "break up their land" with their plows. In March, they would ready and plant their subsistence crops and gardens. Cash crops were usually planted after subsistence crops were in the ground (Newton 1971:63). However, particular farmers may have preferred to plant their cotton prior to their corn patches (Rosengarten 1974:180). Just prior to April cotton planting, they would use a slightly different style of plow and turn their rows⁷. (Shaw recommends spacing cotton plants from three to four feet apart, based on land fertility (in Rosengarten 1974:180).) You could plow in your fertilizer (usually guano) right before planting. When planting cotton, most agriculturalists used a mule-drawn cotton seed planter (with either one or two mechanical arms) (Kenneth Stine, interview 2/15/86, Shaw in Rosengarten 1974:180). A harrow or drag would be pulled across the field first, to smooth out the ground, closely followed by the planter (Rosengarten 1974:180). The harrow could be store-bought, or made on the farm. Many harrows were made by taking old railroad spikes and nailing them to a wooden

drag or sledge (Welman France, interview of 8/8/85).

Cotton was usually planted in April and May, using some type of hand planter, or a mechanical one drawn by mules ⁸. A mule-drawn planter could cover and complete seeding of about five acres a day (Newton 1971:65, Rosengarten 1974:180-181).

Over the course of early summer, farmers have to thin out their cotton and other crops to promote growth. Shaw used to use his mule plow, with the "fenders" dropped and bolted to the plow beam because "it won't allow the dirt to fall in them drills and stop that cotton comin up" (in Rosengarten 1971:181). The Stines in Harmony, North Carolina, used to add a license plate from their 1930s car to the fenders, to increase the protection of the young plants (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88).

Early and mid summer was also the time for picking the various ripening berries to turn into jellies and jams (Newton 1971:66). People in Harmony picked dewberries, blackberries, blueberries, and strawberries, to name a few. Farm wives had their children scour the fields and roadsides to "pick every last berry, even the small ones" (Treva Stine, interview of 2/6/88). Canning was a constant chore of summer, beginning with the wild and cultivated fruits, ending with the late summer gathering of subsistence crops. (See also accounts in Ginns 1977:34-35, and Wigginton 1972:174-184).

Early wheat could be ready for harvest by the first full moon in June in the Harmony area (Kenneth Stine, personal communication). The Nicholoses and the Stines would always cut their wheat together. They would hook three or four mules to a mechanical wheat binder. The smallest man's job was to ride and direct the outside mule. (Mr. Nichols felt that he must have ridden a 1,000 miles on that mule.) The other workers would ride the binder and make sure that the string was working correctly, as well as the canvas sheath protector (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview 2/15/86).

Summer was also a time to prepare equipment and structures for the upcoming harvest and winter (Newton 1971:68). Cotton was ready for harvesting any time from late August to January, depending upon when and where it was planted and climatic conditions (Newton 1971:68). During the early to mid twentieth century, cotton bolls were harvested by hand, picking them from the approximately 3 ft. high plants. The entire family would help pick, even five year olds (Rosengarten 1971:184). Many a tall individual would end up having to pick cotton on his or her knees (Margaret Preckler, interview of 2/16/88). This cotton would first be placed into a sack strapped to the back of each worker, or collected in old sheets. After a harvester collected about 100 pounds or so, he or she would pour the cotton bolls into a large handwoven cotton basket placed in

the field. These cotton baskets were made of some type of hardwood bark, such as split oak (see Ginns 1977:78, Rosengarten 1974:31,81,185; Wigginton 1972:115-127).

Two North Carolina women well remember these cotton baskets:

One thing I want you to know: we had a big old basket 'bout like that [measures], made out of splits; and when it got cold, well, we never got no shoes till we picked the cotton and sold it. And it'd be so cold I'd pick me a sack full and pour it in that basket and crawl down in it. Every one of us had a basket and would crawl down in it. Stayed there till Mother would ring the bell for us to come to dinner. Wouldn't have no cotton picked. And back then we'd take sweet potatoes, and we'd pick so much and then get down in there and eat sweet potatoes and just have peelings all in the cotton.

M. Jeffers, B.1894
E. Lutz, B.1898
(Ginns 1977:86)

When a number of these large cotton baskets were full, they would be poured into the back of a wagon. One wagon load of cotton usually measured out as one bale of cotton (Shaw in Rosengarten 1974:185, see also Daniel 1985:3-4).

The Stines planted about 8 acres of cotton a year (a "patch"), the Nicholises usually cultivated about two. Twelve to 1500 pounds of "seed cotton" (fresh picked) usually equalled one 500 pound bale of ginned cotton ("lint cotton"). Eight acres of cotton could yield anywhere from 27 to 7 bales of seed cotton. Two acres would yield from 4 to 5 bales. Farmers in Harmony generally rotated a particular field or patch as follows: one year cotton, then

wheat, then corn and/or fallow, then back to cotton (Carson Nichols, interview of 2/15/86 and Kenneth Stine, interviews of 2/15/86 and 2/6/88). The Nicholoses and the Stines grew some cotton, but planted more acres of corn and wheat. Both families occasionally planted tobacco, but not as often⁹. They also planted peanuts, potatoes, beans, cabbage, and tomatoes (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87 and Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). Two family members remember that it was hardest to tend and grow tobacco, then cotton, then corn. Wheat was the easiest crop to deal with (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86).

The harvested cotton would be stored in a weather-proof shed, often up above the smokehouse in a special storage area. When a farmer had enough to gin, he or she could take it to the local cotton gin. Farmers could store the cotton until the prices reached an acceptable level (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86; Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87; Shaw in Rosengarten 1974:185-186). Most farmers in Harmony drove their wagons of cotton (or trucks) to a mill in Harmony or in Houstonville, within about a ten mile radius. Children often vied for the privilege of going with their father to the gin, as it was a good opportunity to visit with neighbors waiting in line at the cotton gin (Hagood 1939:42).

Through October and November, additional subsistence crops would be ready for harvest. For example, sweet potatoes would be exposed with a mule with shovel attached. These root vegetables would be collected in buckets or sacks, and carried to a potato storage house or root cellar near the farmhouse. Occasionally, the farmers would construct an earthen potato house near the field. These were made by digging about a two-to-three foot hole, lining it with straw, and placing the sweet potatoes in it. The whole thing would be mounded over with dirt, leaving one small space to gain access by (Margaret Preckler, interview of 5/25/87, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88, see also Newton 1971:68 and Rosengarten 1974:190).

Fall (October/November) was also the season to make molasses from sorghum ("usually the coldest day of the year!" according to Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). Many farmers rendered it during Thanksgiving week (Newton 1971:69). Kenneth Stine states that "that cane, that was hard work from the time you planted it till you got the molasses back home" (interview of 2/15/86). When first growing, it resembles young corn. The actual size of the cane depends upon soil conditions (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86, Ginns 1977:37). When the cane was mature (tasseled), it would measure from about two to six feet. Workers would strip the fodder off with a knife or a scythe, there in the

field. They would pile up the "sticks", and cart them to a neighborhood mill. Sorghum mills usually were of the three-roller type, powered by a mule or person turning a circle around the mill. The cane would be inserted through the rollers and crushed. The juice would run down into a bucket or galvanized tin pan. This sorghum juice would be boiled in about an eight-foot-long pan, until it reached a particular temperature. The secrete of getting good molasses was dependent upon having the correct boiling temperature and length of boiling time. Many farmers preferred to let their neighborhood expert make their molasses for them, and simply paid a toll of a gallon per every couple of gallons rendered. It was up to the mill owner to decide on the toll. While boiling, the syrup had to be stirred and "skimmed", to get rid of the impurities. During this process an occasional cat or goat would become too interested in the sweet odor, and sometimes fall in. Many a local joke was made about so and so's molasses having a cat in it. (Those gallons sold for less than the others, or would be given away. Otherwise molasses would be sold for about fifty cents a gallon.) Molasses was usually poured into glass mason jars for home consumption¹⁰.

Fall was also the time to slaughter meat animals, if the farmer was fortunate enough to have extra stock. In the photograph provided, one can see how the slaughtered animals would be hung to gut and bleed onto the ground. Most

farmers in the south depended upon hogs for their major source of (domesticated) meat. Briefly, the process went as follows. A large (e.g. four feet) cast-iron pot or oil drum would be filled with water and heated to near boiling. If the butchering was done away from home, a large hole and wet, heated burlap sacks would be used. Occasionally heated rocks would be thrown into the water to keep it hot. The animal would be killed using a blow to the head (or bullet). Its neck would be cut to bleed it. The carcass would be dipped into the hot water to loosen the hair. Occasionally ash would be added to the water to help this process. The pig would be taken out and scraped with a knife, then immersed again. The cycle would be repeated until the hair was gone. Next, the hog was raised onto a stout pole to continue bleeding, and for positioning for gutting. Most farmers strung their animals up by the leg tendons, such as seen in Photograph 4-4. First, the head would be removed through a combination of cutting and twisting. Then a long cut was made from top to bottom. A tub or bucket would be used to catch the intestines, to be later rendered into chitterlings for those who liked to eat them. Once the carcass was completely cleaned, the animal would be taken down and cut into specific cuts of meat. The meat could be laid onto temporary plank tables set up around the yard on stumps or temporary wooden piers (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine interview of 2/15/86, Ginns 1977:42-43, Wigginton



Photo 4-4. Halifax County, NC
Hog Killing
Odum Papers #87
SHC, UNC (c.1939)

1972:189-207). Shaw remembers his father always killing about three or four big hogs every winter (in Rosengarten 1974:13). As head of his own household, Shaw says (he):

always killed all the meat I wanted. We kept plenty of meat and lard to do us from Christmas to Christmas, four and five cans of lard, these fifty and sixty-pound cans. We didn't have to look but to what we produced ourselves.

(in Rosengarten 1974:245)

Mr. Shaw particularly remembers a time when he had about nine hundred pounds of meat laid out on planks in his yard. He said that "stools, boxes, tables, benches, and everything had planks across em and them planks was lined with meat, just killed and cut out" (in Rosengarten 1974:191).

After the meat was dressed and cut, it could be smoked or salted for year-long storage. In the vicinity of Harmony, North Carolina, most farmers actually salted their pork (Sam Current, interview of 5/31/87). ("Smokehouse" was actually a misnomer in most area farmsteads.) The meat would be placed in the smokehouse, and covered with salt for curing. Some farmers kept this meat down in their cellars, instead. When the weather got warm again, the meat was sometimes taken out, rolled in salt again, and covered in pepper and/or brown sugar. Then it would be hung up, usually in some type of burlap sacking (see discussion in Wigginton 1972:199-207; interview of 5/25/87 with Betty Hendrix and Margaret Preckler).

The Nichols family was known in their Harmony

neighborhood as having sweet, fat hogs with the best meat. Local farmers were quietly proud of their ability to produce good-tasting pork (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). Essie Stine is remembered, in part, for her fine sausage. She would take the "cracklings" and trimmings produced during hog slaughtering, and place them in a snowy white sack. This sack would be hung on a temporary tripod. It would then be squeezed and twisted. This process was continued over and over. A combination of herbs and left-over meat scraps would be turned into breakfast sausage (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88). Lard was also rendered at this time, usually by the women. They would cook the hog fat over an open kettle, stir it, and strain it. When satisfied with its consistency, they would pour it into large buckets or jars. (Linda Thomas, of Harmony did so in the fall of 1987, basing her procedures on memories of her mother doing so when Linda was a little girl.)

Throughout the winter months, farmers would generally turn to house, barn and general farm maintenance, to prepare for the returning spring and the resumption of their annual round (Newton 1971:70).

Most of the annual cycle of labor on the farmstead was performed by members of the family, with occasional help from their neighbors and kin. The intensity of work on the farm was seasonal only in the sense of field labor needs. Chores of housecleaning, cooking, washing clothes, mending

harness, repairing buildings, and fixing fences continued throughout the year as time allowed. Typically, an agrarian family put in about 11 to 14 hours of work per day (Ginns 1977:51, Jensen 1981:162, Vanek 1980:424).

In most households, there was a perception of gender differences in relationship to work. The adult men were expected to be in charge of the fields and fieldwork, the women in charge of the interior house chores. The youngest children helped their mothers, the older worked in the fields unless their mothers needed them for a specific chore. Women were generally also in charge of their kitchen gardens, feeding the livestock, milking the cows and tending the children. Sometimes the men were in charge of feeding the large stock such as pigs and mules, the women the smaller stock such as the chickens. Women were also expected to help in the fields when needed, as field crops had a priority over all other labor needs (Hagood 1939:42, 58, 86, 87, 159; Jones 1985:80). For instance, one white tenant farm family in the North Carolina Piedmont divided up their labor as follows: the father and three adult sons worked in the fields full-time, as did the mother. The eldest daughter cooked, the next oldest would baby-sit the young children. Three of their other children worked in the fields all day when not in school. All eleven family members would work in the fields if needed, especially at harvest time (Hagood 1939:15).

According to Hagood's study, "Patriarchy prevails in form, but not always in practice" (Hagood 1939:163). The perception of appropriate division of labor by gender was not always closely followed (Hagood 1939:164). For example, women or daughters were expected to cook, but many frankly abhorred that task. Husbands would occasionally cook instead (Hagood 1939:159). At the Stine farmstead in Harmony, Essie's father-in-law Noah would often cook, and is said to have really enjoyed it (interview with Sam Current, 5/31/87). Most women had to sew their families' clothing, some husbands did this sewing (Hagood 1939:105).

Many farm women appear to have loved field work, and preferred it to doing household tasks. Hagood writes that "Seven-eighths of these women prefer field work to housework, and were prouder of their prowess in the field and in the tobacco shed than in the kitchen" (1939:vi). Many told her they were proud of their "ability to work like a man" (1939:89). These women seem to have been somewhat shy to admit their preference for outdoor labor, and thought it was "manish" (see Abbot 1983:43, Thomas 1981 introduction). While interviewing 56 farm women across the United States, Thomas discovered that most said they only helped with the farmwork. When pressed, they admitted that they cared for the stock, the garden, the orchard, the children, the house, and helped in the fields (1981:xiii). By the end of their interviews, they were admitting their

enjoyment of outdoor work, even if it meant they were "tomboys" (1981:xiii-xiv, see also Abbott 1983:155).

Margaret Preckler remembers preferring outdoor work to household chores. In her neighborhood, there were not any girls her age to play with, so she played hard with the boys. She was called "Tommy" in her family for years, derived from "tomboy". Even as a young woman, her oldest brother would introduce her to his friends as "My sister, Tommy" (Margaret Preckler, interview of 5/25/87 and 2/16/88). She has a picture of her mother, Essie Stine, dressed in overalls and a slouch hat for fieldwork. On the back, her mother wrote that she was "ugly", probably because she was wearing male clothing. Nonetheless, her work both inside and outside of the home was highly appreciated, as was the labor of neighbor Emma Nichols and that of her mother-in-law (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86, Margaret Preckler and Betty Stine, interview of 5/25/87).

In her study of Afro-American farm families of Warren County, North Carolina, Darling discovered that the work of men and women was generally considered of equal value. As this century draws to a close, however, their work is being viewed as less equal (Darling 1983:183). Nate Shaw states that the women in his family worked hard, and their work was appreciated by him. He remembers that his mother would work the fields with her children, while her husband would be off

hunting. He says (1974:9) her dress was "rolled up nearly to her knees, just so she could have a clear stroke walkin. Pushed up and rolled up around her waist and a string tied around it and her dress would bunch up around her hips." Shaw always felt that his mother was being mistreated somehow, and he made a point of helping his wife with the housework. Furthermore, he hardly ever asked her to work in the fields. He even milked the cows for her (indicating he felt it was usually a woman's job) (in Rosengarten 1974:121).

Children were expected to start helping with chores at an early age, and to be responsible for important tasks. One gentleman from Burke County, North Carolina, remembers that his father sent him across a field to get the axe, at the age of only three (Mr. Kelly, interview Fall 1985?). Even a child two years old could have been made responsible for bringing in kindling (Hagood 1939:142-143). Betty Hendrix recalls having to crawl under the barn floor to collect eggs as a young girl (interview 5/25/87). Shaw states that he had to learn how to plow, and plow well, at the early age of nine, and do regular shifts by age twelve or thirteen (in Rosengarten 1974:15). Most white tenant children were plowing by age fourteen (Hagood 1939:142). Children helped their fathers in the fields when needed, but also were assigned tasks to help with the housework. Some were even given the responsibility of raising a particular

patch of cotton or tobacco, and called it their patch. The proceeds from the sale of their cash crop would be used to pay for their school shoes and perhaps clothes (Hagood 1939:87, 142-143).

Betty Hendrix remembers that, as youngest child, she had to take over all of her brothers' and sister's chores when they left home. She says "...I still had to go to the cotton patch, I had to carry in the wood, I had to go hunt up the eggs, I had to do all of this after school...I had it all to do" (interview of 5/25/87). Her older sister states that when all of the children were at home, they all had specific chores to do. She also had to work in the fields, and states her brothers only had to work in the fields, while she also had to do housework. She never thought this was fair (interview of 5/25/87). Her primary personal chore was to clean the fireplaces out once a week, and to whitewash the firebricks. Ms. Preckler would either carry the ash out to the ash hopper (for soap making) or spread it outside around the flowerbeds. She would then go across the dirt road to the little branch, or creek, that divided their property from that of the Nichols family. There was a deposit of white clay (kaolin) there that was collected for use as whitewash. When she was finished, her mother would inspect her work and make her do it over if she didn't approve of the fireplaces' condition. When she was finished, Ms. Preckler liked to pick wild flowers and place

them in clear glass mason jars of water, over the mantles, for decoration (interview of 5/25/87 and 5/26/87). This manner of treating the fireplaces seems to have been common, although some families may have treated them so only once a year at the start of summer. According to one woman from Burke County, North Carolina:

Well, my mother would wash and clean all the ashes out. She'd clean all that up good, get all the soot down and wash it real good with soapy water. And then she'd go to the bank and get white mud. And she had a big old pot she made up the whitewash in, with cold water to mash it up good in...just like paint. And she'd whitewash the fireplace all up good inside and outside. And it would dry...she'd go and get her some wild flowers or even honeysuckle or something and make her a big old flower pot and put it in there. And the fireplace would be so pretty and smell so good.

(Bertha Norman, B. 1911, in Ginns 1977:23)

Whitewash could also be used to "paint" the interior of the farmhouse (Hagood 1939:100).

Children helped their mother churn butter, in alkaline-glazed stoneware or wooden churns, or, later in the century, in large hand-cranked box churns. An example of a stoneware churn from the Harmony area can be seen in the photograph following¹¹. Both children and adults could chant while churning, to keep a steady motion going and to prevent boredom. One chant used was "Come butter come, come butter come, Peter standing at the gate, waiting for a butter cake, come butter come" (Wigginton 1972:188).



Photo 4-5. Iredell County Woman and Churn
(Courtesy Margaret Stine)



Photo 4-6. Stine Cast Iron Wash Kettles,
Curated in Granary

Another monotonous chore was that of the weekly washing. Both the Stine and Nichols families washed their clothes in large cast iron kettles (see Photograph 4-6). (Similar kettles can be seen lining farm families' driveways in the present Harmony area.) Hagood writes that tenant wives in the Piedmont felt that washing was the hardest chore in terms of physical labor. These women washed clothes at least once a week, and had their children help by "cutting the wood, making a fire under the pot in the yard, and drawing water" (1939:104-105, see also Jensen 1981:161). The interviewed farmwives felt that diapers and work overalls ("hogwashers", "bibs") were the most difficult to clean. The Stine children remember that their dirty clothes were always thrown in the closet under the hallway stairs. Once a week, their mother would have to haul the clothes out and try to wash the thick red clay out of field attire. She would set up two large pots, one to wash in, one for rinsing, in the yard behind the back porch. When the clothes were clean, Essie Stine and her daughters would hang them on a small line strung between some of the fruit trees. If they ran out of line, they would simply drape clothing over the branches of the cherry and peach trees (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87). All family members had strict instructions to try not to get too dirty. The field workers tied strings around their ankles to help keep the red clay dust out of the inside of their

clothes (Kenneth and Treva Stine, interview of 2/6/88).

Clothes were washed through a mixture of scrubbing, boiling, and judicious use of home-made lye soap. In the photograph following (4-7), one can see Emma Nichols making soap in her backyard. Briefly, soap was made by combining lye and lard, tallow or any fat, and slowly cooking it in a cast iron kettle over an open fire. Lye was either purchased at the store or produced at home. A family could take a hollow tree, or create a hopper out of scrap lumber to make their lye in. Lye was created by taking ashes, preferably hickory ash, placing them in a large wooden container and letting water drip through them for about a day. The water would slowly run through and trickle out some sort of spout into a bucket or pan. This lye would then be added to the heating pot of about fifteen pounds of grease and stirred. (Some figured on using two pounds of lard for every gallon of lye.) This would be cooked until it had the consistency of gravy. Next, it could be cooled and cut into blocks right from the pan, or poured into a flat container for cooling. This soap was rather hard on containers, and some farmers simply stored their soap in a hollowed-out log, covered by a wooden plank (Abbott 1983:160, Lynn Nichols, interview of 10/12/87; Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86; Ginns 1977:20, Wigginton 1972:151-158). This soap was used for cleaning everything and everybody. (However, bottles of



Photo 4-7. Mrs. Emma Nichols, making soap
(Courtesy of Lynn Nichols and
Margaret Preckler)

"store-bought" shampoo were uncovered at the Stine farmstead, see Chapter VII.)

Men usually wore overalls, women either overalls or cotton dresses (for field work), and children, jeans. Young boys often had to wear short pants when going to school or church. The typical church clothing of the 1920s and 1930s can be seen in the accompanying photograph of James and Essie Stine and their family. The next photograph shows party dress for the previous generation, taken about 1916. More typical work clothing is shown by the next photograph. Clothing for the farm family was either hand-sewn or produced on the ubiquitous treadle Singer machine. Those with some cash flow would order clothes from a mail-order merchant such as Sears, or go into town and purchase clothing (Abbott 1983:8; Hagood 1939:15,67,105,144,205; Jensen 1981:163). Shoes were either hand-made, or more likely bought at the local store. Many a local farm family would carve wooden lasts (shoe molds) for their family, and use them to continue half-soleing shoes "until there was no more space on the top to nail anything to" (Margaret Preckler, interview of 5/25/87). Economizing on clothing could lead to jokes on the part of some town children at school (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87). (The social hierarchy was also evidenced by jokes made about the differences in the farm versus town children's lunches, see below.) The Stine children in the

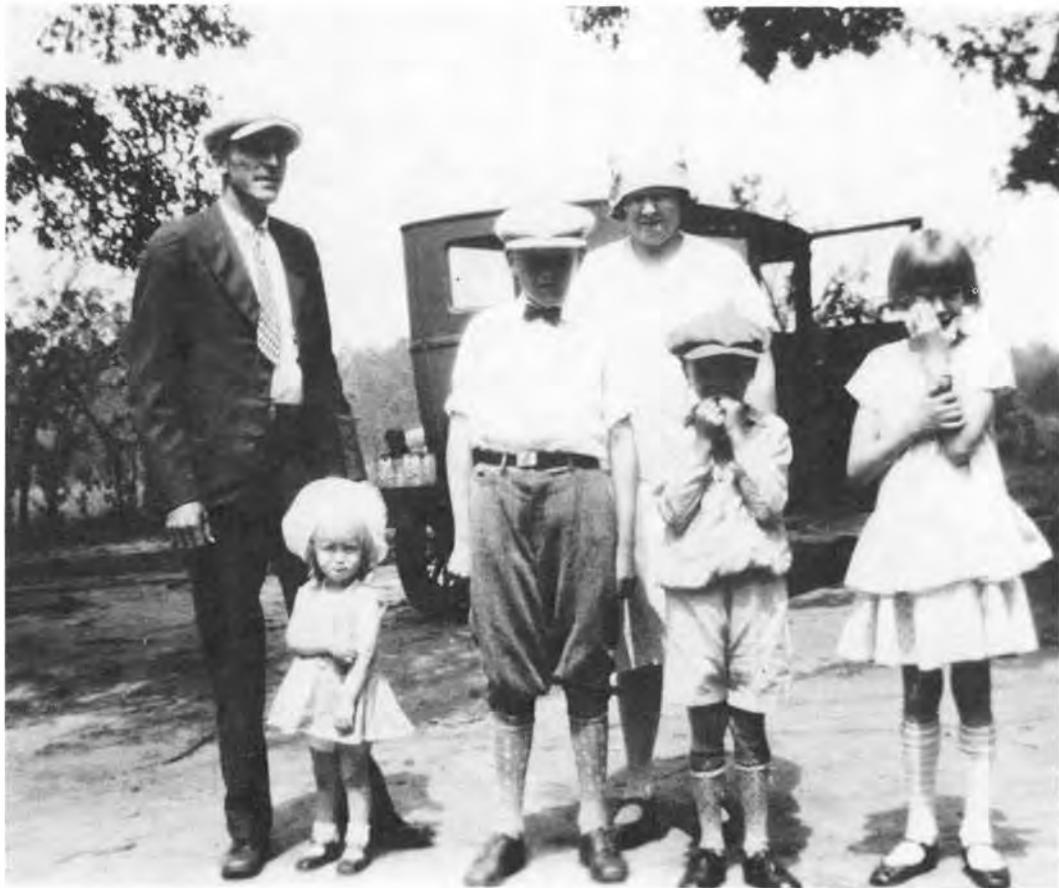


Photo 4-8. Stine Family 1920s (Courtesy M. Preckler)



Photo 4-9. Stines
1910s (Courtesy
of Alva Pent)

1920s and 30s would wear hand-me-downs from larger cousins or brothers or sisters, until they fit. They would also wear clothing made out of bleached feed sacks, and starched stiff with home-made flour and water starch. They were allowed to pick out a bolt of material at Easter for a new dress, to last for Sunday best as long as possible. Clothes apparently had a use-life as follows: First made or bought for Sunday best, then worn at school, then play, then work. (Old clothes were often used as cleaning rags or as quilt pieces, buttons were saved.) Some older farm women refuse to wear jeans today, as they hated having to wear their brother's hand-me-downs in the fields after school (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87, Treva Stine, personal communication).

Lye soap was also a major ingredient in housecleaning chores. Floors were scrubbed until they shone. Sweeping was usually accomplished with a hand-made broom made from broomsage, or dogwood brooms ("scrag broom"), or "bambusa brooms" (Hagood 1939:100, Jones 1985:173, photograph, McDaniel 1982:213-214). Front yards were also swept clean for various reasons. One researcher discovered that farmers felt a "clean yard" (no grass) meant fewer bugs, mice, and snakes in the house (McDaniel 1982:214). Fires would be easier to control, too. A friend traveling through South Georgia recently saw an old black woman sweeping her sandy yard and stopped to talk with her. She said she knew she



Photo 4-10. Person
County Farmer, Odum
Papers #99, SHC
circa 1940



Photo 4-11. Mrs. Ella Stimpson, circa 1930.
(Courtesy of Margaret Preckler)

could never afford a lawnmower, so kept her yard free of grass. Furthermore, she said she made her own brooms out of local "Gallberry" brush (Joel Jones, personal communication 1988). Essie Stine tried to grow grass on her homestead's knoll, but failed to do so. She had to be content with keeping the yard swept very clean and neat, and especially free of chicken droppings (Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/26/87).

The last major chore on the farm was that of food preparation and cooking. A wide range of foods were canned and/or simply stored in clear glass jars. One woman, for example, canned 400 quarts of vegetables and fruit over the summer for her family's consumption. If they had any extra jars, she could sell them to local families (Hagood 1939:21). Basically, rural families' diets were based on what foods were available to them. Some families had the money to purchase most of their food at local stores, some did not, or preferred their own home produce (Hagood 1939:11, 103-104, 235). Families ate domesticated meats, dairy products, eggs, garden vegetables, wild vegetables and fruits, orchard produce, crop products and wild meats. For example, wild meats could consist of turkey, duck, opossum, eels, fish, racoons, squirrels, turtles, beavers, deer, and rabbit¹². Mothers, some daughters, and the occasional father would labor over a woodstove and produce breakfasts of left-over potatoes, cornbread and/or biscuits; bacon,

sausage, or ham, and eggs (Margaret Stine and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87). Most cooking utensils were of heavy cast iron, and placed on the stove, or actually in the fire (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interviews of 5/25-26/87, Kenneth and Margaret Stine, personal communication). Lunches ("dinner") would consist of a cold biscuit with egg and/or a breakfast meat, or perhaps a cold buttered sweet potato. Some of the children at the Harmony school would bring store-bought loaf-bread to school for their lunch sandwiches. Some of the farm children would try to hide their "common" ham biscuits (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87; see also Hagood 1939:178). (Years later, these children are grandparents, and laugh at the high status and popularity of biscuits, as opposed to loaf-bread.) After school snacks consisted of any of the breakfast or dinner foods left out on a small table in the dining room, covered by inverted plates or cloth (Margaret Preckler and Betty Stine, interview of 5/25/87, see also Hagood 1939:99).

"Supper" (dinner) would consist of another large meal, with numerous vegetables, at least one meat, many sours and at least one sweet (even if molasses) on the table, and was usually followed by a dessert (Hagood 1939:101-102, 129; also interview with Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix of 5/25/87). Three meals and a snack had to be prepared for the entire family, any visitors, any "hands" (paid laborers)

and extra cooked for any sick neighbors (Hagood 1939:101). (Hunting dogs living under the house or on the porch, or pigs in the pig lots received any scraps [Kenneth Stine, personal communication and Hagood 1939:101]). Sometimes a husband would purchase salt-fish, cheese or sardines and crackers for a family treat (Hagood 1939:102, Rosengarten 1974:176, interview with Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix 5/25/87). Meals were as complete as economic conditions allowed (Rosengarten 1974:14).

The list of chores on a farm could seem endless, and one wonders how these people were able to keep working so hard. Most farmers worked six days a week, and did not "take Saturday holidays" (Carson Nichols, interview of 2/15/86, see also Vanek 1980:424). The day usually began at 4:00 or 5:00 at the latest, and ended way after dark. If a farmer did not have a night visit planned, he or she would typically head for bed- "You worked so hard, you'd give out" (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). One incentive was that many of these farmers worked directly for themselves, or only indirectly for a landlord. Their belief in the agricultural ladder, and obtaining their own place, or a better farmstead, kept many working late in the fields.

In addition, farm families made time for leisure activities. Mealtime provided time to catch up on local and family gossip, and to simply relax together (Hagood 1939:145). Rainy days were good excuses to go down to the

local store and sit, play checkers, and talk about the weather (Carrie Shaw, interview of 10/9/87). Children looked forward to rain days so they could play games in their house, barn or other outbuildings (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). Children played marbles, shooting into the roots of their yard trees (Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/26/87). The Stine and Nichols children had few store-bought toys; instead, they or their parents manufactured them out of local materials (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87). For example, some tenant families in the North Carolina Piedmont played checkers on a home-made board with beer bottle caps as counters (Hagood 1939:97). The younger generation also made string balls, and played "Aunty over the Hill" or "Aunty and the Over Game". This consisted of complicated play involving a string ball, a barn, tag, and teams (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86 and personal communication, Margaret Preckler, interview of 2/16/88). Local Harmony children, regardless of gender, religion or ethnic background, would play that all-American game of baseball. Usually they would play in a large field in front of the Nicholises' house (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86, Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87). Kids would also tie strings to doodle bugs and spin them like airplanes (Kenneth and Treva Stine, personal communication). Children would often split

up by gender, and go "skinny dipping" down at the branch on hot summer nights (Margaret Preckler, interview of 5/26/87). One readily available game was pitching horsehoes; but, in most cases, they really pitched mule-shoes (Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87).

One farm woman recalls the importance of aesthetics to children and adults alike. As a child, she had a home economics assignment to help beautify the farm. For her project, she planted borders of wild and domesticated flowers around the house (Margaret Preckler, interview of 5/25/87). McDaniel discovered that Afro-American tenants and owners usually planted large numbers of flowers around their homes (1982:214). Many farm women seem to have enjoyed cultivating flowers (Thomas 1981:55). The Nichols and Stine children still remember what types of flowers grew around their two farmsteads in Harmony. Ms. Emma Nichols was well-known for her sweet-smelling wisteria growing along her front porch (Margaret Stine and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87). In the photograph following, one can see that plants were placed along the porches, in old jars, buckets, dishes and actual flower pots. Cut flowers were often brought into the house, even if placed in mason jars or beer bottles instead of vases (Margaret Preckler, interview of 5/25/87, Hagood 1939:97).

Women also decorated their homes by combining functional items with a personal aesthetic sense. They



Photo 4-12. Stine Front Porch, 1940s
(Courtesy of Margaret Stine)

Photo 4-13. Wall
Calendar, Stine
Dining Room Wall
1987



would pick bright old calendars and magazine pages to hang on the walls for both insulation and decoration (see the following photograph). Tea and wash towels would be made from feed or flour sacks, but embroidered and/or crocheted beautifully. (Piles of these old linens can be found today inside the Stine house. Some of these towels can also be found as highly cherished heirlooms in descendants' homes.) Aprons were also carefully made and decorated. Flour sack curtains were sometimes constructed, again, carefully embroidered. Quilts were hung on walls as decoration, or draped across beds. These brightly colored quilts served important technomic and sociotechnic functions, in the Binfordian sense¹³. Mantles were usually reserved for a special item, such as an heirloom ceramic, a figurine or flowers (McDaniel 1982:163, Stewart-Abernathy 1986:inside cover and page 133).

Quilting bees were one of the primary means of female socializing. One woman states "I have known those women to walk five miles to spend an afternoon at a quilting frame" (Abbott 1983:7). Her grandmother enjoyed quilting more than any other chore on the farm (1983:66-67). Women passed knowledge of quilting designs vertically across the generations, from mother to daughter, and horizontally from friend to friend (Rosengarten 1974:187, interview with Margaret Preckler, 5/25/87, Margaret and Treva Stine, personal communications). Quilt fronts were either solid or

pieced from old clothes. The batting, or inner lining, was constructed from finely combed cotton produced on the farm. When local stores began stocking cheap, thin, woolen blankets, these were used in place of cotton batting (Margaret Stine, personal communication November 27, 1988). The quilt would be tacked and rolled tightly on a wooden frame. This frame usually had metal rings on the ends so it could be strung on ropes and stored against the ceiling or wall when not in use. The ladies would place wooden chairs at the four ends of the quilt, if the frame did not have an independent support. Each would bring a thimble and a quilting needle, the thread was provided by the homeowner. Women would spent hours sewing these quilts, gossiping and trading all sorts of information. The hostess would provide freshly made pies and cakes for consumption during the quilting. Occasionally, a "thrifty" wife would even bring out other mending to share with her friends. Women seem to have been invited based on their sewing ability and nearness in the neighborhood. At least in Harmony, race does not seem to have been a criterion of membership. Children often came along to play, and older daughters were expected to learn how to quilt (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86, Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87; Ginns 1977:95-96, Rosengarten 1974:187, Wigginton 1972:142-150).

Socializing, or "visiting" was one of the major forms

of recreation. However, this recreation often included sharing a particular task, such as shelling beans, cooking a meal, or making a quilt. These jobs would be accomplished with both neighboring friends and visiting kinsfolk. Women also joined associations such as Home Growers, or those created through the County extension office. They could also join special groups at church. Men also formed associations, such as the Woodsmen of America (Abbott 1983:8, Darling 1983:28-29, 67, 182-183, Hagood 1939:90, 171-175, Jones 1985:102, Rosengarten 1974:212, Vanek 1980:428). This socializing could also consist of sitting with the dead, a practice more common earlier in this century. For example, one young girl in her teens had to sit up all night at a neighbor's house with an older woman friend. When the man of the house had died, his body was taken into town to the undertakers. Next, it was brought back to the house for one night. That was the night that at least two neighbors were expected to come sit with the body (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87).

One woman writes that "People just showed up and were always made welcome: it was an excuse to stop work. To stay less than an hour was an insult, and there was always a meal" (Abbott 1983:164). The proper leave-taking could take up to three hours (Abbott 1983:164). The majority of family-to-family visiting would take place on a Sunday after church hours (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix,

interview of 5/25/87). Kin would come and visit in the summer months, and some would leave their children at their relatives' farm the entire summer. (Research indicates that these relatives were the children of the original builder of the farmstead, and had been raised there in the previous generation. They probably considered the farmstead their home.) The Stine children would have to double up in their rooms, and resented the fact that their parents never made their cousins undertake regular chores (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86, Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87). George Stine remembers driving all day up into the Brushy Mountains, northwest of Harmony, to visit with relatives. In the early twenties they would go by wagon, later in the thirties by car. He recalls bringing a big lunch for the trip, and having to ford many small streams along the bumpy dirt road (personal communication 1984).

Dances were rare (Hagood 1939:175) and some dances had the reputation of being too wild for young folk to attend (Margaret Stine, interview of 5/25/87). Moonshine was not uncommon in the area, as Statesville was a prime production center for corn whiskey (Mack Lackey, personal communication 1987). Householders apparently held their own views about drinking, some for it, some against it. Seeing a drunk neighbor was sometimes part of growing up (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88; Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine,

interview of 2/15/86).

During harvest, farmers combined socializing with work. Wheat thrashings, cotton pickings and corn shuckings were common in the North Carolina Piedmont (Margaret Preckler, Betty Hendrix, interviews of 5/25-26/87). Corn shuckings were communal efforts, and usually began at night, after a full day's work. (In the eastern Piedmont it was more common to hire laborers to come shuck during the day (Mildred Harris, personal communication 1986)). The general practice seems to have been as follows: the corn would be piled high by the barn and corn crib. The men would shuck the corn, swapping tales and talking of all and sundry. The women would usually not shuck. The women would be in the house cooking a feast, and sometimes engaged in a quilting bee. The children would be running under foot, helping out and playing (Ginns 1977:94, Hagood 1939:89, 175-176). Everyone pitched in until the corn was shucked, even if it was a huge pile, or a little one. (Refer back to Photograph 4-1.) People did not take exact counts of the amount of labor traded. However, they probably knew very well how the mutual cycle of obligation was working (George Preckler, interview of 2/16/88). These neighbors seem to have had a good time, regardless of the size of the mound of corn. Many of the young men would bring their hunting dogs, so they could go opossum hunting after the corn shucking ended. Most men had about three hunting hounds apiece, and would

have to tie them at the shucking, or "they'd run off and they'd tree them (raccoons, opossums) and you'd have to go get them!" (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86).

Through the medium of visiting, farm families were able to mitigate against overwork and isolation. Corn shuckings, wheat threshings, quilting bees and so forth were undertaken with neighbors and friends. They served to both entertain and to accomplish a specific task.

These agrarians appear to have turned to each other for mutual economic and emotional support. The small farmer in the Piedmont, whether owner or tenant, was engaged in an annual round of labor. They and their families were dependent upon the vagaries of the weather, myriad pests, and crop markets. Many urban institutions' functions had to be undertaken by the farm family, with the help of their neighbors and/or kin. They entertained one another, married one another, helped birth each other's children, and helped bury one another. The rhythms of their lives were similar, shared, and slow. Time was kept by meals, by tasks, and by seasons.

The tempo of these rural lives was also reflected and mitigated by settlement patterns. Farmsteads, stores, mills, schools and churches dotted the countryside in a particular pattern suited to the history of settlement and the needs of the community. In the following chapter, the settlement pattern of the Upland South will be discussed, as

will the particular manifestation of this pattern in the vicinity of Harmony, North Carolina.

CHAPTER IV ENDNOTES:

1. Although Piedmont tenants thought that the "country is the only place: for rearing honest, good children", they also hoped that these same offspring would find a different occupation (Hagood 1939:179). These farmers hoped that their progeny would escape the cycle of debt and poverty often associated with a rural lifestyle (Hagood 1939:26). Daniel also writes of the contradiction between the values and aspirations of many agrarians (1985:167-168). See also Darling (1980:20-23, 55 and Gaston 1973:206). For particular studies of black farmers' values, see Darling (1983:17, 67) and McDaniel (1982:202).

2. This contrasts sharply with Hagood's discovery in the North Carolina Piedmont. When asking for directions, she would often become lost. Finally, she realized that many white tenants simply did not include black farmsteads, churches, or schools in their directions. Obviously, their view of their neighborhood and their physical world placed blacks far in the background (Hagood 1939:178). Hagood believes that these farmers felt that racial separation was best, and morally right (Hagood 1939:178). This attitude was recalled by Mildred Harris, the daughter of a large tobacco farmer in the eastern piedmont area. She states that black and white neighbors did not often interact, unless there was an employer/employee relationship present (personal communication). This perception can be seen in the fact that some black workers were given whiskey, not food, to eliminate the necessity of eating together in the Piedmont. Hagood heard one tenant say "You can get niggers to do anything for a drink or two" (1939:176). This was different from the perceptions of interviewed farmers in Harmony. One summed up the situation by saying he never knew racism existed until he left for "service" in the 1940s (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88). People seem to have known each other's strengths and weaknesses very well, and being a hard worker or a lazy one cross-cut race in many cases. One gentleman whose father employed many tenants, mostly black, states that social hierarchy in the area was based more on who owned a farm as opposed to rented or sharecropped it (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87). His father ran 65 acres in cotton, 14 in tobacco. He usually employed 7 to 8 tenant families, usually black. His father built new tenant housing for his employees, and later helped most of these farmers purchase their own homes through an area bank. John Gaither summed up black and white relations as follows: He said they were separate, but still friends. For instance, if he ever saw a black or white acquaintance on the road, he would give them a ride. However, his family and their tenants did not attend the same schools, churches,

or even ballgames (interview of 10/9/87). One person interviewed did remember using the word "nigger" as a child, and having her mother "whip" her bottom for her over it. The story goes as follows: as a child, she and her brothers would laugh cruelly at a small, black neighbor boy when he came to visit. This was because one of their hounds simply did not care for this one child. It would come out and "tree" him every time. This boy would see the dog and slide up a pole in front of the house, used to hold a radio antenna. The kids would circle the pole, as would the barking hound. They would chant "Nigger, nigger, black as tar; trying to [walk] on our electric wire". If their mother heard the commotion, she would come out of the house and whip them all "good" (Margaret Preckler interview of 5/25/87). Obviously, that sort of behavior was not sanctioned or taught by their parents. These same children would never conceive of calling their adult black neighbors by any but the most respectful names (e.g. Mrs. Stimpson or Ms. Ella) (Kenneth Stine, personal communication, Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interviews of 5/25-26/87). Differentiation in the town based on economic position is discussed in this chapter, in the section on clothing and foodways.

3. For discussions of community, and connotations of both physical and social boundaries, see Arensberg 1968, Barth 1963, 1969; and Crumley 1987.

4. The author did discover the remnants of a ruled notebook in one of the farmhouses, dated "From 1914 to 1924". Some of the pages were still legible. One could see that the elder Stine, Noah, had kept records of how many pounds of cotton each child had picked. There would be a series of numbers, indicating that the family harvested cotton over a number of days. On another page, one can see that Noah's son James had taken over this task, and he lists how much cotton was picked by his father, wife, sisters, and cousin (Bertie, Belle, Papa, Essie, Tresco, and Jim for a total of 725 lbs.). On a separate page, the pounds harvested by some of the Nichols children were recounted (Pomp, Carson, Chonie, and Bubbie for a total of 339 lbs.). It is not known if these records were used to reimburse workers out of cash, or to simply keep track of pounds taken.

5. As Arensberg said (1937:76), "The balance, which we can see objectively, is to him [the farmer] a deep personal intuition". The men in this family apparently were taught by example, more so than articulated instruction.

6. Opossums were often hunted in rural North Carolina with great enjoyment (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). In fact, Carson Nichols was renowned for his

ability to climb up a tree after an opossum and shake it down (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). People from area cities were sometimes brought "up to country" to enjoy a night opossum hunt (Margaret Preckler, interview of 5/25/87). This wild animal was not eaten with equal enthusiasm by all. Some individuals thought it was only fit as "poor man's pork", and was too greasy too enjoy. Others felt that it was a real treat. Those who enjoyed this meat often kept one or two opossums fattening up in a pen for a few weeks after capture (personal communications from Wellman France, Mildred Harris, Margaret Stine; interviews with Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix on 5/25/87 and with Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, 2/15/86. See also Ginns 1977:45).

7. Cotton planting is also described in Ginns 1977:77-80. According to Kenneth Stine (interview of 2/6/88), most area farmers used a single-stock plow with a shovel attachment to "throw out a big row" for planting root vegetables such as sweet potatoes. Shovels were also used to churn up weeding litter and to rake dirt back over a crop. The actual plow attachment (plow point) was mostly used to create a small furrow for planting cotton and similar crops. A "single train" consisted of a mule and a hoe or shovel or plow. A "double tree" or "double train" was formed by hooking up two mules abreast to the gear. A trace chain was encased in leather, as it kept the mules' hides protected when harnessed. Traces were used to guide the mules. If the animals were hitched to a wagon, a breast chain would be added.

8. See Wigginton 1972:208-227 for discussions of forecasting weather and figuring planting times based upon certain "signs". The use of natural events to guide planting and harvesting is a time-honored tradition, and often pan-cultural. Information as to what signs to look for was often found in almanacs and on special farm calendars. One such calendar was discovered on the wall of the Stine farmhouse, with its listing of moon phases, planting dates and humors, dating to 1947. The author was given almost the exact same calendar at an Eastover Feed and Seed Store ("Mr. Bunkey's") in South Carolina in 1988. Although most farmers knew how to read the signs, only some followed them. Carson Nichols's father, Curt, was well-respected in the Harmony area for his knowledge and interpretation of various signs. For instance, Curt would predict a dry month for the area if the new moon was shaped like a cup. If the cup was upside-down, rain would follow. If it was turned up, the month would have little precipitation (Kenneth Stine, interview of 10/4/87). Kenneth Stine's grandfather Noah also knew these signs, and passed that knowledge on to his family. He usually did so

through expressions such as "Full moon in March, means the geese will fly by", or "First whippoorwill call come spring, time to plant corn".

9. Carson Nichols had some trouble getting extra gas rationing cards during the second World War. He and his family needed more gas for farming (they had switched to tractors). The lady in charge of the gas kept refusing his extra gas cards. Mr. Nichols finally told her he hoped she had to spend the rest of her life priming tobacco- the hardest, dirtiest job he could think of. After that remark, she gave him the gas! (Carson Nichols, interview of 2/15/86).

10. Molasses making was described by Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, in an interview on 2/15/86. See also oral history in Ginns:1977:36-37.

11. Making butter in a ceramic churn can be seen in a black and white photograph in the Odum Papers, Box 2, #269, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A picture of a wooden churn can be found in the same collection, Box 1, #49. The wooden churn from the Nichols farmstead is presently stored in a corner of the living room at the home of Carson Nichols's daughter. Her son uses the old churn to hold his collection of 45 records. At least one of the Stine churns is now stored in an outbuilding at his daughter's home. Wigginton 1972:185-188 explains and illustrates the process of making butter. See also Hagood 1939:106 for her discussion of children helping their mothers churn.

12. McDaniel 1982:180 states that guns were traditionally hung over the lintel of the front door in both tenant and owner Afro-American homes in Maryland. The Stines kept their guns over the lintel, or behind the door. At least one member of the Nichols family kept a gun in the middle room of the house. (It is not known if it was over the door or not.) Most farmers in Harmony used various guns that had been handed down across the generations. A single family may have hunted with powder and shot; caps, powder and shot, or more modern rifles and shotguns (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88 and Margaret Preckler and Betty Stine, interview of 5/25/87). See also Rosengarten 1974:16 for more information. For more on diet see Abbott 1983:21-23, Hagood 1939:37, 101; Rosengarten 1974:13-14, 16, 31; also interviews with Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, 2/15/87 and Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, 5/25-26/87.

13. Binford 1962 defines three possibly interrelated categories of artifact function, technomic, sociotechnic, and ideotechnic. The term technomic is applied to an

artifact serving some type of technical function, sociotechnic to those serving social functions, and ideotechnic ideological functions. As he states, the same artifact may have functioned in all three capacities, or any combination thereof. A quilt, for instance, could be technomic in that it keeps a person warm. It is also sociotechnic, in that it may represent a social event (created during a quilting bee) or be used to commemorate an event (e.g. friendship quilts). If this same quilt had a design with a religious connotation, it would also be classified as ideotechnic. These levels of artifact meaning (in the emic and etic sense) appear to have been present in many of the objects manufactured on the farm. These items range from pottery crocks to wooden furniture to tea towels. The archaeologist may have trouble discerning the ideological aspect of some of the artifacts uncovered from one of these farm sites. This does not, however, mean that such aspects were not consciously or unconsciously incorporated in an artifact.

Chapter V

Settlement Pattern and Material Culture

Settlement patterns may be viewed as the:

largest and most complex of the artifacts in material culture. Their heroic proportions stem from at least two sources. First, the individual structures (houses, fields, roads, churches, clinics) are the greatest material accomplishments of both men and their institutions. Second, the complete settlement pattern is the largest tangible expression of the configuration of the culture. As is the case with many aspects of material culture, the settlement pattern is a complex structure, acting as both cause and effect at several levels of the man-to-man, man-to-technology, and man-to-land relations of the culture; the various aspects of settlement reflect different social facts.

(Newton 1974:340)

Settlement pattern studies have proved an integral part of archaeological research for at least the past 30 years (Chang 1968, Crumley and Marquardt 1987, Parsons 1972, Willey 1968). This genre of research includes study of both settlement patterns and settlement systems. The actual relations and processes related to the structure of settlement is termed the settlement system. The structure or physical manifestation of the settlement is usually referred to as the settlement pattern (Parsons 1972:132,

146).

As Newton mentions, settlement systems and patterns help to create- and are creations of- specific social facts. These social facts can be researched at various levels of analysis. Members of a particular culture may view settlement pattern, as well as related processes, differently. Individual viewpoints would be influenced by social and economic status, class, and ethnic and/or racial background. Hagood, for example, discovered that North Carolina Piedmont tenants viewed their neighborhood differently. Many white tenants described their physical world as if black churches, schools, and homes did not exist- let alone coexist (1939:178). These unmentioned/unperceived structures nonetheless form an important part of the overall settlement pattern in an area. The outsider can collect different cognitive maps of an area, including his/her own, and construct a graphic representation of settlement.

The researcher needs to underline the processes related to the physical pattern of settlement as well. For instance, a black farmer in Alabama was castigated for building his rural home near the main highway. Racism appears to be the basis for the white farmer's comment that "You don't have no business livin up here on the highway" (Rosengarten 1974:216). This attitude may or may not have been prevalent in that area in the early twentieth century.

Regardless, such comments could tend to direct settlement pattern at a local scale. In the present example, the black farmer said "You ain't got a damn thing to do with where I live" and built his house next to the road (Rosengarten 1974:216). This example serves to remind researchers that social pressures often help to dictate placement of homes, farms, churches, and schools. Whenever possible, the student of settlement pattern should define the underlying processes influencing the physical aspects of settlement.

Archaeologists undertaking settlement/landscape studies must consider the relative scales of their research, ranging through the micro, meso and macro scales (Adams 1968, Crumley 1979, Hodder 1986, Willey 1968). As the focus of investigation shifts, the level of settlement analysis should move in tandem. In the present case, the macro scale, covering the largest area, consists of the Piedmont region of the Southeastern United States, an area defined by a combination of geographic and cultural criteria. This area is often referred to as the "Upland South", a region of small farmsteads and rolling elevations. This culture area is usually contrasted to the "Tidewater" region and/or "Low Country" on the Eastern Coastal Plain. The Tidewater consists of relatively flat wetlands and low-lying country, usually divided into plantations (Arensberg 1955, Kniffen 1965, Prunty 1955).

The mid-range, or meso scale of research entails

description of the settlement structure in the Harmony area of Iredell County, based on published architectural studies, field observations, and oral history. The underlying processes influencing settlement have been discussed in previous chapters, but will be summarized briefly. This will provide a link between the macro and micro levels of research. The micro scale investigation consists of the actual description of the two case-study farmsteads. In the present study, two homes will be described, one a vernacular I-house, the other a local version of the hall-and-parlor. (In fact, both structures are mirror images, except for an additional story on the I-house.)

5-1. The Upland South

The Upland South culture area has been defined on the basis of settlement structure and related processes. Arensberg (1955) has argued that the Upland South has developed as a distinctive subculture, derived from a combination of historical antecedents and specific environments. Arensberg states that Middle Colonial farmers of Scotch-Irish and English descent moved down the Great Wagon Road, up the Shenandoah Valley, adapting previous customs to their needs in the Upland environment (1955:1153). For example, he states that most regional farmsteads are found in an open-country neighborhood, with a broad dispersal of individual farms (1955:1153-1155). This wide-ranging settlement structure is reflected and

reinforced by a dispersed sense of community. Upland communities consist of individuals joined by kinship, proximity, and choice into a "rural network of relationships running across country- sides..." (Arensberg 1955:1155). Glassie (1968) has effectively shown that myriad related activities, customs, beliefs and material items form a uniquely Southern subculture. This subculture is translated across the landscape of the Uplands, helping to physically delineate it from that of the Tidewater South¹. Trade routes, such as wagon roads, trails and rivers would have influenced the siting of the occasional cross-road community. These small hamlets would perhaps hold a doctor, a smith, and a merchant or two. The majority of rural inhabitants, however, would live on isolated farmsteads dotting the countryside.

The Upland South settlement system consists of a loosely dispersed network of relationships that form a dynamic community, defined by location, kinship and ethnicity. (Much of the economic and related social aspects of the system have been described in Chapter II.) This subculture can be directly contrasted with that of the Tidewater South. In the Tidewater, plantations were the norm, not the exception. Afro-American slaves, and later freed laborers, were often settled into a small, tightly knit community on the plantation. The Tidewater planter would build a commissary and supply most community needs directly on the

estate. The owner's store and storehouses would usually be built adjacent to the major route of trade, often a river or canal (Issac 1982, Prunty 1965, Scardaville in Brockington et al. 1985:43-52). This centralized settlement pattern was a reflection of the Low Country's economic and social systems. These systems were based on monocropping cash crops such as cotton, sugar, rice and/or tobacco. This contrasts sharply with the dispersed, smaller farmsteads found in the Uplands. As mentioned, Upland farmers did not, as a rule, concentrate most of their resources on a single cash crop, at least not until well after the American Civil War. After the War, many Tidewater planters maintained the centralized method of managing their farms, using paid laborers in place of slaves. These laborers would live in old slave quarters and/or newly constructed, centralized communities on the plantation. Planters who could not afford wage laborers often turned to burgeoning tenant and cropper arrangements. This resulted in the dispersal of tenants across the plantations on individual farmsteads (Prunty 1965, see also Chapters II, III). [Afro-American tenants were often able to mitigate against this dispersal, by building their farmsteads at the intersection of their lands' borders (McDaniel 1982).]

Newton (1971) has demonstrated how the demands of Upland South farming have resulted in the creation of a particular annual round of activities (see Chapter IV).

These activities influence the arrangement and use of regional material culture. The actual deployment of farms, roads and small communities across the landscape provides visible evidence of the influence of the Upland subculture on area residents. The particular arrangement of buildings, activity areas, crops, and livestock constitutes the Upland farmstead. In a sense, the farmstead serves as the primary tool of these southern farmers (Stewart-Abernathy 1986).

A portion of the material culture of the Upland South has been described on a macro scale by Kniffen (1965) and Trewartha (1948). They have delineated specific categories of vernacular buildings discovered on the myriad farmsteads found throughout the region. Kniffen's Upland South consists of an "initial occupance pattern". He was studying the diffusion of a particular type of settlement pattern that can be traced as beginning in the Mid-Atlantic region. From there (circa 1790s), this pattern spread to both the Hill South (mountains and piedmont) and the Cornbelt of the Midwest (Kniffen 1965:549-551). The actual pattern, at least from 1790-1850, was created by the migration of small farmers out of the Mid-Atlantic region. Kniffen describes a typical farmer in the Upland South, as of 1850, as having "log buildings, free-ranging stock, and [including] hunting as a serious part of his economy" (1965:574, see also McDonald and McWhiney 1972). Over time, and if an economic success, this farmer would translate his estate's growth by

changing the facade of his homestead. As the century wore on, the simple one-and two-room cabins ("saddlebags", "dogtrots" and/or hall-and-parlors) would be altered or replaced with I-houses. Of course, those farmers desiring to conserve resources often maintained their simpler one-and two-room abodes.

The I-house, usually two rooms wide, "one room deep, and two full stories in height" had "almost exclusive association with economic success, in an agricultural society" (Kniffen 1965:555). The actual arrangement of halls, chimneys, and kitchen ells would vary, dependent upon climate, topography, and personal preference. The I-house could have been constructed of stone, brick, log, and/or lumber (author's observation). The Upland South farmer desiring to show his economic success could build many different styles of the I-house type. For example, he could order Greek-Revival, Italianate, Federal, or "Carpenter Gothic" trim, railing styles, and columns. This allows for much variation of the type, at the level of the actual structure under study, or at the micro scale of analysis. (Subregional differences in construction materials, chimney placement and halls are more appropriately discussed at the meso, or medium scale of settlement analysis (Glassie 1975)).

Differences in barns and other out-buildings are visible at the regional (macro) scale. Kniffen (1965) and

Trewartha (1948) have described the diffusion and subsequent diversity of barn types in the Upland South. The more common single and double cribbed log barns of the Mid-Atlantic were metamorphized into structures with progressively smaller cribs. Barns changed from primarily serving to protect livestock to functioning more to protect grains from the elements (Kniffen 1965:563).

In the 1940s Trewartha compared and contrasted the farmstead patterns found in specific regions of the United States ². He discovered that 69% of the Cotton Belt farmsteads were placed on moderately sloping land, as opposed to only 28% on relatively flat areas. A total of 89.6% of these farms contained 175 acres or less, and 67% circumscribed less than 100 acres. The majority of farms held fewer than 50 acres (Trewartha 1948:192). The actual farmsteads (homes, barns, additional outbuildings), measured only about 1.4 acres. In the main, the farms and farmstead areas of the Upland South were smaller than their counterparts in other regions of the country (Trewartha 1948:192-193).

Additional contrasts can be drawn, for example, between the Upland South and the Wisconsin and Illinois Dairy Regions. Farmsteads in the latter fronted the main road 67% of the time, as opposed to only 48% of the cases in the Upland South. Over 36% of Southern farmsteads were seated on a private drive off the main highway, versus 22% in the

Midwest (Trewartha 1948:194). Distinctive yard areas were delineated in only 43% of reported Cotton farms (Trewartha 1948:199). The actual homes varied as to number of stories and floor plans. Over two-thirds of the farmhouses in four regions were two or more stories in height. In the Range Livestock area, 64% of the homes were only one story. The Cotton Belt had the highest percentage of one-story homes, equalling 87% (Trewartha 1948:194-195). Only 10% of the Cotton Belt homes had basements, as opposed to the majority of other farmsteads in more northern climes. Southern farmsteads, in the 1940s, were more likely to have smaller barns, built like sheds, and, in general, fewer out-buildings (Trewartha 1948:196-197, 200).

To sum, the pre-World War II Upland South area can be characterized as having loosely dispersed farmsteads. These farmsteads are comparatively smaller than those found in other culture areas of the United States. The actual farms, in terms of overall acreage, also tend to be smaller. Houses are more often one-story, although two-story I-houses are occasionally present. Most of these homes lack basements, and, in fact, are built on cypress, stone, brick or concrete piers. Southern farms also have smaller outbuildings, and fewer types. As a result, some activities that are undertaken in outbuildings in other areas may instead take place in specific yard areas on Upland Farms.

This generalized Upland South settlement pattern has,

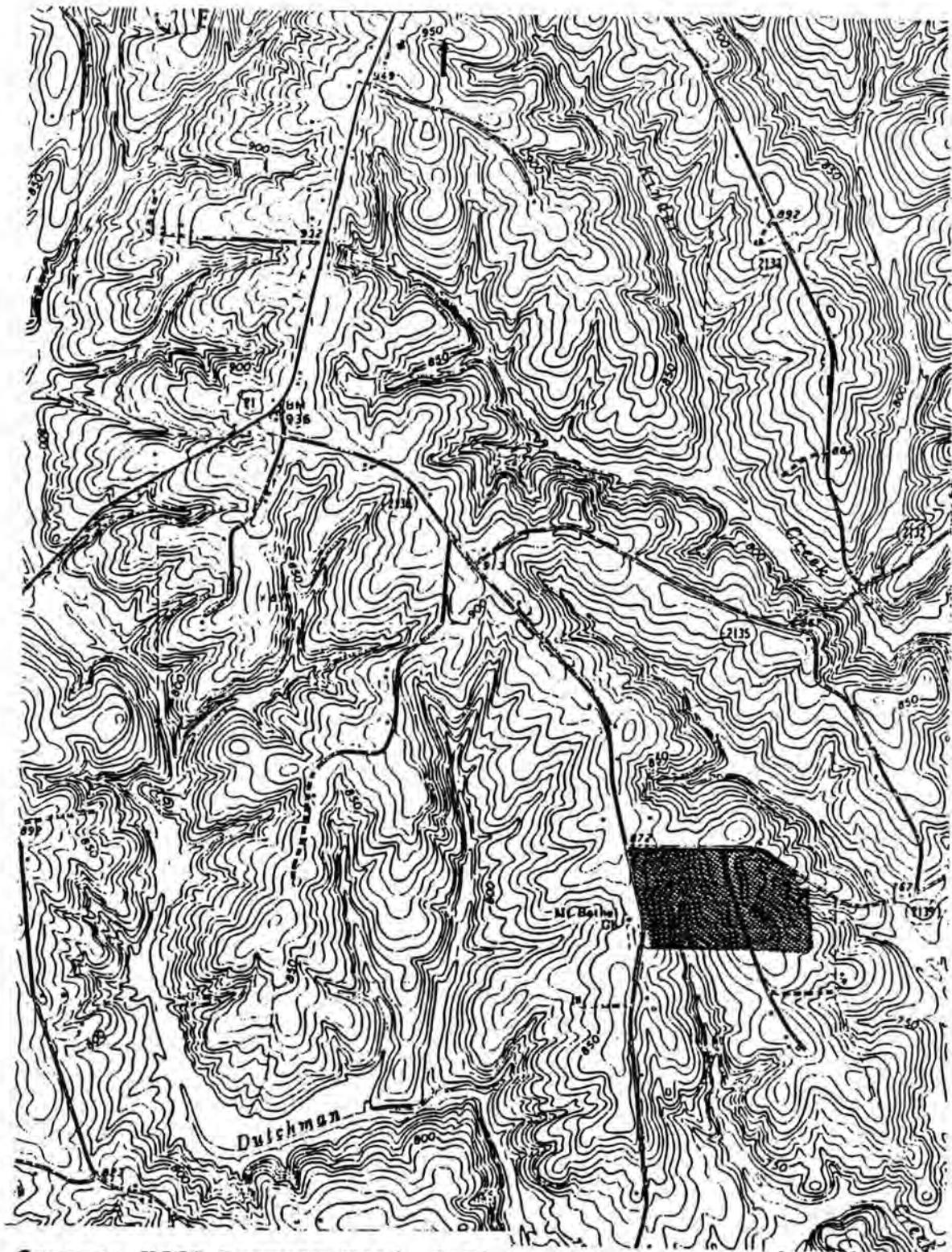
of course, subregional variations (e.g. Glassie 1975). These subregional patterns are area-specific, influenced by topographic and climatic particulars, as well as by local historical processes. Shifting the level of analysis to the subregion (meso scale), the physical landscape of Harmony, North Carolina and environs will be discussed.

5-2. Harmony and Environs

The project area can be described from the perspective of both political and topographic boundaries. Physical boundaries may be viewed as follows: The Piedmont Physiographic Province lies west of the Coastal Plain, and east of the Blue Ridge Mountains (Padgett 1987:2). The study area is located on the western verge, in the Upland Piedmont, adjacent to the Brushy Mountains. Topographically, the area is defined by a series of ridges and hills interspersed with a number of river valleys and their tributaries (Padgett 1987:2). The South Yadkin provides one of the major river drainages. The county is bisected by a northeast to southwest trending fault-line. Soapstone is found along this line, especially in the eastern part of Iredell along the South Yadkin River (Keever 1976:7). (Soapstone was apparently quarried by Woodland Indians, as well as by Euro-Americans. There were three soapstone and talc quarries in 1907, according to Keever [1976:10].) The underlying bedrock tends to be igneous, mostly granites (with feldspars), schists, and gneisses.

Some sandstone is located to the northeast and following a ridge running about east to west across the northern and middle portion of the region (Keever 1976:6). Red sandstone, purportedly derived from an archaic, 500-acre lakebed, can be found in the area lying between the South Yadkin River and Hunting Creek (Keever 1976:6). Some mica is found in this region, and muscovite was mined as "white sheet mica" (Keever 1976:12).

The Piedmont Physiographic Province is characterized by varied soils. Soils in the Uplands tend to be "part of the Felsic Crystalline System...consisting primarily of Cecil soils (Cecil and Lloyd Associations)." (Padgett 1987:2). These Piedmont soils tend to be slightly acidic (PH=5 to 5.8), consisting of rather light reddish clay loams overlying thick, red clay subsoils (Lee 1955:end map, and page 31). As mentioned, the area tends to be hilly, and has from four to eighteen percent slopes (See Figure 5-1). These slopes, combined with the soil types, result in a tendency toward severe erosion in the area (Lee 1955:end map). Turning to the 1964 United States Soil Conservation map of the project area, one sees that most soils fall into the Lloyd fine sandy loams, Lloyd clay loams, and Cecil fine sandy loams. The Lloyd Series soils are usually well-drained on ridges ranging from two to twenty-five percent slopes. The stratigraphic sequence generally contains from three to ten inches of loam (or fine sandy loam or clay



Source: USGS Harmony Quad. 7.5'
Contour Interval 10 feet

Figure 5-1. Topography of Project Area

loam) overlying from eighteen to sixty inches of red clay (USSC 1964). These soils overlay the Precambrian and Cambrian metamorphosed bedrocks (Padgett 1987:2). Cecil Series soils generally are also well-drained, and found on uplands. The slopes tend to range from two to ten percent, and are often eroded. The typical stratigraphy consists of from three to fifteen inches of sandy loam (or fine sandy or clay loams) over from eighteen to sixty inches of red clay. The weathered bedrock underlying these Cecil soils is formed by gneiss, granites and schists (USSC 1964:38). The project area also contains some MoD soils, defined as moderately gullied land that is well-drained, hilly, and cut by gullies over one fourth of its surface (USSC 1964:40-41). These soils share the same bedrock, consisting of granite, gneiss and schist.

The inhabitants of Turnersburg Township would have perceived their region as being bounded to the northwest by the Brushy Mountains, to the south by the South Yadkin River, and to the east and north by Hunting Creek and its tributaries (see Figure 5-1). These rolling lands are forested by at least eighty native species of trees and large shrubs (Keever 1976:15). Trees include oaks, hickorys, yellow and scrub pines, as well as magnolia varieties (Keever 1976:15). Forests have been timbered, replanted, and timbered (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1986, 1987). Wood was used for construction,

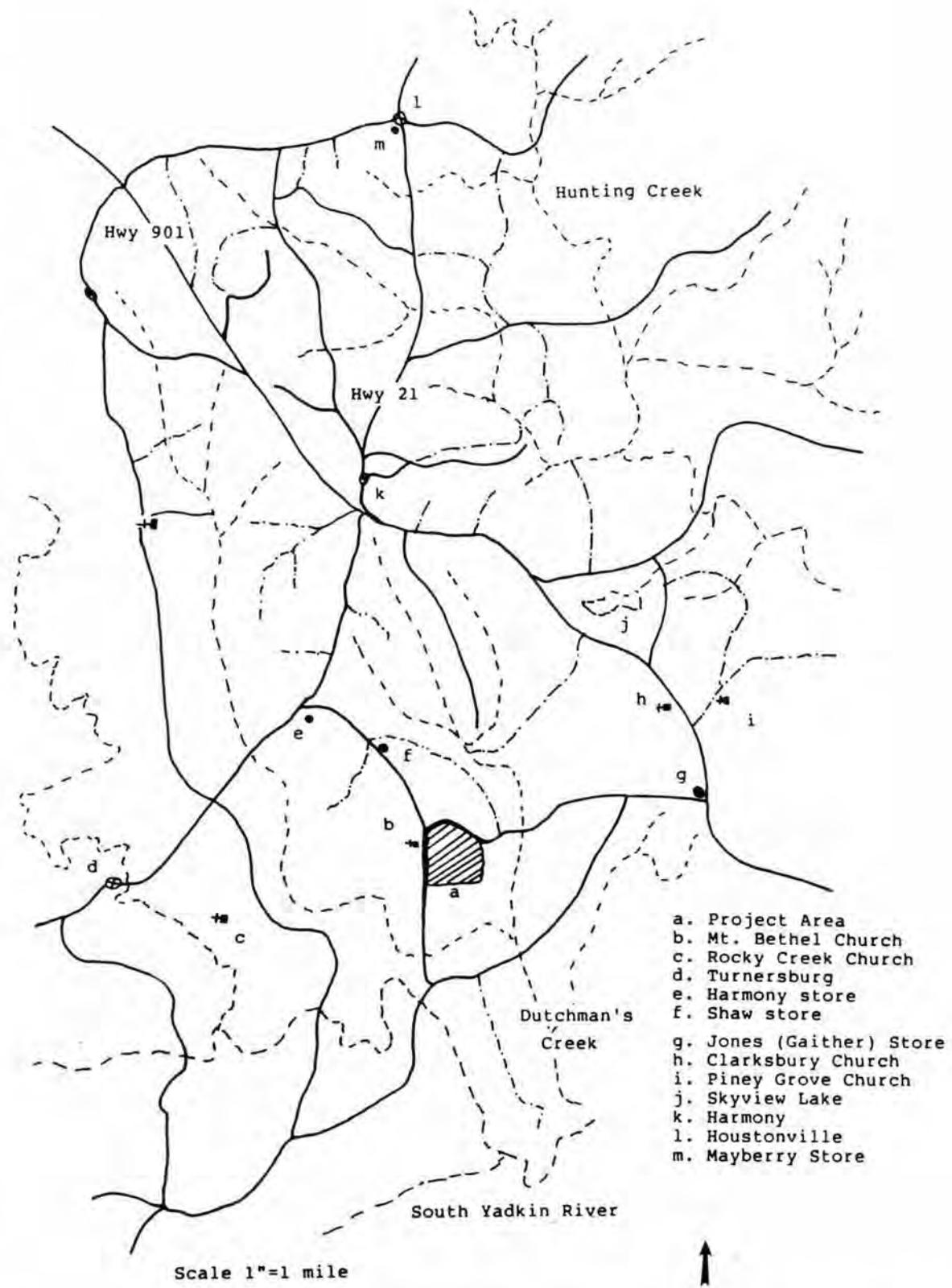


Figure 5-2. Harmony and Environs

Source: Stout 1976 Map

for sale to furniture companies, and for burning as fuel (Keever 1976:17-18). Today, much of the forest lands in the study area have been turned into pasture for beef cattle. Stands remain as boundaries, wind-breaks, and in some areas, as future timber lands.

Forests thrive in the area in part due to the rather even distribution of an average rainfall of slightly less than fifty inches per year. (It can range from about thirty-four to sixty-nine inches per year). Summers tend to be more wet than harvest months. This portion of the Upland Piedmont receives about two to six inches of snow per annum, stemming from only four to six snowfalls. March is the biggest recipient of this precipitation (Keever 1976:23-25).

