To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Kimberly S. Pyszka entitled "The Mountain Folk of Rugby, Tennessee: An Archaeological and Historical Study of the Massengale Home Site (40MO146)." I have examined the final paper copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Art, with a major in Anthropology.

Charles Faulkner, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Lynne P. Sullivan

Benita J. Howell

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Provost and Dean of
Graduate Studies

THE MOUNTAIN FOLK OF RUGBY, TENNESSEE: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE MASSENGALE HOME SITE (40MO146)

A Thesis Presented for the
Master of Arts Degree

University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Kimberly S. Pyszka

May 2003

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Massengale Family and all citizens of the Rugby area, past and present.

I would also like to dedicate this thesis in memory of my grandparents, Wayne "Jake" and Mary Bieri.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I'd like to thank my thesis committee members, especially Dr. Charles Faulkner. Over the past few years, he has shared his knowledge and love of archaeology, which I hope to be able to pass on to others. Additionally, he gave me the confidence in myself to complete this project, while always being there with advice and/or comments. Dr. Benita Howell first informed me of the Massengale homesite and Historic Rugby, Inc.'s intention to have it studied. Her knowledge of Rugby and the Appalachian region has been invaluable. Additionally, I'd like to thank Dr. Howell for providing grant money which made the March 2002 fieldwork possible. I would also like to thank Dr. Lynne Sullivan, who offered her editorial expertise along with comments and suggestions on this thesis and for also "opening my eyes" to the problems of museum curation.

Thanks to Barbara Stagg, Director of Historic Rugby, Inc., who provided me with photographs, maps, and other historical documents from the Rugby Archives, in addition to her own vast knowledge of the Massengale family and of Rugby. I would also like to thank Barbara and the rest of the Board of Directors of Historic Rugby, Inc. for providing room and board for the crew, and for making Rugby such an enjoyable place to work.

A huge thank you to University of Tennessee Anthropology students, Sabrina Baird, Jennifer Barber, Annie Blankenship, Daniel Moore, and Rebecca Wilcox, who volunteered their time, and in some cases gave up their spring

break, to join my field crew. Your hard work is very much appreciated, especially in the midst of flooding rains, mud, ticks, high temperatures that barely reach 30 degrees, and of course, the poison ivy!! In addition, thanks to the Spring 2002 and Fall 2002 students in the Historical Archaeology Laboratory at the University of Tennessee, who assisted with the processing of artifacts.

Additional field crew members included volunteers from the Rugby community, Eric Wilson, Vi Biehl, Julian Bankston, Charles Gibbs, and Lavonne Gibbs. I can not express to you how much your work was appreciated. In addition, you opened your homes to the crew and made us all feel very welcome to your homes and to Rugby.

My thanks also goes out to those who were kind enough to share their family memories and memories of life in Rugby. Lummy Massengale shared his research on his family history and shared many of his family's memories with me, along with assisting out in the field. Loren Lawhorn shared his childhood memories of life in Rugby and many family stories.

A special thanks goes out to my two undergraduate professors, Dr. Brad Huber and Dr. Barbara Borg at The College of Charleston. I never imaged myself majoring in Anthropology until I enrolled in Dr. Huber's introductory Anthropology class and Dr. Borg first introduced me to Historical Archaeology. Thanks to both of you for not only your advice during my undergraduate years, but also my graduate ones.

Thanks to Martha Zierden and Ron Anthony at The Charleston Museum. Besides giving me opportunities to learn from their experiences, they were also

there for me to bounce ideas regarding this thesis off of and also the occasional artifact identification.

Special thanks to Paul Avery, who not only helped me immensely during my first year in graduate school and answered many questions regarding his research at Uffington House and Rugby, but who once said to me, "You know, there were people living in the Rugby area before the Rugby colony".

Thanks to Brenda Scott, Kathy Anderson, Amber Holley, and Tracy Craig for encouraging me every step of the way in my decision and for never trying to talk me out of it.

Also, thanks to my sister, Kelly, and several friends for supporting me through this adventure and always being there for a little stress relief!

Last, but certain not least, I need to thank my parents, Jim and Connie Pyszka. From the first, out-of-the-blue phone call when I told them I was quitting my job and going back to school halfway across the country, they encouraged and supported me completely. Without their love and support, this thesis never would have happened. Thanks Mom and Dad!!

ABSTRACT

The town of Rugby, Tennessee was established in 1880 as an utopian colony for the middle and upper class "second-sons" of England. However, the English colonists were not the first to settle in this remote area. Settlement began in the 1820s with the earliest settlers being farmers who lived off the land producing virtually everything they needed to survive. One of these early families were the Massengales, who first owned land in the future Rugby area in the mid-1820s.

In an attempt to learn about the Massengale family, archaeological testing was conducted at their home site, located a short walk through the woods from Rugby. The only remaining evidence of their former log cabin is a stone chimney fall located in a small clearing and an 1887 watercolor painting of the cabin. Goals of this research was to better understand the lifeways of the Massengale family, and other mountain families, in addition to getting a better idea of the size and description of the Massengale cabin. In order to meet these goals, a combination of archaeological investigations and interpretations and historical documentation research was conducted, with the results being presented in this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 PAGE

INTRODUCTION, SITE DESCRIPTION, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS....1

Introduction....1

Site Description....2

Research Questions....12

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MORGAN COUNTY, THE RUGBY COLONY, AND THE MASSENGALE FAMILY....15

Early Morgan County History and Settlement....15

Hughes' Rugby Colony....20

The Massengale Family....28

CHAPTER 3

FIELD METHODS....41

Fieldwork - March 2002....44

Fieldwork - October 2002....56

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL CULTURE....61

CHAPTER 5

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS....87

CHAPTER 6

LIFEWAYS OF THE MOUNTAIN FOLK AND THE MASSENGALE FAMILY AND THEIR INTERACTION WITH RUGBY COLONISTS....103

Lifeways of the Mountain Folk....103

Lifeways of the Massengale Family....107

Relationship with Colonists....113

CHAPTER 7
CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE COMPARISON
WITH UFFINGTON HOUSE.....121

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSIONS.....137

REFERENCES CITED.....139

VITA.....151

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE PAGE

1. Population of Morgan County (1830 - 1900).....16

2. Artifacts by Functional Group.....63

3. Artifact Concentration by Unit.....65

4. Vessel Forms.....67

5. Size and Function of Complete Nails.....80

6. Complete Nail Condition: Burned Area vs. Rest of Site.....89

7. Number of Manufacturers in Morgan County (1840 - 1900).....104

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE PAGE

1. Conceptual View of Proposed Ghost Structure and Interpretative Kiosk at the Massengale homesite 3

2. Map of Morgan County, Tennessee.....4

3. USGS map of Rugby showing location of the Massengale site.....6

4. Massengale Home Site looking south.....7

5. Stone-lined springhouse.....7

6. 1887 Watercolor Painting of Massengale Cabin.....9

7. Elizabeth (Betty Ann) Massengale standing outside the cabin.....10

8. Interior of Massengale Cabin.....11

9. Thomas Hughes.....21

10. Rugby Colonists.....27

11. Undated map of Rugby area indicating Massengale property.....32

12. Site map.....43

13. SURFER plot of recovered artifacts from post-hole tests.....46

14. Features 1 and 2.....51

15. Feature 3.....53

16. Unit 4, Feature 6.....55

17. Feature 8.....57

18. SURFER plot of ceramics from post-hole tests.....66

19. Burned whiteware and ironstone sherds.....68

20. Black basalt teapot from Massengale site.....72

21. Black basalt teapot from E-bay.....72

22. SURFER plot of container glass from post-hole tests.....74

23. Burned and melted glass.....75

24. SURFER plot of nails from post-hole tests.....77

25. SURFER plot of window glass from post-hole tests.....81

26. Likely plowing direction across western wall to units 2 and 8.....98

27. Map of Tennessee with number of family potteries per county.....112

28. Uffington House.....122

29. Margaret and Emily Hughes.....122

30. Massengale ware types by vessel count.....124

31. Uffington House ware types by vessel count.....126

32. Massengale and Uffington House vessel forms (by MVC).....130

33. Teawares (by MVC) from Massengale site and Uffington House.....132

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION, SITE DESCRIPTION, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Introduction

The town of Rugby, located on the Cumberland Plateau in Morgan County, Tennessee, has a very unique history. Rugby was the dream of English author, Thomas Hughes, who wanted to develop an agriculturally-based, utopian community, primarily for the younger sons of the English gentry. Beginning in 1880, middle and upper-class Englishmen began to move to Rugby and Hughes' dream became a reality. After prospering for a few years, the Rugby Colony declined due to a multitude of reasons. By 1890, most of the colonists had left, but a few English families continued to live in Rugby. Since 1966, Rugby has been managed by Historic Rugby, Incorporated, and in 1972, Historic Rugby was classified as a National Register Historic District (Emerick 1995). Today, Historic Rugby shares its history with nearly 60,000 visitors every year, who tour some of the original structures built by the colonists including Christ Church Episcopal, the Hughes Public Library, and Kingston Lisle, Hughes' Rugby home. Reconstructions of other buildings are open to the public and hiking trails are available for those who wish to hike to other famous Rugby landmarks, such as the Meeting of the Waters and the Gentlemens' Swimming Hole.

Rugby's history has focused almost exclusively on its founder and the English colonists who followed him to the Cumberland Plateau of northern Tennessee; however, the English colonists were not the first European settlers in the present-day Rugby area. The earliest settlers arrived in the region around 1811 and were farmers who lived off the land, growing and producing virtually everything they needed to survive in this extremely remote area (U.S. Agricultural Census 1860b, 1870b, 1880b). Recently, Historic Rugby, Incorporated, has turned its attention to these early families, in particular the Massengale family whose home site is located a short walk through the woods from the Rugby Visitor Centre. As part of their Legacy Plan 2001 (LaPaglia Associates 2001), Historic Rugby has planned a hiking trail to the Massengale home site, along with an interpretative kiosk (Figure 1) discussing the Massengale family and the lifeways of the mountain folk who settled in Rugby decades before the English colonists arrived. Historic Rugby's desire to have archaeological investigations at the Massengale home site was brought to the attention of this author and eventually developed into this thesis.

Site Description

Rugby is located on State Highway 52, in extreme northern Morgan County, approximately 75 miles north-northwest of Knoxville, Tennessee (Figure 2). The county is situated on top of the Cumberland Plateau, which rises about 1500 feet above sea level and divides the Ridge and Valley region of East

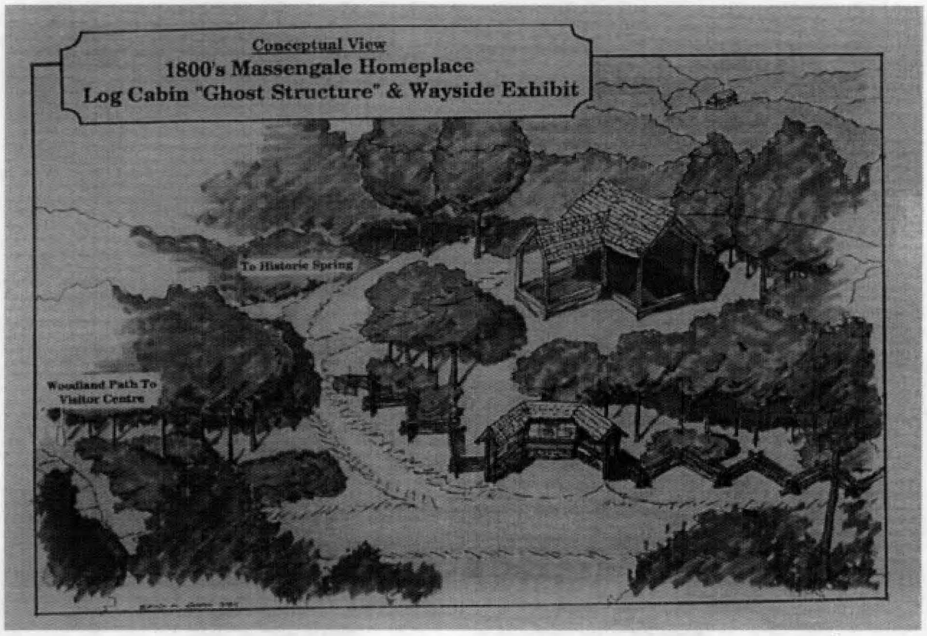


Figure 1. Conceptual View of Proposed Ghost Structure and Interpretative Kiosk at the Massengale homesite (Goode 2000).

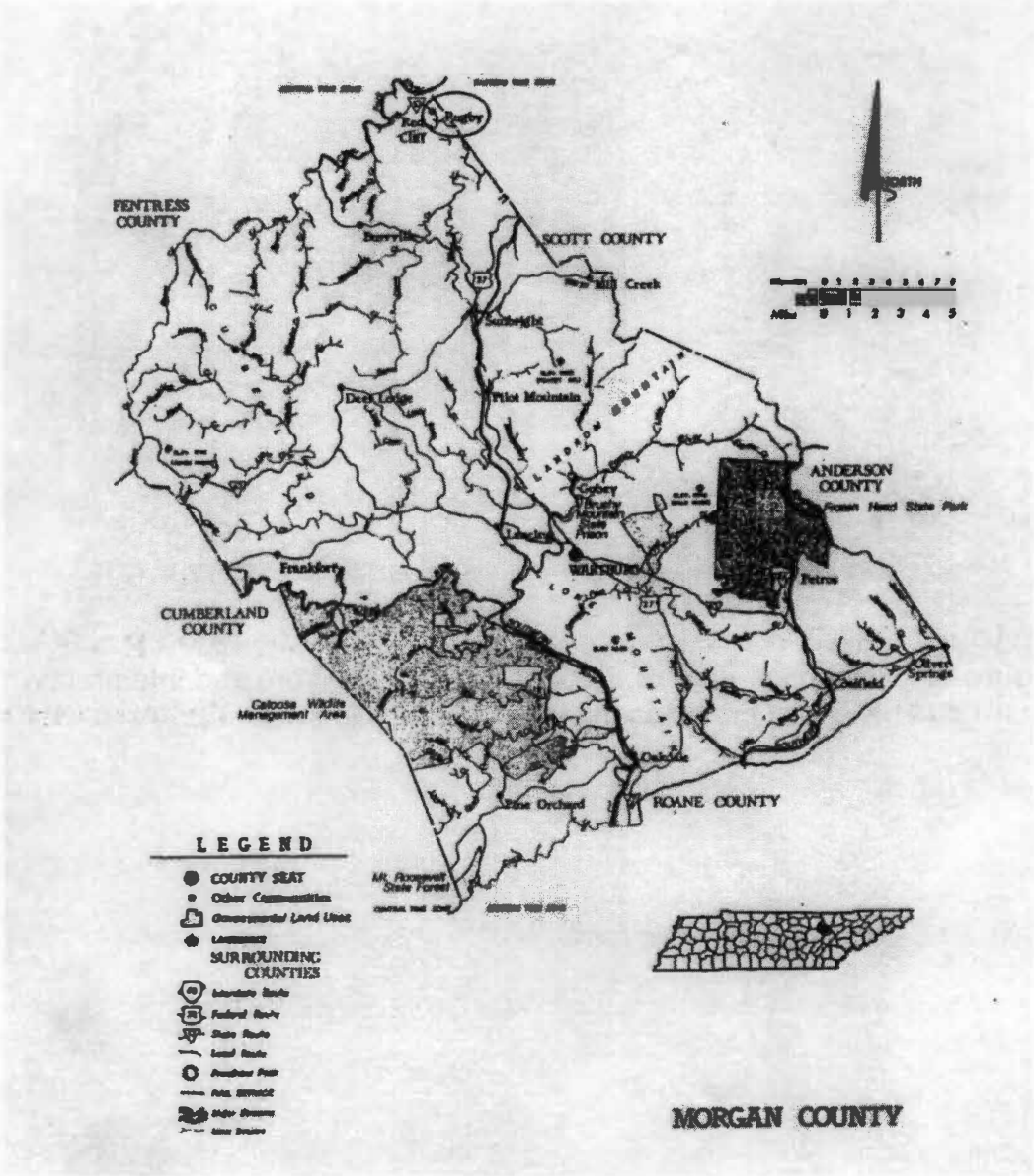


Figure 2. Map of Morgan County, Tennessee. Rugby is located within circle (Dickinson 1987).

Tennessee and the Eastern Highland Rim section of Middle Tennessee. Due to its location, Morgan County is mountainous, with many small streams and rivers, cutting deep ravines through the heavily wooded landscape (Jones 1940). The Clear Fork River runs just to the west of Rugby and White Oak Creek to its east. The county is bordered by Scott County to the east, Anderson County to the southeast, Roane County to the south, Cumberland County to the southwest, and Fentress County to the northwest. Rugby is located near the borders of Fentress and Scott counties, with either county being about two miles to the west and east, respectively.

The Massengale home site is located just south of present-day Rugby, a short walk through the woods behind the Rugby Visitor Centre (Figure 3). A trail leads one down a hill, across a small creek, and back uphill to the top of Allerton Ridge where the former 19th century Allerton Road is located. Approximately 100 yards down the road to the southeast another former road is encountered leading to the northeast. This road is heavily rutted, evidence of its use as a logging road during various logging episodes in the late 1930s/early 1940s and the 1970s. It is believed that this road was not constructed by the logging companies, but that they used a road which was already present (Personal communication, Barbara Stagg 2002). Just to the south of this secondary road is a small clearing, with a stone chimney fall about ten feet to the east-southeast (Figure 4). A stone-lined springhouse is located approximately one hundred yards down a ravine from the chimney fall (Figure 5).

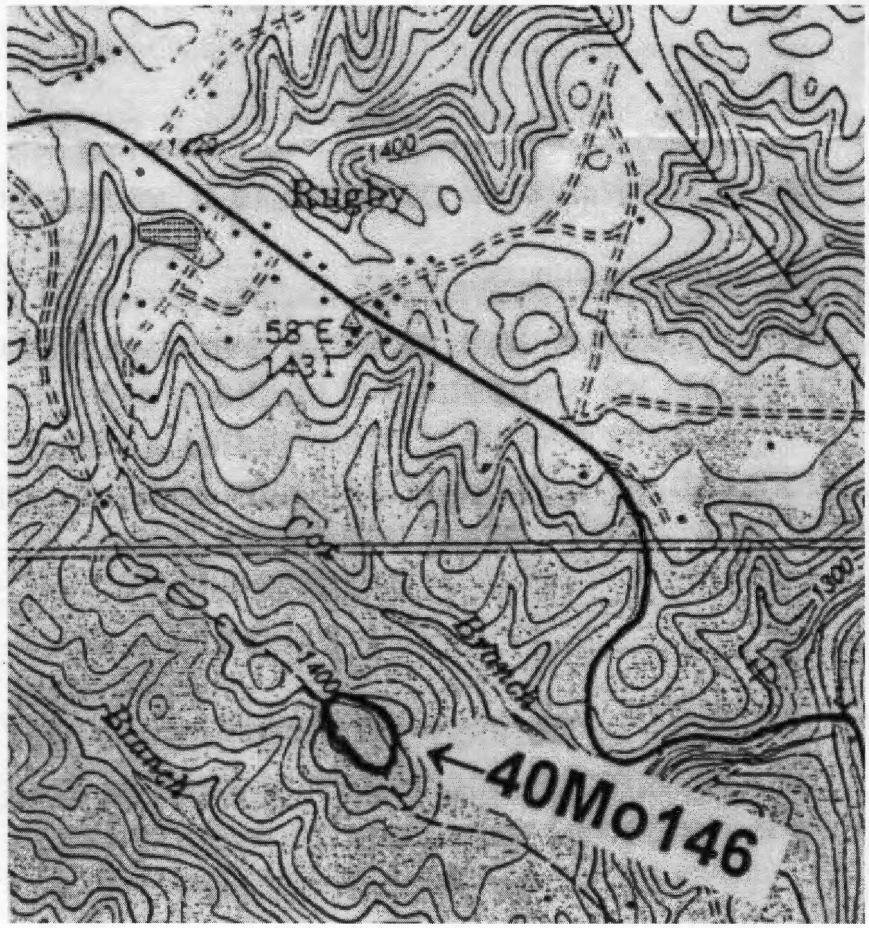


Figure 3: USGS map of Rugby showing location of the Massengale site.

Figure 4. Massengale Home Site looking south. The stone chimney fall is indicated by the circle.