Harmony lies within a temperate climate. The mean average temperature in the area is 60.1 degrees Fahrenheit. In July, temperatures reach their highest, an average 77.1 degrees. In January, they tend to be the coldest, averaging 40.4 degrees (Statesville Chamber of Commerce 1987:16).

The political boundaries of this temperate region have been somewhat fluid, but have remained constant since the late nineteenth century. The area of investigation has been divided into three major categories of analysis as follows: 1)the county, Iredell 2)the township, Turnersburg, and 3)the town, Harmony. These political units are demonstrated in Figures 3-1 and 5-2.

Iredell County was recognized as a lawful entity in

1788, having been created out of portions of neighboring Rowan County (Crittenden and Lacy 1938:325, Little-Stokes 1978:2). Iredell encompasses approximately 588 acres of piedmont, lakes and streams (Crittenden and Lacy 1938:325). Statesville, located in the general center of Iredell, was chosen as the county seat in 1790. It remains so today (Crittendon and Lacy 1938:325). The first historic settlements were in this central portion of Iredell.

Examination of the Sharpe Map of Fourth Creek Congregation, 1773 (Face plate in Keever 1976, original in Statesville Library), shows that 18th century settlers occupied the lands adjacent to the major rivers and their tributaries. Their farmsteads and the occasional plantation were spaced in a linear fashion along the streams. This is typical for the Upland South region. The homesteads themselves do not seem to have been located in the interstices of area river systems. This suggests that the results of the various nineteenth and twentieth century processes (described in Chapters II and III) would include a "filling in" of these spaces. A glance at Figures 5-1 and 5-2 shows that such was the case. Large farmsteads of the eighteenth century were, by the next century, typically divided into smaller and smaller farmsteads (thus increasing the overall number of farms). Inheritance and immigration into the area would play important roles in this process of "filling in". In addition, Reconstruction resulted in

concomitant social and economic changes, such as the refinement and spread of various tenant systems (described in Chapters II and III). Sheer increase in population would also play a role in settlement processes. The total population of the North Carolina Piedmont increased by 115.7% over the 1890-1930 period (Anderson 1938:11). The population of the county increased from 14,719 in 1850 to 29,064 in 1900. By 1930, it had about doubled (Crittenden and Lacy 1938:325). In the main, there was a concomitant increase in small farmsteads (see Chapter III).

A modern windshield survey would reveal that area farmers from the turn-of-the-century to the present tend to place their homes in as dispersed a manner as possible. In a true Upland South tradition, these farmers arranged their farmsteads, in the words of Little-Stokes (1978:16), in a "loose scattering, typical of the county and the entire state." Houses and trailers are usually placed near the central portions of their lots, up front near the road (personal observations). One occasionally finds a newer home built immediately in front, behind or next to an older home. This probably reflects a desire to replicate the existing landscape divisions, into home space, barn and livestock spaces, and fields. Children in the area sometimes marry and build a home (or place a trailer) on their parents' property. Their new abode is often located near their parents'. These occasional aggregated

settlements are kin-based. Aggregation is related only to families, with these family-oriented structures being built well away from borders with non-related farms. Of course, many farmers divide their land between their children, also resulting in aggregation. Over time, some family members may sell their lands, leading to non-related farmers living closer to each other than common in Upland Iredell.

Iredell is divided into sixteen townships, serving various management functions on a local level. (They also serve as a useful division for collecting information. For instance, Federal Census enumerators used these divisions while collecting a multitude of statistical information on Iredell inhabitants.) Turnersburg (see Figure 5-2) was named after the premiere millers in the area, members of the Turner family. The actual community of Turnersburg, including various cotton, saw and grist mills, lies immediately south of Turnersburg Township. This little community actually falls within Olin Township (Evans 1976:77, see Figure 5-2). This section of northeastern Iredell was initially settled in the late eighteenth/early twentieth centuries (Evans 1976:77-78).

The town of Harmony was officially recognized in 1874, but not incorporated until 1927 (Evans 1976:80, Keever 1976:382). This community grew from a tradition of joint Methodist and Baptist camp meetings held in the mid-nineteenth century. As late as the 1890s, it was known as

"Harmony Hill" (Lackey, Jr. 1987:7). The first official Harmony Hill Camp Meeting occurred in October of 1846. It was held in an arbor on Current and Hayes farmland. It consisted of 20 acres, later donated to the community for a combined school and church meeting grounds (Evans 1976:79, Lackey, Jr. 1986:7).

The Harmony community constructed one of the first schools in the area, dedicated in July of 1885 (Keever 1976:343, Lackey, Jr. 1986:7). It was initially called Harmony School, and held grades one through seven (Evans 1976:80). This first academy was replaced by a high school in 1884 (Evans 1976:80). By 1907, Harmony High School was the first official state high school in Iredell County (Keever 1976:343). It had a fine reputation. As one man remembers, his father moved his entire family from the hamlet of Turnersburg to that of Harmony, for the express purpose of sending his children to school (Mr. Davis, personal communication 1986). By 1916, the high school boasted 65 acres. Harmony High had a main academic building complete with auditorium, a male and a female dormitory, and "an agricultural and domestic science building" (Lackey, Jr. 1986:7). Throughout the early and mid-twentieth century, the agricultural and home economics programs were well-received by area farm children (Betty Hendrix, personal communication 1987).

Besides boasting one of the earliest Iredell schools,

members of the Harmony community were able to attend some of the oldest area churches (see Figure 5-2). Mt. Bethel United Methodist originated in 1797, first known as "Prather's Meeting House". It boasts one of the oldest cemeteries in the County (Evans 1976:78, Lindsey 1972:1). Black protestant churches also have a long history in the area; Piney Grove United Methodist was established immediately after the Civil War (Evans 1976:79). Rocky Creek United Methodist was also officially founded in the nineteenth century.

The environs of Harmony included numerous mills, especially in the nineteenth century (see Keever 1976:149 map). There were mills on Dutchman, Kinders, Huntington and Rocky Creeks as well as their tributaries (see Figures 5-2, 5-3; Evans 1976:80, Keever 1976:153-154). These included grist and saw mills. Turnersburg, on Rocky Creek, also provided a cotton gin and later a textile mill (Evans 1976:80). In all, there were 29 cotton gins in the county as of 1902 (Keever 1976:269).

Corn was a valuable township commodity; it was shipped out of Statesville by nineteenth century rail (Keever 1976:265-266). Corn was again profitable in the early twentieth century, during Prohibition. At that time the Statesville area's corn liquor earned a large clientele (Mack Lackey, Jr., personal communication 1987). By the 1880s, wheat was also a valued export commodity, and Iredell

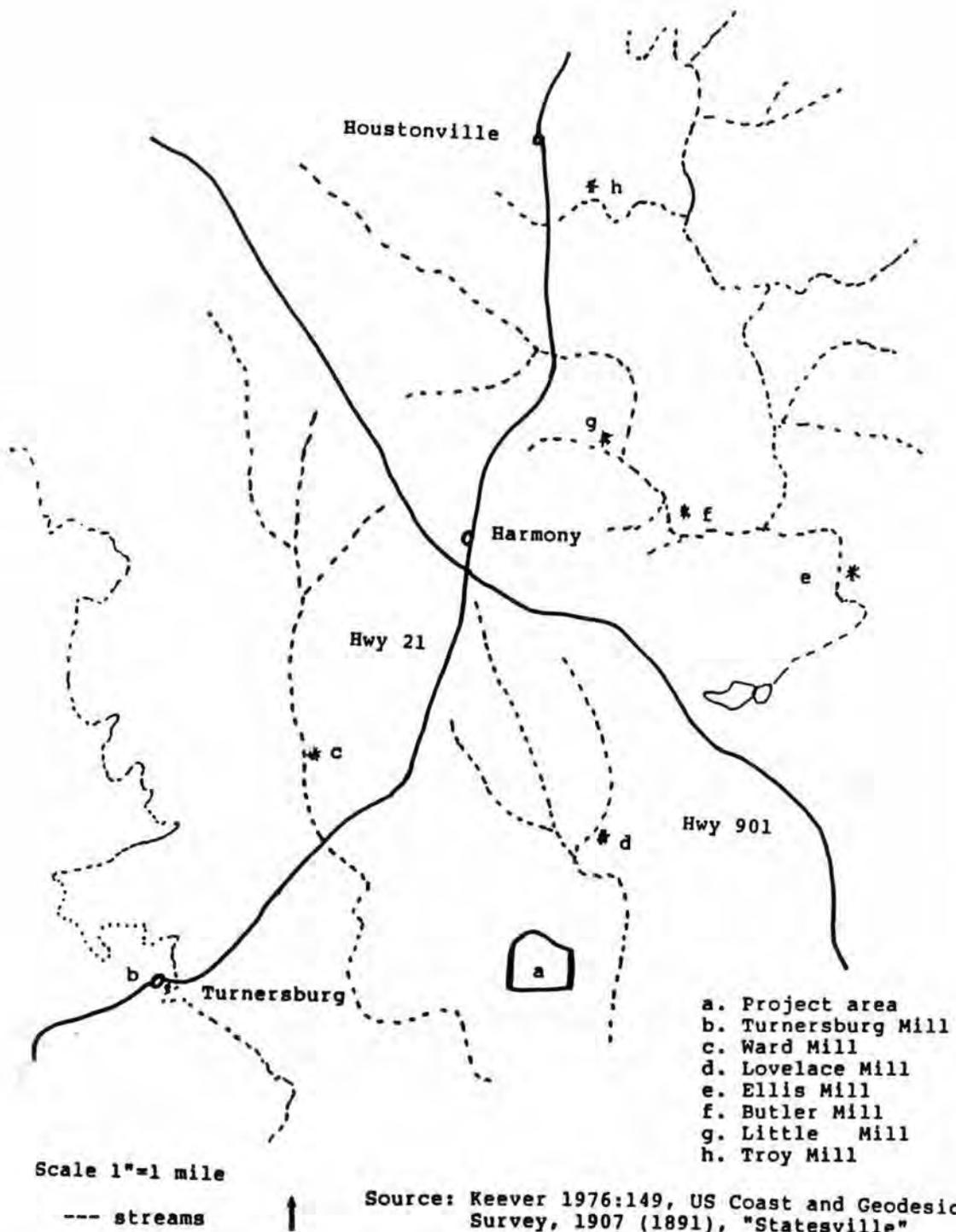


Figure 5-3. Harmony Area Mills, Circa 1900

farmers had thirteen horse-powered threshing machines to share (Keever 1976:266). In the beginning decades of the twentieth century, steam-powered threshers became more common. Binders were also common, especially those powered by draft animals (Keever 1976:266). Tobacco was grown by some area farmers, especially in the nineteenth century. However, tobacco was uncommon by the Depression (Keever 1976:267-268, Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1986). The other area cash crop, cotton, was grown throughout the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries. In 1890 approximately 5,000 bales were produced. This was doubled by 1900, and doubled again to 20,000 bales by 1930 (Keever 1976:268).

Inhabitants of Harmony and environs produced grains, cotton and even some tobacco for cash. By the 1930s, agrarians changed the thrust of their production to livestock. The major impetus for this transition was the construction of a Carnation Milk plant in Statesville (Keever 1976:376). Dairies and creameries grew common before World War II. As often happens, milk-producing herds grew over-abundant, and the market was flooded with dairy products. As a result, many farmers turned to either poultry or beef production. These changes were in part initiated and supported by local agricultural extension agent programs (Keever 1976:378, Clyde Thomas and Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1986). As a result, modern

Iredell farmers have tended to gear their production to beef cattle and/or feed corn (Keever 1976:378).

Industries related to agriculture were developed in northern Iredell. For example, Harmony once provided tobacco boxes at the Gaither factory, for the 1890s "Statesville trade" (Keever 1976:262). Harmony also had a shirt factory in the 1920s (Keever 1976:368). In a 1938 industrial directory, Harmony is listed as having a population of 237 people living in its corporate limits. Twenty businesses are described, listed below in Table 5-1:

Table 5-1. Harmony Businesses in 1938

Type of Business	Count
general stores	6
general store and filling station	1
garage and filling station	1
filling station and grocery	1
grocery	1
garage	1
dry goods and notions store	1
hardware and furniture company	1
farm implement company	1
flour and saw mill with cotton gin	1
telephone company	1
drug store	1
auto accessory store and cafe	1
"undetermined"	1

(Anderson 1938:743)³

Nearby Houstonville (see Figure 5-2), population 40, listed five establishments. It had a flour mill, a general store, a general store and filling station, a cotton gin, and one grocery and filling station (Anderson 1938:762). The last cross-roads community in the area is Turnersburg.

In 1938 it boasted a population of 110 people. The majority of residents worked at the Turnersburg Manufacturing Company, producing yarn, flour, and ginning cotton (Anderson 1938:889). No other firms or stores are listed for Turnersburg. (Today, there is no community of Turnersburg, only a large J.P. Stephens textile plant.)

These industries, including agriculture, were greatly influenced by the underlying regional geology, soils, topography and climate. For example, soils in the area tend to be acidic, and cotton farmers had to invest their meager cash supplies into purchasing fertilizers. By the 1860s, area farmers could buy phosphate of lime, shipped to Statesville via the railroads. By the 1870s, they could purchase guano. Those farmers who had trouble financing their fertilizer acquisitions had to use natural fertilizers such as manure, and their crop abundance suffered accordingly (Keever 1976:270-271, see Chapter III). Manure apparently was not as potent a fertilizer as guano.

Material items, such as fertilizers and feeds, had to either be produced locally or shipped in from other regions (see Chapter III). During the period under study, roads served as the main arteries of transport. The Harmony area is and was bisected by two major state roads, Highways 901 (northwest to southeast) and 21 (trending northeast to southwest) (see Figure 5-2). Highway 21 was a major north/south interstate connecting Ohio and Florida. This

function was superseded by Interstate 77, built in the 1970s. John Gaither remembers that in 1928 Highway 901 was just a narrow dirt road, fronting the new family store. His father (A. Milton Gaither) hired local laborers to widen the road, using mules and drag-pans. Mr. Gaither furnished the mules, and presumably had the local or state government pay for the road improvement (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87). Most of the area roads were dirt based, narrow, and winding. Drainage seems to have been a problem on the secondary roads and farm driveways. One family remembers getting mired in the deeply rutted road leading to their home (Betty Hendrix, Margaret Preckler, Kenneth Stine, personal communications, 1986). The local hearse wagon could not make it back down one dirt road to pick up the deceased. A neighbor, Jim Stine, was asked to do so with his higher-axeled wagon. He picked up his black neighbor's body, carefully laid it on the back of his wagon, and carried it to the funeral hearse out on the main road (Kenneth Stine, personal communication, 1987).

These roads were travelled by foot, mule, horse, wagon, tractor, car and by truck. The first record of an automobile in Iredell County dates to 1913. As early as 1916, the car was a common sight in the countryside (Keever 1976:391, see description in Burns 1984). The Gaither family would use money to buy merchandise in the towns of Wilkesboro and Winston Salem. They would haul these goods

to their store. By 1922 they purchased a Ford and trailer to haul, in 1927, a Dodge and trailer. Mr. Gaither remembers that their 1932 Chevy pickup was the "first real strong" motorized vehicle in their possession. The Gaithers could carry a lot of merchandise in one load. Later on, they used 3/4-ton, ton, and two ton pickups (interview with John Gaither, 10/9/87. As early as 1929 they started a flour and feed route in the Mocksville area (near Statesville), filling orders on the second and fourth Tuesdays of the month.

Mr. A.M. Gaither must have been quite an entrepreneur. In 1922 he entered the meat peddling business as a sideline. He would butcher beef or hog stock on a Friday, and hang it to drain. By Saturday, Mr. Gaither would load the meat cuts into his carriage (later, a truck) and drive to neighborhood farm homes. There, individual families could directly purchase his beef or pork (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87). Other peddlers were rare. Dry goods such as Jewel Tea were not actually peddled until after World War II. People could also buy fresh beef cuts, hamburger, pork and pork sausage at his store. (According to John Gaither, they killed about four to six hogs a week to make his mother's special sausage, and always ran out quickly.) In the summer, you could buy dried beef at the store (stock was usually killed only in the winter). Farmers would soak this beef overnight to tenderize it (John Gaither, interview of

10/9/87).

The Gaither General Store (now Jones Store) is extant, and shown in the photograph following (5-1). The original building was one tall story, constructed from red brick. The local landscape was marked by its tall, false facade giving the impression of added height. It is located at the corner of Rim Rock Road and Highway 901. Today, this store carries a wide variety of goods. One can still purchase the Gaither family's special meats, especially if you special-order them ahead. There are shelves of national brand breads, coffees, soups, chips and other quick-stop foodstuffs. A wide selection of beverages is also displayed. Besides perishables, Jones's offers slop jars, enameled pans, hardwares, and other notions. On display is the calendar given to regular customers; it is very similar to the one given every Christmas to regular Gaither Store customers in the 1940s. The store seems similar in other ways, too. A.M. Gaither's store had also been full of all sorts of merchandise. He had churns, bolts, tubs, saddles, traces, hardware, herbs and foodstuffs. Obviously, he sold stoneware utilitarian items, such as churns, crocks, and milk pans⁴. Mr. Gaither did not, however, sell "refined" chinas. His daughter did bring in a line of white china cups in the late 1930s and 1940s. (The informant does not recall if these were decorated or not.) He often traded his general merchandise for bartered herbs (i.e. "mollypops"/May



Photo 5-1. Jones (Gaither) Store, 1987



Photo 5-2. Shaw Store, 1987

apples, gingseng), sacks of grain (i.e. corn, wheat) or poultry (i.e. chickens, eggs) (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87). Locals could barter, and have credit from a barter extended towards their next purchase. They could also pay cash. However, Mr. Gaither did not run a line of credit for anyone (John Gaither, personal communication).

Approximately two and a half miles to the west and north, along Rim Rock (once so winding you had to honk around the turns) and up Mt. Bethel and/or Shaw road, lies a second, smaller store. This establishment is no longer functioning, and its ruins are depicted in Photograph 5-2. The Shaws built their two-story structure soon after their marriage in 1934. Except for lifting logs, they did all their own construction. The upper story was built of sawed timbers. The Shaws lived upstairs from the time the structure was completed until they built a new one-story frame home next door in the 1940s (Mrs. Carrie Shaw, interview of 10/9/87).

Both the Gaithers and the Shaws built their stores right next to their respective roads. (Mt. Bethel was "straightened" in the 1960s, leaving the present site well off the road.) The Shaws sold mostly foodstuffs, such as canned goods, cokes, sugar, salt, coffee and some local meats. They occasionally received an order of overalls and socks to sell to locals. The Shaws allowed people to buy on credit. Both local blacks and whites could purchase goods

with promise of future payment. Some locals, however, only paid cash (Mrs. Carrie Shaw, interview of 10/9/87). Unlike the Gaithers, the Shaws had no electricity during all the years of store operation (1936-1952). They used kerosene lamps to light both their home and the store below. Their large wood stove provided heat for years, until replaced by an oil one. Items that needed refrigeration were kept in a large wooden ice box, later a metal cooler was used. These coolers served as seats for the numerous black and white men who came in the store to chat on rainy days (Mrs. Carrie Shaw, interview of 10/9/87).

One has the impression that both the Shaw and the Gaither stores served myriad functions for the people living outside of Harmony proper. These farm families used the stores as the primary source of purchasing "store-bought items". Both stores also seem to have served as sources of collateral (barter and/or credit) for locals⁶. Neighbors could also come in and socialize, through the routines of purchase, as well as by sitting in the stores and discussing "the weather". From interviews with two store owners, it appears as if store "setting" was gender-related. Men apparently came into the store to sit as a group and talk. They would trade gossip, stories, and important farm information on rainy days. Women tended to come into the store individually, and talk to the owners on a one-to-one basis (Mrs. Carrie Shaw, Mr. John Gaither, interviews of

10/9/87, also Kenneth Stine, personal communication).

The Gaither family controlled diverse assets, including mills. Samuel Gaither ran a saw and feed mill in Harmony for over 70 years. He then sold his mill to the Kennedy family (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87). The Gaithers also ran a cotton gin in Harmony, until it burned (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87). Most area residents would take their cotton up to Houstonville, located about three and a half miles north on Highway 21, to be ginned. People initially brought their cotton to the Mayberry mill in wagons. Later, most carried it in trailers attached to cars or trucks (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/16/86). The gin was constructed in 1927, and saw relatively constant use until the 1960s (Mr. Mayberry, interview of 10/9/87). It is still standing today, but is due to be torn down soon. Photograph 5-3 shows the mill as it stood in October 1987. The mechanical parts remain in place, rusted but complete. There is cotton lint and seed everywhere. A small wooden desk sits by the door, still full of log books from the 1950s and 1960s, listing cotton ginned. The Mayberry family followed a state-approved accounting system, using receipt-style records printed for them in Statesville. Each sheet states how much seed cotton was due, delivered, and left. Each also has space for the weight of the bale, specific prices, how the ginning was paid for, and who settled the balance.



Photo 5-3. Mayberry Cotton Gin, 1987



Photo 5-4. Turnersburg Mill Houses, 1987

Most farmers living just south and east of Harmony had their corn ground at Stroud's Mill, located just south of Gaither's store on Highway 901 (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87). Wheat was usually brought to Hinkle's mill in Turnersburg. It was often left, working on a credit system (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87, see also discussion in Chapters II and III).

The Turnersburg community, located about three and a half miles south of Harmony on Highway 21, is basically gone. This was once a thriving mill town, with about twenty mill houses (I-houses) lining both sides of the road, south of Rocky Creek. The photograph following depicts some of the few remaining homes and associated out-buildings. The mill owner (Turners-Steele-Jurney-Hinkle-J.P. Stephens) would provide housing for his employees (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87). There was a textile mill located across the river, now replaced by the large J.P. Stephens plant. Marvin Goodwin ran a grist mill (flour) with attached sawmill from about 1927 to 1971 (Mr. Goodwin, interview 10/9/87). These mills burned down in 1971. The son still lives with his family in the nearby imposing I-house with large ell, located east of Highway 21 and on the south bank of Rocky Creek (see photographs). He remembers "Mr. Jim" (James Stine) coming to get his wheat milled.

One of the few area doctors, Dr. Jurney, practiced in Turnersburg. He lived in a large I-house just north of town

on Rocky Creek. His office was a small outbuilding placed near the highway (John Gaither, personal communication). The Stine children remember riding to his office by car to pick up medicine (Betty Hendrix and Margaret Preckler interview of 5/25/87).

The architecture of these mills, doctors' offices, stores, schools and homes is best described as a combination of vernacular and institutional styles (Little-Stokes 1978). Although initial schools were simple log structures, (Margaret Preckler, interview of 5/25/87, Kenneth Stine personal communication 1986), twentieth century buildings conformed to an institutional brick formal plan. The "Colored" School (for area blacks prior to integration) on Rim Rock Road has been adapted into living quarters. At present, it consists of a simple but large frame building. The stores in Harmony and environs fall into three general categories. The first is those with a false front (i.e. Gaither/Jones, Mayberrys). These stores have been constructed out of brick and/or frame (see Little-Stokes 1978:55). The second type consists of two-story frame buildings with a "recessed entrance and flanking display windows protected by a shed roof" (Little-Stokes 1978:107). One such store, constructed in the early twentieth century, still stands in the actual hamlet of Harmony (Little-Stokes 1978:107). The third category of area stores consists of vernacular, log and/or log and frame construction (e.g.

Smith Store). A windshield survey and perusal of an architectural inventory of the county (Little-Stokes 1978) suggests that the majority of standing stores consisted of the first category, those with false fronts. (However, log buildings may have been dismantled more frequently, and could be under-represented.)

The present landscape in Turnersburg is dotted with nineteenth and twentieth century farmhouses and associated outbuildings. These buildings are occasionally occupied, but many are empty and decaying. According to Little-Stokes, about half of the County's rural structures are vacant, prey to damage through vandalism, natural forces and neglect (1978:112). Earlier nineteenth century farmhouses were most often small log structures. Following the Upland South tradition, these were sometimes expanded and/or replaced by a frame I-house (2 rooms up, 2 down), or Georgian "planter's" (4-rooms up and 4 down) home. Those who could not afford the I-house, or who preferred a single-story could build a local version of the hall-and-parlor. Some farmers apparently compromised and constructed a one and one-half story frame home, often with a pyramidal hip roof (Little-Stokes 1978:13).

In her survey of extant buildings in Iredell, Little-Stokes discovered that remaining farms often have numerous outbuildings associated with the main house. Typically, outbuildings are arranged "loosely behind" the farmhouse,

and/or to one side (Little-Stokes:1978:16). In the Harmony area, farmers used a barn, corncrib, smokehouse, and, usually, an outhouse. The earliest outbuildings were apparently constructed of log. Later in the nineteenth century these were often covered over with sawn boards, or replaced by frame structures. Nineteenth and early twentieth century barns in northern Iredell are usually rectangular, and measure about 15 by 25 feet. Two types were most common. The first was formed by joining two cribs with an open, center passage ("runway"), under a common roof. The second was similar, except the runway was much narrower and enclosed. Entrance to the central passage and one or more of the larger cribs was gained through a doorway (Little-Stokes 1978:14). More modern frame variations have been constructed or adapted by turning the runway lengthways across the building. Over time, larger barns combined grain storage functions with stables for livestock. Initially, these two functions were served by constructing separate smaller buildings for each purpose (Little-Stokes 1978:15). Occasionally another small storage shed, the corn crib, was joined to the first or second type of barn (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987). Traditionally, winter corn was stored in a small, separate, rectangular structure. It was built from logs spaced at wider than usual intervals, allowing good ventilation.

The most common form of kitchen was attached in an ell

behind the home. A dining room and pantry were also found in the ell. Only three log free-standing kitchens have been recorded in the area (Little-Stokes 1978:15).

Well-houses appeared on some farmsteads in the late nineteenth century (Little-Stokes 1978:15). The most common well structure seems to have been a simple wooden cover around the well, with an upper frame to hold the rope and/or crank for the well bucket. These wells were most likely located near the main house. Sometimes a farmer wouldn't have a well or even a spring. One Harmony man dug his neighbors' wells to supplement his living. John Stimpson, for an unknown reason, did not find time to dig his wife a well. Once or twice a day she would go to one of two neighbors' wells and draw two or three buckets of water. She was black, but could borrow water freely from white or black neighbors. Mrs. Stimpson ("Miss Ella") would carry one of the water buckets on her head, for distances up to about a mile (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 02/15/86). Her use of material culture, in this case, served to remind her neighbors of a rich ethnic past. Neighborhood children (and perhaps adults) were astonished at her daily feat, and could never recreate it themselves. The photograph at right demonstrates that at least this one Afro-American tradition was continued in the North Carolina piedmont. (The author has observed this type of motor behavior in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1987 and 1988. Two



Photo 5-5. Woman Walking Home, circa 1939
Mebane, North Carolina Area
Odum Papers #331, SHC UNC-CH

local black women were seen crossing a main intersection, large laundry baskets balanced firmly on their handkerchiefed heads.)

The material culture in the Harmony area includes, in part, a local interpretation of the Upland South settlement pattern. Towns are few and far between. They sometimes serve as centers for education and religion, as did Harmony in the late nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. However, other services were obtained from scattered neighborhood stores and mills which were only loosely related to area small towns. Particular mills, farms, and stores functioned in particular areas as centers for specific activities. Farmstead, church, school, and store buildings were also a means for advertising these activities. Locals may have derived additional messages, or negotiated particular meanings, from the Harmony landscape. For instance, certain farmsteads developed reputations as "showplaces" in the Township. One, owned by one of the financially secure local families, serves as a reminder of material prosperity. The large, imposing I-House is freshly painted and in good repair. Its outbuildings are arranged both to the side of the home and across the black-topped road. Pasture grasses around the buildings are kept mown, and flowers and shrubs border foundations and paths. This farmstead, and a few others like it in the area, are occasionally shown to visitors and area children on "Sunday

drives". The home and outbuildings are not too different from others common in the area. However, they are perhaps groomed more symmetrically, and buildings show few if any signs of disrepair. They are pointed out as examples of what a local farm family can achieve if they "just work hard".

Another example of local perceptions of material culture is related to one of the case-study farmsteads. The Stine home, a rather simple I-house with decaying roof, is barely standing. When asked about the house, neighbors still remember it as having "some of the finest wood in Harmony". These residents are referring to the house's interior, built from wide, heart-of-pine boards. The original builders were farmers who supplemented their income with intermittent carpentry jobs. Their care can still be seen in the "true" walls, somewhat ornate staircase, and other small flourishes in the home. This care was apparently appreciated by neighbors. These same families, however, understood very well that these farmers were in the same lower income bracket (Mr. and Mrs. Cartner, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, personal communications 1987).

Did the local architectural landscape help define status in the area? Having a well-kept farmstead would underline perceived rural virtues of honesty, hard-work, and love of the land (see Chapter IV). Neat buildings combined with straight crop rows served as material manifestations of

those virtues. Part of a farm family's social status would be won through neighbors' perceptions. Outward appearances of buildings, cows, and crops would underline inner, shared beliefs. Local social status was grounded on local perceptions. Being responsive to a neighbor's needs, sharing kin, working hard, raising a "good" family, maintaining a well-kept farmstead- these were the attributes that helped defined social status.

Economic status was not necessarily equal to social status in early twentieth century Harmony. In this small community, people knew who was capable of loaning money or giving credit, and who needed monetary assistance. Certain families in the area held multiple positions in the community as mill owners, doctors, magistrates, merchants, and landlords (interviews with John Gaither 10/9/87, Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, 2/15/86, Margaret Preckler and Betty Stine, 5/28/87). Outsiders would perhaps have had trouble pointing to a particular farmstead as belonging to a member of these "better-off" families. Their homes would fall well within the average range in style and size⁷. Whether their homes' interiors also masked their greater economic status is not as clear (interview with John Gaither, 10/15/87). As mentioned in the previous chapter, clothing and lunch foods were often material markers of economic status in the schools. To reiterate, poorer rural children tended to be dressed in more hand-me-downs and

home-made clothes. They also brought cold sweet potatoes and/or biscuits for lunch, as opposed to relatively wealthier childrens' lunches of sliced white bread sandwiches. These children tended to be dressed in store-bought clothes, and had larger wardrobes.

Respect in this community was both achieved and ascribed. Family connections helped frame social status. Personal attributes of being friendly or mean, hard-working or lazy, smart or slow and so forth coalesced with perceived family traits to form local social status. Coming from a landlord's family or that of a tenant would also help define your economic status. (Most residents knew who owned, rented, or cropped particular spreads.) Social status could cross-cut economic status. A member of the community could be well-off economically, but not thought too highly of personally. The obverse was often true in this community of small farmers. For instance, Curt Nichols' knowledge of the signs, and "way with animals" earned him his neighbors' respect, even if he owned only a small farmstead.

The material manifestations of economic and of social status in Harmony were blunted. There does not seem to have been a clear one-to-one correspondence between status and style of home or outbuildings. The built environment, at least, does not serve as a clear indicator of either status⁸. Perhaps one material indicator of economic status was the size and diversity of holdings. Research in this

area is difficult, however, because many farmers apparently rented additional lands from year to year as feasible or needed (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine interview of 2/15/86). Most residents interviewed did seem to have a good general knowledge of boundaries of owned area lands. However, particular farmers had rented (and/or still rent) various additional pieces of property.

Euro- and Afro-American farm homes were apparently very similar, at least in the twentieth century. These agrarians lived in log, log-and-frame, and frame houses that ranged from one, to one-and-a-half, to two storys. Patterns of farmstead homes and outbuildings do not seem to have been ethnically distinctive⁹. Variations in farm structures appear to have been more the result of idiosyncronic events than ethnic background. For example, within a one mile radius, four frame I-houses, two frame single stories and one log hall-and-parlor coexisted in the 1930s. Two of the I-houses were lived in by black farm owners, one other by a white renter turned owner. The other I-house was lived in by a white farm owner. One frame single-story was first owned by a white family, but rented to black tenants. It eventually was sold to a white farm family for their home. The second single-story was lived in by black farm owners. The log hall-and-parlor belonged to a black family who owned their farm; it was the oldest home of the sample. The log structure was built by a freed slave, as had been one of I-

houses described above.

Clues to an individual's social status, ethnic background, and economic standing were hard to decipher if comparing house and outbuilding types. The outward appearance of these structures did help neighbors to form opinions about personal attributes like honesty and cleanliness. The built environment, in the form of mills, stores, schools, and churches did provide indications of relative wealth and ethnicity. Stores were often constructed with false facades, giving the impression of imposing two stories, instead of the reality of one. Large blocked letters would proclaim the owners' names across the front, for all to see. Mill buildings, by size and number would indicate the owners' relative financial well-being. Furthermore, the majority of stores and mills, at least in Harmony, seem to have been owned by white families. This may be one instance where race affected financial ability to own and run these small businesses. Schools in Harmony were segregated until the 1950s (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1988). The relatively greater financial support for white, as opposed to black, schools is symbolized by the two remaining school buildings. The white is and was an imposing, institutional brick edifice. The black is and was a much smaller frame structure of simple design. At a glance, one can tell that social inequality occasionally did have material correlates.

Black and white churches in the area are more materially equable. Styles range from simple frame Greek Revival to more ornate modern edifices of brick. In this case, styles seem to be equally shared. The only clear outward indicator of a black church lies occasionally in the designation of denomination (e.g. "A.M.E."). On the other hand, church graveyards may give some clues to ethnicity. In a surface reconnaissance of two churchyards in Harmony (Rocky Creek and Mt. Bethel), certain distinctive elements were apparent.

The Euro-American graveyard at Mt. Bethel is depicted in the photographs following (5-6a,b). The large cemetery is firmly bounded by a discrete, dry-laid rock wall. Walking the grounds, one can see that the vast majority of graves are marked with a stone. The graves and areas between are covered in mown lawn. Broken markers have been repaired and reset. The only trees in the area lie outside of the graveyard walls. Occasionally one finds shrubs, usually a pair, planted next to a stone marker. Headstones range from simple, hand-carved soapstone to professionally carved, ornate, granites and marbles. Variations in headstones appear to be related to stylistic changes through time, more so than to economic fluctuations within the population. No metal markers were observed during this brief reconnaissance. In addition, no broken fragments of glass, shell, or ceramic were observed. This cemetery is



Photo 5-6a. Mt. Bethel Cemetery, 1987,
northwest view

Photo 5-6b. North view of cemetery



maintained by members of the Mt. Bethel church, who made a conscious decision to invest energy, time and money in its upkeep (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987).

The Afro-American cemetery, at Rocky Creek, is shown in the photograph following. The graveyard is lightly bounded by a short line of concrete blocks. It appears that a number of graves are not marked, their presence assumed from soft depressions in the ground. Some of the graves, especially those dating to the past few decades, are marked with granite headstones. These stones are typically rectangular, and have the names of the deceased and their birth and death dates inscribed. A good number of graves are marked with simple metal markers, the type usually provided free by a funeral home. These markers have paper inserts, also with the names and dates of the deceased. However, most of these markers are illegible, due to the actions of weather (e.g. rain). Some of the graves have plastic, clay or metal holloware associated with them, functioning to hold plastic or real flowers. Occasionally, some very small pieces of whiteware, porcelain and glass are apparent on the graves. Overall, the graves are bald, either covered in fill dirt or sparsely covered in weeds. Various hardwoods and cedars ranging from about 75 to 10 years can be found in the graveyard. Some trees seem to be growing out of graves that do not have any stone or metal markers. None of the graves showed definite evidence of

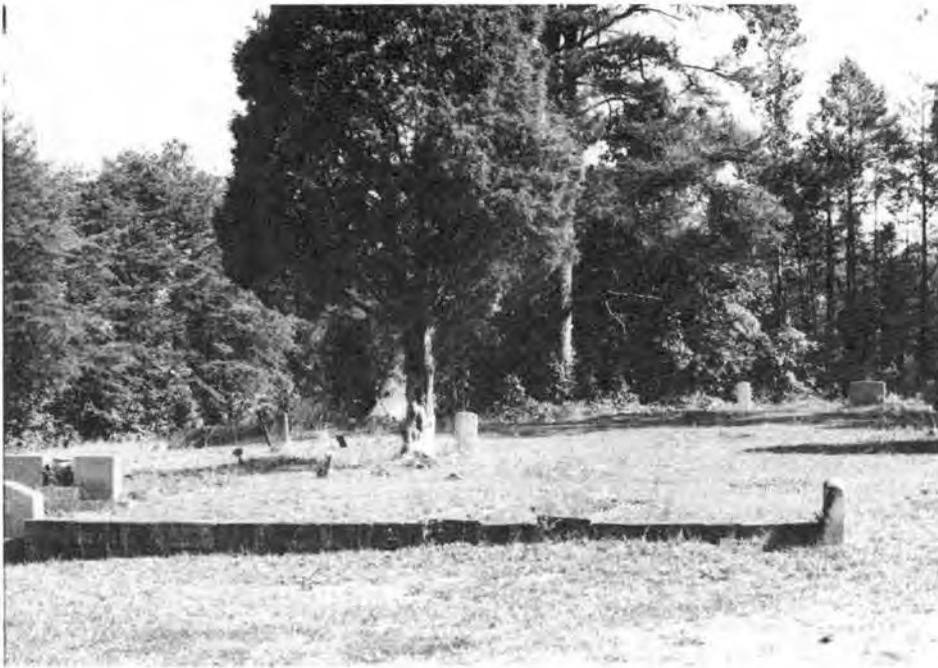


Photo 5-7a. Rocky Creek Cemetery, view
to south, 1987

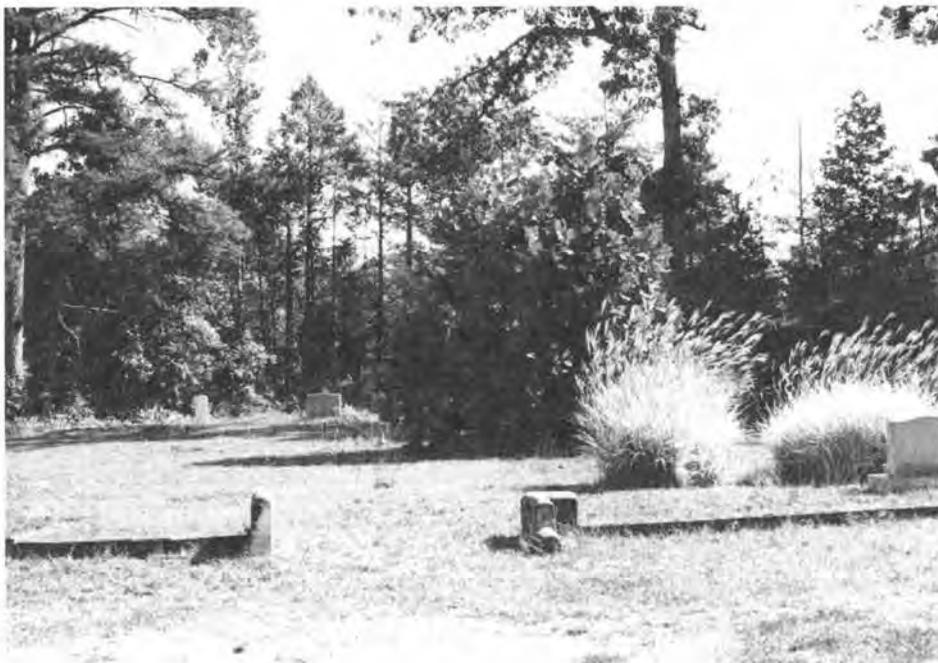


Photo 5-7b. Rocky Creek, view to southwest



Photo 5-8a. "Temporary"
Grave Marker, Rocky
Creek, 1987
(left)



Photo 5-8b. Typical
grassless grave,
Rocky Creek 1987
(right)

African survivals: large, ritually broken pots, heavy cover of material items, water-related shells or bits of glass embedded in the stones or graves (e.g. Rose 1985:25, Vlach 1980). However, the presence of some small fragments of ceramic and glass may indicate an ideological belief in leaving "killed" goods for the deceased to use in the afterlife. The presence of trees perhaps growing out of some of the graves could also suggest a relationship to some of the African practices, such as planting "soul trees" (Ferguson 1988, Herskovits 1958, also Robert Daniels, personal communication 1986). Again, the baldness of some of the graves, the artifact fragments, and the general distribution of trees may simply be evidence of a desire not to invest energy in grooming the graveyard.

In comparison, the two graveyards are strikingly different in overall appearance. Rocky Creek can be described as more "natural" or "rugged" looking than the well-manicured counterpart at Mt. Bethel. The boundaries of the graves as well as the entire cemetery at Mt. Bethel are clearly defined, while those at Rocky Creek are somewhat amorphous. There does not seem to be as great a concern at Rocky Creek with marking graves with long-lasting stone markers. Recall, unlike Mt. Bethel, many graves at Rocky Creek are either unmarked or simply posted with fragile metal markers. As both congregations consist primarily of farmers, none with any great economic resources, one

suspects that economic factors play a relatively minor role in marker selection. Ideological differences may in fact have the strongest influence on grave appearances¹⁰.

Harmony and environs material culture was creatively produced by local residents who were firmly planted in an Upland South tradition. Apparently, many goods were constructed in the area by farm families. There were families known for production of furniture, for pottery, for blacksmithing, for carpentry, and for occasional milling (interviews with Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, 2/15/86, Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, 10/27/87). Mass-produced items were also available through local stores and mail-order catalogs. Houses, outbuildings, stores, mills and other features of the landscape occasionally represented social and/or economic status differentiation. For the most part, however, farmstead facades would not help an outsider predict a family's wealth, social status, or ethnic background. Institutional architecture was more indicative of racial inequality, especially in the case of schools. Churches, on the other hand, were similar in construction materials and styles. Graveyards may suggest Afro-American as opposed to Euro-American religious belief systems, through differential treatment of graves and cemeteries.

The material culture of Harmony residents in the early through mid decades of the twentieth century cannot be simply and obviously cataloged as representing specific

status or ethnic groups. Two ethnic markers were discovered, one a difference in school buildings, the other in graveyards. It is interesting that the most obvious form of material culture, settlement pattern and farmstead structure, mask social differentiation in the area. This is very different from the findings of Issac and others (e.g. Issac 1982, Leone 1984). The data discussed in previous chapters do suggest that some forms of social inequality were present in this piedmont region. Evidence of this should be observable in the material record. Perhaps social divisions were not quite as marked here in the Upland Piedmont, compared to, for instance, farms and plantations on the Coastal Plain. Perhaps overt forms of expression, such as housing style, were not good indicators of social differences at this time in this region.

Ethnicity, economic, and social status may have more covert ties to material culture. Evidence in Chapters II-IV suggests that Harmony farmers were able to purchase the same types of goods at the same stores. Most farmers were able to buy goods on credit, using cash crops such as cotton as collateral. Others could buy with what little cash they had saved. Cash-poor farmers could also bring in farm produce or wild herbs and barter for the goods they needed. Access to goods may have been the same, but actual choices as to types and styles may have differed. These possible differences could be due to factors of status and/or

ethnicity. Area residents may have been using, reusing, and disposing of their material items in selective, unconscious ways. Archaeological research was undertaken at two farmsteads as a case-study. Methods used and results are described in the chapter following.

CHAPTER IV ENDNOTES:

1. Issac 1982 provides a well-documented account of the structural relationship between the ordered, hierarchical society of the Tidewater and its ordered material manifestations. For instance, plantations are arranged with the planters' homes on the high ground, overlooking their fields, slave quarters, and transportation routes. This sense of symmetry, hierarchy and order is replicated in the placement of courthouses, churches, and schools. Issac gives a detailed account of both the development and transformation of 18th and 19th century culture in the Tidewater area of Virginia.
2. Trewartha (1948) based his research on data from 641 farmsteads. His area categories were based upon a combination of two criteria: 1. geographic area and 2. major source of farm income. His seven categories were as follows: Cotton, Wheat, Puget-Sound/Willamette Valley, Range Livestock, Corn and Livestock, New York-Boston Fluid Milk, Driftless Hill Lands. Recorders used a series of standardized forms to determine house types, slope, and so forth.
3. Keever 1976:390-391 states that Statesville was a major source for horses, especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Area merchants would import herds of horses from Wyoming, brought in by train. Liveries abounded until the first few decades of the twentieth century, when garages replaced stables. After World War II, the car had effectively replaced the horse as the major means of transportation.
4. Utilitarian stonewares were manufactured locally in the late nineteenth century. Potters from the Catawba Valley area of North Carolina were producing pottery for Northern Iredell in the 1870s and 1880s. After 1905, Houstonville and environs lost potters. One known potter was black, a Eugene Cootch Dalton. One of the well-known Hilton family members, George Curtis Hilton, may also have been working in the Houstonville area (Charles Zug, personal communication 2/14/86). Local residents believe that ruins of one of the pottery kilns are barely visible on the Kennedy farm in Houstonville. The author is still trying to gain access to the site.
5. As discussed in Chapter III, most storekeepers were also farmers, and often landlords to tenant and/or cropper farmers. Both the Gaither and Shaw families also farmed. However, the Shaws were small farm owners, using their own personal labor to produce crops. They also combined their living quarters with their store to save expenses. The

Gaithers, on the other hand, had a more diverse income. They ran the store that was built next to their I-house. Family members also ran mills, peddled meats, transported grains, and held political office. These people also farmed their own lands as well as having tenants working other parts of their property.

6. Community feeling could extend to exclusiveness at the stores. During the 1940s one of the Stine children, now grown, returned to Harmony to visit his parents. They had moved in closer to Harmony (about two miles away). This man was asked to buy some bread at a store across the street. This store, run by Mrs. Hendrix, was a small establishment somewhat similar to that of the Shaws'. George Stine walked in, asked her for a loaf of bread. Mrs. Hendrix looked him over, and told him she did not have any to sell to him. He looked behind her, at the numerous loaves on the shelf, repeating his request. Mrs. Hendrix again told him she had no bread to sell him. George heard her tell her son "I don't know that man, he can't have any of my bread". He shrugged, left, and went home. Mrs. Stine, his mother, was furious. She was angriest that her local storekeeper did not recognize her son (Margaret Stine, personal communication November 1987).

7. Ostentatious display may have been a characteristic of the Tidewater South (Issac 1982), but NOT of the Upland South. McDonald and McWhiney (1975) have shown how cattle and pig herders in the mountainous regions may have chosen to not invest their money in large, fancy homes. The economically better off in Harmony may have decided also to invest their monies elsewhere, such as in more farmland or interior house goods. In addition, the range of income in the area may have been more similar than disparate- this point awaits further investigation. Even today, certain families in the Upland South prefer to hide their wealth. At least, they do not flaunt their wealth through purchase of luxurious material items. On a recent visit with Lanier Meaders and his family, the author noticed that the potters' sheds and homes of family members were kept very small and simple. (John Rufus Meaders is, in fact, living in his grandparents' vernacular combination of hall-and-parlor and I-house, which decidedly tilts to one side.) Their pottery has gained an extensive reputation and following. Pieces are now often ordered months in advance and fetch large prices. (One of Lanier's face jugs sells for about \$350.00.) Their clothing (e.g. overalls), outbuildings, and homes do not reflect their economic standing. This may reflect Upland South values and/or family caution.

8. The built environment does not seem to have been a good indicator of status in the Harmony area, at least as far as

farmsteads are concerned. Mill towns such as Turnersburg were more differentiated into mill housing (small, identical I-houses and outbuildings) and mill owner housing (I-house with larger, two-story ell on the back). Tenants in the area often lived in smaller hall-and-parlor homes built for them by their landlords. Nonetheless, tenants often lived in their landlord's original family I-house. Renters could expect to find anything from an I-house to hall-and-parlor to log cabin. Ethnicity does not seem to have any sort of one-to-one correspondence with house type or style. Too few Reconstruction Period tenant and small farmer homes are extant (in Harmony) to show if ethnicity played more of a role in slave and/or freedman house design.

9. After interviewing many local inhabitants of the Harmony locale, it appears that the physical landscape of Afro- and Euro-American farmers was very similar. This tendency towards sameness was also discovered in Maryland, see McDaniel 1982:238-239. Placement of homes and outbuildings may have been influenced more by topography and functional needs of the farm than by ethnicity.

10. Cynthia Connors, an M.A. student at the University of South Carolina, is writing her thesis on a similar topic. She has compared 18 black and white cemeteries (871 burials) in South Carolina, and discovered a similar pattern in mortuary behavior. Afro-American cemeteries were characterized by use of natural design elements and objects in grave decoration, perhaps related to the prevalence of water and trees in some African religious systems. Furthermore, some ritual "killed" household objects were present on some of the burials. See her paper, Southeastern Archaeological Conference, November 11-14, 1987.

Chapter VI. Ethnoarchaeology at Two Farmsteads: Structures, Ethnicity, and Economics

An ethnoarchaeological investigation consists of using data gathered from living informants in combination with an archaeological study of material culture to answer specific anthropological questions (cf. Adams 1980, Kramer 1979). Anthropological research includes asking how ethnic, economic, and other social factors intersect in the creation and use of material culture. The methods and results of the archaeology of the yards and fields will be detailed in the next chapter. In the pages that follow, the standing structures at two farms will be examined. These buildings hold artifacts dating from the time of occupation through subsequent use as storage facilities. They will be described and discussed from the point of view derived from memories of people who once visited and/or lived on the farms.

In 1986 two farmsteads located in the Harmony area were chosen for archaeological investigation. These adjacent farms are located south of the town of Harmony, in Turnersburg Township, Iredell County, North Carolina. Figure 6-1 illustrates the spatial relationship of the Stine and Nichols acreage. In a typical Upland South fashion, both homes are placed along a road. However, they remain

THE STINE & NICHOLS UPPER PIEDMONT FARMSTEADS IREDELL COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA OCCUPATION DATES C. 1870 - 1960

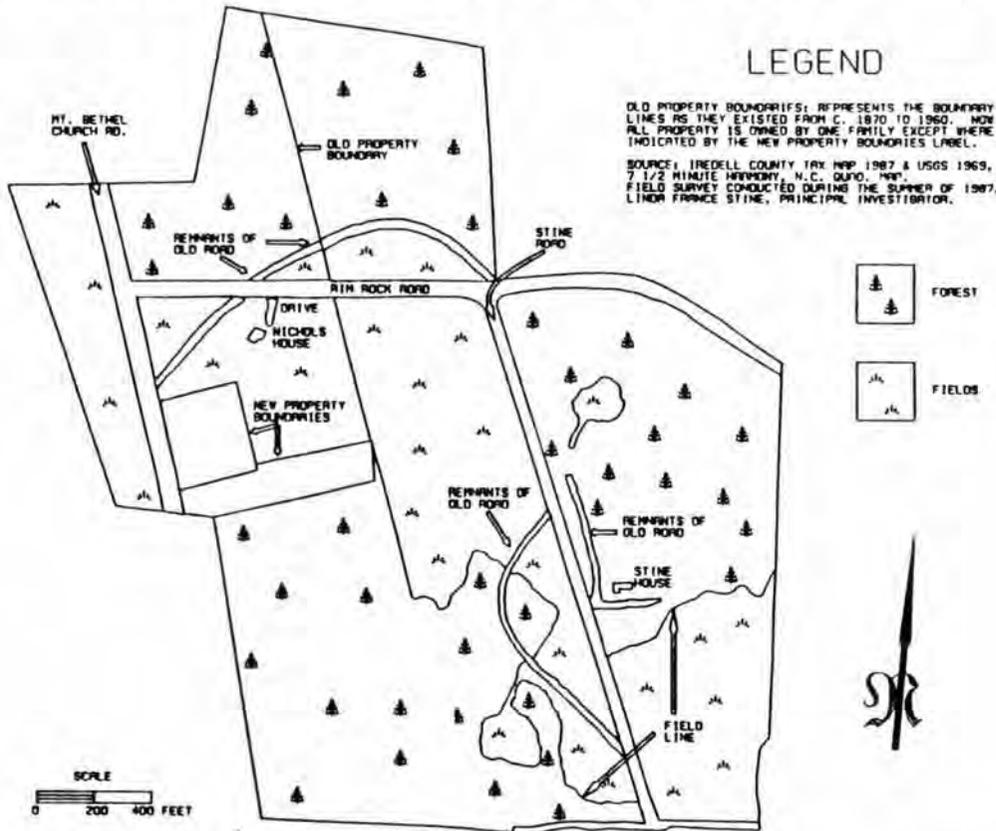


Figure 6-1. Project Area



somewhat private by being built away from their neighbors'. (The homes could have been constructed along a shared boundary, but were not.) The Nichols family owned approximately 30 acres of cleared lands. Their property also encompassed a spring, located about 500 feet south by southeast of the main house. They occasionally rented additional croplands to the south and east (just south of the Stine farmstead) and due east (bordering the back of the Stine farmstead) (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86, Kenneth Stine interview of 2/6/88). The Stines owned about 70 acres of agricultural land (see Figure 6-1). Their property had been clear-cut before its early twentieth century purchase, and they let secondary growth and new forest develop on about 40 acres. They actually farmed only 30 acres. They purchased another 70 acres located less than a mile down the road in the 1940s. Eventually, during the 1960s, the Stines purchased most of the Nicholse's farmstead.

This chapter has been divided into a number of sections, detailing the existing conditions at the two sites, the site-specific oral and written history, and comparison of standing structures. Oral, archaeological and documentary research results will be integrated in the final chapter. The first section details the existing conditions of the buildings on the two farmsteads.

6-1. Existing Conditions at the Farmsteads

The Nichols land is slightly rolling bottom land, with rich soil and good access to water at the spring. The Stine farm consists of an eroded red-clay knoll, with deep erosional gullies, some forest, and more sloping topography. An intermittent stream was located just east of the house, off their property. (Their neighbors allowed them access, however.) The western boundary of their property tended to follow a small stream ("the branch"). Both families had had wells dug near their homes, known for giving good, cool water (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86, Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix interview of 5/25/87).

At present, both farmsteads are owned by one family. The farm homes are no longer inhabited; instead they are used as storage. Hay is planted throughout the Nicholse's place, and bales are often sheltered in the house (Photograph 6-1). Cardboard mill cones are also stored in the home, for future use as fuel. Two of the mantles have been stolen, as have some of the ornamentals out front. Many of the window panes have been broken by vandals.

The Nichols house, shown in the photographs following, is a simple one story building. This frame structure is a classic example of hall-and-parlor, sometimes called a "double room with central hall" (Glassie 1975, Little-Stokes 1978). It is still protected by its steeply pitched, plain



Photo 6-1. Nichols Farmhouse, West Elevation
with Hay (1987)



Photo 6-2. Without Hay (1986)

gable tin roof. The roof also has its original lightning rods attached, with their amethyst glass balls undisturbed.

The front porch (31.5 by 6.0 ft.) is now sagging, but still attached to the long front of the home. The porch's sloping tin roof is supported by three slender wooden columns (the northern support is gone). A combination fieldstone and red brick external end chimney is found on the northern side of the home (see photograph following). It is a single shoulder in design, measuring about 20 ft. high, and 3.5 ft. long at its base. It extends about 2.1 ft. from the northern exterior of the Nichols home. This chimney is not mirrored on the southern end of the building. In the next photograph series (6-4 and 6-5), the southern elevation is shown. One can see that the simple lines of this vernacular farmhouse are continued, with its simple roof trim (plain gable end with roof beams showing). A pear tree partially obscures the front corner. The ell is faced with a small interior brick chimney. It is balanced by the placement of two two-over-two windows. These photographs amply illustrate the builders' exactitude in laying the house foundation. The Nichols place is built on a slight, eastward sloping part of the farm. As a result, the back portions of the ell had to be placed on taller piers. The foundation consists in places of drylaid coarse fieldstone, such as found under the side porch and front portion of the home. The back rests on 0.55 ft. wide wooden beams, placed

Photo 6-3. Nichols
Farmhouse, North
Elevation



Photo 6-4. View South by Southeast

Photo 6-5. South
Elevation, Nichols



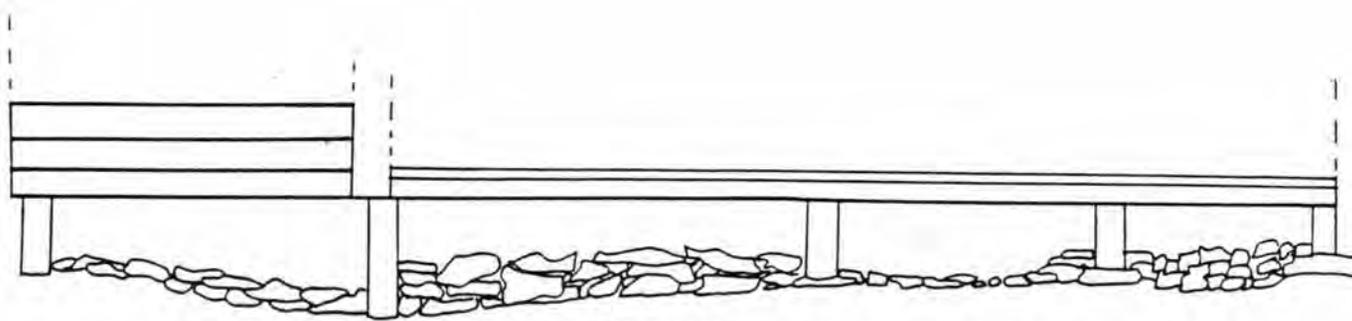
Photo 6-6. Nichols, View to Northeast

upon about 0.85 ft. wide fieldstone. (See illustration, Figure 6-2). In Photograph 6-8, the back of the farmhouse is shown. This end is graced with one two-over-two window, and a small (1.4 by 1.4 ft.) brick chimney. (It was constructed using alternating rows of stretcher/stretcher and header/stretcher/header.) The northern elevation of the structure is depicted in the Photograph 6-7, showing the present dirt drive leading towards the "side" porch.

One faces the front door, with its scalloped design, and enters through into the hall. This is long and narrow, and sided with box-car siding (e.g. small tongue-and-groove). The floor plan of this hall and the rest of the Nicholises' home is provided in Figure 6-3.

If the visitor can climb over the high stacks of hay, he or she could enter one of three areas from the hall. To the left is a 16 by 15 ft. room, with about 8 ft. ceilings. The walls are constructed of pine boards measuring about 0.45 ft. wide. There is a brick-lined hearth at the north end of the room. Its wooden mantle was stolen long ago. Fenestration in this room consists of three windows, one on the west side and two along the wall on either side of the chimney. They measure about 3.3 ft. wide, including sashes (2.3 ft. if excluded), and also have two over two lights.

If one retraced their steps up, over, and into the hall, one could enter a second, almost identical, room. (This chamber measures 15 ft. by 16 ft. and shares 8 ft.



Fieldstone



East Elevation, Back of E11

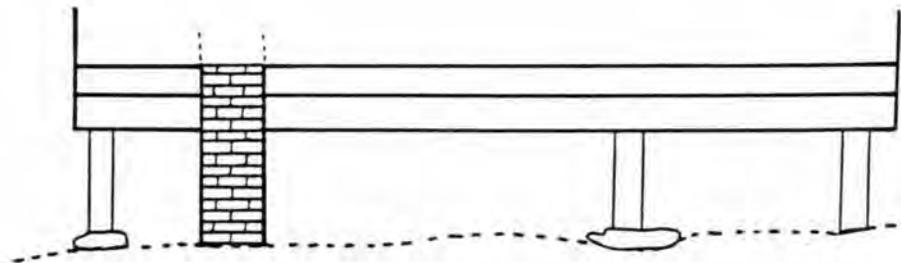


Figure 6-2. Nichols Farmhouse, Foundation Details



Photo 6-7. Nichols Farmhouse, North
Elevation



Photo 6-8. East Elevation, Nichols

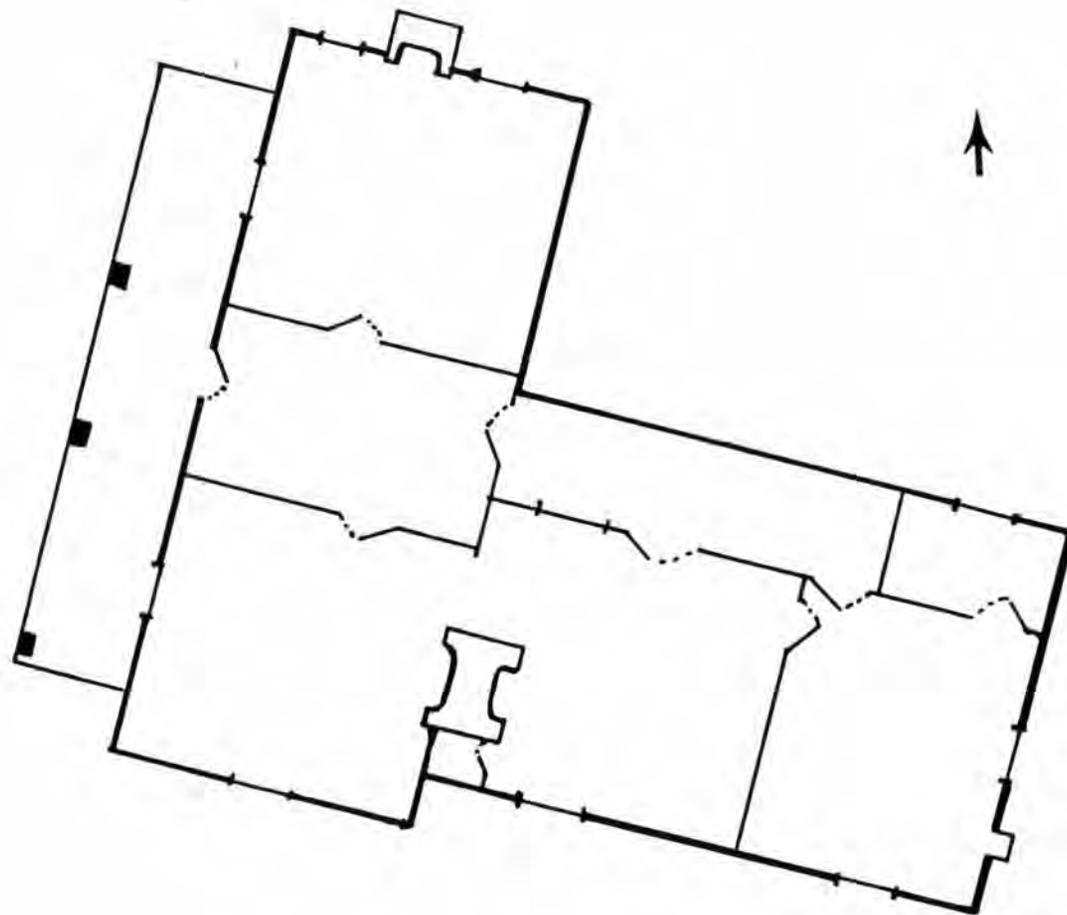


Figure 6-3. Nichols Farmhouse, Floorplan



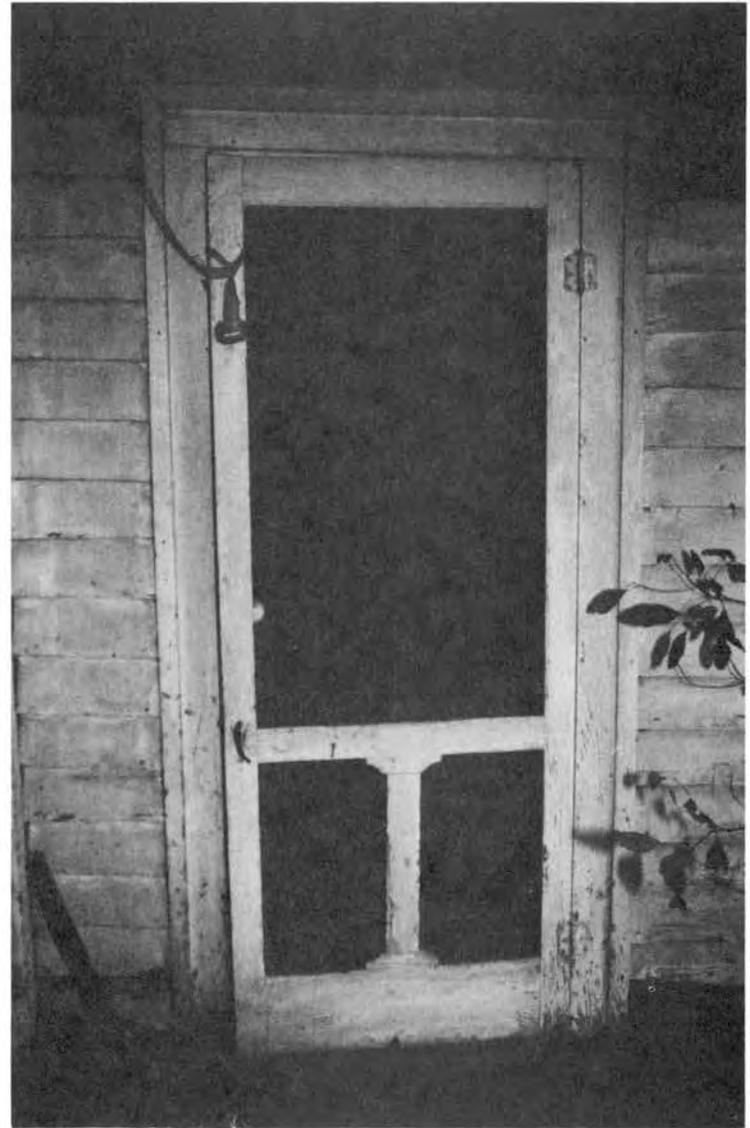
ceilings.) A fireplace is positioned along the back wall, measuring approximately 4.0 ft. wide. The lovely wooden mantle can still be glimpsed around the hay, with a curvilinear, machine-made design (Photograph 6-9). This room is also lighted by two windows, of the same dimensions as the other room. The wide pine boards of the walls and ceilings are also similar in size.

A door (3.1 ft.) once led between the end of the hall and the remainder of the Nicholises' home. Today, the investigator has to go outside and around to the side porch of the structure to gain access to the ell. The porch is also sagging, and long and wide. At present, there are no steps leading onto the porch, and many of the board ends have been broken as people step directly up and onto them. From the porch, the investigator has direct access to two rooms. The first is a large (17.0 by 14.85 ft.) room containing two windows and a fireplace. One enters a rather ornate screen door (Photograph 6-10) and then one of wood. The interior of the large pine door is shown in the photograph following. (It is typed as a single leaf with panels, following Little-Stokes 1978:131.) This window still retains its plain cotton curtain. Photograph 6-12 illustrates the chimney and closet located along the western wall of this room. (The mantle has been stolen.) One can tell that a wood stove had once sat outside the firebox. The floor is still covered in a floral linoleum over thin



Photo 6-9. Nichols Mantle, Front Right

Photo 6-10. Nichols Porch Door



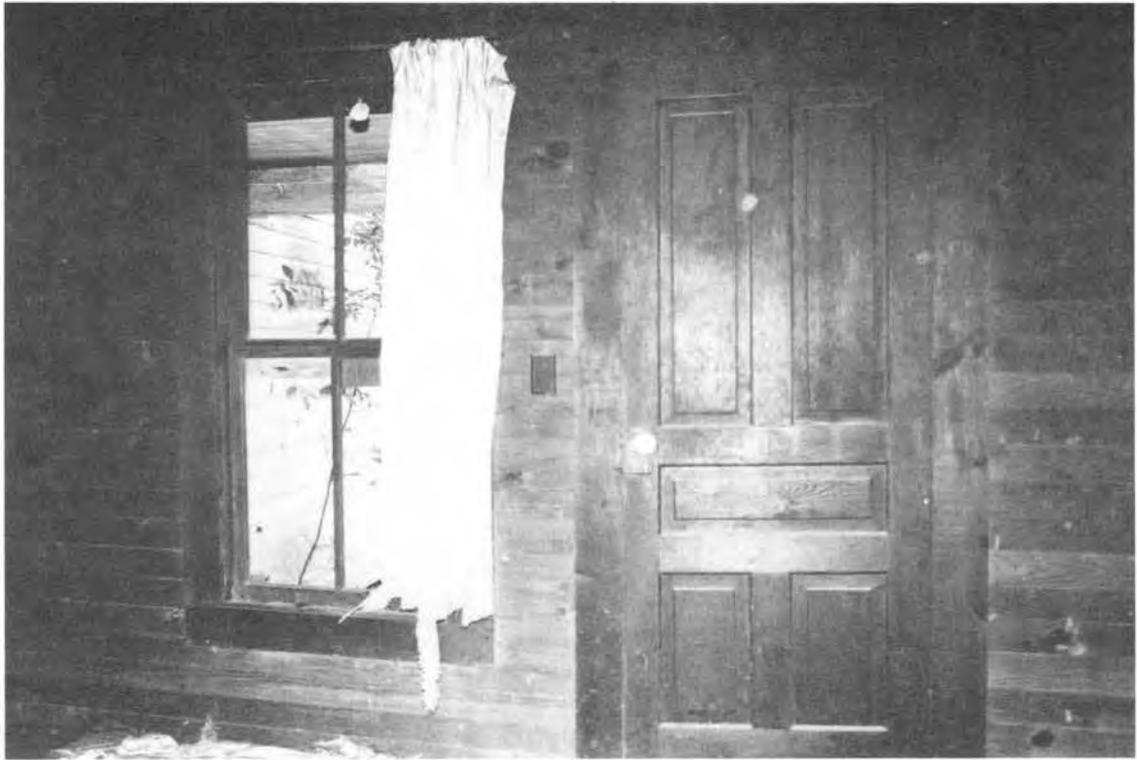


Photo 6-11. Interior Ell Window, Door (top)
Photo 6-12. Closet, Mantle of Ell (bottom)



pine boards (Photograph 6-13).

There are two rooms located at the back of the ell. One would first enter a larger room with two windows (12.5 by 14.85 ft.). The room contains, amid the hay, the remains of a circa 1960 refrigerator. The interior holds some broken glass, as well as a broken plastic plate with unknown accretions. There is an aperture along the back wall, for a stove-pipe to connect to the chimney. The small room (18.5 by 5.0 ft. approximately) adjacent to the presumed kitchen seems to have served as a pantry (see Photograph 6-14). It contains the most debris, with a floor littered with broken bottle and jar glass, as well as a child's rusted play table. The wall adjoining the porch is lined with rough-cut boards, serving as shelves. They still contain rusting tin vessels, such as a bright orange coffee can ("Cockadoodledo"?). Canning jar rims are tied in a bunch, and hang on a wire nail overhead on the shelf.