Figure 5. Stone-lined springhouse

In addition to the stone chimney fall, visual evidence of the exterior of the cabin survives today in the form of a watercolor painting of the Massengale cabin and a photograph of Elizabeth Massengale standing outside the cabin. The watercolor (Figure 6) was painted by Mrs. Taylor, an Englishwoman who visited Rugby with her daughter in 1887. The painting is dated November 14 and reads "Mrs. Massingale's - Betty Ann". The painting depicts a two-pen log cabin, the larger pen being a story and a half with a large chimney on the gable end and a smaller, one-story pen also with a chimney on the gable end. The two pens appear to be divided by a dog trot and the roofs appear to be covered with wooden shakes. If one looks closely in front of the doorway of the smaller pen, boards laying on the ground parallel to the cabin appear to be a small porch. Two possible outbuildings are also visible, one behind each pen. A Virginia rail fence runs along the foreground of the picture along the length of the cabin.

The photograph of Elizabeth Massengale (Figure 7) shows her in front of a doorway of the smaller pen, standing on the wooden board porch seen in the painting, using her spinning wheel. From this photograph it is clear that the cabin was constructed of hewn logs and joined with half dovetail notches. This type of notch was the most common type used in the southern states and was often used to join logs which had been hewn on both sides (Mann 2002; Morgan 1990).

Another photograph shows a portion of what is believed to be the interior of the cabin (Figure 8). Elizabeth's sister, Mary Lowe, is seen in this photograph in front of a stone hearth smoking her pipe. This photograph was taken by a

Figure 6. 1887 Watercolor Painting of Massengale Cabin
(Photograph courtesy of Historic Rugby, Inc.)

Figure 7. Elizabeth (Betty Ann) Massengale standing outside the cabin (Photograph courtesy of Lummy Massengale).

Figure 8: Interior of Massengale Cabin
(Photograph courtesy of Historic Rugby, Inc.)

professional photographer, Elmer L. Foote from Cincinnati. Mr. Foote was known for his photographs of rural Kentucky from the late 19th century. Mr.Foote visited the Rugby area in 1901 and possibly at least one previous time (Personal communication, Barbara Stagg 2003).

Research Questions

The main goals of archaeological investigations of the Massengale home site focused on the following:

1) Determining the location and dimensions of the log cabin;

2) Determining the location, dimensions, and function of the two outbuildings that are seen in the 1887 watercolor painting; and

3) The recovery of material culture in order to better understand the lifeways of the Massengale family and other mountain folk of the Rugby area.

In addressing these original goals, other research questions were raised and will be addressed:

1) *Was the log cabin depicted in the 1887 watercolor painting the original Massengale cabin from the 1820s?* Land surveys indicate that Matthew Massengale and his two sons, William and Dempsey Sr., owned several tracts of land in northern Morgan County as early as 1824 (Bailey 1997). However, it is uncertain if the log cabin seen in the 1887 watercolor painting is from that time period or was constructed at a later date. Analysis of the material culture recovered from the site should provide this answer.

2) *If it is not the original cabin, when was it constructed and what were its occupation dates?* If artifact analysis indicates this is not the original mid-1820s home site of the Massengale family, it should provide an approximate construction date and the length of occupation of the cabin.

3) *What ultimately caused the destruction of the log cabin and when did it meet its demise?* After speaking with Rugby citizens and family members, it is still uncertain as to what happened to the Massengale log cabin or when it was destroyed. Extensive logging occurred in the area during the late 1930s and early 1940s. A descendant of Dempsey Jr. remembers visiting the "old home site" as a young boy in the 1940s and the cabin was already gone, with only the larger stone chimney still standing (Personal communication, Lummy Massengale 2001). Another possibility is that the cabin was destroyed in a fire. If this is the case, evidence of the burning of a two-pen log cabin should be indicated in the archaeological record. Yet another possibility is that the cabin was dismantled and moved to another location. Archaeological and archival research will hopefully reveal what caused the destruction of the Massengale cabin and approximately when it occurred.

4) *What type of site formation processes have occurred on the site to cause the disturbance which was encountered during fieldwork?* Archaeological testing in March 2002 revealed that the site had been heavily disturbed throughout the 20th century.

5) *What characterized the lifeways of the mountain folk and did the introduction of the English colony have any effect on the lifeways of the mountain people?* This will probably be the most difficult question to answer, if even possible at this point of time. Archaeological evidence of this would be difficult to detect and even if artifact analysis does indicate a shift to different types of consumer goods, it would be difficult to determine if the change in goods is due to the introduction of the Rugby Colony or the introduction of the railroad to the Cumberland Plateau, as both occurred around 1880.

6) *What kind of interaction was there between the Rugby colonists and the mountain people and were the mountain people "accepted" into the colony?* Answering this question will rely completely on documentary evidence. Church records, cemetery records, school records, local newspapers, and papers from Rugby businesses will be studied to determine if the Massengale family and other mountain families were included as members of the Rugby community.

7) *Can the ceramics recovered from the site give any insight into the procurement of goods in the Cumberland Plateau area before and after the opening of the Cincinnati-Southern Railroad and the founding of the Rugby Colony?* A large amount of stoneware was recovered from the site. There are no documented potters in the region during the 19th century (Smith and Rogers 1979) and if it can be determined where the stoneware was produced, this might give some indication where the mountain people were acquiring their goods.

CHAPTER 2:

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MORGAN COUNTY, THE RUGBY COLONY, AND THE MASSENGALE FAMILY

Early Morgan County History and Settlement

Euro-American settlement of Morgan County began in 1807, years before the county was officially formed. The first resident of the future county is believed to have been Samuel Hall, who settled with his family approximately seven miles northeast of present-day Wartburg. Within a year two settlements, Halls at Flat Fork Creek and Halls at Emory River, were recognized (*Knoxville Sentinel* 29 April 1923). In 1817, an act passed by the Tennessee Legislature led to the formation of Morgan County, named after Major General Daniel Morgan (Freytag and Ott 1971) and included the area of present-day Morgan, Scott, Fentress, and Cumberland counties. Even though Morgan County was a virtual wilderness and early settlers faced many hardships, the two settlements continued to grow. By the 1830 Census, the county reported 2,852 residents, many of whom were originally from North Carolina and of Scot/Irish descent. A sharp increase in the county's population occurred in 1850 (Table 1) due to the efforts of various businessmen to bring immigrants into the area, especially the German settlement of Wartburg (Cooper 1925). After a significant population drop between 1860 and 1870, probably due to effects of the Civil War, Morgan

Table 1. Population of Morgan County (1830 - 1900)
(including percentage of increase)
(As reported to the U.S. Census Bureau 1830-1900)

1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
2852 --	2660 (-7%)	3430 (29%)	3353 (-2%)	2969 (-11%)	5156 (74%)	7639 (48%)	9587 (26%)

County's population continued to rise throughout the remainder of the 19th century.

One of these early businessmen was Thomas B. Eastland, who purchased several thousand acres of land, in present-day Campbell, Scott, Morgan, Fentress, Cumberland, Pickett, and White counties. Due to the wholesale distribution of land by businessmen such as Eastland, out-of-state capitalists, often from New York, became interested in the Cumberland Plateau region. Eastland sold much of his land to many of these capitalists, who in turn sold the land to other land speculators and prospective settlers. On September 1, 1839, Henry Wells, a New York businessman, purchased 66,000 acres of land from Eastland for the purchase price of $18,000 (Cooper 1925). This purchase became very important to the settlement and history of Morgan County. Wells eventually sold this tract of land to George Gerding, a member of the German Society of New York, which assisted in bringing German immigrants to the United States. Gerding and his partner, J.C. Kunckelmann, formed the East Tennessee Colonization Company, whose purpose was to bring German and Swiss immigrants into the Cumberland Plateau counties of Morgan, Scott,

Fentress and Cumberland. Their efforts paid off when a large German and Swiss colony was formed in 1845 in central Morgan County. The settlement was named Wartburg, after the famous Wartburg Castle in Germany. Gerding lived in Wartburg until 1865 when he returned to New York after the Civil War. He was a Confederate, who allegedly was "disillusioned by the effects of the War on his colony and turned his back on Wartburg" (Freytag and Ott 1971: 106). He sold all his land and interests in Morgan County, with the exception of one tract of land which he sold in 1879 to the Board of Aid to Land Ownership, the founding body of the Rugby Colony (Cooper 1925; Freytag and Ott 1971).

Settlement of Northern Morgan County

The northern portion of Morgan County has been described as a "forest primeval" (Walton n.d.) at the time it was first settled, and even at the time of the Rugby Colony was considered to be a very remote area. Many of the early settlers in the region came from Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina (Brooks 1941) and early census records verify this (U.S. Census 1850). John Freels is believed to have been the first settler in northern Morgan County, settling along White Oak Creek in 1811, just a few years after the first settlers arrived in Morgan County. In that same year, Basil Human and his family settled along Bone Camp Creek, a few miles south of present-day Rugby. Land surveys from the 1820s and 1830s indicate the number of settlers in the northern portion of the county continued to increase (Bailey 1997). In addition to small homesteads and settlements throughout the region, small towns were founded

including Burrville in 1830 and Pine Top, present-day Sunbright, which was established prior to 1860. Traveling between these settlements and towns was very difficult due to the rough terrain, lack of surfaced roads, and the lack of a railroad until 1880, when the Cincinnati Southern was built. Traveling was even more difficult in northern Morgan County. Prior to the founding of the Rugby Colony, there were only two roads which ran through the county's northern portion. The Knoxville-Nashville Road ran through parts of Morgan County as early as 1787 and eventually connected the towns of Montgomery, Lancing, and Deer Lodge. Another early road was Marney's Turnpike. Begun in 1831, this turnpike ran along the Kentucky border and eventually crossed the Clear Fork River continuing into Montgomery. The only other road that can be documented prior to the Rugby Colony is the Rugby-Sedgemore Turnpike, which was built at the time of the colony's opening to connect Rugby with Sedgemore (present-day Robbins), where the railroad was located (Freytag and Ott 1971). During his visit just prior to the colony's opening, Hughes described one of the roads in the area as a "sandy track about ten feet wide" (Hughes 1881: 56). Even as late as 1891, the roads in northern Morgan County were mainly 3rd class roads with some 4th class roads. While no definition of a 4th class road was provided, 3rd class roads were those considered to be wide enough to allow the passage of a single horse and rider (Freytag and Ott 1971).

The Mountain Folk

The early settlers of northern Morgan County and other parts of the Cumberland Plateau are often referred to as the mountain folk. Like other settlers in Morgan County, most of the mountain folk were of Scotch/Irish and/or English descent, originally from Virginia or the Carolinas (Brooks 1941; U.S. Census 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860a, 1870a, 1880a). During his first visit to the area just prior to the Rugby Colony's grand opening, Hughes had an opportunity to travel around the Rugby area and he wrote of his travels. In addition to providing descriptions of the land, Hughes also wrote of the mountain folk, or "natives" as he called them, and gave descriptions, although very ethnocentric ones, of the mountain folk. He described the natives as friendly and he was surprised they were not the "mean whites" or "poor white trash" he expected to meet (Hughes 1881: 61). Hughes wrote that the natives were strong Unionists who were free to talk about and show their support to the Union, even going as far as to hang pictures of Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, and other Union heros on the walls of their homes (Hughes 1881). This is not surprising considering Morgan County and many of the surrounding counties had overwhelmingly voted against secession. Hughes added that the county was very Republican, without a Democratic official, and only three Democratic votes were cast from the county in the last state elections. In his opinion, the men he met were lazy and "not physically so strong as average English or Northern men" (Hughes 1881: 63) and he continued that he finally had found a place where no one cared about money, because they cared more about "loafing" and

hunting than money (Hughes 1881). Ironically, several years after the failure of his colony, a similar description was given of the young Englishmen who settled Rugby. One newspaper article stated, "the project required men of tougher mettle than the beardless younger sons, the gay "remittance men," who found it much more to their liking to ride under the russet of foliage of autumn than to put in a cover crop against winter's bite" (Niles 1939: n.p.). Hughes further wrote that the natives lived from hand to mouth, but that they seemed content with the situation because they made no attempts at further clearing of land. The natives were described as quite honest with extremely few crimes reported even though their livestock were allowed to run freely. A brief description of the free black population in the region was provided by Hughes, stating there was an increasing number of black families settling into the area. He added that the one mountain school he visited totaled about fifty children with both black and white children attending the same school (Hughes 1881). Hughes summed up his description of the native men as "well-grown men, through slight, shockingly badly clothed, and sallow from chewing tobacco, suspicious in all dealing at first, but hospitable, making everything they have in the house, including their own beds, . . . refusing payment for lodging or food" (Hughes 1881: 64).

Hughes' Rugby Colony

The Rugby Colony was the dream of British author Thomas Hughes (Figure 9), who gained worldwide fame with his semi-autobiographical book, *Tom*

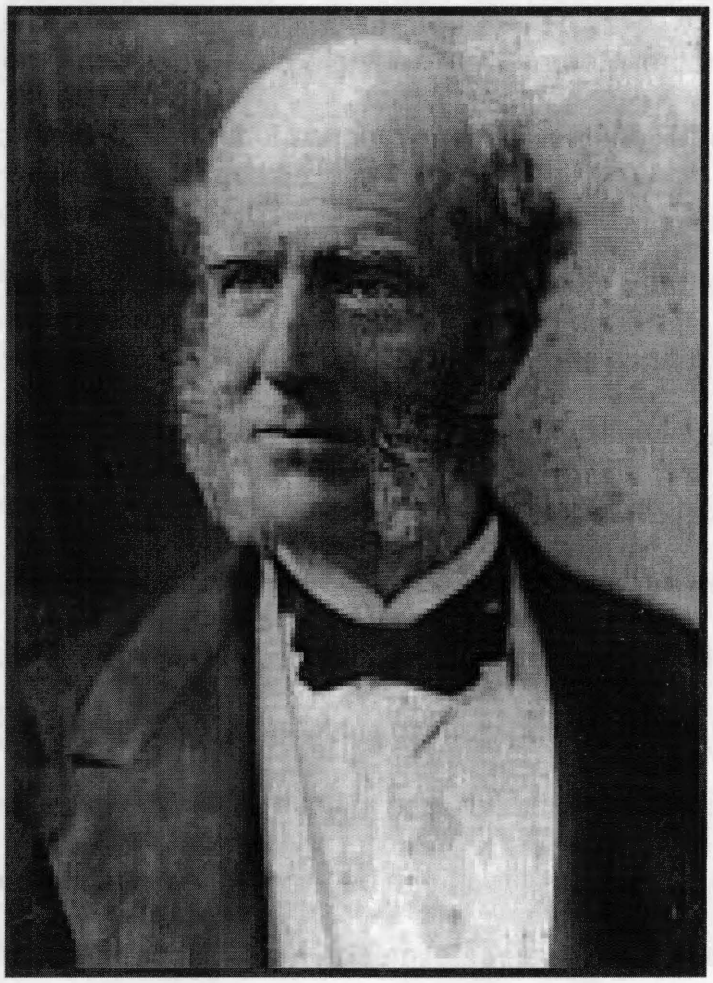


Figure 9. Thomas Hughes (DeBruyn 1995).

Brown's School Days. Hughes was born in Uffington, Berkshire, England on October 22, 1822, the second of eight children born to John and Margaret Hughes. Like many other children born into the upper class of England, Hughes and his older brother George were sent to a prestigious public boarding school. Breaking with tradition, their father did not send his sons to the school he attended, but instead he sent them to Rugby School where one of his Oxford friends, Dr. Thomas Arnold, was the headmaster. Hughes enjoyed his time at Rugby, making friends and being very active in sports, but Dr. Arnold's beliefs regarding social issues influenced him the most. He continued his education at Oriel College, Oxford, graduating in 1845 and eventually becoming a lawyer in 1847, the same year he married Francis Ford (Mack and Armytage 1952).

Hughes became a strong follower of Christian Socialism which "focused on Bible-based reform for the working class" (McGehee 1998: 64). His Christian Socialist beliefs led him to be involved in the creation of various labor unions and cooperatives in England. Although he began to lose his faith in labor unions, Hughes continued to believe in the importance of cooperatives. Around this same time, Hughes became interested in assisting the "second sons" of England, of which he was one. He strongly believed that the English system of primogeniture, in which only the eldest son received the family inheritance, hindered many of the best young men that England had to offer. These second sons, often referred to as "Will Wimbles" were expected to become doctors, lawyers, clergyman, or other acceptable positions; however, poor economic times in the 1870s made it difficult for many of these public school educated

young men to find such positions. If given the chance, Hughes believed that England's "second sons" would turn to agriculture and other forms of manual labor and he wanted to provide them with such an opportunity by developing a colony outside of England (Mack and Armytage 1952; Stagg 1973).

Economic conditions were also difficult in the northeastern United States in the late 1870s. During this difficult economic time, the Boston Board of Aid, a group of Boston businessmen including Franklin W. Smith, planned a colony on the Cumberland Plateau for out-of-work industrial workers from the Northeast, who were willing to relocate and start a new, agriculturally-based life. The Boston Board of Aid purchased acquired options from Cyrus Clarke, a land agent, to purchase 350,000 acres of land on the Cumberland Plateau in northern Tennessee and began planning their colony. As planning continued, the economic situation in the Northeast improved and interest in the colony declined. While it is uncertain how they met, Hughes came in contact with Smith and the Boston Board of Aid, expressing his interest in the Tennessee land (Howell and Neff 2002; Mack and Armytage 1952; Stagg 1973). Hughes sent John Boyle, a London barrister, to inspect the land and send a report back to him. Boyle, who had very little knowledge regarding farming, sent Hughes a very positive report of the area including the following:

> The soil also pleased me . . . It was . . . easily cultivated, appearing to yield readily . . . very fine corn, clover, potatoes, apples, cabbage, tobacco and other produce . . . It did not seem to be laborious cultivation which had been used, but the very slightest and least articial.
> [There is an] . . . abundance of grasses on which cattle and sheep feed contentedly . . . and . . . droves of hogs abound, fattening

inexpensively on luxurient fruits of the beech, oak, chestnut, and hickory" (Brachey and Brachey 1987: 7).

Trusting Boyle's account of the land and its agricultural possibilities, Hughes moved forward with his colony. Hughes and Boyle joined with Smith and his investors, to create The Board of Aid to Land Ownership, Ltd., with Hughes as president and Boyle the vice-president. Sir Henry Kimber, an English railroad businessman, was also included in this joint business venture. The Board of Aid immediately purchased 7,000 acres, including the site of the proposed colony, with an additional purchase of 33,000 acres shortly thereafter. Clarke served as the site manager and purchasing agent for the colony and set out to complete the transfer of his optioned land to the Board (Howell and Neff 2002; Mack and Armytage 1952; Stagg 1973).

The Rugby Colony

With lands presumably secured, Hughes immediately began development of his colony, managing its development and construction from across the Atlantic, trusting Boyle to oversee construction and finances. Hughes sailed for the States in August 1880 in order to oversee the final stages of construction and to attend the colony's grand opening ceremony. Due to his popularity in the United States, he was invited to many cities during his stay, but he refused most, stating that he was in the States "to work, not to 'blarney' around" (Mack and Armytage 1952: 231). After spending a few days in New York, Hughes traveled to Cincinnati where he boarded the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, the newly

opened railroad connecting Cincinnati to Chattanooga. The railroad passed within seven miles of the new colony with the nearest station located in Sedgemoor, and from there Hughes continued to the colony by carriage. Although he was concerned about finances and delays in construction due to difficulties with land titles, Hughes was quite pleased with the progress he saw upon his arrival. The Tabard Inn, the colony's hotel, had just been completed and construction of other public buildings and residences were under way. Additionally, trails had been cleared throughout the forest and recreational areas, such as the cricket fields and tennis courts, had already been completed (Mack and Armytage 1952; Stagg 1973).

Although Hughes had originally designed the Rugby Colony as a place for England's "Will Wimbles," the colony was not exclusively settled by England's second sons. At the grand opening of the colony, Hughes declared, "our settlement is open to all who like our principles and ways" (Hughes 1880: 92) and the official Rugby handbook stated "Any one is free to come; all are welcome. We mind not if it is the law-abiding citizen of some other section of this country, or the order-loving immigrant from across the water. Rugby is not a "brotherhood" community, nor a sectarian settlement" (Board of Aid to Land Ownership 1884: 7).