Overall, the debris of past farm lives has been removed from this home. As described, some artifacts (beyond the structure), still remain within the Nichols home, helping to give clues about the past. The majority of items, however, have been reused, removed and/or rusted away. As will be discussed later, this home has not been lived in since its sale within the last thirty years. Nonetheless, the white porcelain doorknobs are still in place, as are the simple iron hinges. Wire and cut nails can be found throughout the

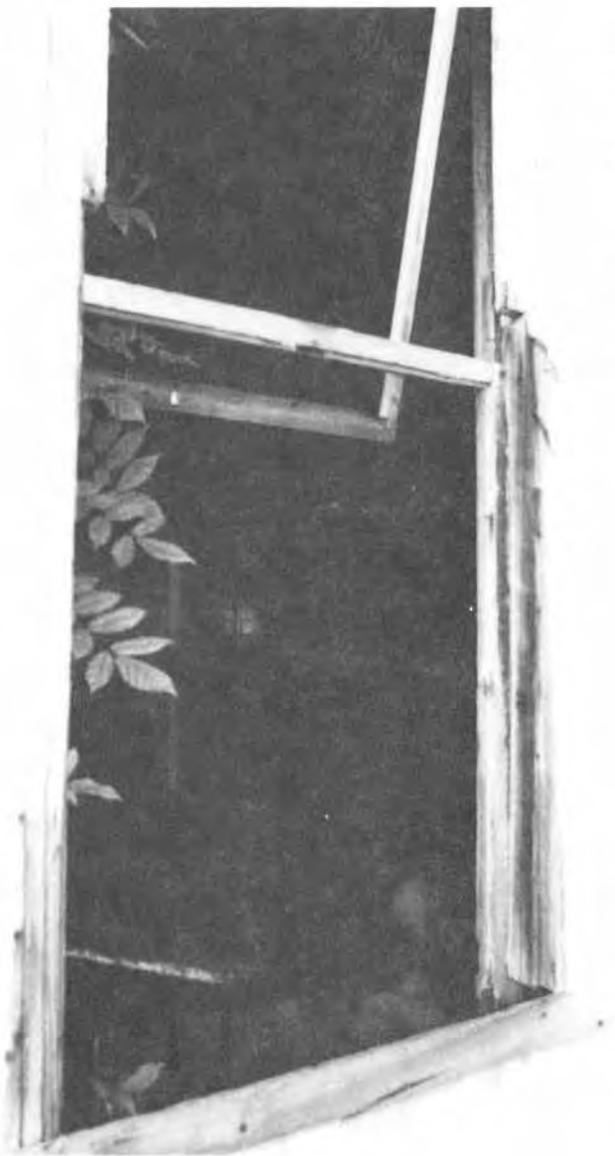


Photo 6-13. Linoleum, Nichols Ell
(top)

Photo 6-14. (left) Pantry Window

home. The most obvious items, however, are related to the building's present function as a storage facility (hay bales, cardboard cones).

The next series of photographs (6-15 through 6-19) are included to provide the reader with a sense of the landscape. The present-day front yard area is planted in hay. When the hay is cut, the eye can travel south and slightly downslope across a large field. At the end of the field lies a clump of trees, protecting a spring. In the foreground stands one of the few remaining "yard trees", a large, knarled Chinaberry. Its companion Chinaberry sits just to the north (see next photograph). The front view is presently obscured by a line of secondary growth and cedar lining a shallow gully. There are a series of holes in this yard, indicating where people have stolen ornamentals such as peonies (Kenneth Stine, personal communication October 1987). The next picture shows the view to the north, towards the blacktopped Rim Rock Road. Just beyond the small hardwood lies an area of pasture that is eroded and compact. This appears to be an old driveway, but turns out to be part of the original Rim Rock Road (Kenneth Stine, personal communication October 1987, see Figure 6-1). The picture following shows the view to the northwest, across the large field fronting the Nichols farmhouse.

Walking eastward, one comes back around to the "side" porch. The next picture depicts the view from the end of



Photo 6-15. Nichols Farm, View to South
Photo 6-16. View to Northwest



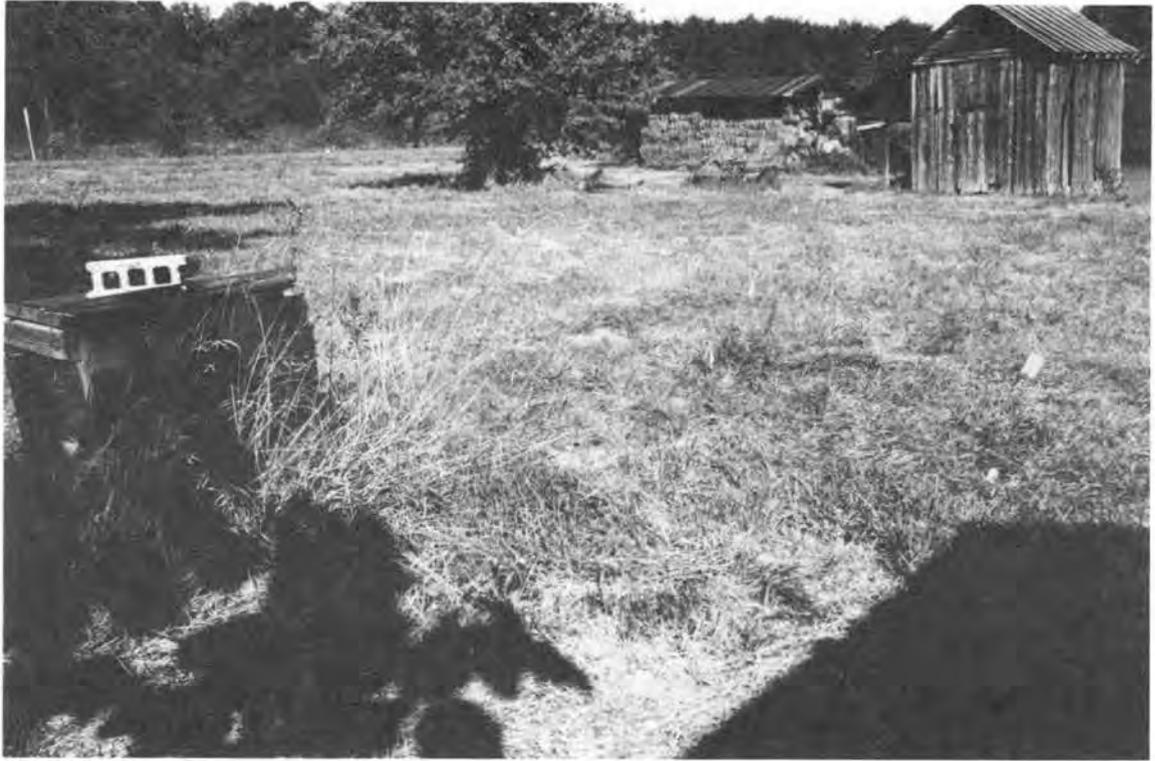


Photo 6-17. Nichols Farm, View to Northeast
(well, pole barn, granary)

that porch. The wood-encased, stone-lined well can be seen to the left, with a cinder block being used to keep the cap on. It measures about 2.0 ft. square. A metal spring from a tractor also helps to hold the lid on this well. After a long expanse of field, one sees two additional structures. The one to the left is used to store much of the hay cut from these fields (see photographs). The structure to the right, part of the original homestead, was used to hold various grains (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). This small (about 16.0 by 11.0 ft.) frame structure serves presently for storage of additional mill cones. The loft, reached through an outside door, holds a number of drying peanuts across its boards. They rest on burlap sacking. The peanuts are still protected by this example of an Upland granary's tin roof. The overhang, to the north (left side), is the remains of a shed porch. One can see bits of harness and metal hardware still lining the common wall, hanging from wire and cut nails (see photograph). This structure is presently called the Nichols barn (Lynn Nichols, personal communication 1987). Its hardware is intact, consisting of simple iron hinges and an iron latch common to the twentieth century (see photographs). (Notice that the latch hook is an adapted wire nail.)

The post-in-the-ground pole-barn is used to store wood and/or hay (see photograph). Its tin roof provides enough



Photo 6-18. Late Winter, Nichols
Pole Barn, Granary
Photo 6-19. Barn and Granary , Summer





Photo 6-20. Granary , South Elevation
Photo 6-21. Granary , West Elevation

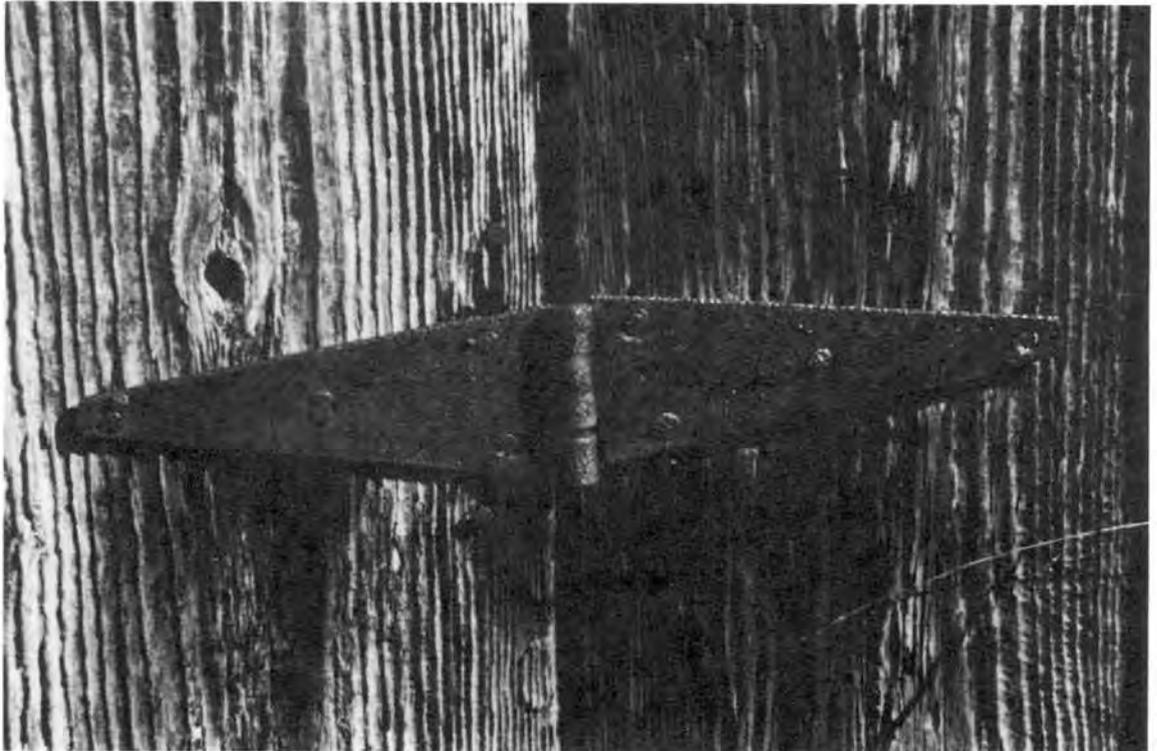




Photo 6-22. Granary Overhang,
Looking West



Photo 6-23. Nichols Granary Latch
Photo 6-24. Granary Hinge Detail



shelter from the rains. The remainder of the building is simply framed.

One field has been plowed in recent years (about 76 by 28 ft.). It lies just north and west of the pole barn, parallel to Rim Rock Road. The remainder of the Nichols farmstead is planted in hay, with occasional thorny shrubs and secondary growth trees scattered in the fields. The majority of secondary growth lies along the property's occasional gullies. (The topography will be described more fully in a later section.) Looking southeast across the fields, one can see the blurred outlines of the neighboring farmstead, the Stine place.

The Stine farmhouse sits on a small knoll facing a dirt road (Stine Road, unsurprisingly). This simple frame I-house is deteriorating faster than the Nicholises' home. Its pine-shingled roof over the front section of the house has not been repaired. Many shingles have rotted or blown off. (They can be seen on the ground behind the house after a storm with heavy winds.) This has left large holes in the roof. Every time it rains, most of the front rooms get very wet. The detritus of living is more evident here, myriad objects are occasionally soaked, frozen, heated and dried. As this home has remained in the hands of one family, it has served as a receptacle for unwanted, forgotten, and stored items. The main home is not used to store bulky hay or mill cones, instead, it holds seeds, tires, potatoes, furniture

and other litter. Details of the Stine farmhouse are provided in the series of photographs that follow.

The first pictures illustrate the large oak yard-trees that once framed the front of the home. Two of these oaks were dying, and have recently been cut down (1987). In good rural tradition, their wood will not be wasted. Local church members helped to create large stacks of firewood, now stored in covered piles in the front yard. (This wood will go to needy members of the congregation, as well as to Stine family members.) These trees and their placement are similar to those fronting the Nicholises' (two Chinaberries).

The front (western) elevation is still symmetrical, with evenly spaced windows (two over two) and front door. Only three columns are extant (one was stolen 1987, one lies behind the granary). In the photograph provided, one can see that the Stine porch columns were more ornate than those at the Nicholises, with curvilinear bricbrac at left of the simpler main column. (One can also see a hand-carved clover harvester behind it.) The Stine home also has boxed cornice gable returns (Photograph 6-29, Little-Stokes 1978:133). This added construction feature, with centered attic ventilator, helps make the Stine exterior slightly more ornate than that of the Nichols farmhouse.

The presence of wooden shingles on the front roof seems to indicate affluence. This may be the case today, with wood prices soaring, but in the early twentieth century tin



Photo 6-25. Stine Farmhouse, West
Elevation

Photo 6-26. Looking North by Northeast



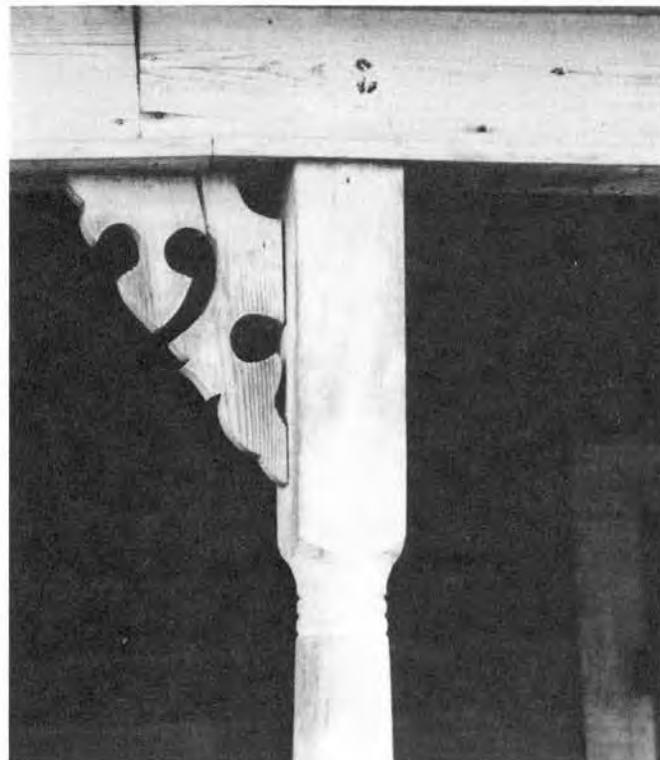


Photo 6-27. Stine Porch Column

Photo 6-28. Porch Column Detail (above)

was much more expensive than wood (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). Apparently, the Stines could only afford to put tin on the front and back porches, and over the ell. As will be discussed, they and Nichols family members constructed their own shingles for the cost of their own labor.

The photograph of the back ell roof gives a good indication of the pitch for the ell and the "back" porch. It also shows that the Stines employed lightning rods on their home. Their gear replicates that of their neighbors, consisting of twisted steel rods with light bubbles of amethyst (once clear) glass near the top. (One suspects that the same salesman came through town on the heels of a storm.)

Gazing at the roofline, some 28.5 ft. above the ground, one can see the home's main interior brick chimney. This placement is similar to that of one of the chimneys at the Nichols home. (However, the Stines did not have an exterior chimney, such as found at the Nicholises.) This chimney (see picture) is constructed in alternating rows as follows: header/two stretchers/header; three stretchers. One of the home's lightning rods is found running up the western side of this chimney.

The windows in the home have plain sashes, measuring about 0.45 ft. across (Photograph 6-33). This style is the same as found at the nearby Nichols house. The two-over-two



Photo 6-29. Stine Gable Return
Photo 6-30. Roof with Pine Shakes





Photo 6-31. Tin Roof, Ell, Looking East

Photo 6-32. Stine Interior Chimney

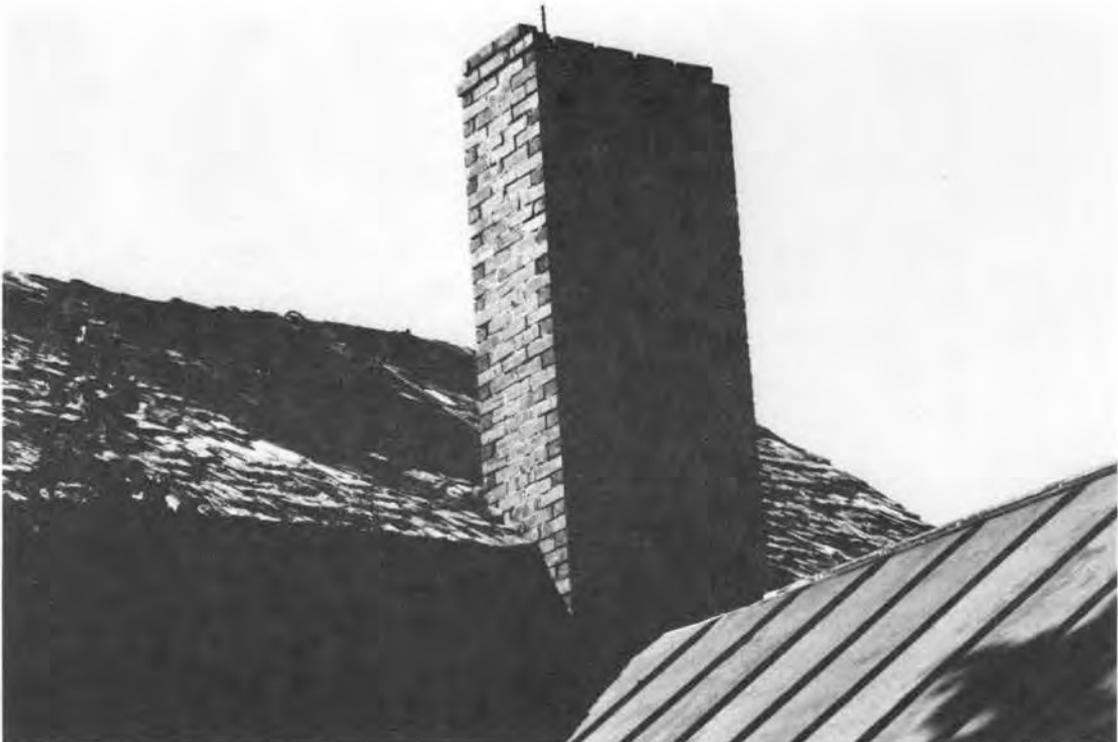




Photo 6-33. Window Detail, South
Elevation Stine Farmhouse

lights can be seen (the upper pane is broken) within the sashes. Mullions are simple, thin pieces of wood. Burlap sacking serves as protection from the rain, as most of the glass is gone. Wisps of more delicate lace curtains can still be seen blowing through the window opening. This photograph also serves as an example of the plain "shipboard" siding used on the home (also at the Nichols place). It consists of approximately 0.45 horizontal pine boards. These boards are slightly overlapped, and joined with both cut and wire nails.

The visitor to the home today finds that the front porch is sagging, but still used to protect farm implements (clover harvester, grain grinder), as well as tin cans, glass jars and plastic jugs (holding nails, bolts, screws, etc.). An old wooden porch swing and its chain lie resting on the floorboards. Window glass litters this long porch. As with the Nichols home, no stairs help you step up to the porch at present. As a result, the ends of the boards near the middle of the porch are fractured through heavy use.

The present-day visitor finds that the southern elevation of the Stine home is almost a mirror image of the Nicholsons' northern side. Unlike the Nichols one-story, the Stine home is built with a two-story front and one-story ell (see photograph). There is no chimney associated with the front portion of the south side, which is balanced with two windows and an attic ventilator, all in a symmetrical line.

There is a small, red brick stack near the end of the ell, from an interior chimney. This chimney actually has no hearth, only serving as a flue (see photograph). The ell consists of two exterior portions, the "side" porch and a small (10.0 by 6.0 ft.) room. The porch has three single leaf and panelled doors, still showing signs of yellow and white paint. (The loose bricks on the top of the tin ell roof are there to help hold it down.) The little side room has one small window, presently enclosed with a sheet of tin. It measures only about 2.0 ft. wide. The next picture shows the back end of the Stine home, or the eastern elevation. The construction lines of the home can be seen clearly. The front portion, or main I-house, has only one window in the back, in the middle of the second story. The porch and small room appear to be shed additions, with a definite break in the home's lines. The small room also has no back window. The back of the actual main portion of the ell had one window, presently boarded up.

Turning to the west, one walks along one of the more illuminated sides of the place. The northern side has a total of five windows and a ventilator. The provided photographs clearly show the two chimney stacks, the tin versus shingle roof, and the joining of the ell and the front of the I-house. Also, the boxed gable returns and the fancy sash over the ventilator can be seen. These photographs give a good sense of the lines of the Stine



Photo 6-34. Stine Side Porch

Photo 6-35. Northeast View, Stine House





Photo 6-36. East Elevation, Stine House

Photo 6-37. North Elevation



home, and how it too sits levelly on its foundation.

Both the Nichols and the Stine homes are remarkably level, after all the years and settling processes. The Nicholsons' foundation consists of board and stone piers on the back of the ell, with a closed uncoursed, dry-laid foundation under the porch and the front of the home. The Stine foundation is constructed of large, granitic fieldstones (see photographs). These stones were obviously chosen to conform as closely as possible to the size needed. If too small, bits of board are inserted between the rock and the house sill. (The stones are not spaced at regular intervals.) Notice that the area under the house consists of severely eroded, barren clay. This is quite different from the underbelly of the Nichols home, with its almost complete lack of erosional signs. Instead, it has a thick mat of grass, glass, and tin cans interspersed with some bald patches. The only artifactual evidence under the Stine home, besides piers and joists, is a light scatter of window glass.

The reader is referred to Figure 6-4 to help orient the discussion of the interior of the home. The succeeding photographs also serve as guides to the material culture presently in place. The visitor can enter the front door, decorated with the use of three horizontal panels. (The butterfly bolt bell pull still works.) The front knob is simple rusting iron, as are the hinges. This door is a bit



Photo 6-38/39. Stine Foundation Details





Photo 6-40. Stine Front Door, 1987

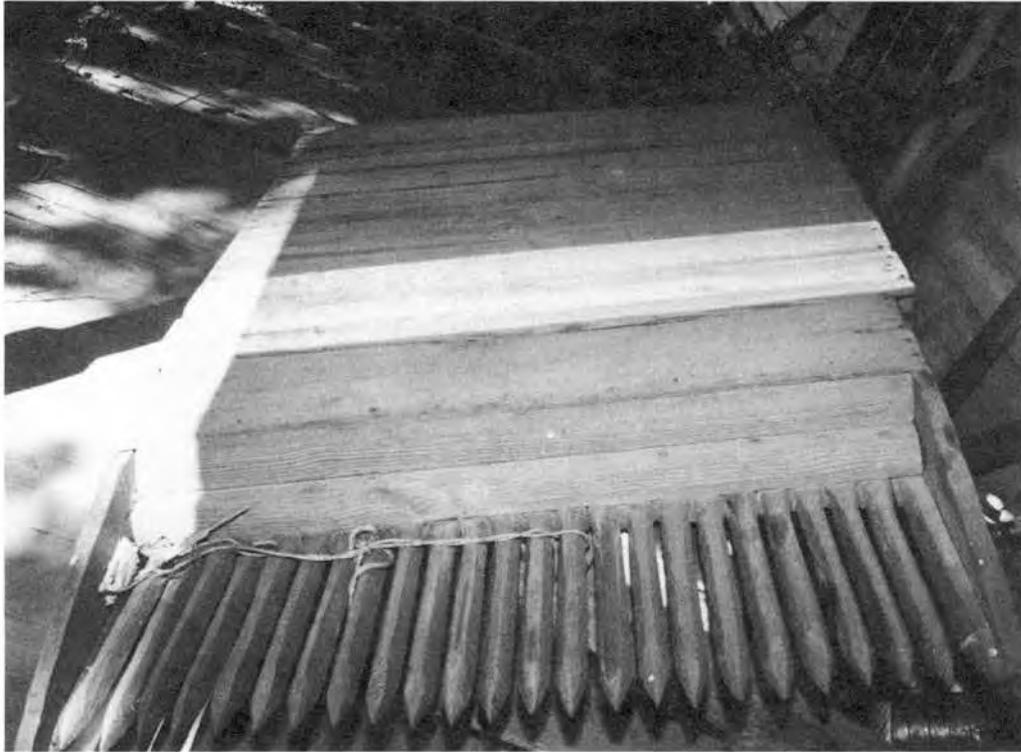


Photo 6-41. Hand-made Wooden Seeder

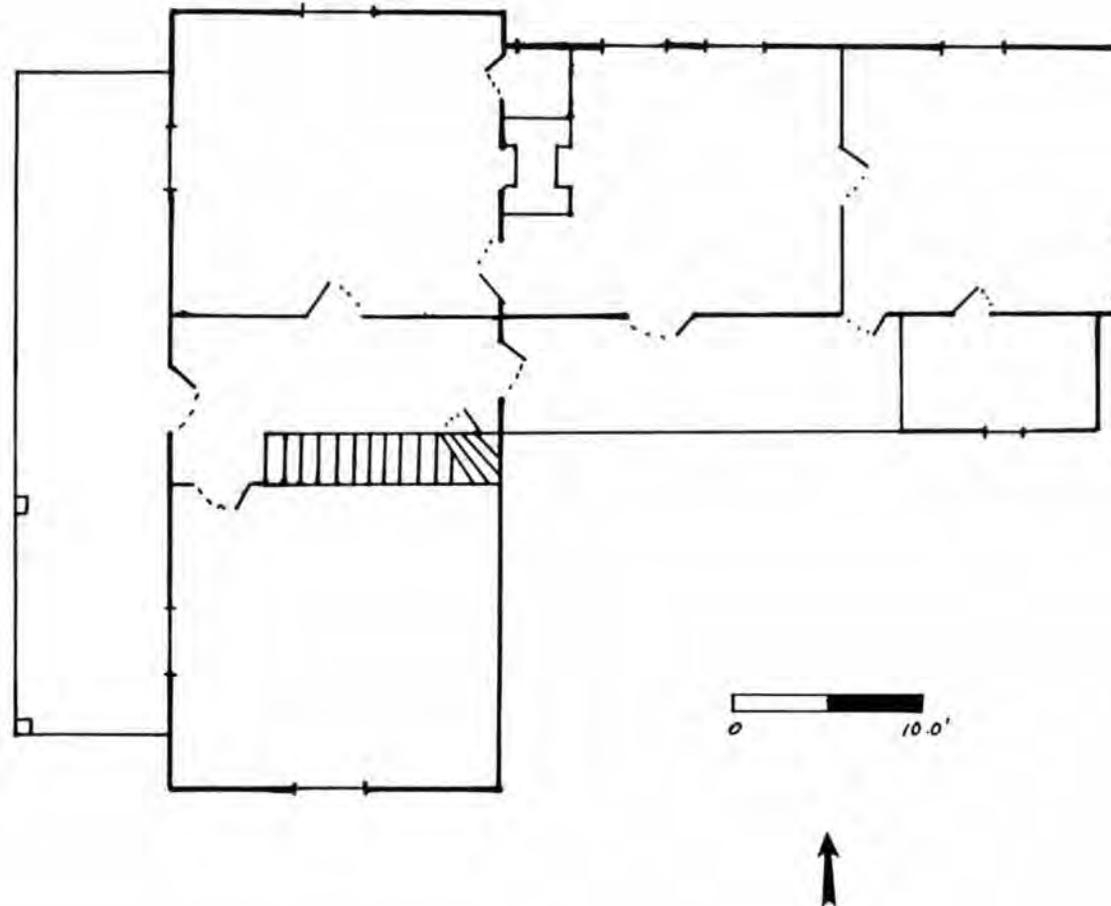


Figure 6-4. Stine Farmhouse, Downstairs Floorplan

more decorative than the others in the home. However, the Nicholsons' front door is even more decorative. (It has a row of small scallops under the glass plate, a repetition of the design found on the mantle described earlier.)

Entering the hall, one is overwhelmed by the THINGS lying on the floor, draped over banisters, and hanging from ceilings. Metal, paper, ceramic, glass, organics- all seemingly jumbled together in the entranceway. An old mattress spring lines the stairs, tires balance shut doors, and ropes hang from above. This hall measures about 8.5 by 17.0 ft., just slightly bigger than the Nicholsons' (7.85 by 15.1 ft.). The Nicholsons' hall is crammed with hay bales, not myriad types of artifacts. One additional difference is in construction. The Nicholsons' hall walls are made from box car siding, that is, narrow tongue and groove. The Stine hall walls are constructed with wide (about 0.45 ft.) pine boards, as is the rest of the home. It gives access to the back or side porch through a door at its end (see Figure 6-4). Next to this door, under the main stairs, is a small closet. Access to both front rooms is gained through the hall, as is access to the upper rooms. The interior rooms of the ell are the only ones not directly reached through this hall.

The room to the right is reached through a porcelain handled, wood-panelled door (see photograph). As with the Nicholsons' interior doors, these are typically set within



Photo 6-42. Entrance Hall
Stine Farmhouse



Photo 6-43. Typical Interior Door.
(Stine Hall)



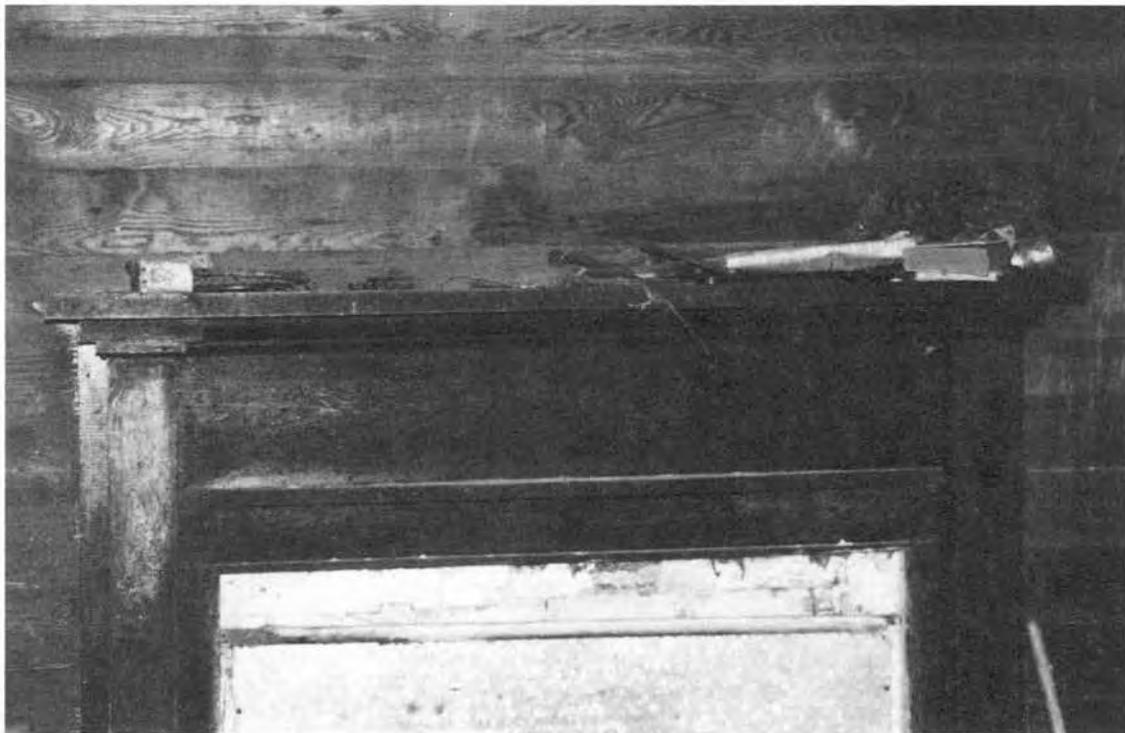
Photo 6-44. Stine Guest Bedroom, 1987

plain pine frames. The front right room measures about one inch larger than that of the Nichols. It is mirrored in size by the front left room. The room is somewhat dark, as it is lit by only two, two-over-two windows, one along the southern wall, the other under the porch to the west. (Both measure about 2.8 ft. wide, or 3.5 ft. if one includes the sash measurements.) This room is used to store tires, seeds, seed buckets, oil drums, and plastic buckets. These are all accoutrements for present-day garden farming. Large bags of seed are kept safe by hanging them off of the wire nails hammered directly into the wide, pine board walls. A hand-produced ladder-back chair, a circa 1960s stove, and various paper debris not connected directly to gardening are also present (see photographs). Unlike both of the Nichols front rooms, this room has no direct heat source (chimney).

The second front room, the left bay, measures the same as its opposite. It, too, serves as a repository for old tires, barrels, and other debris. However, seeds are generally not stored here. Instead, yams are occasionally stored directly on the floor in the southwest corner of the room. Lighting in here is similar (see photograph), as the room has only two windows. However, there is a hearth in this room, measuring about 4.5 ft. wide. One can see that it had been adapted for a flue (see metal sheet with pipe aperture). The front right room is isolated from the remainder of the house, not so the left. This room has



Photo 6-45. Noah's Room, 1987
6-46. Mantle Detail



access to the hall, and the main ell. It has a door to the left on the eastern wall, leading directly to the large room in the ell. To the left of the mantle is a small closet still full of the Stine children's school papers on the wide interior shelves. The mantle itself is of a plain design (see photographs) lacking the curvilinear style of the main mantle at the Nicholoses'. At present an old aluminum bank, books, and unidentified metal objects line the mantle's top (see Photograph 6-46).

The visitor enters the door to the right of the mantle, and enters a very short hall leading into the middle room of the home, the first in the one story ell (see photograph). Potatoes, furniture, and plows are stored here. This small entranceway is still decorated with calendars from 1947 and 1949 nailed to the pine walls (see photographs). This chamber was also heated with a fireplace (see picture), later converted to use as a flue. The plain wooden mantle is a replica of its opposite, except for numerous scores across its face (vandalism). This mantle also holds debris, such as nested zinc and porcelain jar parts (liners and lids), and a cigar box. A cane-bottomed chair sits to the left, with an enameled wash or jelly pan inset like a "potty". The solid floor is scattered with wire fragments, paper, potatoes, and farm implements. These are all made of wood, and would have been pulled by mules or horses (plows and a seed spreader). In the bottom photograph, one can see

that a 1932 license plate has been attached above the plowshare. This was used to help spread the plowed dirt up and over the plow (Kenneth Stine, personal communication). An enamel table and a wooden telephone table are also present in this room, placed along the southern wall. (According to Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview 05/26/87, the telephone table was never used in this home.) This wall also has door openings to the back or side porch, presently nailed shut with wire spikes and/or nails.

This middle room has a lot of openings (see Figure 6-4). There are three doors leading into it, one from the front room, one from the porch, and one into the back room of the ell. Two windows provide light, although partially covered with tin to keep out the elements. Remnants of lace curtains still hang shredded in the northeast window (see picture).

The back room in the ell also has two two-over-two windows giving light. The entrance door here is rather ingenious, as it is hinged to open in either direction. One would suspect this would be a help in bringing dishes of food between this room and the one described immediately above. An 0.8 ft. board has been nailed along one side, to prevent the door from doing this today.

Entering the room, one first notices a number of pieces of furniture are still present (see photographs following). Against the wall to the right, a hand-made kitchen cabinet



Photo 6-47. Storing Potatoes
in Stine Dining Room, 1987



Photo 6-48. Curated Wall Calendar (1947)



Photo 6-49. Curated Wall Calendar (1949)

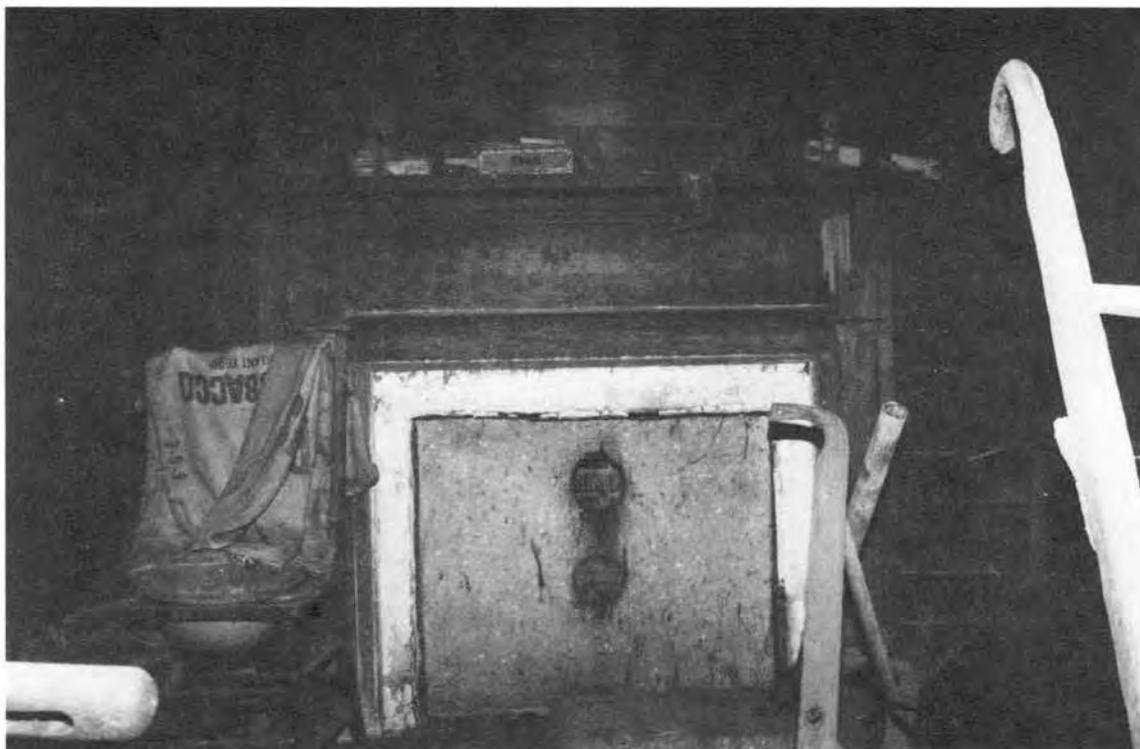


Photo 6-50. Dining Room Mantle, Stine Farmhouse



Photo 6-51. Plow with 1932 license
plate attached, Stine
dining room, 1987

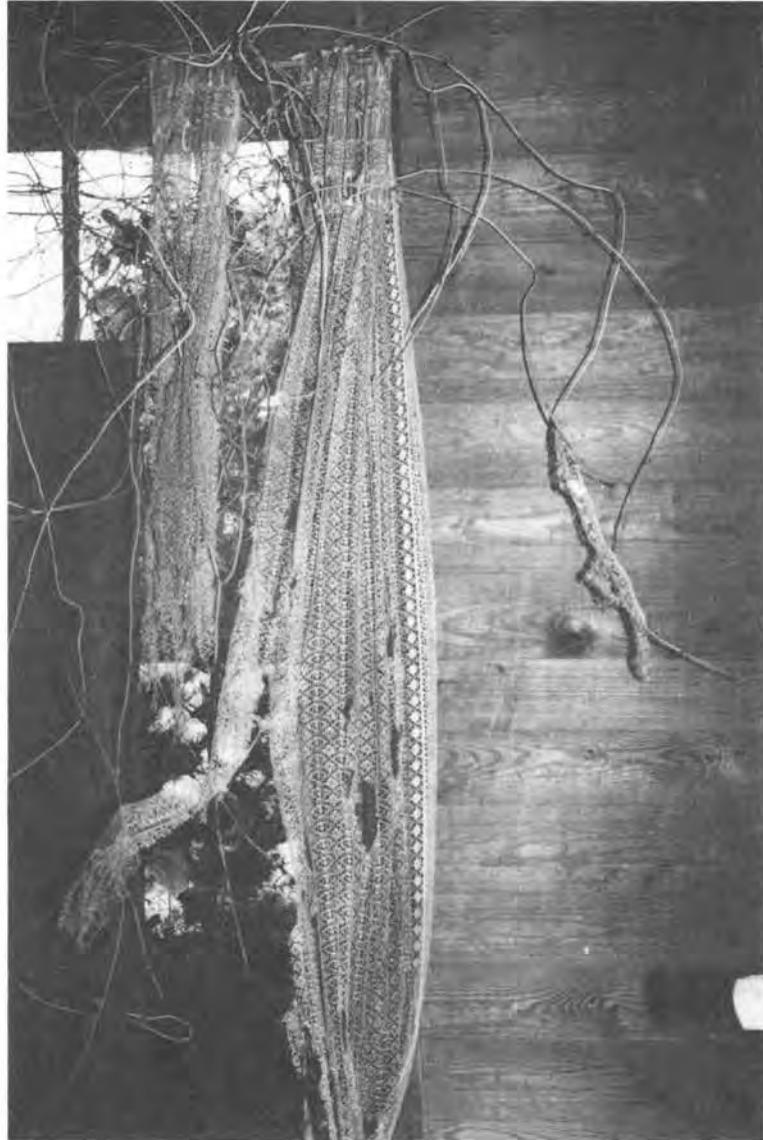


Photo 6-52. Remnants of Dining Room
Curtain, Stine Farmhouse,
1988

stands topped by snuff jars, soda bottles, and medicine bottles. This cabinet is made from wide pine boards, and contains three wide shelves for storage. It still holds cake pans (tin, enamel), jar sealers (lids, seals), and unknown organic debris. It stands next to a small wooden table, still covered with a checked plastic cloth.

Immediately in front is a large, rectangular wooden box topped by a tire. Across the room stands another cabinet, this one painted a vivid green. It, too, is hand-made, out of box-car-style siding and wider pine boards (see photograph). It holds "mud-daubers", as well as a number of miscellaneous clear jars and bottles. A child's high-chair can also be found in this back room. Seating is also provided by an unpainted pine bench lining the far back (east) wall, situated behind the white enameled stove. This room is also furnished with a small wooden cabinet, shown in the photograph following. It stands open, presently used by nesting birds.

Entering a door next to the first pine cabinet, one finds the smallest room in the home. An oil stove sits against one wall, and a small table against an adjacent one. Across the room, one can see a tightly constructed flour bin, with a snuff jar on its lid (see photograph). The final wall is furnished with a series of shelves, still lined with old shoes, metal cannisters, and clear jars (see Photograph 6-59).

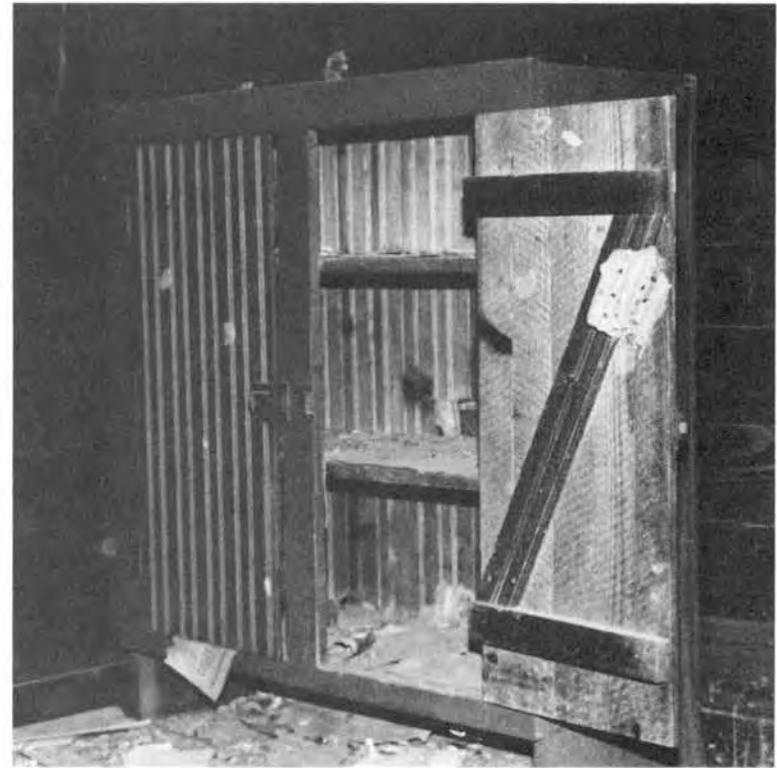


Photo 6-54. (top) Box-Car Siding
cupboard

Photo 6-53. (left) Pine Cabinet

Photo 6-55. Bench



Photo 6-56. Highchair

(Both Hand-made, Found in
Stine Kitchen)

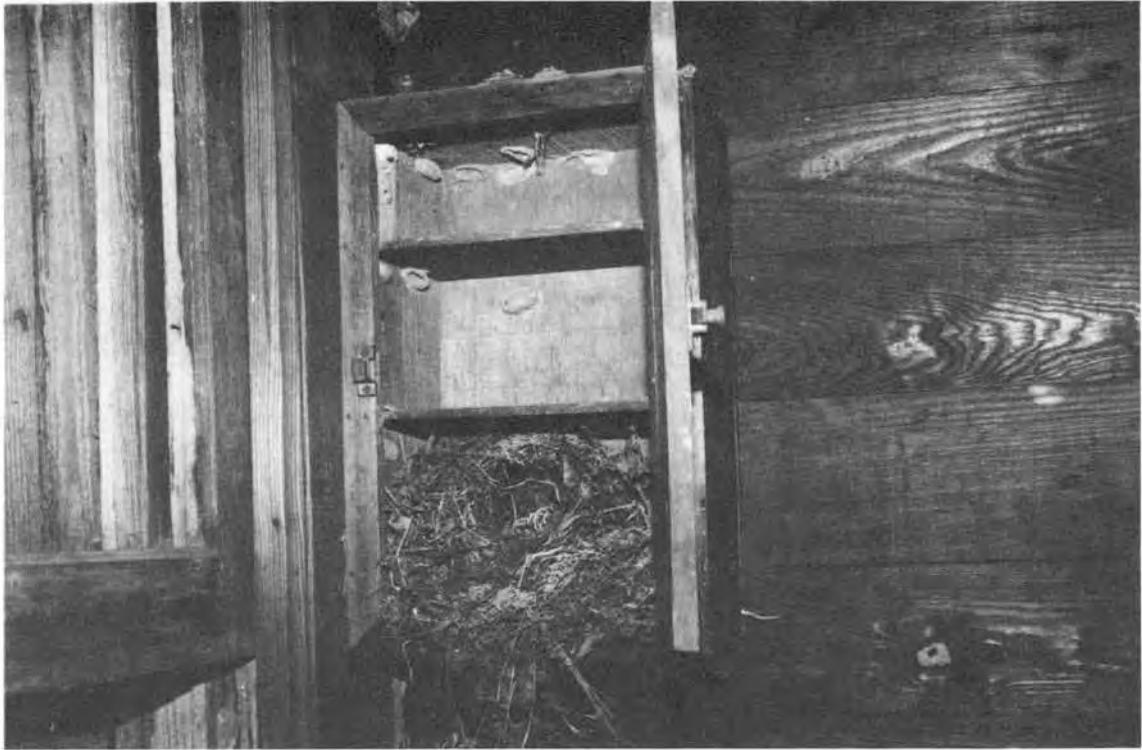


Photo 6-57. Shaving Cabinet, Stine Kitchen
(with 1987 Birdnest)



Photo 6-58. Oak Flour Bin, Pantry
Photo 6-59. Pantry Shelves, 1987



The upstairs of the house is reached by the stairs in the main hallway (see Figure 6-5). The central portion holds the finely bevelled, upper stair railing and a book shelf crammed with hardbacks (i.e. Zane Grey, school texts). These books lie against the front (west) wall of the structure. There is plenty of light to read by, provided by two windows on either end of the hall (see photographs). This room gives entrance to the last two rooms in the house, lying on either side. The one to the right (north) is missing most of its floor and roof (see photograph). Tentatively entering, one stumbles over a litter consisting of the following items: one soapstone chunk, one cigar box, one small wooden chest, one broken (hand-carved) scythe, one shampoo bottle, nail polish, broken glass, and smudged, torn paper. A pair of pants are still hung over a nail attached to the wall. Against another wall one finds the mantle, painted that same vivid green. This plain, simple mantle holds various metal and glass items, as well as two broken plaster of paris figurines (see Photograph 6-61). The opening to a storage area may be seen to its right.

The opposite room, to the south, is also deteriorating rapidly. The floor is littered with leaves, old letters, army paraphernalia (WWII), belts, boxes and unidentifiable pieces of metal. Another caned chair is found here, near the western window. Opposite it lies a veneer headboard, with an ornate floral design still discernible (see

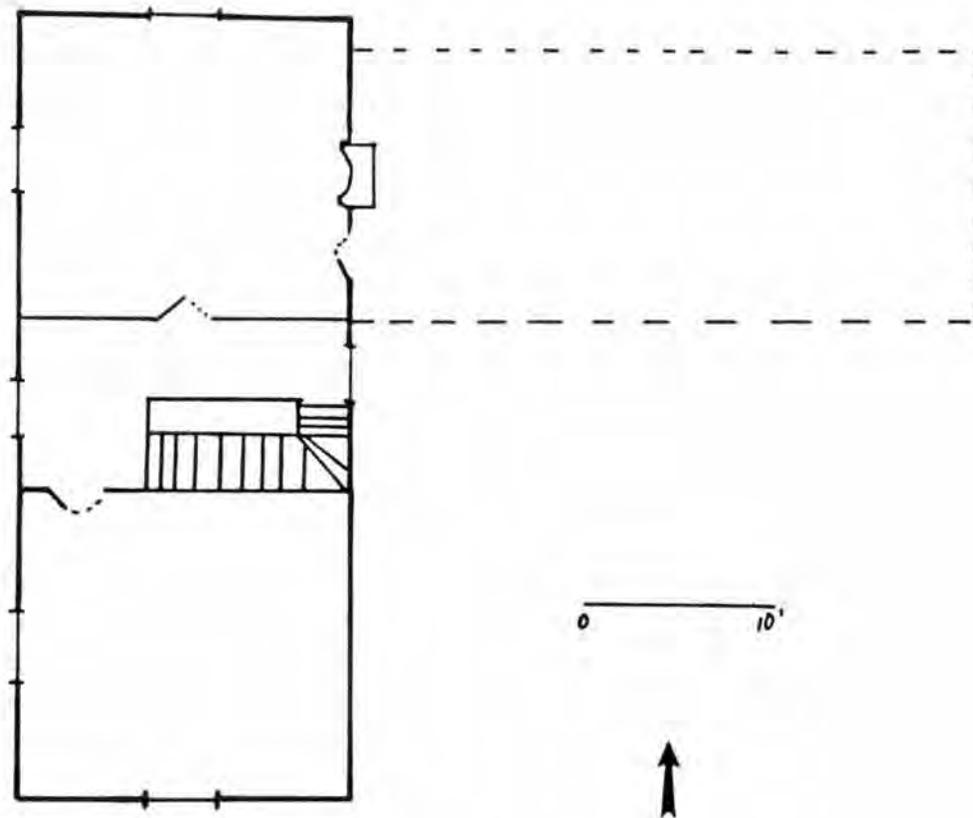


Figure 6-5. Stine Farmhouse, Upstairs Floorplan



Photo 6-60 a. Upstairs Hall (top) East,
 b. and (bottom) West Views





Photo 6-61. Upstairs Mantle and Crawl Space Entrance



Photo 6-62. Veneer
Bedstead, Upstairs



Photo 6-63. Hand-made Chair, Found in
Upstairs Bedroom



Photo 6-64. Dogwood Hooks, Found in
Upstairs Bedrom

photograph). These pine walls still hold a number of iron hangers held by wire nails. In the photograph following, one can see that this family produced their own hangers, too. The small crotch of a tree (dogwood?) can serve to hold a belt as well or better than any nail.

By the end of this tour, the visitor usually has a coughing fit from stirred dust and debris. He or she can walk down the stairs and outside (or slide down the bannister as the Stine children used to do). Referring to Figure 6-1, one can see that a small building lies south of the house. This is the old granary and barn, depicted in the following photographs. This simple balloon-framed building has a tin roof, serving as good protection. In profile, one sees that it has a back shed addition, and may have had one on the northern elevation as well. At present, bits of harness hang from cut and wire nails along its side (see photograph). This is much like the arrangement discovered at the Nicholises. However, the Stine barn has more space, as some of its shed additions still stand. The door to this structure is latched with a hand-forged piece of chain (see photograph) and a wire nail. Passing through this door, one is overwhelmed with more artifacts. Seed bags hang from the rafters, as well as tools, lamps, harness, and wire (see photographs). Wooden boxes can be found of myriad sizes and, presumably, uses. In addition, two cast iron pots are stored in the back of the barn (one holds a



Photo 6-65/66. Northern Elevation,
Granary





Photo 6-67. Harness
N wall of granary
(left)



Photo 6-68. Hand-
forged chain
(right)

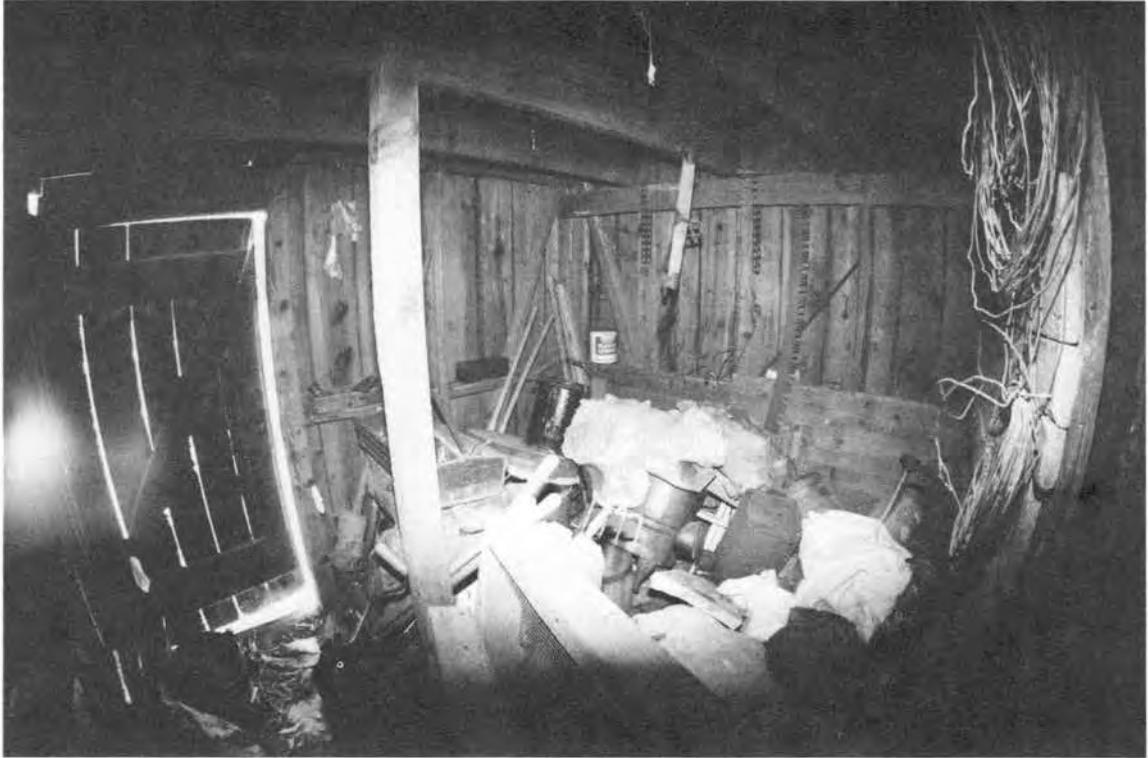
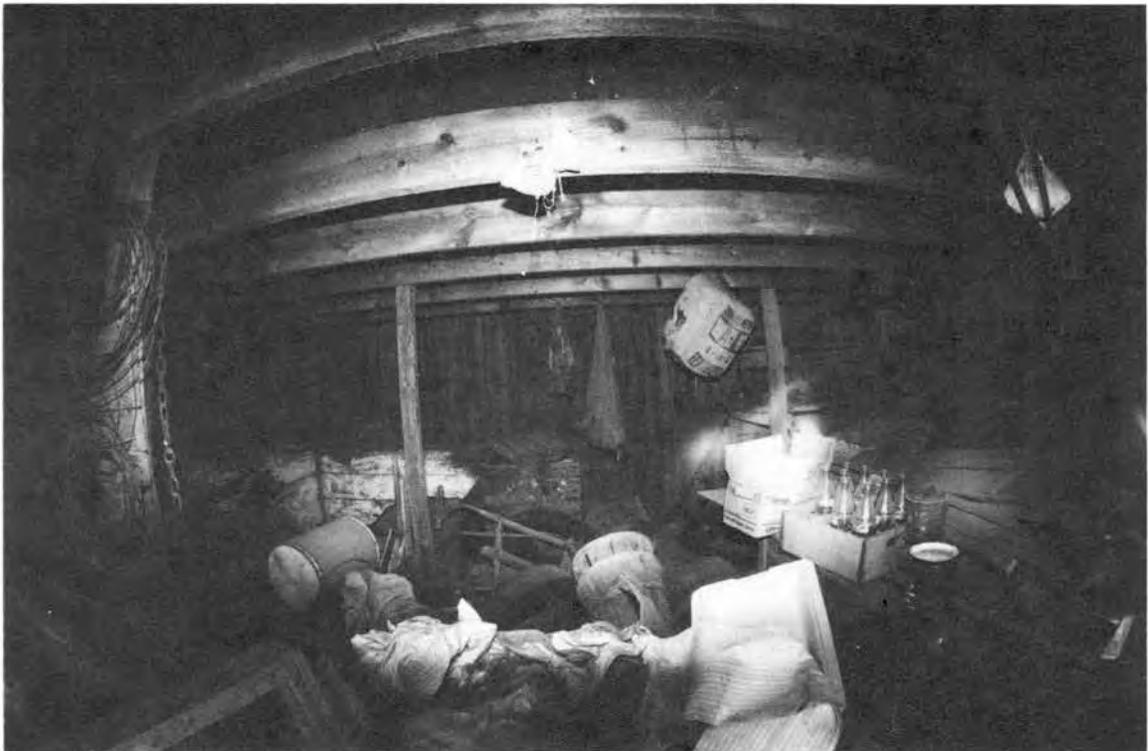


Photo 6-69. Interior Granary , West View
Photo 6-70. View to East



snakeskin). By far the majority of items are directly related to farming. In the photograph following, one can see the mule harness used to attach to the plow, including the trace chains. This room also holds plowshares and other plow parts, bushel and peck baskets, and the ubiquitous glass bottle. (One Stine family member worked for Coca Cola, and their pants, bottles, and signs can be found throughout the farm.) It is difficult to clear enough objects away to look at construction detail, but walls seem nicely cornered (see photograph). Furthermore, there are a number of large, finely joined bins along the southeastern corner. Corners also hide a wooden carpenter's mallet, a single-tree, a cross-cut saw, a carpenter's tool box, shoe lasts, and a vise (see photographs). Finally, a number of wooden rockers line the back (southern) wall, on top of old tires and other debris. Obviously, this structure is being used for storage of both old and new items.

Outside the barn, under the sheds to the east and south, one can find old glass lanterns, farm machinery parts, and a lot of privet hedge. One of the front posts to the Stine home lies under one shed, for possible future repair and restoration.

To the north of the barn, between it and the house, lies the well. This small structure is simply constructed of four poles and a tin roof, overlying the capped well (Photograph 6-76). The well superstructure has no ornate,



Photo 6-71. Mule
Harness (top)

Photo 6-72. Shoe
Lasts (right)

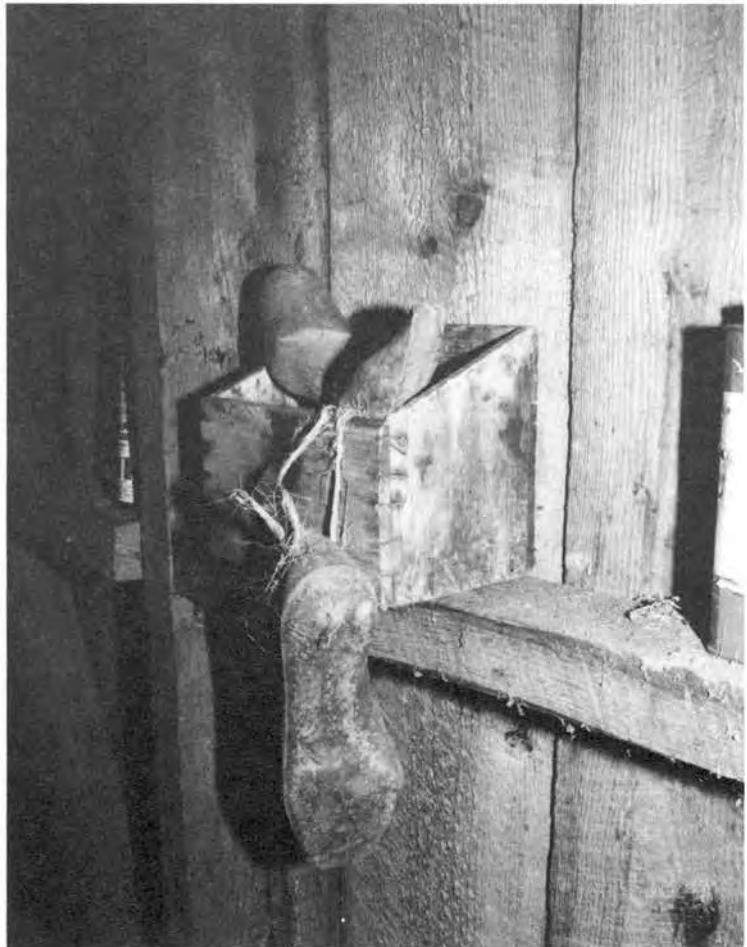




Photo 6-73. Carpenter's Mallet



Photo 6-74/75. Carpenter's Box and Vise



Photo 6-76. Stine Well, View to East

Photo 6-77. Closer View of Well



Victorian scrolls seen elsewhere (i.e. Ayr Mount Plantation, Orange County, North Carolina). The hand-made wooden crank (see pictures) still rests in place under cover.

The photographs following provide a good view of the Stine landscape. The eastern, or back, yard is presently planted in pasture grass. Its border (see Figure 6-1) consists of a narrow strip of plowed field, then mixed hardwood forest. The southeastern corner of the main farmyard area is bordered by a number of grapes and small fruit trees. (The structure at right is a modern pole-barn with tin roof, protecting a small tractor and attachments). Looking due south, the visitor can see a neighboring cattle farm on another knoll, across a wide, freshly plowed field. The southern border of the Stine property lies at the end of this field, near a large tree. (This tree used to mark one side of the old road. It was once balanced by a sister tree, since removed by neighbors (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987.)

Turning to the landscape in front of the house, one can see pasture, plowed field, and the present roadbed. The structure far to the northwest is the Nichols home. The trees at right (see photograph) line the original roadbed (see Figure 6-1. Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1986). The trees at left give access to a wooded area, and eventually another field.

The next picture shows the density of portions of the

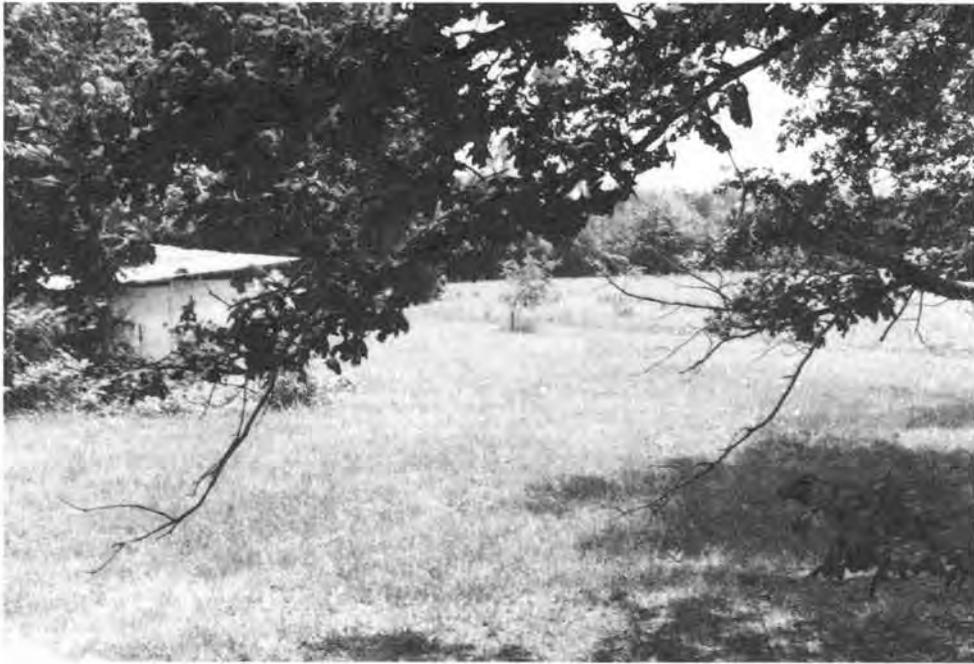


Photo 6-78. Stine Yard, View to East

Photo 6-79. Stine Yard, View to Southeast

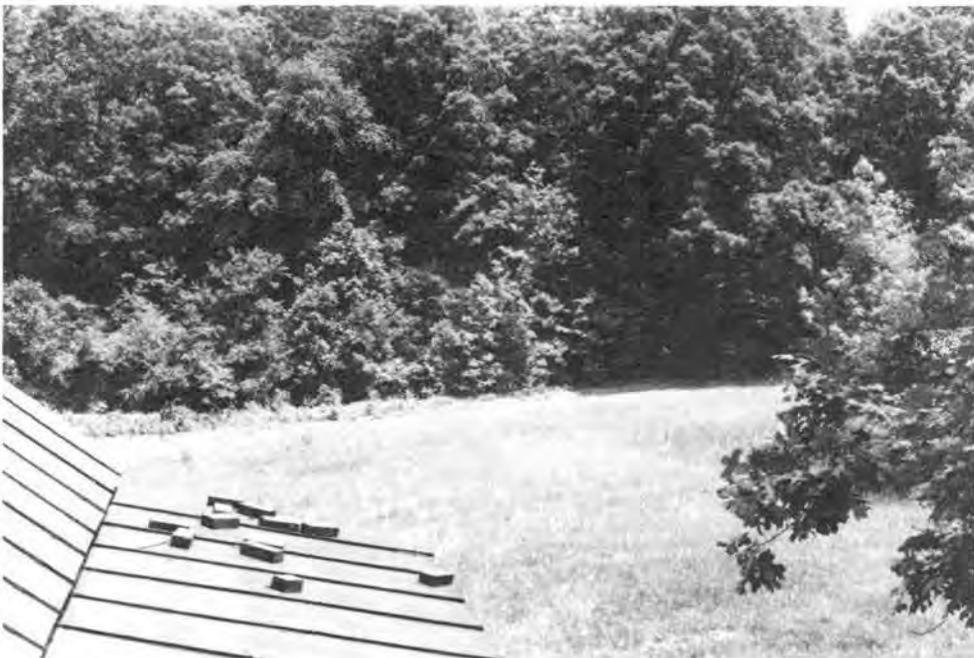




Photo 6-80. Kenneth Stine, 1987

Photo 6-81. "Old Cotton Patch",
View to South



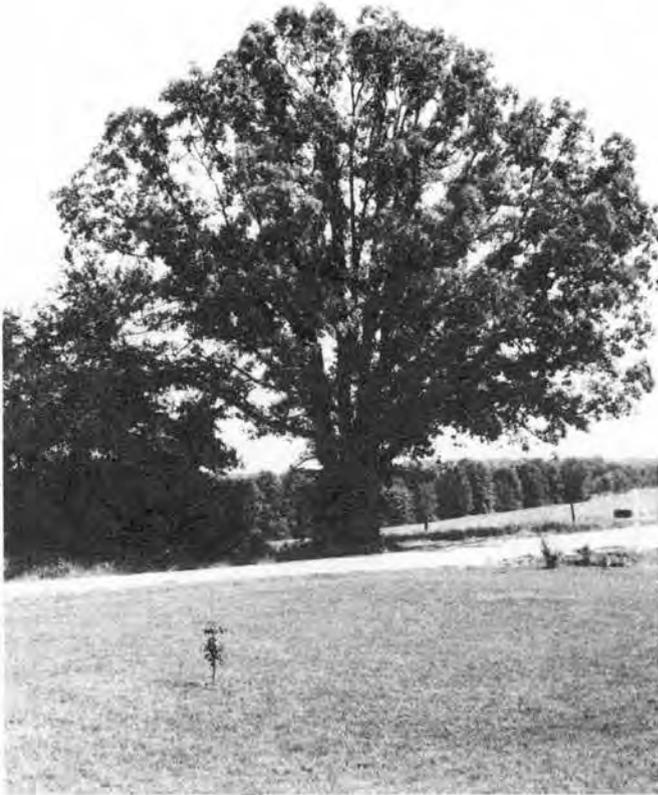


Photo 6-82. Tree
Marking Stine Rd.

Photo 6-83. Northwest View from Stine to
Nichols Farm



forest. This pear tree is growing just right of a pile of tin and sawed lumber. (The function of this building is discussed in the last section of this chapter.) Behind this tree, downslope and to the north, is a series of trash piles and the remains of an old barbed-wire fence. This midden contains mason jars still filled with food (see picture), large sheets of tin, rusting enameled slop buckets, and various other items among the leaves and tall trees.

At present, the Stine and the Nichols farmsteads seem more alike than different. Both have homes made of balloon-framing resting on piers. Each home has two porches, one front, and one to the side. Both homes were initially built to face the road, and are very similar in design. They each have a central hall, with two rooms balanced on either side. The Nicholises have a fancier front door, and a hall with tightly joined wall planks. The Stines have two stories, and an artistic flair to their staircase design. The Stine and the Nichols homes have a back ell, with one larger room (dining?) followed by a smaller one (kitchen?) and a side room (pantry?). The Nicholises have more fireplaces, and a more ornate mantle. Overall, the Stine house has more floor space (2163 ft² as opposed to 1412 ft².), but the inhabitants were probably colder. The Nicholises appear to have invested more in architectural elements (fancy mantle, door, hall; more chimneys) than in floor space. As mentioned, the downstairs floor plans of the farmhouses are



Photo 6-84. (Top)
Peachtree



Photo 6-85. Pigpen
(Left)



Photo 6-86. Sloping Midden, Northern
Ravine at the Stine Farm

Photo 6-87. Canning Jar on Surface,
1987 (recent discard)



mirror images, and almost the same size. The Stine home is about 47 ft.² larger than the Nicholoses', downstairs. Upstairs, the Stine home has an additional 704 ft.².

The differences in outbuildings at the two farmsteads are more marked. Structures are very similar in form, conforming to the style of barns typical for the Upland South (sheds and bays). However, the Stine barn has over four times the area of the Nicholoses' (1111.65 ft.² to 263 ft.²). This could have been simply a function of differential survival of shed additions at the two homesteads. On the other hand, a comparison of the two main bay areas shows that, again, the Stine barn was larger. It measures about twice the size of that of the Nicholoses' (169.95 ft.²). Further evidence that there is and was a size difference in outbuildings is shown when comparing the two post-World War II pole barns. The Nicholoses' measures about 396 ft.², the Stines' 560 ft.².

Differences in building size could be due to a number of factors. Variables such as differential function, ethnicity, access to wood, access to cash or credit, and even personal preference could play a part either singly or in some combination. It is difficult to tease these factors apart. In the section that follows, an attempt is made to do so, basing much of the discussion on oral and written history.

Section 6-2. Farmstead structures: construction, use, and reuse

According to Glassie (1975:101), the later nineteenth century saw the debut of the single-story home built with two rooms balanced by a central hall. In his words, "For the first time the rules allowing for one- and two-story versions of the same extended, massed, and pierced base structure..." were present in the builder's repertoire (Glassie 1975:101). One suspects that this was in part a result of Reconstruction, and the proliferation of new, small owner and tenant farmsteads. Many of these farmers, with their new autonomy, would want a home that suggested to all that the inhabitants were responsible farmers. If they could not afford the two-story version representing success (the I-house), they could have a more cost-effective, cut-down copy. Obviously, the presence of a one-story, as opposed to two-story structure of this type is not dependent upon chronology after the last third of the nineteenth century. McDaniel reports that "Numerous photographs, stereographs, and prints of rural homes of black families taken in the late 1800's and early 1900's show that many blacks lived in small, single-unit houses with log chimneys in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia" (1982:136). Some of these homes had probably been adapted from slave quarters. He states (McDaniel 1982:136) that by the 1910s and 1920s, most black tenant homes were "small, two- or three-bay structures of lightweight frame

construction with two rooms down and two up" (I-house), or "two rooms down and one or two attached to the rear length in an L or T floor plan." This suggests that ethnic differences may not have played an important role in early twentieth century rural construction. One can ask whether or not black and white farmers solely built one or the other type of homes in the Harmony area.

In Harmony, one would have found both black and white-owned farmhouses of both types, dating from the late nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. One neighbor to the north of the Nicholoses and Stines had a two-story I-house. He was a black farm owner. When his home burned one night, all of his neighbors came and helped rebuild his double-story home (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88). One farm down from his was the Pattersons', headed by Bynum, "born in slavery" (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). Mr. Patterson had built a single-story home sometime in the late nineteenth century, with four or five rooms. This home was very similar to a small, extant frame home located due south of the Stine farm. This structure was built by a white family, and subsequently lived in by tenants (both black and white) (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). Their neighbor to the south (west of the home just described), was white, and owned his two-story I-house. Another member of the community, the Shaw family, built and owned their two-story

log and frame structure. When they built a separate home, they chose to construct a single-story, balloon-framed home typical of the 1940s (Carrie Shaw, interview of 10/9/87). Their house was just about an exact replica of a home built for one of the Nicholsons' kin down the road, also after World War II. In fact, both of these homes were built by the same building crew, consisting of both black and white carpenters.

Many area homes in the 1940s and 50s were constructed by farmers who were part-time builders. This group was headed by two men, based on age and experience. One was Mr. Rettinger (white), the other, Mr. Stine (white). They were helped by one of Mr. Stine's sons and a black neighbor (Carson Nichols), both of a similar age. Occasionally, one of Carson's brothers (Duke) was hired as a go-for, or day-laborer. Actual jobs seem to have been based upon comparative ability, not ethnicity. (This is similar to the way area farm labor was undertaken, see Chapter IV.) Carson was the one to "rive the boards", making pine shingles for the homes. His father, Curt Nichols, had taught him how to cut and sell lumber from forest pines, as well as how to make hickory and ash axe handles. Carson was excellent at producing finely crafted shingles, and quickly (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88). George Preckler, when first released from "service" in the 40s, joined the crew for

about one month. He remembers that Mr. Rettinger and Mr. Stine quietly expected the finest work out of all of them (interview of 2/16/88)¹.

It is apparent that during the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, black and white rural farmers lived in similar types of homes. Differences in building sizes at the two sites do not seem to be the result of ethnic factors. Obviously, it would cost more to build larger structures. This is probably why the few landlords in the Harmony area built one-story new homes for their tenants (John Gaither, interview of 10/9/87). (Some tenants also lived in older, two-story homes that were no longer lived in by members of the owner's family. See Hagood 1939:92-93.) McDaniels discovered that in Maryland black tenants who lived in a one-room log shack saved money for land. Upon purchasing property, at least one family constructed a two-story frame I-house (1982:157-158). This suggests that in some cases, the number of storys in a home was a function of tenancy or ownership. Economics seem to have affected choice of house type more than direct ethnic factors.

Economic factors include cost and access to materials, as well as knowledge of building techniques. If a farmer did not know how to build a home, he or she would have to pay someone else (in cash or kind) to do so. The Stine and Nichols families did include carpenters, and members had expertise in collecting and working wood (Carson Nichols,

Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). Furthermore, it seems that most farmers in the immediate area had free access to lumber stands. They could work their own forests, rent additional woodlands, and/or barter with neighbors for access (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88). As for milling, recall, locals could pay cash and/or a "toll" on their lumber (see Chapter IV). Nails would have to be scavenged off of old structures, or purchased, or made at home. Members of both families believe that their homes were built with nails purchased elsewhere. They believe that a local blacksmith (Afro-American, see Chapter III) may have made some nails in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Both families apparently bought most of their nails at the local store (probably Gaither's) (Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). This may also have been their source for tin roofing material. (As discussed in the previous chapters, both blacks and whites seem to have had equal access to credit or the barter system at local stores.) Pine shingles were always made by members of either the Nichols or Stine families². One suspects that the Nicholsons may have chosen to spend less money and energy on building area, investing more of their resources in other areas of the farm. They do seem to have spent either more money or time on decorative flourishes (front door, carved mantle). The Stines may have decided to invest more cash or

time in construction of greater storage and living space.

These preferences for certain sized buildings may also have resulted from differential use of buildings, in whole or in part. Turning to the oral history, one discovers that similar structures at the two farmsteads were used in a traditional, Upland South manner. The similarity in building use by members of both ethnic groups is also confirmed by additional written sources on the topic (eg. Abbott 1983, Hagood 1939, McDaniel 1982, Rosengarten 1974).

In her study of white tenants, Hagood discovered that house size was not directly related to family size (1939:93). Homes in the Upland South do not seem to have conformed to the Georgian ideal of privacy, with little need for sharing rooms (Issac 1982, Glassie 1975). Rural families appear to have made do with whatever room they had in their homes. Hagood found that most bedrooms were doubles, or more, depending on the number of kin present (1939:93). She also discovered that rooms often served multiple functions, such as bedrooms and/or storage areas and/or kitchens (1939:93). McDaniel's investigation of black owner and tenant homes in Maryland confirm this pattern. He writes that if there were two rooms upstairs, one would be occupied by the children, the other by their parents. However, if there were extended family present, or if the family was simply large, downstairs rooms would serve as additional bedrooms. This was a common situation, and

"the side room doubled as the parents' bedroom" in many cases (McDaniel 1982:27). Otherwise, this sideroom, or parlor would hardly be used, except for special visitors (McDaniel 1982:28, also, see below).

In order to understand building and room functions, the history of the farmsteads must be discussed. These rooms were created, decorated, and used by specific people, members of the Stine and the Nichols families. The past residents of the Stine farmstead will be described first, as well as their use of the various buildings on the farm. A discussion of the Nichols family history and their use of structures will follow.

Section 6-3. Site-specific History, The Stine Farmstead

The Stine family is first listed in the Iredell census in 1900, as tenant farmers living in Olin Township (Soundex 1900 T623, roll 37, volume 36, sheet 2). (They are not listed as living in any Iredell County Township in the 1880 census.) They lived in a rented I-house, still extant (Indian Chief Road, Iredell County). At the time of this census, Noah and Mary Stine had been married for 17 years. They were 39 and 33 years old, and had three girls and four boys, ranging from four to fifteen (see Appendix A). Their oldest two boys were listed as farm laborers, their oldest girl as "at school". The Stine family was able to purchase farmland of their own in 1908 (Iredell County Record of

Deeds 1908 Book 37, page 485). They paid \$300.00 for the 65-acre tract, buying from J.W. and M.L. Albea (see Appendix A). There was one condition to this purchase, which was "subject to dower of Amanda Nichols". This meant that one Amanda Nichols had life-time rights to use of the land (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987, see Leary and Sirewalt 1980). By the time of the next census, 1910, the Stine family had moved to their land in Turnersburg Township (Manuscript Census of Population, Turnersburg Township, 1910). This was the property under archaeological investigation. In 1910, Noah Stine is listed as a general farmer, owning his own farm. Three of his children listed in the 1900 census had grown, married and left the farm. One son, John, had died in 1907 at age 21, from tuberculous (Betty Hendrix, personal communication 1987, see also gravemarker in Mt. Bethel cemetery). (See details in Appendix A.) The Noah Stine family built their new I-house sometime between 1908 and 1910, on previously clear-cut land (Photograph 6-88, also, Sam Current, personal communication 1987). They painted their farm house yellow, with white trim. From the photograph, one can see that the family was proud of their new abode. One can also see heavy erosion in the front yard, probably due to the clear-cutting.

In 1910, the Noah Stine family consisted of Noah (49), Mary (43), and four of their children. Lillian was 19, James was 16, Grady 13, and Bertie 9 years old (see Appendix



Photo 6-88. Stine Farmhouse circa 1910
Photo 6-89. 1987 View to north by northeast



A). Sam Current and HESSIE Bull Stine recall visiting the home in the 1910s-1920s (respective interviews on 5/31/87, 2/28/88). They believe that the children slept upstairs, probably divided by gender. The parents would most likely have slept downstairs in the room to the immediate left when entering the home. This room had a fireplace, the one to the right did not. It served as a formal visiting parlor and a guest bedroom. The female head of household, Mary Alice, died at 49 in the spring of 1916 (gravemarker, Mt. Bethel Church cemetery). Noah did not remarry, and reared his children on his own. These two visitors remember that the Stine home, and the lifestyles of its inhabitants, was not very different from their own rural upbringing. Families had to make do with what space they had. When young, children could sleep in one room, regardless of gender. Babies generally slept in their parents' room. When older, children were divided by gender and had separate sleeping rooms. Visitors were put up however possible, often in what we would presently call the parlor, the living room, and even the kitchen (interviews with HESSIE Travis Bull Stine [b.1900], Samuel Current, 2/28/88, 5/31/87; see also Abbott 1983:143). When visiting the household in 1920, HESSIE Travis found that Noah slept in the bottom room, the one connected to the dining room. The female and male children, and sometimes visitors, would sleep upstairs in the two separate bedrooms, "like dormitories" (Hester T.B.

Stine, interview of 2/28/88). (One suspects that James and his wife Essie, with their two-year-old son George, had their own room. Perhaps they slept in the "front room".) The middle room was used for dining, and she recalls everyone seated around a long, large table, Noah at its head. She recalls that he was a thoughtful, quiet man. Mrs. Stine does not remember Noah doing any of the cooking, but says she stayed at the home only for a few visits.

Most visitors were relatives, coming to stay for extended periods of time in this age of slow and difficult transportation. When asked about World War One, the two informants did recall that one son, Grady, had gone to fight. (His insignia and medals are still in the possession of members of the Stine family.) The economics related to the period, however, were not recalled, except that the Stines did plant cotton, corn, wheat and garden vegetables.

From the photograph provided one can see that the Stine home, sans lightning rods, had once been painted (yellow and white). The house area, and for a good distance behind, had been clear-cut prior to home construction. One large yard tree is visible in the picture, as well as a stand of forest to the north of the home. The family is dressed in their Sunday best, either for church, the house warming, or in expectation of visitors (Hessie Bull Stine, Samuel Current, Betty Hendrix, Kenneth Stine, Margaret Preckler interpretations). Turning back to Photo 4-9, one can see



Photo 6-90. Visiting the New Home, 1910s



Photo 6-91. Noah, Mary Alice,
and children (1910s)
(Courtesy Alva Pent)



Noah and Mary Alice (pre-1916) and friends/kin in formal dress. Behind them, one can just see part of the barn. A wagon is parked in front of it, and a large, loose stack of hay (stacked to a center pole). A small hutch is located further west of the hay.

James would marry Essie Current (he was 16 in 1910, she was 13 and in the Township then, according to the 1910 Manuscript Census of Population). One of his sisters (Lillian), would marry one of her brothers, Lester. This type of intermarriage was common in the country, where marriageable men and women were usually introduced through family and/or church (Hessie Travis Bull Stine, interview of 2/28/88).

Occasionally members of the family would travel elsewhere to find wage labor jobs to generate more cash for the farm. The family had a long tradition as carpenters, wheelrights, and builders (Betty Hendrix, personal communication 1987). Two of the Stine men went south to Florida, to help in the construction of Miami (see photograph). They followed one sister and her husband, who had written to tell them of work. (Letters to and from Miami have been discovered on the floor of one of the bedrooms. The lines that are legible indicate that some Stine family settled in Miami. They and their Harmony kin helped each other economically, especially as regards car loans.) Noah and James joined their Florida family for a



Photo 6-92. Picking Florida Fruit
James Stine, circa 1915
(Courtesy Alva Pent)

few months' work, right after Mary Alice died (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987). No one remembers who stayed at the farm at that time, watching the younger children. (One suspects an older daughter, or aunts and uncles came to watch the place.)

There is a possibly apocryphal story related to Miami and church-abiding Noah. It demonstrates that the Stines were well-traveled through migration for work or the war, but still maintained rural values. Noah was walking to work in Miami, and came across a stranded motorist. This man was dressed for the city, with flashy clothes. He and his friends were having trouble getting the car going. Noah, like most farmers, was used to recalcitrant machinery, and fixed the vehicle. The gentleman offered Noah money, which he refused. (Noah was probably just acting like any good neighbor, not expecting direct financial return.) He then invited him to dinner at his home for some entertainment. Noah accepted. He went to dinner that night, and is said to have enjoyed a fine meal. He told his family that a lot of girls were there, and that his new friend, Al, asked Noah if he wanted the girls to sing after dinner. Noah looked from Al to the girls, and said "Why don't we all sing?", leading off with a good Methodist hymn. The girls giggled, looked at Al singing, and joined in. Noah told his family that they all enjoyed a good evening, a lot like ones at home. His new friend was duly invited up to Harmony, and accepted.

Months later, a letter arrived to Noah, back on the farm, saying Al had trouble in the West, and would stop by the place on his return to Florida. Al never made it back to Florida; his name was Al Capone. (This investigator heard various versions of this story, from many members of the Stine family. There is no physical proof, only good oral tradition.)

James Stine, the second youngest son of Noah, married Essie Current in 1917, after his return from Florida (Margaret Stine, personal communication 1988). The newlyweds stayed in the original farmhouse, sharing their lives with Noah. They had four living children. In order of age, oldest to youngest, they had George (1918), Margaret (1920), Kenneth (1922), and Betty (1927). This is the last generation to inhabit the farmhouse. The description of their use of the buildings is fuller, as all have been interviewed over the last few years. The following photographs depict grandfather Noah (handlebar mustache) with children, grandchildren, and friends. Notice the conestoga wagon in the background of the first picture. (It was stolen in the 1960s.) (James is wearing the floppy, baseball-style hat in this photograph.)

The front porch of the home was in constant use in good weather, for general family socializing and for "sparking". Refer to picture 4-12, which gives a clear depiction of the "house pad", or raised clay area under the home. This is



Photo 6-93. Stine
family, 1910s
(Top)

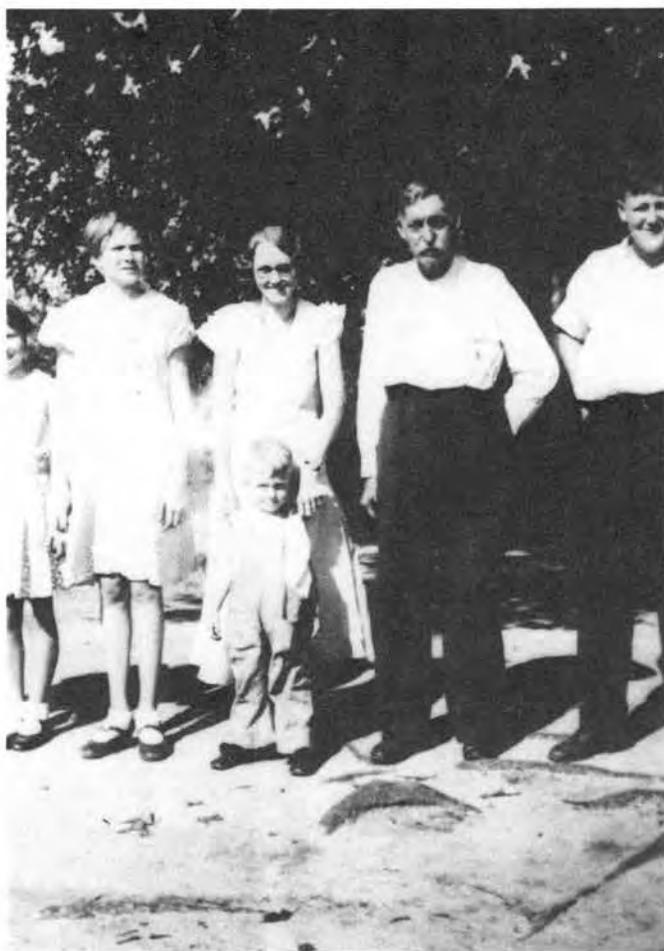
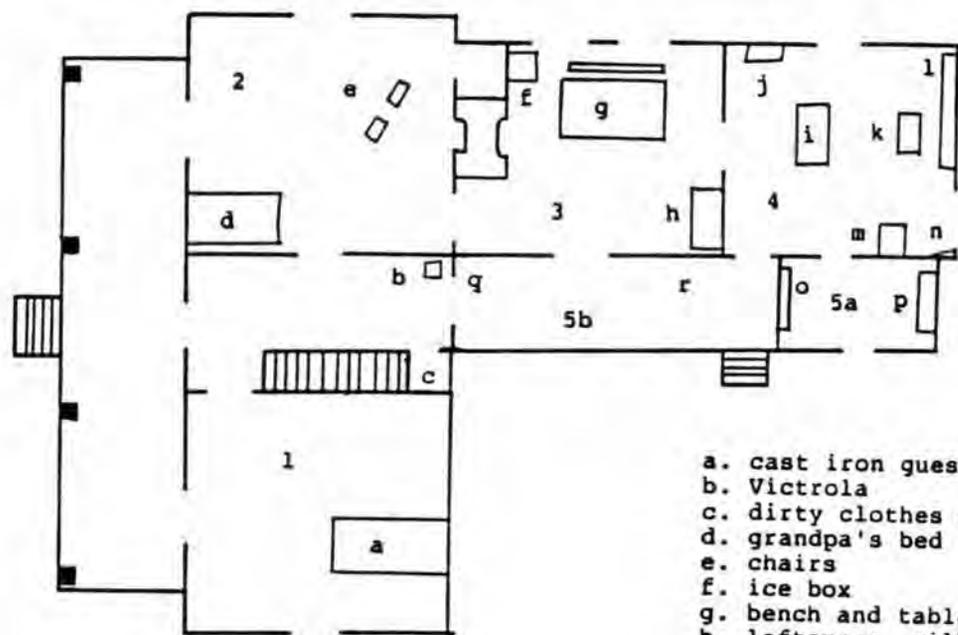


Photo 6-94. Stine
family, 1920s
(Right)

evidence of the heavy erosion prevalent on the knoll. Notice the two tiered stairs, now gone. The flowers on the porch (circa 1940s) are indicative of Essie Stine's great delight in decorating her farmyard and house with fragrant blooms. The use of flowers for decoration was not limited to the Stine family. Research indicates that many rural women used this inexpensive, if labor-intensive, means of brightening up their homes (Hagood 1939:92-95, McDaniel 1982:214, interview with Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, 5/25/87). This was also true in previous decades. HESSIE TRAVIS BULL STINE recalls that her Statesville area farmhouse had "flowers everywhere on the front porch, stacked up on stands and everything!" (pre-1920, interview of 2/28/88).

The interior of the Stine home was used as follows during this generation³. Figure 6-6 has been provided as a key to rooms. The closet in the central hall, under the stairs, was used as a dirty clothes hamper (there are still clothes in it). A victrola sat in the hall, for music. (This was not uncommon, see Hagood 1939:96). Room One was a parlor, mainly used for company. They called it the "front bedroom". It contained a double-sized, cast iron bed (still in the possession of a family member). This is the room that adult visitors (usually from Florida) most often slept in. Clothes were kept on nails or dogwood hooks. Family members do not remember any other furniture in this room.



1. Front bedroom
 2. Grandpa's bedroom
 3. Dining room
 4. Kitchen
 5a. Pantry
 5b. Mudroom (porch)

- a. cast iron guest bed
 b. Victrola
 c. dirty clothes closet
 d. grandpa's bed
 e. chairs
 f. ice box
 g. bench and table
 h. leftovers, milk crocks on table
 i. table, washing dishes, preparing breakfast
 j. cupboard
 k. stove
 l. bench
 m. cabinet
 n. shaving kit above, flour box below
 o. shelves
 p. bread table
 q. wash bucket
 r. woodpile

Figure 6-6. Stine Farmhouse Interior, Downstairs

This is similar to what Hagood calls the tenant "sitting room". She writes that most had one or two double beds, a sewing machine, perhaps a dresser and a few chairs (Hagood 1939:96).

Room Two was used as a general living room. The family could gather around the fireplace and do light tasks, such as embroidery, harness mending, and homework. Before the 1940s, furniture consisted of wooden chairs with cane seats, in a simple ladder-back style. This furniture was made by a Mr. Kidder, who lived within two miles of the home. It was recaned by Noah and James, using split hickory gathered from the woods out back. After Margaret secured work in a furniture factory in Statesville, in the 40s, the family enjoyed a simple couch and chair living room set. This room also served as Noah's bedroom, and contained his bed. The closet was used for storage, of clothes as well as homework papers. The door leading to Room Three was never closed, and for one period of time Noah's guns were kept behind it.

Room Three was the family dining room (see Figure 6-6). As mentioned, there are still calendars gracing its walls. The use of calenars for decoration was typical of rural black and white farmers of the time period (Hagood 1939:98, McDaniel 1982:142, Figure 66). An ice box sat in one corner, near the fireplace. A long table was placed along the north wall. It was made out of three wide planks of pine. Family tradition asserts that Noah and James made

this table. A bench for the children ran behind it, along the windows. The parents, and other adults, could sit in chairs brought round it. James usually sat at the head, near the kitchen. Noah sat to his right, Essie to his left. The children knew that when "you went to table, it was a reverent time" (no complaints allowed) (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88). Noah would "return grace", as the eldest male always asked the first blessing. The children also knew that the easiest way to get in trouble was to throw a piece of bread. Even as adults, their mother would not allow them to toss each other a biscuit. In this room's southeastern corner, a small cupboard held snack foods. These foods were leftover from breakfast and/or lunch, stored by turning a dish over them or a towel. (See also Abbott 1983:144). The children were allowed to get snacks from this food as needed after school. The various utensils for making butter were stored on a table next to the cupboard. Milk, crocks, jars and the churn were kept in this dining room.

Room Four was the kitchen. Dishes were stored in the cabinet on the north wall. A small wooden table sat in the middle of the kitchen. Dishes were washed here in an enamel basin, and breakfast was often set out on it. Noah, Essie, and the female children cooked here. To its right sat a wood box (still extant). It was the children's job to keep this filled. The other pine cabinet held various cooking

utensils. Margaret and Betty remember using a heavy three-legged bean pot (placed right in the stove's fire), iron skillets, and, later, a few enamel pots. Food was cooked on and in the woodstove, as well as the dining room fireplace. They also had a wire pop corn popper. (The flat iron was also heated here.) Bake pans were stored in this cabinet (some are still there). The small cabinet on the southeastern corner wall held the men's shaving equipment. They could heat up water and shave in the kitchen or on the back porch. A large cast iron wood stove sat in the back of the kitchen. It was almost always hot, ready for cooking the myriad meals needed. A small bench also sat along this wall, behind the stove. The family would take indoor baths here. Margaret Preckler remembers:

...and when you turned around, you'd burn your butt off! Of course...that was the only warm place you could take a bath. And hope that nobody came into the kitchen!

(interview of 5/25/87)

They would take a bath in a big tub, the one they used outside for washing clothes. They also had a small pan here, for washing hands, face and feet. They remember that the kitchen would get awfully hot around canning time, but was the preferred place to be in the winter.

Hagood's description of white tenant kitchens is similar to that of the Stines'. She states that all kitchens visited had a range or woodstove. They also had a

safe (pie-safe) for food storage and an oilclothed table for food preparation. Some tenants had extras, such as a "work table, china closet, cabinet, or sideboard" (1939:96). It appears that the Stines, though poor, had the same types of things as some of the better-off Piedmont tenants visited by Hagood, and more than other tenants.

Room Five was the pantry. Jars and crocks were stacked along the shelves, filled by the efforts of all the family. This is where some of the food was stored. They also stored tobacco, sugar and salt on these shelves. These goods were purchased at the Shaw and/or Gaither store. Other foodstuffs were kept in a root cellar and the smokehouse. A table along the eastern wall served as a baking table. Essie would make breads and cookies, along with her daughters. Shortening cans (lard) were kept under this table. A coffee grinder sat by the small window, missing now. To the left, sat the oak flour bin. (At present it stands across the room under the window.) It was constructed by James, made insect-proof through special joinery techniques. Over this bin was another dogwood rack, made by James or Noah. It held one gun (muzzle loader) and the razor strap.

The porch located to the side, the "back" porch, was an integral part of the house. Wood was stacked along the wall, to keep it dry. One shelf was built along the wall, to keep flowers and a small bucket with drinking water in

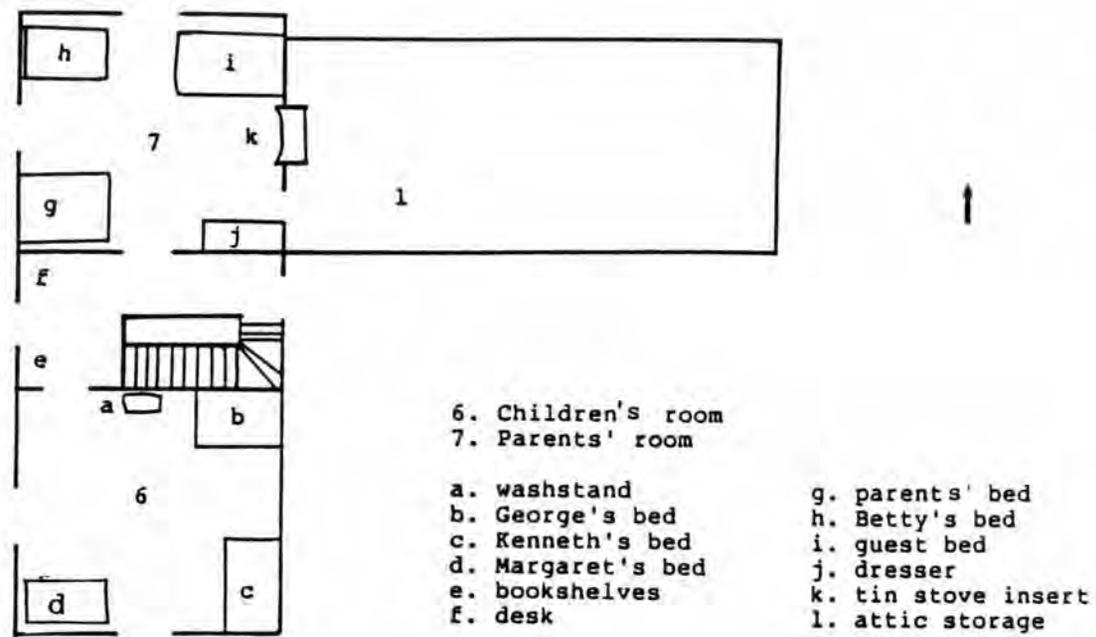


Figure 6-7. Stine Farmhouse, Upstairs

it. The family shared use of a dipper (ladle). Essie was always fighting the stains of the red clay, and had her family take off shoes and boots on this porch. The porch also was used as access between the kitchen and the hall, especially when Noah was living. The kids did not want to wake him up by passing through his bedroom.

The well is located about 75 ft. from the back porch. (See previous photographs, this chapter.) Near this well, James had built a milk box. Margaret recalls as follows:

you put your milk in there, and when you drew water for the cows or the mules it would run through that to cool the milk and into another trough, and then [further] down here was the trough that they drunk out of- the mules and cows.

(interview of 5/25/87)

Returning to Figure 6-7, the function of the upstairs rooms turns out to be as expected. The hall was used as a library/office. There was one desk placed along the western wall, near the window (see photograph, it has been removed). A hand-built bookshelf still exists, filled with unwanted books. Room Six was shared by Margaret, Kenneth and George when young. Margaret slept in a single bed under the front window. George controlled the back left side of the room, Kenneth the back right. A washstand was kept next to the door, and was the only furniture other than the beds. Clothes were kept on nails along the wall, and behind the door.

When dressing for bed, they would carry their gowns and

pajamas to their mom and dad's bedroom across the hall, and warm up before the dash into their cold beds. (They sometimes slept on the floor, if they had a house full of visitors.) Their parents' room had a fireplace (see previous discussion, this chapter), and was warm. They had a small tin woodstove, made from sheet metal, inserted into this fireplace. Betty shared her parents' room as a young child. Her bed was kept in the northwestern corner of the room, by the window. Her parents slept on a bed, headed by the bedstead now in room 6, near the door. One other piece of furniture was kept here in Room Seven, a dresser with a small mirror attached. It had two small drawers on the top, and was probably what would now be called a vanity. Clothes were kept here on nails or home-made dogwood hooks. All of the beds were made at home, using wheat straw for the mattress. They were changed once a year. Their pillows were usually made from duck feathers. (McDaniel 1982:144-145 reports that black farmers in Maryland made their beds out of corn husks, wheat straw, feathers, and/or flour sacks.)

The division of labor at the Stine home has been discussed in Chapter IV. The use of specific buildings will be briefly touched upon again, in this section. The photographs following have been provided to help illuminate the lifestyles at the farm. In the first, one can see that James Stine and a son have been harvesting melons or



Photo 6-95. James Stine and nephew, 1930s

Photo 6-96. Stine Men, 1920s
(Courtesy of Alva Pent)





Photo 6-97. Stine Granary and Corncrib, 1942
(Courtesy of Margaret Stine)

Photo 6-98. Similar View, 1987



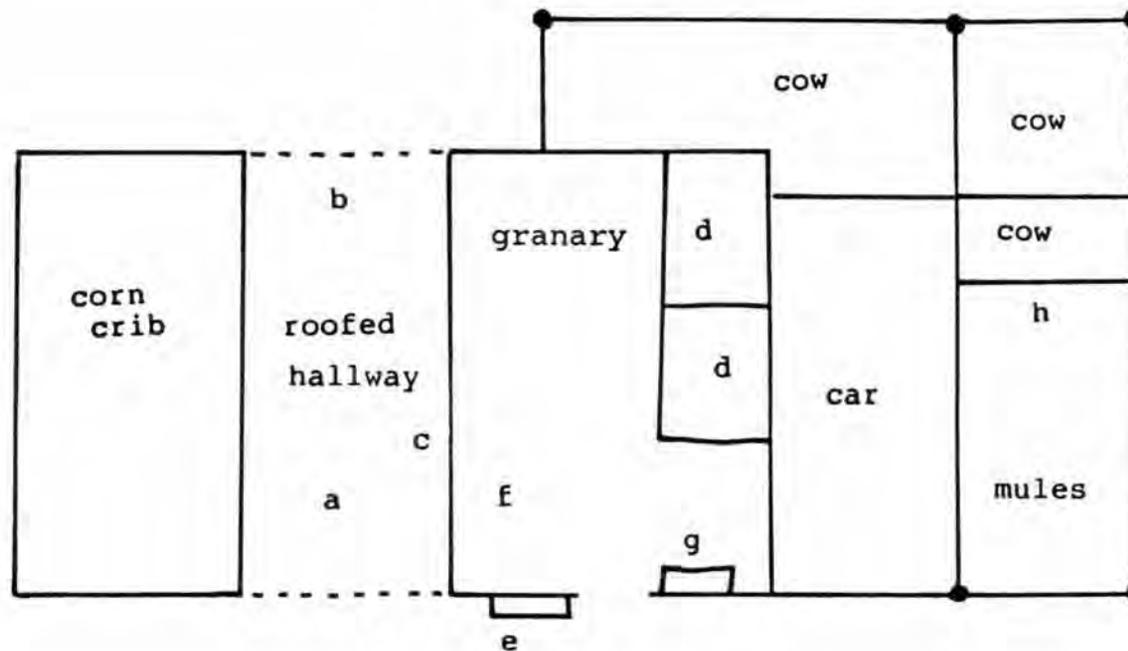


Photo 6-99. Circa 1939, Stine Machine Shed
(Lower Right, Courtesy M. Stine)
Photo 6-100. Stine Rabbit Pens, circa 1956



pumpkins, dressed in their work clothes. The vegetables are protected from the bumpy roads by hay. A mule is patiently pulling the large wagon. This mule and wagon were kept in the barn, described in the beginning of this chapter. The extant barn is missing a corn crib attached to the northern end by a covered runway. In the next picture, one can see this frame corn crib, sitting on small stone piers. The wagon was kept in the runway, with its sloping shingled roof. This explains the presence of harness hanging along the extant northern wall of the barn. Notice that the barn roof was shingled in the forties, although now it is tin. (The children used to have maypop (May apple) fights, throwing them off the roof.) The ladder led to a small storage area for equipment (now about empty). A small rabbit hutch can be seen to the north and west of the barn. This hutch is not standing today. The next picture shows a small frame shed in front of the barn. It was used to store machine parts. The barn was recalled in detail, and its uses.

Figure 6-8 depicts the functions of the sections of the barn. The mules and cows were well taken care of, the family depended upon their labor (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). The Stines grew cotton to the south of the barn, and corn, wheat and potatoes in the other fields west of the home. They had three milk cows, pastured on their land now lying north of Rim Rock Road. They had anywhere



*Loft upstairs over granary was used to store lumber, also had hen nests



- a. wagon
- b. rake
- c. harness
- d. wheat, other grains
- e. tool box
- f. tools
- g. shoe repair (lasts)
- h. binder

Figure 6-8. Interior of Stine Barn*

from two to four hogs, kept down in the gully north of the home. This explains the barbed wire fence in the forest. The hogs were fed scraps from the table, which may help explain the presence of trash down this hillside. Chickens were kept in the barn, brooding down under the building. Access to them was gained through a trap door. This was constructed from three tongue and groove boards in the floor, it was two joists wide (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88). The chickens actually were allowed freedom to roam. They nested under the barn, and also in built nests in the upper section of the barn. Betty Stine Hendrix remembers as follows:

I'd have to crawl through that little hole and crawl to those chicken nests and get our eggs every evening. Plus, right at the top of the steps...there was chicken nests built up there, and they'd get up in there.

(interview of 5/25/87)

The main bay contained large built-in boxes to hold grains. (These are barely discernible under all of the stored goods today.) They were whitewashed to keep out the bugs (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88). Some of the harness was stored here, as well as other odds and ends of farm equipment. James and Noah's carpenter tools were also kept in this bay. (Many are still there today.)

Harvested cotton was not usually kept in the barn. Instead, it was stored in the "smokehouse". This was a small frame building with pine-shingled roof that sat on

stone piers. It can be seen in the picture following, just north of the Stine house. This building is no longer extant, as it had fallen-in sometime in the 1960s. A tractor was used to drag it off into the woods west of the home. (This explains the pile of roofing tin found there in the woods, by the pear tree.) Cotton was stored in the upper portion, reached with a pulley assembly attached above the small upper door. Laborers could also reach the top by stairs located inside the bottom floor. Cotton could then be pushed through the upper doors back into a wagon, for carrying to Mayberry's Gin (Margaret Preckler, Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87). The lower section of the shed was used for salting and storing pork. Additional crocks and jars of home-produced foods were also kept here (Treva and Kenneth Stine, personal communications 1987; Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87).

Immediately south and west of the smokehouse was a small, open shed used for storing wood. Behind this shed was a large orchard. A scuppernong vine was tended here, growing up along the eastern elevation of the house (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/25/87). No visible evidence of this woodshed or the orchard remains above ground.

One other structure was remembered by family members. This was the out-house, or privy. It was located due north of the smokehouse, at the edge of the woods. It was built



Photo 6-101. Stine Smokehouse, circa 1930s
(Courtesy of Margaret Preckler)

Photo 6-102. Similar View, 1988



on the edge of a steep slope. (At present it consists of a depression covered by privet hedge, leaves, and vines.) These trips "visiting Egypt" could be cold and dark. As a result, family members used chamber pots, later enamel slop jars, at night (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/27/87).

The yards of the home were kept bare. This is well illustrated in the next series of photographs. In the first (circa 1940s), one can see the car parked just south of the house, in the dirt yard. The ground between the barn and the home is heavily eroded. No grass exists, only a few trees. The second picture is of Essie Stine, leaning against one of the yard trees in front of the home. Again, no grass is visible. (Notice the temporary table set up to her left in the background.) The family picture following, also taken about 43 years ago, serves to illustrate the front drive to the house. It was a narrow, rutted, dirt path. There is grass (pasture) across this drive from the house in the foreground. One can also see a small patch of grass, lined by rose bushes, to the viewer's right. The present site of the main road would run just through the foreground. Up through the 1940s, the main road ran about 350 feet to the west of the house (see back to Figure 6-1). (Remnants of this road are still visible today, looking more like a curved drainage ditch than a road, and forested.) The narrow dirt drive split off of the curving road, leading



Photo 6-103. Stine Yard, View to SE
6-104. Old Stine Drive, View to N
(Courtesy of Margaret Stine)





Photo 6-105. Essie Stine, Front Yard
circa 1940s (Courtesy of
Margaret Stine)

directly through the front yard of the farmstead.

When young, the children would use the roots of the yard trees as backdrop for shooting marbles (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/28/88).

Otherwise, the front yard was not actively used for specific activities, except the walk leading to the front of the house.

Figure 6-9 demonstrates areas of activities, based on the oral history of the farm. The northern "yard" was really a small, narrow strip of grass between the house and orchard. Essie Stine planted climbing roses on poles here. This area was not used much by the family. The "back" yard saw a lot of activities. Family members walked to and from the privy by going down a path just past the smokehouse. They also carried occasional garbage out this way to dump into the gully in the woods to the north. (Food-scrap were fed to the hogs, living in the same gully. Some scraps were reserved for the various cats and hounds living around and under the house.) As mentioned, meats were cured in the smokehouse, and cotton and other foodstuffs were stored there. The wagon would have been driven south and east of the house, to reach the smokehouse. The woodshed was a scene of much activity. The front of this simple, open shed was the site of walnut cleaning and picking, usually done by the children. Flowers were planted along most borders of these structures. Immediately to the right of the shed

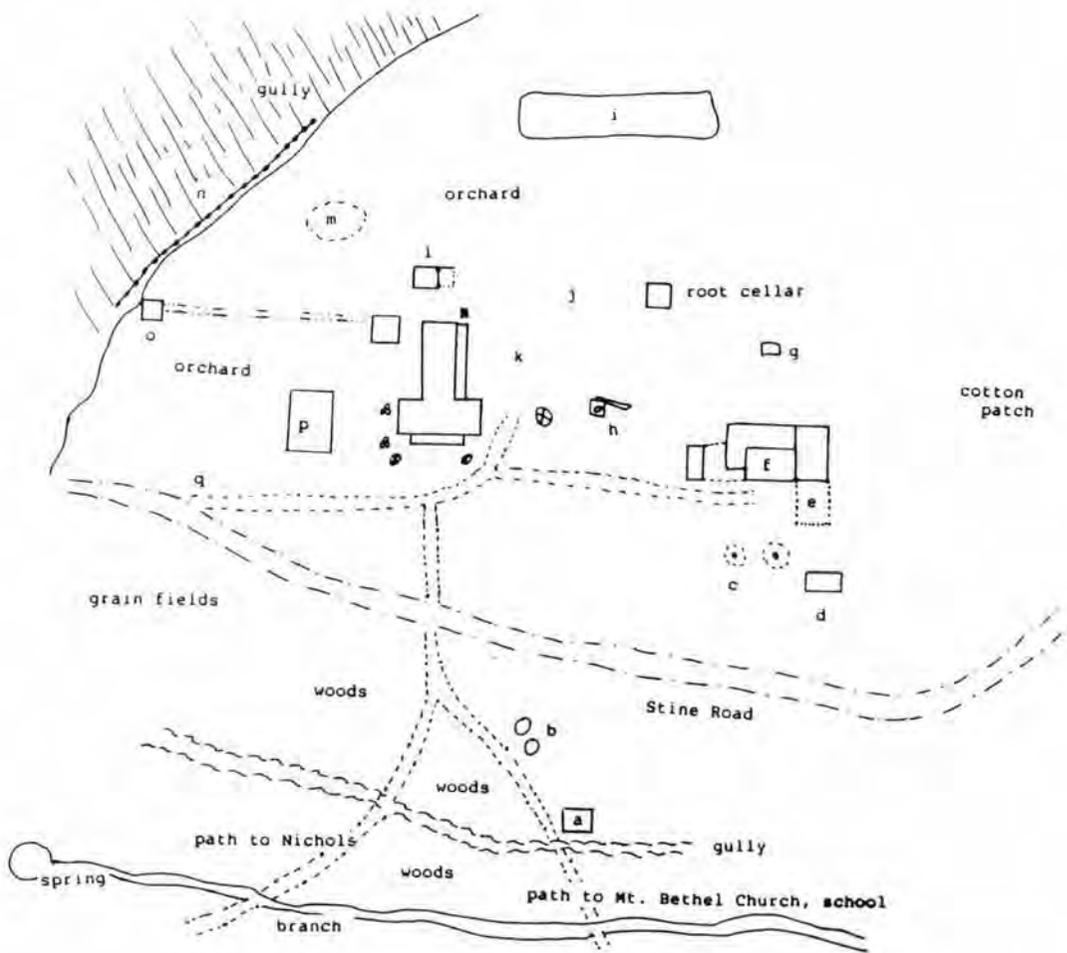


Figure 6-9. Stine Farmstead, Activity Areas



- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| a. tobacco barn | k. wash area, soap making |
| b. sweet potato banks | l. woodshed |
| c. hay stacks | m. sawing wood |
| d. machine shed | n. steep drop to pig pen |
| e. mule corral | o. privy |
| f. barn | p. flower garden |
| g. rabbit pens | q. ball field |
| h. well, water trough | |
| i. produce garden | |
| j. kraut making | |

(south) was a small, open area used for washing clothes. Two large tubs were set on a bench, one with wash water, the other for rinsing. Essie and her children would have to boil the red clay out of the work clothes. A line was strung on two small posts. However, any overflow was hung over the limbs of cherry, peach, and apple trees planted just east of the house. Kraut was made under the peach tree, in big stoneware crocks full of brine.

Just east and south of the wash area was the root cellar. This was hand-dug, about four or five feet across, with a few wooden steps leading down into it. It was excavated into the hard, red clay of the knoll. An adult could not really stand up in it, as it was only about four feet high. The walls were lined with wooden shelves, to keep a series of canning jars cool. A wooden framed roof, up on two posts, covered this cellar. Just west of this were a couple of oaks, used by the children as play houses⁴.

As mentioned in Chapter V, there were a number of paths leading from the front of the Stine home. One headed south, joining the remnants of the main dirt road to the Stimpson house. One headed through the woods towards other friends (the Thomas family). One led towards the branch, past a few sweet potato banks (see Chapter IV) and a seldom used tobacco barn. This barn was small, and made from logs. The Stines do not recall planting or harvesting much tobacco. Children often played down in the fields and woods in this

part of the land. This path also would take them straight to church, and, in later years, to their school bus stop. The last path leading from the front of their home, beginning across the road, led to their neighbors, the Nicholises.

Section 6-4. The Nichols Farmstead

The structures at the Nicholises' place were used very much like those at the Stines'. As described in the first section, there are a hall-and-parlor house, a barn, a well, and a modern pole barn still standing on the farm. To help interpret the use of structures and dates of occupation, a brief, site-specific history will be given. Next, using oral history, the functions of the various structures will be discussed.

The Nichols family apparently bought these lands soon after the American Civil War, in 1870. One "Sicily Nichols, colored" had paid Wilson Turner \$33.33 for 27 acres plus about 45 ft. (see Appendix B). She had already paid for the land when this was officially recorded, in December of 1885. Sicily (Tisely, Sissily) was born as a slave, in 1842. In the 1900 Soundex, she is listed as head of her household. Sicily was 57 at the time, and had her son, his wife and their four children living under one roof. She could not read or write, but her child and his progeny could. At this time, the family lived in a log cabin, located on the far western boundary of the property (now off the property

line). (This has yet to be found archaeologically.) The Nicholse built their new home soon after Carson Nichols was born, in August of 1906 (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/16/86; Margaret Preckler interview of 2/16/88). This makes the Nicholse's farmhouse possibly four years older than that of the Stines. Recently interviewed members of the Nichols family do not recall exactly when this home was built or by whom. Carson Nichols and his son Lynn believe that Carson's father Curt did most of the work himself, with the help of family (interviews of 2/16/86, 10/12/87).

Sicily is listed in the 1880 Agricultural Census (see Appendix B). At that time, she owned her property and tilled about 15 acres for produce. The remainder of her farm was in woods at this time (about ten [twelve] acres). Her farm was valued at \$75.00, including earth, fences, and buildings. She owned \$4.00 worth of farm implements (within a range typical for the area). Her livestock, of such importance for labor, produce, and as collateral (see Chapter II), was worth almost as much as her land and buildings, \$60.00. The Nicholse were able to produce about \$90.00 worth of goods per year. This included \$7.00 worth of cord wood, a total of 15 cords. They owned one mule, six cattle, 7 hogs, and five chickens. (These chickens produced about 200 eggs the year before.) Sicily and her family planted about 10 acres of Indian corn (150 bushels), 3 of

oats (14 bushels), and 2 of wheat (15 bushels) (see Appendix B). Finally, she planted about one-half acre in sorghum, yielding 15 cans of molasses in 1879.

Mrs. Nichols could have been self-sufficient with these crops. She apparently was not raising cotton for a cash crop, at least in 1879/1880. She may have sold some of her grains for cash, or bartered for any needed extras.

(Unfortunately, the manuscript Agricultural Census after 1880 was intentionally discarded by the United States Government, according to archivists at the National Archives and at the State Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina.) No other information was uncovered about the family's life in the log house.

By 1910, the Census lists Curtis as the head of the Nichols household. Curt was 42 years old, and had been married to Lilly (41) for about 12 years. They had had five children, all of them living (2 girls, 3 boys, see Appendix B). Sicily still lived with her family, in their new home. This home was built sometime after 1906.

Informants remember Sicily well, believing she lived to be "about one hundred years old" (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine interview of 2/16/86). She lost her eyesight in the last few years of her life. Sicily had to raise two sets of children, as her son Curt's first wife died in the second decade of this century. She was responsible for the cooking, discipline, and housekeeping (Carson Nichols,

Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86. Sicily was relieved of some of these duties when Curt remarried. His second wife was named Emma, called Miss Emma by her neighbors' children. Curt died when he was 84 or 85 years old, in 1952 or 1953. Emma died sometime after that (see Appendix B).

In the photograph following, one can see the "back" or side porch of the Nichols farmhouse, circa 1940s. At this time, three wooden stairs led to the home, with a small railing to the visitor's right. This porch, like the Stine front porch, was used as another room during good weather. The family used this porch much more than the so-called front one, because the main road had been moved a good distance west of the home. Access was gained more easily through the side, along Rim Rock Road. The Nichols created a circular drive leading to the side porch. In the picture, one can see myriad flowers in pots, cans, and buckets lining the porch. Lace curtains are in the windows, serving as an aesthetically pleasing backdrop to the flowers. This, too, is very similar to the Stines'. To the far right in the photograph, one can see a large bucket (tub) sitting on a small table. This was used to hold drinking water, served with a ladle (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, interview of 5/27/87). Again, the use of space on the porch as well as aesthetics appear to have been similar at the two households. The bottom photograph is of Emma Nichols and a visitor (Essie Stine), rocking and talking on this porch.



Photo 6-106. Emma Nichols and Son, circa 1940s
(Courtesy of Margaret Preckler)



Photo 6-107. Emma Nichols and Son
(Courtesy of Margaret Preckler)



Photo 6-108. Nichols Porch, with Flowers and Washbucket
(Courtesy of Margaret Preckler)

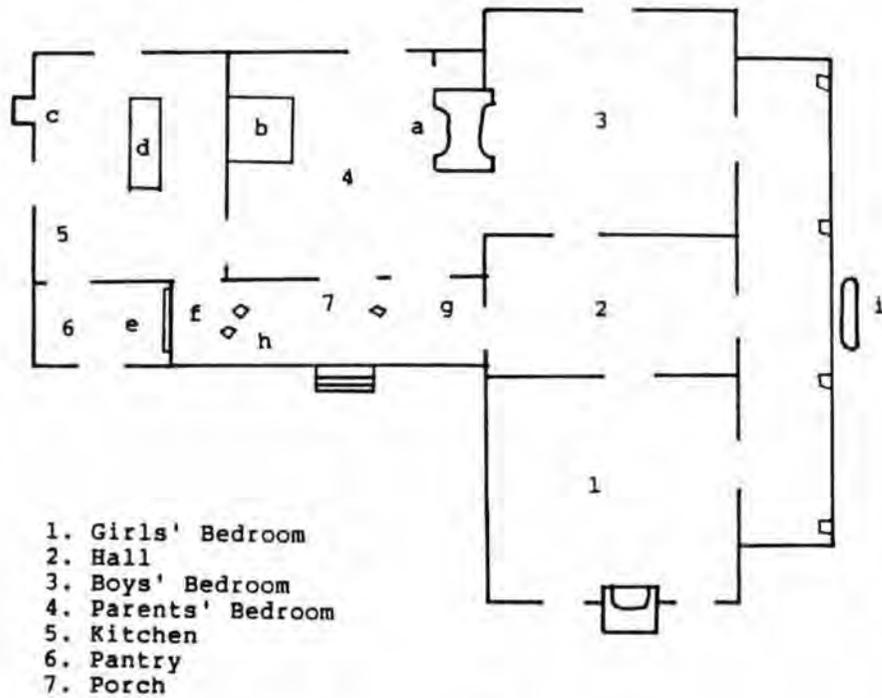


Photo 6-109. Emma Nichols and Essie Stine, Visiting
(Courtesy of Margaret Preckler)

Figure 6-10 has been constructed to show how Stine family members remember the Nichols house (interviews with Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, 5/27/87, Kenneth Stine 2/6/88). The main area used during the day, and for visitors, consisted of the back portion of the home. The main living room also served as Mr. and Mrs. Nichols's bedroom. They slept in a large bed placed against the kitchen wall. Their room was heated by a small wood stove, probably similar to the one used by Mr. and Mrs. Stine in their bedroom. Wooden rockers and caned ladder-backs were used to sit on, both on the porch and in this room. No other furniture is remembered here. (Recall, there is a floral linoleum floor in this room today. It probably dates to this generation of occupation.) Emma kept flowers on her mantle, in glass jars. This was a practice common to both households (and probably to the Upland South).

The larger back room was the kitchen, a prime room for visitors to sit around the table and chat. They would be served something to drink (coffee, water) and a snack. The stove was very much like Essie Stine's, a large woodstove. Its stack went out through an aperture along the back wall. Possible shelves and/or cabinets are not recalled. The pantry held a lot of cans and jars on shelves against the western wall. This room seems to have been used primarily for storage. It is not known if Sicily, Lillian or Emma used the pantry for breadmaking and other baking.

Figure 6-10. Nichols Farmhouse, Floorplan



- ↓
- a. woodstove
 - b. parents' bed
 - c. stove
 - d. kitchen table (food preparation and eating)
 - e. shelves
 - f. chairs
 - g. water bucket
 - h. flowers
 - i. fieldstone step

Visitors hardly ever used the front of this house. In fact, the Nicholises entered this part of the house only to put children to bed. Again, in a similar manner to the Stines', and other recorded homesteads, one room served as the girls' room, the other for the boys. Later, as the girls grew to womanhood and left, their room was retained as a special guest room (Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/6/88). Carson married, and moved with his family to a small frame home located just south of the Stine farm, up on the highest knoll in the area. He rented that farm, and helped his father with the Nicholises' acres. Carson also occasionally helped the Stines, as they occasionally helped Curt and him. Carson's brother Duke stayed on the farm from time to time, but would get work as a day laborer now and then, or as a cook at a sawmill camp (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). Connie and Annabella became maids for a wealthy family (Canon) in Statesville, bringing money home now and then for their family. One other son worked elsewhere, but would come home to visit and help defray costs of the farm.

The family used an outhouse, located about 160 ft. east of the main house. This was a small wooden shed constructed over one privy hole, roofed by tin (personal observation, also personal communication Kenneth Stine 1987). It was very similar to the Stine privy, which was also located about 160 ft. from the home (but to the north, not east).

Perhaps 160 ft. was optimum in terms of privacy, odor, and walking distance. In terms of smells, there were a number of wisteria vines left growing all along the path leading to the privy, and they must have helped mitigate the odor. Past the privy, further east and south, one could find the path leading between the Stine and Nichols farmsteads (Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix, personal communication 5/27/87).

Coming back towards the home, one would pass the small barn to its south (see Figure 6-11). This is where the Nicholises stored their grains. (They planted cotton, wheat, and corn.) Unlike the Stines, however, the Nicholises did not combine grain storage with livestock housing. The Nichols family kept their mule and two to three cows in a separate building. This was a large barn, possibly log, that was located about where the modern pole barn sits today. It was divided into stalls for the animals. Here is where the chickens and hogs were kept. (The Nichols family hogs were well-known for being fat and succulent.) The hogs were butchered near the well, so they did not have to carry water too far.

Also near the well was one other structure that is no longer extant. This was a smokehouse. It was a square frame building that was up on stone piers. The Nicholises stored their pork here, and salted it as well. Jars and crocks of additional foods were occasionally kept in this

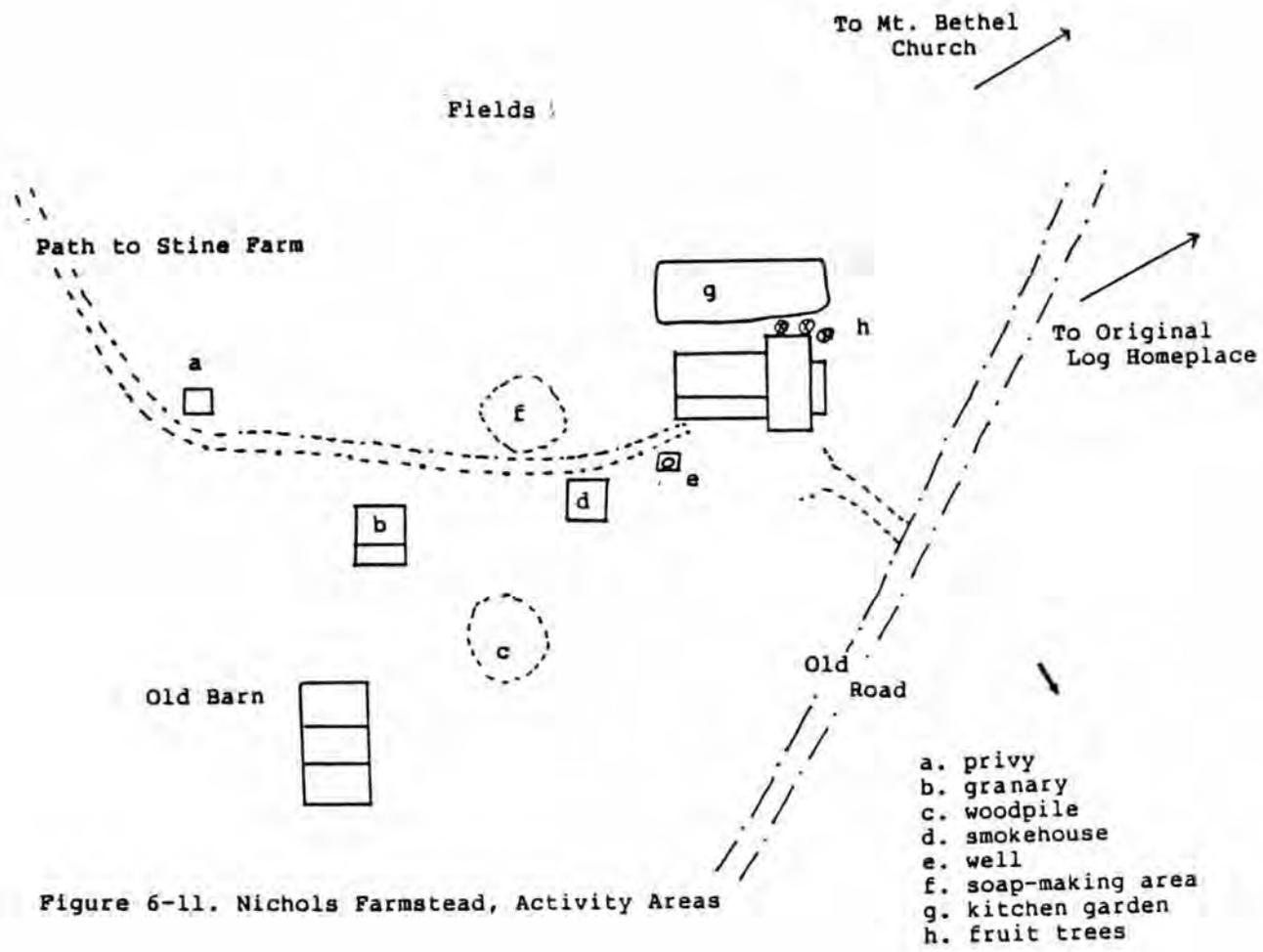


Figure 6-11. Nichols Farmstead, Activity Areas

- a. privy
- b. granary
- c. woodpile
- d. smokehouse
- e. well
- f. soap-making area
- g. kitchen garden
- h. fruit trees

building. Informants could not remember if the roof was tin or shingled. They also could not recall if the Nicholises stored their cotton here or in one of the other outbuildings. A large woodpile was kept between the old barn and the smokehouse. It was kept under some sort of shed-like cover (interviews with Margaret Preckler, Betty Hendrix, 5/27-28/88, interview with Kenneth Stine, 2/6/88).

There was not any grass kept in this front yard area (functionally front, morphologically side). Wagons and cars were driven and parked between the outbuildings, and up to the porch. Flowers were grown along the well house, and in pots on the porch. The main garden was located on the opposite side of the home, and was about as long as the house. Miss Emma did most of the tending in the garden, but did get her children to help. Fruit trees were planted along this side of the structure, also. The "front" yard was left in pasture grass, with large, bushy peonies, wisteria vines, and chinaberry trees making it a lovely spot. This portion of the yard saw little activity, however.

The washing was done not far from the well, similar to the Stine washing. It is not recalled where the clothes were hung. One hot activity undertaken near the smokehouse was making soap. See the picture provided, of Mrs. Nichols stirring her kettle of lard soap⁵. It appears that activities needing their own fires were accomplished near



Photo 6-110. Emma Nichols Making Soap
(Courtesy of Lynn Nichols and
Margaret Preckler)

the wells, perhaps in case of fire. These sections of the farmstead were active, multi-use areas on both farms.

The Nichols barn is probably smaller than the Stine barn due to their different functions. The Stines apparently combined husbandry, storage of implements, and storage of grains in one building. The Nichols granary was smaller than this multi-purpose Stine barn. The Nicholises did, however, have a separate barn for livestock and storage of farm machinery. The actual dimensions of this are as yet unknown. (This barn lies under the modern pole barn, which has been in constant use. Archaeology must wait upon hay removal, which happens at a slow rate.)

The difference in barn sizes is most dependent upon functional differences in structures. Similar functions were performed, but in different types of spaces. The Stines combined granary, corn-crib and barn, the Nichols kept them separate. (The Nicholises' granary may have served as a corn-crib, too, however.) As discussed in a previous chapter, both types of livestock and grain storage areas are common in the Upland South. An examination of additional sources suggests that these types were constructed more out of choice than due to factors of ethnicity. White tenants constructed different arrangements of barns, sheds, and graneries; black tenants and owners also used a variety of farmstead layouts (eg. Hagood 1939:43, 48; McDaniel 1982:195-196, 238-239). Economics would enter the decision

making process, and some owners would tend to have more to spend on outbuilding construction (see Chapter II). In addition, farm owners, of any ethnic background, might have more crops, cattle and implements to store (eg. McDaniel 1982:212-213, Rosengarten 1974:230).

To sum, the extant material culture at the two farmsteads was more similar than different. Based on oral history and examination of buildings, it appears that both families used interior and exterior spaces in much the same way. This also holds true when comparing the two generations at each farmstead. When combined with information in Chapters III and IV, it is clear that the Stines and Nicholsees were good neighbors, in the traditional Upland South manner. They disciplined each other's children, worked together, ate together, visited almost daily, and helped each other out. This reciprocal exchange, embedded within the Upland South culture, cross-cut a racism that was prevalent in many areas of the country in the early twentieth century.

For example, one informant is still surprised that on one occasion the Stines had so many visitors that they ran out of places to put them. The Nicholsees kindly offered to let them stay at their house. The Stines thankfully agreed, having to tell some of their friends that the Nicholsees' "sheets are clean" (Hessie Travis Bull Stine, interview of 2/28/88). Margaret Stine recalls that her husband-to-be

made a point of taking her to visit the Nichols family, to introduce her to them. He did this on the same day she first met his parents (Margaret Stine, personal communication 1989).

There are both economic and social aspects to this neighborly interaction that were mutually reinforcing. As a result, the Nicholsons and the Stines appear to have valued each other as God-fearing, hard-working neighbors, attempting to survive in their cash-poor world.

From the data discussed so far, it would appear that the Nicholsons' and the Stines' material culture was very similar. In the chapter that follows, the archaeology of the farms will be presented. The two families may have perceived their worlds in both similar and different ways. One way to test for this possibility is to study the ramifications of less conspicuous behaviors. Archaeological investigations at the two farms provide a data base for testing. Additional categories of material culture will be compared in terms of styles, types, and uses.

CHAPTER VI ENDNOTES:

1. A Mr. Bud Reniger and Mr. James Stine joined together occasionally to build houses in the Harmony area. They would use Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine for their main workers, when available. Furthermore, they would hire Duke Nichols as a general go-for, from time to time, although Duke did not care for the work. James' son-in-law George Preckler worked with them for a few weeks after World War II. Both Mr. Reniger and Stine were initially farmers, who would do extra carpentry work on the side. During the later part of the Depression, and the War, they worked in Statesville together at a veneer plant. After that time, they built houses in the Harmony area and farmed on the side (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine, interview of 2/15/86). They would lay out the straight foundations by using rulers and string, carefully insuring the house would be level. Their primary construction tool was the hammer, and a fistfull of wire nails. They would make their own shingles from local trees. Carson was particularly adept at this. He would search for straight pines, with no knots in them. ("Everyone knows that knots in a shingle would make the roof leak" said Kenneth, with Carson nodding agreement.) Carson would have to "rive the boards", that is, smooth the bole with a river. He next would take this prepared block and a froe and cut out the shingles.

2. The Stine family men had been involved in farming and carpentry for generations. The Nicholsons were involved in lumbering and sawing, as well as farming. This is not atypical, see Rosengarten 1974. Curt Nichols used to cut a wagon load of lumber from local forest pines, to sell in Statesville and/or down at the local mill (Turnersburg). Carson, Pomp, and Duke all occasionally worked in milling and lumbering. Carson was the son who remained in the area, preferring to primarily farm. Duke and Pomp left the area and worked at various sawing operations. These temporary sawmills and lumbering outfits are discussed in Chapter II. Wood was cut using axes and/or the cross-cut saw. This saw was a long blade with a serrated edge. It would take two people to work the blade back and forth. If a person "rode the saw" it meant they did not pull their equal weight on a job. (This statement ties to the Upland South belief in equal work, helping neighbors, honesty and hard work, and planting straight rows...) The cross-cut saw was sharpened by finding a small dogwood tree in the woods. There, they would take the saw and set it up between two branches. (A dogwood is strong, but gives.) They would bring a file and carefully put a new edge on the saw. Another important tool used was a wooden maul. Although these could be purchased at the store, Curt and James usually made their own out of

hickory. Carson and Curt also made axe handles out of this wood, and James made his hammer handle out of it. The last important piece of equipment used in lumbering and carpentry, and constructed at home, were the various types of wedges. Wedges were most often made from dogwood (Carson Nichols, Kenneth Stine interview of 2/15/86, Kenneth Stine interview of 2/6/88).

3. This discussion is based on the following interviews with the living members of this generation. Kenneth Stine, 2/6/88, Betty Hendrix and Margaret Preckler, 5/25-26/87, Margaret and George Preckler, 2/16/88. Margaret Stine has also proved invaluable in discovering old photographs and buried memories of the farm.

4. The Stine children of Essie Current and James Stine grew up on this farm. They moved on at different times, depending on their stage in the life cycle. George, the eldest, left first. He was seventeen when he would travel with a group binding wheat all over the Brushy Mountains. He soon left for Greensboro, where he began a career in sales. The next eldest, Margaret, lived in Statesville and worked in a factory there. She, too, sent money home. Margaret eventually met her husband George via a pen pal relationship. (He served in the War with a friend's brother.) They married, and moved to Ohio. Kenneth entered the armed forces during World War II. He returned to a life-long career with Coca Cola. However, he would drive to the "country" on every possible weekend, to help his family farm. The Stine family built a new home just down the street (near the intersection of Mt. Bethel and Highway 21), closer to Harmony. This was right after the war. Betty moved with her family to the new home. She then went to Greensboro to live with friends related through marriage, to work. Later, she married and moved to the Clemmons area of North Carolina. (This information was kindly provided by Margaret Stine, Margaret Preckler, Betty Hendrix and Kenneth Stine.) It is interesting that in both the Nichols and Stine cases, one child remained in the area to help farm.

4. See the discussion in Chapter IV on making soap. Also, information was given by Lynn Nichols, 10/12/87, and by Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine (2/15/86), and by Margaret Preckler and Betty Hendrix (5/27-28/88).

Chapter VII. The Archaeology of Two Farmsteads: Methods, Analysis, Results

In the previous chapter, the above-ground, extant, material culture at the Nichols and Stine farmsteads was explored. From oral history, the functions of the various buildings and rooms were discussed, as well as the activities that were undertaken in the yards. In this chapter, the archaeology of those yards, and of additional lands on the two farms is detailed. The archaeological research design is given in the first section. In the second section, the field methods used are described. In the third the laboratory methods are given. The fourth section of this chapter contains the results of field and laboratory analysis. This is summed in the last section, which also compares the results of archaeological research with those obtained through examination of standing structures and oral history.

It was the initial intention of the researcher to undertake the architectural and archaeological research at the two sites without any prior discussions with living informants. This would have served as a good test of the investigator's assumptions and of the results of archaeological fieldwork (cf. Longacre and Ayers 1966).

However, the realities of the field situation mitigated against this approach. The sites are situated along roads, and are visible to passers-by. A number of different people in the community stopped to discuss the work, and freely gave of their time and memories. Such opportunities must be seized as they arrive. As a result, fieldwork, the collection of oral histories, architectural studies, and documentary research overlapped over the course of about three years of intermittent investigation.

7-1. Archaeological Research Design

One particular focus in historical archaeology concerns gauging the relative influence of economic and social factors on site formation processes. As pointed out in Chapter I, however, many researchers have neglected to separate and delineate specific economic, ethnic, and occupational factors in their interpretations. Some investigators tend to regard the overall assemblage's economic value as a direct indicator of "socioeconomic status" (e.g. Drucker and Anthony 1985). Others blur distinctions by using the term "economic status" and directly equating it with the cost of items discovered in the ground (e.g. Riordan 1985). This ignores the social influences on formation processes. It also assumes a one-to-one correspondence between costs and economic status. Economic status has additional aspects, such as wealth,

opportunities to acquire goods, and occupation¹. In the case of late nineteenth/early twentieth century farmsteads, the amount of items on a site is directly correlated with ethnicity AND with occupation (e.g. Adams 1980, Trinkley and Caballero 1983a, 1983b). Domestic sites with few artifacts are interpreted as typical tenant sites. They are, at the same time, considered most likely to have been occupied by black farmers. It is accepted simply as a given that the site occupants were farmers, without consideration that many farmers were also engaged in additional economic pursuits (cf. Chapter II). It is also accepted that tenant and farm owner sites would be recognizably different in terms of the quantity as well as quality of material goods (but see Moir et al. 1987). Little attempt is made to search for possible Afro-American marker items (cf. Chapter I) to justify the belief that the sites were occupied by blacks. In fact, the question of whether or not Afro-Americans were fully acculturated into American society of the times becomes blurred. Researchers tend to equate being a black farmer with poverty, and assume that that poverty would over-ride any possible Afro-American cultural influences on site patterning.

The archaeology of late nineteenth through early twentieth century farmsteads is a burgeoning research interest in historical archaeology². For example, Southern farms dating to this period have been investigated in

Arkansas (Stewart-Abernathy 1986), Mississippi (Adams 1980, Smith 1983, Smith et al. 1982), North Carolina (Cantley and Kern 1984, Stine et al. 1987, Wheaton 1987), South Carolina (Brockington et al. 1985, Drucker et al. 1984, Resnick 1984, Trinkley and Caballero 1983, Zierden et al. 1986), and in Texas (Moir et al. 1987). Primary research questions have centered on the relationship of material culture to both cultural and physical transformation processes occurring at the sites under investigation. Attempts are being made to develop a marker artifact pattern for tenant sites, by placing artifacts into functional groups and comparing ratios between sites (cf. Brockington et al. 1985, Drucker et al. 1984, Resnick 1984, Stine et al. 1987). This follows from the often unstated assumption that tenancy is the primary factor affecting the quality and quantity of goods, and their distribution, on sites. Little attempt is made to interpret the actual ratios found. The use and abuse of artifact patterning will be discussed in the analysis section of this chapter. The methods used will be described in the methods section.

Settlement models that prove to be simplistic translations of Prunty (1955) are also used to justify beliefs that most tenants would have been black, and most owners white. Archaeologists also directly apply his settlement model when engaged in interpretation, sometimes without considering possible regional variations that

Carole -

Sept 29

Hope all is going well - I'm
still teaching with ANthat
use - maybe I'll look at
the script next spring or
even this fall - need to
find a feeding job site -
am looking hard. Ray's
still along, with this fall
as his last five smokes.
Egypt in Feb is still a strong
possibility. I'll be sending
the other Connecta mutter!

1.2. 2019
The following are the
details of the
work done in
the year 2018-19.

Dr. J. S. Jangir
J. S. Jangir

Work done in the year 2018-19:-

- 1. The work done in the year 2018-19.
- 2. The work done in the year 2018-19.
- 3. The work done in the year 2018-19.
- 4. The work done in the year 2018-19.
- 5. The work done in the year 2018-19.
- 6. The work done in the year 2018-19.
- 7. The work done in the year 2018-19.
- 8. The work done in the year 2018-19.
- 9. The work done in the year 2018-19.
- 10. The work done in the year 2018-19.

occurred (e.g. see discussions in Brockington et al. 1985, Cantley and Kern 1984). This stems from an incomplete acquaintance with the historiography of the period, and, in particular, with the regional-specific economic and social history of the project areas. This tautological reasoning does not engender archaeological investigations of the relationship between material culture and economic and social factors. ("The material culture is poor, therefore the family was poor, therefore they were tenants, therefore they were black.") As discussed in Chapter I, studies clarifying the relationship between factors such as occupation, economic wealth, social prestige, ethnicity, and position on the agricultural ladder are needed. Case studies from specific regions need to be undertaken as well. The present project is intended to provide one such study.