According to Dickinson (1993), approximately 200 colonists lived in the colony when it first opened in 1880, of which roughly one half were Americans who relocated from elsewhere in Tennessee and other parts of the country. About 80 of the 200 citizens were from England, and of those it is not certain

how many of those 80 were the "second sons" Hughes originally wanted to attract to the colony. Four years into the colony's existence, it is estimated that 47% of the approximately 500 Rugbeians were English and only about 9% were single, young English men. While Rugby may not have been settled by the type of settlers Hughes originally wanted to attract, the colonists, both English and American, were rather unique when compared to other such ventures, due to many of the colonists coming from middle to upper class backgrounds, with an above average education, and some descending from famous ancestry. For the first few years of its existence, the population of Rugby continued to grow, reaching its peak population of around 500 residents in 1884 (Dickinson 1993).

While Hughes' dream was for an agricultural community, it seems that some of the colonists had other ideas (Miller 1941). In addition to buildings, recreational areas such tennis courts, rugby fields, and cricket grounds were constructed, often before housing was completed. One newspaper story described life in the colony as "very good fun for a time at least, with well-filled days, afoot and in saddle, in the midst of scenery where it was good to be alive" (Whipple 1925: 30) (Figure 10). And while plans were being made for such business ventures as a tomato canning plant, a sawmill, and a commissary, colonists were just as busy forming various social and sporting clubs, such as the Library and Reading Room Society, The Tennis Club, The Archery Club, The Pioneer Football Club, The Rugby Baseball Club, and a literary and dramatic society (Niles 1939; Owsley 1968; Stagg 1968).

Figure 10. Rugby Colonists (Photograph courtesy of Historic Rugby, Inc.).

For a few years the colony flourished, but by 1887, the colony began to decline due to a combination of problems, including bad business practices, problems regarding land ownership, drought, and disease (Owsley 1968), and although the town of Rugby has continued until today, Hughes' utopian colony failed. In 1891, the Rugby Tennessee Company, Ltd. was formed and took control of all Rugby holdings until 1899 when The Rugby Land Company purchased all Rugby interests. Also during the last decade of the 19th century, prospectors became interested in the natural resources of the Rugby area, including timber, oil, and natural gas. During the first half of the 20th century, exploitation of these natural resources occurred, with timbering occurring all around Rugby, including the former Massengale lands (Howell and Neff 2002; Mack and Armytage 1952; Owsley 1968).

The Massengale Family

There are at least 33 known spellings of the name Massengale. In this study, Massengale will be primarily used because that is the spelling used by direct descendants of Dempsey Massengale Jr., who lived in the log cabin which is the subject of this study, although various other spellings will also be used when a source used an alternative spelling.

The Massengale name can be traced back to Yorkshire, England, as early as the 16th century. The direct line of Dempsey Jr. can be traced back to Daniel Marsingell, who is believed to be the first of the Massengale family in America.

Daniel was a sailor who traveled across the Atlantic from England to the New World and it is documented he owned land in Virginia in 1649. Two generations later, James Massengill moved from Virginia to North Carolina. James's grandson, Matthew, and great-grandsons, Dempsey, Sr. and William were the first Massengales in northern Morgan County. The exact date when they moved to Morgan County is unknown, but in the 1810 Census all three are listed as living in Ashe County, North Carolina, located in the northwestern portion of the state (Thompson and Studdard 2001). William is the first of the Massengales to have recorded ownership of land in Tennessee. In a document dated January 1825, William was assigned five hundred acres of land in Washington County, East Tennessee. The first record of Massengales in Morgan County, dated January 31, 1825, is 50 acres of land along the White Oak Creek, being assigned to William. The document states that the recorded survey was based on Entry #164, dated December 7, 1824, suggesting that William was living on or using the land as of that date.

Dempsey Sr. owned several hundred acres of land in northern Morgan County. In January 1825, a land survey was entered in Dempsey Sr.'s name for 50 acres of land along White Oak Creek, near William's property (Bailey 1997: 18). Another survey dated April 14, 1826, states that Dempsey Sr. had an additional 50 acres along Bone Camp Creek, ". . . including his improvement and house where he now lives" (Bailey 1997: 37). Bone Camp Creek is located approximately 2-3 miles south of present-day Rugby, where it enters into White Oak Creek. William owned many acres of land near the meeting of the two

creeks and Dempsey's first survey may also have been in the Bone Camp Creek area. The first evidence of Dempsey Sr. in the immediate Rugby area is from a land grant issued by the State of Tennessee on November 12, 1829, for 200 acres of land along the east bank of White Oak Creek. This grant was based on Morgan County Entry #263 dated January 2, 1826 and states that Dempsey Sr. had an improvement on the property. A pencil-drawn map was discovered in the Rugby archives which shows the location of this tract of land located 1 1/2 to 2 miles east of present-day Rugby (Anonymous 1954). A small housing addition now covers much of this land. Another tract of land was granted to Dempsey Sr. by the State of Tennessee for one hundred and fifty acres of land. Unfortunately, there are not enough landmarks in the description of the property to provide any indication of where the property was located, except that it was along the east bank of White Oak Creek. This tract of land was granted to Dempsey Sr. on August 8, 1849, but was from an entry dated January 1833. The exact location and acreage of all of Dempsey Sr.'s property is uncertain, but a map of the Rugby area dated 1884, shows land owned by Dempsey Sr.'s descendants. It is likely that all this land was originally owned by Dempsey Sr.

On July 10, 1826, Matthew was granted a 100 acre tract of land west of Rugby along the south bank of the Clear Fork ". . . including his chapping near Brewster's Trace" (Bailey 1997: 49). Within Rugby Board of Aid records, the ownership of a 100 acre tract of land originally owned by Matthew Massengale was traced to the Tompkins family heirs and then to Rugby. On an undated blueprint map, an approximate 100 acre tract of land on the south side of Clear

Fork Creek and near Brewster's Trace is shown as owned by the Tompkins heirs. Due to the description of Matthew's tract and the location of the Tompkins heirs property, it is believed that the Tompkins heirs' property was Matthew's 1826 property.

Dempsey, Jr. and Elizabeth

Dempsey Jr. owned a tract of land just south of present-day Rugby, where the site is located today (Figure 11). Dempsey Jr. bought a 50-acre tract of land from Dempsey Sr. on December 17, 1858, which may be the property where the homesite was located, but once again it is difficult to determine the location of this tract of land based on its description in the deed record (Morgan County Deed Book M: 668). The precise date of when he moved to Rugby is unknown, but his name first appears in the area in the 1860 Morgan County Census. A search of census records for prior years in Tennessee and North Carolina has not uncovered any record of Dempsey Jr. listed as the head of a household. The 1860 census entry lists Dempsey Jr. as 50 years of age, although family history states he was born in 1802 (Thompson and Studdard 2001). His family included his wife, Elizabeth, age 40, and six children, Margaret, John, George W., Henry C., Ann, and Mary. The only other documented account of Dempsey Jr. and Elizabeth prior to the 1860 Census is in church records from Longfield Baptist Church near Smokey Creek, in Scott County. The church recorded that in November 1850, Dempsey and Elizabeth Massengill were received into the church. These records also indicate that Dempsey and Elizabeth were

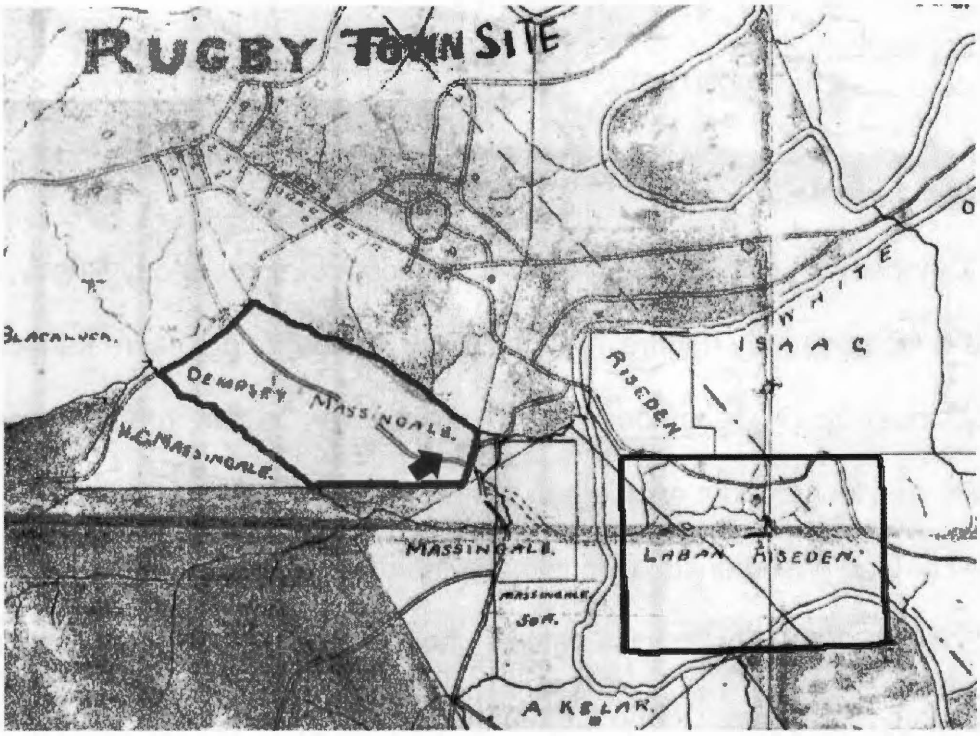


Figure 11. Undated map of Rugby area indicating Massengale property. Dempsey Jr.'s tract is outlined in red with arrow pointing to approximate cabin location. Dempsey Sr.'s 1826 200-acre tract is outlined in blue (Tennessee State Library and Archives 19– b).

dismissed from the church in June 1857 (Hutton 1982). The county line between Morgan and Scott counties moved further west between 1860 and 1870, and by the 1870 Census, Dempsey Jr. was listed in Scott County. In addition to Elizabeth, children recorded as still living at home included Margaret, Henry C., Anniliza, Polly, and Nancy (U.S. Census 1870a). At the time of the 1880 Census, Dempsey Jr. was still recorded as living in Scott County. In addition to Elizabeth, five other dependents are listed, Margaret age 40, Nancy age 16, William age 13, George and John, both age 9. George and John are listed as sons of Dempsey Jr., however Lummy Massengale, Dempsey Jr. and Elizabeth's great-grandson, states they were actually grandsons of Dempsey and Elizabeth (Personal communication, Lummy Massengale). This does appear to be more likely due to Dempsey Jr. and Elizabeth's reported 1880 Census ages of 83 and 65, respectively.

While historical documentation such as census records and land deeds may tell us about when and where Dempsey Jr. lived, it does not offer us any insight into the type of person he was. However, Esther Walton, the daughter of English Colonists, wrote of Dempsey Jr., whom she referred to as Uncle Dempsey, in her memoirs. She described Dempsey Jr. as,

> ". . . a very old mountaineer . . . who never tired of spinning yarns for my delection, especially since, with youthful credulity, I received his most remarkable exploits with implicit faith. The old gentleman was one of that number now almost passed away, who could remember days when the surrounding country was altogether a wilderness, with houses scattered miles apart, and the forest inhabited only by bears, deer, panthers, and other wild animals seldom seen there in our day" (Walton 1993: 13).

Esther's account of Dempsey Jr., indicates that he was quite a story teller and prankster. One story which Uncle Dempsey liked to recall was regarding his skill and luck as a hunter. Esther writes,

> "He had been hunting one afternoon, but, after tramping for several miles, had seen only two or three squirrels, and was consequently in a very bad humor. As he was walking down a path leading to a mountain stream, he suddenly saw something at the foot of the path, something which dispelled his vexation like magic. It was a noble deer, drinking in fancied security at the brink of the creek. An instant for steady aim, and the report of Uncle Dempsey's rifle went – crack! through the woods. But at this same moment, an immense jack, leaping out of the water to catch a fly, came in direct line with the deer's head, while a fine wild turkey, startled by the sound, stood still just opposite both, on the outer bank of the stream. And the bullet, passing through the deer, dispatched the jack, and killed the turkey on the other side. "It was a master shot," Uncle Dempsey used to say, and so impressive was his gravity that no one ever dared doubt the authenticity of his narrative" (Walton 1993: 14).

Esther also recalled that Dempsey Jr. could imitate every bird and animal in the forest and wrote of another story that Uncle Dempsey used to tell.

> "He had been hunting all day, and was on his way home, when he saw in the distance an old man and an old woman toiling along with two great sacks on ginseng, an herb much used as a medicine in those parts. Now Uncle Dempsey wanted some ginseng himself, and quickly bethought himself of a scheme by which he might obtain in a few min-utes [sic], what the old folk had spent a whole day in gathering. Quietly concealing himself behind a large rock, he made ready, and as his intended victims slowly approached, already a little nervous in the falling twilight, Uncle Dempsey began to utter a low, peculiar cry, something like the wail of a child. The old people started in alarm, and drew near with timid steps. Again the cry, this time very close at hand; and they stood terrified. Suddenly the cry came a third time, a yell as of an animal about to spring on them, and the old folk, dropping their sacks,

> turned, screaming, "The painter! The painter [panther]! and fled through the woods as if pursued by demons.
>
> Uncle Dempsey thereupon, gathered up the "sang" and took it calmly home to his wife, but, to her credit be it told, that good woman made him return the whole to the rightful owners (Walton 1993: 13)."

No record of Dempsey Jr.'s date of death has been uncovered, although descendants believe that he died in the mid to late 1880s. Dempsey Jr. lived until at least December 10, 1884, when he and Elizabeth gave three of their children, Margaret, George W., and William, several acres of land each (Scott County Registrar of Deeds 1884: 333, 334, and 339) and having already sold their son, Henry C., land in 1879 (Scott County Registrar of Deeds 1879: 666). This division of land amongst heirs was often completed prior to a property owner's death and since Dempsey Jr. was approximately 82 years old when the land was divided, he may have felt he was not going to live much longer. Neither Dempsey Jr.'s nor Elizabeth's gravestones have been accounted for in any Morgan County cemetery, but it is possible that Dempsey Jr. is buried at Laurel Dale Cemetery in Rugby (Kries and Kries 1996). Documentary evidence in the form of Rugby accounting ledgers may provide support for a mid-1880s death for Dempsey Jr. From the time the accounts were first kept in 1880, there is no mention of Dempsey Jr., but in 1885 Elizabeth's name is listed on several entries for either buying or selling goods (Tennessee State Library and Archives [19–]a). In addition to Elizabeth, a Peggy Massengale also has several entries. Dempsey Jr. and Elizabeth's oldest child was named Margaret and Peggy is a common nickname for Margaret. Elizabeth's name, and possibly her daughter's

name, in the accounts beginning in 1885 may indicate that Dempsey Jr. had recently died, and his widow and eldest daughter were now conducting business with the Rugby colonists.

As is the case in much of pre-20th century history, very little is known regarding Dempsey Jr.'s wife, Elizabeth Ann Thompson Massengale, nicknamed Betty Ann. Census records indicate that she was born in Virginia and it is believed that she was a full-blood Cherokee (Thompson and Studdard 2001). At some point in the 1880s, possibly after Dempsey Jr.'s death, Elizabeth's sister, Mary Lowe came to live at the cabin. This is documented in the journal of Lucy Taylor, an Englishwoman who visited the Rugby area with her mother in 1887. Mrs. Taylor sketched many places she visited around Rugby including the watercolor drawing of the Massengale cabin and another of Mary at her spinning wheel. In her journal, Lucy wrote of several visits she and her mother had with Elizabeth and Mary at the Massengale home. In an excerpt dated Friday, November 11, 1887, Lucy wrote: "After dinner we went to see Mrs. Massingale, a native American, who lived in a log-house not far off. She was very puzzy & carded wool & spun some to show us how it was done; her sister, who is older than herself was smoking a pipe. Mrs. M. has a puzzy dog rather like a basset." (Taylor 1887: 23). The Taylors visited the Massengale home again on Monday, November 14, 1887. This is the date on the watercolor painting of the Massengale home and Lucy wrote of her mother's drawing of the cabin on that date, "In the afternoon Mamma & I went to Mrs. Massingale's. M. made a sketch of the house; Mrs. M.'s sister came out and invited us to go in, which we did; she

was carding & spinning wool. M. made a little sketch of her. After she had spun a little she lighted her pipe and sat by the fire & talked to us; she was very puzzy tho' rather melancholy; she must have been very handsome, she is still very good-looking" (Taylor 1887: 23).

While the date of Elizabeth's death is uncertain, it appears that she died in 1892. An entry in the Rugby accounting books on December 30, 1891 reads "Eliz A Massingale in full of a/c. . . $8.50." (Tennessee State Library and Archives [19–]a), indicating she was alive through that date. On August 17 and 18, 1892 three of Dempsey Jr. and Elizabeth's sons, George, William Grant, and John, each sold their 1/8 interest of an 80-acre tract of land which ". . . Dempsey Massengale last lived and on which Betty Ann Massengale lived after his death up to time of her death" (Morgan County Registrar of Deeds 1893: 245-248). Based on these documents, Elizabeth died between January 1 and August of 1892.

William Grant

According to family accounts, William Grant, the youngest child of Dempsey Jr. and Elizabeth continued to live with Elizabeth after Dempsey Jr.'s death. In the Southern Appalachian region, it was often the case that the youngest son would continue to live on the family homestead and care for elderly parent(s) (Gardner 1987). Even after Elizabeth's death, it is believed that William Grant continued to live in the cabin with his wife, Mary Atterson, and their first four children, who were born between 1892 and 1900. Their fifth child

Lummy Sr., born in 1905, was the first of their children not born in the cabin. While the exact date is unknown, it is believed that William Grant and Mary moved to nearby Robbins between the birth of their fourth child and Lummy Sr. in 1905. The cabin was then abandoned, but not destroyed, at that time (Personal communication, Lummy Massengale). The photograph of the interior of the cabin (See Figure 8) does support the family history. One of the catalog pages used as wallpaper reads '1901' in a corner. This may or may not indicate the year, but 1901 is the same year Elmer L. Foote, the photographer, is known to have visited Rugby (Personal communication, Barbara Stagg). In addition, a medicine bottle seen setting on the mantle has a paper label, which becomes available circa 1903.

Documentary evidence does not necessarily support the family living in the cabin until after the turn of the century. On January 10, 1894, the property ". . . better known as the old homestead on which Dempsey and Betty Ann Massengale last lived . . . " was sold by their son, George, to Laban Riseden for $25.00 (Morgan County Registrar of Deeds 1894: 443). The description of the property lines corresponds to Dempsey Jr.'s property as seen on a blueprint map of 1884. Two years later on April 11, another record is made of the sale of the property ". . . more particularly known as the old Massengale homestead on which Dempsey and Betty Ann Massengale last lived" (Morgan County Registrar of Deeds 1896: 241). This record states the property consisted of 84 acres and was sold by Henry C. Massengale, another son of Dempsey Jr. and Elizabeth, to Riseden for $25.00. These records indicate that Dempsey Jr.'s tract was no

longer in the family as of April 1896. Even though the property was no longer owned by the Massengales, it is possible that Riseden rented the cabin out to William Grant, who continued to live there with Mary and their children until shortly after the turn of the century.

In addition to this tract of land, Riseden purchased all the remaining Massengale property in the early and mid 1890s, as indicated in a microfilm reproduction of an undated map. The Riseden family was another family who settled in the area prior to the Rugby Colony, with Isaac Riseden, Laban's father, first appearing in the 1870 Census. At one time, the Riseden and Massengale families owned much of the land east and south of present-day Rugby. Isaac Riseden lived at Horseshoe Bend along White Oak Creek, where he had a substantial farm with several outbuildings. Isaac was a prominent member of Rugby society and during the planning stages of the Rugby Colony, the Risedens hosted Hughes and other members of the Board of Aid. A map compiled by William Walton, a surveyor from Rugby in the early part of the 20th century, reads within Dempsey Jr.'s tract of land "Charles C. Young, 70 acres (woods)" (Walton 1940). This map is dated 1930, although the three was crossed out and replaced with a four, so it may have been created or updated in 1940. A third map which distinctly shows Dempsey Jr.'s tract reads "70 Acres, now Chas. C. Young (from L. Riseden Est.) Dempsey Massengale Tract" (Anonymous n.d.). Unfortunately, the year this map was compiled has been scratched out and is unreadable. A search of deed records could not positively trace the ownership of the property beyond Laban Riseden. The only record of

Charles C. Young purchasing land near Rugby is dated 1933, when Young purchased 12 acres of land from the Rugby Land Company (Morgan County Registrar of Deeds 1933: 267), which based on the description of the property boundaries, does not appear to be Dempsey Jr.'s tract. In addition, the 1930 (or 1940) map reads that Young owned 70 acres of Dempsey's tract, not the 12 acres of this sale. Riseden sold several tracts of his land to various lumber companies in the late 1910s and early 1920s (Morgan County Registrar of Deeds Index 1914 -1951) before his death in 1922 or 1923. Because Dempsey Jr.'s tract was logged at some time between the 1920s and early 1940s, it is possible that Riseden sold the property to a logging company and it was later purchased by Chas. C. Young.

CHAPTER 3:

FIELD METHODS

Before archaeological testing began, an initial survey was conducted on the site in order to determine the approximate location of the Massengale cabin and the location any additional surface features aside from the chimney fall. Although the chimney fall and watercolor painting survive, they do not provide the orientation of the cabin within the clearing and the actual dimensions of the cabin. In order to determine where the grid should be established, it was necessary to situate the painting to the chimney fall and the rest of the site. Due to the large size of the chimney fall it was assumed that it was the chimney from the larger pen. Based on the location of three stones which appear to be a portion of the hearth and the possible root cellar, it appeared the interior of the larger pen was to the south of the chimney fall, which would indicate Mrs. Taylor painted the cabin from the north facing south. This orientation for the cabin is supported by further evidence. In the painting, a gradual slope can be seen with the higher elevation near the larger pen sloping down toward the smaller pen and further downhill. A Virginia rail fence is also seen running the length of the house down the slope. This is the same gradual slope that can be seen today if one stands just north of the clearing, and the fence would have run between the cabin and the road that is just to the north of the chimney fall. Additionally, the

side of the cabin shown in the painting, presumed to be the north side, does not show any windows. If the Massengales only had the resources for a few windows, it is likely they would have been placed on the south side of the cabin for maximum sunlight and heat, in addition to protection from cold northerly winds. Unfortunately, no evidence of the second chimney base could be located through soil probing, posthole testing, or excavation; however, there was enough evidence to support that the painting was sketched with Mrs. Taylor standing in the north, looking south toward the cabin and Allerton Road. This orientation was later confirmed by posthole testing and unit excavation.

Based on the location of the stone chimney fall and the 1887 watercolor painting, a 66 foot by 69 foot testing area was established to the south of the chimney fall, extending east and west (Figure 12). The principal datum point, 100N/100E, was placed 9 feet north of the northwestern-most portion of the fallen stone chimney, with Grid North being forty degrees west of true north. Alternative datum points were placed at the "corners" of the testing area, 100N/133E, 100N/64E, and 34N/64E. Due to trees in the southeastern portion of the testing area, the southeast corner datum point was moved six additional feet to the east and was located at 34N/139E. In order to place this southeast datum point, two additional points at 58N/133E and 58N/139E were placed in order to move around trees. All seven points were marked with PVC pipe.

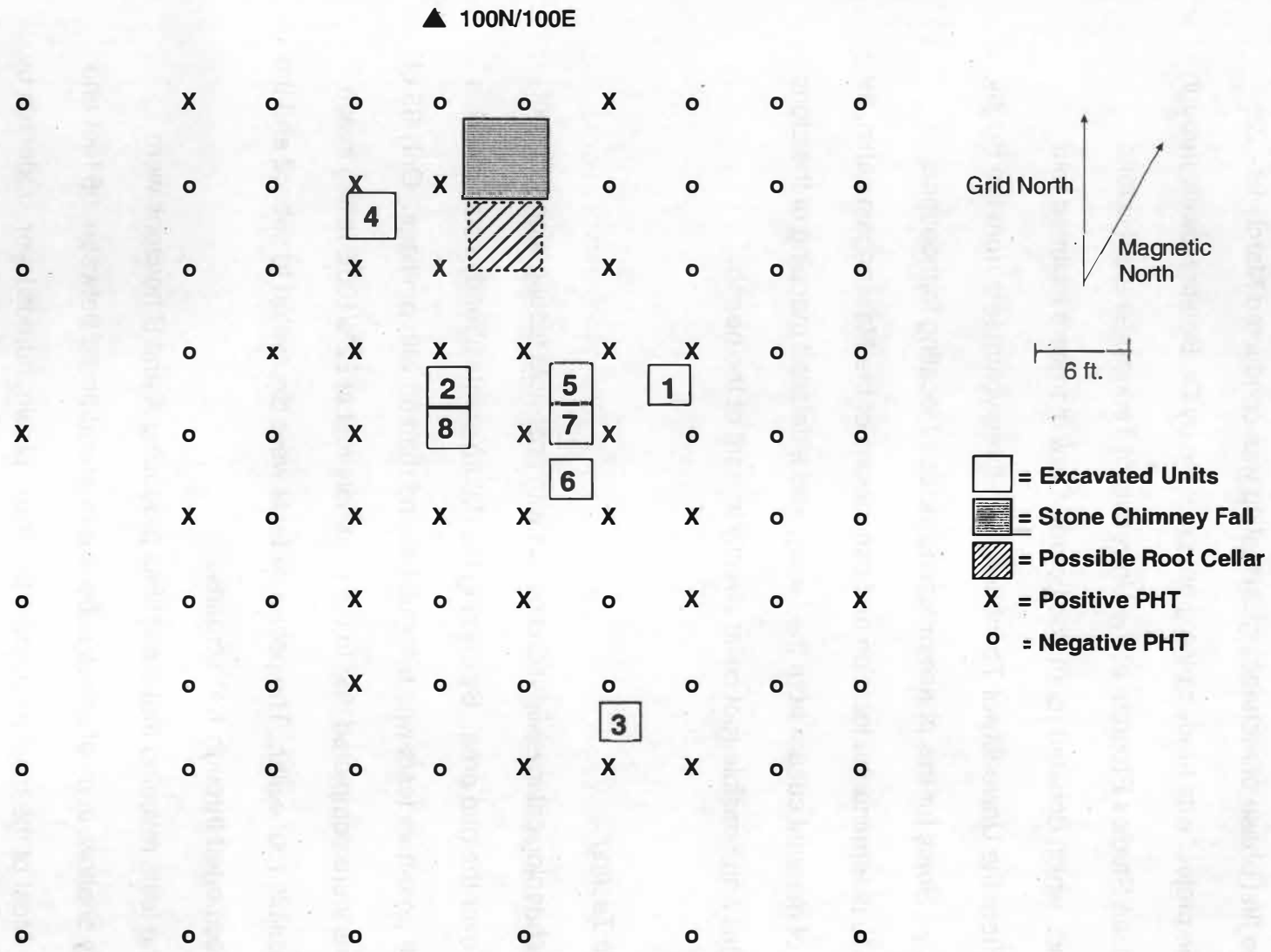


Figure 12. Site map.

Fieldwork - March 2002

The first phase of archaeological testing was conducted March 18 - 22, 2002. The project was funded by a grant provided by Dr. Benita Howell, through the American Studies Program at the University of Tennessee and Historic Rugby, Inc., which donated room and board. Crew members included four students from the University of Tennessee and three volunteers from the Rugby community. Goals for this phase of testing included locating foundational evidence to determine the location and dimensions of the Massengale cabin, the recovery of material culture from the family, and a detailed mapping of the stone chimney fall and possible root cellar directly in front of the hearth.

Post-Hole Testing

Archaeological investigations began with post-hole testing along 12-foot intervals over the grid area. By utilizing the datum points already established, a total of 36 post-hole tests was triangulated and marked with pin flags. Only 35 of these tests were completed due to the post-hole test at 82N/106E falling inside of the possible root cellar. The post-hole tests were excavated to subsoil and the soil was screened through 1/4" screens.

The tests revealed that the artifact producing A and B horizons were extremely shallow, in most cases subsoil was encountered between .05 feet and .35 feet. Most of the tests revealed a thin, dark brown, humus layer, underlain by a grayish-brown, sandy loam, and a grayish-yellow subsoil. A few tests,

especially in the northeastern portion of the testing area, went from the humus horizon A directly to subsoil. These initial post-hole tests produced surprisingly few artifacts, 20 in total which included cut nails, ceramics, flat glass, and container glass. No features were encountered.

Due to the relatively few artifacts recovered from the 12-foot interval tests, it was decided to conduct 6-foot interval post-hole tests. These tests covered a slightly smaller area within the presumed immediate cabin area. An additional 56 tests were triangulated and marked with pin flags. Once again, one test could not be conducted as it fell within the stone chimney fall. An additional 55 tests were completed for a total of 90 post-hole tests. This round of post-hole tests also indicated a very shallow site, with subsoil encountered from .15 feet to .80 feet below the surface. As before, the tests consisted of a thin, dark brown, humus A horizon, followed by a grayish-brown, sandy loam B horizon, and a grayish-yellow subsoil, with a few tests going directly from humus to subsoil. The 6-foot interval post-hole tests produced a good quantity of artifacts, again including cut nails, ceramics, window and container glass. No features were encountered in the 6-foot interval post-hole tests. While only 33 of the 90 post-hole tests tested positively, the positive ones were in the area where the cabin is presumed to have stood (Figure 13). Based on the results of the post-hole testing, excavation of test units began.

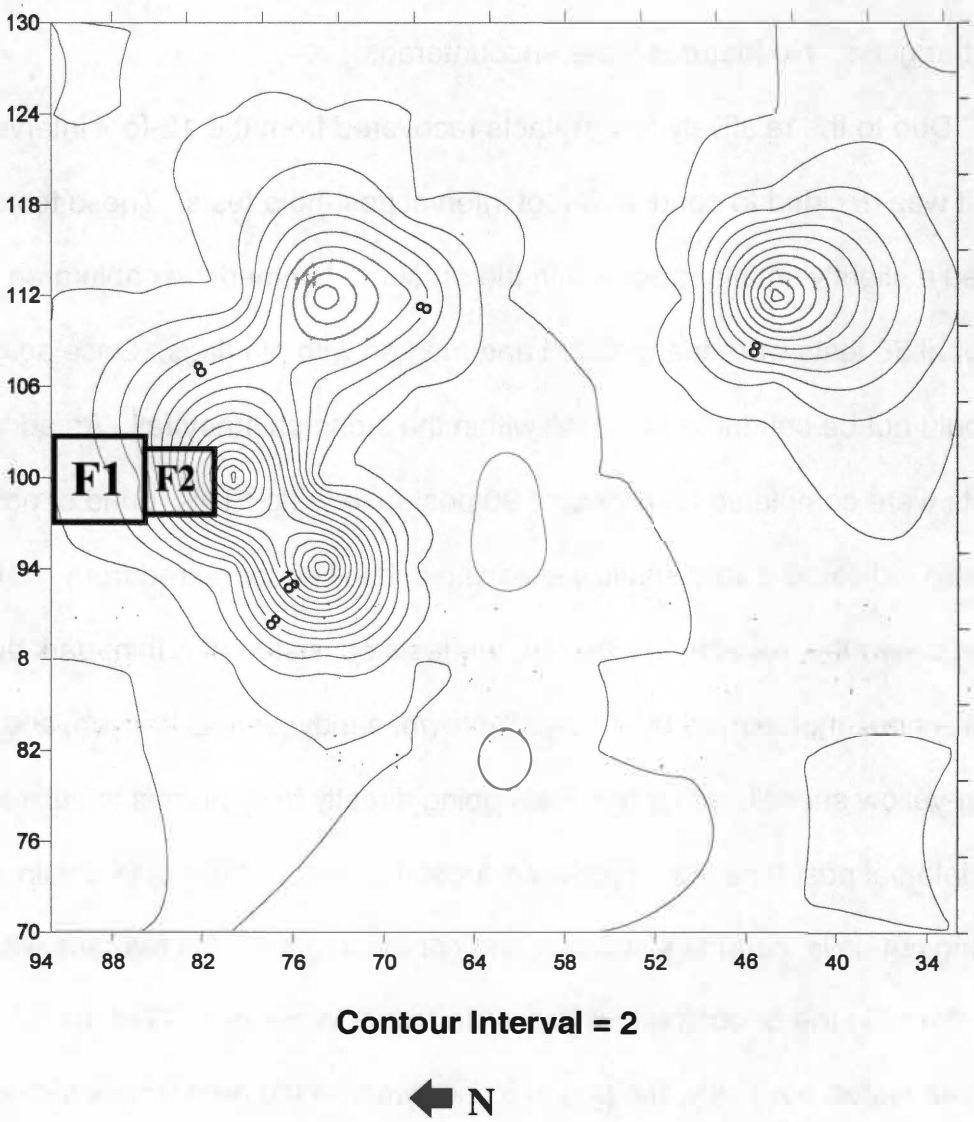


Figure 13. SURFER plot of recovered artifacts from post-hole tests

Excavation Units

A total of six 3 foot by 3 foot test units was excavated during this phase of testing, with their locations determined by areas of high artifact concentrations from the post-hole tests and the presumed location of the cabin. Units were excavated by trowel in arbitrary .20 feet levels unless a natural strata was encountered. Soil was screened through a 1/4" screen and all material was retained for analysis, with the exception of coal and cinders which were noted as present, but were not collected. Soil samples from each unit and level were collected for flotation.

Unit 1. Unit 1 was located southeast of the chimney fall, with a southwest coordinate of 72N/115E. This location was selected due to a high concentration of stoneware recovered from post-hole tests in the near vicinity. Based on the presumed location of the cabin, this unit should have been near the northern wall of the smaller pen. In all three levels, the soil was a sandy loam with soil color varying from dark grayish-brown in Level 1 to dark yellowish brown in Levels 2 and 3. In Level 2, a flat rock was encountered in the profile near the northeast corner and was designated as Feature 4. Artifacts found in Unit 1 consisted mainly of stoneware and nails, with some container glass. Charcoal was noted as present.

Unit 2. Unit 2, with a southwest coordinate of 72N/100E, was located just south of the chimney fall and located within the interior of the larger pen. Level 1 was a dark brown, sandy loam with no apparent features or concentrations of material. Level 2 was a dark brown mottled with yellowish-brown sandy loam.

Charcoal was scattered throughout this level, with a slightly higher concentration of charcoal in the southeast corner. This charcoal concentration continued into Level 3 and was surrounded by an area of darker soil which covered much of the eastern and southern portion of the unit. This dark soil area was designated as Feature 5. The soil elsewhere in Unit 3 continued to be a mottled sandy loam, with slightly more clay present in the northwest corner. A variety of artifacts were recovered from this unit and included ceramics, metal, window glass, and container glass.

Unit 3. Unit 3 was located near the southern portion of the testing area with a southwest coordinate of 47N/112E. A concentration of whiteware was recovered during post-hole testing and this was the general vicinity of an outbuilding seen in the 1887 watercolor painting. Level 1 was a dark brown, sandy loam, with a large amount of whiteware sherds recovered along the western portion of the unit. The same soil continued into Level 2, where a larger amount of charcoal was noted. Level 3 was also a dark, sandy loam. Very few artifacts were recovered from this unit and no features were noted in Unit 3.

Unit 4. Unit 4 was placed just west of the chimney fall area with a southwest coordinate of 84N/94E, where a concentration of container glass was noted during post-hole testing. This area was presumed to have been near the northwest corner of the larger pen and it was hoped that some indication of foundational remains or either the western or northern wall would be observed. As seen in the other units, the soil of Level 1 was a dark grayish-brown, sandy loam. Along the center of the southern profile, two rocks in close proximity to

one another were noted and designated as Feature 6. Soil in Level 2 continued to be a dark grayish-brown sandy loam, but was mottled with a dark yellowish-brown soil, similar to that seen in Unit 2. This soil continued into Level 3. Due to time restraints and the complete absence of artifacts in the lower half of Level 2 and the beginning of Level 3, excavation of Level 3 ceased prior to the subsoil, although some subsoil was visible in some areas of the unit. Artifacts recovered from this unit included nails, ceramics, and container glass.

Unit 5. Unit 5 was located just west of Unit 1, with a southwest coordinate of 72N/109E. This location was decided upon due to the large amount of recovered artifacts from both post-hole tests and nearby Unit 1. Additionally, this location was presumed to be near the eastern wall of the larger pen and the western wall of the smaller one. Level 1 soil was a mottled dark yellowish-brown and dark grayish-brown sandy loam. A large amount of artifacts was recovered, including ceramics, container glass, nails, and window glass, with many of the artifacts showing evidence of heat exposure. Charcoal was also noted as present. Along the northern wall near the northeast corner, a small stone was designated as Feature 7. At the base of Level 1, many artifacts could be seen protruding from Level 2. The soil in Level 1 continued into Level 2, where an extremely high concentration of artifacts was found. A slightly higher concentration of artifacts was noted in the southwestern corner. The soil near this artifact concentration had a noticeable amount of ash and slightly higher amounts of charcoal than had previously been seen. It was also noted that many of the artifacts were vertical or diagonal in the soil, suggesting a disturbed

deposit. The artifact and ash/charcoal concentration continued into Level 3, ending before subsoil was encountered.

Unit 6. Unit 6 was located south of Unit 5, with a southwest coordinate of 65N/109E. The soil of Level 1 was a dark gray clayey loam, different from that seen elsewhere on the site. At the base of Level 1, some patches of subsoil were present, but disappeared as Level 2 was excavated. The dark gray, clayey loam of Level 1 continued into Level 2, but became mottled with brownish-yellow soil. The number of artifacts dropped significantly from Level 1 to Level 2 and none were found in Level 3, where the soil was a brownish-yellow, clayey loam. No features were identified in Unit 6.

Features

Feature 1. Feature 1 (Figure 14) is the sandstone chimney fall located in the north-central portion of the testing area. The actual area of the chimney base is slightly raised. The entire area of the chimney fall measured 6.5 feet north to south and 5.5 feet west to east. Along the south-central portion of the chimney base, three rocks are aligned, flat on top and on the southern side. This appears to be a portion of the hearth as it separates the chimney base and the depression directly to the south of it.

Feature 2. Feature 2 (See Figure 14) is the depression located immediately south of Feature 1. The depression measures 5.0 feet north to south and 4.7 feet west to east and has many fallen stones laying within it. Due to its location immediately adjacent to the chimney base and hearth, this

Figure 14. Features 1 and 2.

depression may be a root cellar. Excavation of Feature 2 was not conducted at this time due to time restraints and security concerns. A detailed map of Features 1 and 2 was completed by designating a 21 foot by 9 foot area around both features and then subdividing the area into 3 foot by 3 foot squares. Elevations were not taken on those stones that appear to have fallen into place, but taken only on those stones which appeared to be in their original location. This depression is likely a pit cellar, which were quite common in 19th century Appalachian structures. Pit cellars may be lined with wood, but many have earthen walls and floor. They are usually found beneath the floor of the structure accessed by a trap door built into the floorboards, sometimes with stairs leading into the cellar. These types of cellars were commonly used to store food, especially root crops such as potatoes (Faulkner 1986). The photograph of the interior of the Massengale cabin (See Figure 8), believed to be taken in front of the fireplace of the larger pen, shows that the floor boards just to the right of Mary's skirt do not match, providing evidence of a trap door in the general location of Feature 3.

Feature 3. Feature 3 (Figure 15) was located in the southwestern portion of the testing area and consisted of six stones, similar to those found in the chimney fall, roughly in the shape of a circle. The circle measured 2.7 feet north to south and 2.65 feet west to east. All stones were setting on the surface and probing of the soil under the stones indicated the absence of other subsurface stones. Due to the stones setting on the surface, it is presumed that they are not related to the Massengale occupation of the site and possibly, because of the

Figure 15. Feature 3.

circular shape, may have been moved from the stone chimney fall area to their current location by hunters or hikers for use with a campfire.

Feature 4. Feature 4, a flat stone, was encountered in Level 2 of Unit 1. The stone was within the north profile, near the northeast corner. The visible portion of the stone measured .29 feet by .52 feet and was .12 feet in depth. Probing of the soil around the stone indicated roughly .20 feet of the stone was not uncovered. Based on the presumption that Unit 1 was in the general vicinity of the northern wall of the smaller pen, it is possible that Feature 4 is a foundation footer; however, the stone appeared to be much smaller than those usually used for this purpose.

Feature 5. Feature 5 was encountered in Level 3 of Unit 2 and consisted of a darker soil concentration. This area encompassed the entire southern third of the unit and approximately 2 feet along the eastern profile, with a concentration of charcoal and reddened soil noted along the southern profile, near the southeast corner. A brass boot heel plate was found resting on top of the concentration, otherwise no artifacts were recovered from Feature 5. Due to the irregular boundaries of the feature and the absence of artifacts within, it is believed this feature may represent a burned tree stump.