The full research design of this project is given in Chapter I. Historical research, based on oral and documentary history, was undertaken to reveal aspects of social structure. Both economic and social factors were investigated, to show what processes affect determination of status and class in the Upland South. The results of oral and historical investigations, detailed in the previous chapters, may be summarized as follows. The agricultural ladder consisted of a hierarchical structure of ranked economic relations to the labor, property and equipment of farming (e.g. owner, cash tenant, share-cropper, wage

laborer). The system developed in response to changing historical circumstances (Reconstruction through New Deal). It provided a means to continue and encourage intensified production of cotton in a capital-poor region. As often proves the case, mobility up the ladder was more a hope than a reality for most farmers. In some cases, racism mitigated against black mobility up the ladder. However, research in the Harmony area has shown that some area farmers, regardless of race, were able to break the cycle of tenancy and achieve land ownership. For example, both the Nicholises and the Stines began on the bottom rungs, but worked up to being landowners, albeit relatively poor ones. Research has demonstrated that social status in the area was partially dependent upon position on the ladder, partially on relative wealth, and partially on town as opposed to country residency. Social status was also dependent upon factors such as kinship (e.g. "good family"), achieved respect, and being a "good" neighbor.

In the South, race could cross-cut other aspects of social status. In the Harmony area, at least in the present case, race does not seem to have been a primary factor in social ranking³. People were still well aware of racial differences. Ethnic markers were evident in Harmony and environs. For instance, carrying heavy items such as water on the head can be viewed as an example of Afro-American motor behavior. In addition, locals knew which people had

been "born in slavery", and would listen to stories and songs related to that Afro-American experience. The churches and schools were also clearly segregated, indicating institutional support of racism. Labor, however, was not segregated. In fact, it was often reciprocal, not based on wages.

The realities of the agricultural ladder, and of economic relations in the South, necessitated diversification of occupational labor. Many Upland South farmers appear to have engaged in additional occupations to obtain cash. Farmers produced such items as lumber, buildings, furniture, and/or pottery on the side. They also sold or bartered herbs and any excess produce from their land. The Nichols and Stine family members were able to produce additional cash through wood-related industries. As a result, they were not solely dependent upon their cotton crops for money. These families did not have a lot of cash, but did have enough to pay taxes, medical bills, and for certain staples. Both families paid for coffee, sugar, some clothes, and tobacco. In the main, members of each family purchased their material goods from the Shaws and the Gaithers. Many of the material items on their farms were produced by neighbors, and/or by themselves. They shared the Upland South value system, and shared the associated drive for hard work. In fact, they often helped each other in their labors.

The Nichols and the Stine farmsteads were occupied over the course of two generations. The Stines left their farm by the late 1940s. After that time, the home was used for storage and occasional visitors. Most of the members of the Nichols family had left their farm by the early 1950s. The widowed Emma Nichols died in March of 1969, age 59 (marker, Rocky Creek Cemetery). The house was intermittently occupied by Duke Nichols until his death in the 1970s, age 79. In each case, farming as major means of economic support ended by World War II. These properties were and are still farmed on a part-time basis.

The two case-study families and their farms were not identical in every feature. The Nichols homestead continued as a primary dwelling for one, and occasionally two, people for about 25 years longer than the Stine home was occupied. During those 25 years, however, the Stine homeplace was visited every day by members of the family, who often ate meals, changed clothes, and washed up at their old home. Regardless, these families had comparable means of support, types of support, and access to goods. These things being relatively equal, the major difference between the two families lay in ethnic background.

After establishment of social structure in the Harmony area, and discussions of wealth, occupation, and status, the research design calls for a comparison of data from historical and archaeological research.

The research design specific to archaeology, as described in Chapter I, calls for using comparable methods of data collection at each site to shed light on two major questions. These are as follows:

1. Will the classes of goods discovered at the sites be similar or different?
 - a. Are artifact types similar/different?
 - b. Are actual amounts similar/different?
2. Will the distribution of goods be similar or different?
 - a. Are distributions similar/different across all types?
 - b. Are distributions similar/different by amounts?

The ramifications of these questions are obvious. If the types and/or distributions of artifacts are not appreciably different, one would expect that ethnicity was not an important factor in the choice and distribution of material culture at the two sites. Other social and economic factors, such as occupations, wealth, size of families, life cycle of families, and position on the agricultural ladder would have had a stronger influence on site material culture. On the other hand, if types and distributions prove to be different, another interpretation would be called for. All other factors being relatively equal, one could argue strongly that ethnicity did play a major role in determination of material culture at the two sites. The methods used to address the research design are described in the section below.

7-2. Methods

Both probabilistic and judgmental methods of sampling were used in this project (e.g. Chartkoff 1978, Mueller 1975, Plog 1978). The archaeological data universe consists of two contiguous farmsteads, the Stines' and Nicholises'. The sites were first reconoitered, using a general walkover. This was undertaken to search for any extant features and structures. Next, the sites were systematically surveyed, using surface collection and metal detecting methods described below. Standing structures were mapped, photographed, and also described in a field journal. Probabilistic and nonprobabilistic sampling units were excavated. The logistical basis for unit choice is discussed below. Laboratory analysis of all collected artifacts was undertaken, after washing, labeling, and cataloging was completed. This analysis, and its results, are also discussed below.

The two farmstead sites were first visited in 1986. Standing structures were recorded, using both 35 mm black and white and color slide pictures. Systematic field drawings of all structures were made, based on an engineering scale. The present interior contents at both sites were recorded photographically, and noted in a field journal. The same subsequent archaeological field methods were used at the Nichols and Stine homesteads.

A datum was selected to tie all buildings and units

into the same grid (engineering feet), using a transit, stadia, and tape. An overall site map was constructed, detailing structures, roads, and other features. A topographic map of both sites was also completed in this manner.

A surface reconnaissance was undertaken across all the acreage of both farms. Any artifacts discovered during this initial walkover were left on the ground, with their locations flagged. From this reconnaissance, the boundaries of the immediate farm area were determined. The sites could then be surface collected, using a system of 10 by 10 ft. collection units. All material discovered in a unit was collected. Each bag was labeled with the provenience of the southeastern corner of the square. Artifact distribution maps were constructed, based on the 10 by 10 ft. grid. A total of 98 units contained various amounts of artifacts at the Stine site. Only 6 of the surface units at the Nichols site contained items for collection. Artifacts were mapped by total concentrations and by individual class (e.g. container glass, ceramic, window glass). Visibility in the plowed fields was close to 100%; however, it was difficult to observe artifacts in the pasture portions at the sites (see Figures 7-1, 7-2). As a result, it was decided to incorporate an additional method of surface survey, metal detecting, in the project.

Metal detecting has been used effectively at other

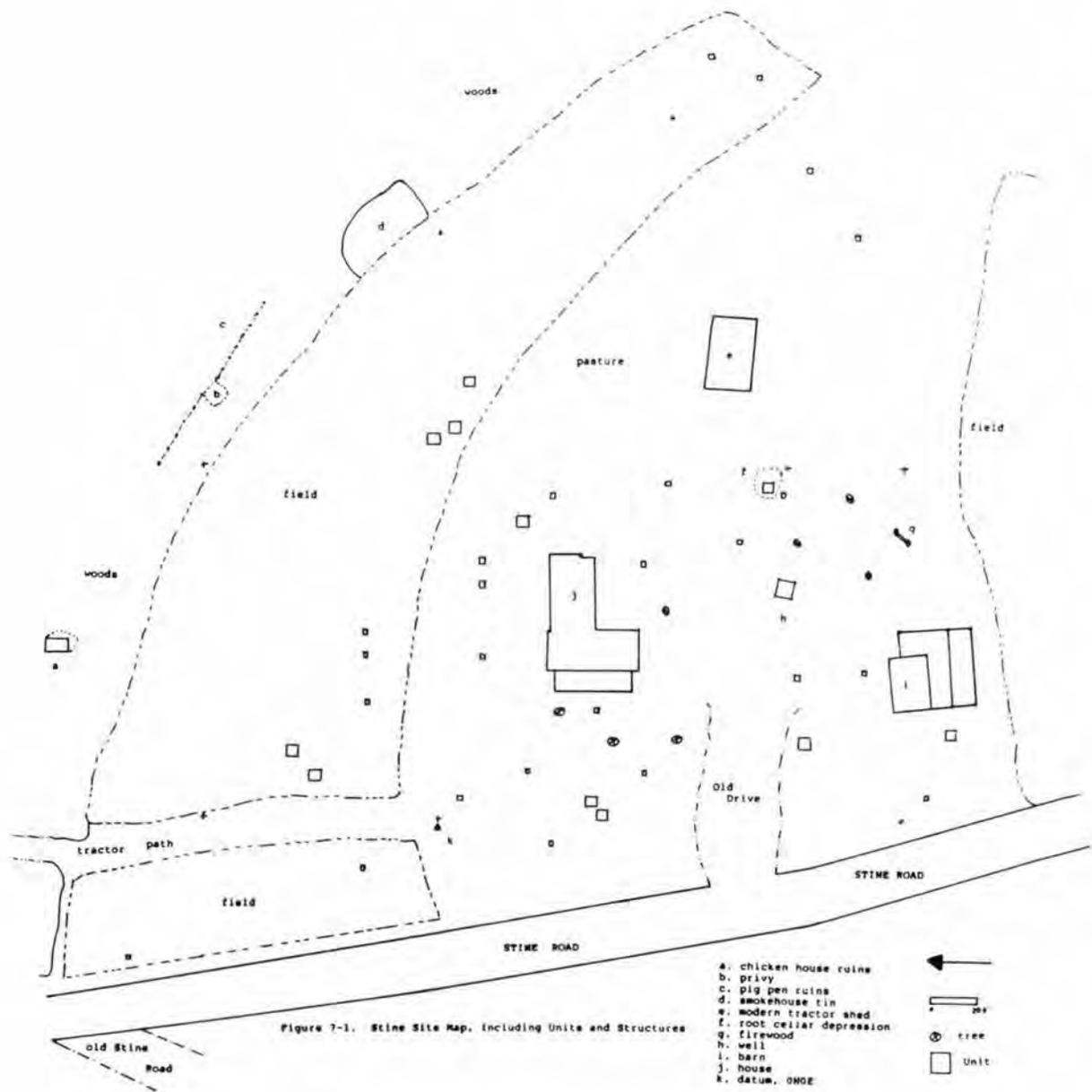


Figure 7-1. Stine Site Map, including Units and Structures

- a. chicken house ruins
 - b. privy
 - c. pig pen ruins
 - d. smokehouse tin
 - e. modern tractor shed
 - f. root cellar depression
 - g. firewood
 - h. well
 - i. barn
 - j. house
 - k. datum, OMOE
-  North
 20'
 tree
 Unit

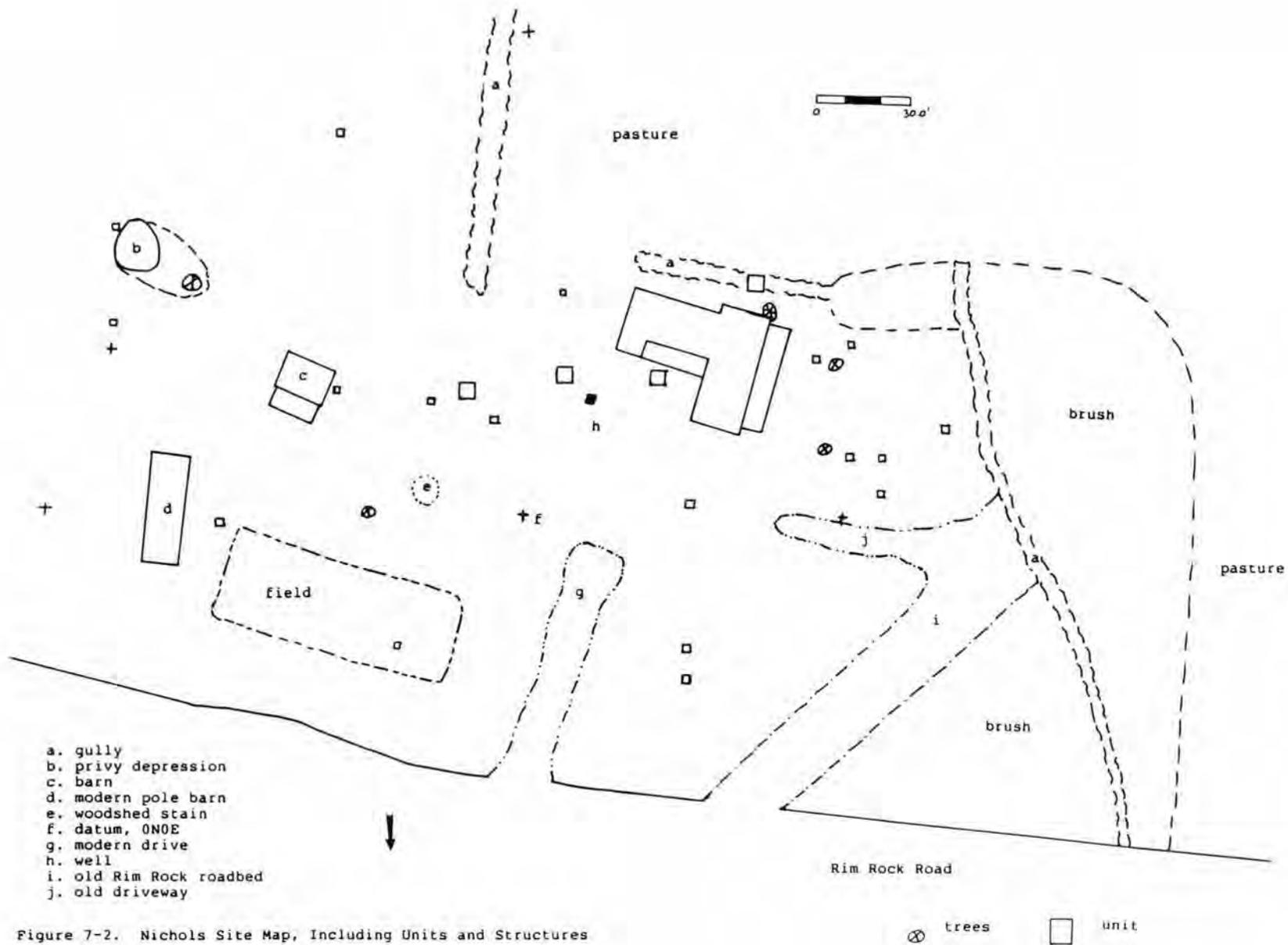


Figure 7-2. Nichols Site Map, Including Units and Structures

sites of this period (cf. Brockington et al. 1985, Stine et al. 1987). It is relatively inexpensive, and has had good results. A Whites hand-held metal detector was used at both farms. The researcher slowly walked north/south along the gridlines, moving the detector head side to side to cover all land surfaces. Any "hits" or beeps were checked again, by slowly running the detector to and from the spot. When the position of the metal concentration and/or artifact was isolated, it was flagged. Later, these flags were mapped on a base map within each 10 by 10 ft. unit. It was discovered that the detector was not useful within about 10 feet of each standing structure, as it picked up building metals (nails, hinges, roofing).

Distribution maps constructed after this systematic survey were used to help determine placement of nonprobabilistic test units. Areas with heavy concentrations of artifacts, including metal "hits", were incorporated into the sampling design. All of these units measured 5-by-5 ft. Units were excavated using shovels and trowels, in natural levels measuring less than 0.5 ft. Most natural levels of more than 0.5 ft. were excavated separately as levels within strata. The exception to this practice was plowzone, which was taken out as one stratum (level 1), regardless of depth (e.g. 0.5-0.8 ft.). Soils were screened through quarter- inch mesh wire, except for one-liter soil samples taken from each proveniece.

Artifacts were bagged by provenience. Any features found were given separate location numbers (F1-Fn). Each level was photographed, using 35 mm black and white and color slide film. Any disturbances discovered in the units were mapped, using engineering scale, and also photographed. At least one profile of each unit was also drawn and photographed.

Additional nonprobabilistic units were placed using judgmental means, after looking at structures and topography. These also measured 5-by-5 ft. Probabilistic sampling units measuring 1-by-1 ft. were also excavated at both sites. Their location was based on two techniques. The first was stratifying each site into two areas, that of an "Active Yard", and that of the remaining site area. This stratification is an adaptation of models developed by South (1979:219-220) and Moir and Bruseth (1987, Chapter 14). The second was dividing each of the two stratified areas into 1 by 1 ft. units on a map. These squares were then consecutively numbered from left to right. Using a random numbers table, units were chosen for excavation. The actual units excavated may be seen in Figures 7-1 and 7-2. A total of 37 units were excavated at the Stine farmstead, consisting of twenty-six 1-by-1 ft. and eleven 5-by-5 ft. units. In all, 600 historic artifacts were uncovered through excavation. Combined with the 262 surface collected artifacts, a total of 862 historic objects were found.

(Prehistoric objects are described in Appendix C.) At the Nichols farm, 22 units were excavated. Of these, eighteen were 1-by-1 ft. tests, and four were 5-by-5 ft. units. A total of 4263 identifiable historic artifacts were uncovered; 123 from surface collection and the remainder from excavations. Following Cowgill's rule of thumb (1975:263), more units were excavated at the Stine site, as it covered more area than the Nichols⁴.

Stratification of the sites was accomplished by dividing each into two areas. The first comprised all of the site lying within 40 ft. of the main structures. The second zone consisted of all the remaining farmstead. South (1979) predicts that refuse at these types of sites will fall into the following three areas. First is the central refuse pattern consisting of small and larger objects that are thrown under the house for storage and/or disposal. Second is the adjacent refuse pattern, or all artifacts found near the main home. These fall in an area that is occasionally swept, and South predicts that fewer and smaller items will be found here. He also suggests that the front yard would be swept more often, therefore it should contain fewer artifacts. The last, or third refuse pattern is called peripheral refuse. It consists of all the large and small goods lying outside of the immediate yard area on the farm. It can contain refuse thrown into gullies, and/or abandoned wells and privies (South 1979:218-219). As both

house structures are standing at the case-study sites, South's model was adapted by combining the first two refuse patterns into an Active Yard zone, and equating the Remaining zone with his Peripheral Refuse Pattern. This was accomplished to check his predictions by comparing artifact densities between the two zones, at both sites.

Moir and Bruseth 1987 have also created a model of farmstead refuse distribution, stemming from their testing at 38 sites in the Richland Creek region of Texas (see Volume IV., Chapter 6). These farmstead sites tended to measure from 1,000 to 3,000 meters in extent. Project personnel excavated about 15 to 25 50 cm test units at each site, using a systematic, probabilistic sampling design⁵. They discovered that artifact distributions fell within two major zones, what they call the Active Yard and the Outer Area (see Volume V, Chapter 14). The Active Yard contained two subareas, consisting of the inner and outer yard. The inner measures anywhere from about 19 to 30 feet, the outer from 19 to 72 (most are 30 to 50 ft.). The inner yard has fewer artifacts, as it is most often swept. They discovered from 40 to 160 items in each area test. The second or outer portion of the active yard had a higher percentage of refuse per test, with concentric midden being found from about 30 to 70 feet from the house. The fringe, or Outer Area had much less sheet refuse.

The results of sampling the two Active and Remainder

Zones at the case study sites are given in the appropriate section of this chapter (7-4).

7-3. Laboratory Methods

The artifacts discovered at the sites were washed, accessioned, and cataloged as to material and type. Minimum vessel counts of ceramics and of glass were completed for each site. This was accomplished using standard techniques of sorting fragments by type (ware/color, design), and by form (e.g. bottle, jar, crock, plate). Diagnostic attributes were used to help determine form. Rims, bases, and necks proved useful in delineating the minimum number of vessels possible. Cross-mends were also completed during this stage of investigation. Results of this analysis are described in the section following.

Window glass was measured to see if current window glass dating formulas prove useful. This was accomplished by measuring fragments to the nearest mm, finding the modal thickness, and applying it to a linear regression formula (e.g. Orser's and Moir's). The results are discussed in the following section.

All artifacts were cataloged by material, type, and class. In addition, classes were combined into functional groups, using a system adapted from South 1977. The classes included in each group are shown in Appendix D. This allowed the archaeologist to compare intra- and inter-site percentages of artifacts, by functional group. In addition,

results have been compared to percentages discovered at similar sites found in the region. This information is discussed in Section 7-4.

Special soil samples were taken from features discovered during excavation. These are being analyzed by ethnobotanists at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The results of this analysis, and flotation methods they used may be found in Appendix E.

The liter soil samples taken from each provenience were packed into cardboard boxes available from the North Carolina Department of Agriculture, Agronomic Division. They were delivered to their main laboratories in Raleigh, North Carolina, for chemical analysis. Soils have been tested for nineteen different characteristics. Results are detailed in Appendix F.

7-4. Results of Field and Laboratory Analysis

The surface survey at the Stine site resulted in artifact collections from 98 units. A total of 262 historic items were collected in 82 of these 10 by 10 ft. units. Surface collections at the Nichols site resulted in collection of 123 artifacts from six units. Obviously, some of the Nichols units were denser than those at the Stine farm. (The distribution of these artifacts by functional group is discussed below. See Appendix F.)

A total of 26 1-by-1 ft. units were excavated at the Stine site, containing 23 historic artifacts. A total of 18

similar units were uncovered at the Nichols site, containing 50 artifacts. Once again, the Nichols site proved richer in the amount of items discovered. Many of these units proved sterile, although all helped to delineate plowed areas, road surfaces, and unplowed sections at both properties.

At the Stine farmstead, unit 185S 60E's stratigraphic sequence and artifact types indicated the presence of a structure. It consisted of 0.6 ft. of rich, peat-like loam (5 YR 4/6 medium brown) overlying sterile red clay (2.5 YR 3/6 dark red). It contained one iron spike and two nails. The presence of the nails, combined with the rich, dark soil in the test, indicated that a structure may have once stood here. Soil analysis confirmed that this unit was not typical (see Appendix F). It was much higher in humic matter, as well as in proportions of phosphates and potassium. Oral history, combined with subsequent examination of old photographs, confirmed this (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987). A frame corn crib had once extended northwards from the present barn, and this test falls near the center of the structure.

Unit 155S 60E was a sterile test. Its floor was choppy, indicative of road bed. Its soil was also slightly more acidic than usual at the Stine farm. Oral informants state that family cars were often parked here in the 1930s and 1940s (Betty Hendrix, Margaret Preckler, personal communications).

The majority of 1-by-1 ft. test units encountered sterile subsoil within 0.2-0.4 ft., unless located in a plowed field. One unit near the barn, 210S 10E was deeper than expected. It contained 0.65 ft. of yellowish red clay (5 YR 4/6) over sterile subsoil. The unit was sterile. This area is relatively level, and the greater depth of the unit may simply be a reflection of topographic effects. Examination of old photographs (see Chapter VI) shows that a series of center-posts for hay stacks were located in this vicinity, as well as a corral for the mules. No evidence of either was observed on the surface, through metal detecting, or in the ground. Soil analysis did not reveal any specific differences in this unit than typical at the site (see Appendix F).

Unit 10S 10E was extremely shallow (0.35 ft. yellowish red clay over red clay subsoil). The bottom of the unit was eroded, indicating that a shallow gully or roadbed was present. This interpretation was confirmed when looking at old photographs of the homesite (see Chapter Six). As mentioned, the old road originally curved far to the west, and a small dirt drive had led to the front of the house. Excavation of this unit appears to have uncovered a fragment of this rutted drive.

The units located in the front yard of the Stine house were sterile. Unit 70S 50E's yellowish red clay layer was very acidic and shallow, measuring only 0.25 ft. above

subsoil. This portion of the front yard, near the front porch, is highly eroded. The floor of this unit was also eroded. This reflects the heavy foot traffic that had occurred in this area. The lack of artifacts could be due to erosion and/or Essie Stine's habit of sweeping the front yard. Unit 40S 20E, located towards the periphery of this yard, was also sterile. The soil is finer in texture, perhaps because wood has been stored in this area for the past two years. It was less shallow, measuring about 0.55 ft. before reaching subsoil. The bottom of this unit was not indicative of heavy use or erosion.

Unit 20S 70E, located just north of the house, was also less eroded. Although this unit was also sterile, it did contain 0.55 ft. of yellowish red silty clay (5 YR 5/6) overlying red clay subsoil. This confirms the impression gained from oral history, that this portion of the yard did not see as much use as the area leading to the front porch, or lying behind the house.

Turning to the units placed behind the house, one sees more evidence of past activities. 110E 90S is located just south of the back door, off the back porch. It actually had a thin layer of humus (unusual at the site) overlying 0.4 ft. of loose, yellowish red silty clay, overlying red clay subsoil. Four historic artifacts were recovered from this unit (3 kitchen, 1 architectural group). This area saw heavy use by members of the Stine family. The unit lies

within or just west of the clothes-washing and soap-making areas of this yard (see Chapter VI). Nonetheless, no ash or evidence of fire was found here. Soil analysis results were negative, with only slightly high counts of potassium present (see Appendix F). The artifacts seem to be part of the general sheet midden at the site, and not indicative of specialized activities.

The 7 artifacts discovered in unit 100S 145E, east and south of the above unit, also fall into the kitchen and architectural groups. Stratum 1, Level 1 soil consisted of the typical yellowish red silty clay, but extending to a depth of 0.7 ft. below ground surface. Again, no features related to special activities were located here. However, it was composed of somewhat greater than usual amounts of both phosphate and potassium (see Appendix F). What is of interest is that this unit was placed on the periphery of the old orchard. Nonetheless, it held evidence of sheet midden (small, eroded artifacts). More erosion is evident in test unit 150S 140E. This sterile unit was extremely shallow (0.3 ft.) compared to the previous excavation unit. Its Level 1 was also different than the majority found at the Stine site. It consisted of 2.5 YR 3/6 dark red silty clay overlying the red clay subsoil. This was discussed with the site owner, who stated that a friend had pushed some of the dirt in the backyard around with a scraper blade. This was accomplished to fill in the slumped remains

of a root cellar, located near this unit (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987).

Unit 130S 120E, located to the north and west of the one above, contained 6 artifacts (kitchen, architectural, and activity groups). These were found in Stratum 1, Level 1, yellowish red silty soil (5 YR 4/6). Its soil was more basic than standard at the site, and extended for 0.6 ft. Below it lay a one-inch level of mottled yellow red silty clay and red clay, overlying subsoil.

Unit 50S 140E is located behind the farmhouse. It proved to hold only two artifacts (one kitchen, one architecture group). The soils in this unit were typical, except for a mottled transition zone measuring about 0.1 ft. in width. The stratigraphy is identical to that found in the unit above. This test should have picked up indications of a structure. It was a post-in-the-ground (pole barn/shed). This is where oral informants state the family woodshed was located (see Chapter VI). This is also where nuts were cracked and "picked" by the Stine children for their mother. No evidence for these activities have been found archaeologically. (See Appendix F.)

Seven of these 1-by-1 ft. units were placed within a present-day plowed field. (This field used to be orchard.) Only one, 140S 320E, contained an artifact. One whiteware sherd was discovered in the test. The plowzone was darker than usual in this end of the field (2.5 YR 3/6 dark red

clayey silt), and extended for about 0.8 ft. below existing ground surface. The plowzone at the site is more typically 2.5 YR 4/6 (red), hard-packed silty clay. The plow blade appears to most often extend about 0.8 ft. below the surface. Occasionally, it would bite deeper into the soil. One unit, 120S 330E, consisted of looser plowzone, extending a good 1.6 ft. below the ground. One other unit in this area is of note. 130N 60W was comprised of 0.8 ft. of silty clay, loosely disked, overlying 0.3 ft. of hard-packed red clayey silt, over red clay subsoil. This seems to reflect different years of mechanical turning of the soil. This unit was also higher than standard in phosphates (see Appendix F). The cause of this has not been determined.

The remainder of the smaller test units simply consisted of red clay subsoil, with a thin layer of newly forming humus (root mat) on top.

The discussion now turns to the results of the 1-by-1 ft. tests at the Nichols site. The location of these units may be found in Figures 7-1 and 7-2. In 30E 5S the remains of a possible building were discovered. This unit consisted of 0.55 ft. of peat-like red black soil (10 YR 2.5/1) overlying a hard-packed, sterile brown sand (7.5 YR 3/4, 0.45 ft. wide), over sterile red clay. Artifacts were found in Stratum 1, Level 1; one kitchen group, and one architectural item. This layer was relatively high in phosphates. The hard-packed layer, Stratum 2, with a

slightly less intense concentration of phosphates, was interpreted as the remains of a floor. However, oral informants have stated that this unit lies in the Nicholse's wood stacking area (Kenneth Stine, Lynn Nichols, personal communications 1987). They do not recall if a pole-barn or shed once covered this wood. The concentrations of phosphates (see Appendix F) would support the idea that an animal enclosure had been located here. The layer of hard-packed sand could be the result of creating a well-drained spot for piling wood. It could also possibly be remnants of a drive, now forgotten.

Unit 20S 100W lies in front of the Nicholse's home. The stratigraphy consists of compact, sterile red silty clay (10 YR 4/6) to a depth of 0.85 ft., overlying red clay subsoil. No evidence of plowing was observed in this unit. This unit is very similar to 20S 110W located nearby, which extended about 0.9 ft. below ground surface before hitting clay subsoil. No evidence of heavy activity was discovered in connection with the compact silty clay, indicating this was not a heavily traveled area. However, both tests proved to have heavier than usual amounts of potassium in their soils (see Appendix F). A unit nearby, 50S 90W, did not have any unusual amounts of potassium. No signs of heavy activity were found here. This unit contained 0.9 Ft. of dark red brown silty clay (2.5 YR 3/4) overlying the subsoil. Unit 55S 100W also was sterile, consisting of

similar stratigraphy. (The bottom of the unit was softer, as it was matrix for a large root.) This interpretation was confirmed by informants (Kenneth Stine, Lynn Nichols, personal communications 1987). As mentioned in Chapter VI, this "front" yard portion of the site was not used by visitors, or much by the family. Emma Nichols used this yard for flowers, and had a series of peonies growing in a semi-circle around the front. Wisteria vines covered the porch, and two large chinaberries were allowed to grow in the front. The gully (see Figure 7-2) found further west proved to be an old tractor road, now overgrown with secondary growth shrubs.

One test was placed west of this gully, 30S 130W. It contains soil that is softer than that found in the front yard, although it shares the same munsell color designation. This sterile unit also had evidence of some plowing (1.0 ft. deep), helping to delineate the immediate farmstead boundaries.

Unit 30S 10E did contain one artifact (activity group). Its stratigraphy was geologically interesting, consisting of 1.05 ft. of red silty clay overlying eroding, orange, micaceous bedrock. This bedrock is very similar to that found in a larger test unit (S40 E20, St.2) located nearby. This unit has helped to delineate the extent of a large feature found while excavating S40 E20 (described below). (It did not have any ash, or high levels of potassium or

phosphates indicative of burning.)

Unit 40S 60E was fortuitously located immediately west of the Nichols' granary. It provided a relative wealth of artifacts; from the kitchen (10), architectural (9), and activities (1) groups. In addition, a large tractor part was discovered embedded in the walls of the unit. Unit soils were typical for the site, and did not show evidence of heavy trampling. This was different from the units found at the Stine farm, located in areas of heavy use. The difference may lie in the lack of significant erosional processes at the Nichols site, as opposed to the heavy erosion evident at the Stine farm. Both the Stine and Nichols units placed in front of their respective barns had high concentrations of both potassium and phosphates. This provides evidence for animal-related activities occurring in this part of both farms (see Appendix F).

Moving to the south, one comes to 70S 10W, placed behind the main house. Twelve artifacts were uncovered in this typical soil, mostly from the activities group. This is unusual for the site, where most artifacts fall into the kitchen and architectural groups. It indicates that special activities may have occurred behind the home. The greater than usual amount of potassium in this soil also suggests some activities had taken place here. Oral informants, however, remember most activities taking place in the house, the fields, and in the northern yard (side, perceived as

front). This does not negate the possibility that some activities had occurred here. A plastic button, a nail, and 10 cast iron tubular fragments of unknown function were discovered in this 1-by-1 ft. unit.

Artifacts were also discovered in two units located on the far eastern boundary of the site. Unit 60S 130E was very shallow for the site (0.65 ft.), and the unit's floor was slightly eroded. This unit seems to have been placed in the dirt path to the family's outhouse. This test measured slightly high in phosphates, and very high in potassium (see Appendix F). It held two kitchen related items (amethyst glass fragments). Unit 90S 130E, located immediately in front of the privy, also held kitchen-related artifacts (11), and two from activities. All of the kitchen group artifacts found were glass fragments. This 1-by-1 ft. unit had high concentrations of phosphates, expected in a unit placed near the family outhouse. Unit 120S 60E was placed to the west of the privy, in a pasture. This proved to be very shallow (0.4ft. below ground surface), and sterile. It did not have a high concentration of phosphates.

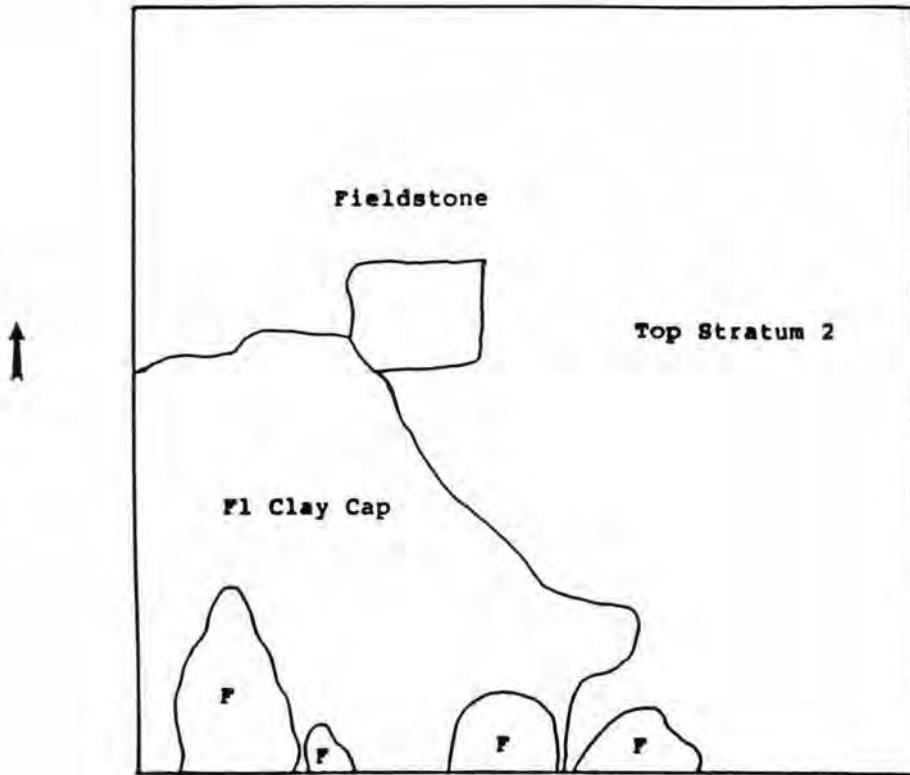
One unit within the present-day plowed field was sterile (40N 40E). It did provide an example of the shallow (0.43 ft.) plowzone in this field. It is interesting that the majority of the plowzone at the Stine farm is much deeper.

The last two 1-by-1 ft. units to be discussed are

located north of the main house, near Rim Rock Road. Both 40N 50W and 50N 50W proved sterile. Stratigraphy was more typical, with each having about 0.9 ft. of 2.5 YR 4/6 red silty clay on top of red clay subsoil.

The results of the 1-by-1 ft. tests show that the Stine farm is highly eroded in comparison with the Nichols. Tests at the latter proved much deeper than those at the former. Overall, more units at the Nichols farmstead held more artifacts than those at the Stine place. In both cases, tests helped to locate possible structures, and to clarify stratigraphic sequences. The artifact distributions are compared, after first discussing the larger units excavated at the sites.

The stratified, simple random 1-by-1 ft. units at the Nichols farmstead gave good coverage of the two sections (Active, Remaining) at the site. However, it was felt that one large unit should be placed in the "side" yard, where most activities had taken place. As a result, the 5-by-5 ft. unit 45S 40W was judgmentally placed in the vicinity of the main entrance to the Nichols home. This unit was also adjacent to the surface midden collected under the pantry window. The first stratum was excavated as one level (less than 0.5 ft. deep). The second was excavated in two arbitrary levels. The stratigraphic sequence of this unit is shown in Figure 7-3. It proved illuminating, as no plowing has ever occurred here. The natural lighter brown



Fieldstone F

1. Red Clay Cap, F1, 2.5 YR 4/6
2. Yellowish Red Silty Clay, 5 YR 4/6
3. Yellowish Red Clayey Silt, 5 YR 4/6
4. Red Clay, 2.5 YR 4/6

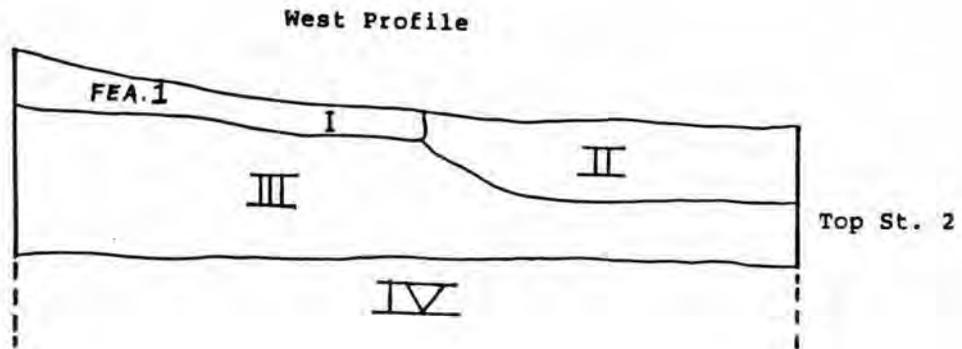


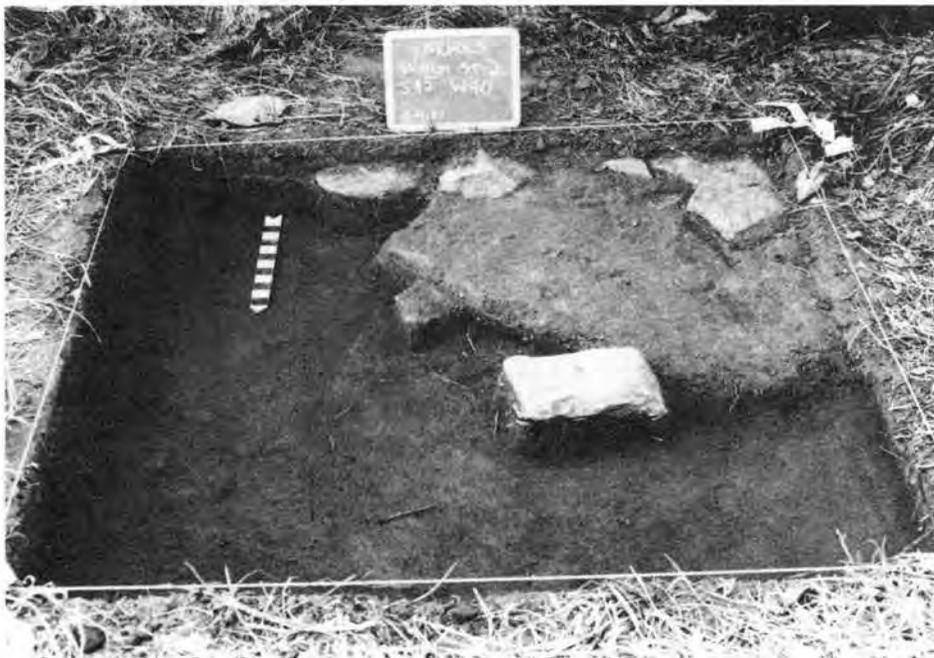
Figure 7-3. Nichols Farmstead, Plan and West Profile of Unit 45S40W

sandy loam slowly gradated into redder silty clay, which then blended into the red clay subsoil. Stratum 1 soils had more phosphates than typical at the site. Stratum 2 dirt had less, but still more than usual on this farm. Feature 1 was discovered here, consisting of a thin, red clay cap overlaid with fieldstone (see Figure 7-3, Photograph 7-1). This has been interpreted as the remains of a walkway. Two informants have since stated they recall their grandparents' placing a layer of clay on the walkway, immediately in front of the stairs, then inserting flat fieldstones on this surface for a walk (Lynn Nichols, personal communication 1987, Davis Wildman, personal communication 1987). The soil underlying the feature was typical for Stratum 2. A total of 453 artifacts were recovered from this unit, 84 in Stratum 1, 12 in Stratum 2, and one nail from Feature 1 (see Appendix G). It is interesting to note that artifacts from all functional groups, except furniture, have been recovered from this unit. Recall, no features or artifacts were found in the units placed near the entranceway to the Stine home. Mrs. Stine may have kept her walk swept, Mrs. Nichols may not have. Erosional differences may also be affecting artifact distributions at the two sites. The Nichols front active yard ("side") does not appear to have been significantly affected by erosion. The Stine front yard apparently was so affected.

One judgmental unit was placed in the south yard on the



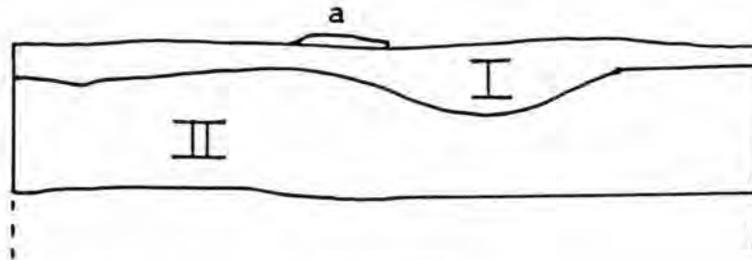
Photo 7-1a. Nichols Unit 45S40W, top of St.2
b. 45S40W with clay cap exposed



Nichols farm (S75 W70). Its location was based on two factors. The first was the presence of a gulley running parallel to the house, needing investigation. The second was the high metal concentration found here through metal detecting. Numerous beer cans, other tin cans, and glass were found while clearing the tall pasture grass. This was bagged as a 10 by 10 ft. collection unit. The 5-by-5 ft. excavation uncovered 453 artifacts, listed by group in Appendix G. This unit also contained artifacts from all but one group, that of personal items. By far the largest majority fell within kitchen group goods. Upon discussion with informants, it became clear that Duke Nichols had used this gulley as a trash dump when older. He also enjoyed sitting on both porches, rocking and drinking beer. Duke apparently would toss his cans into the gulley (once a tractor trail), next to the house (Kenneth Stine, Carson Nichols, interview 2/15/86 and personal communication 1987). The soil matrix of this dump consisted of medium brown silty clay, loosely packed, overlying hard-packed red clay (See Figure 7-4, Photograph 7-2). These soils were significantly higher in concentrations of both potassium and phosphates (see Appendix F).

One additional unit was placed within the Active Yard of the Nichols farm. This was 45S 10W, and was located near the well (Figure 7-4, Photograph 7-3). Fortuitously, this unit proved to have been excavated in the middle of the

West Profile, 45S10W



a. wood fragment.

- I. Stratum 1 5 YR 4/6 yellowish red silty clay
- II. Stratum 2 2/5 YR 3-4/6 red clay

b. quartz rock

West Profile, 75S70W

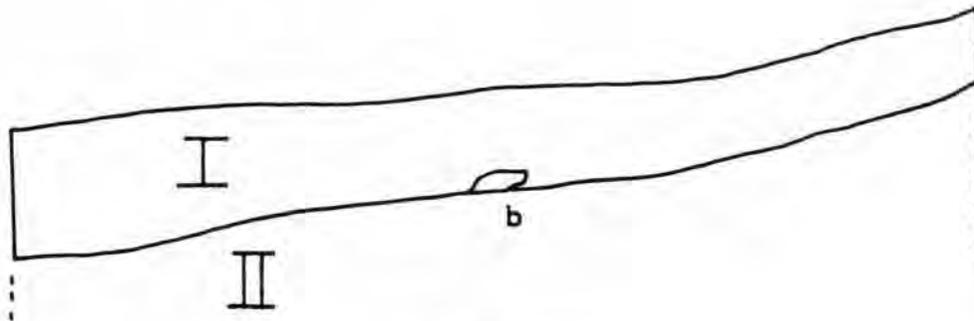


Figure 7-4. West Profiles of Units 45S10W, and 75S70W, Nichols Farm



Photo 7-2. Nichols Unit 75S70W (gully)
Photo 7-3. Nichols Unit 45S10W (smokehouse)



Nichols smokehouse, long since removed (Kenneth Stine, Lynn Nichols, personal communications 1987). It was located here due to the slight depression observed while metal detecting. It also proved high in metal "hits". A total of 1002 historic artifacts were found in this unit, again ranging across all but one functional group (see Appendix G). By far, the majority were found in Stratum 1, and most were concentrated towards the northeastern corner of the unit. Significantly, the majority of artifacts fall within the kitchen group, then architectural, then activity. One would have expected that the majority would have fallen within architectural (a building!), then activities (meat salting and storing, cotton storage) groups. The wood and nails may have been reused elsewhere on the site. In fact, some of the smokehouse lumber may have been used as fuel in the home and for outdoor fires (see below). In addition, as described in Chapters III and IV, the smokehouse was often used for primary storage of canned goods. This would be in tandem with any root cellars, and/or in place of cellar storage. This would explain the high concentration of kitchen-related goods found in this unit. In fact, only 11 of the 768 kitchen-related items were classed as ceramics, most of the rest came from tin can and container glass fragments. Analysis of the reddish brown, silty clay soils revealed the second highest amount of phosphates for the site, in Stratum 1. The level of potassium was also high.

Both amounts greatly decrease in the second stratum of red silty clay (see Appendix F).

The last of the 5-by-5 ft. units, 40S 20E, was located in an area of high metal concentration lying outside of the Active Yard. This entire unit proved to be a feature, and, again through chance, the unit had been placed within the approximate middle of it. During excavation, various lenses were kept separate by giving them feature numbers (F2-5). The outer boundaries were determined through use of a soil auger, tested every 1.0 ft. along 1.0 ft. transects across the area. The horizontal extent is shown in Figure 7-5. Excavations revealed intermittent lenses of gray ash interspersed with darker, burned zones, intermixed with mottled, silty red clay (see Figure 7-6, Photographs 7-4, 7-5). This unit contained a total of 2538 identifiable historic artifacts (see Appendix G). The distribution of artifacts seems to indicate that a building, related to kitchen or farm activities, had once stood here. (e.g. Architecture:1985, Kitchen:301, Activities:153 artifacts). However, no driplines, postholes, postmolds, pier or foundation trenches were uncovered. In addition, the micro lensing of burned soils and ash did not indicate a one-time fire, but that a successive series of fires had occurred. Subsequent oral history confirmed this interpretation. This unit had been placed in the vicinity of the yard used for soap-making and clothes washing (see Chapters IV, VI,

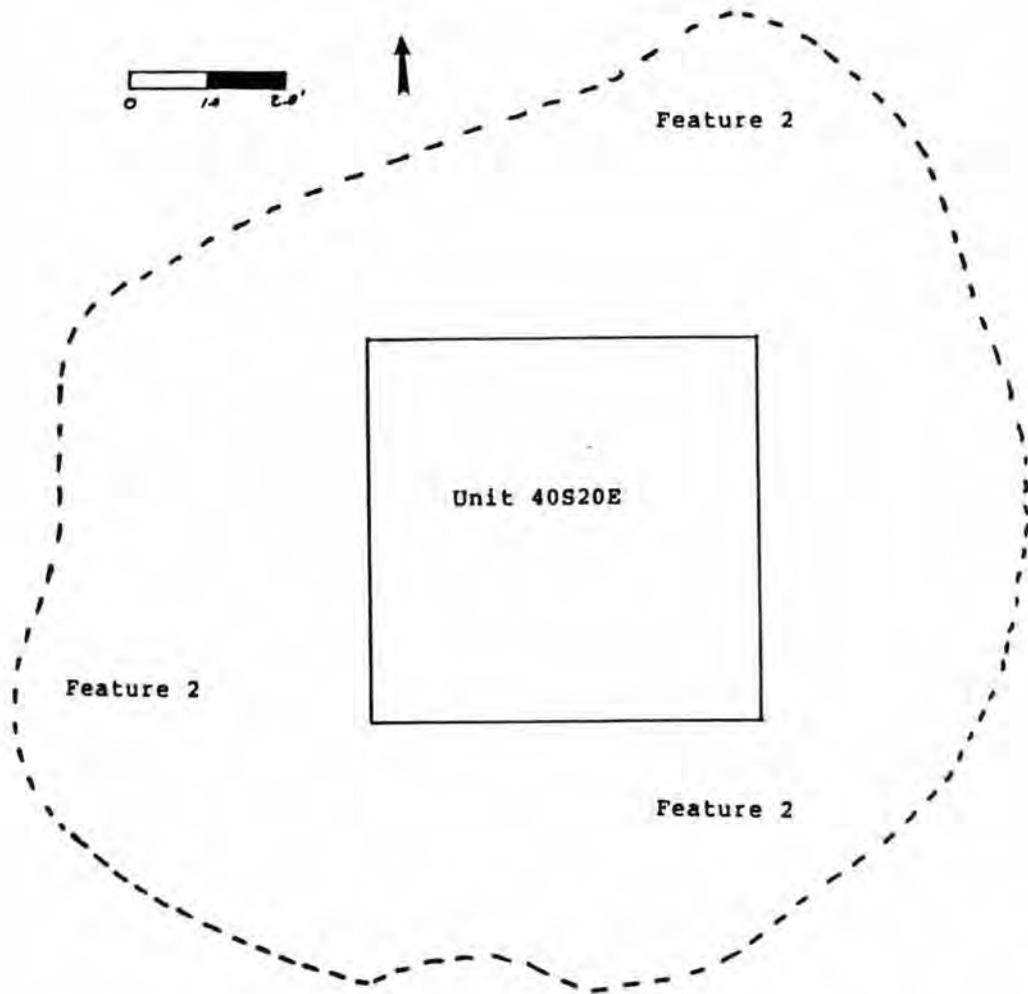
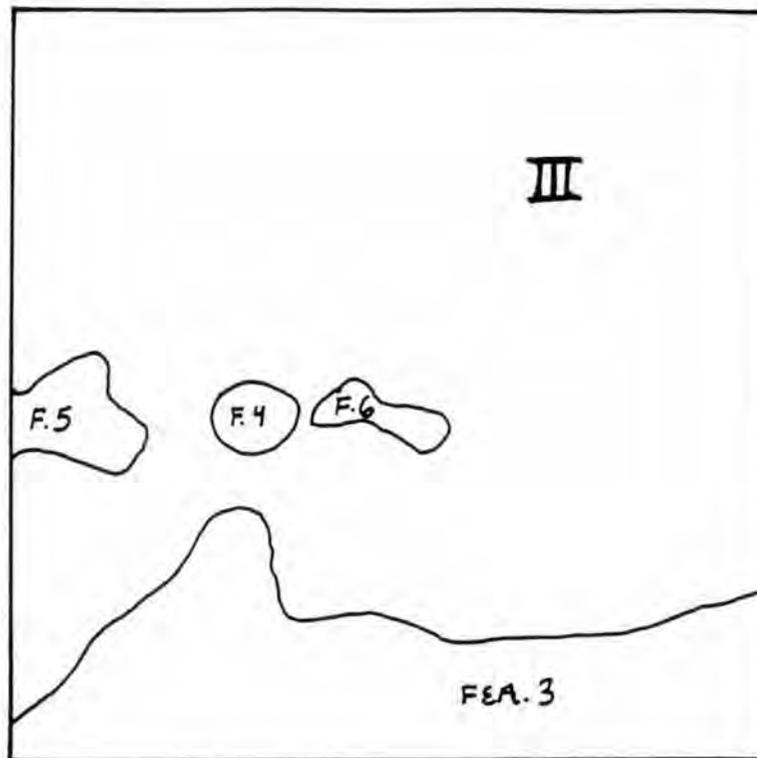


Figure 7-5. Unit 40S20E, Horizontal Plan of Feature 2, Mixed Ash, artifacts, and Silty Clay



- I. Black Ashy Loam, 5 YR 1/1
- II. Feature 2 (mixing of all other layers)
- III. Mottled reddish orange silty clay
- IV. Red Silty Clay, 2.5 YR 5/8

West Profile

■ Ash

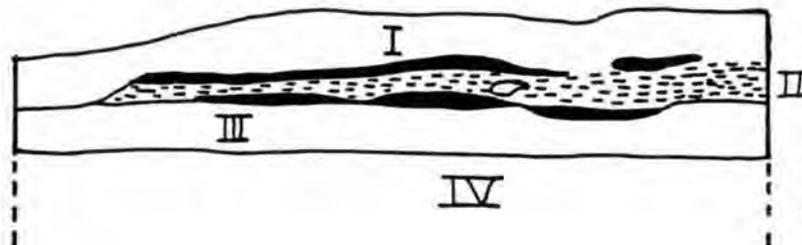


Figure 7-6. Nichols Farmstead, Plan and West Profile of Unit 40S20E at Bottom of St. 2 (Feature 2)

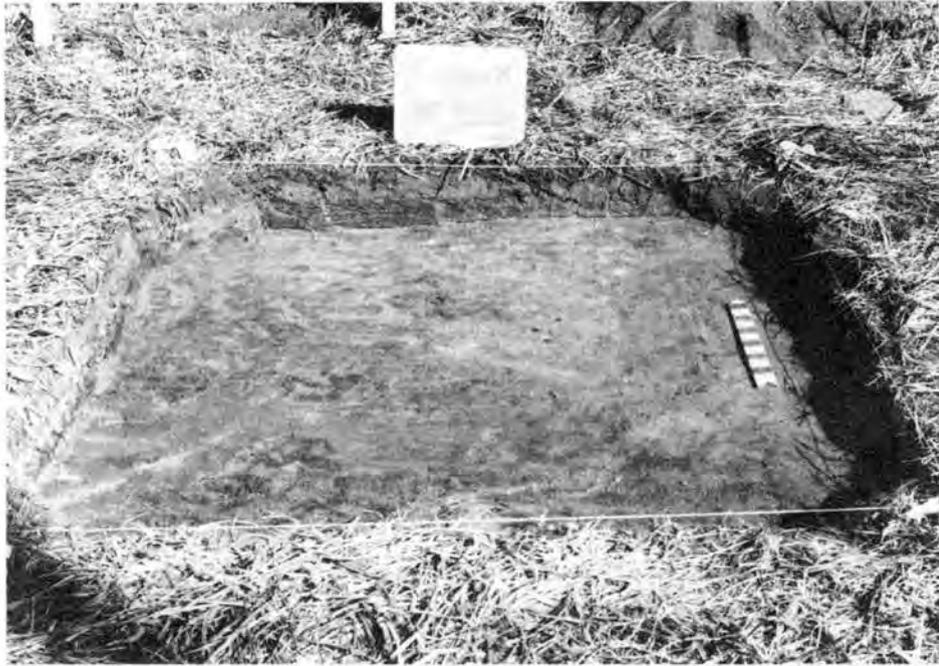
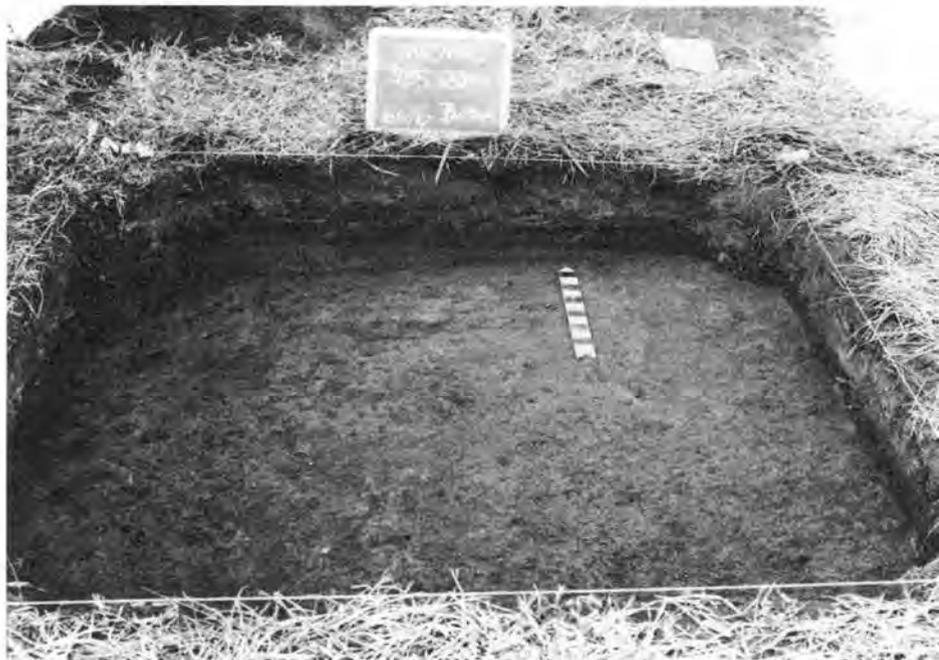


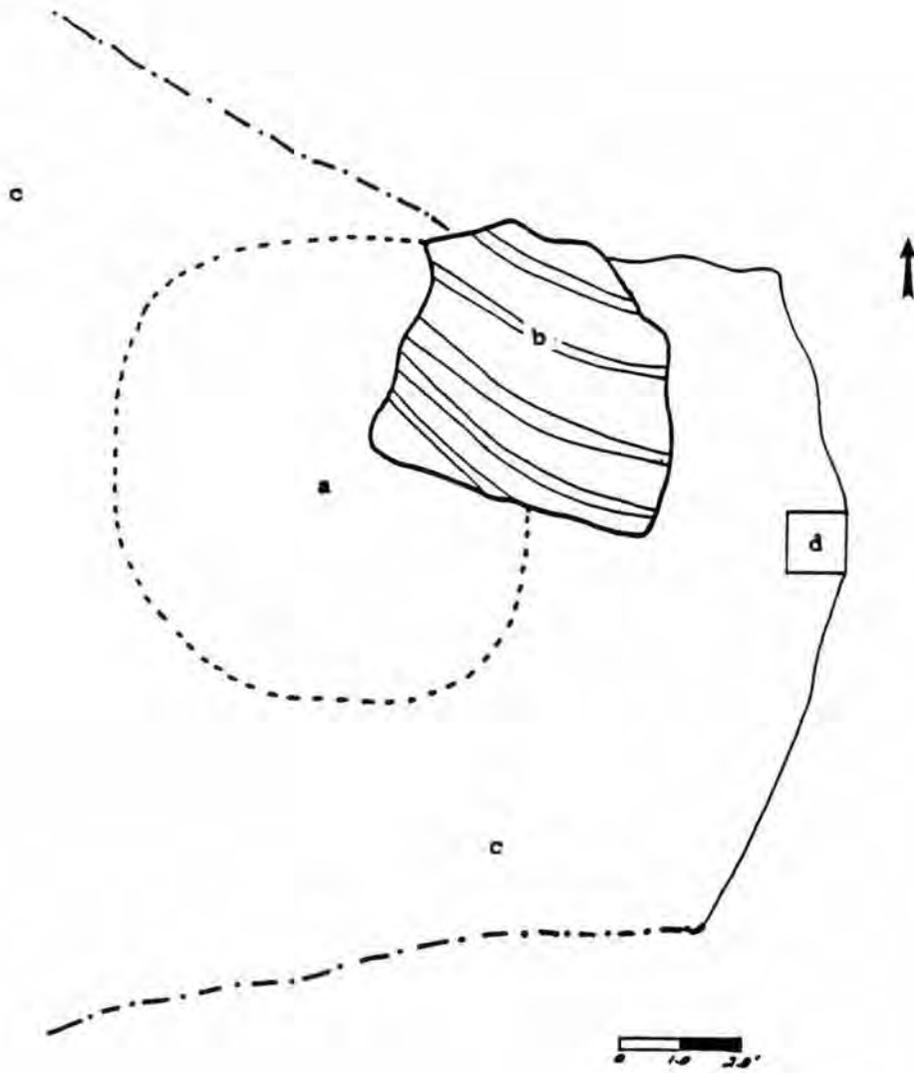
Photo 7-4. Nichols Unit 40S20E, ash feature
Photo 7-5. 40S20E after excavation



Photograph 7-4; personal communications 1987 by Lynn Nichols, Margaret Preckler, Kenneth Stine, Linda Thomas). The high count of nails, spikes, tacks, and brads in this feature (n=1932, see Appendix G) may indicate that smokehouse lumber had been used as fuel for these fires. This feature may also have been created in part by burning trash. Myriad artifacts from all functional groups were found here, most showing signs of burning. This part of the yard appears to have been used for all outdoor burnings: making soap, washing clothes, and trash disposal. A structure may once have stood here, but if so, no direct archaeological or historical evidence has been found to indicate its presence.

One last feature was discovered on the Nichols farmstead. This was the family's privy. It was in use very recently, and is presently an open pit with some loose fill, tin, and lumber in it. It was unsafe to excavate, and must await a few decades of settling before investigation. The privy was a "one-seater", and its plan is drawn in Figure 7-7.

To summarize, the larger, judgmental units at the Nichols farm were rich in artifacts and features. A walkway, trash midden, smokehouse, and multiple activity area were uncovered, with a total of 4090 artifacts within them. No signs of erosion or plowing were evident in these units. In fact, the stratigraphic sequences proved



- a. outhouse pit
- b. tin roofing
- c. brush
- d. test unit 90S131E

Figure 7-7. Plan of Nichols Privy

relatively pristine, which had not been anticipated. The 5-by-5 ft. units at the adjoining Stine farm, however, revealed a different story.

A total of 11 judgmental units were excavated at the Stine farmstead. Their placement was dependent upon results of metal detecting, surface concentrations, and observation of topographic and building relationships. In two cases, placement was dependent upon oral history.

Units 70S 10E and 75S 5E were located in the front of the home, in an area with surface artifacts eroding out onto the surface (Photograph 7-6). These units proved extremely shallow, and had slightly gullied floors, indicative of heavy traffic. Subsequent oral history and observations of old photographs supported this interpretation. A total of 14 historic artifacts were recovered from the first unit, and only 3 from the second (see Appendix G). These items were most likely swept and/or washed into the old driveway.

Two units were placed in the western end of the current plowed field. Surface and subsurface survey results had indicated that artifact concentrations may be present below ground. After excavation of 60N 30E and 50N 20E, with their lack of features and combined total of only 4 artifacts, it was thought that no structures or midden had existed here. This was also supported by the results of soil analysis (see Appendix F). Oral history, however, indicates that a small shed-like structure had once been located in this vicinity.

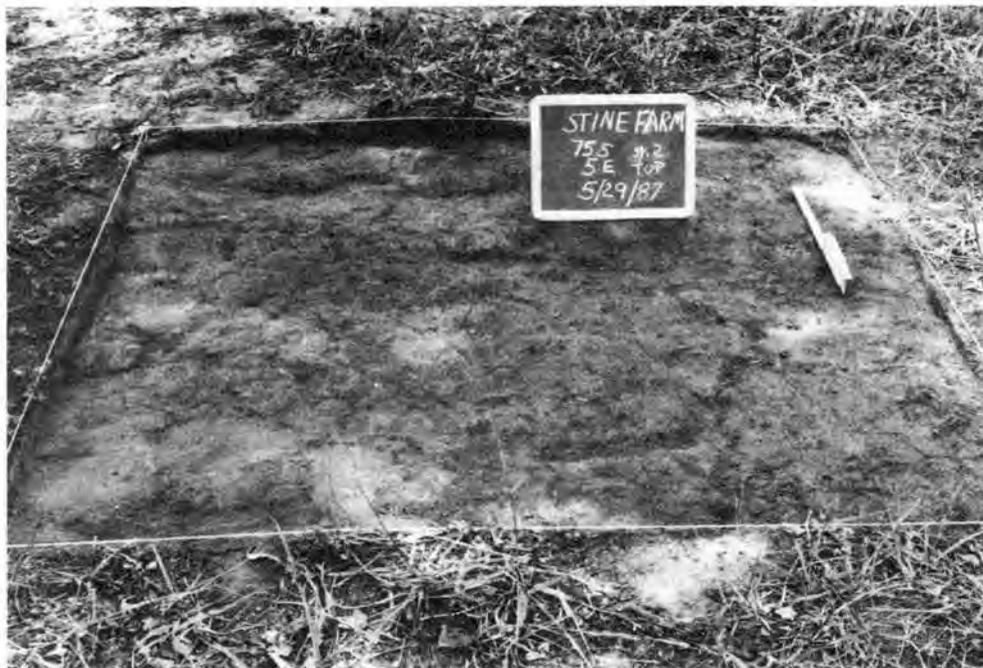


Photo 7-6a. Stine Unit 75S5E (old roadbed)

b. Stine Unit 160S35E (old drive)



It was a small frame building that sat on stone piers, within the family's orchard. It was used for storage of orchard-related items, such as glass jars, stone crocks, and some tools (Kenneth Stine, Betty Hendrix, and Margaret Preckler, personal communications 1987). It is interesting to note that recollection of this building came only after archaeological fieldwork had been completed, and results discussed.

Three additional units were excavated in the hard-packed, clayey plowzone at the Stine farm. Tests 10S 170E, 15S 190E, and 0N 165E were placed here because of the high metal and surface concentrations indicated by survey (Photograph 7-7). This proved to be a plowed trash dump, with a total of 215 historic artifacts (see Appendix G). Soil analysis did reveal slightly higher amounts of potassium and phosphates in the latter unit (see Appendix F). Stine family members do not recollect dumping trash here, in particular. They do recall carrying garbage this way to throw in the ravine to the north. Unit floors and walls do not indicate that a slope, gully, or ravine had been located here. Family members may simply not remember dumping goods in this vicinity, or, the artifacts were placed here by other means. The family smokehouse had been located in the vicinity of 40S 130E, until a friend "pushed it off" recently with farm equipment. The path of this displacement appears to have lain immediately northeast of



Photo 7-7a. Stine Unit ON165E (refuse area)

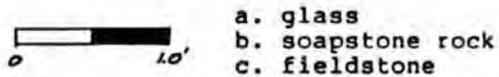
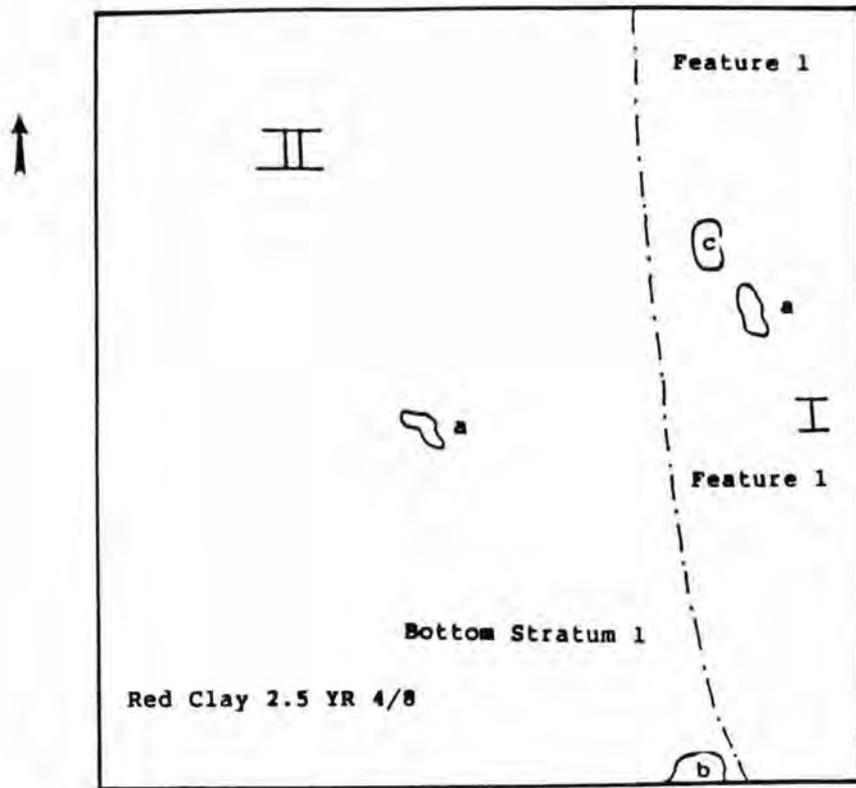
b. Stine Unit 10S170E (refuse area)



this concentration. Subsequent plowing could have spread debris left over from this operation across this small ridged area of the site (Kenneth Stine, Betty Hendrix, Margaret Preckler, personal communications 1987).

Test unit 40S 130E was investigated to see if evidence of this smokehouse could be uncovered. Its location was based on oral history, and examination of an historic photograph of the smokehouse (see Photograph 6-101). Tested soils showed no variation from typical concentrations of potassium or of phosphates. No structural evidence was uncovered during excavations. This was not surprising, as the building had been removed with heavy equipment. Nonetheless, 55 artifacts were recovered from the unit (see Appendix G). Unglazed red earthenware, alkaline-glazed stonewares, and glass container fragments are indicative of this building's use for food storage. However, only three nails and eight fragments of window glass indicate that a structure had stood here. No evidence of cotton-related activities was found. Furthermore, no direct evidence of meat production was uncovered. These results are somewhat similar to those uncovered at the Nichols farm, when excavating at the site of their smokehouse. (The major difference lying in the physical transformations occurring at the sites AFTER the buildings had no longer been used.)

A slight depression, and heavy metal "hits" in an area east and south of the house were investigated in unit 145S



- I. Feature 1, root cellar fill
2.5 YR 4/8 slightly mottled red clay
- II. Stratum 1
2.5 YR 4/8 red clay

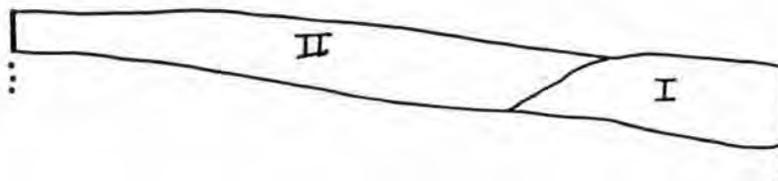
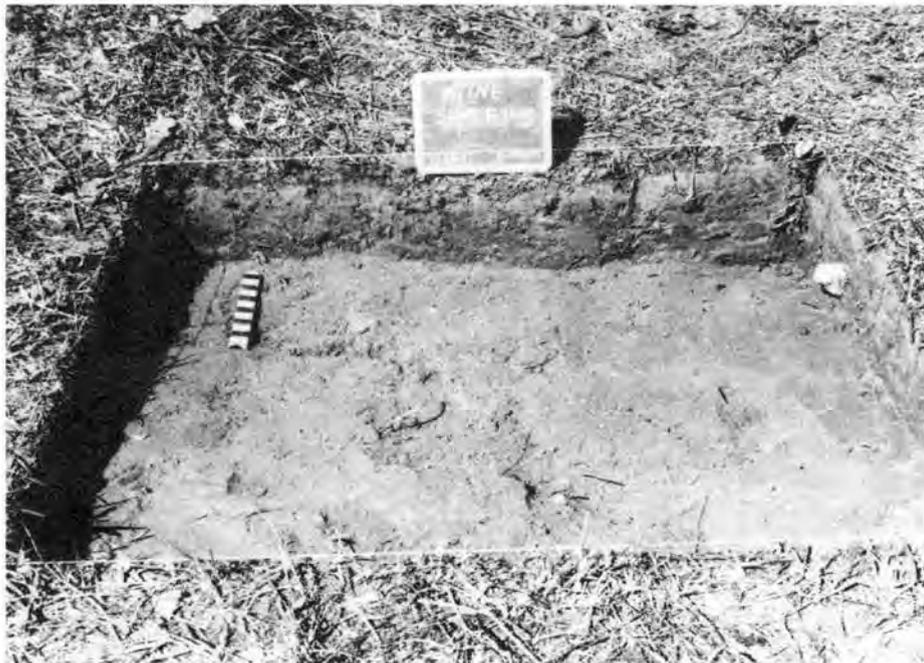


Figure 7-8. Plan and West Profile of Unit 145S145E, Stine Farm



Photo 7-8a. Stine Unit 40S130E (smokehouse)

b. Stine Unit 145S145E (root cellar)



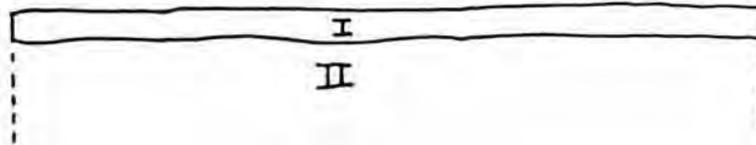
145E. This unit proved to contain the northern edge of a feature (root cellar), and a total of 223 artifacts (see Appendix G, Figure 7-8). Oral informants state that excavations have uncovered the entrance to the family root cellar. This had been dug about 4.0 ft. into the solid red clay subsoil. The entrance was very shallow, and was covered by a small, short, pole-shed. Wooden stairs led to the main cellar hole, and wooden shelves had held various bottles, crocks, and jars of foodstuffs. The cellar was not used after the 1940s. When asked to move the fallen-in smokehouse, a neighbor had surprised the family by also pushing red clay into the root cellar remains (Kenneth Stine, Betty Hendrix, Margaret Preckler, personal communications 1987). Nonetheless, testing revealed the southern boundary (entrance) to this feature (Figure 7-8). Feature soil was determined more by texture than by color differences, as it consisted of looser-packed, mottled red clay. These soils were somewhat high in phosphates, but in smaller amounts than found in the trash midden unit ON 165E. Glass and other artifacts could be seen pushed into this matrix. No evidence of the stairs was observed in this unit, excavated to a depth of 1.05 ft. below ground surface (into red clay subsoil).

Two other 5-by-5 ft. units were placed on the farmstead. Test 160S 35E was located in front of the old corncrib, its placement determined by oral history and

examination of photographs. The main purpose of its excavation was to search for possible postholes, indicative of possible corrals and/or hay-stacking poles. The only feature uncovered was the rutted floor of the unit, demonstrating that this area had been used as a vehicle drive. Both mule-pulled and automotive equipment had been moved to and from the barn across this area of the farm (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987). (Recall, animal- and gas-powered equipment was used at the same time at this farm, from the early 1930s until the late 1940s.) Only 7 artifacts were uncovered here. The unit was extremely shallow, consisting of a thin layer of roots and grass, over red clay subsoil (see profile, Figure 7-9). No great concentration of potassium or phosphates was discovered during soil analysis.

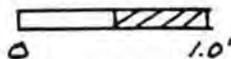
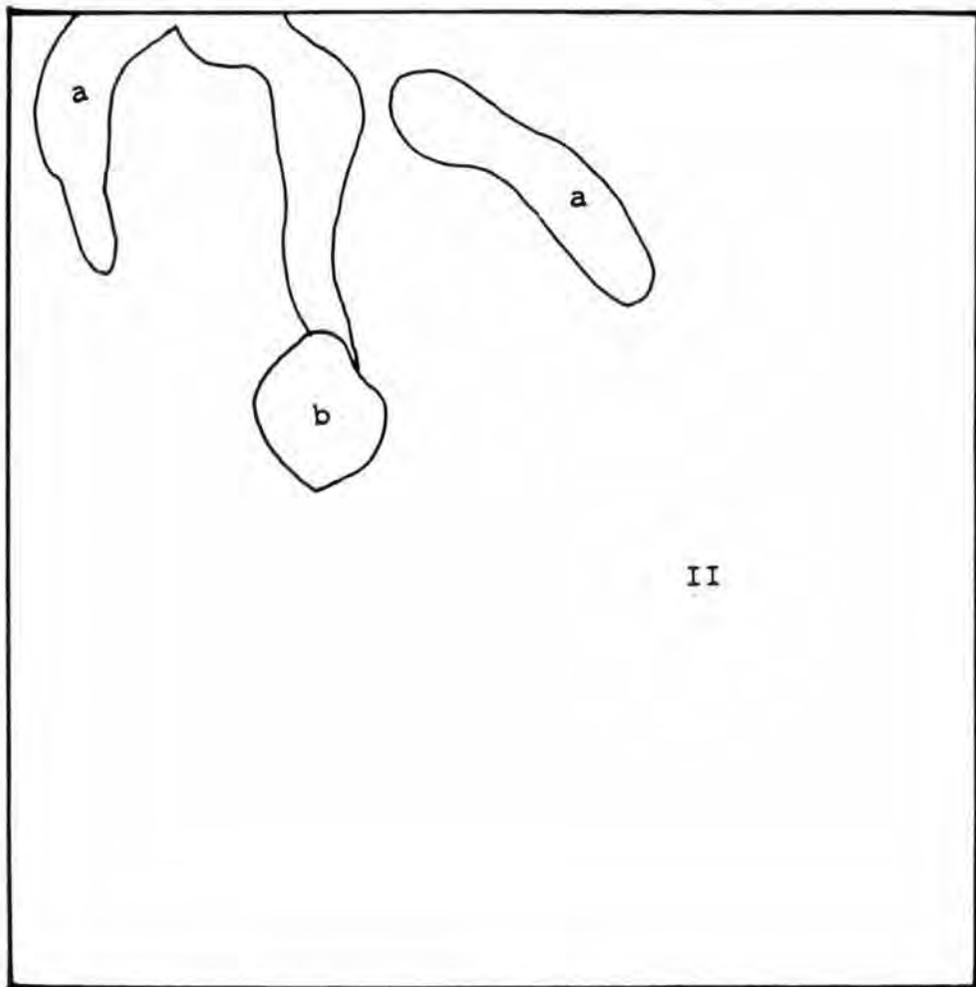
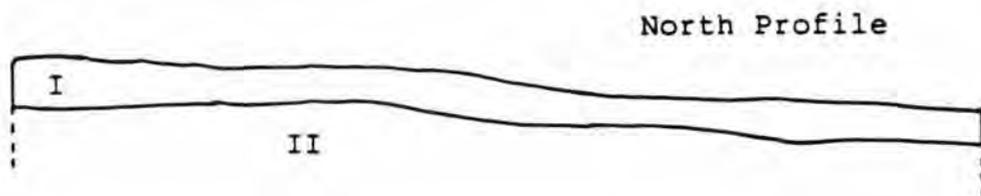
The last unit excavated was 225S 40E, also located near the barn. This unit was placed here to search for possible corral postholes or molds. One feature was uncovered, a large, flat stone covering a circular depression. It proved to be covering the remains of a tree stain (Figure 7-10). This tree had apparently been incorporated into the corral, to provide shade for the mules (Margaret Preckler, personal communication 1987). It is interesting to note that this feature would not have been interpreted as being part of the corral without substantiation of oral history. On the other hand, Stine family members did not recall this tree until it

South Profile



- I. Reddish brown silty clay, 2.5YR 4/4
- II. Red clay, 2.5 YR 4/8

Figure 7-9. South Profile, Unit 160S35E, Stine Farm



I. Yellowish red clayey silt, 5 YR 4/6 and roots
 II. Yellowish red clayey silt, 5 YR 4/6

a. roots (tree)
 b. fieldstone

Figure 7-10. Plan and North Profile of Unit 225S40E, Stine Farm

had been uncovered during fieldwork. This unit contained the third largest concentration of artifacts, a total of 56 (see Appendix G). It also had significantly higher concentrations of potassium and phosphates (see Appendix F). This is similar to the unit tested in front of the Nicholises' barn. In each case, these units held relatively high concentrations of artifacts, and from diverse functional groups. This is not unexpected from units placed adjacent to the barns at the sites.

One additional feature was discovered at the site, the family privy. This outhouse was not uncovered through surface observations, metal detecting, or testing. Its location was observed only after walking site limits with the present owner of the site, who pointed it out. The privy was not excavated, as it was still in use well into the 1970s. It is covered in thick brambles, and is slowly filling-in with wind-blown debris. The present owner does not believe any intentional filling has occurred since the privy was abandoned (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987). He states that this outhouse was very similar to that at the Nicholises', consisting of a small frame structure placed over a verticle hole- another "one-seater". ("Going to Egypt" must have been a cold affair in the winter, see its location, Figure 7-1).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the privy was built into a ravine located north of the house. The north

slope was also used for dumping trash, and is scattered with tin cans, a white enamel slop bucket, a gold gilded porcelain bowl fragment, and large numbers of canning jars. It is still being used as a dump today.

To summarize, the judgmental units at the Stine farmstead uncovered a possible trash dump, a storage shed, the smokehouse, the root cellar, and the driveway. No evidence of outdoor burning was uncovered, although informants state that soap making, washing, and hog-killing activities had taken place just southeast of the main house (see Chapters IV and VI). Stratigraphy at the Stine place was much shallower and more disturbed than that at the Nichols farm. This was the result of two major processes. The first was physical (e.g. Schiffer 1976, 1987). The Nichols farmstead is located on a relatively flat portion of their property and, as a result, erosion has been minimal. The Stine farm, however, is located on a knoll, and erosion has been heavy. The second process was cultural. The Nicholises' main yards were never plowed or scraped by heavy farm equipment. Some portions of the Stine property were plowed, and the back section had been scraped, and pushed towards the northeast.

Turning to the results of laboratory analysis, one can see that artifact distributions at the two sites did differ in important ways. Artifacts are first discussed by category, and minimum vessel counts given and compared.

Next, the artifact patterns at both sites are compared on distribution maps. Total artifact patterns are then compared to those discovered at some other sites in the southeast.

Artifacts placed within the Kitchen Group include ceramics, glass, tableware, tin cans, and container lids (see Appendix D). It was expected that most ceramics at the sites would consist of undecorated ironstones (Stanley South, personal communication 1987), assuming that these wares would have been cheapest at the time of occupation. Ceramics at both sites, however, were more varied than anticipated⁶. The Nichols and Stine sherd frequencies are given in Table 7.1 below. (See Photographs 7-9 through 7-13 of these artifacts.)

Table 7.1. Sherd Frequencies, Nichols* and Stine Sites.

Types	Nichols		Stine		
	#	%	#	%	
Undecor. Whiteware	15	22.06	35.71	81	64.29
Decal. Whiteware	4	5.88	9.52	1	0.79
Molded Whiteware	4	5.88	9.52	10	7.94
Blued Ironstone	2	2.94	4.76	0	0

subtotal	25	36.76	59.52	92	73.02
Undec. Porcelain	1	1.47	2.38	2	1.59
Decorated Porcelain	2	2.94	4.76	8	6.35

subtotal	3	4.41	7.14	10	7.94
Unglazed Redware	26	38.24	0	1	0.79
Glazed Redware	2	2.94	4.76	1	0.79

subtotal	28	41.18	4.76	2	1.59

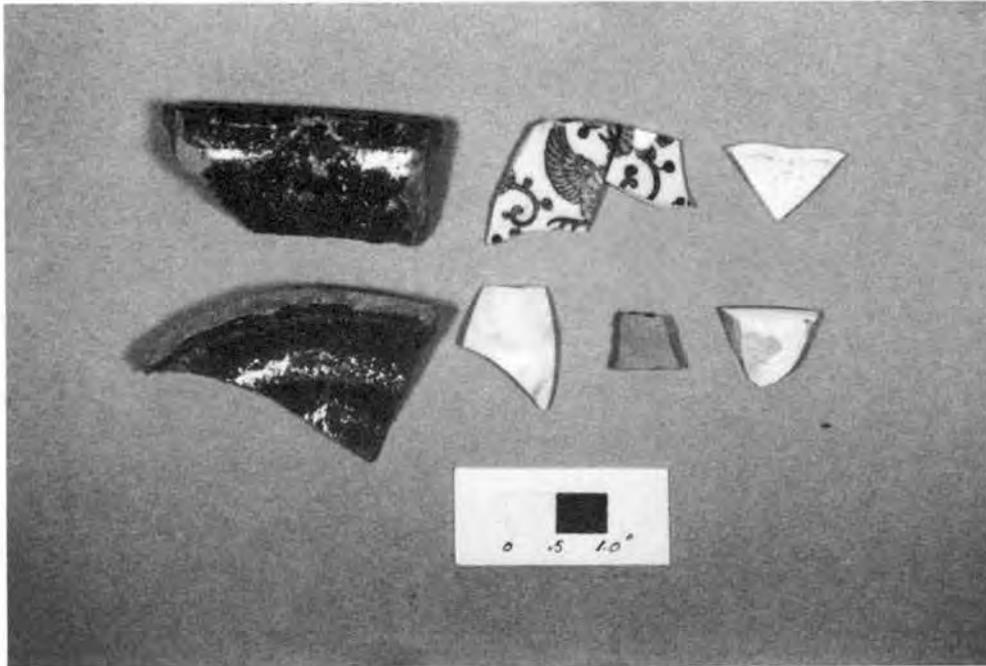


Photo 7-9. Stine Ceramics

Top: alkaline-glazed stoneware, blue
transferprinted porcelain, molded
white ware

Bottom: alkaline-glazed stoneware, decal
and handpainted polychrome porcelain,
red ware, molded yellow earthenware

Alkaline-gl. Stoneware	8	11.76	19.05	19	15.08
Albany Slip. SW	3	4.41	7.14	2	1.59

subtotal	11	16.18	26.19	21	16.67
Colored Glaze EW	1	1.47	2.38	1	0.79
Totals:	68	99.99	100.01	126	100.00

*The second percentage for Nichols sherds is modified by removing the unglazed redware fragments (flowerpot), to better compare the distribution of stonewares and whitewares at the two sites.

Table 7.1 data demonstrates that the Stine farm had more plain white fragments than any other category of ceramic. The Nichols site held more flowerpot fragments, with stonewares coming second. Stonewares were also the second most frequent at the Stine household. The Nicholises' had a higher percent of decorated whitewares than that found at the neighboring site. The Stines had more porcelains than the Nicholises. This distribution of ceramic sherds demonstrates that the Nichols site had relatively more utilitarian types present than the Stines. Overall, the Stine farm held a relatively higher amount of refined earthenwares and porcelains. Table 7.2 was constructed to see if a significant correlation is present between ware type and site.

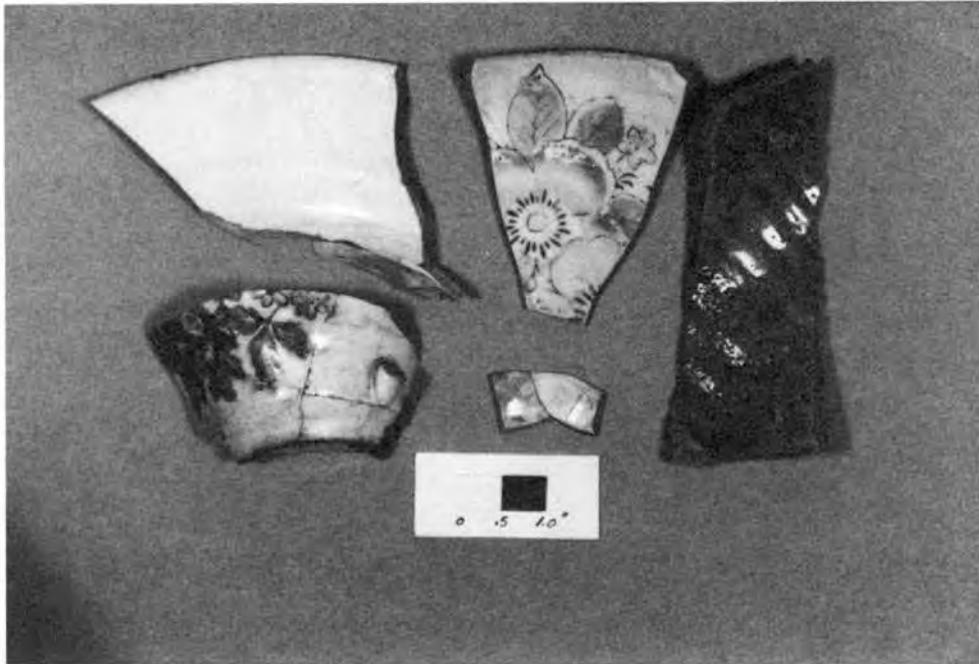


Photo 7-10. Nichols Ceramics
Top: "blued" ironstone, luster and
handpainted porcelain
Bottom: decal whiteware, molded whiteware,
alkaline-glazed stoneware

Table 7.2 Chi² Test of Wares, by Site

	Whiteware	Porcelain	Redware	Stoneware	Coloredglz	
Stine	92	10	2	21		1/126
Nichols	25	3	26	11		1/66
totals	117	13	28	32		2

The results of a Chi² test for significance resulted in 52.82, which proves significant at an 0.05 level of assessment (9.48773 is needed at 4 degrees of freedom.) This simply implies that the frequency of sherds by types is probably not due to chance alone. The number of sherds at the two sites may be the result of differential transformations that occurred during and after occupation. The Stine farm was heavily impacted by plowing and erosion, the Nichols site was not. The sherds at the former may have been broken into more numerous, smaller pieces. One wonders if the frequencies are more likely due to subsequent physical and cultural transformations, or due to respective choice and use. To investigate these possibilities, the minimum number of ceramic vessels was computed for each site. These results are tabulated in Appendix H.

The Stine site contained a total of 31 minimum ceramic vessels, as opposed to the Nichols' 22 minimum vessels (see Photographs 7-9 through 7-13). The relative ratios of these ceramics by form is given in Table 7.3 below.



Photo 7-11. Curated Stine Whitewares
Molded (left), Undecorated (right)

Photo 7-12. Stine, Gold-gilded Porcelain Bowl
(Surface Slope Midden)

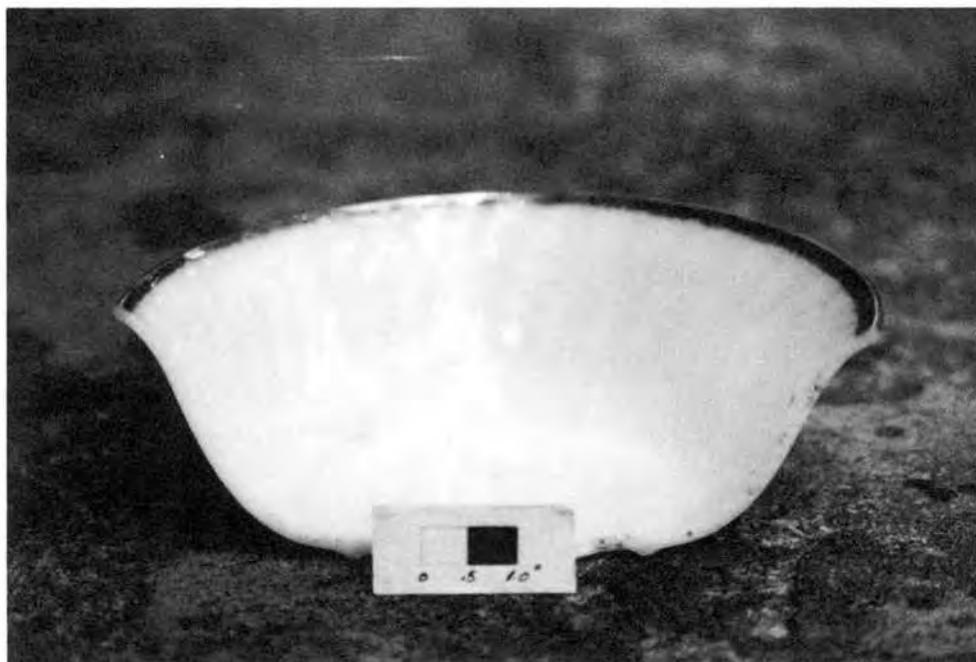


Table 7.3 Minimum Ceramic Vessels by Form, Two Sites

Site	Unkn.	Fl.pot	Crock	Bowl/Cup	Saucer	Plate	Total
Stine	6.45	3.23	16.13	19.35	12.90	41.84	100
Nichols	9.09	9.09	18.18	22.73	13.64	27.27	100

Very simply, the Stine site had 7 more plates than the Nichols farm (one porcelain, 5 decorated whiteware, and one plain whiteware plate). The Nichols site had slightly fewer numbers of all vessel forms than the Stine site. This does not suggest some type of dietary difference, which might be inferred if the Stines had a much higher percentage of plates, and the Nicholises a higher percentage of bowls (e.g. Otto 1975). Adams et al. 1980 did discover that black tenant sites at Waverly Plantation, Mississippi, had an average of 58.5% plates and 15.7% bowls, the remainder in other forms (1980:275). This ratio was about opposite that found by Otto (1977:107), who discovered that slaves had more bowls than plates. Otto had speculated that this may have reflected a dietary difference, implying slaves were eating more stews and fewer roasts than the planter family. Adams et al. believe, following site-specific oral histories, that Waverly tenants were also eating a lot of stews. Nonetheless, the distribution of ceramics by form did not reflect this (1980:275). Foodways at the Nichols and Stine sites were similar. In fact, the last generation of women at both sites would occasionally cook and eat lunch together (see Chapter 1V). These families ate both stews

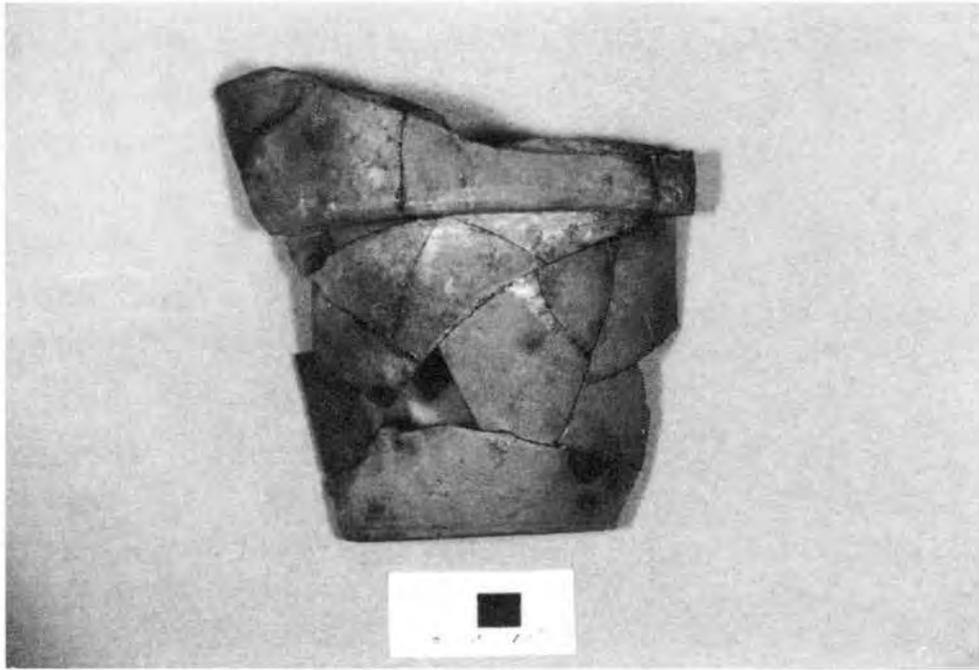


Photo 7-13. Nichols Site Flowerpot,
Unglazed Redware

and roasts, depending on what meats were available.

Stylistically, ceramics at both sites appear similar in design. Both households used cups produced with the decalcomania technique (decal over and/or under the glaze). This procedure originated in Germany in the 1890s, and was available on mail order ceramics by 1902. It was the most popular form of decoration on ceramics by the 1920s (Henry in Cable et al. 1982:468; George Miller, personal communication 2/13/88). It does not seem to have been the most popular decoration at either household under study, unless these ceramics were hardly ever broken. The Nichols site yielded one decal flower whiteware cup fragment, slightly burned (see Appendix H). The Stine farm contained one decal floral whiteware plate fragment (see photographs). Both sites did yield a number of porcelains with floral decorations. The Nichols excavations turned up a saucer or small plate fragment of hand-painted, polychrome floral design. It had a green leaf underglaze, with a red floral overglaze. They also uncovered a luster, hand-painted Japanese plate ("MADE IN JAPAN L"). This ceramic had a combination of decal and hand-painting used to create the gaudy floral design. This combination of decorative techniques was also found on one of the porcelain cups discovered at the Stine farm. The Stine site also had one red floral decal porcelain plate, one molded porcelain saucer with a feather edge and gold gilding, one molded

porcelain plate, and an underglaze blue transfer plate, of porcelain. This plate was in the traditional Blue Willow pattern, and was not very refined. It was the only transferprinted vessel found at either site.

In the case of these households, debased molded designs appear more frequently than decal, usually on whitewares. However, the majority of vessels at both sites consisted of undecorated whitewares (see Appendix H). This compares favorably with the ratios discovered for black tenants at Waverly Plantation, Mississippi. The majority of ceramics there were plain white earthenwares and porcelains (48%, see Adams et al. 1980:274). The Nicholises and Stines had slightly more decorated than undecorated vessels (see Appendix H). The simplest explanation lies in their slightly higher position on the agricultural ladder, being small farm owners and not tenants. The inhabitants of the Harmony farms appear to have been just that much more better off, economically. Their ceramic usage reflects this. Investigators at Waverly believe that porcelains were replaced with cheaper, well-made whitewares during the twentieth century (1980:274). This pattern is also suggested by the data from the two sites in Harmony. Both the tenant and owner sites also shared in their lack of discrete sets of ceramics. Householders apparently bought items one by one. The Stines and Nichols may have attempted to match different versions of plain or molded vessels at

the table. (Informants do not remember if dishes were matched. Adams et al. found that black tenants at Waverly purchased individual ceramics from the local store, see 1980:274.) Matching ceramics may simply not have been important to members of either family.

The designs found on the ceramics are not stylistically different to any noticeable degree. Both sites had a similar range of ceramic decorations, wares, and forms. Their distribution appears to reflect the amount of money available for ceramics, more so than any personal and/or ethnic choices. Recall, members of both families would have had similar access to goods, including ceramics (local stores, mail order- see Chapters III, IV, V). They also had about the same means for their purchase (through barter, cash, credit). One would expect that the ceramic frequencies at the sites would reflect a similar level of poverty. In order to investigate this possibility, the relative costs of the types must be determined.

This was investigated with the help of the 1929 Sears, Roebuck Catalog. This catalog describes ceramics for sale and lists their costs, by particular sized sets and by particular vessel forms. Data garnered from this catalog were collected into a table, found in Appendix H. Generally, one sees that plain white ceramics were the cheapest by far, with plain molded ceramics a close second. It makes sense that these two types are found most

frequently at both the Nichols and Stine sites. What is also of interest is that polychrome florals are not priced as a separate class. Those with molded designs are the cheapest. Those vessels decorated with a gold band or trim are also cheaper if they are molded, too. (Were manufacturers trying to dump old molded wares by putting designs on them?) The Blue Willow assemblage was actually much more expensive than anticipated, ranking in the middle of ceramic costs. Vessels with any gold matte finish/trim were the most expensive. This was usually found on European porcelain (Limoges) imported by Haviland. None of these expensive types were uncovered at either site. In the twentieth century, unlike the nineteenth, porcelains were not necessarily more expensive than semi-porcelains (ironstones) and other earthenwares (George Miller, personal communication 2/13/88). Their relative costs were dependent upon designs, decorative technique, and place of manufacture.

The stonewares and colored earthenwares discovered were also very inexpensive wares, purchased at the local stores. These were probably manufactured in the nearby Catawba Valley (especially the alkaline-glazed vessels, see Zug 1987, Stine et al. 1987). One woman who grew up on a farm in Seagrove, North Carolina, says she remembers they never would take special care with old stone pots, as they were so inexpensive and readily available (Treva Stine, personal

communication).

It was not possible to do any precise economic scaling of the two assemblages (cf. Miller 1980, personal communication 2/13/88; Cable et al. 1982, especially 324-325). The sample size was too small, and many fragments were too small for specific form identification. Costs of cups and bowls could vary greatly. Unfortunately, some vessels had to be identified as possible cups or bowls, being too small for exact determination. As a result, the assemblages were roughly grouped into four categories of ceramics, based on relative costs. This estimation was based upon prices from the 1929 Sears catalog, and oral history. Their distribution, from highest to lowest, is given in Table 7.4 below.

Table 7.4 Comparison of Ceramic Vessels, Grouped by Estimated Costs, Stine and Nichols Sites

Category	# Stine	#Nichols
A. Decorated Porcelains	5	2
Decal Whitewares	1	1
	6 19.35%	3 13.64%
B. Undec. Porcelain	1	1
Molded Whiteware	6	1
Blued Ironstone	0	1
Colored Earthenware	1	1
	8 25.81%	4 18.18%
C. Plain Whiteware	9 29.03%	8 36.36%
D. Redwares	2	3
Stonewares	6	4
	8 25.81%	7 31.82%
Total	31 100.00%	22 100.00%

One can see that the Nichols sample is weighted slightly more on the low side than that from the Stine site. Did the Stines simply choose to invest a bit more on their ceramics? Will this pattern persist across Functional Groups? Were the Nicholises just that much poorer than their poor neighbors? (Members of both families recall that they were very poor, and did not notice any difference in their neighbors' lifestyles. They also did not really notice the Depression, as they had never had much cash to worry about to begin with. See discussions in Chapters IV and V.) These questions are investigated below, beginning with a comparison of glass fragments and vessels discovered at the two farmsteads.

Fragments of glass bottles, jars, tumblers, bowls, plates, lamps, windshields and windows were scattered across both sites. Container glass was classified under the Kitchen Group, globe with Furniture, windshield with Activities, and window with the Architectural Group. Container glass was by far the largest category found.

Excavations and survey at the Stine site uncovered 543 glass container fragments, representing 72 minimum vessels (see Appendix I). A total of 95 minimum glass vessels were recovered at the Nichols, comprised from examination of 1386 fragments. The ratio of fragments to vessels was very different for the two sites, with the Nichols calculated at .0685 (95/1386). The Stine ratio was 0.133 (72/543). As

with ceramics, these fragment distributions appear indicative of post-depositional effects on the sites (e.g. relative rates of plowing and erosion).

Stine glass containers fell within 10 color categories, as follows: milkglass, composite, light yellow, cobalt, soda green, amber, pale green, aqua blue, clear, and amethyst (see Appendix I). Fragments from three of these categories were not found at the Nichols site: composite, light yellow, and cobalt. This site did have fragments of an additional color, an emerald green. These color categories were not equally represented in the samples (see Appendix I). By far the largest category was clear glass, from jar, bottle, bowl, and tumbler forms. Comparing the two collections, one sees that the Nichols site had the highest percentage of one group, that of clear glass, with much smaller amounts from other types. The Stine clear glass category was also highest, but was more modified by other categories (e.g. milkglass, aqua glass).

The decorated versus undecorated vessels from both sites were compared, to search for possible significant differences between the assemblages. In Table 7-5a, colored glass was included with decorated vessels, in Table 7-5b, colored vessels were placed within the nondecorated category. The percentages in the first table suggest that the Stine family preferred decorated vessels, while their neighbors did not show a preference. However, this table

includes colored vessels (e.g. cobalt) that may not have been perceived as decorated. The second table, adjusted for this, shows that both families bought and used more undecorated (e.g. not pressed or molded) containers. In fact, a few colored glass vessels were also molded, and included under decorated in the second table.

Table 7-5a. Decorated and Nondecorated Glass Vessels, Stine and Nichols Farmsteads

Site	Decorated		Nondecorated	
	#	%	#	%
Stine	52	72.20	20	27.80
Nichols	42	44.21	53	55.79

Table 7-5b. Decorated, Nondecorated Glass Vessels, Stine and Nichols Farmsteads

Site	Decorated		Nondecorated	
Stine	20	27.80	52	72.20
Nichols	19	20.00	76	80.00

Calculations for both a χ^2 test of association and a Phi did not demonstrate any significant relationship between either of these distributions (e.g. $\Phi=0.4$, $\Phi=0.09$, respectively). This suggests strongly that decorative differences in the two assemblages are most likely due to chance, not intentional purchasing, use, and deposition.

Black tenant sites at Waverly Plantation (circa 1880s-1940s) had a lot of glass. About 68% of this glass was comprised of tablewares, mostly in the form of pressed glasswares (Adams et al. 1980:275). This distribution is interesting, in that it is the opposite of that found at the

Harmony sites. This implies that choice of pressed and designed glass was probably not strongly influenced by ethnicity of the purchasers.

The zinc and milkglass lids shown in Photograph 7-14b are by far the most common type of jar closures found at the Stine site. (These were found on the dining room mantle at the Stine house.) Metal lids would have been used in conjunction with the sealer in the following photograph (box found in Stine kitchen). Over 16 minimum milkglass lids were discovered at the Stine site, comprised from 72 fragments. This was very different from the amounts found next door, consisting of only one lid and one fragment. Part of the difference lies in the heavy plowing at the former, breaking up these lids into small fragments. Nonetheless, the Stine site still had 16 lids as opposed to the Nicholsons' 1. Both families supposedly canned about equal amounts, and types, of food (see Chapter IV). Alternative canning closures were rare at both sites. A large, tied bundle of metal canning sealers was found on a wire nail in the Nicholsons' pantry. This suggests they may have preferred to use this style of closure, which would tend to disintegrate in the somewhat acidic soils at the site. Both sites did have a relatively large number of jar fragments and representative minimum vessels (see Appendix I). In fact, the Nichols site had 27 jars, as opposed to the Stine 15.

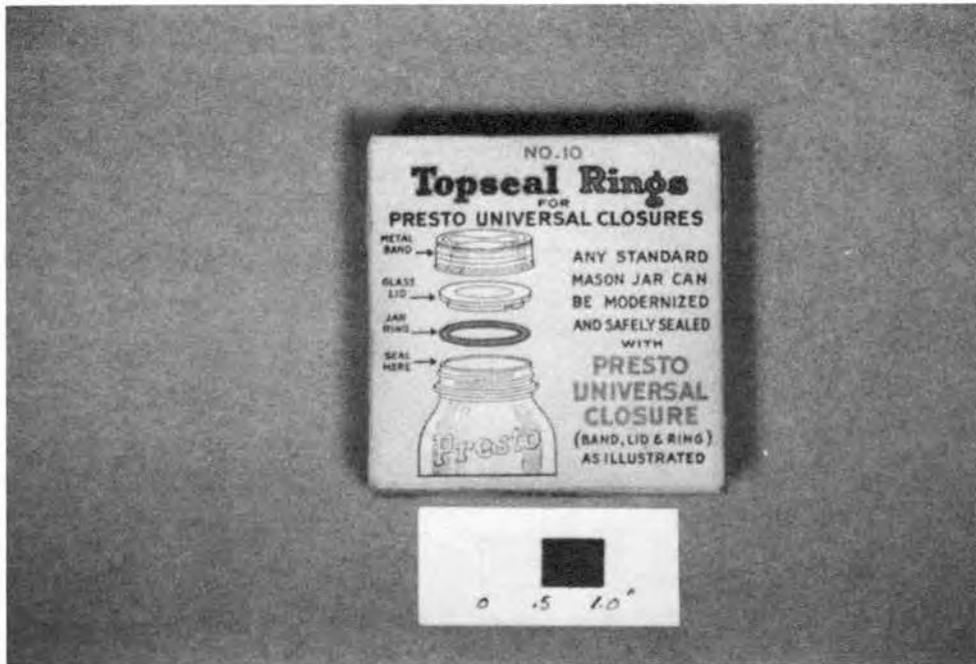


Photo 7-14a. Stine Jar Sealers (Kitchen)

b. Jar Lids (Dining Room Mantle)





Photo 7-15. Canned Goods. Odum Papers #67
Person County, North Carolina c.1939
Southern Historical Collection, UNC

Black tenant sites at Waverly Plantation, Mississippi, had 64 lids. About 60 of these were milkglass, only 4 were clear lightning stopper types. They also found 36 metal lid fragments at these sites. Adams et al. discovered that black tenants had fewer canning jars, and thought this may have been related to ethnic differences in the amounts of foods canned. They also wondered if white farmers were using canning jars in more diverse ways than their black neighbors (1980:273). It is interesting that once again the Harmony sites do not conform to expectations. The Nicholises, although black, had more jars than the Stines. The Stines, however, did have more milkglass jar lids represented at the site. Are these distributions the result of differential use of jars? Or are they simply reflecting differential preservation of lids?

Table 7-6 gives the relative amounts of glass vessels found by form. (A test of association was not possible, as more than 20% of the cells have counts less than 5).

Table 7-6. Percent of Minimum Glass Vessels,
by Form, Two Sites

Farmstead	Plate	Bowl	Tumbler	Jar	Bottle	Lid	Unkn
Stine	4.16	9.72	5.55	20.83	27.77	22.22	9.72
Nichols	2.10	2.10	6.30	28.40	56.80	1.10	3.20

This table clearly shows the higher amounts of lids at the Stine site, but the similar ratios of jars. The Nichols

site also had more bottles (54 versus the Stine 20). These bottles ranged in function from medicine to condiment, alcohol, soda, poison, to unknown function (Photographs 7-16 through 7-23). Both sites had bottles from these categories, except the Stines had no poison bottles in the collection. In sheer amount of material, the Nichols assemblage appears more costly than that of the Stine glass. However, the Stine assemblage did have more examples of pressed glass vessels, particularly in bowl forms, than the Nichols (see Appendix I). Photographs 7-24 through 7-27 give examples of some of these designs.

These pressed glass dishes were actually not very expensive. The 1929 Sears catalog has some similar styles, all costing very little. For example, an eleven-inch diameter fruit bowl called "golden iridescent" with "deer, holly, leaves and berries in raised relief" cost only \$0.80 (Sears 1929:700). Their honeycomb dessert set, in rose or emerald, could be purchased for \$3.33. The cake plate was \$0.68, the sugar and creamer \$0.42, and the 6 cups with saucers \$1.40 (Sears 1929:701, see also discussion in McKearin 1949:394-401). Pressed glass was available from American manufacturers as early as the 1840s, and fruit and floral designs were popular after the 1870s (McKearin 1949:394-395). By the early twentieth century, these were obviously a common part of most households' wares, and were relatively inexpensive. Prices were comparable to cheaper

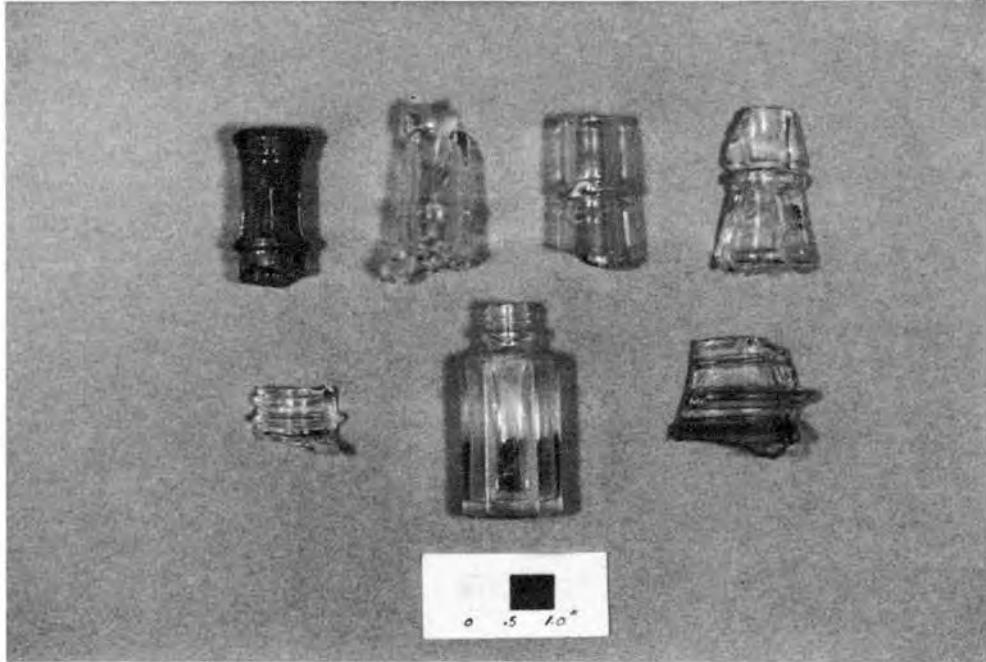


Photo 7-16. Various Stine Glasswares
(six bottle finishes, one jar)

Photo 7-17. Curated Stine Soda Bottles
(Dining Room and Kitchen)





Photo 7-18. Curated Stine Medicines

Photo 7-19. Curated Stine Shampoos





Photo 7-20. Curated Milkbottle,
"Biltmore"



Photo 7-21. Art Deco Style Jar,
Stine Site

ceramic wares. This suggests that the Nicholsons could have purchased more pressed glass if desired, but preferred vessels that were not pressed. The majority of pressed glass jar and bottle fragments found at their farmstead would have been purchased with condiments (e.g. jelly, hot sauce). This also suggests that they did not purchase individual pressed glass vessels as often as their neighbors. The Stine pressed glass was more often that purchased individually, and empty of any foodstuffs.

The Stine family did have members who dipped snuff. Snuff was often packaged in reusable tumblers, probably to catch the female dipper's economical eye. (See discussion in Adams et al. 1980:269, 489.) Two examples of these tumblers were found in the Stine pantry, and are shown in Photograph 7-26. The glasses in the following photograph may also once have held snuff (Margaret Preckler, personal communication 1988). In each case, the tumblers are decoratively fluted. Flutes and combinations of flutes and bulls eyes were common styles found in the 1929 Sears catalog (cf. 1929:799). A housewife could almost match a glass from the snuff companies with individual ones sold through mail order. Only two of the tumblers found at the Nichols site appear similar to these snuff glasses. This implies that Nichols family members may have not been dipping snuff, or at least not as often as their neighbors.

Additional containers found at the sites are shown in

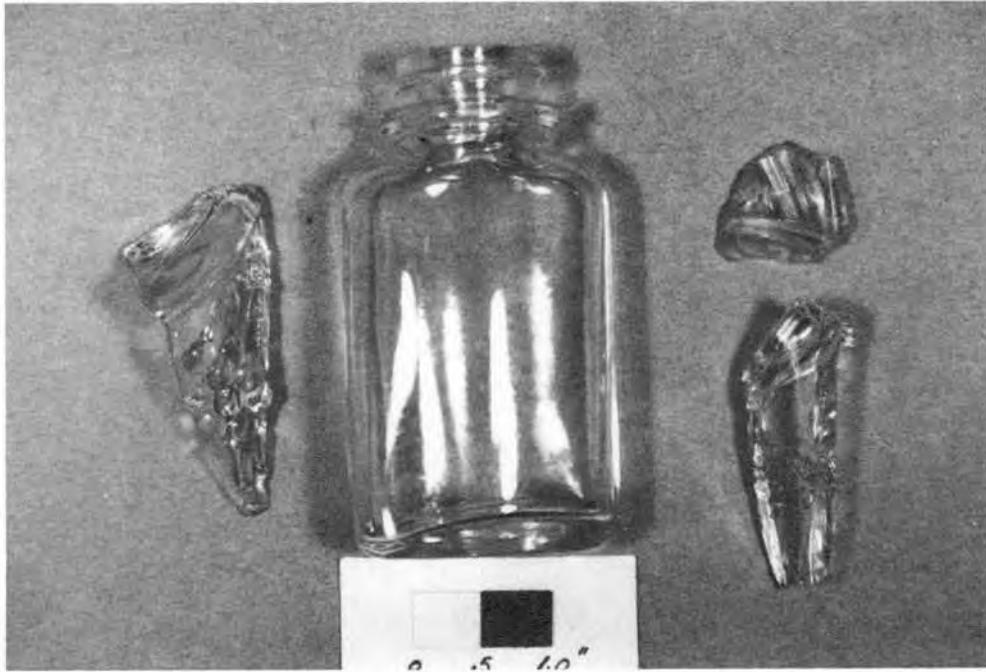


Photo 7-22. Nichols Pressed Glass and Bottle

Photo 7-23. Nichols Surface Glass Examples



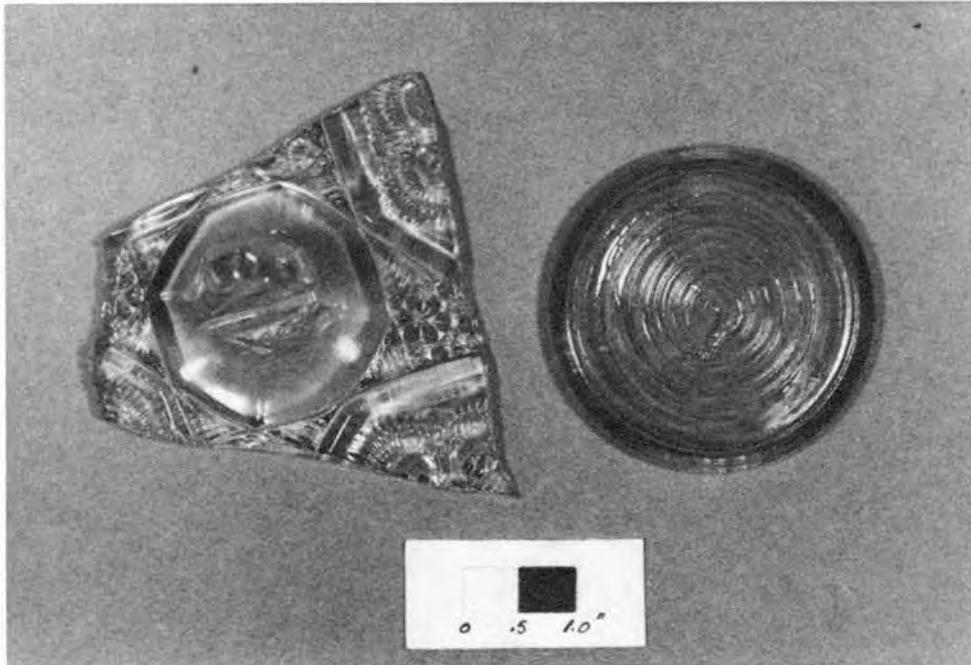


Photo 7-24. Stine Pressed Glass Dish Foot,
Canning Lid
Photo 7-25. Excavated Examples of Pressed
and Molded Stine Glass





Photo 7-26. Curated Glass Tumblers, Stine Farm
(from Kitchen)

Photo 7-27. Curated Glass Snuff Containers,
Stine Kitchen and Pantry



the next series of photographs. The first shows examples of milkglass jars from the Nichols site, the second, from the Stine site. These jars are difficult to classify as to function, as they held myriad items. Shoe soap, ointment, medicine, lip balm and rouge are just a few possibilities. One of these jars was found in the Stine kitchen. This suggests that these jars may have been reused. (They could have made good spice jars, for example.)

Other Kitchen Group items found included the bright orange coffee or tea can shown in Photographs 7-32, 33. This apparently once held a particular brand of loose coffee or tea called "Cockadoodle Doo". Its location in the pantry suggests this cannister was reused by Mrs. Nichols. Its bright orange design would definitely had brightened up her pantry. (Similar cans are on display at the Mountain House, on Highway 321 in Boone, North Carolina.) No such cannister was found at the Stine house, but two additional items were stored in a kitchen cabinet. Photograph 7-35 is of a red and white tin cake dish, and Photograph 7-34 of a fluted tin cakepan. These goods help to underline the importance of having a sweet or dessert for members of these farm families (see Chapter IV).

As mentioned in previous chapters, most rural women cooked on cast iron wood stoves. The Nichols and Stine family members who cooked also used these stoves. Stove parts have been included within the Kitchen Group. This

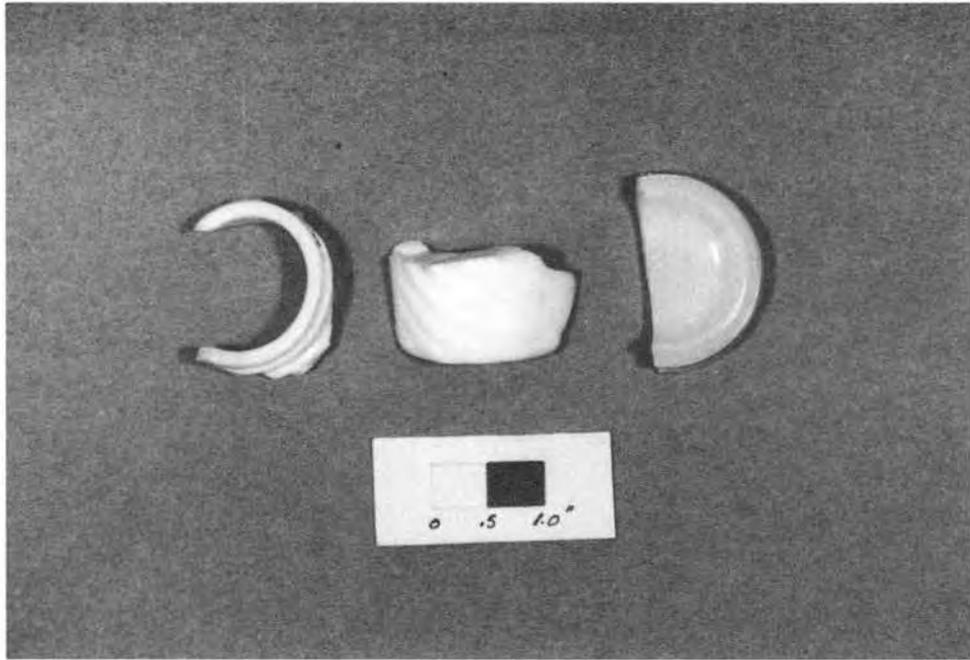
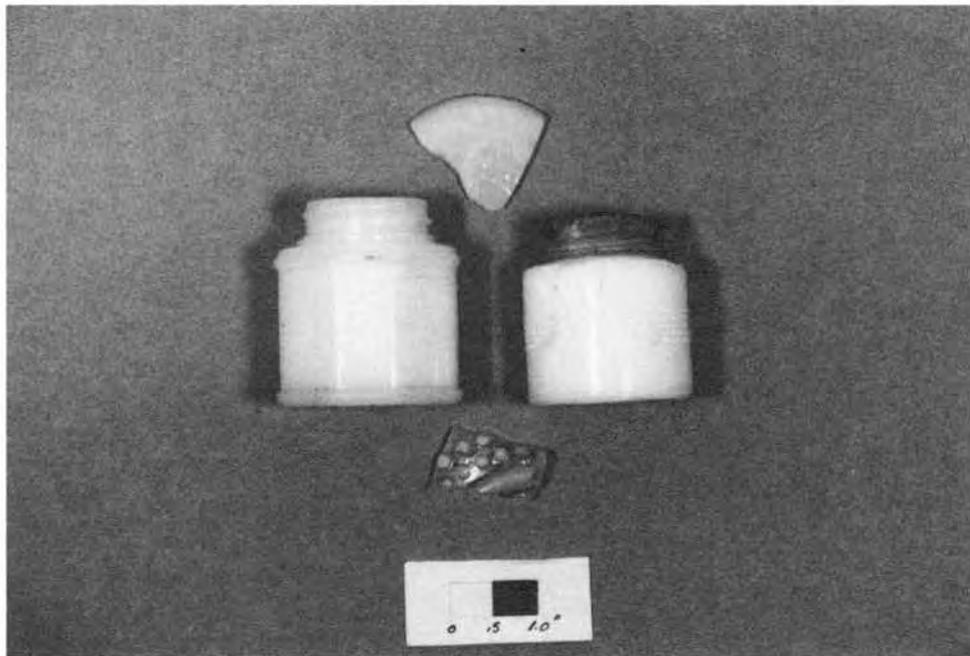


Photo 7-29a. Nichols Milkglass Jars

b. Stine Milkglass Jars



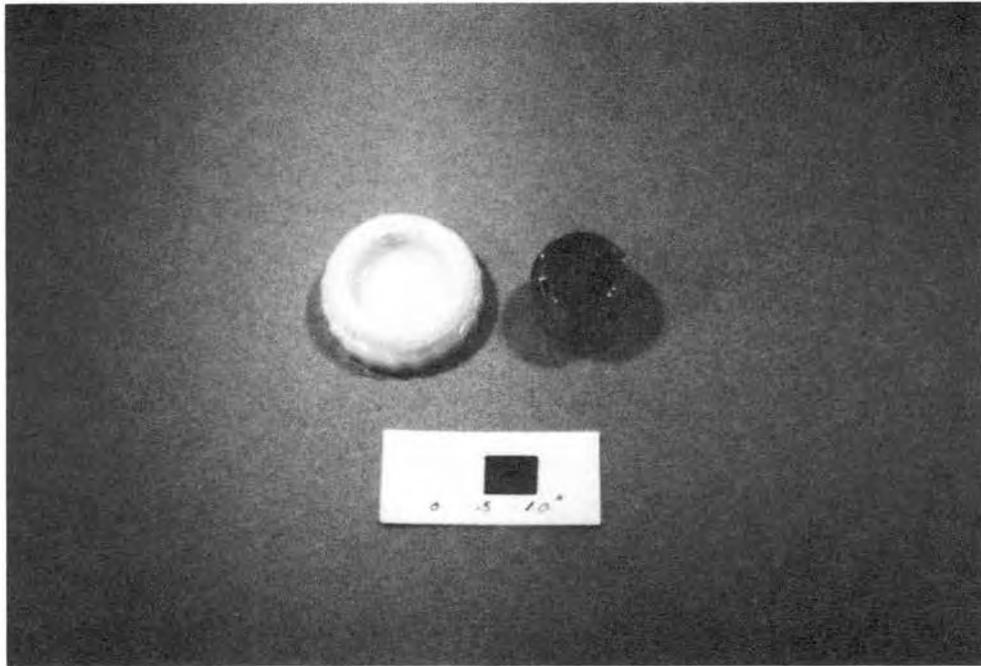
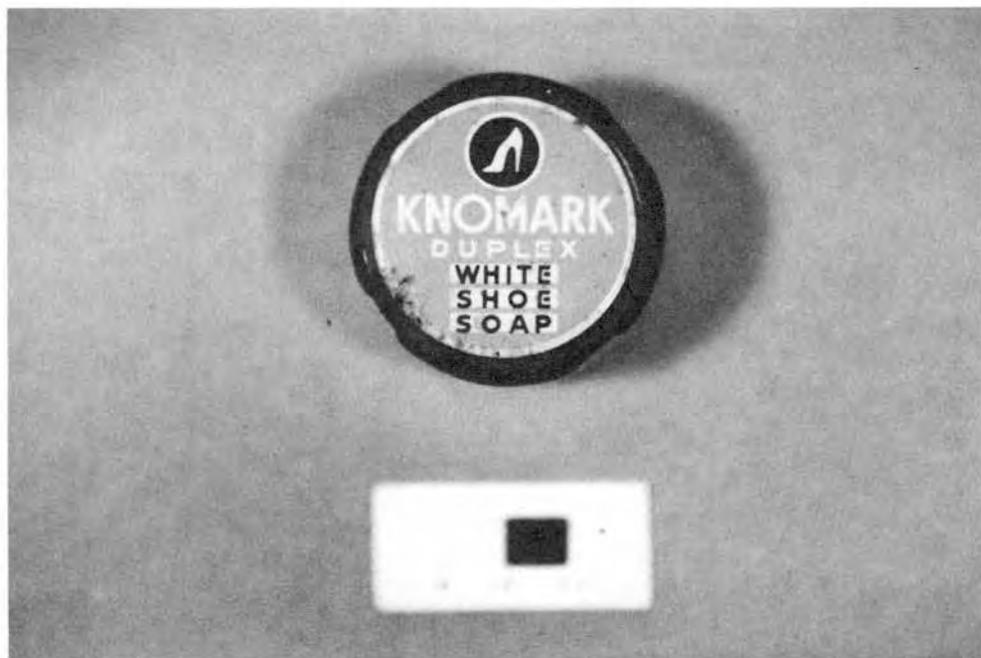


Photo 7-30. Stine milkglass and cobalt jars
Photo 7-31. Stine lid to milkglass jar





Photos 7-32/33. Nichols Site, Curated Canister
Cockadoodledo? (from pantry)



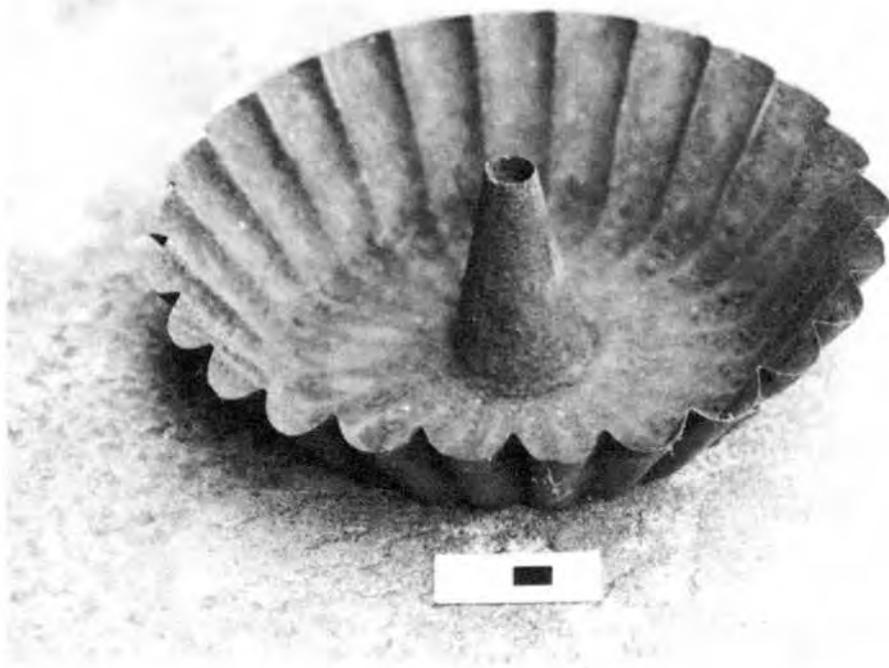


Photo 7-34. Stine Kitchen, Baking Pan
Photo 7-35. Stine Kitchen, Cake Cover



follows accepted practice (cf. Adams et al. 1980:272, in Housewares and Appliances). Photograph 7-37 shows stove parts found in the vicinity of the Nichols smokehouse, thorough excavation. There was a definite art to baking in these ovens, let alone to simply cooking on the top "eyes". The next photograph illustrates some of the foodstuffs found at the Nichols site. Fruit pits, pig teeth, and cow ribs serve to support the description of foodways found in previous chapters. Most floral and faunal remains were not preserved (see Appendix E). It would have been very difficult to extrapolate diet from the ceramic and glass assemblages alone.

All together, the plethora of Kitchen Group artifacts found at the two sites comprised 80.16% of the Stine assemblage, compared to only 38.68% of the Nichols collection. To interpret this discrepancy, the additional artifact groups must be examined.

The Furniture Group is usually under-represented in most archaeological assemblages. Extant examples of furniture at the Stine house (see Chapter VI) would most likely be stolen, or decay in situ. If they would decay, only a handful of nails, screws, and a few pieces of hardware would be left behind. Adams (et al. 1980:271) believes that poor archaeological visibility is only one explanation for the lack of furniture at many small farm sites. He believes that people were often too poor to have

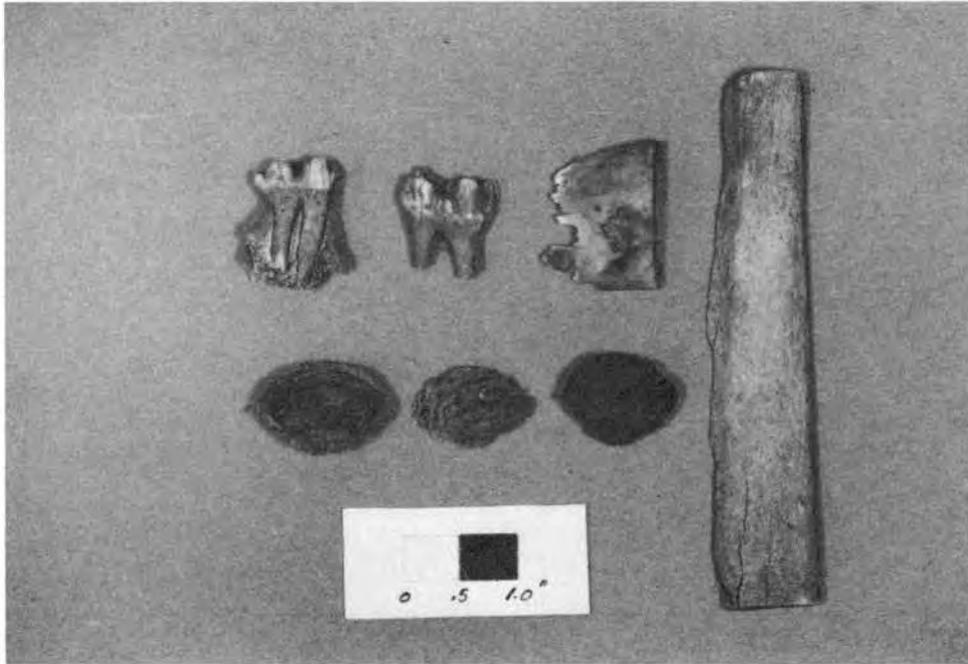


Photo 7-36. Nichols Site Faunal Material
(Cow, Peach)

Photo 7-37. Nichols Site Stove Parts

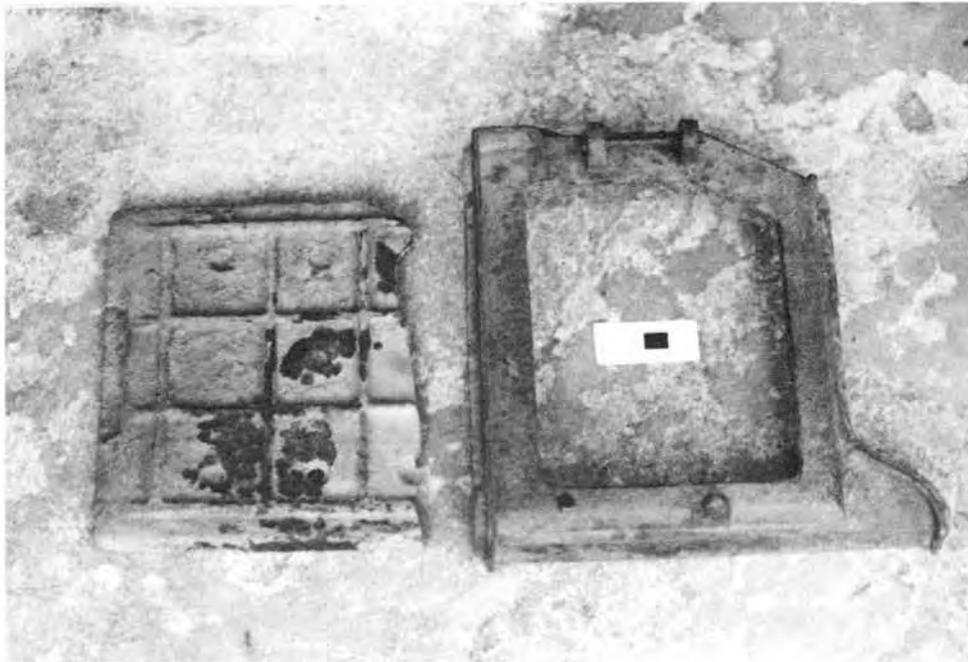
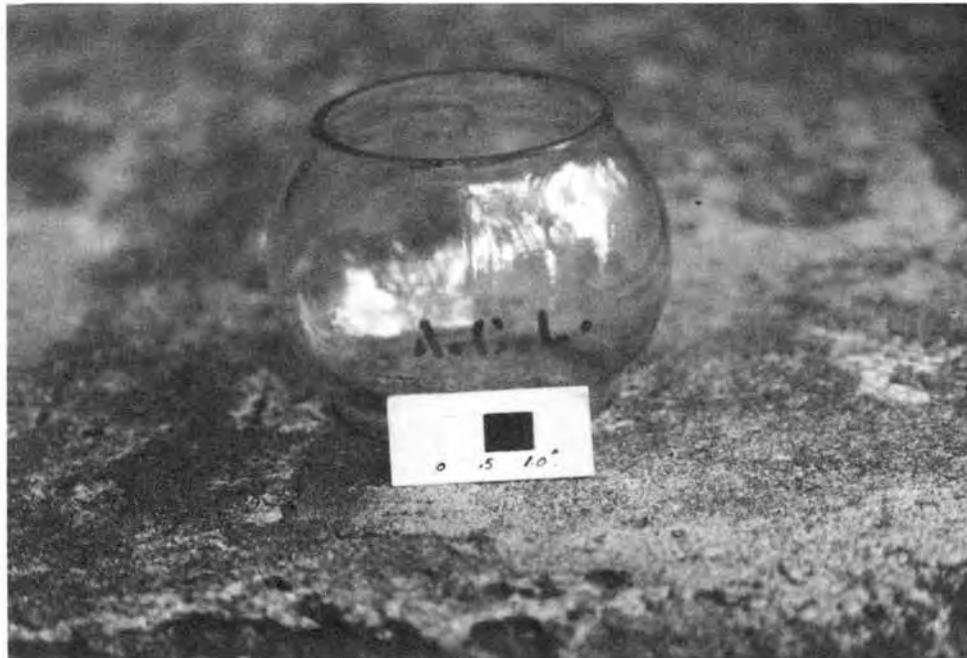




Photo 7-38. Tin Enameled Slop Jar
(Stine Surface Slope Midden)

Photo 7-39. Curated Stine Globe Glass



much. From the oral history in Harmony, I would suspect that most people were able to make or purchase enough furniture for their needs. As most of this would have been made from local wood and cane, few archaeological indications would be visible.

Furniture Group artifacts found archaeologically at the two Harmony sites are limited to one class, that of lamp glass. This glass is identifiable from shape and typically scalloped edges. However, the globe glass shown in Photograph 7-39 demonstrates that not all globe glass was so molded. This piece was found in the Stine home, resting on a sideboard. The Stine house never had electricity, and such lamps were vital. The Nichols home was electrified sometime after World War II (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987). The slop jar (metal chamber pot) found in the downslope midden at the Stine farm would be classed within this group also, as a significant part of any home furnishings of the time period. (No fragments of chamber pots were found at either site through excavations.)

As there were so many standing structures present at both sites, it was believed that Architectural Group items would be sparse. This functional group includes spikes, nails, window glass and other construction hardware. At the Stine site, a total of 106 such items were uncovered, comprising 12.30% of the artifacts found. At the Nichols, 2233 artifacts, or 52.38% were from this group. By far the

majority of such goods were nails, spikes, u-brads, and other construction hardware. The high count of these items at the Nichols site can be explained by examining their distribution. The majority were found in the multiple-use feature found in unit 40S20E. As mentioned, these appear to have resulted from burning structural remains, perhaps from the smokehouse. This wood appears to have been used as fuel for a series of fires connected with trash burning, soap making, and washing clothes. If counts from this feature are removed, Nichols Architectural Group goods falls to 14.38% of the sample, and Kitchen rises to 78.14%. As discussed below, this makes the artifact distributions from the two sites much more alike.

Construction hardware, including nails, was classified by type, following traditional methods (e.g. Adams et al. 1980, Nelson 1962, Hume 1978, Sloan 1964, Stine et al. 1987). The majority of nails at both sites were wire, first introduced in this country in the 1850s. By the early twentieth century, wire nails had replaced their earlier, cut counterparts. The presence of earlier, cut nails in the samples does indicate that construction hardware was reused at the sites. As mentioned in Chapter VI, while wire nails seem to predominate in standing structures at both sites, some cut nails were observed in these buildings.

Window glass was also present in excavated samples. Sixty-nine fragments were recovered at the Stine site, with

a modal thickness of 2.2 mm. Sizes ranged from 1.2 to 3.0 mm. The Nichols site had 212 fragments of definite window glass, falling in a bimodal distribution. Most fragments fell within the 1.5 to 3.8 mm range, but a few measured 5.0 to 7.0 mm. (Those measuring greater than 3.18 mm, and dating after 1924, are most likely panes from furniture, according to Moir 1986:21-2. Unfortunately, means for precise dating of panes are unavailable in these samples.) The modal measurement was 3.0 mm, slightly thicker than the Stine mode. One window glass dating formula that is currently in use uses the modal thickness to derive a date of occupation. It is supposed to be good for the 1857-1945 time period. It is as follows:

$$Y = 41.46x + 1762.76$$

Y is the mean date of manufacture, x is the modal thickness, and 41.46 the slope. 1762.76 is the y-intercept, with a correction factor of 53.75 years (see discussion in Brockington et al. 1985:217). When applied to the Stine site, a date of 1853.972 is derived (i.e. 91.212 + 1762.76). This date of manufacture is much earlier than the first decade of the twentieth century construction date of the house and outbuildings (c.1910). The small sample size found at the site appears to have negated the usefulness of the formula. The Nichols site, with its much larger sample size, was dated to 1887.14 (i.e. 124.38 + 1762.76). This date also appears somewhat early by a decade, but is much

more acceptable (c.1906). These results point to the need to apply this dating method carefully, and to a large sample.

One other dating method was applied to the materials from the Harmony sites. This was developed by Moir (1986), and is based on using the mean thickness. It is applicable only to sites constructed from 1810 to 1915. (All measurements over 3.9mm were removed, see discussion above.) The formula is as follows:

$$I=84.22 (T) + 1712.7$$

This formula determines the initial construction date (I) when the mean thickness is figured (T). Moir has checked this formula on data from 45 structures, and found that "This equation explains 93% (r=.965) of the variation" between thickness and construction date (1986:21-11). The mean thickness of glass at the Stine site was calculated at 2.05 mm (141.5/69). When placed in the equation, 1885.35 is the derived date. This is at least twenty years earlier than the approximated date of construction from oral and written historical sources (i.e. 1910, see Chapter VI). The mean thickness at the Nichols site was 2.49 mm, leading to a date of 1922.41. (Compare this to the 1887.14 date, based on the other formula.) The actual date of house construction was most likely sometime between the two alternative dates (see Chapter VI, i.e. 1906).