Feature 6. This feature was located in Level 1 of Unit 4 and consisted of two stones in close proximity to one another, near the center of the southern wall (Figure 16). The western rock was the smaller of the two and measured approximately .30 feet by .35 feet and was completely exposed. The eastern rock was only partially exposed, with the exposed portion measuring

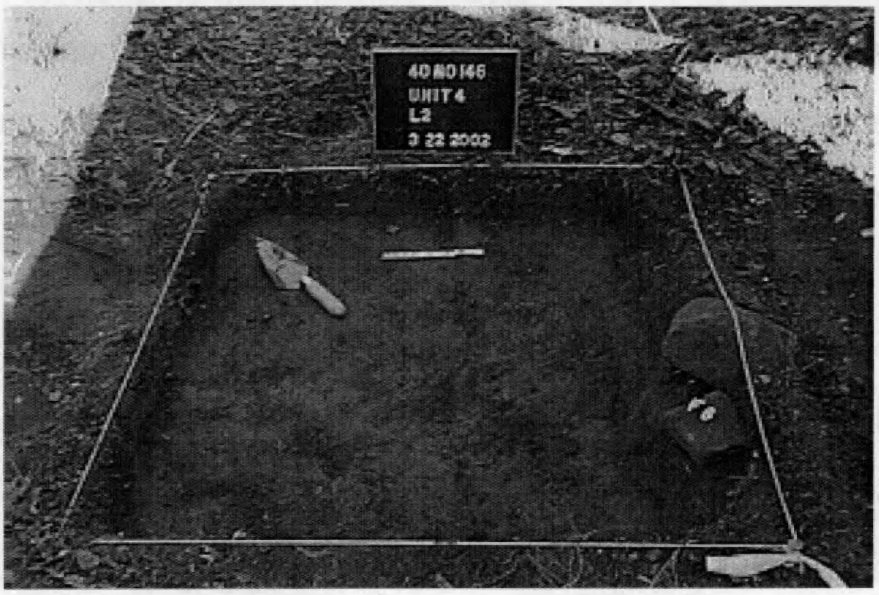


Figure 16. Unit 4, Feature 6.

approximately .60 feet by .30 feet. Although much smaller than expected, it is possible that Feature 6 represented foundational footers.

Feature 7. Feature 7 was a flat stone encountered in Level 1 of Unit 5. The stone was partially exposed in the north profile, near the northeast corner. The exposed portion of the stone measured .20 feet by .30 feet and probing of the surrounding soil indicated the stone was approximately .20 feet by .50 feet. This feature was exactly six feet west of Feature 4, a slightly larger stone in Unit 1. The location of this feature, near the presumed northern wall of the smaller pen and its relationship to Feature 4 strongly suggest that Features 4 and 7 were foundational footers, but both stones are much smaller in size than is expected for a foundational footer.

Feature 8. Feature 8 (Figure 17) was a pile of four rocks located approximately seven feet east of the chimney fall. The feature measured .65 feet north to south and 1.6 feet west to east. These rocks were rather small and on the surface, probably ruling out a foundational footer.

Fieldwork - October 2002

Two additional 3 foot by 3 foot test units were excavated on October 19, 2002 utilizing the same procedures as in March. Goals for this phase of testing focused on further investigation into the large, burned area, looking for indications of plow scars which could account for the vertical and diagonal position of many of the artifacts in Unit 5, and any further evidence of the

Figure 17. Feature 8.

location of the cabin. The field crew included three student volunteers from The University of Tennessee, five volunteers from the Rugby community, and another volunteer, the great-grandson of Dempsey, Jr. and Elizabeth.

Unit 7. This unit was located immediately south of Unit 5 at 69N/109E. The concentration of artifacts in the southwest corner of Unit 5 appeared to continue further south and it was hoped that more of the burned area would be uncovered. Level 1 was a dark brown sandy loam, with a slightly darker soil concentration in the northern third of the unit. A higher concentration of artifacts was found in Level 2, many of them vertically or diagonally positioned in the soil, similar to those in Level 2 of Unit 5. The soil was the same dark brown sandy loam found in Level 1, but was mottled with a yellowish-brown soil. Within Level 2, an area with a slight charcoal concentration was noted in the northwest corner and an area with a higher artifact concentration was observed running from roughly the center of the north wall to the southwest corner. At the base of Level 2, an area of darker soil with no mottling was noted in the northeast corner, in addition to an area with a higher concentration of artifacts in the southwest corner. Level 3 continued with the mottled dark brown and yellowish-brown sandy loam found in Level 2 while the darker soil concentration in the northwest corner continued. At the base of Level 3, subsoil was reached throughout the unit, except for the northwest corner where the darker soil continued for approximately another .10 feet. Artifacts from this unit included ceramics, container glass, window glass, and nails, many of which were burned. No features were revealed in this unit.

Unit 8. Unit 8 was located immediately south of Unit 2, with a southwest coordinate of 69N/100E. This unit was placed at this location to find any foundational evidence of the back wall of the cabin's larger pen. The soil of Level 1 was similar to that found in Unit 2, a dark brown sandy loam, mottled with a yellowish-brown soil. At the base of Level 1, four areas of more mottled soil were noted, running diagonally through the unit from the northwest to the southeast. The mottled soil continued into Level 2. At the base of Level 2, an area of slightly darker soil was observed in the northwest corner and appeared to be a continuation of Feature 5, the possible burned tree stump, in Unit 2. The same soil continued into Level 3, with subsoil being encountered before the base of the .20 foot level. Artifacts included ceramics, container glass, window glass, and nails, with only a few burned pieces. The only feature encountered in Unit 8 was the continuation of Feature 5 from Unit 2.

CHAPTER 4:

ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL CULTURE

Material culture recovered during archaeological testing at the Massengale site was returned to the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Historical Archaeology Laboratory for processing, which included washing, sorting, cataloging, and analysis. Historical Archaeology laboratory students assisted with the processing, while analysis was completed by the author. Charcoal had been noted as being present, but was not retained for processing. Soil samples were collected for flotation for each level of the six units excavated in March, but those results are not included in this study. Analysis information was entered into QUATTRO PRO 9 spreadsheet program for further analysis.

Artifacts were analyzed for such characteristics as vessel form and part, size, color and/or decoration, manufacturing processes, and function. Artifact function was based on a classification system designed by Stanley South (1977), that assigns artifacts to functional groups including Kitchen, Bone, Architectural, Furniture, Arms, Clothing, Personal, Tobacco Pipe and Activities. South's classification system was designed for the study of 17th, 18th, and early 19th century sites and often needs to be modified for post mid-19th century sites because it does not account for many of the inventions that occurred in the latter half of the 19th century and early 20th century, such as plumbing, electricity,

mechanized farming equipment, etc. However, this was not the case at the Massengale site, as such "modern" conveniences were not present at the site. The only artifacts which were not assigned to any of South's functional groups were pieces of melted and/or burned glass whose function could not be determined due to the effects of a burning episode on the glass. This glass has been grouped together as "Indeterminate Glass" and will be discussed separately from container glass and flat glass.

A total of 3176 artifacts was recovered from post-hole tests and excavated test units. With the exception of the Tobacco Pipe group, all of South's functional groups were present, in addition to lithics. Kitchen and Architectural group artifacts made up the majority of all recovered artifacts from the site (Table 2) which is expected per South's Carolina Artifact Pattern. This pattern provides expected frequencies for each functional group on British colonial sites and is based on his study of five British colonial sites in the Carolinas. South believes this pattern is due to British cultural processes and that other cultural groups, such as German or French Americans, would have different frequencies based on their own cultural processes. The Carolina Pattern frequencies are expected to be upheld on British sites in and out of the Carolinas through the 1860s (South 1977and 1978). With the exception of the Clothing group which has an expected frequency of .6 - 5.4 percent and the absence of tobacco pipes, all functional group frequencies at the Massengale site fell within the expected frequencies of the Carolina Pattern. This patterning is likely due to the British ancestry of the Massengales even though they had been in America for several generations.

Table 2. Artifacts by Functional Group

Functional Group	Total Number of Artifacts	Percentage of Total
Kitchen Group	1842	58.0%
Architectural Group	899	28.3%
Indeterminate Glass	309	9.7%
Activities Group	88	2.8%
Furniture Group	12	0.4%
Clothing Group	10	0.3%
Bone Group	9	0.3%
Lithics	4	0.1%
Arms Group	2	0.1%
Personal Group	1	0.1%

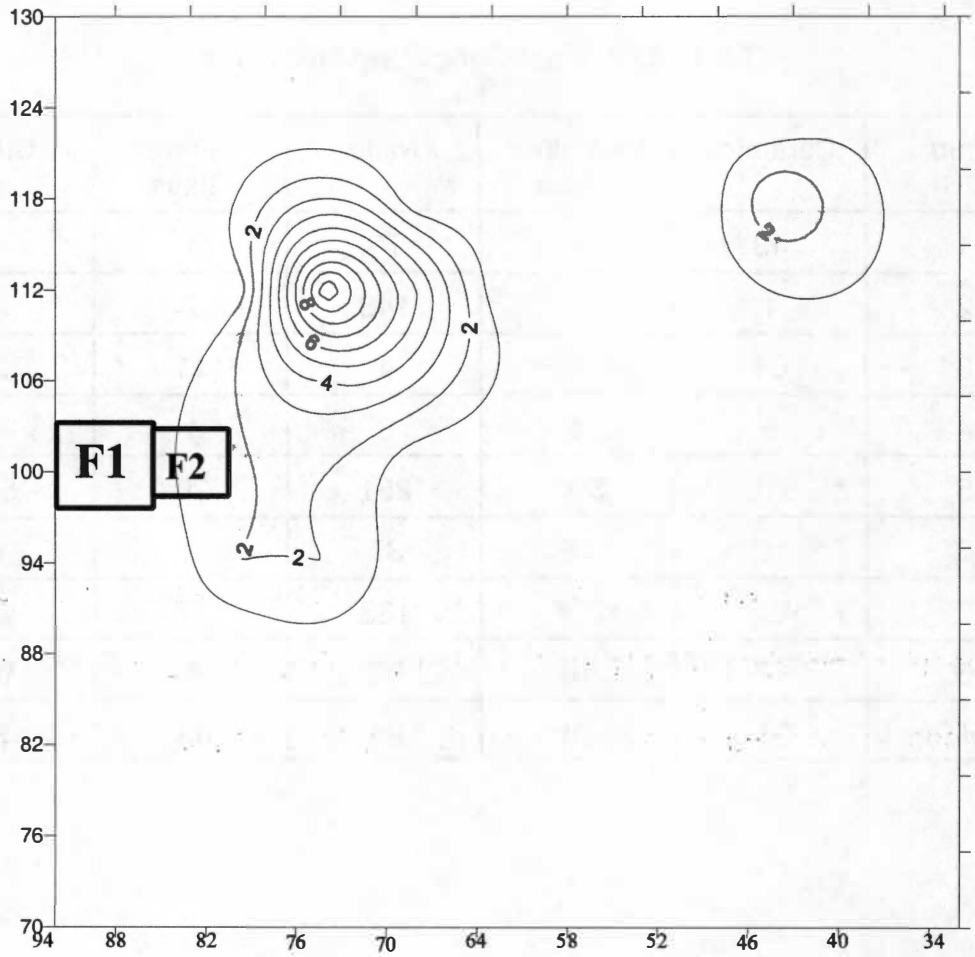
Kitchen Group

Artifacts assigned to South's Kitchen group include ceramics and container glass which are involved in the storing, serving, or consumption of food products and/or liquids, such as crocks, jugs, plates, bowls, teapots, cups, saucers, glassware, and a large variety of serving pieces (South 1977). Of the 1842 Kitchen group artifacts recovered from the Massengale site, 61% (n=1116) were ceramics and 39% (n=726) were container glass.

Ceramics. Ceramic sherds indicated very little variation in ware type and consisted of whiteware (n=620, 55.5%), stoneware (n=267, 23.9), ironstone (n=154, 13.8%), and unidentifiable earthenware (n=75, 6.7%). Ceramics were not widespread throughout the site and were found mainly in the burned debris area with a small concentration of whiteware in Unit 3 and nearby post-hole tests (Table 3 and Figure 18). A minimum vessel count of recovered ceramics resulted in a variety of vessel forms, with dinner plates, saucers, and stoneware crocks the most prevalent (Table 4). While this ceramic assemblage is consistent with those found on mid-late 19th century domestic sites, it does have some unusual characteristics. In addition to the complete absence of porcelain, no decorations were found on any of the whiteware or ironstone sherds, with the exception of one embossed whiteware sherd and four possibly handpainted whiteware sherds. Although plain, undecorated whiteware and ironstone vessels

Table 3. Artifact Concentration by Unit

Unit/ PH	Ceramics	Container Glass	Nails	Flat Glass	Other
1	43	1	73	1	1
2	1	9	143	7	4
3	64	1	4	11	2
4	8	4	8	1	--
5	510	593	251	20	55
6	19	75	37	2	1
7	426	264	163	17	42
8	17	18	92	6	10
PHTs	31	78	24	33	3



Contour Interval = 1

N

Figure 18. SURFER plot of ceramics from post-hole tests.

Table 4. Vessel forms.

Vessel Type	Minimum Number of Vessels
Dinner plate	13
Saucer	6
Stoneware crock	6
Small plate	3
Cup	3
Sugar bowl	1
Teapot	1
Jar	1
Jug	1

were popular from circa 1860 to the turn of the century (Miller 1980), one would also expect to recover pieces which were decorated with any one of a variety of mid-late 19th century popular decorative techniques, such as transfer-printing, flow blue, decals, or gilding. Due to the burned condition on many of the ceramic sherds (Figure 19), it is possible some vessels were decorated by transfer-printing, decaling, or gilding, with evidence of such decorations burned away. Another explanation could be that the Massengale family did not have access to the latest styles due to the remoteness of the area; however, studies in Tennessee, Kentucky, and elsewhere in the Southeast indicate the latest in ceramic styles were available no matter how rural the location (Crass and Zierden 1999; Faulkner 1998). It is more likely that the Massengale family could

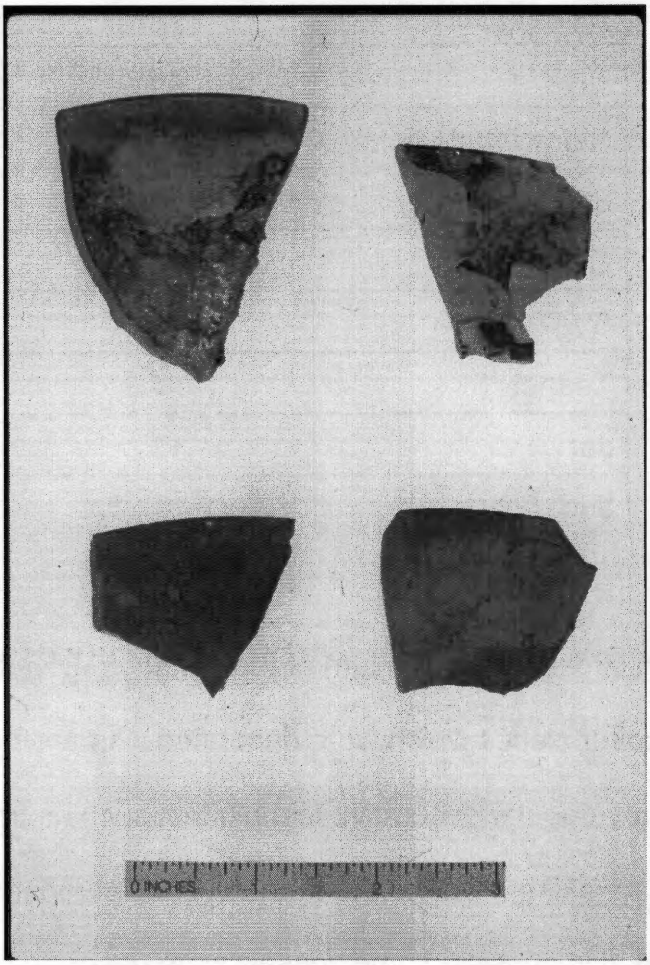


Figure 19. Burned whiteware and ironstone sherds.

not afford to purchase the fancier and more expensive decorative styles and ware types, such as porcelain.

Stoneware accounted for nearly one-fourth of all recovered ceramics. Utilitarian stoneware is commonly found on 19th century sites throughout the eastern half of the United States, with potteries being located all across the Northeast and spreading into the Midwest, especially Ohio. In the Southeast, fewer industrial stoneware companies were found, but there were a number of individual family owned potteries (Stewart and Cosentino 1977). Utilitarian stoneware can be described as traditional (or "folk") or industrial. Traditional stoneware is handmade from traditions passed on from a potter to an apprentice. Typical traditional stoneware vessel forms include crocks, jugs, bowls, mugs, pitchers, and churns. Characteristics of traditional stoneware include a gray, brown, or tan colored body, finger ridges on the interior walls of the piece, and surface treatments of salt-glaze, slip glaze, or alkaline-glaze. Industrial stoneware is often found in the same vessel forms as traditional stoneware, but is more regulated in size and shape as it is made in molds, the body is often a light gray or cream colored, and the glaze is smoother (Worthy 1982).

Most stoneware utilitarian vessels are jugs and jars. Jugs were most often used for the storage of water, vinegar, whiskey, molasses, honey, and turpentine and are differentiated from jars in that they have a small mouth which could be stoppered. Jars, or crocks, have wide mouths and typically stored food products such as butter, pickles, cream, lard, and preserves (Myers 1983). Earlier jugs and jars were ovoid shaped, but after the 1830s these vessels

gradually became more cylindrical (Raycraft and Raycraft 1985). Straight-sided jars are often referred to as crocks. Crocks were typically "cake pots", which were short and wide, with a capacity of one to four gallons, or "butter pots", which were wide and tall, with capacities from one-half to six gallons. Many vessels are marked with either a marker's mark and/or decorations; however, not all potters marked their pottery. In the South, especially in the "backwoods", pottery is rarely marked and/or decorated. Generally, potters would mark and/or decorate their pottery if they worked in an area where a number of potters were located, such as the Northeast (Greer 1996). Even in Ohio where a number of potters worked, it is not uncommon to find unmarked and/or undecorated pottery (Ketchum 1991).

At the Massengale site, 9 individual stoneware vessels were identified; one ovoid crock, two straight-sided crocks, one handled jug, one small jar, and four vessels which can only be identified as either a straight-sided crock or a jug. Surface treatments on sherds included salt-glaze (n=38), slip and salt glaze (n=6), alkaline glaze (n=6), or a combination of a salt-glaze exterior with a slip-glaze interior (n=182). These surface treatments are commonly seen throughout the 19th century and therefore, do not provide much information in regards to date of manufacture, but other characteristics point to some general dates. The interior of two vessels were glazed with Albany brown slip, which does not become readily available in Tennessee and other areas of the South until after the introduction of the railroad, post Civil War (Greer 1996), suggesting a post-1865 date for those vessels. Of 232 utilitarian stoneware sherds recovered from

the Massengale site, no marker's marks, decorations, or capacity marks were noted. Only the height of one vessel could be positively determined. This crock measured seven inches tall with a base diameter of six inches, suggesting it is a butter pot. The diameters of the two other crocks were 9 1/2 inches and the four vessels which could be only identified as crocks or jugs had diameters of 7 1/8 inches, 9 1/2 inches, and two at 10 1/4 inches. The diameter of the jug could not be determined as the handle was the only recovered sherd. The alkaline-glazed jar's diameter could also not be determined due to the recovered sherds being near the mouth or the neck of the jar, which do not provide an accurate diameter as they are not from the widest portion of the jar.

Several sherds (n=35) of a glazed black basalt stoneware teapot (Figure 20) were also recovered which was unusual due to its rarity in East Tennessee. An internet search to learn more about black basalt stoneware resulted in the discovery of a teapot on E-bay, described as a circa 1820 black basalt glazed teapot (Figure 21), with the same patterns and dimensions as the sherds from this site. What makes this teapot even more unique is that it is glazed, unlike the popular black basalts produced by Wedgwood (Miller 1991). A Staffordshire potter, William Mellor, was known for producing a glazed basalt ware, known as "Shining Black"; unfortunately, no dates are provided for his work (Shaw 1968). This teapot was likely an heirloom piece of the Massengale family, as it dates much earlier than other recovered artifacts.

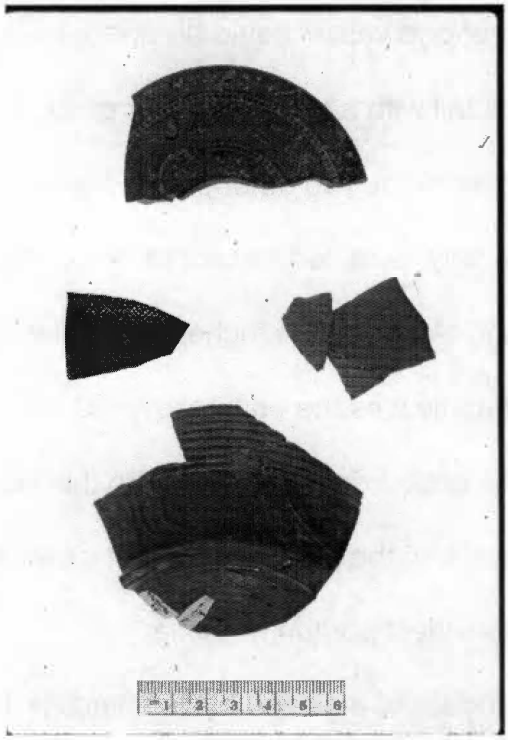


Figure 20. Black basalt teapot from Massengale site.

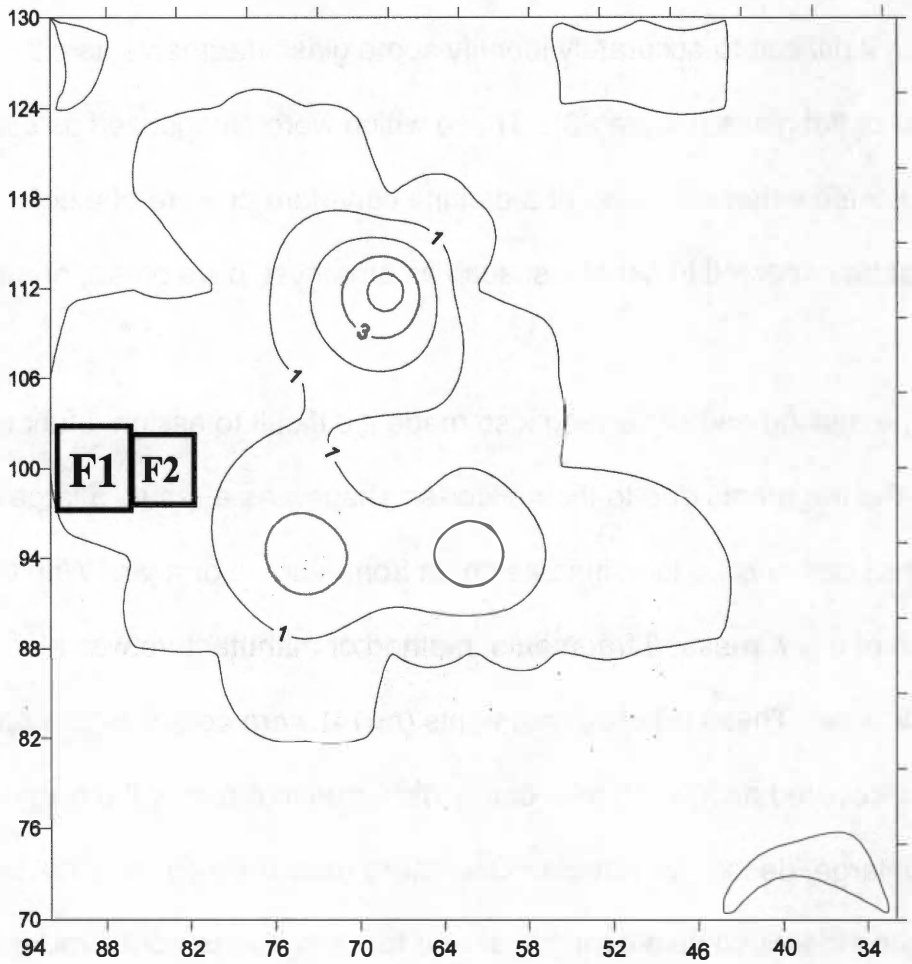
Figure 21. Black basalt teapot from E-Bay.

Container Glass. Aside from the debris pile, few container glass fragments were recovered from elsewhere on the site (Figure 22 and see Table 3). As stated previously, the effects of the burning episode which occurred at the site made it difficult to accurately identify some glass fragments as either container or flat glass (Figure 23). Those which were categorized as container glass indicated either evidence of a definite curvature or were of a color that would not be expected in flat glass, such as amethyst, olive green, or amber glass.

The melting and/or burning also made it difficult to assign a function to many of the fragments due to their distorted shape. As a result, a large majority of the glass can only be identified as being from a bottle or a jar. With the exception of a few pressed fragments, method of manufacture was also indeterminable. These pressed fragments (n=14) were colorless and appear to be from a covered dish, such as a candy dish, due to many of the fragments forming a large, decorative handle. One sherd recovered on the surface could positively be identified as a canning jar and four fragments from a milkglass lid liner were also recovered. Colorless glass was the most prominent color recovered, with amber, olive green, amethyst, and varying shades of aqua also present.

Architectural Group

Artifacts assigned to South's Architectural group are those used in the construction of a building, such as nails, window glass, bricks, mortar, concrete,



Contour Interval = 1

N

Figure 22. SURFER plot of container glass from post-hole tests.

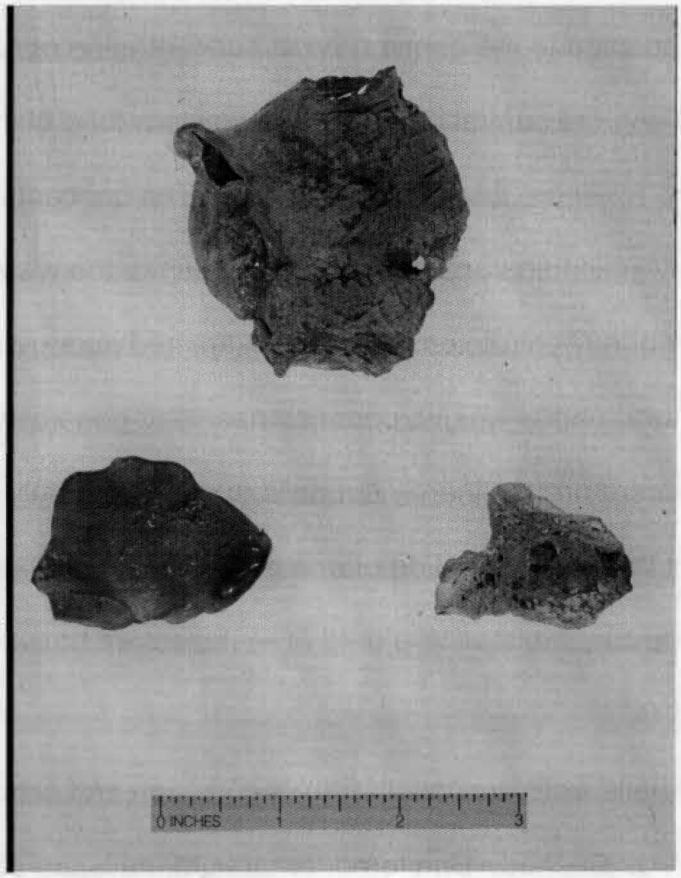
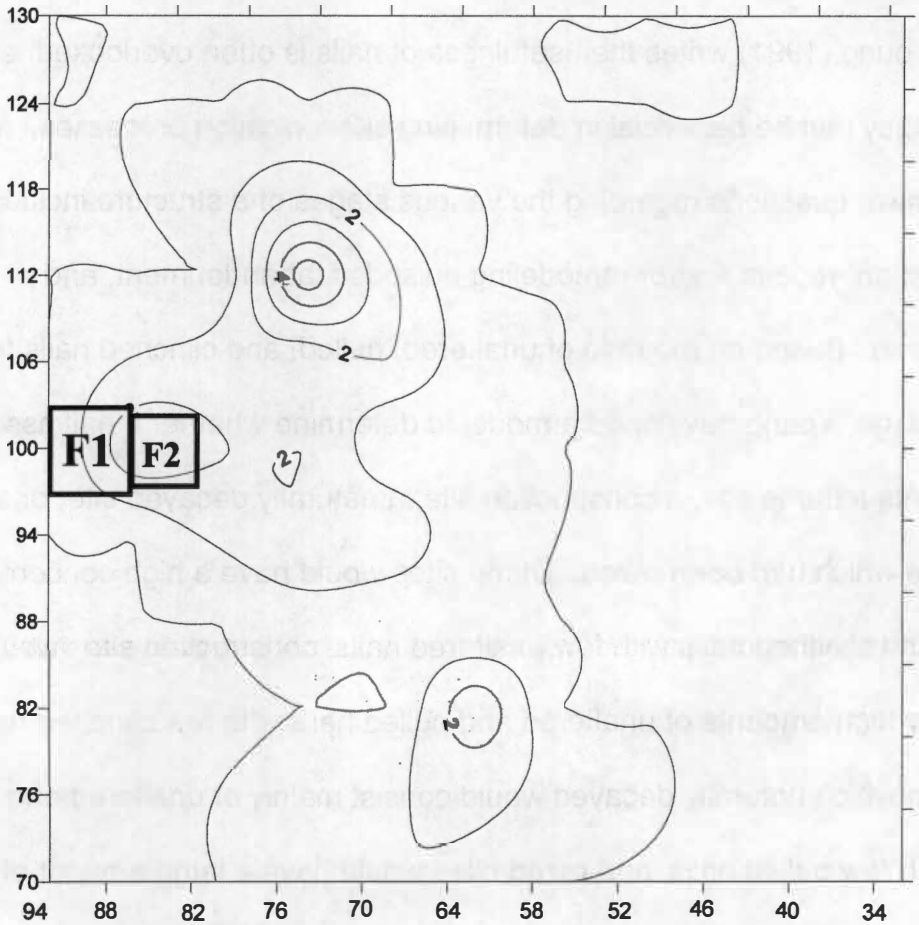


Figure 23. Burned and melted glass.

roofing materials, and a variety of hardware. At the Massengale site, architectural related artifacts consisted mainly of nails (n=798), window glass (n=100), and one screw.

Nails. In addition to the debris area, a concentration of nails was noted in post-hole tests along the central portion of the western third of the testing area and in units 2 and 8 (Figure 24 and see Table 3). The concentration of nails in this area probably indicates the approximate location of the western wall of the cabin. A number of nail characteristics were examined during analysis including type of manufacture, penny-weight, completeness and condition. Nails at the Massengale site were predominantly cut nails (n=792) with only six wire nails in the assemblage. With the exception of one early machine cut nail, all cut nails were fully machine cut, suggesting a date of manufacture between 1830 and 1900 (Young 1991).

Complete nails were analyzed for their condition and classified as either unaltered, pulled, or clinched. Unaltered, or straight, nails are commonly deposited into the archaeological record either by being dropped during the construction phase or by natural decay of a structure. Pulled, or bent, nails are those which have a gradual curvature to them, indicating that they had been driven into, and later pulled from wood. These nails are expected around structures where dismantling has occurred or they can be a result of damage and discard during the construction phase. Pulled nails are also expected at sites where discarded wood was dumped rather than at actual construction site.



Contour Interval = 1

N

Figure 24. SURFER plot of nails from post-hole tests.

Nails bent to roughly ninety degree angles after being driven into the wood are referred to as clinched nails. Clinched nails are indicative of a structure which has been destroyed through decay (Young 1991).

Young (1991) writes the usefulness of nails is often overlooked, even though they can be beneficial in determining site formation processes. Nails may answer questions regarding the various stages of a structure including construction, repairs and/or remodeling episodes, abandonment, and destruction. Based on the ratio of unaltered, pulled, and clinched nails from an assemblage, Young developed a model to determine whether a nail assemblage represents a dump site, a construction site, a naturally decayed site, or a structure which had been razed. Dump sites would have a high concentration of pulled and clinched nails with few unaltered nails, construction sites would have relatively high amounts of unaltered and pulled nails with few clinched nails, a structure which naturally decayed would consist mainly of unaltered and clinched nails with few pulled nails, and razed sites would have a large amount of unaltered and pulled nails, with few clinched nails (Young 1991).

Complete nails from the Massengale site consisted of 311 unaltered nails, 123 pulled nails, and 5 clinched nails. The large number of unaltered nails are indicative of a construction site where the structure later decayed naturally or was razed, but due to the relatively large quantity of pulled nails and only a few clinched nails, it seems likely that the cabin was dismantled rather than allowed to naturally decay. This is consistent with memories of Lummy Massengale (2001) who remembers visiting the home site for family picnics when he was a

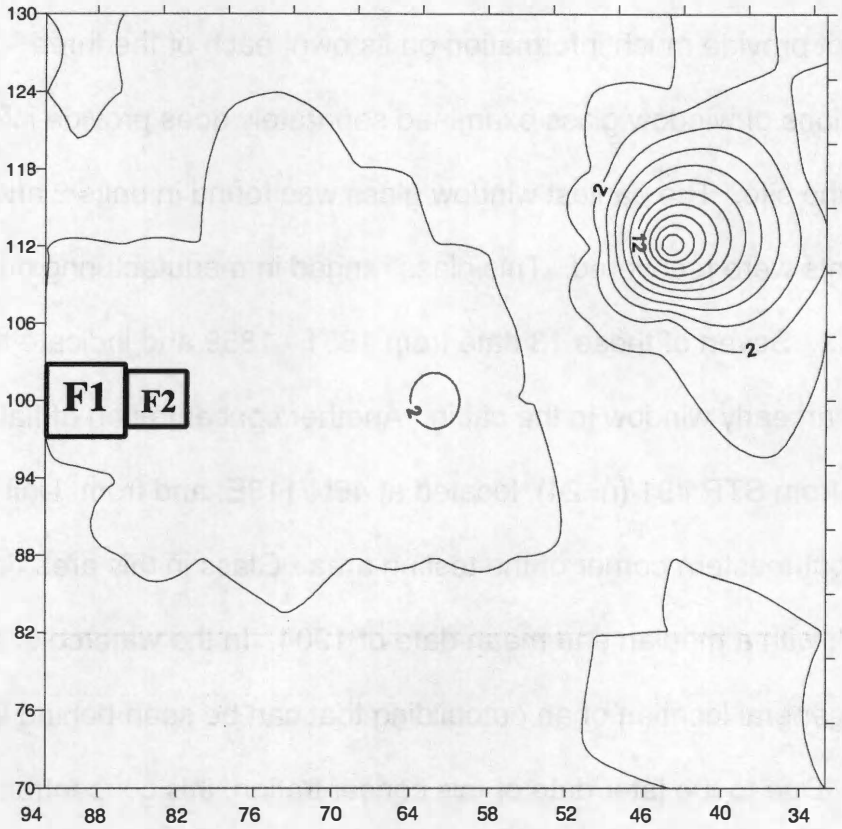
boy in the 1940s. He recalls the large stone chimney was still standing at that time, but no further evidence of the cabin remained. Based on his recollections, the scenario of the cabin naturally decaying has been ruled out, because a partially or completely collapsed structure would probably still have been present in the 1940s.

Nail size is another important characteristic due to the size, or penny-weight, of the nail being directly related to the type of construction which was taking place. A total of 457 complete nails was analyzed for penny-weight and function (Table 5). The most commonly recovered nail size was 5d (n=166). The large percentage of 5d nails, along with 4d (n=37) and 6d (n=20) nails, suggest moulding, finish work, ornamentation, or the use of wooden shakes on the roof. The second most common nail size was 9d (n=140), which along with 7d (n=49) and 8d (n=26) is strong evidence that a wooden floor existed inside the cabin. This is consistent with a historic photograph believed to have been taken inside of the Massengale cabin, showing a wooden floor (See Figure 7). The lack of heavy framing nails, 12d and higher, are consistent with a log structure where large nails are not used to support the structure.

Window Glass. Window glass was recovered from three areas of concentration, the burned debris area, the southeastern portion of the testing area, and in units 2 and 8 (Figure 25 and see Table 3). Analysis of these fragments (n=100) included measuring their thickness to estimate date of

Table 5. Size and Function of Complete Nails

Size	Function (Walker 1971)
2d	attachment of wooden shakes, metal roofing, flashing, and lath
3d	attachment of wooden shakes, metal roofing, flashing, and lath
4d	attachment of wooden shakes, metal roofing, flashing, lath, moulding, and interior finishes
5d	moulding, finish work, ornamentation, wooden shakes
6d	light framing, clapboard siding, and bevel siding
7d	light framing, clapboard siding, bevel siding, and flooring
8d	flooring, furring strips, interior fittings
9d	boarding, flooring, and interior fittings
10d	boarding, flooring, and interior fittings
12d	wooden studding and framing
30d	heavy framing
60d	heavy framing



Contour Interval = 1

N

Figure 25. SURFER plot of window glass from post-hole tests.

manufacture by utilizing the Moir formula for window glass dating (Moir 1987), which determines manufacturing date based on the thickness of the glass. This resulted in a date range of 1802 - 1924+ for all recovered window glass. While this may not provide much information on its own, each of the three concentrations of window glass examined separately does provide information regarding the site. The earliest window glass was found in units 2 and 8 where 13 fragments were recovered. This glass ranged in manufacturing dates from 1851 - 1912. Seven of these 13 date from 1851 - 1859 and indicate the general location of an early window in the cabin. Another concentration of flat glass was recovered from STP #91 (n=24), located at 46N/118E, and from Unit 3, both near the southeastern corner of the testing area. Glass in this area dated from 1894-1917, with a median and mean date of 1904. In the watercolor painting, this is the general location of an outbuilding that can be seen behind the small cabin pen. Due to the later date of this concentration, this concentration likely represents the location of a window which was added to this outbuilding shortly after the turn of the century. The third concentration of window glass was in the burned debris area. Of the 39 fragments of window glass recovered from this location, 33 fragments measured at least 3 millimeters thick. This glass thickness can only be dated to 1924+ due to window glass thickness standards being established in the mid-1920s. This is the only location on the site where glass this thick was recovered and no other recovered artifacts date post-1920. As this is the location of the burning episode, it appears that this thick window

glass was the result of a dumping episode around the time a debris pile was created and burned.

Indeterminate Glass

Due to the extensive burning that occurred on the site, much of the glass could not be identified as container or flat glass. If the color was one that would only be seen in container glass, such as amber or olive green, it was considered to be container glass. Therefore, glass in this category is either colorless or a variation of blue-green; those colors could be either container or flat glass. A total of 309 glass pieces could only be described as melted and/or burned glass and described by color, numbering 271 pieces of colorless glass and 38 pieces of blue-green glass.

Activities Group

The Activities group consists of a wide range of artifacts, including toys, tools, fencing materials, and any other artifact that does not fit into any of the previously mentioned groups. A total of 88 recovered artifacts was assigned to the Activities group.

Several fragments of glass marbles (n=32) were recovered, representing at least two marbles. Glass marbles began to be produced circa 1840 and continue until today with those produced prior to circa 1920 having a small facet on them from the manufacturing process (Randall 1971). Although many of the

recovered marble fragments are quite small, at least one of the recovered marbles has a facet on it indicating a pre-1920 production date.

The remaining Activities group artifacts consisted of three pieces of waste metal, possibly lead or even pewter, a soft, limey, peach-colored sphere, a piece of slate, probably used for writing, and rusted metal pieces (n=52) whose function could not be determined due to their poor condition.

Furniture Group

South's Furniture group consists of pieces of furniture along with items which may have been placed on the furniture either for functional or decorative purposes. Some examples include lamp chimneys and bases, vases, drawer pulls and handles, and hardware used in the construction of furniture such as nails and upholstery tacks.

Artifacts from the Furniture group include kerosene lamp chimney fragments (n=8), a ceramic doorknob (n=3), and a furniture nail (n=1). In Tennessee and other areas of the South, glass kerosene lamp chimneys were not introduced until after the Civil War (Woodhead et al. 1984). The ceramic doorknob pieces show a swirled body and surface, similar to mid-18th century agateware. Beginning around 1840 and lasting to the end of the 19th century, this was a popular type of doorknob, often referred to as "brown mineral" (Randall 1987).