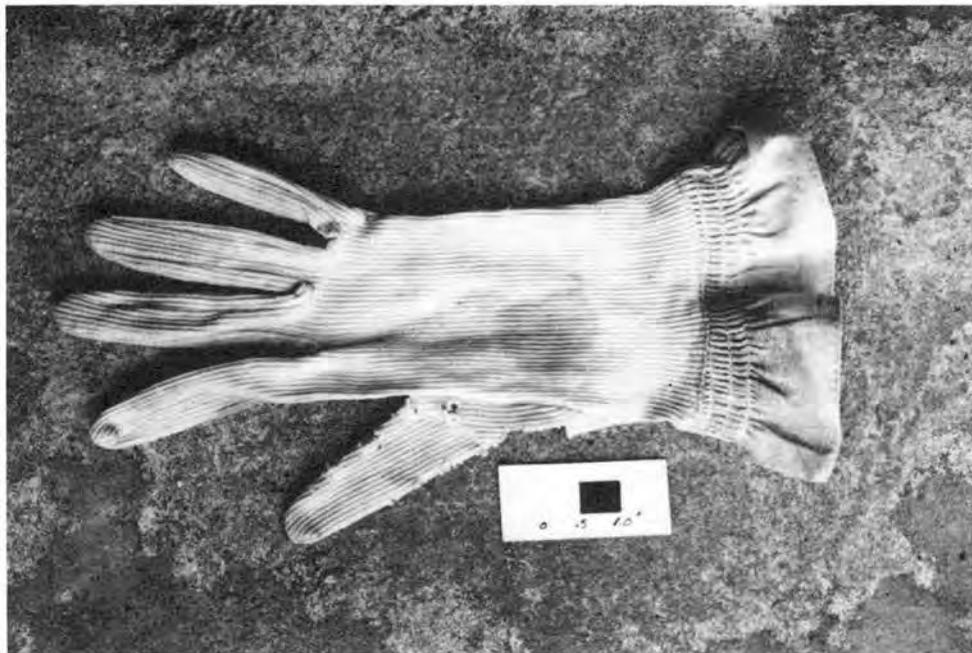
Turning to the next functional group, that of Clothing,

one finds a range of items. This group includes buttons, zippers, snaps, and other fasteners. One glove and one child's apron were discovered in the upstairs hall at the Stine house (see photographs following). The downstairs closet was full of old workpants, shirts, socks and other clothing items. The Stine barn held a large box of Coke work-pants. No extant clothes were present in the Nichols buildings. Archaeologically, the Stine site held 8 clothing-related items, as opposed to 94 discovered at the Nichols. These comprised, respectively, 0.93 and 2.21% of the total collections. Much of the Nichols clothing artifacts were found in association with the tremendous number of nails described earlier, in unit 40S 20E. This underlines the interpretation that rubbish was burned in that area. Photograph 7-43 illustrates the Nichols range of buttons, including those made from shell and plastic. The six buttons in the adjacent picture are from the Stine house, children's bedroom. These include four molded plastic buttons, one shell and plastic back, and one metal (steel?) button. No buttons were found archaeologically at the Stine site. Two plastic shoe heels were found on the surface. One brass rivet ("head light") was found in unit S40 E130 (the smokehouse). The root cellar contained the remaining items, consisting of a leather shoe part, one snap, and three brass fasteners. These fasteners would have been used on jean jackets and pants. One was from a brand



Photo 7-40. Child's Apron, Upstairs Stine Hall

Photo 7-41. Lady's Glove, Upstairs Stine Hall



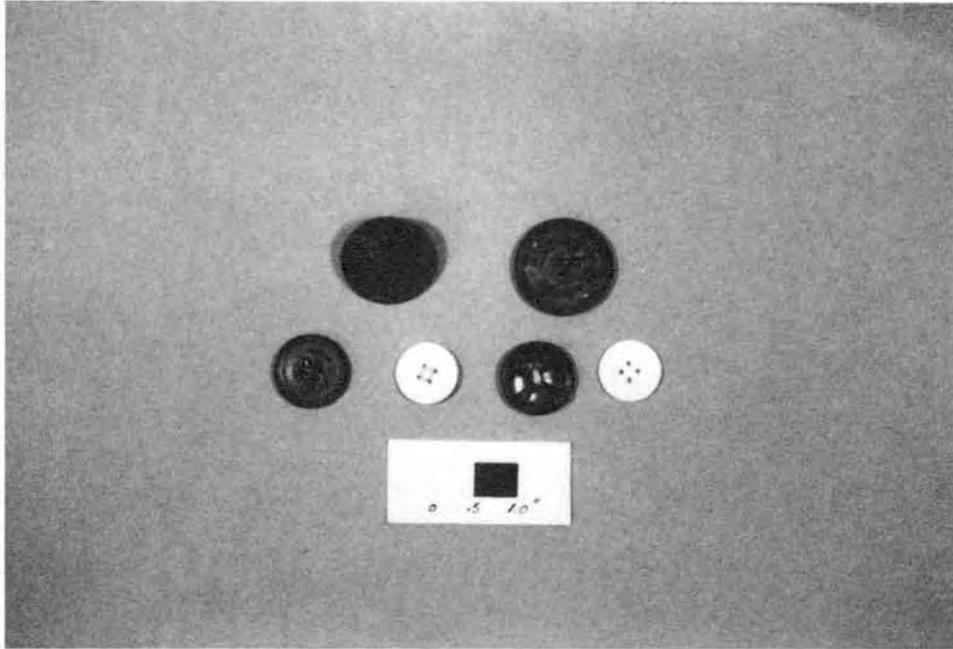
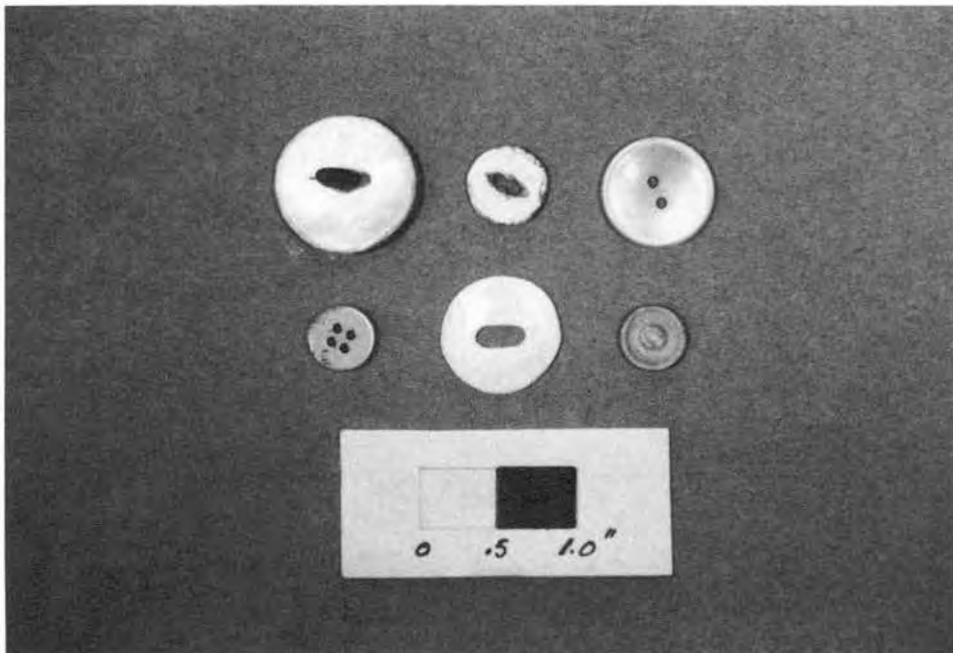


Photo 7-42. Various Stine Buttons
(glass and plastic)

Photo 7-43. Various Nichols Buttons
(shell and plastic)



called "Big Ben". All proclaimed that their jean material had been "sanforized" or "sanforized shrunk".

The Nichols site had many more clothing artifacts. As mentioned, most were found in the feature located at S40 E20. This 5-by-5 ft. unit had 7 zipper fragments, 2 hooks and eyes, 5 clothing buckles, 4 snaps, 24 eyelets or metal rings, 9 steel rivets, and 25 brass rivet fasteners similar to the "sanforized" ones above. These were about equally divided between "Old Hickory" and "Red Camel" brands, with a few "Lee" and figleaf molded rivets. This unit also had 2 iron and 1 shell button. All of these artifacts had burn marks on them. This leads one to suspect that old clothes were burned here, along with other garbage.

A button was also found in unit 70S 10W, a smaller test located behind the house. It was made from plastic. A plastic button was found in a larger unit, 75S 70W. This unit was placed in a dump in a gulley next to the front of the house. Unit 45S 40W, just off the "back" porch, had 4 buttons, 2 plastic and 2 of hard rubber. Last, unit 45S 10W (smokehouse) had numerous Clothing Group items. It held one coathanger, a rubber shoe heel, a steel snap, and 1 shell button.

As mentioned in previous chapters, most clothing was made at home. Buttons were often saved for later reuse. Sears, 1929, sold many types of buttons, including plastic, rubber, and bone types. These were relatively inexpensive.

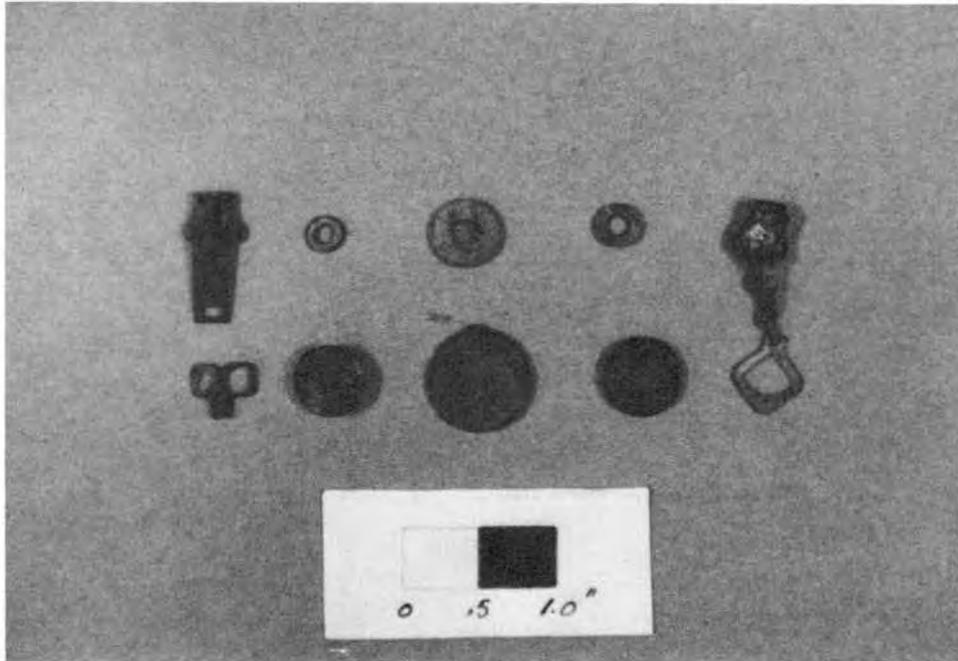
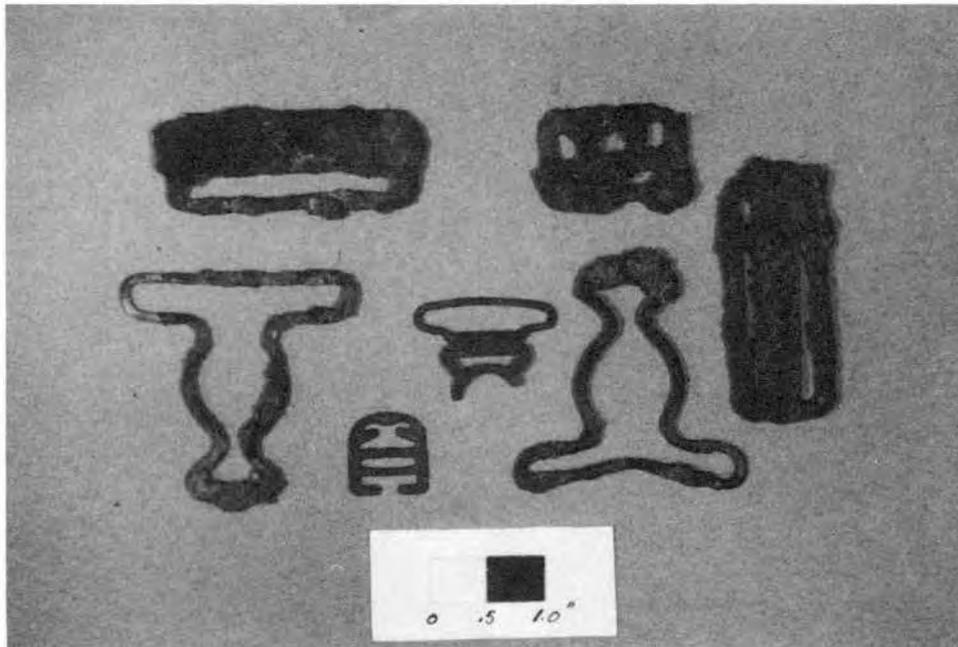


Photo 7-44. Nichols, Clothing Fasteners

Photo 7-45. Nichols, Various Fasteners



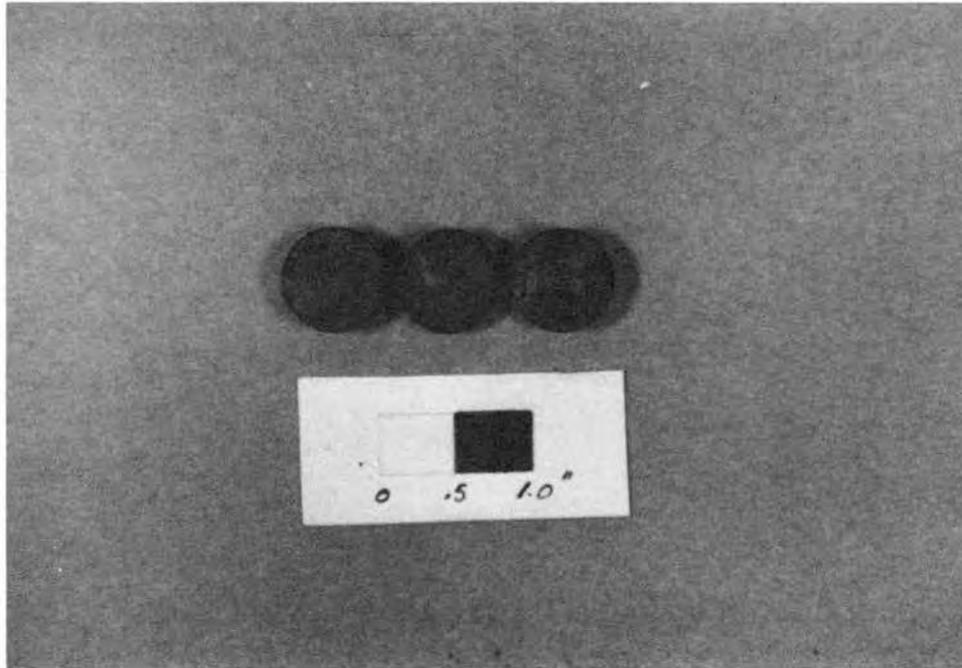
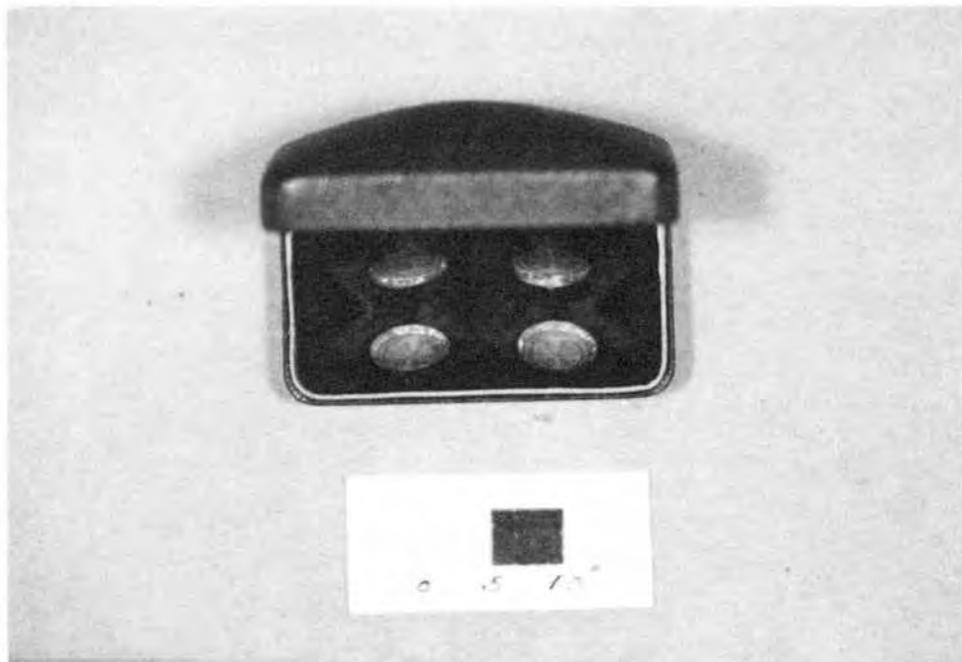


Photo 7-46. Nichols, Rivet-buttons for Jeans

Photo 7-47. Curated Stine Cufflinks



For example, you could purchase 7 dozen assorted sizes and styles for \$0.39 (1929:184). One special type of button, for collar fastening, was more expensive. Some cost only \$0.48 or \$0.95 per dozen, but those of precious metal could cost up to \$1.05 each (Sears 1929:526). No examples of these were found archaeologically. However, one set of either collar or cuff buttons have been curated in the Stine family. These are shown in Photograph 7-47. They had belonged to James Stine, and have been passed down through three generations. Most of these buttons, hooks, and other fasteners could have been purchased at the local stores (see Chapter V). The men in these families usually received one new jean jacket a year, and perhaps two new pairs of jean overalls. The women wore their brothers' or husbands' jeans, sometimes calling themselves "ugly" for doing so (back of old picture, Essie Stine). Children received one new outfit, or cloth for home manufacture of one, per year (Betty Hendrix and Margaret Preckler, interview of 05/25/87).

The next functional group is comprised of personal items. Personal group percentages were small at both sites, with the Nicholises having 0.40% (n=17) and the Stines 0.23% (n=2). This group consists of eyeglass pieces (Stine), a key-ring (Nichols), beads (both), and combs (both). One type of personal item found at the Stine house, on Noah's mantle, is shown in Photograph 7-49. This is the top to a

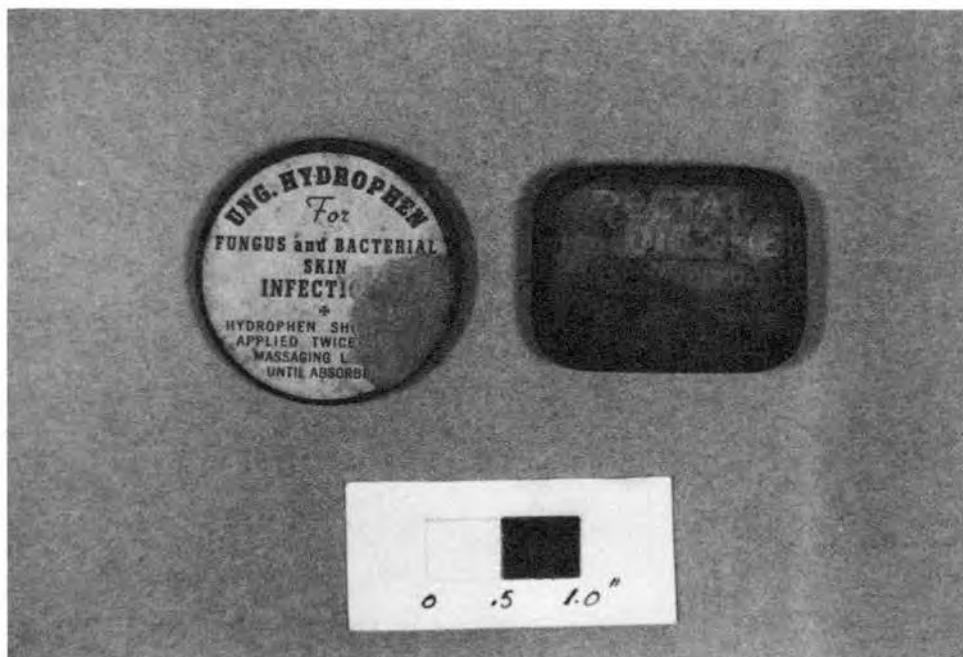
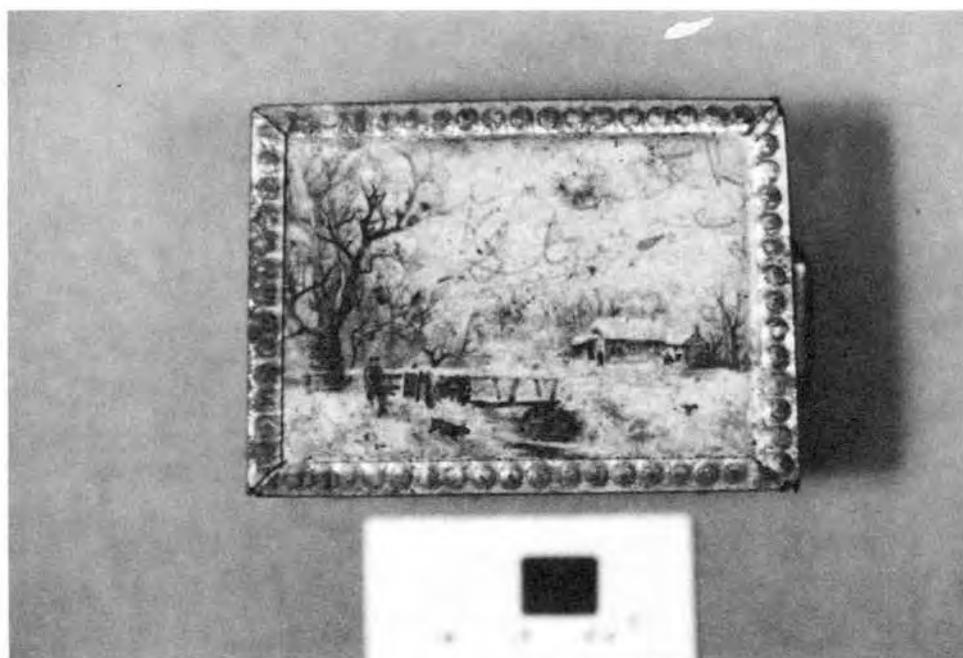


Photo 7-48. Stine Medicine Tins
Photo 7-49. Stine Coin Bank, Noah's Mantle



child's aluminum bank, with a paper winter scene on top. Each child had been given one, and 3 were left behind when the family moved.

Beads, such as shown in the photographs following, were more expensive than buttons. In the Sears catalog, strings of large, chunky beads appear to have been popular. These cost from about \$0.49 to over a dollar per strand (1929:516). Women at both the sites seem to have lost portions of their fashionable, chunky necklaces. The one from the Stine site is bright red, and faceted. The one from the Nichols is dark brownish-black, and round.

One would expect that Activity Group artifacts would be plentiful on two farms. This group includes all items related to stables, farm equipment, farming field activities, and children's play. A total of 40 Activity artifacts were found at the Stine site, comprising 4.64% of the collection. At the Nichols, 244 items were discovered, forming 5.72% of the assemblage.

The Stine children do not remember having many store-bought toys to play with. They and their neighbor's kids made do with toys produced from twigs, leaves, string and their imaginations (see Chapters IV, VI). One porcelain figurine, bisque, was found in a surface unit (20S 220E). It was marked "Made in Japan" (Photograph 7-50). This object appears to represent a male. (None of the living Stine children recall this doll.) Marbles were found at

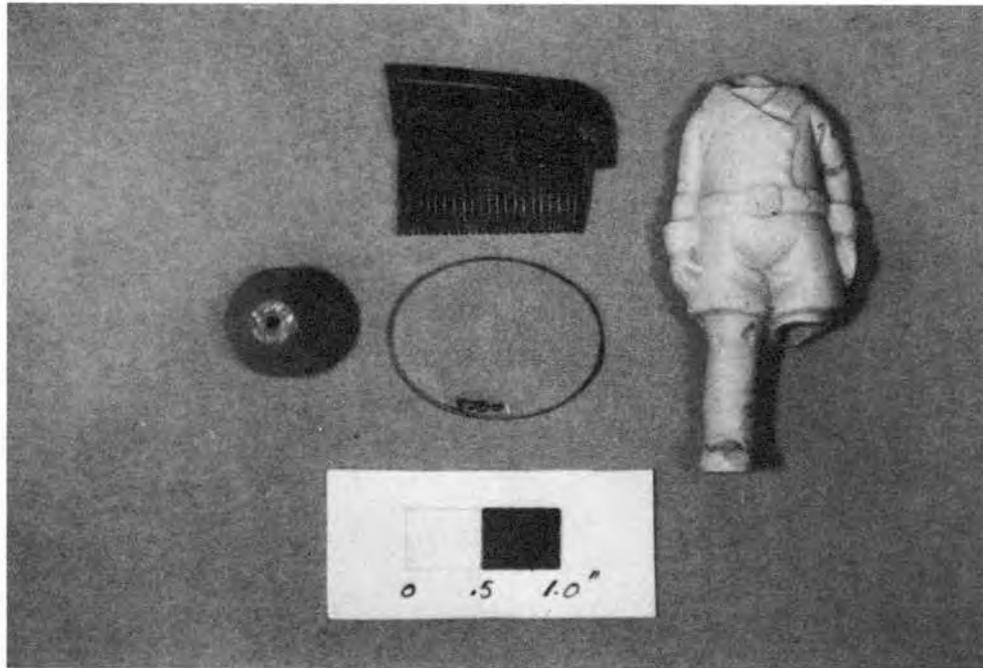
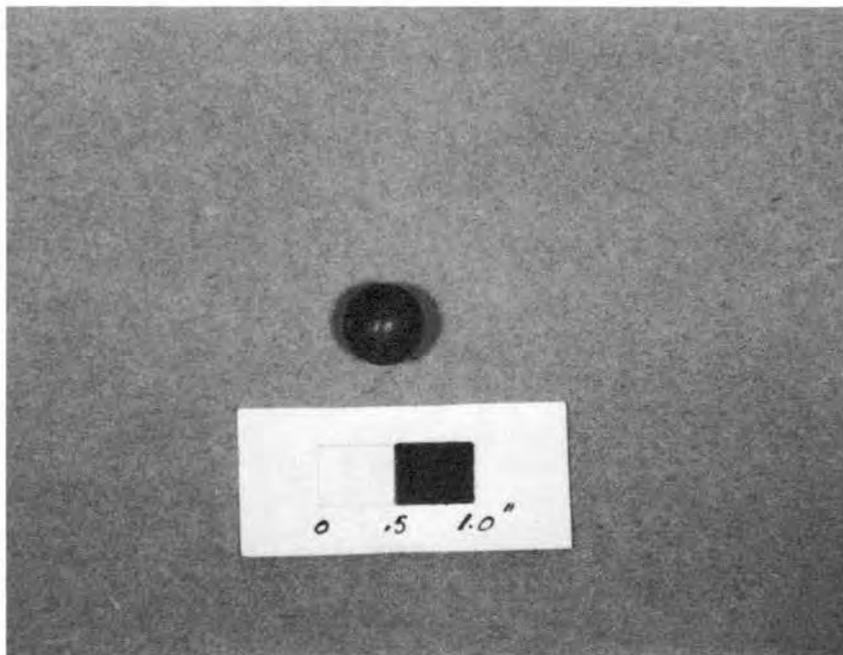


Photo 7-50. Stine bead, comb, eye glass lens
toy soldier

Photo 7-51. Bead from Nichols Site



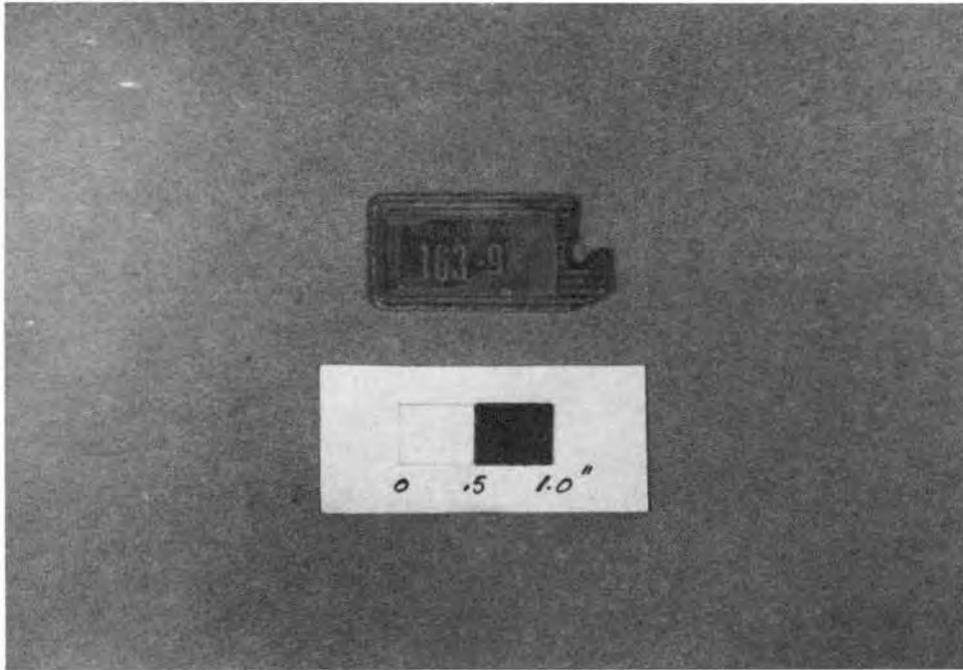
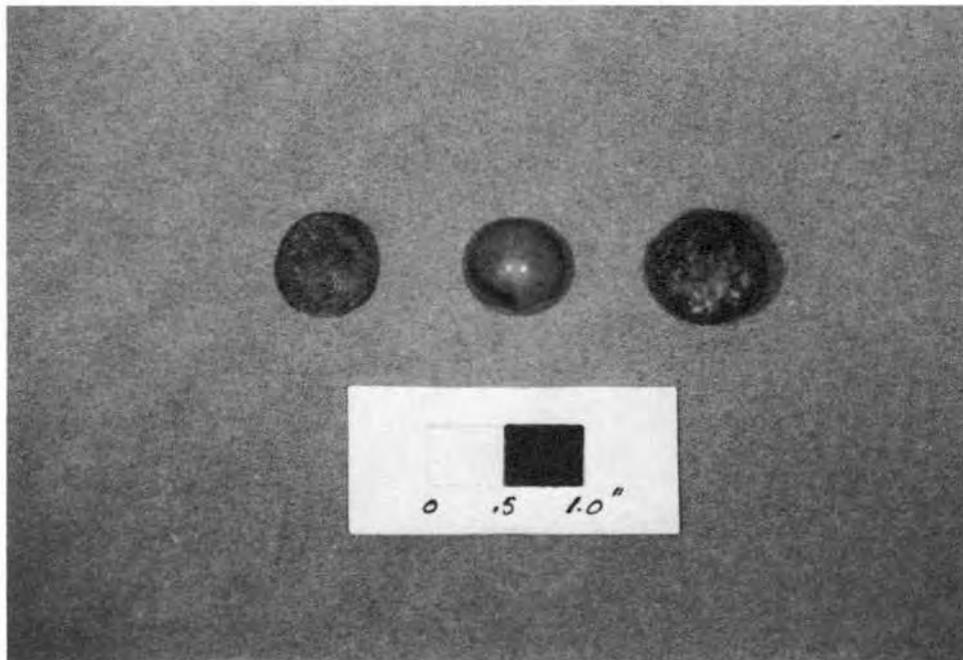


Photo 7-52. Keychain, Nichols Site

Photo 7-53. Marbles, Nichols Site



both sites, and were popular with Harmony children. Betty Hendrix remembers that she and her cousins used to play marbles by the hour, in her family's front yard. She would use the foot of one of the oak yard trees as a backstop (interview 5/26/87).

Other Activity group objects include mule tack, such as shown in Photograph 7-54. These buckles were found during excavations at the Nichols site. Recall, additional harness is still hanging on nails lining both the Nichols and Stine barns. These items would have been well cared for, as all plowing until the 1940s was dependent upon mule power (see discussion in Chapter II). Tack was relatively expensive, and was purchased at the local stores. It was also available through mail-order.

Farming often would lead to minor injuries in the field. The piece of soapstone depicted in Photograph 7-55 was kept on hand to help slow down bleeding. Family members would take a knife and shave off fragments, then apply them to wounds (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987). This chunk of soapstone was found in the upstairs, parents' bedroom at the Stine house.

By far the largest Activity group items are those related to working the land. As mentioned in Chapter VI, the spring to a tractor was found set on the Nicholises' well-cover. The small unit in front of their barn also had tractor parts. The Stine barn and dining room were full of

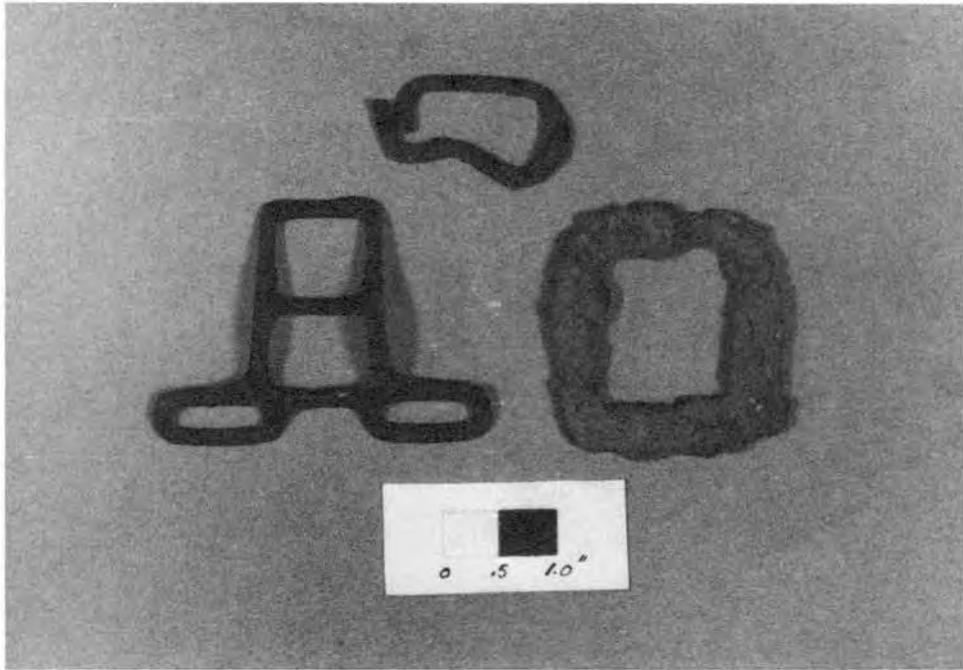
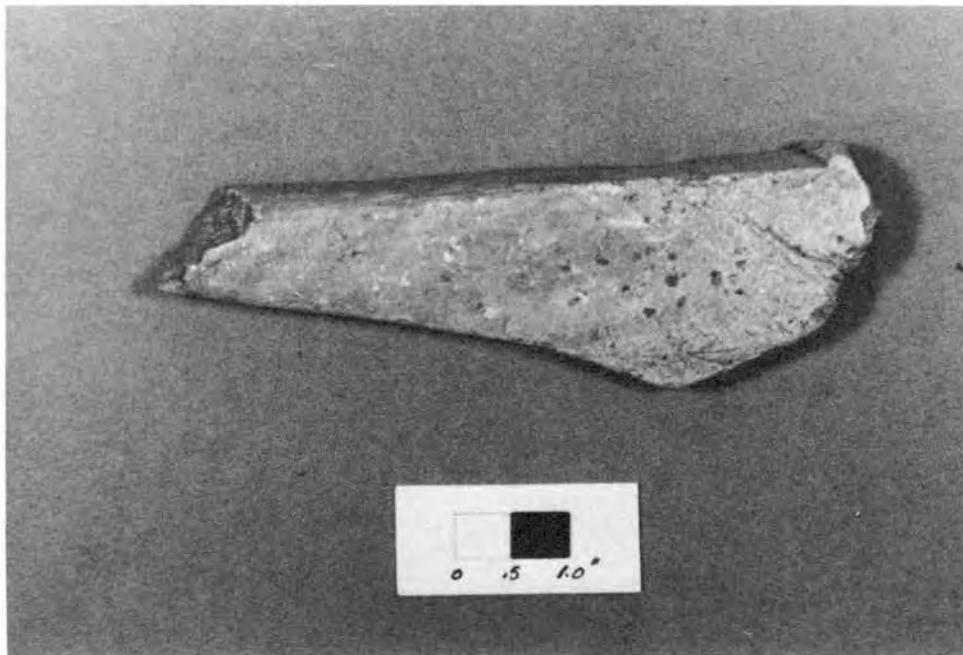


Photo 7-54. Harness Fasteners, Nichols

Photo 7-55. Soapstone, Upstairs Stine Bedroom



plows and plow parts. Plowshares (points) had been kept in a box in front of the barn, by the door (Kenneth Stine, personal communication). Photograph 7-56 illustrates a shovel and a point attachment (see Moser 1986:87 for other examples). The heavy, cast-iron hook shown below was probably used to hang meat in the Nichols smokehouse. Considering that both families killed a number of hogs per year, it is surprising that so little evidence for this activity is present at either site. (A few pig teeth and a hook would not suggest heavy dependence on pork, or for yearly slaughters.)

The last type of artifacts falling within this group consist of wood-making tools, such as axes, adzes, mallets, planes, and saws. As described in Chapter VI, the Stine barn contains examples of all of these tools. Only one such tool was uncovered archaeologically, from the Nichols site. This is a broad axe or hewing hatchet (Sloan 1964:18), shown in Photograph 7-58. It is interesting that so little evidence of wood-working was found in the ground. Recall, from previous chapters, that both Nichols and Stine family members depended upon lumbering and carpentry to supplement incomes and to produce items for their own use.

The Arms Group consists of bullets, plastic sheathing for wadding, and cartridges. Examples from both sites are shown in Photographs 7-59, 60. Surprisingly, nineteenth and twentieth century munitions were uncovered at both sites.

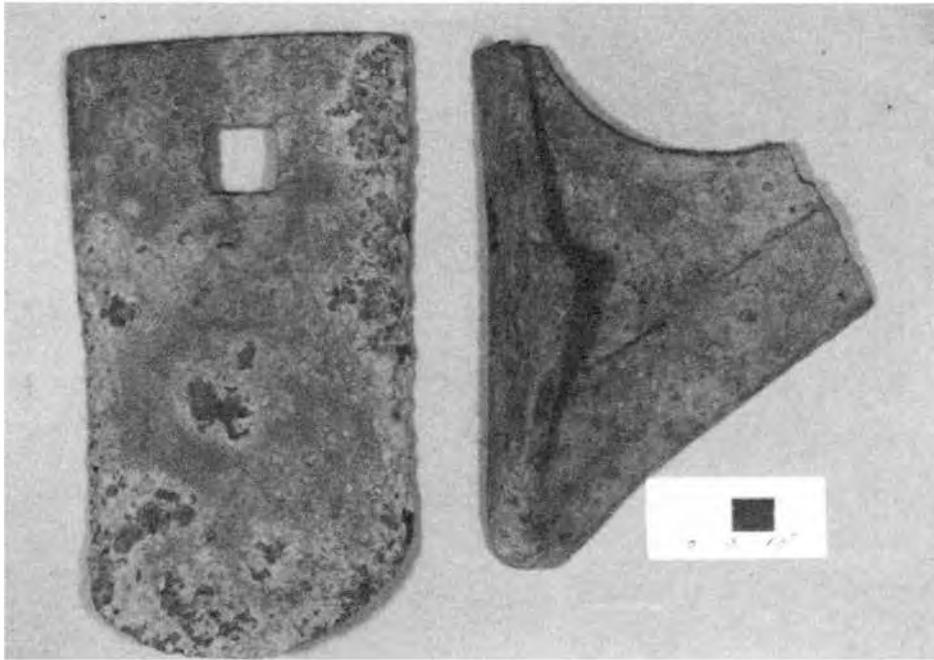
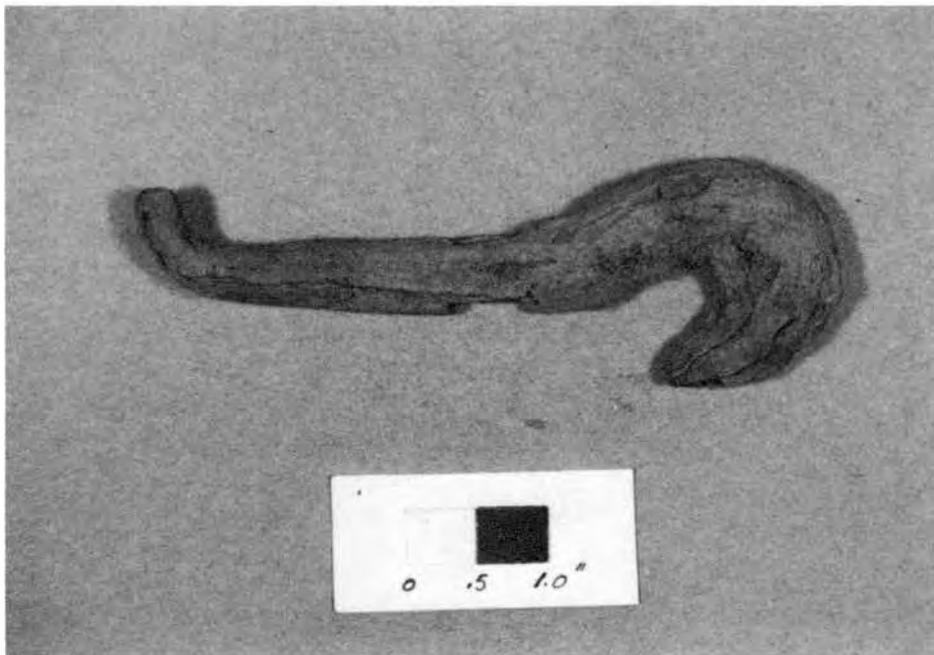


Photo 7-56. Stine Site Plow Parts
Photo 7-57. Nichols Site Meat Hook



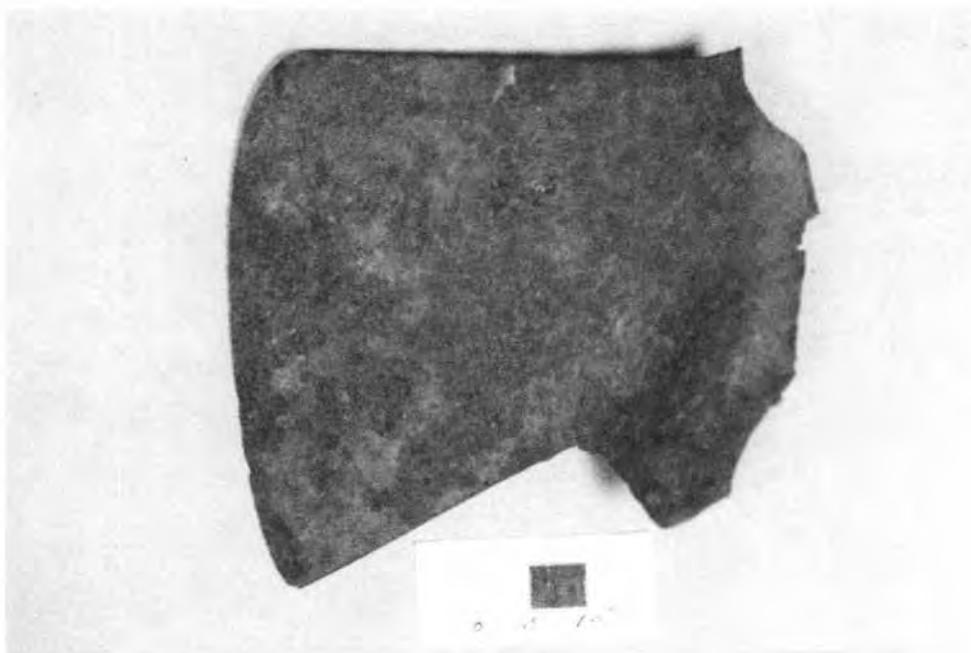


Photo 7-58. Activity Group, Nichols Site
Small Axe Head

Lead mine balls were used in old rifles curated at the Stine house (see Chapter VI). It is unknown if the Nicholises also used nineteenth century rifles, or if lead bullets at their farm are from their neighbors' hunting. Two of these bullets were much smaller, and may have been used in a pistol. These were found only at the Nichols farm, suggesting they had owned one of these pistols. Most of the arms were from twentieth century 22 rifles, or from shotguns. The favored shell for shotguns at both sites seems to have been "Remington No.12, New Country". As described elsewhere, hunting was an important social and economic activity for members of both families. Also, members from both occasionally hunted together.

The last group of artifacts to be considered consists of Pipe and Tobacco items. None of these goods were recovered during archaeological investigations, unless one includes snuff bottle fragments. As discussed, these glasses were always reused as glass tumblers at the Stine farm. As a result, they have been counted in with the Kitchen Group. Members of both families did smoke, and the following photographs show examples found in the Stine home. The pipe was located in the kitchen, and the cigar box up in the parents' bedroom. Of course, the cigar box may have been reused, as so many are today.

The distribution of all artifacts into functional groups allows the researcher to compare distributions of

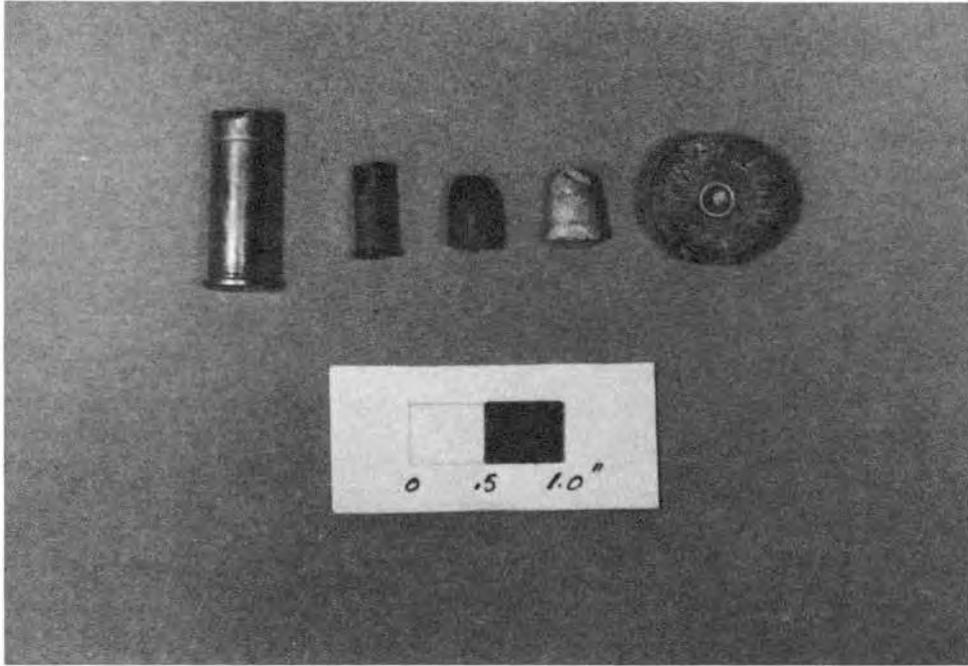
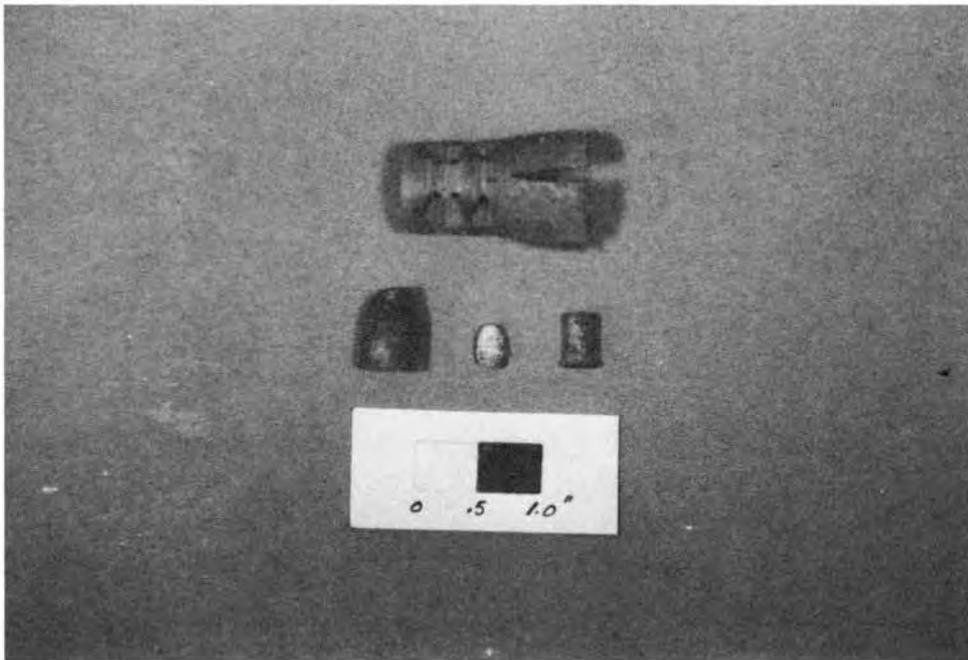


Photo 7-59. Stine Bullets, Arms Group

Photo 7-60. Nichols Bullets



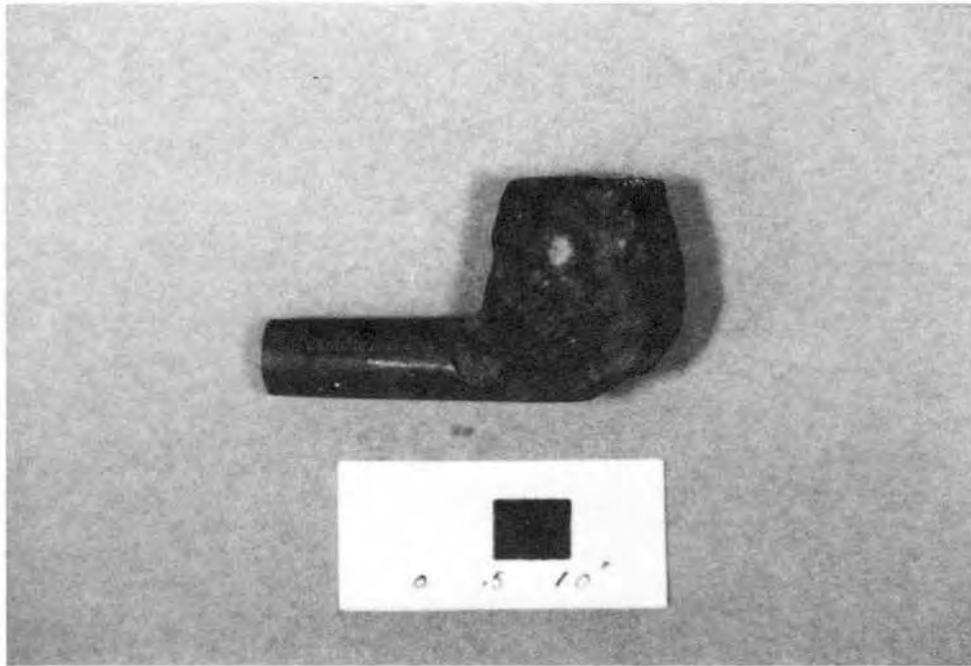


Photo 7-61. Briar Pipe, Stine Kitchen

Photo 7-62. Cigar Box, Upstairs Bedroom



artifacts by supposed function. However, this type of analysis is perhaps more useful for comparing inter- and intra-site distributions of archaeological assemblages, and is less indicative of the full range of possible uses for artifacts. Artifacts with myriad functions have to be placed into one or another category, so only one function is represented. Furthermore, the functional groups developed by South (1977) and later adapted and used by many others (e.g. Adams et al. 1980, Stine et al. 1987, Wheaton and Reed 1987, Stewart-Abernathy 1986), stress economic functions of material items. Possible ideological and social functions are often left to the wayside in subsequent interpretations. As often pointed out by Mr. South, his functional groups are meant as an initial step in analysis. They first should prove useful in intra-site analysis. It is only after that step has been completed that aggregate summations of patterns should be consulted. All too often, researchers stop their analysis with the construction of a table of artifact groups. The plethora of "The So and So Pattern" in recent years amply demonstrates this point. Researchers are forgetting why South set up his patterns. He was placing materials into like groups, to allow for initial functional comparisons between materials from similar sites of similar date and type. He was hoping that future archaeologists would use his data as a foundation for similar studies. Unfortunately, some researchers have been creating patterns

from materials from one site and then calling it typical for all sites of that type. This is simple, tautological reasoning and of little use to the profession. When gathering comparative information for the present study, this investigator discovered that many published patterns lack discussion of comparative sampling methods, regions, ethnicity, and time span (but see discussion in Moir and Bruseth 1987). This has made assessment of comparative data difficult in the present case, as the lineage of many patterns remains unclear. Nonetheless, an attempt has been made to find comparative data. In this last portion of this chapter, the artifact patterns generated at both the sites will be discussed and compared. Next, the resulting distributions will be compared to data from other southern farm sites.

At the Stine site materials are concentrated in the vicinity of the barn, the root cellar, the smokehouse, the front drive, and the trash dump in the plowed field. A similar distribution of all historic artifacts is found at the Nicholsons'. Dense concentrations are found in the vicinity of the smokehouse, the privy, the house, the barn, drive, and in two trash dumps. The units near the Stine house, on the other hand, are less dense. The Nichols site has greater numbers of artifacts concentrated in the Active Yard area, or that closest to the house, than the Stines. The Stine materials seem to concentrate more outside the

area, in the Remaining portion sampled. This may be a function of site structure at the two farms. To check this possibility, Table 7.7 was constructed. It consists of site measurements between the house and outbuildings.

Table 7.7 Distances from Main House, Approximate Feet

	Nichols	Stine
Main Driveway	50	40
Car Parking	60	80
Old Roadbed	80	380
New Road	110	90
Smokehouse	15	15
Well	20	60
Privy	160	150
Granary	100	120
New Pole Barn	150	90
Old Barn	150	-
Corncrib	-	90
Woodshed (possible)	80	20
Root Cellar	-	80
Washing, Soap Making	60	50
Trash Dump, Gulley (ravine)	10	140
Trash Dump, Field	60	70

One can see that, overall, distances between the main homes and outbuildings were about the same. The Stines had to go about 40 feet farther to draw water, which would have been more inconvenient. They did have to walk about 10 fewer feet to their outhouse. The smokehouses at the two sites were both built quite surprisingly close to the main house. Their granaries were about equally far to walk to, with only a 20 ft. difference. The reported older barn at the Nichols site would have been about 30 ft. farther. The Nicholises may have stacked their wood further from the house than their neighbors, if in fact unit 5S 30E did uncover this shed. The reported washing and soap-making areas of the

yards were located close enough to the well for water, and to the woodsheds for fuel. Differences in artifact concentrations do not seem to reflect differences in site structure or activities, except for the trash dumps. The Nicholises were apparently burning trash about 60 ft. from the house, and dumping some refuse in the gully next to the home. The Stines disposed of some trash in the orchard (now field), again a close 70 ft. from the home. They also dumped trash in the ravine to the north, a good 140 ft. away. No evidence of burning trash at this site was uncovered during testing. The Stine home had originally been built a good deal further back off the main road. This is atypical for the Upland South settlement pattern. A similar situation was discovered during testing at Burke County, North Carolina. A white tenant site dating from the mid nineteenth through the early twentieth century was also built a good distance off the main road (see Stine et al. 1987, site 116).

Distribution maps illustrating relative concentrations of artifacts from each of the functional groups were constructed. These allow for inter-and intra-site comparison of specific aggregate types of artifacts. Kitchen Group distributions at the Nichols site show that these items were found in the vicinity of the privy (!), smokehouse, two trash areas, and the main house. Kitchen-related materials were not heavily concentrated in the

vicinity of the barn or drives. The Stine distribution differs in two main areas. Kitchen items are found in larger amounts near the barn, and none were found near the house (except in the smokehouse). This pattern is again found when examining ratios of Architectural items. (The corncrib at the Stine house does not show up as having a high concentration of architectural artifacts.) Again, the Stine barn has relatively higher concentrations of materials than the Nichols barn. Again, the Nichols house area has a higher concentration of items than those found at the Stines'.

Turning to the Furniture Group, which was sparsely represented at both sites, one sees that both sites' artifacts fall within trash dump areas (see Appendix G). One fragment of lamp found at the Stine house was discarded or dragged a good distance to the east of the house and the dump. Otherwise, the distributions at these sites are similar.

Clothing Group concentrations are not similar at the two sites. Items were found scattered in the Stine field (a product of dumping and plowing), and in the vicinity of the smokehouse and root cellar. None were found immediately outside the house, or in the wash area, where they might have been anticipated. The Nichols site has clothing goods scattered around the three sides of the house, and also in the smokehouse area. The heaviest concentration, as

mentioned, is in the washing/dump/soap-making area (as might be expected).

Personal Group materials were scanty at both sites. The few found at the Stine farm were located north of the house. One was near the trash dump, the other isolated. The Nichols distribution was different, with personal items being found in the front of the house, the smokehouse, and the dump et al. feature. It is interesting that all of these proveniences are just north and east of the house, in the "side" (cognitively front?) yard.

Activity group densities show markedly different patterns. The Nichols artifacts appear concentrated around the house, and in the multi-use feature. Less dense areas with some Activity Group materials include the outlying privy and the barn. The Stine distribution shows the highest concentration near the barn, with equally sparse amounts scattered away from the house. Some were also found in the smokehouse, the root cellar and the field trash dump. It is interesting that at least some artifacts show up in the yard area where the soap-making and washing were said to have occurred. (Recall, no signs of burning were found here.)

The Arms Group distribution tells a familiar story. Those found at the Stine site tend to be away from the house, and near the barn, root cellar, and rubbish heap. The Nichols concentrations, again, fall within the four

major test units, near the house. None were found near the barn. Furthermore, arms were found in the Nicholises' smokehouse, but not the Stines'.

Tables comparing artifact distributions may be found in Appendix J. The overall patterns for both small owner sites may be found in Table 7.8 below.

Table 7.8 Artifact Distributions, Functional Groups, Stine and Nichols Farmsteads

Provenience	Kitch	Arch	Furn	Cloth	Pers	Act	Arms
Stine, all	80.16	12.30	0.70	0.93	0.23	4.64	1.04
Nichols, all	38.68	52.38	0.12	2.21	0.40	5.72	0.49
Stine, Active	71.59	22.73	0	1.14	0	3.41	1.14
Nichols, Act.	78.91	13.66	0.06	0.06	0.72	5.15	0.90
Stine, Remain.	81.14	11.11	0.78	0.90	0.26	4.78	1.03
Nichols, Rem.	12.80	77.30	0.15	3.24	0.19	6.09	0.23

These percentages indicate that the ratios of the two assemblages are very different, in all cases except for items found outside of the immediate house area. In χ^2 tests of association, it was discovered that all inter- and intra-site samples were significantly different (see Appendix J). However, these relationships may simply be the result of bias in the combined judgmental and random samples at the sites. Sampling bias was controlled for by taking the same number of simple random tests from each site (n=17), and comparing frequencies of the major functional groups; Kitchen, Architecture, and Activities (see Appendix

J for procedures). This test is reproduced below:

Table 7-9. Chi² Test of Association, Stine and Nichols Sites, Simple Random Units

Site	Kitchen	Architecture	Activities	Total
Stine	13 (11.46)	8 (5.88)	1 (4.65)	22
Nichols	24 (25.53)	11 (13.11)	14 (10.35)	49
	37	19	15	71

$$(0.21 + 0.09 + 0.76 + 0.34 + 2.87 + 0.35 = 4.62)$$

For 2 Degrees of Freedom [(2-1)(3-1)], a Chi² of less than 5.99147 would support the null (no significant difference), at the .05 level. Based on the data from these samples, the null would be accepted. (Comparisons of the active and remaining areas of these samples were not possible, as more than 20% of the expecteds (1.2 cells) were less than five.)

The total artifact percentages of both assemblages have been compared to totals generated from work at additional sites. These tabulations may be found in Appendix J. Before discussing the results of comparisons, major assumptions in their construction should be discussed. The logic behind the construction of artifact patterns assumes that:

there was a patterned casting off of behavioral by-products around an occupation site that might be viewed as a per capita, per year contribution to the archaeological record.

(South 1977:87)

South (1977) was able to demonstrate that such a similarity did exist between five historic sites in the Carolinas,

dating from 1728-1800. He discovered patterned regularity in the relative percentages of functional groups of artifacts between each site (see South 1977:Chapter 4). South has assumed that total counts can be compared, as long as similar excavation techniques were followed. (For example, screening through 1/4-inch mesh wire, excavation with shovels and trowels.) The actual amount of dirt excavated can vary, as well as sampling strategies. South does recommend using total site percentages that reflect a mix of generalized midden accumulation. He believes that any specialized activity areas should be identified through artifact class comparison between units at one site. These numbers should then be left out of the total counts, so as not to skew comparisons with anomalies specific to the site in question. South has offered this Carolina Artifact Pattern as a model for comparison with other historic sites, as long as his basic criteria are met. The Nichols and Stine sites have been excavated in a comparable manner, and results can be contrasted.

The relative percentages of artifacts discovered at the Stine and Nichols site are compared with data from South's sites, two slave sites, two Piedmont farm owner sites, two tenant sites, and composite tenant and yeoman site percentages. These data have been listed in Appendix J. One can see that the Nichols total compares favorably with those for the following sites: two 19th c. Piedmont Planters

(e.g. Drucker, Burke 120), 19th and 20th c. white tenant (Burke 116), 19th c. tenant (Burke 117, unknown ethnicity), and a 19th and 20th century small farm owner (Barrow Homestead, without cellar fill totals) site. What is interesting, is that all of these sites occur in the Piedmont of North or South Carolina. However, only one of these sites, the Barrow Homestead, also has standing structures present. One would expect that these structures would have left a higher percentage of architectural items in the ground. Brockington et al. suggest that structures at tenant, manager, and perhaps small owner sites may have been recycled. They suspect that those from large planter sites may not have been recycled as often (1985:236). If such is the case, it would explain the similarity in distribution between the Nichols and some of the other sites. However, it would not explain the similarity between these sites and data from larger planter farmsteads. Also in question would be why the Stine and Nichols farmsteads have truly different percentages. The Stine farmstead total pattern is more similar to the tenant pattern (white and black) discovered by Trinkley and Caballero (1983), at sites in the Spartanburg area.

The relatively great percentage of Architectural artifacts found at the Nichols site is, in the main, due to items found in a special feature. Specialized activities contributed to burning lumber, which still had a lot of

construction hardware attached. When the artifact counts from this feature are removed, the Nichols pattern closely resembles that found at the Stine site. One would suspect that these relative percentages differ from those found at other small owner farmsteads because of the presence of standing buildings at the Harmony sites. However, both the Williams Place and the Barrows Homestead had most structures still extant. The numbers from these Carolina Piedmont sites are not very close to those found in Harmony (see Appendix J).

In terms of intersite patterning, the Active and Remaining areas of the Nichols site have proven noticeably different. The Nichols Active percentages fall close to those for the Nichols total, adjusted for the large feature. The rest of the site, however, does not approach these ratios. The Remaining area at the Nichols is much lower in Kitchen goods, and higher in Architectural. If artifacts from this large feature are removed, the counts still remain somewhat different (see Appendix J). The Nichols Remaining Area percentages are closer to those found for the Williams Place, a Scotch-Irish, small owner site in Piedmont South Carolina (see Appendix J).

The Stine total has relatively more Kitchen items than found at any site listed on the table (see Appendix J). The Remaining Area percentages are close, with slightly more Architectural and Kitchen goods, and fewer Activities. This

is interesting, in that one would expect the Remaining area of a farmstead to have the highest amounts of Activity artifacts. In fact, this was the case at the Barrow Homestead, where the site was divided into domestic and nondomestic areas (roughly 50 ft. around the house, and the remainder, see Wheaton and Reed 1987). Such was not the case at either the Nichols or the Stine sites. All of the Stine numbers are close to those derived for the adjusted Nichols total site and Active Yard area.

This discussion implies that more careful thinking about total artifact patterning, and how to interpret it, is needed. For example, the Stine totals also closely resemble those found for the Carolina Slave Pattern (18th, early 19th century quarters). If the Nichols pattern had matched this pattern, this researcher might have jumped to the conclusion that the similarity in patterns was due to Afro-American factors affecting site distributions. This may have been offered as "proof" that ethnicity was cross-cutting the boundaries of time, economic position, and space. However, as it was the white farmstead that closely matched the Slave Pattern, analysis continued beyond initial percentage comparisons. Logically, one has to ask what factors may have been similar at the two types of sites. In actuality, I suspect that the slaves were using construction methods that were not dependent upon traditional architectural hardware (see Brockington et al. 1985:235, Wheaton et al.

1983). This helps explain the low counts in the Architectural Group at the slave sites. The Stine site, unlike the slave quarters in question, had most structures still standing. This would also explain a low Architectural count.

Artifact patterns from sites dating to the late 19th through 20th century are not exhibiting a close fit. This contrasts to South's discovery of similar ratios for five nineteenth century sites in the Carolinas, corroborated elsewhere (South 1977). In addition, many of these latter sites appear somewhat similar to South's Carolina Artifact Pattern. Judgment as to closeness of fit is somewhat intuitive, as the acceptable range of deviance from his model is difficult to determine. However, if one accepts that his model has set a comparable standard, there should be a means to statistically assess the association between samples generated at other sites, and the Carolina Artifact Pattern. As South published his frequencies, a mean for the Kitchen, Architecture, and Activities Groups can be determined. This was accomplished, with the resulting averages (based on data from 5 sites) as follows: Kitchen= 9504.2, Architectural= 3312.4, Activities= 502, Total= 13318.6. These frequencies, which form the Carolina Artifact Pattern, can be used as a standard model, to test against data from additional sites.

One suspects that the Carolina Artifact Pattern will

differ from the patterns generated from sites dating to the latter 19th through twentieth centuries. A one hundred year or more difference in occupation dates, as well as postulated differences in some cultural attributes (e.g. Deetz 1977, Issac 1982) would support the hypothesis that these sites should be significantly, measurably, different. Such was the case when the Harmony material was compared to the CAP model (see Appendix J).

The Nichols and Stine samples have been tested to determine if they are significantly related. Results indicate that samples from these sites are not significantly different. However, they have been shown to be significantly different from the CAP model. Intersite patterning at the Nichols reveals a difference between the two stratified areas. The possible significance of this difference cannot be statistically assessed, due to small counts in the excavated samples. The Stine percentages are very close, when comparing all aspects of intersite patterning. These ratios are very similar to those found at the Nichols Active Yard and for the adjusted Nichols total.

In sum, the data from the Harmony sites does not fully support the model proposed earlier, that artifact disposal and accumulation would be different close to the house, as opposed to away from this structure. The Nichols data suggests some difference, with the Active area having more Kitchen artifacts; and the Remainder more Architecture and

Activity group objects. This is similar to the results obtained by Wheaton and Reed (1987) at the Barrow Homestead. The Stine data do not suggest such a difference. The Barrows were white, small-farm owners. Their farm was slightly larger (about 100 acres). One would have expected data from all three sites to be similar, or from the Barrow and Stine sites to be more similar, with the Nichols materials different. However, neither possibility proved to be the case.

As expected, the Harmony data are demonstratively different from South's CAP model. What was not expected was the diversity of differentiation among tenant and small owner sites from the Carolina Piedmont. Percentage differences do not seem to be based solely on the presence or absence of standing structures. It appears that the transformation processes affecting sites and their relationship to artifact patterning are, as yet, poorly understood. (Why does the Carolina Artifact Pattern appear useful and consistent? Why did site inhabitants dispose of more Kitchen, than Architectural, than Activity goods? Have Americans changed their consumption patterns of material items? What would these changes be? How would they be reflected archaeologically? What differences in artifact patterning could be expected?...) There are simply too many possible explanations for similar and/or different patterns found at historic sites. These patterns should form initial

assessments of aggregated data. They need to be thought about carefully, keeping the law of equifinality in mind. Further testing should be undertaken to determine the relative validity of possible explanations. Then, a more generalized model could be developed from this data base, serving as a standard for Piedmont sites. This would allow others to test their data against a standard model.

One reason a standard is useful is it allows one to discover important anomalies. (Systematic sampling is useful for the same reason. It allows for statistical testing of results, to determine if anomalous seeming data are significantly different, and if these data are due to sampling bias.) This is the logic behind testing of the Harmony farmsteads. It was thought that if Afro-American ethnicity significantly affected material culture acquisition, use and disposal, then artifact distributions at an Afro-American site would differ significantly from a Euro-American farmstead. Furthermore, it was thought that the Stine site may be more similar to the CAP and/or other excavated Piedmont farmsteads than the Nichols site. Samples from the two sites in question were not significantly different, suggesting that in these cases ethnicity was not a strong influence on patterning of material culture. In addition, no marker artifacts (such as colonoware on 18th century slave sites) or styles were discovered at the Nichols site, to suggest Afro-American

ethnicity. Indeed, artifacts at both sites seem to reflect, instead, the shared general farm lifestyle of site inhabitants.

Members of both families were apparently acquiring goods from the same sources (local stores, mail-order, locally crafted, home produced) using the same means (cash from lumber/carpentry, cash from cotton/farm produce, barter, perhaps some credit). They also seem to have purchased or made similar items, sometimes for one another's families. These goods were also used in comparable ways. The disposal of goods may also be analogous, in that both families threw trash into piles. However, the Nicholises seem to have created their rubbish heaps a bit closer to the house than those at the Stine farmstead. Topographic differences may help explain some of this disparity, as the Stines had an obvious ravine to use for trash disposal. Topographic differences at the Nichols site are less extreme, with no obvious ravines present. Members of the Nichols family, however, did use an adjacent gulley in a like manner. The Nicholises also apparently burned their garbage, intentionally or by building soap-making fires on top of their trash heap. The micro layering found in this multi-purpose feature suggests that at least three activities were undertaken in this portion of their yard. No distinctive differences were found in the natural or arbitrary layers, implying that all activities occurred

intermittently, and in no set order.

The above discussion of artifact types and patterning found at the two sites is offered as a case-study. These sites offer assemblages from two small, owned farms in Piedmont North Carolina that were investigated using comparable means. Many typically contrasting factors were controlled for, such as position on the agricultural ladder, life cycle of families, number of families, and number of family members. Date of initial occupation was similar at both sites. However, the Nichols site was fully occupied as a residence for the years 1950-1970s. The Stine site was only intermittently occupied during those years, and served more as a field headquarters and storage facility. The Stine house was placed on land with somewhat greater topographic relief, but placement of buildings and most activities seems to have corresponded between the two sites. The Stine site was somewhat eroded, and had more acreage plowed, than its neighboring farmstead. Economic wealth of site inhabitants was closely related, stemming from similar activities and production of like products. Most importantly, it was discovered that much of the labor associated with farm material culture was performed at both sites. Furthermore, some of the household, barn, and field labor was shared and reciprocated.

CHAPTER VII ENDNOTES:

1. Riordan (1985) discusses how stratification is multiplex, and how social position is dependent upon myriad social and economic factors. Unfortunately, when discussing material remains, he states that economic status is directly observable in an assemblage. This is based on the assumption that people have equal means of acquisition, equal desire to purchase similar goods, and equal access to those goods. This negates the influence of factors such as individual or ethnic choice, access to goods, and comparable wealth. What is clear is that we need to create model assemblages, based purely on cost alone. We could then compare our results to the model, and determine if there is a significant difference or not. Whatever the result, it would still have to be carefully interpreted, and tested against similar data sets.

2. Archaeologists involved in cultural resource management have had to deal with these types of sites for a good many years. They have had to assess the significance of sites both with and without standing structures. Many resulting reports prior to the late 1970s did not incorporate late farmsteads within their research designs (see discussions in Adams et al. 1980 and Moir and Bruseth 1987). These sites were and are often considered disturbed, and not worthy of further investigation. However, in many cases, this is caused by plowing and subsequent erosion. These two interrelated processes result from cultural practices of the times. Plowing is NOT destructive of site integrity, it is an integral part of the formation processes of farmstead sites (e.g. Schiffer 1986, 1987). Furthermore, many of these farmstead sites are not judged worthy of research interests. The attitude is that we know all there is to know about these sites from historical studies. On one hand, this attitude displays ignorance of the value of archaeological and anthropological approaches to a research problem. On the other hand, it shows abysmal ignorance of history. The burgeoning interest of historians on topics related to this period is evidence that a consensus has not been reached on lifeways of the period, or ramifications of farmstead living.