Clothing Group

Items included in the Clothing group are those which are worn on the body, most often consisting of buttons and buckles or items involved with the manufacturing of clothing such as pins and needles.

Ten artifacts from this group were recovered including six buttons, one suspender buckle, one shoe buckle, one grommet, and one heel plate. The heel plate appears to be made of brass and due to its size was probably from the boot of a young man or woman. Four of the buttons were manufactured of porcelain, with two being white with four holes and the other two were tortoise-shelled with four holes. One button was made from metal and may have been covered with fabric. One rubber button was recovered which had a geometric pattern on it. Due to its size, it was probably from a ladies' jacket or coat (Poole 1987).

Bone Group

Surprisingly few faunal remains were recovered from the site. Nine bone fragments were recovered, all appearing to be mammal, but due to their extremely small size, identification other than Class, could not be determined. While no archaeological testing was completed outside of the presumed cabin location, the lack of faunal remains suggest the slaughtering of animals occurred away from the cabin and that food waste, such as bones, were also dumped away from the cabin, not in the yard.

Lithics

Prehistoric lithics recovered (n=4) consisted of three flakes of a dark gray chert and one flake of an ivory colored chert.

Arms Group

South's Arms group consists of any component of a firearm or ammunition. Two fired cartridge cases were recovered. One was from a .22 caliber cartridge and although it has no information on manufacturer or date, it can be dated after 1857 due to it being made of metal. The other is a .38 caliber cartridge and bears a headstamp "U.M.C. No. 12 Star". This headstamp appeared on cartridges from the Union Metallic Company from 1867 to 1911 (Steinhauer 2002).

Personal Group

Personal items are those which would be used by one person and are often carried with them. Such items as combs, toothbrushes, eyeglasses, and coins are examples of artifacts in the Personal group. One coin was recovered and although the date has been worn off, it can be dated to 1866-1867. Although the coin was very worn, on one side a '5' is seen with lines radiating to the outer rim of the coin where stars are located. While this type of nickel was minted for several years, only between 1866-1867 was it minted with the lines radiating out from the '5' to the stars (Brown and Dunn 1969).

CHAPTER 5:

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS

In Chapter 1, a number of research questions was presented that revolve around two general questions - what information can archaeological investigations provide about the Massengale homesite and what information can archaeological investigations and the study of historical documentation provide about the lifeways of the Massengale family and other mountain families in the northern Morgan County area? Questions centered about the Massengale homesite will be addressed and/or answered in this chapter.

Research questions focusing on the Massengale homesite included what the dimensions of the cabin were, when was it constructed, what were its occupation dates, and when and how was it destroyed. Archaeological testing revealed a site that had obviously been disturbed at some point in its past. Excavations pointed to two different events that disturbed the site, the burning of a debris pile in units 5, 6, and 7 and the plowing of the entire testing area. While these disturbances led to difficulties in the interpretation and answering of the proposed research questions, they brought up an opportunity to study the site formation processes that occurred at the Massengale site.

The burned debris area was first observed in units 5 and 6, with many more artifacts recovered from Unit 5. In the southwestern corner of Unit 5, a slightly higher concentration of artifacts and some ash were noted, continuing

into the west and south profiles. Artifacts in Unit 6 were concentrated in Level 1 and the upper portion of Level 2, with no artifacts recovered from Level 3. It was first believed that Unit 5 was near the center of a fairly large debris pile with Unit 6 near its outer periphery. Unit 7 was excavated during the second phase of testing in order to take another look at the burned area to determine the approximate size and shape of the cabin. Refitting indicated that at least some of the vessels were broken prior to being burned, due to adjacent pieces indicating varying degrees of heat exposure. By identifying the processes that formed this burned debris concentration, it may be possible to determine what happened to the cabin, or at least rule some possibilities out.

As stated in Chapter 4, analysis of complete nails indicates a construction site in which the structure was carefully dismantled. This analysis was then taken a step further with the nails being divided into two categories, those recovered from the burned area (units 5, 6, and 7) and those recovered from elsewhere on the site. This comparison was completed in order to identify any significant differences between the two areas in regard to Young's model, which may provide answers regarding the processes which created the burned debris pile. Three plausible explanations for the burned area exist: 1) it was caused by the burning of the smaller pen after the larger pen had been dismantled, with the remaining burned debris swept into the pile; 2) when the cabin was dismantled, remaining construction and other debris was thrown into a pile and burned or; 3) after the cabin was dismantled, remaining debris from underneath the floorboards and around the exterior of the cabin was "swept" together into a large

pile and burned. The possibility that the smaller pen burned while still occupied does not seem likely due to the absence of certain artifacts, such as furniture or cast iron pieces that can be seen in the photograph of Elizabeth (See Figure 7). When considered on its own, the third explanation may be difficult to support or refute based on this separation of complete nails; however, as the other explanations are further addressed, the third explanation appears to be the most likely scenario at this time.

Once the nails were divided (Table 6), small differences are seen in the percentage of nail condition between the burned pile and the rest of the site. In the burned area, the percentage of unaltered nails increased, pulled nails decreased, and clinched nails increased slightly. The non-burned area showed a slight decrease in the percentage of unaltered nails and an increase in pulled nails. The second explanation, in which the burned area was used as a dump, is eliminated based on this model due to the high percentage of unaltered nails and the low percentage of pulled nails. Although the percentage of clinched nails did rise as would be expected in a dumping area, due to the infrequency of clinched nails, the increase is relatively insignificant when compared to the percentages of the unaltered and pulled nails.

Table 6. Complete Nail Condition: Burned Area vs. Rest of Site

	Unaltered	**Pulled**	**Clinched**
Site Total	311 (67.6%)	123 (26.7%)	5 (1.1%)
Burned Area	179 (75.9%)	53 (22.5%)	4 (1.7%)
Non-Burned Area	132 (65.0%)	70 (34.5%)	1 (0.5%)

For reasons stated above, there is no evidence to suggest the entire cabin burned, but that it was dismantled. However, the possibility does exist that the larger pen was dismantled and the smaller pen was burned at a later date, as suggested in the first explanation above. Young's model suggests that structures which naturally decay would have higher amounts of unaltered and clinched nails and fewer pulled nails. When the nails from the burned area are looked at separately the percentages of unaltered and clinched nails both rise while the percentage of pulled nails decreases, which is closer to Young's model of a naturally decayed structure. Although Young does not address this specifically, one would expect the same results from a structure that burned as is seen in a structure which naturally decayed, as the basic processes are the same but they occur at a faster rate during a burning episode.

While this analysis does lend some support to the burning of the smaller pen, it does not rule out that the smaller pen was dismantled along with the larger pen. If the entire smaller pen was burned with the debris swept into a pile, one would expect a much larger burned area, but ash was only observed in a relatively small area in the southwestern corner of Unit 5. Unit 5 also had the largest concentration of burned artifacts, with less in Unit 7, and even fewer in units 1 and 6, suggesting that Unit 5 was near the center of the burned debris pile, with the artifacts spreading out from that point. Additionally, if a building of this size burned, one would expect to find large amounts of charcoal. While some charcoal was found, it was not present in any amount or concentration which would be unusual of 19th century domestic sites.

Based on this evidence, explanation number 3 appears to be the strongest at this time. After the cabin was dismantled, materials which could have been reused, such as the logs and stone footers, were moved to another location. Remaining debris which had either been underneath the house, in the surrounding yard, or even had been left intact inside of the cabin, was swept into a pile located near Unit 5 with the debris later being burned. This sweeping up of debris would account for why 78% of all artifacts recovered from the site came from units 5, 6, and 7 and also why post-hole tests in the northeastern quadrant of the site tested negatively. A majority of all kitchen related artifacts, ceramics and container glass, were recovered from the area immediately in and around this debris pile, suggesting the kitchen was nearby. The watercolor drawing of the cabin and the photograph of Elizabeth show a wooden porch just outside the doorway of the smaller pen. Items such as a spinning wheel, laundry washboards, a cast iron kettle, and a stoneware crock, all associated with "women's" chores, can be seen in the photograph of Elizabeth, and it is likely the kitchen would be just inside that doorway. On the other hand, in the photograph of the interior of the cabin (see Figure 8), a cast iron stove can be seen in the northeastern corner of the larger pen, which is also indicative of the kitchen area. Unfortunately, due to the sweeping of debris, the location of the kitchen cannot be positively identified other than it was probably in the smaller pen or in the northeastern corner of the larger pen. Sometime after the burning episode, another disturbance occurred which spread the burned artifacts throughout the immediate vicinity of the burned pile.

During the March excavations, several observations suggested the likelihood the site had been plowed at some point after the cabin was dismantled. The first indication was the position of artifacts as they were recovered from units 5 and 6. Artifacts from these units were found in vertical or diagonal positions in the soil, which is unusual due to the fact that when items enter the archaeological record through loss or abandonment, they lay flat on the ground and are usually recovered in that same position. Occasionally, artifacts may move due to animal burrowing or root movement, but no evidence of animal burrows was found in these units, nor were there roots large enough to cause the displacement of artifacts. Additionally, there appeared to be no vertical stratigraphy, with late 19th century/early 20th century material recovered from all levels. Third was the absence of any foundational evidence, such as stone footers, or architectural evidence, such as chinking. While a few stones were found scattered throughout the site (features 3 - 8) they do not appear to be foundational footers due to their small size and as was the case in features 3 and 8, the stones were located on the surface. Larger foundational stones would have been removed from the site prior to plowing in order to avoid damage to the plow and maximize the amount of tillable soil. Fourth was that after soil probing and post-hole testing, no evidence of the second, smaller chimney could be located. Since this chimney base was smaller than the one still remaining, it would have been possible to remove this one, while leaving the larger one in place. Due to its size and the possible root cellar in front of it, it would have been easier to maneuver around the larger stone chimney than have it removed and

leveled. Even though all this evidence pointed to plowing, no obvious plow scars were noted during the March excavations.

When additional fieldwork was conducted in October 2002 one of the goals was to look for any subtle evidence of plow scars. In Level 2 of Unit 7, located within the burned area, an approximate one-foot linear concentration of artifacts was observed, running from the central portion of the north wall through the unit entering the west wall, just north of the southwest corner. Like the artifacts seen in Unit 5, artifacts within this concentration were burned and in varying positions within the soil. These artifacts appeared to have been dragged through the soil, providing evidence of plowing. At that point, it was realized that the burned debris pile was not as large as originally believed, but that artifacts had been dragged from the original pile resulting in the large area of burned artifacts. Further evidence came from Unit 8. At the base of Level 1, four linear areas of mottled soil, running northwest to southeast, were noted. These lines were very subtle and were the same grayish yellow color as the subsoil. In both areas, the evidence of plowing was not very deep and did not reach into the subsoil. The pattern of the dragged artifacts in Unit 7 and the linear areas in Unit 8 were in the same general direction, running roughly northeast to southwest. These lines follow the natural contour of the land and run roughly perpendicular to the road which runs along the northern part of the site and would represent a likely path a plow would have followed from the road.

Based on the above observations there is sufficient evidence confirming that the site was plowed. A 1938 aerial photograph of the Rugby area shows a

clearing where the cabin once sat which would have allowed enough area for cultivation. After the area was logged in the late 1930s/early 1940s, land on either side of Allerton Road was turned into fields (Personal communication, Lummy Massengale 2001) and plowing could also have occurred at that time. Due to the subtleness of the plow scars which were identified in Unit 8 and their relatively shallow depth, it is possible that a disc plow was used on the site (Personal communication, Todd Ahlman 2002), which was still commonly used on the Cumberland Plateau, well into the 20th century (Lane 1984).

While there is no doubt that plowing affects the vertical placement of artifacts in the soil, there are studies which indicate lateral displacement of artifacts may not be as severe as once thought (Lewarch and O'Brien 1981; Roper 1976). Lateral displacement can occur in one of two ways, either longitudinally, in the direction of the plow or transversely, away from the plow. The longer a site is plowed, the more lateral displacement will occur, especially longitudinally (Lewarch and O'Brien 1981). Controlled experiments to understand the effect of plowing on lateral displacement of artifacts were conducted by Lewarch and O'Brien (1981). In their experiment, they placed artifacts on the surface of 10X10 meter grids and in the center of each grid, a designated number of artifacts were placed in three different patterns, with two separate grids for each of the three patterns. The grids were then plowed in two distinct plowing patterns, one was a single pass through the artifacts and the second with three passes. The burned debris pile from the Massengale site would best fit Lewarch and O'Brien's Pattern 2, where an equal number of

artifacts were placed in six 1X1 meter squares in of center of the grid. After one pass with the plow through the artifacts, a surface collection indicated that the artifacts had spread 1-3 meters in the direction of the plow from their original location, with little transverse lateral movement. In the second test, the plow took three passes through the artifacts and surface artifacts were spread longitudinally over a much longer area, as much as 8 meters from their original location. Once again, transverse lateral movement of artifacts was not significant. At the Massengale site, the lateral movement of artifacts from the burned debris pile appear to be within the 1-3 meter radius as seen in the experiment with one plow pass through the site. If repeated passes of a plow had taken place through the burned pile, it would be expected that burned artifacts would have been found over a much larger area. Therefore, it appears that the site was not cultivated, but that it was plowed after the cabin was dismantled in order to level off the site for future use.

Based on the results of Lewarch and O'Brien's experiment, units away from the burned, swept debris pile, units 2, 3, 4, and 8, should have been only minimally affected by plowing. Therefore, the artifacts recovered from those units may provide insight into the types of activities taking place nearby. The location of Unit 3 was selected due to its proximity to an outbuilding seen in the watercolor painting and the number of ceramics and window glass recovered from nearby post-hole tests. Only 82 artifacts were recovered from this unit, of which 64 were ceramics. These sherds were all whiteware and were from either a saucer or flatware and may represent one vessel which was broken in the

vicinity. The eleven fragments of window glass may provide more information. Of these eleven fragments, nine dated between 1890 and 1907, with the other two fragments dating prior to 1890. Only the eastern wall of this outbuilding is visible in the watercolor drawing and no window is seen, but it is quite possible a window was in one of the other walls. Depending on the type of outbuilding, it is unusual for one to have glass windows. While the function of the outbuilding cannot be determined at this time, the later addition of a window around the turn of the century suggests that its function may have changed at that point, possibly as another addition to the cabin.

Only 21 artifacts were recovered from Unit 4, located near the northwestern corner of the larger pen. If this unit was located inside the cabin, it would be expected that a larger quantity of artifacts would have been recovered due to items being dropped and lost through the floorboards. The low quantity of artifacts indicate Unit 4 was located just outside of the cabin walls, away from doors and windows and that the western wall of the cabin was located east of the unit.

In units 2 and 8, a total of 307 artifacts was recovered, of which 248 are classified in the Architectural group, comprising of nails and window glass. The plowing of the site destroyed any foundational evidence of the cabin walls, but the large percentage of architectural material in units 2 and 8 suggest that the western wall of the larger pen was nearby, providing an estimate of the dimensions of the cabin.

Without foundational evidence, it is impossible to say what the exact dimensions of either pen were, but based on the results from units 2, 4, and 8 and previous studies on log structures, approximate dimensions can be determined. Research conducted by Morgan (1990) based on surveys of standing log structures in East Tennessee during the late 1970s and early 1980s, provides general characteristics of log cabins in the region. Morgan describes two types of log structures, square and rectangular. Square structures, which come from the British, are those in which the front/rear walls are less than five feet shorter than the side walls, while rectangular structures, from Swedish or Scot/Irish traditions, were those with the side walls at least five feet longer than the front/rear walls. Throughout East Tennessee, square structures commonly measured 18 to 24 feet along the side walls and 16 to 18 feet along the front/rear walls and rectangular structures measured 20 to 26 feet along the side walls and 15 to 20 feet along the front/rear walls (Morgan 1990: 28 and 30.

Morgan's research indicated that of 31 standing log structures in Morgan County, 61% were square. Of the square structures, 84% had side walls which were between two and five feet greater than the front/rear walls and 63% had widths at least 20 feet wide (Morgan 1990: 29). Based on this research, there is a higher probability that the Massengale cabin was square rather than rectangular, especially considering their English ancestry. By using the door on the larger pen of the watercolor drawing as a scale, based on today's average door width of 33", the larger pen of the Massengale cabin would have been 22.0

feet long. While this is putting much faith into Mrs. Taylor's artistic abilities, 22 feet is a common measurement for the side walls of square log structures. Common front/rear wall measurements for a structure with 22 feet side walls would have been 18 or 20 feet (Morgan 1990). The large amount of architectural material from units 2 and 8 support the assumption that the larger pen's width was 18-20 feet, placing the western wall 4-5 feet southwest of those units. As previously stated, it appears the site was plowed by a single pass in a roughly northeast-southwest direction and as the plow crossed over the area of the west cabin wall, heading northeast, the plow dragged nails and window glass 4-8 feet to rest in units 2 and 8 (Figure 26).

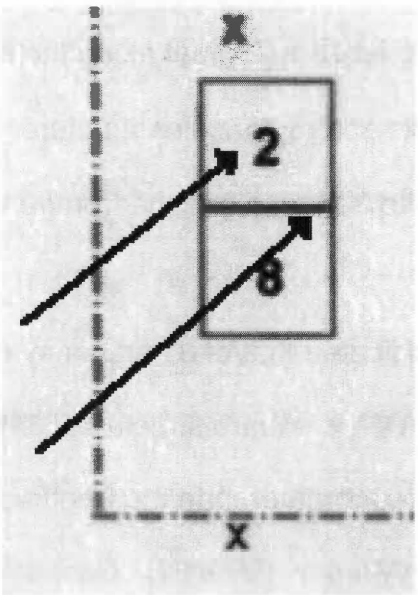


Figure 26. Likely plowing direction across western wall to units 2 and 8.

While units 2 and 8 support both an 18-foot and 20-foot cabin width, the lack of artifacts in Unit 4, indicate the unit was located outside the cabin, therefore suggesting an 18-foot width of the cabin. While exact dimensions cannot be determined, based on Morgan's study and the archaeological evidence available, the dimensions of the larger pen of the Massengale cabin were approximately 22 feet by 18 feet. Even lesser information is available regarding the dimensions of the smaller pen, but due to its size in relation to the larger pen, a measurement of 14-16 feet by 16-18 feet is expected.

Other research questions of this study focused on the occupation dates of the Massengale cabin and whether or not it dated to the 1820s when Dempsey Sr. first owned land in the area. Land surveys indicate Dempsey Sr. occupied several hundred acres of land along White Oak Creek as early as 1824 and it has been believed that the cabin in the 1887 watercolor painting was his original cabin (Thompson and Studdard 2001). However, the recovered artifacts do not support this early construction date. With the exception of the black basalt glazed stoneware teapot, which dates to circa 1820, none of the recovered ceramic sherds can be positively dated prior to 1860. Recovered refined ceramics consist mainly of undecorated whiteware and ironstone, popular tableware after 1860. While salt-glazed stoneware was manufactured throughout the 19th century, most of the recovered sherds were glazed with Albany brown slip on the interior, not common in East Tennessee until after the Civil War. In addition, a majority of these sherds are from straight-sided crocks, which became popular in the second half of the 19th century, replacing ovoid

shaped vessels (Myers 1983). With the exception of one early machine cut nail (pre-1835), all cut nails were late fully machine cut, which did not become common until 1835. Additionally, only two fragments of window glass dated prior to 1850. Six of eleven window glass fragments recovered from units 2 and 8 date between 1855 and 1859, suggesting a window was placed in the cabin during that time. Based on the recovered artifacts, there is no evidence to support that the Massengale cabin was constructed much earlier than 1860, nor was it built on the site of a previous structure. Church records indicate that Dempsey Jr. and Elizabeth left Smokey Creek in Scott County in 1857 and Dempsey Jr. bought 50 acres of land south of present-day Rugby from his father in 1858. Based on archaeological and documentary evidence, the Massengale cabin appears to have been built in the late 1850s.