3. In a recent discussion with potter Dorothy Cole Auman, at Seagrove, North Carolina, she agreed. Mrs. Auman stated that race was about the last problem people in her area thought about, if at all. In her memory, both black and white potters had to work together. Anyone acting with prejudice soon found themselves without workers. In her view, most potters found themselves concerned with work, making a living, first. A hard worker was honored, and a necessity in the potting industry. Their race was not an

issue; the quality and intensity of their work was.
(Interview November 18, 1988.)

4. There is no set number or percentage of units needed to best statistically judge relationships between and among assemblages. Mr. Stanley South discovered that a 1% sample worked well, as did a 3% one at St. Elena (see Babson 1987:27-30, 148-151; South 1984:5). Miller discovered that a 7% sample was fruitful when working at St. Mary's City (1983:9). Moir and Journey discovered that sampling fractions of 1.6% or less worked well on the myriad farmsteads they tested in Richland Creek, Texas (1986:6-8 through 6-17, now reprinted in Moir and Bruseth 1987). As Cowgill has written, there is no "special merit in a 10% sample, or in any other preconceived sampling fraction" (1975:263). In the present case, the Nichols site area encompassed about 300 by 220 ft, or 66,000 ft.². The Stine site measured about 360 by 400 ft, or 144,000 ft.². In both cases, a sampling percentage of less than 1% was used. The amount of area tested was based on factors of time, money, and tradition. Actually, slightly more area was covered in this project, than typical for a cultural resource management project. Hopefully, much more of these sites can be excavated at a future date, to see how well the sampling fractions used predicted site structure and artifact distributions.

5. In their Richland Creek studies, Moir and Journey state that South usually excavates units placed within 5 meters (16.404 ft.) of a structure. Moir and Journey tested 38 rural sites, examining areas ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 meters (10,763.9- 32,291.7 ft.). They discovered that testing large areas of the farmstead was important, to delineate activity areas. Furthermore, they found that sheet midden was more indicative of site structures than simply testing for features near the main house. (See their discussions in Moir and Journey 1986 Volume IV, Chapter 6, now reprinted in Moir and Bruseth 1987.) Their persuasive discussion led this researcher to test across large areas of both Harmony farmsteads. These areas, defined by existing structures, topography, and oral history, measured approximately 66,000 ft.² (6,131.61 m²/Nichols) and 144,000 ft.² (13,378 m²/Stine).

6. Numerous references were consulted to aid in artifact analysis. Twentieth century materials are discussed in Adams et al. 1980, Brockington et al. 1985, Cable et al. 1982, Garrow 1982, Garrow and Wheaton 1986, Riordan 1985, Smith et al. 1982, Stewart-Abernathy 1986. Additional references used are found in the text, as well as in the bibliography.

Conclusions

This study has incorporated data from myriad sources to investigate the material culture of Upper Piedmont farmers, circa 1900-1940s. Many of the social and the economic processes that influence the formation of that culture have been discussed.

The forces that led to the transformation of the rural South, such as mechanization, spread of banking facilities, development of transportation networks, two wars, and a depression, have been discussed. Many of these forces, processes of culture change, do not seem to have affected much of the daily lives of farmers during the period under investigation, at least in Harmony. For example, cars were present in the vicinity by the early years of this century. Motoring shortened travel time for visiting families, and for transporting some goods. Mechanization on the farm, however, was not common until after World War II.

The agricultural ladder proved to have antecedents in the Antebellum South. It virtually disappeared by the post World War II period, existing today in a foreshadowed version topped by agribusiness. In the idealized version of the ladder, it consisted of a stratified hierarchy of positions with both economic and social ramifications.

Ladder position was based on a farmer's relationship to the land he and his family farmed, in combination with control over their own labor. It ranged from owning no land, and having no say in your labor (farm laborer), to being a full-fledged farm owner, with direct control over allocation of your labor, and perhaps that of others. In many parts of the Upland South, the economic system that developed (the crop-lien) made upward mobility difficult for all farmers. Both black and white tenants found it difficult to move up that ladder towards land ownership. In some areas, black farmers found it even more difficult to achieve ownership, due to socially inspired economic sanctions and liens. It has been demonstrated that there is no simple one-to-one correspondence to material culture and position on this ladder. The range of differentiation in diet, house types, and clothes proved smaller than anticipated. Many of these families were relatively cash poor. They engaged in reciprocal labor exchanges to mitigate against their lack of cash. They also created many of the objects needed for their work and families, out of resources found on the farm. In some cases, they traded these items with neighbors, to receive other objects in return. However, there was a general trend for owners and renters to have more net profit at the end of the year than their share-cropping or laborer neighbors. In addition, it was found that in some cases the same material items cost more for those buying on credit

than for those purchasing with cash. Numerous farmers had side occupations that provided them with additional cash. Many of these agriculturalists seem to have given up their dreams of mobility, aided through development of cultural ideals about rural lifeways.

Farm families perceived themselves as living in the best possible environment. They honored fellow farmers who were hard working, honest, and good neighbors. This social assessment cross-cut the rankings of the agricultural ladder. Some of these farmers were apparently racist, and denied any honors and privileges to black neighbors, regardless of their character or work ethic. Some farmers apparently were not racist, and judged all agrarians primarily by their personal characteristics. In this manner, social status was not simply derived from economic factors of wealth, occupation, or position on the agricultural ladder. Kinship, community membership, and personal characteristics were important facets in determination of social status. In some areas, such as Harmony, North Carolina, race does not seem to have cross-cut this determination. In other areas, such as Nate Shaw's Alabama, race played a stronger role in status assessment.

Investigation of the patterns and processes of settlement in Harmony and environs has shown that all farmers had about the same access to material goods. Local stores did not use different prices for inventories, and

allowed any member of the community to pay through barter, cash, or credit. Area inhabitants could make money directly, through cotton production or sale of other farm produce. They could also collect herbs or lumber from the woods, and produce additional goods for sale or for barter.

The material culture in the area of Harmony cannot be differentiated as to most farmers' economic or social statuses. Most of the homes and outbuildings do not directly reflect wealth, position on the agricultural ladder, or ethnic background. Only two instances of "show-case" farmsteads were remembered, as examples of well-off farm owners. Institutional architecture, however, does appear to have reflected stratification. Government school buildings were very different, with larger, more imposing white schools overshadowing the smaller, poorer black schools. Church architecture, however, does not appear too different in the area. The personal homes of both black and white inhabitants were usually hall-and-parlor or I-house frame buildings. Size or style of these homes does not seem correlated with race. In many cases, tenanted as opposed to owned homes were not too different. Many of the tenant houses were smaller than many of the owned homes. However, some of the owners rented out previously owner-occupied homes to tenants. In addition, some of the tenants were able subsequently to purchase their homes. It was shown that in other regions tenants generally invested less time

and effort in maintenance of rented homes, as opposed to their eventual, owned, homes.

In many ways, acculturation of Afro-Americans is evident in the material culture of the Harmony area. Both settlement patterns and farmstead structures are typical for the Upland South, and atypical for African precedents. No major differences between the two artifact assemblages were discovered at the Nichols and Stine farmsteads. In addition, no definite Afro-American marker items were uncovered at the Nichols place. Distribution of artifacts at the sites was similar, reflecting the similar activities of site inhabitants. Oral history, archaeology, old photographs, and curated items were examined and compared. A similar aesthetic sense was discovered from both households. These farm families used flour and feed sacks to produce beautiful tea towels, quilts, and curtains. The prevalence of floral designs is evident in both sets of material culture. Flowers were also important aspects of landscape and house interior decoration. These items were all relatively inexpensive, more dependent on investment of time than cash. It was discovered that women on these farmsteads often worked together to help create aesthetically pleasing material items, including dinners.

There are distinctively Afro-American elements evident in the area. The comparison of graveyards demonstrated contrasts in the material culture associated with

cemeteries. Some of these characteristics can be shown to have direct African antecedents (e.g. trees, artifacts on graves); others are more indicative of a unique Afro-American cultural tradition (e.g. marker styles). Children watching someone habitually carrying heavy objects on the head would know this was an Afro-American characteristic. The continuation of this motor habit underlines the ties between some aspects of Afro-American culture and African antecedents. Black and white children gathered to hear tales of "slavery days", or associated music, would have understood that black farmers, as a group, had a qualitatively different history. Expressions, music, and stories were handed down to many neighboring children. As adults, they in turn repeat these stories to their children.

Afro-American acculturation is part of an on-going process with many regional variations. Results of these investigations show that in many ways, Afro-American farmers in Harmony were using comparable material items in ways similar to their white counterparts. These results need to be further verified through additional fieldwork in the Harmony area, and in the Piedmont region as a whole. If the data prove to support this assessment, one must ask what processes produced the changes in Afro-American material culture, from the earliest years of settlement to the present.

The results of the present study underline the need for

additional research comparing farmstead materials. We have documentary evidence describing the idealized agricultural ladder, and its ramifications. We need to investigate additional case histories of these farmsteads, to gain more archaeological evidence. This evidence could then be compared, to help create a model of rural stratification in the Upland South. One can still ask, how did material culture affect rural lifeways? How did changes in the economy affect farmers? Will these changes be affected in their material culture? In terms of general archaeological methods, the present study has shown that we need to reconsider the meaning of artifact patterning on these sites. Obviously, both physical and cultural transformations do affect the relationship of present artifact distributions to past activities at these sites. We need to collect data on the range of possible activities that occurred at these types of sites. This may cause archaeologists to rethink the classes used to form functional groups. (For example, glass mason jars were used in food storage, as drinking vessels, to store metal goods, to store buttons, to hold flowers, to hold illegal liquor...not necessarily usually used in the kitchen.) It is possible to collect a rich, complex array of data pertaining to these sites. This data can be used to help understand cultural processes, as well as serving as a testing ground for archaeological methods and theories.

As Mark Twain is said to have stated, "History may not repeat itself, but it sure does rhyme". Understanding the ramifications of social inequalities present in the early decades of this century may help in understanding similar processes in the present. The study of culture change, and attendant mechanisms of transformation, offers present humanity both cautionary tales and examples of possible cultural alternatives.

The present study of two farmsteads is offered in hopes of stimulating additional comparative research. It is also offered as a tribute to the myriad men, women, and children who were farmers, "raised up in hard times"¹.

Conclusion Endnotes:

1. This quotation is from Alabama folk potter Norman Smith, and was spoken to Dr. Charles Mack, University of South Carolina, circa 1980. Mr. Smith was describing his life as an Alabama farmer and potter, in the early decades of this century. The interview is on tape, and in the possession of Dr. Mack, Department of Art History, University of South Carolina.

APPENDIX A

Iredell County Record of Deeds, 1908, Book 37, page 485 has the following information:

Jan 10 1908 by J.W. Albea and M.L. Albea to N.A. Stine[s] for \$300.00.

All the sight-...use-and estate-of the party of the first part and unto a tract adjoining E.J. Thomas, Siccily [Sicily] Nichols[on] bounded:

One tract of land situated in Turnersburg Township of Iredell County North Carolina and bounded as follows on the west by lands of E.J. Thomas and Siccily Nicholson on the north by the land of David Stimpson on the south by land of David Campbell containing about 65 acres more or less and being sold subject to dower of Amanda Nichols

Registered Feb 20th, 1908
Witnessed by the night clerk, M..holland

Noah sold about eight acres of this property to one Luwaugh Johnston and his heirs for \$200.00 in 1921 (Iredell County Record of Deeds, volume 67, page 534, deed dated August 5, 1918).

James Stine officially purchased the remaining property from his family in 1941, as follows:

Iredell County Record of Deeds, 1941, page 498

Sept. 4th, 1945 by Mary Belle Downum [sister] and husband, Luther M. Downum, William L. Stine and wife, Mary T. Stine, Lillian S. Otto [sister] and husband Ernest Otto of Miami, Florida, Grady W. Stine and wife Mary Stine of Norfolk, Virginia and Bertie Fox [sister] and Earl Fox of Iredell County, North Carolina to J.E. Stine:

in consideration of \$10.00 (10) and other valuable considerations to them paid by the party of the 2nd part....a 5/6th undivided interest in:

[then it copies word for word deed discussed above, Book #37, page 485.]

The last piece of land bought by the Stines to farm was the farm of Bynum Patterson, located about 1/4 mile north on Mt. Bethel Church Road. This was purchased at bid, and James Stine had to pay the 1939 taxes on the property. The deed is listed in the Iredell County Record of Deeds, volume 135,

page 634, 1939. The deed was registered on September 28, 1939 by R.S. Holiday, Commissioner Exc. for Bynum Patterson (deceased). It consisted of about 16 and one half acres, still in the Stine family. James bought the property for the high bid of \$670.00, with the condition that Sara Patterson (wife of Bynum) was given her dower right. She lived in the 3-4 room, single-story frame building until her death. The house was burned by the Harmony volunteer fire department for practice, and to clear more land for farming. The large stone chimney was so well-constructed it had to be knocked down with heavy equipment, all sometime in the 1960s.

(Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1987 was the source for this information.)

The Stines are not listed in the Federal Census of Iredell County At the time of the 12th census, they are listed as living in Olin Township (one over from Turnersburg), summarized as follows:

Soundex T623, reel 37, volume 36, sheet 2, family and dwelling #29.

Stine, Noah 39 married 17 years, born NC, parents born NC, farmer, attended school 8 years, can read and write, speaks English (spoke German and/or Dutch, Sam Current interview of 5/31/87), rented his farmhouse.

Martha Alice 33,, had six children, all living, born in NC, parents from KY, no school listed, can read, write, speaks English.

Mary Belle- ["Aunt Dutchy"] 15, at school three years.

John Worth- 14, farm laborer, off work 2 months

William Lee- 11, farm laborer, off work 2 months

Annie Lillian- 9, no occupation

James Elias- 7, no occupation

Grady Wiley- 4, no occupation

They are listed as living on farm #21, the same number recorded for Jona and Ruth Rhyme, "Minister of the Gosple" and wife who owned their farm freely, ages 67 and 55, and married 25 years. This indicates they were their landlords. However, as the agricultural census of 1900 to the present is gone, further information is not forthcoming.

Noah Stine's father, Eli McCamey and wife Lana are listed in the 1900 Soundex of 1900 as living in Alexander County (age 69, 47). This, and genealogical research undertaken by

Betty Stine Hendrix, indicates that Noah had entered Iredell from the west, either Lincoln and/or Alexander Counties.

The 1910 Manuscript Census of Population for Turnersburg Township, Iredell County lists the Stines as family number 256, dwelling 253, district #88/20. At this time, only six family members are listed, summarized below:

Stine, Noah- Head, 49, married 26 years, farmers, general farmer, own account, renting. Either the census enumerator made a mistake, or Noah and his family were living elsewhere in Turnersburg, renting, until their home was completed.

Martha- still present, but has had nine children now, three not surviving.

Lillian- 19 now, single, still at home.

James- 16, single, at home.

Grady- 13, single, at home.

Bertie- 9, single, at home.

The three eldest children are no longer living at home.

John had died in 1907, at age 21. His marker is visible at Mt. Bethel Church, Harmony.

APPENDIX B NICHOLS FAMILY

Iredell County Record of Deeds, book 10, pages 294-5:

Feb. 10th, 1870 Wilson Turner to "Sicily Nichols, colored,"

She had already paid him \$33.33 for the land, listed as below:

Beginning at a stone running west 60 poles to a stone thence south 18 east 47 poles to a stone south 84 east 19 poles to stone thence south 10 east 68 poles to a stone near the public road thence with the road north 40 east 53 poles to a stone thence north 15 west to the beginning, containing 27 acres 3 rods and 25 poles more or less.

Witnessed 17th of Dec., 1885, registered the 18th Dec., 1885.

Wilson Turner has powers of "fee simple" with "appertuances", meaning he had the right to sell this property to Sicily.

Sicily Nichols also is listed as owning land in Chambersburg Township, which she sold to the Conger family in 1895 (Deed Book 20, page 179).

The information on the Nichols family farm was obtained from the 1880 Federal Census of Agriculture, Schedule 2, Iredell County, Turnersburg Township, enumeration district #148, page 5.

The Nichols family are listed in the 1900 Soundex, Roll #1202, Enumeration District #103, Supervisors district #8, sheet #2, summarized as follows:

Nichols, Sis[ly?]- head, 57, single, one child (living), farmer, can not read or write, owns farm free.
Leun..le [Curtis?]- son, 32, married 2 years, farm laborer, can read and write.

Lillie - 32, married 2 years, 4 children (all living), can read and write.

E?llian- 13, single, at school

John - 7, single, at school

Duke - 1

Annie - 2 months old

Ten years later, the family is listed in the 1910 Manuscript Census of Population, as family #200, dwelling #197 in Turnersburg Township, Iredell County, summarized below:

Nichols, Curtis- age 42, married 12 years, owned his farm, mortgaged, general farming on his own account.

Lilly- age 41, married 12 years, now with five children
Duke- 11, attended school
Annie- 9, attended school
Pomp- 8, attended school
Carson- 6
Connie- 1
Tisely- 66 years old

This census enumerator listed Lilly and Tisely as black, and Curtis and his children as mulatto.

According to Carson Nichols and Kenneth Stine, Curt died at about age 84, about 1952. He is buried at Rocky Creek, and the Stine family attended the funeral (interview 2/15/86). Lilly died sometime in the 1920s, and Sicily helped raise the children. Sometime after Lilly's death, Curt remarried. His new wife was Emma, who became a good neighbor to Essie Stine.

Members of the Stine family purchased about two-thirds of the original property from the Nichols family in the 1960s. Duke Nichols had returned to the homestead and lived there until his death in 1977 (dower rights). He, too, is buried at Rocky Creek Methodist Church. His stepmother, Emma, had died earlier, in the early 1960s. The majority of the children had left the farm in the 1940s, but would return to visit from time to time. Carson had long since married, and raised his own family on adjacent farmland.

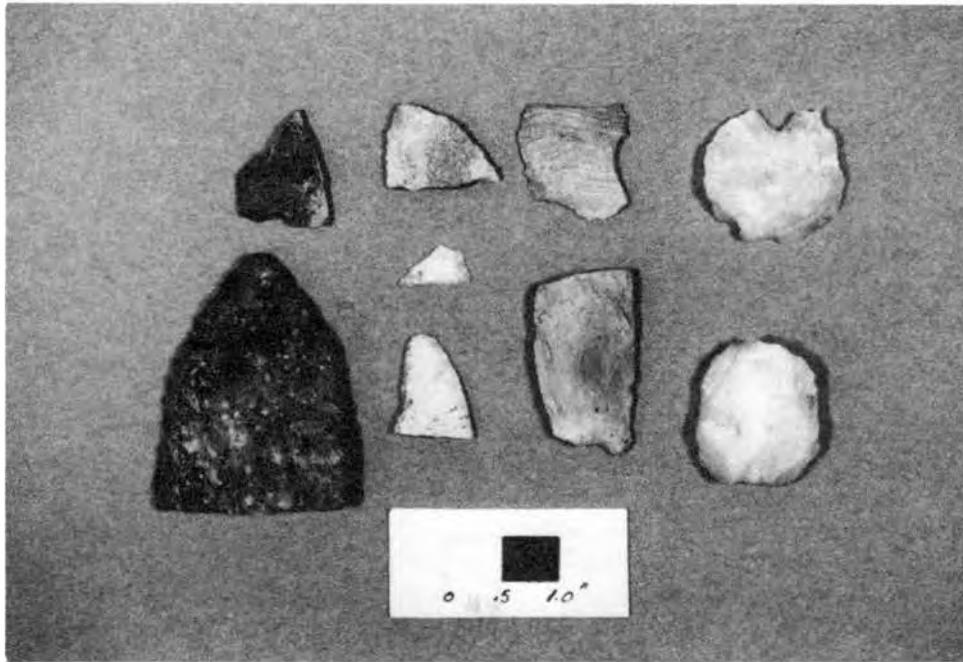
Appendix C Prehistoric Artifact Inventory

Prehistoric artifacts have been collected from the area between the main Stine house and the small branch west and across Stine Road. Members of the family and interested visitors have been picking up projectile points, soapstone bowl fragments, and ground stone tools since at least the 1920s. (Many local farmers use Prehistoric soapstone bowls for watering their chickens, personal communication 1987 from Ned Woodall.) The family's major collection of artifacts has been stolen. Detailed below are the lithic artifacts and possible artifacts discovered during the present dissertation investigations.

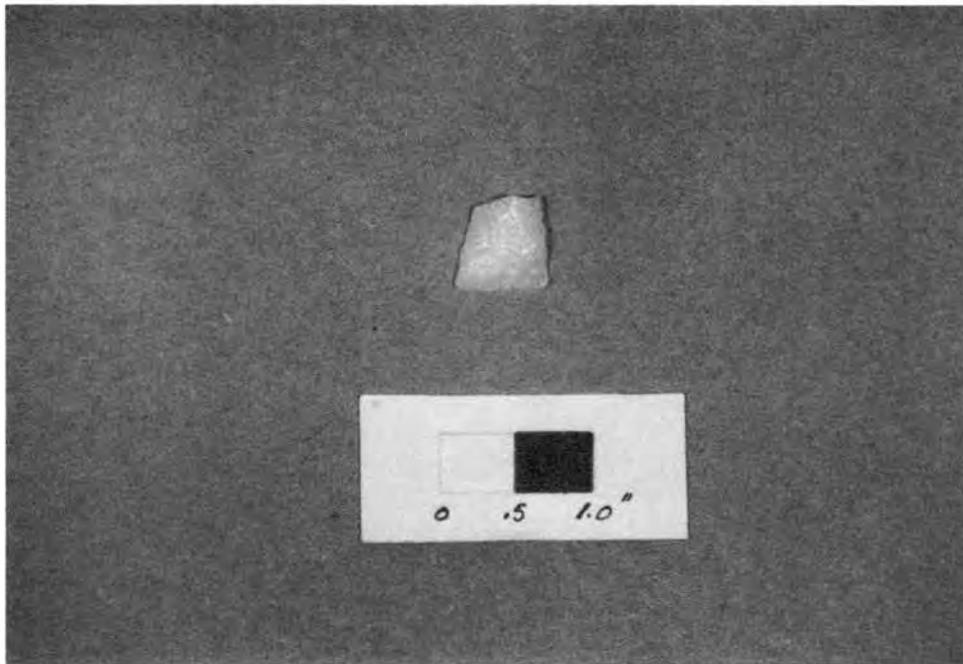
Material designations were made after consultation with Michelle Vacca (Wake Forest University). Only a few diagnostics were found. Flakes were defined as lithic fragments having a definite bulb of percussion. The majority of lithics found were crudely shattered quartz and orthoquartzite fragments. (For a definition of shatter, see Crabtree 1972.)

Stine site:

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Description</u>
S10E180 S3-0 (Surface)	1 orthoquartzite shatter, 1 quartz shatter
S10E200 S5-0 "	1 quartz shatter
S20E190 S10-0 "	1 large orthoquartzite rock 1 quartz shatter 1 orthoquartzite shatter 1 rhyolite proximal fragment, preform? 1 rhyolite flake
S20E260 S13-0 "	1 quartz shatter
S40E230 S23-0 "	1 felsite flake
S50E240 S28-0 "	1 quartz shatter
S60E10 S30-0 "	2 quartz debitage
S70E10 S34-0 "	2 chert debitage
S80E0 S38-0 "	3 chert flakess 9 felsite flakes 1 rhyolite flake (utilized?) 1 quartz debitage 1 quartz possible scraper 7 quartz shatter
S100E290 S45-0 "	1 quartz shatter
S110E10 S47-0 "	4 chert flakes 2 quartz debitage
10N140E S64-0 "	1 orthoquartzite shatter
20N30E S69-0 "	1 quartz flake
20N130E S70-0 "	1 quartz shatter



Top: Various Stine Site Lithics
Bottom: Quartz projectile point, Nichols



30N120E S77-0	"	2 quartz shatter
40N150E S80-0	"	1 quartz flake
40N170E S81-0	"	1 quartz possible core
50N50E S83-0	"	2 quartz shatter
50N60E S84-0	"	1 felsic tuff, proximal end of projectile point
50N150E S86-0		1 quartz shatter
60N70E S89-0		1 (rose) quartz, possible core
70N20E S90-0		1 (rose) quartz chunk
70N100E S94-0		1 quartz with cortex, possible large utilized flake
80N40E S96-0		1 orthoquartzite chunk
90N50E S97-0		1 chert flake
90N100E S98-0		1 quartz shatter
S101-0 (n slope of (dewberry field)		1 felsic tuff distal end, CSPP (Guilford?)
		1 felsic tuff, proximal end CSPP or knife
		1 felsic tuff, proximal end, CSPP
		2 banded felsic tuff, utilized flakes
		1 " " " flake
		5 felsic tuff flakes
		1 quartz possible flake
		1 felsic tuff shatter
S80E10 S102-0		3 chert flakes
185S60E (1 x 1)		1 quartz debitage
90S110E		1 quartz debitage
15S190E		3 quartz debitage
		2 quartz shatter
		2 felsite flakes
40S130E (5 x 5)		6 quartz shatter
		1 felsic tuff possible thumb-nail scraper
75S5E		1 quartz chunk
		2 felsite flakes
145S145E		4 quartz shatter
		1 felsite CSPP (Archaic?)
Nichols site:		
S40E20 (5 x 5)		
NF2-1A		1 quartz shatter
NF2-1		25 fire-cracked rock, quartz (may be result of historic activities)
NF2-2		25 fire-cracked rock, quartz (")
NF2-3		11 fire-cracked rock, quartz and

fieldstone (may be result of historic activities)

S45W10	
N8-1	2 quartz debitage, 4 quartz shatter
N8-2-2	10 quartz shatter
S45W40	
N9-2-2	1 quartz shatter
	11 quartz debitage
	2 rhyolite debitage
S75W70	1 Woodland (?) quartz triangular
CSPP,	
N10-1	base is 1.5 cm wide
30S10E (1 x 1)	3 quartz shatter
N2-1	
70S10W	1 quartz debitage
N5-1	

Appendix D. Artifact Groups and Classes

Kitchen Group:

ceramic, bottle, jar, tableware, can, pull-tab, tin lid, crown cap, plastic lid, six holder, wire stopper, zinc jar liner, stove parts

Architectural Group:

window glass, nails, construction hardware, door parts

Furniture Group:

lamp glass, drawer hardware

Clothing Group:

buckles, buttons, scissors, hook and eye, beads, eyelets, rivet snaps, snaps, shoe, zipper, yarn skein, coat hanger

Personal Group:

coins, keys, combs, razor, medicine dropper, keychain, nail polish, eye glass

Activities Group:

construction tools, farm tools, toys, hooks, stable equipment, hardware, barbed wire, bulbs, insulator, miscellaneous rubber, plastic, and metal, car parts

Appendix E. Flotation Results

Soil samples from selected features at both sites were taken for subsequent flotation and ethnobotanical analysis. Graduate student Julia Hammett, in the ethnobotany program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is presently processing the materials from the two sites. Susan Wallace, graduate student in archaeology, has also helped with soil flotation. To date, the majority of the soil processed has not yielded appreciable results.

Flotation of soil samples only yielded two unidentifiable seeds, from Nichols site feature 40S 20E. Soils from this feature also yielded zipper fragments when water-screened through 2-mm wire mesh. No other artifacts were recovered through flotation or water-screening.

Appendix F. Results of Chemical Soil Analysis*

*Numbers based on standard tests by N.C. Department of Agriculture, Agronomic Division

I. Nichols Soils

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>pH</u>	<u>Phosphorous</u>	<u>Potassium</u>
(1.0 x 1.0 ft.)			
120S60E	6.6	009	42
30S10E	5.7	001	66
50N50W	5.7	000	38
5S30E	6.4	076	62
5S30E St.2	6.5	051	58
50S90W	6.1	004	96
20S110W	5.8	001	38
20S100W	6.2	000	124
40S60E	6.5	137	184
40N40E	5.4	003	50
70S10W	5.6	005	130
10N110W	6.1	001	30
30S130W	5.7	001	68
5N50W	5.7	001	50
55S100W	6.1	002	84
40N50W	5.7	001	38
90S130E	6.9	037	90
60S130E	6.1	013	142
(5.0 x 5.0 ft.)			
45S40W St.1	6.0	014	68
St.2	5.8	005	70
" F.1 St.1	5.9	008	60
St.2	6.0	008	52
75S70W St.1	6.2	050	152
St.2	6.0	025	142
45S10W St.1	5.1	051	102
St.2	5.2	017	54
40S20E St.1	7.8	072	358
" F.2 St.1	7.9	068	282
F.3 Level 1	8.0	066	470
Level 2	7.9	092	326
Level 3	7.9	068	282

2. Stine Soils:

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>pH</u>	<u>Phosphorus</u>	<u>Potassium</u>	
(1.0 x 1.0 ft.)				
100S145E	7.8	030	70	
90S110E	5.7	013	54	
40S20E	5.7	003	52	
150S140E	5.2	007	58	
185S60E	5.2	056	86	
10S10E	6.7	004	26	
130S120E	7.9	022	86	
50S140E	6.4	007	56	
20S110E	5.8	001	26	
20S100E	6.0	004	36	
30N70E	5.7	007	46	
30N80E	6.2	001	54	
30N20W	5.9	002	62	
130N60W	5.3	064	32	
110S280E	6.3	001	44	
180S250E	6.2	002	34	
90S20E	5.6	001	40	
210S10E	5.3	004	46	
155S60E	4.9	001	48	
160S280E	6.4	001	56	
120S330E	5.1	001	30	
70S50E	4.8	005	46	
20S70E	6.6	002	44	
140S320E	6.5	001	44	
50S10W	6.8	002	18	
30N50E	6.6	001	40	
(5.0 x 5.0 ft.)				
75S5E	St.1	5.6	004	50
70S10E	St.1	5.6	004	28
160S35E	St.1	5.4	004	62
225S40E	St.1	5.1	019	144
10S170E	St.1	6.7	001	36
5S190E	St.1	7.0	000	22
50N20E	St.1	6.6	001	44
0N165E	St.1	6.7	021	84
40S130E	St.1	5.9	004	34
60N30E	St.1	6.6	001	45
145S145E	F.1	6.1	011	92

Appendix G. Artifact Patterns by Provenience

Unit Kitch Arch Furn Cloth Pers Act Arms Totals

(5.0 x 5.0 ft.)

ACTIVE YARD

70S10E	8	4	0	0	0	1	1	14
40S130E	42	11	0	1	0	1	0	55

REMAIN. YARD

15S190E	124	19	3	0	0	7	3	156
" St.2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10S170E	37	2	0	0	0	2	0	41
75S5E	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
145S145E	194	14	0	5	0	9	1	223
160S35E	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	7
225S40E	14	29	0	0	0	12	1	56
50N20E	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
60N30E	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
ON165E	15	2	0	0	0	0	0	17

Totals:	445	82	3	6	0	33	8	577
%	77.12	14.21	0.52	1.04	0	5.72	1.39	100

(1.0 x 1.0 ft.)

ACTIVE YARD

90S110E	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
100S145E	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	7
130S120E	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	6
50S140E	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2

REMAINING

185S60E	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
140S320E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Totals:	14	8	0	0	0	1	0	23
%	60.87	34.78	0	0	0	4.35	0	100

(Surface Units, 10.0 x 10.0 ft.- all outside Active Yard)

10S160E	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
10S170E	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
10S180E	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10S190E	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
10S200E	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
10S220E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

10S230E	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
<u>Unit</u>	<u>Kitch</u>	<u>Arch</u>	<u>Furn</u>	<u>Cloth</u>	<u>Pers</u>	<u>Act</u>	<u>Arms</u>	<u>Total</u>
10S260E	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
20S180E	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	5
20S190E	10	1	0	0	0	1	0	12
20S200E	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	8
20S210E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
0N180E	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
0N220E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
0N260E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10N20E	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
10N60E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10N110E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10N120E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
10N130E	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
10N140E	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
10N150E	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
10N160E	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
10N170E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10N180E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
20N130E	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
40S280E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
50S230E	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
50S250E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
60S230E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
60S250E	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
60S260E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
70S10E	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	6
70S240E	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
70S250E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
70S290E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
80S0E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
80S270E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
80S280E	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
90S270E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
20S230E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
30S190E	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
30S200E	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
30S210E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
30S220E	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
30S270E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
30S280E	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
40S210E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
40S220E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
40S230E	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
40S250E	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
40S260E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
100S260E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
100S270E	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
100S280E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
100S290E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

100S300E	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
110S10E	-13	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
110S250E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
110S280E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
160S50E	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
0N130E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
0N140E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
0N150E	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
0N160E	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
0N170E	18	1	0	0	0	0	1	20
20N140E	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
20N150E	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
20N160E	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
30N60E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
30N70E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
30N110E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
30N160E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
40N180E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
50N110E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
50N190E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
50N200E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
60N150E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
70N40E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
70N140E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
80N40E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
80S10E	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Totals:	235	14	3	2	2	5	1	262
%	89.73	5.32	1.14	0.76	0.76	1.90	0.38	99.99

Misc. surface finds, outside immediate farmstead area:

chicken coop	2							
field west								
of Stine Rd.	1							
potato field								
n of house	1							
trash dump								
n of house	1							
								1 (slop pail)

Nichols Site Artifacts:

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Kitchen</u>	<u>Arch</u>	<u>Furn</u>	<u>Cloth</u>	<u>Act</u>	<u>Arms</u>	<u>Total</u>
--------------------	----------------	-------------	-------------	--------------	------------	-------------	--------------

(Surface 10.0 x 10.0 ft.)

50S30W	48	0	0	0	0	0	48
30N30E	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
40N50E	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
40NOE	4	10	0	0	0	0	14

40S20E	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
75S70W	54	0	0	0	3	0	57

totals:	109	10	0	0	4	0	123
%	88.62	8.13	0	0	3.25	0	100

(Nichols 1.0 x 1.0 ft. units)

Provenience Kitchen Arch Furn Cloth Per Act Arms Totals

ACTIVE

70S10W	0	1	0	1	0	10	0	12
--------	---	---	---	---	---	----	---	----

REMAINING

5S30E	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
30S10E	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
60S130E	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
40S60E	10	9	0	0	0	1	0	20
90S130E	11	0	0	0	0	2	0	13

Totals:	24	11	0	1	0	14	0	50
%	48	22	0	2	0	28	0	100

(5.0 x 5.0 ft. units)

ACTIVE

45S10W St.1	766	183	0	4	1	35	7	996
nw corner	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
St.2, L.1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
St.2, L.2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3

subtotal	768	185	0	4	2	36	7	1002
45S40W St.1	44	20	0	4	10	1	5	84
St.2	3	7	0	0	0	1	1	12
F.1 clay cap	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

subtotal	47	28	0	4	10	2	6	97
75S70W St.1	400	14	1	1	0	35	2	453

REMAINING

40S20E								
wall cleaning	2	12	0	0	0	0	0	14
St.1 (F2.1)	158	989	1	71	2	97	2	1320
ne wall F2.1a	2	15	0	0	0	2	0	19
St.2,L2 (F2)	21	238	0	9	1	19	0	290

St.2,L3(F2.3)	24	310	3	4	2	10	4	357
St.3,L1(F3.1)	35	126	0	0	0	11	0	172
St.3,L2(F3.2)	56	291	0	0	0	14	0	361
F4 (east)	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
F5 (east)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

subtotal	301	1985	4	84	5	153	6	2538
Totals:	1516	2212	5	93	17	226	21	4090
%	37.07	54.01	0.12	2.27	0.42	5.53	0.51	100

Summation, Artifact Patterns

Unit	Kitch	Arch	Furn	Cloth	Pers	Act	Arm	Total
Nichols								
ACTIVE YARD								
surface units	102	0	0	0	0	3	0	105
1 x 1 units	0	1	0	1	0	10	0	12
5 x 5 units	1215	227	1	9	12	73	15	1552

subtotal	1317	228	1	10	12	86	15	1669
%	30.89	5.35	0.02	0.23	0.28	2.02	0.35	100

REMAINING

surface units	7	10	0	0	0	1	0	18
1 x 1 units	24	10	0	0	0	4	0	38
5 x 5 units	301	1985	4	84	5	153	6	2538

subtotal	332	2005	4	84	5	158	6	2594
%	7.79	47.03	0.09	1.97	0.12	3.71	0.14	100

Summation for Nichols site:

Total:	1649	2233	5	94	17	244	21	4263
%	38.68	52.38	0.12	2.21	0.40	5.72	0.49	100
Total -F2-5	1348	248	1	10	12	91	15	1725
%	78.14	14.38	0.06	0.58	0.70	5.28	0.87	100

Total Active

-feature 2-5	1317	228	1	10	12	86	15	1669
%	76.35	13.22	0.06	0.58	0.70	4.99	0.87	96.75

Total Remaining

-feature 2-5	31	20	0	0	0	5	0	56
%	1.8	1.16	0	0	0	0.29	0	3.25

Total surface= 123 or 2.89%

Total 1 x 1 = 50 or 1.17%
 Total 5 x 5 = 4090 or 95.94%
 5 x 5 - feature = 1552 or 36.4%
 (Total Features 2-5, in unit 40S20E = 2538 or 59.54% of all artifacts.)

Summation for Stine site:

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Kitchen</u>	<u>Arch</u>	<u>Furn</u>	<u>Cloth</u>	<u>Pers</u>	<u>Act</u>	<u>Arms</u>	<u>Total</u>
Surface 10 x 10	232	16	3	2	2	6	1	262
%	88.55	6.11	1.15	0.76	0.76	2.30	0.38	100
(all S Rem.)								
Active 1 x 1	13	5	0	0	0	1	0	19
%	56.52	21.74	0	0	0	4.35	0	82.61
Remain. 1 x 1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
%	4.35	13.04	0	0	0	0	0	17.39
subt. 1 x 1	14	8	0	0	0	1	0	23
%	60.87	34.78	0	0	0	4.35	0	100
Active 5 x 5	50	15	0	1	0	2	1	69
%	8.67	2.60	0	0.17	0	0.35	0.17	11.96
Remain. 5 x 5	395	67	3	5	0	31	7	508
%	68.46	11.61	0.52	0.87	0	5.37	1.21	88.04
subt. 5 x 5	445	82	3	6	0	33	8	577
%	77.12	14.21	0.52	1.04	0	5.72	1.39	100

Total Active:	63	20	0	1	0	3	1	88
%	7.31	2.32	0	0.12	0	0.35	0.12	10.21
Total Remain:	628	86	6	7	2	37	8	774
%	72.86	9.98	0.70	0.81	0.23	4.30	0.93	89.79
Grand Total all:	691	106	6	8	2	40	9	862
%	80.16	12.30	0.70	0.93	0.23	4.64	1.04	100
Total - Surface:	459	90	3	6	0	34	8	600
%	76.50	15.00	0.50	1.00	0	5.67	1.33	100

Appendix H. Minimum Ceramic Vessel Counts

Stine Farmstead:

Vessel #	Type	Form	#Frag.	Acc.#
1	Whiteware, molded	plate	2	S9-1
2	"	"	1	S14-1
3	"	"	2	S9-0
				S15-1
4	"	"	1	S55-0
5	"	saucer	2	S53-0
				S55-0
6	"	cup	2	S55-0
				S15-0
7	Whiteware, undecor.	"	1	S9-1
8	"	"	2	S65-0
				S7-1
9	"	saucer	1	S53-0
10	"	plate	1	S4-0
11	"	"	2	S7-1
12	"	"	1	S6-0
13	"	"	1	S64-0
29	"	"	1	S15-1
15	"	saucer	1	S7-1
14	Whiteware, decal floral	plate	1	S6-1
**misc. undecorated whiteware (could match more than one vessel):				
1 figurine (?) or teapot lid fragment (S54-0)				
1 handle to cup				
1 plate frag. with green hall mark "L2"				
3 cup bases				
6 plate bases				
59 misc. body sherds				
16	earthenware, molded yellow-glaze (i.e. Fiestaware)	cup/bowl	1	S12-1
17	Porcelain, blue transferprint (ug.)	plate	2	S21-0
				S53-0
18	Porcelain, decal red floral	plate?	1	S53-0
19	Porcelain, decal and handpainted	cup	2	S7-1
				S41-0
20	Porcelain, molded	plate	2	S2-0
				S4-0
21	Porcelain, undecor.	cup	2	S12-1
				S15-1
30	Porcelain, molded w/	saucer	1	S15-1

Vessel #	Type	Form	#sherds	Acc. #
22	Redware, Unglazed	flowerpot?	1	S9-1
23	Redware, leadglazed	unknown	1	S15-0
24	Stoneware, albany slipglazed int/ext	crock?	1	S7-1
25	Stoneware, green alkaline-glazed	crock?	1	S9-1
26	"	"	1	S12-1
27	"	unknown	1	S22-0
28	" (pink body)	crock?	4	S65-0 S53-0 S57-0 S82-0
31	Stoneware, albany slipglazed	crock	1	S15-1

**plus 11 misc. stoneware bodies and 1 misc. crock rim

Field Isolates:brought to investigator by owners:

- 1 bristol slipglazed ext. crock S99-0
- 1 Undec. whiteware saucer rim S100-0
- 1 green alkaline-glazed stoneware crock (chicken house)
- 1 albany slipglazed stoneware crock (chicken house)

Nichols Ceramics:

Vessel #	Type	Form	#Sherds	Acc. #
1	Redware, Unglazed	flowerpot	19	F3-2 F3-1 F2-1
2	"	flowerpot	7	N8-1
3	Earthenware, lead glaz., pink body	unknown	2	F3-2 F2-3
4	Stoneware, grayish alkaline-glazed w/pinkish-buff fabric	crock?	2	N8-1 N8-2-
5	Stoneware, green alkaline-glazed w/pinkish bod.	crock?	1	F2-1
6	" w/gray-pink bod.		5	F2-1 F2-3 F2-2
7	Stoneware, albany slipglazed	crock?	3	F2-2 F4-1
8	Porcelain, undec.	plate	1	N9-1
9	Porcelain, hand- painted w/ green leaf underglaze, red over the glaze- might be saucer frag.	plate?	1	N8-1
10	Porcelain, Luster hand-painted black floral lines with decal	plate	1	F3-2

floral and green underglaze hand-painted
 leaves, yellow and red overglz. fill-in.
 "Made in Japan L"

Vessel #	Type	Form	#Sherds	Acc.#
11	Earthenware, green-glazed, high-fired	unknown	1	N10-1
12	Whiteware, molded	cup	1	F3-1
13	Whiteware, decal floral	cup	4	F2-1
14	Whiteware, undecor.	cup	4	F2-1
15	"	"	1	F3-2
16	"	"	1	F3-2
17	Whiteware, molded	saucer? (bowl?)	3	F2-3 F2-2
18	Whiteware, undecor.	plate	3	N9-1 N9-2-
19	"	saucer	1	N1-0
20	"	plate	2	F2-2
21	"	"	1	F2-3
22	Blued Ironstone	plate	2	N8-1

**plus two misc. undecor. whiteware plate bodies

Sears 1929 Catalog-Ceramic Sets, Prices

Type dinner plates (9")	\$ per Set of 32	\$ 6 teacups 6 saucers	\$ 6
Molded White	3.40	--	--
Polyfloral (Chanson)	17.25	4.74	3.60
" (Golden Dawn)	5.25	1.70	--
" (Vestal Rose)	7.28	2.42	1.98
" (Miss America)	6.10	2.10	1.74
Polyfloral w/Matte gold			
(Juno)	22/95	6.43	5.22
" (Lorraine)	14.45	4.24	3.00
Polygloral, gold trim			
(Dream Poppy)	6.25	2.19	1.80
(Princess Royal)	7.89	2.70	2.20
(Golden Rose)	8.98	3.58	2.36
Polyfloral, molded			
(Nasturtium)	5.40	1.80	1.53
(Autumn Ivory)	4.10	1.50	1.32
(Caledonian)	5.60	1.90	1.60
(Song of Spring)	5.35	1.86	1.56
Gold Band, molded	3.95	1.40	1.16
Bright gold trim	4.75	1.57	1.34
Matte gold trim	7.75	2.68	2.03
Blue Willow Transfer.	6.45	2.00	1.97
Plain White	--	1.14	0.98
Plain White	--	1.24	--

Ceramic Sherds by Form and Type:

Type	Stine		Nichols	
	#	%	#	%
Unglazed Redware	1	0.79	26	38.24
Leadglazed Redware	1	0.79	0	0
Colored glz. Earthenware	0	0	2	2.94
Molded, col.glz.EW	1	0.79	0	0
Alkaline-glz. Stoneware	19	15.08	8	11.76
Albany s.glz. Stoneware	2	1.59	3	4.41
Undec. Porcelain	2	1.59	1	1.47
Decorated Porcelain	8	6.35	2	2.94
Molded Whiteware	10	7.94	4	5.88
Decal Whiteware	1	0.79	4	5.88
Undecor. Whiteware	81	64.29	15	22.06
Blued Ironstone	0	0	2	2.94
Totals:	126	100.00	68	99.99
Representing Vessels	31		22	

Minimum Ceramic Vessel Counts by Form, Site:

Site	Unknown	Flowerpot	Crock	Bowl/cup	Saucer	Plate	Tot.
# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %	#	
Stine	2 6.45	1 3.23	5 16.13	6 19.35	4 12.90	13 41.94	31
Nichols	2 9.09	2 9.09	4 18.18	5 22.73	3 13.64	6 27.27	22

Phi coefficient Test of Significance, Ceramic Vessels, Using Stine Frequencies as Expecteds:

	Decorated	Undecorated	Total
Stine	13 a	10 b	23
Nichols	5 c	10 d	15
Totals	18	20	38

$$O=BC-AD$$

$$\text{sq.root of } (a+b)(c+d)(a+c)(b+d)$$

$$=-80/352.4202037$$

$$=-0.227001742 \quad (\text{should be near 1, and is not})$$

χ^2 Test of Minimum Vessels, Ceramics, Using Stine as Expected:

	Unknown	Flowerpot	Crock	Cup/Bowl	Saucer	Plate	T
#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#
Stine	2(2.3)	1(1.8)	5(5.7)	6(6.4)	4(4.1)	13(11.1)	31
Nichols	2(1.7)	2(1.3)	4(3.7)	5(4.6)	3(2.9)	6(7.9)	22
totals:	4	3	9	11	7	19	53

$$\chi^2 = .049 + 0.32 + .01 + .03 + .002 + .32 + .07 + .45 + .02 + .04 + .003 + .45$$

$$= 1.764 \text{ at 5 Degrees of Freedom (11.0705 needed)}$$

Appendix I. Minimum Vessel Counts, Glass Artifacts

Nichols Site:

Vessel #	Description	Form	#Fragments	Acc.#
1	emerald green	tumbler	2	N8-1
2	milkglass molded design, threaded	jar	6	NF3-2
3	milkglass burned lip	jar	1	NF2-2
4	milkglass very short, for i.e. rouge	jar	1	NF3-1
5	milkglass "BA"	lid	1	N8-1
6	amber large, has "BE RE" (Not to be returned?)	bottle poison?	9	N2-0, N8-1 N10-1
7	amber medicine bottle, 3 beads on shoulder, "Abbott" on base	vial	9	NF2-1
8	aqua	jar?	1	N6-1
9	soda green with threads, melted	jar	1	NF3-2
10	pale green gradiated side	bottle	2	NF2-3
11	soda green almost complete, crown "216"	bottle	66	NF3-2 N10-1
12	pale green coke, crown lip, "G.U.S. Pat.O" fluted body, white paint letters	bottle	5	N8-1
13	pale green coke?, "ille" (Bottled in Statesville?), crown lip	bottle	7	NF3-2 NF2-1
14	pale green burned coke "ola", fluted, small, "istered"	bottle	5	NF3-1
15	amethyst	unknown	2	N4-1
16	clear pressed herringbone "TT"	plate	2	NF2-1
17	clear pressed geometric	plate	1	NF3-2
18	clear	bowl?	3	NF2-1 N5-1 N6-1
19	clear wine base? circular, thin	tableware	1	NF3-2
20	clear shot glass? w/cup mold base	tumbler	1	N10-1
21	clear etched rim	tumbler	1	NF2-1
22	clear	tumbler	1	NF2-1

23	plain rim clear	tumbler	1	N0-0
24	clear fluted, postmold base	tumbler	5	N10-1
	**plus one miscellaneous clear tumbler base (NF2-1)			
25	clear	bottle	1	N10-1
	"Bayer Aspirin" "12 15 65"			
26	clear	bottle	1 (whole)	N10-1
	medicine, cup mold "7 1 4 2"			
27	clear	bottle	3	N10-1
	cup mold, beaded base soda			
28	clear	bottle	1	N10-1
	soda			
29	clear	bottle	1	NF2-1
	soda			
30	clear	bottle	4	NF2-1
	soda?			
				NF3-1
				NF3-2
31	clear	bottle	1	NF3-2
	soda?			
32	clear	bottle	4	N8-1
	pressed w/quilted design, poison? "ERAL" "R REUSE" "TAL DIST CORP" "18 12-41" "LA,PA PAT.D.97561"			
33	clear	bottle?	3	N3-1
	molded grapes, wheat, oblong base			
34	clear	bottle	1	N10-1
	Owen Illinois, rectangular base "9 6 4"			
35	clear	bottle	1	N10-1
	medicine? rect. base 3 oz.			
36	clear	bottle	1	NF2-1
	case bottle?			
37	clear	bottle	1	N8-1
	medicine?, rect. base			
38	clear	bottle	1	N6-1
	rect. base			
39	clear	bottle	1	N8-1
	base w/concentric rings			
40	clear	bottle	1	N3-1
	base			
41	clear	bottle	1	N8-1
	slightly beaded base			
42	clear	bottle	1	N10-1
	circular base "7-1-5"			
43	clear	bottle	1	NF2-1
	thin, pontil			
44	clear	vial	4	NF3-2
	medicine "40"			
				NF2-1
				N7-1

45 clear unknown 1 NF3-2
 fluted, 1 inch diameter
 **plus misc. threaded bottle tops, 8 distinct types:
 2 narrow aperture, long neck (i.e. Ketchup) N10-1
 1 1/2" aperture, medicine? NF3-1
 1 juice or milk, 1"d" N10-1
 1 panel medicine? 3/4" diam. NF2-1
 1 1/2" diameter, NF3-2
 1 3/4" diameter, N10-1 (medicine?)
 1 " " NF2-1
 1 7/8" diameter, N3-1
 2 misc. fragments, NF2-1, N10-1
 also 1 misc. clear base, medicine? "A" NF2-2, and 1
 misc. bottle base N3-1

46 clear jar 1 N2-1
 rim w/screw threads
 47 clear jar 1 N10-1
 48 clear jar 1 NF3-1
 49 clear jar 2 N10-1
 50 clear jar 1 N10-1
 51 clear jar 1 N8-1
 52 clear jar 3 N8-2
 N10-1
 53 clear jar 2 N4-0
 54 clear jar? 2 NF2-1
 N10-1
 55 clear jar 2 NF3-2
 56 clear jar 1 N8-1
 57 clear jar 1 N8-1
 58 clear jar 1 N8-1
 59 clear jar 1 N8-1
 one side pitted
 60 clear bowl/cup 2 NF2-1
 molded base to rim

**plus misc. jar rim fragments:
 12 total, NF2-1, N6-1, N8-1, N10-1
 plus 9 misc. bases to jars, w/ 4 distinct vessels:
 1 NF2-1 "10 5 8" Owen Ill.
 2 N8-1 pitted, Anchor H-mark, Sealtest Orange Juice
 5 N8-1 "14-5-10" Owen Ill. 5 1/4" diameter (LARGE!)
 1 N8-1 "Anchor", "L-23467A.7.76.66"

plus 102 pitted bodies N8-1, probably orange juice
 plus 15 w/raised letters (N8-1, NF2-1)
 plus 6 misc. clear bodies from NF2-2
 4 NF2-3, 10 NF3-1, 584 N8-1, 1 N3-1, 2 N9-2-1,
 92 NF2-1, 294 N10-1, 1 N4-0, 1 N7-1, 3 NF3-2,
 7 N6-1, 2 NFS-1A

61 aqua bottle 1 (whole) N-1-0
 "RC"

62	pale green bottle	1	"	"
	coke			
63	pale green bottle	1	"	"
	coke			
64	pale green bottle	1	"	"
	coke			
65	soda green bottle	1	"	"
	7-UP "Hickory, NC"			
66	clear bottle	1	(whole)	N1-0
	soda, molded Nehi			
67	clear bottle	1	"	"
	soda, molded			
68	clear bottle	1	"	"
	Pepsi? molded swirls, "8 fl oz"			
69	clear bottle	1		"
70	clear bottle	1		"
	Sealtest			

Vessels 71-77 clear Sealtest bottles, large fragments "

Vessels 78-81 clear bottles, Tropicana, large fragments "

82	clear jar	1		N1-0
83	clear jar	1		"
84	clear jar	1		"
	Peter Pan "Stays Moist to the Bottom"			
85	clear jar	1		"
	condiment i.e. pickle			
86	clear jar	1		"
	fluted shoulders			
87	clear jar	1		"
88	" "	"		"
89	clear bottle	1		"
	molded, juice?			
90	clear bottle	1		"
91	pale green bottle	1		"
	liquor			
92	pale green bottle	"		"
	liquor			
93	pale green bottle	"		"
	liquor "123 Liquor bottle 19523"			
94	amber bottle	1		N6-0
	beer, pony size			
95	clear bottle	1		N6-0
	molded with diamonds and flutes, condiment? "2 11 6.32138.11"			

Plus 5 globe glass fragments, N10-1, NF2-1, NF2-3 (scalloped edges), some burned.

plus N10-1 one clear tip of a light bulb?, narrow fragment plus melted and burned glass fragments from NF2-1, NF2-2, NF2-3, NF3-1, NF3-2 and one NF2-1 medicine dropper of clear glass with red letters and one tiny light bulb?

(flashlight?)

Stine Minimum Vessel Counts for Glass:

Vessel #	Description	Form	#Fragments	Acc.#
1	milkglass molded floral	plate	2	S10-0 S14-0
2	milkglass oval ointment jar with zinc cap, decorated w/Greek key "Woodbury" "2 8 4", cold cream?	jar	1 (whole)	S57-0
3	milkglass hexagonal, w/screw threads "7"	jar	1 (whole)	S55-0
4	milkglass *inserts to zinc caps, some say porcelain, still classed as milkglass	jar liner	1	S12-1

Vessels 5-18 are similar to vessel 4, but definitely are independent vessels. From S12-1, S29-0, S3-1, S3-0, S7-1, S53-0, S11-0, S8-1, S2-0, S37-0, S55-0, S42-0.

** plus misc. lid fragments, a total of 52 frags. These add the following proveniences: S64-0, S10-0, S13-1, S19-0, S33-0, S52-0

19	milkglass thin, delicate (1/16" thick)	unknown	1	S78-0
20	composite clear w/milkglass dots	bowl	3	S53-0 S7-1
21	light yellow embossed w/wheat?	plate	1	S7-1
22	cobalt blue ointment? threads	jar	3	S12-1 S61-0 S53-0
23	soda green	bottle	1	S20-0
24	amber	jar	1	S2-0
25	amber panel w/molded design	bottle	2	S8-1 S9-0
26	amber panel w/molded letters	bottle	4	S15-1 S8-1 S7-1 S46-0

**Plus misc. amber bodies: S7-0, S7-1, S8-1, S12-1, S14-1, S53-0 (15 total)

27	pale green panel, medicine? "LL & D" "OTTE"	bottle	1	S5-1
28	pale green panel "F", "ON"	bottle	3	S54-0 S12-1
29	pale green	plate	1	S12-1

pressed floral
 35 pale green bottle 1 S27-0
 **Plus 13 misc. pale green fragments, S2-1, S5-1, S8-1
 S9-1, S10-1, S11-0, S12-1, S55-0, S63-0

30 aqua jar 4 S9-1
 threads S15-1
 S54-0
 31 aqua jar 2 S9-1
 32 aqua insulator 4 S12-1
 (electric)
 33 aqua jar? 1 S15-1
 very large base
 34 aqua unknown 2 S2-0
 S95-0

**Plus 68 misc. aqua glass fragments:
 1 is cursive "a" from "BALL" (S2-0), S2-1, S3-1, S7-1, S8-0,
 S8-1, S9-1, S12-1, S14-1, S15-1, S32-0, S35-0, S52-0, S54-0,
 S55-0, S62-0, S64-0, S65-0, S89-0

36 clear pressed bowl? 4 S7-1
 bubble design ext. S8-1
 S15-1
 S12-0
 37 clear pressed bottle? 1 S7-1
 linear i.e. Log Cabin
 38 clear pressed bowl 1 S54-0
 sugar bowl? linear flutes
 39 clear pressed bowl 1 S12-0
 fruit, vegetable design
 40 clear pressed bowl 3 S9-1
 net pattern S18-0
 S54-0
 41 clear pressed bowl 2 S7-1
 large net pattern (pitcher?) S62-0
 42 clear pressed bowl? 1 S12-1
 sloping net, ext. holloware
 43 clear pressed bowl? 1 S0-0
 diamond pattern, ext. holloware
 44 clear pressed bottle 2 S38-0
 soda style, crown lip S91-0
 45 clear pressed bowl? 3 S7-1
 scalloped rim
 46 clear pressed tumbler 5 S2-1
 like snuff glass, fluted S7-1
 S12-1
 47 clear pressed tumbler 3 S7-1
 fluted S13-1
 48 clear tumbler 2 S16-1
 49 clear bottle 1 S65-0

	cup bottom mold, nail polish?		
50	clear bottle	1	S65-0
	nail polish (pink), hexagonal, threaded		
51	clear bottle	1	S65-0
	rectangular base "12" not for beverage		
52	clear bottle	1	S12-1
	embossed "DAY" cup bottom mold		
53	clear bottle	1	S55-0
	"MONTIC", rectang. base		
54	clear bottle	1	S0-0
	sand pitting, pressed "10", cup bottom mold		
55	clear bottle	1	S49-0
	milk? "9.49.51.x duraglass"		
56	clear bottle	1	S40-0
	"87" embossed, circular base cup b. mold		
57	clear bottle	2	S47-0
	pressed star fluted base, thick		S55-0
58	clear bottle	1	S4-0
59	clear bottle	6	S8-1
			S11-0, S12-1, S39-0
60	clear jar	1	S8-1
	pressed sides, Owens Ill.?, oval pat. 2940		
61	clear jar	1	S12-1
	rectangular, cup b. mold		
62	clear jar	1	S89-0
	pitted base		
63	clear jar	1	S12-1
	pitted base		
64	clear jar	1	S2-0
	pitted base		
65	clear jar	2	S9-0
	series of concentric rings		S76-0
66	clear jar	1	S14-1
67	clear jar	4	S12-1
			S14-0, S16-1, S17-0
68	clear jar	2	S15-1
	very very pale green cast		

**Plus 19 distinct lip fragments, 9 w/embossed letters:
 threaded rims- S12-1, S47-0, S8-1, S14-1, S75-0, S14-1, S23-0, S12-1 and 1 bottle lip S55-0, 1 possible oil finish lip w/mold seam to the top (S16-0), 1 unknown lip c. 1903 S65-0, 1 prescription medicine round lip w/applied collar S3-0, 1 bead (sheared lip) small perscription S66-0, 1 melted crown soda S7-1, 2 possible coke S7-1, 1 panel bottle "CK C M" S10-1, possible coke S34-0. S10-1 w/"I", S58-0 w/pitted shoulder i.e. orange juice

**Plus 241 misc. clear body fragments as follows:
 S1-0, S3-0, S3-1, S4-0, S5-1, S7-0, S7-1, S7-2, S8-0, S8-1, S9-1, S10-0, S10-1, S11-0, S11-1, S12-1, S2-0, S13-1, S14-1, S15-0, S19-0, S21-0, S22-0, S26-0, S27-0, S31-0, S32-0, S33-0, S34-0, S36-0, S37-0, S38-0, S39-0, S43-0, S45-0, S46-

0, S47-0, S51-0, S53-0, S54-0. S55-0, S65-0, S66-0, S60-0.
S74-0, S89-0, S96-0

69	amethyst	bottle	2	S25-0
		w/perscription double ring lip w/ older style seam, panel, embossed, circa 1880-1890 (Sellari 1979:7)		S35-0
70	amethyst	tumbler	1	S5-1
71	amethyst	unknown	1	S32-0
		pitcher spout?, fluted		
72	amethyst	lid	2	S11-0
				S54-0
	**Plus 1 misc. base to bottle or tumbler			S7-1

Total minimum glass vessels, Stine Farmstead=72

also discovered 3 fragments of clear globe glass (S7-1)

Nichols and Stine Decorated and Undecorated Glass Vessels:

	Decorated*	Nondecorated
Stine (72)	52 (72.20%)	20 (27.80%)
Nichols (95)	42 (44.21%)	53 (55.79%)

*includes colored glass

Nichols and Stine Decorated and Undecorated Glass Vessels:

	Decorated**	Nondecorated
Stine (72)	20 (27.80%)	52 (72.20%)
Nichols (95)	19 (20.00%)	76 (80.00%)

**includes only pressed, molded designs

χ^2 test of association in both cases, using Stine as standard, for one degree of freedom, results supported the null ($n=27.21$, 1.39 respectively)

Stine Glass Fragments, by Type:

Type	minus lids		w/lids	
	#	%	#	%
milkglass	5	1.06	77	14.18
composite	3	0.64	3	0.55
light yellow	1	0.21	1	0.18
cobalt	3	0.64	3	0.55
soda green	1	0.21	1	0.18
amber	22	4.68	22	4.05
pale green	19	4.03	19	3.50
aqua	81	17.20	81	14.92
clear	329	69.85	329	60.59
amethyst	7	1.49	7	1.29
total:	471	100.01	543	99.99

Nichols and Stine sites, Glass Vessels, by Form:

Form	Stine	Nichols
plate	3 (4.16%)	2 (2.10%)
jar	15 (20.83%)	27 (28.40%)
bowl	7 (9.72%)	2 (2.10%)
tumbler	4 (5.60%)	6 (6.30%)
bottles	20 (27.77%)	54 (56.80%)
lids	16 (22.22%)	1 (1.10%)
other	7 (9.72%)	3 (3.20%)
total:	72 (100.02%)	95 (100.00%)

Comparison of Glass by Color, both Sites:

Color	Stine Frags. Vessels		Nichols Frag. Vessels	
light yellow	1	1	0	0
emerald green	0	0	2	1
milkglass	77	17	9	4
amber	22	3	19	3
aqua	81	5	2	2
soda green	1	1	68	3
pale green	19	1	25	10
amethyst	7	4	2	1
clear	329	33	1259	71
cobalt	3	1	0	0
composite	3	1	0	0
totals	543	72	1386	95

Nichols Glass Vessels by Type and Form:

Type	Plate	Bowl	Tumbler	Jar	Bottle	Lid	Other	
emer.gr.			1					
milkglass				3		1		
amber					3			
aqua				1	1			
soda gr.				1	2			
pale green					10			
amethyst							1	
clear press	2	2		1	6			
c. fluted			2	3			1	
c. undec.			2	18	32		1	
c. etched			1					
totals:	2	2	6	27	54	1	3	95
%total:	2.1	2.1	6.3	28.4	56.8	1.1	3.2	100

Stine Farstead Minimum Glass Vessels, by Form and Type:

Type	Plates	Bowls	Jars	Bottles	Tumblers	Lids	Other	
milkglass	1		1			15	1	
yellow	1							
cobalt			1					
soda green				1				
amber			1	2				
aqua			2				3	
pale green	1			3				
amethyst				1	1	1	1	
clear press		6	1	2			2	
clear undec.			8	11	1			
c. fluted					2			
composite		1						
totals:	3	7	15	20	4	16	7	72
%total	4.16	9.72	20.83	27.77	5.55	22.22	9.72	
(100.02 % total)								

Appendix J. Artifact Pattern Comparisons

1. Active and Remaining Area Comparison, Stine and Nichols Sites*

Provenience	Kitch	Arch	Furn	Cloth	Pers	Act	Arms	Total
N. Active	1317	228	1	10	12	86	15	1669
%	78.91	13.66	0.06	0.60	0.72	5.15	0.90	100.00
S. Active	63	20	0	1	0	3	1	88
%	71.59	22.73	0	1.14	0	3.41	1.14	100.01
N. Remain.	332	2005	4	84	5	158	6	2594
%	12.80	77.30	0.15	3.24	0.19	6.09	0.23	100.00
N.Rem. -Fea	31	20	0	0	0	5	0	56
%	55.36	35.71	0	0	0	8.93	0	100.00
S. Remain.	628	86	6	7	2	37	8	774
%	81.14	11.11	0.78	0.90	0.26	4.78	1.03	100.00
S.Rem.-Surf.	396	70	3	5	0	31	7	512
%	77.34	13.67	0.59	0.98	0	6.05	1.37	100.00

*Percentages are not of total, but within each of the two stratified divisions (Active Yard, Remainder).

Nichols Site Features=2538 artifacts, all in remaining area, or 59.54% of all historic artifacts found.

Stine Site Surface collected artifacts=262 total, all in remaining area, for 30.39% of all historic artifacts found.

2. Artifact Pattern Comparisons, Stine and Nichols Sites, by % of Total Historic Artifacts Found.

Provenience	Kitch	Arch	Furn	Cloth	Pers	Act	Arms	Total
Nichols								
Active Yd	30.89	5.35	0.02	0.23	0.28	2.02	0.35	39.15
A.-Feat.	76.35	13.22	0.06	0.58	0.70	4.99	0.87	96.75
Stine								
Active Yd	7.31	2.32	0	0.12	0	0.35	0.12	10.21
A.-Surf.	10.50	3.33	0	0.17	0	0.50	0.17	14.67
N.Remain	7.79	47.03	0.09	1.97	0.12	3.71	0.14	60.85
R -Feat.	1.80	1.16	0	0	0	0.29	0	3.25
S.Remain	72.86	9.98	0.70	0.81	0.23	4.30	0.93	89.79
S.Rem.-Surf.	66.00	11.67	0.50	0.83	0	5.17	1.17	85.33
Total Nich.	38.68	52.38	0.12	2.21	0.40	5.72	0.49	100.0

Total N-Fea.78.14 14.38 0.06 0.58 0.70 5.28 0.87 100.0
 Total Stine 80.16 12.30 0.70 0.93 0.23 4.64 1.04 100.0
 Total S-Sur 76.50 15.00 0.50 1.00 0 5.67 1.33 100.0

3. Comparison of Various Artifact Patterns:

Site	Kitch	Arch	Furn	Arms	Cloth	Pers	Act	Pipe
A	59.51	27.58	0.35	0.19	2.95	0.29	1.34	7.80
B	27.6	52	0.2	5.4	1.7	0.2	3.7	9.1
C	77.39	17.81	0.07	0.17	0.49	0.05	0.51	3.53
D	24.3	70.8	0	0	1.0	0.1	0.3	0
E	72.3	22.1	0	0	1.5	0.3	3.8	0
F	45.1	50.0	0.4	0	1.8	0.4	1.8	0
G	40.60	55.6	0.07	0	1.8	0.3	1.2	0
H	60.7	36.7	0	0	1.0	0.5	1.0	0
I	40.07	54.11	0.69	0.69	3.08	0	3.77	0
J	34.62	44.87	0	3.84	5.13	0	11.54	0
K	43.96	50.15	2.89	0.36	0.36	0	2.13	0.36
L	32.77	34.24	0	0.63	26.05	0	5.88	4.0
M	45.78	40.56	0	1.20	2.41	0	10.04	0
N	53.90	38.31	0	1.30	0.65	0	5.84	0
O	32.63	44.21	0	1.05	5.26	0	16.84	0
P	38.68	52.38	0.12	0.49	2.21	0.40	5.72	0
Q	78.14	14.38	0.06	0.87	0.58	0.70	5.28	0
R	78.91	13.66	0.06	0.90	0.60	0.72	5.15	0
S	12.80	77.30	0.15	0.23	3.24	0.19	6.09	0
T	55.36	35.71	0	0	0	0	8.93	0
U	80.16	12.30	0.70	1.04	0.93	0.23	4.64	0
V	76.50	15.00	0.50	1.33	1.00	0	5.67	0
W	71.59	22.73	0	1.14	1.14	0	3.41	0
X	81.14	11.11	0.78	1.03	0.90	0.26	4.78	0
Y	77.34	13.67	0.59	1.37	0.98	0	6.05	0

Key to Provenience:

- A. Carolina Artifact Pattern, 18th c. Anglo-american, South 1977 Carolina Artifact Pattern, as Revised by Wheaton et al. 1983:271, 285.
- B. 18th Century Frontier Pattern, lineage same as above.
- C. 18th Century Slave Pattern, Wheaton et al. 1983
- D. 19th Century Slave Pattern, developed by Teresa Singleton, See discussion in Resnick 1984, Drucker et al. 1984:5-47
- E. 19th Century South Carolina Piedmont Tenants, Trinkley and Caballero 1983
- F. 19th Century South Carolina Piedmont Yeoman and Tenant, Drucker et al. 1984:5-47
- G. 19th Century South Carolina Planter, Same lineage as above
- H. 19th-20th Century Scotch Irish Piedmont Yeoman, Resnick

- 1984
- I. Burke County, (Piedmont) North Carolina, 20th Century tenant (Stine et al. 1987:95), 31BK116
 - J. Burke County, NC, 19th tenant, 31BK117 (Stine et al. 1987)
 - K. Burke County, NC, 19th Century Plantation (Stine et al. 1987), Site 31BK120.
 - L. Wheaton and Reed 1987:49, Piedmont Yeoman, 19th-20th Century
 - M. Above, without cellar fill
 - N. Above, domestic artifact pattern only
 - O. Above, non-domestic pattern only
 - P. 20th Century, Nichols total
 - Q. Nichols Total minus Feature Fill
 - R. Nichols Activity only
 - S. Nichols, Remaining only
 - T. Remaining - Feature Fill
 - U. Stine Farmstead total, 20th Century
 - V. Stine total minus surface
 - W. Stine Active Yard
 - X. Stine, Remaining only
 - Y. Stine, Remaining minus surface

Results of X^2 analysis of comparison of South's Carolina Artifact Pattern with various site patterning, based on Kitchen, Architectural, and Activity Groups Frequencies- Assumption is that the CAP serves as a model for us to test our site patterning against

CAP to 38BK397 (agrarian manager's farmhouse, late 19th-early 20th century)- result is 475.48, as opposed to significance of 5.99147 at 2 degrees of freedom at the 0.05 level. (See Brockington et. al. 1985:219.)

CAP to Nichols Remaining - Feature= 8.56, 2 degrees of freedom

CAP to Stine Active= 0.15 (no significant difference between CAP and Stine ACTIVE YARD artifact pattern)

CAP to Resnick 1984= 463.00 at 2 degrees of freedom

X^2 computation results, comparing Stine, Nichols data- assuming that distributions should be similar, again, at 2 degrees of freedom, comparing Kitchen, Architectural, and Activity Groups:
(.05=5.99147, .01=9.21034)

Nichols Total Active to Remaining= 1662.9

Stine Total Active to Remaining= 9.82

Stine Total to Nichols Total= 523.01

Stine Remaining to Nichols Remaining= 1392.42

Stine Active to Nichols Active= 7.87

Stine Total to Nichols Total, without Features= 143.43

Stine and Nichols 1 x 1 units only= 5.72

Adjusted Stine and Nichols 1 x 1 units= 4.62 (no sign.
difference between the two distributions when samples are
adjusted to equal number of 17 each)

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