Family accounts state that after Elizabeth died, William Grant lived in the cabin until shortly after the turn of the century, although deed records show all Massengale property was sold to Laban Riseden by 1896. Artifacts support an ending occupation date around the turn of the century. Ceramics with an identifiable marker's mark have manufacturing dates beginning in 1892 and ending in 1904 and 1905. Additionally, the absence of popular late 19th century/early 20th century ceramics such as Bristol glazed stoneware and yellow ware also suggests an occupation date until the turn of the century. Although much of the container glass was melted beyond recognition, those that could be identified showed no indication of machine made manufacturing techniques, which began in 1903 with the introduction of the Owens Glass bottle making

machine (Jones and Sullivan 1985). Wire nails were introduced to East Tennessee circa 1890 and structures which were built or remodeled after that time would be expected to contain a significant quantity of them, but at the Massengale site only six wire nails were recovered. The only evidence supporting a later occupation date is post-1924 window glass found in the debris pile. Due to the absence of other 20th century artifacts, this later window glass is probably the result of a later dumping episode. While an exact date cannot be determined through archaeological or documentary research, the cabin appears to have been abandoned around the turn of the century.

Before this study, what happened to the Massengale cabin was unclear. Likely scenarios were that the cabin decayed naturally, burned, or was razed. The scenario best supported by archaeological evidence is that the structure was carefully dismantled. This explanation is further supported by a rumor that a house constructed just west of Rugby in the late 1920s or 1930s was built with the logs from the Massengale cabin. This house was near Allerton Road, which passed directly in front of the Massengale cabin and it would have been relatively easy, and a common practice, to move the structure to that location. That house was later dismantled with the logs being sold to a man in Elgin who built another structure which was later destroyed by a fire (Personal communication, Barbara Stagg 2002).

When this occurred is somewhat more difficult to say. Archaeological and documentary evidence points to abandonment of the cabin around the turn of the century. Lummy Massengale (2002) states that some of his grandfather's

(William Grant) last words before he died in 1927 were about taking care "of the old homesite". This could be interpreted that the cabin was still standing at that time or he meant the "homesite" as the entire farm where he grew up. The only archaeological evidence which may point to the date of the dismantling of the cabin comes from the burned area, since this pile was created after the cabin had been dismantled. Thick window glass recovered from the debris pile dates to post-1924. The burned area is believed to be the result of a sweeping together of the remaining debris after the cabin was dismantled which was then burned. This thick window glass may have been thrown into the trash pile and burned with the rest of the debris. If that is the case, the burning is likely to have occurred after 1924. While it is far from conclusive, the little evidence which does exist regarding the dismantling of the Massengale log cabin points to a post-1920 date. In any case, it is known that the cabin was gone by 1938 when an aerial photograph of Rugby was taken. While the clearing where the cabin once sat can be clearly seen, the cabin is no longer present on the site.

CHAPTER 6:

LIFEWAYS OF THE MOUNTAIN FOLK AND MASSENGALE FAMILY AND THEIR INTERACTIONS WITH RUGBY COLONISTS

Archaeological evidence provides clues into the lifeways of those who lived in the past, but in historical archaeology, research of historical documentation also provides important information about past lifeways. In this chapter, the lifeways of the mountain folk, and specifically the Massengale family, will be discussed, relying on information from historical documents. These lifeways were bound to change to some degree with the introduction of the Rugby colony and its colonists. The relationship between the mountain folk and Rugby colonists will also be examined, as many reports indicate that tension existed between the two groups.

Lifeways of the Mountain Folk

In Morgan County, and elsewhere on the Cumberland Plateau, agriculture was very prominent with only a handful of businesses and manufacturers. This was even more true among the mountain folk. In fact, all heads of household recorded in the 1860 census at Pine Top, which included the residents of the future Rugby area, were listed as farmers (U.S. Census 1860a). Prior to the Civil War, the only merchants in the county were located in the towns of Montgomery

Table 7: Number of Manufacturers in Morgan County (1840 - 1900)
(as recorded to the US Census Bureau)

1840	1860	1880	1900
4	8	6	38

and Wartburg, several miles to the south of the Rugby area through rough terrain. Only four manufacturing businesses were reported in the 1840 Census including two tanneries and two distilleries. By 1860 the number of manufacturing businesses diversified and doubled in number, with two coal mines, two grist mills, one tan yard, and three saw mills being reported (Table 7) (U.S. Census 1840 and 1860).

The lack of manufacturing businesses and the remoteness of the area are the two major reasons why the residents of northern Morgan County had to be self-sufficient. The mountain folk lived off the land by utilizing the natural resources the forest had to offer and producing the goods they needed, only traveling to town to purchase goods when absolutely necessary. Sarah L. Walton (n.d.), daughter of one of the English families who moved to the Rugby Colony, wrote that the only way to travel into the Rugby area prior to the founding of the colony was by Jacksboro Road, which she described as a "dim mountain trail". She added that the mountain folk would travel this road by oxen or on horseback to Jamestown, located about 15 miles northwest of Rugby in Fentress County, to make the "necessary journey to the outer world" for supplies they could not produce themselves, such as salt. Logs for their homes and

outbuildings were harvested from the surrounding forests. In his accounts, Hughes described the houses he encountered during his travels as log-huts and cabins and he wrote that within ten miles of Rugby, he saw only two houses and farms "that were equal in accommodation and comfort to those of good farmers in England" (Hughes 1881: 61).

The mountain folk were able to produce a wide variety of food products for their families, including a variety of meats, grains, fruits, and vegetables. Livestock raised included cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry (U.S. Agricultural Census 1860b, and 1880b). In addition to the meat they provided, cattle provided milk, cheese, butter, and even tanned skins to make leather goods, while poultry provided eggs. Sheep wool was used to make clothing and cooking grease was combined with lye to make soap (Freytag and Ott 1971). Grain crops included wheat, barley, oats, rye, and corn and there was some experimentation with other grains such as buckwheat and hops. Both Irish and sweet potatoes were very popular in the area, and still continue to be, due to the ideal growing conditions for them on the plateau. Other vegetables included tomatoes, peas, and beans. A variety of other goods were produced including tobacco, molasses, honey, beeswax, and apples (U.S. Agricultural Census 1860b and 1880b). Other products were also produced, such as wine and cotton; however, they must have proven not to be productive enough to continue. For example, in the 1860 Census 242 gallons of wine were reported, but it does not appear in later census reports. Additionally, the 1880 Census reports that one bale of cotton was produced in the entire county (U.S. Agriculture Census

1880b). The mountain folk were also able to provide a year-round variety of food for themselves by drying and pickling various vegetables and fruits and by storing grain for bread throughout the winter months (Freytag and Ott 1971).

Hughes (1880) also provided a description of the foods produced and consumed by the "natives." He wrote that meals were at regular times everyday, breakfast served at 6:15am, dinner at noon, and "tea" at 6:00pm. Hughes described a typical meal as having "tea, fresh water, plates of beef or mutton, applesauce, rice, tomatoes, peach pies, or pudding, and several kinds of bread" (Hughes 1881: 45). There appeared to have been little variety between meals, with the only differences being that porridge was an additional item at breakfast and for dinner there was an abundance of vegetables. Hughes also detailed a meal he had with one of the native farm couples, the Risedens, who settled along the White Oak Creek in the 1860s. Hughes described the meal as "an average specimen of farmer's fare here" with the meal including, "tea and cold spring water, chicken, ducks, a stew, ham, with a profusion of vegetables, apple and huckleberry tarts, and several preserves (Hughes 1881: 63). It would be difficult to determine whether or not this would be the "average specimen" of a meal the mountain folk would have prepared for everyday meals, as it seems likely that the meal served to Hughes may have been especially prepared by Mrs. Riseden for their English guests.

Lifeways of the Massengale Family

Documentary and archaeological research indicates the Massengales were a typical mountain family, relying on themselves to produce what they needed to survive in the newly settled wilderness. Based on the topography of Dempsey Jr.'s property, his farmstead would likely be considered a terrace farmstead, with his cabin and outbuildings being located at the top of the ridge and fields, pastures, orchards, and woodlands located on the slope of the ridge, down to the creek beds. These terrace farmsteads normally centered around a log cabin, or frame house, and a barn, with supporting outbuildings such as a smokehouse, chicken house, corn cribs, and equipment sheds (Gardner 1987).

The Massengale cabin is evidence of the family's use of available natural resources in building structures on their farmstead. The use of logs for the cabin and the Virginia rail fence seen in the watercolor drawing indicates milled lumber was not readily available to them and they harvested the trees needed for construction. Although the logs of the cabin are gone, they were probably pine as that was the prominent type of timber used for log cabins in Morgan County (Morgan 1990) and a number of pine trees can still be found on the property today.

Agricultural schedules with the U.S. Censuses provide information on the types of food and goods the Massengales were growing and producing. The 1860 Agricultural Census lists both Dempseys, but unfortunately does not distinguish senior from junior. The first Dempsey reported 750 acres of land, of

which 20 was improved. Farm animals and livestock included two horses, four heads of cattle, and ten pigs and crops included Indian corn, sweet potatoes, and flax. The second Dempsey owned 50 acres, with 10 acres improved. This entry is likely to be Dempsey Jr., due to his buying 50 acres of land from his father in 1858. Animals included one horse, seven heads of cattle, 24 sheep, and 13 pigs. Crops raised included rye, Indian corn, tobacco, peas, and Irish potatoes and other reported products included butter and wool.

At the time of the 1870 Agriculture Census, Dempsey Jr. reported 30 acres of improved land and 345 unimproved acres. The higher number of acres he owned is attributed to his inheritance of land after Dempsey Sr. died. The value of his livestock was recorded as $473, which included two horses, eight heads of cattle, fourteen sheep, and 175 pigs. Crops grown included rye, Indian corn, and tobacco. Other products included wool, butter, flax, orchard products, molasses, and honey.

In the 1880 Census Schedule 2 - Productions of Agriculture, Dempsey Jr. reported 17 acres of tillable, improved land, 5 acres devoted to orchards, and 433 unimproved acres of woodland and forest. The value of his farm, equipment, and livestock was reported at $1,290. Livestock and farm animals included one horse, eight heads of cattle, forty-two sheep, fifty swine, and twenty-seven chickens. A number of grains and vegetable crops were raised including buckwheat, Indian corn, rye, wheat, corn, and potatoes. Other reported products included butter, wool, eggs, honey, beeswax and sorghum. Additionally, five acres of apple orchards were reported with a total of 200

bearing trees. Just north of the log cabin site and approximately 100 yards down the hill toward the creek, a lone apple tree still stands today. Although other possibilities exist such as a bird dropping seeds, or a hiker throwing away an apple core, this lone apple tree may be surviving evidence of the large apple orchard Dempsey once owned.

As was seen elsewhere in Morgan County, the Massengales were able to produce a wide variety of food for their family including a variety of meats, grains, vegetables, and other food products. They used fleece from their sheep to spin wool for clothing as Elizabeth is demonstrating in her photograph. In 1880, the large quantity of some products, such as 180 pounds of butter and 100 pounds of honey, in addition to the 200 apple trees, suggests these products may have been sold for a modest income, possibly to coal miners who were beginning to settle in nearby Glen Mary (Personal communication, Benita Howell 2003) or the English who were beginning to settle the area.

One of the products they did not make themselves was their ceramics. Whiteware, ironstone, and stoneware vessels were available in the Rugby commissary after 1880. Prior to 1880, whiteware and ironstone pieces would likely have been available only through merchants in larger towns, who received goods from elsewhere in the United States or England. The closest and easiest accessible town to residents of northern Morgan County was Jamestown in neighboring Fentress County. Stoneware, however, may have been locally produced. A number of sherds were recovered, consisting of at least nine vessels. One of the questions regarding the stoneware is where did it come

from. Very few potters were located in the Cumberland Plateau region of Tennessee during the mid-19th century, with the closest known potter being in Putnam County, about 75 miles from northern Morgan County. After the introduction of the railroad in 1880, many goods came into the Rugby area from Cincinnati. Determining where the stoneware was produced will not only give an indication of where the Massengales were procuring their goods, but if the pottery came from Ohio, or other northern areas, it probably dates after the 1880 opening of the railroad.

Two traditions exist for traditional stoneware, the northern and the southern tradition. In the Northeast, the northern tradition can be found and was a consequence of the large amount of potters and the competition between them. Northern tradition stoneware is very well formed and finished, often with intricate decorations painted on them. The southern tradition, which had little if any decoration, began in Pennsylvania and spread west into Ohio and south into West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Differences in clay between the north and the south resulted in varying colors when the vessel was salt-glazed. Clay used by many potters in the northern tradition usually came from New Jersey, with local clays added to stretch the more expensive New Jersey clay. When salt-glazed, this clay would result in a gray exterior. In the South, local clays were used, which varied in color from region to region. This clay would result in a brown exterior when salt-glazed and would vary from tan to dark brown depending on the natural impurities in the clay (Guilland 1971).

Based on these descriptions, the Massengales had a combination of northern and southern tradition stonewares. Five vessels are suggestive of the northern tradition, as they have gray salt-glaze exteriors and Albany brown slip interiors. If these vessels did in fact originate in the Northeast, they probably date after 1880 when the Cincinnati Southern railroad was completed, connecting Cincinnati and Chattanooga. Three vessels are indicative of the southern tradition. Two are salt-glazed resulting in a light brown exterior while the third vessel's exterior is a combination of salt and slip glazing, resulting in a dark brown exterior. These vessels are likely from a local pottery, which can date to anytime in the 19th century. One vessel, an alkaline-glazed jar, was probably made in the South, but likely not Tennessee. Alkaline-glazing was a technique used mainly in the Carolinas and may have been brought from North Carolina when the Massengales moved to Tennessee.

Few potters were located in Middle and East Tennessee, but a number of family potteries were in Putnam and White counties, located west of Morgan County (Figure 27). These potteries were in operation between c. 1824 and 1938 and centered around the LaFever family. Part of the reason Middle Tennessee potters were so successful was due to peddlers carrying and selling their pottery throughout Tennessee (Smith and Rogers 1979). These peddlers could have either sold pottery directly to residents or to merchants in larger towns, such as Jamestown. Without marker's marks on the Massengale stoneware, it is impossible to positively determine where it was made, but there is a strong possibility some of their stoneware was LaFever pottery.

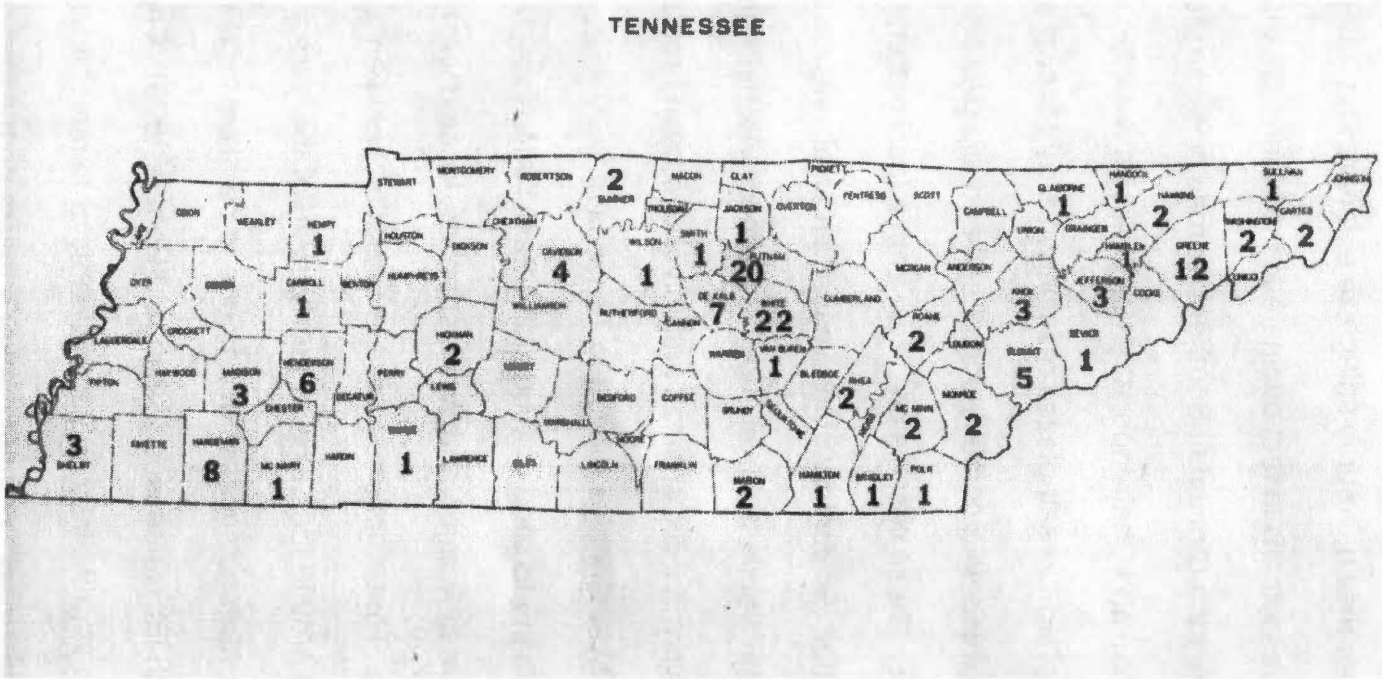


Figure 27. Map of Tennessee with number of family potteries per county (Smith and Rogers 1979: 10).

Relationship with Colonists

Using Zierden's (2002: 182) definition of community, ". . . a basic unit of social organization and transmission, a constantly evolving set of extrafamilial social relations. It can be based on ethnicity, religion, economic or social status, or other social constructs, or on simple geographic proximity", the Rugby colonists and the mountain folk would each be considered their own community, even though they lived in the same geographic area. As would be expected when two distinctly different communities live side-by-side, the introduction of the Rugby colonists may not have been a smooth transition. In the early years of the colony, the mountain folk comprised approximately 20% of the colony's population (Egerton 1977; Hamer 1940). Even though the mountain folk were a significant part of the population, many sources suggest the mountain folk and the Rugby colonists did not think very highly of each other, which may have even contributed to the downfall of the colony (Wichmann 1963). However, many of these sources were written in the 1920s and 1930s, without actually talking with those who lived in Rugby during the colony's existence. One description of the mountain folk's reaction to the English was, "The mountain folk have maintained a policy of passive resistance; they have watched the settlers come and go. They have muttered against their ways" (Niles 1939: n.p.). Another wrote, "The more serious and astute Americans who were responsible for what was actually being done – the necessary construction – smiled a little to themselves. Yet they found the young Englishmen, socially, delightful companions with every evidence

of good breeding, except perhaps for a sense for being usefully employed" (Whipple 1925: 30). Wichmann (1963: 8) used a favorite expression of the mountain folk in their description of the English and their ways as "Jist plumb crazy".

The English reaction to the mountain folk was reportedly not much better. Hughes' own ethnocentric views of the "natives" may have continued to those English colonists who moved to Rugby, who reportedly, ". . . failed even more completely to appreciate socially the native hill folk . . . " (Hamer 1940: 30). Hughes did not approve of many of the mountain folk's activities, such as drinking alcohol. Hughes described a "crisis" involving natives bringing in two barrels of whiskey into Rugby, resulting in laborers drinking and gambling for two days, with no work being completed. As a result, Hughes did not allow alcohol in the colony and stated, ". . . if we are to have influence with the poor whites and blacks, we must be above suspicion ourselves" (Hughes 1880: 50-51). In regards to the mountain folk's practice of girdling trees in order to collect turpentine, Hughes wrote, "If he wants a tree for lumber of firewood, very good. He should have it. But he should cut it down like a man and take it clean away for some reasonable use, not leave it as a scarecrow to bear witness of his recklessness and laziness" (Hughes 1880: 54). He also added, ". . . a stop will now be put to the wretched practice. . . it must be suppressed altogether" (Hughes 1880: 54-55).

Even if the relations were not the best, interaction between the two communities took place. The Rugby colonists kept detailed records of business

transactions, memberships and minutes of the various clubs, and records from the library and church. While the Massengale name, nor the names of other mountain folk families such as the Risedens, Gallaways, Bucks, or Brewsters, do not appear in membership lists or minutes of Rugby's various social or sporting clubs, they are found in records from important community groups including the Rugby business records, the public school, the Hughes Public Library, Christ Church Episcopal, and Laurel Dale Cemetery.

Rugby accounting ledgers recorded transactions between the commissary, saw mill, grist mill, hotel, and local citizens. Prior to 1885, the only mountain family name listed in these records is Isaac Riseden, who sold timber to the saw mill. Beginning in 1885, Elizabeth Massengale's name appears selling timber to the saw mill and having an account at the commissary (Tennessee State Library and Archives [19–]a). As Dempsey Jr. is believed to have died in the mid-1880s, this likely represents his widow's need for an income source and the need to buy goods at the commissary which she may no longer be able to produce at their farm. This might also indicate that Dempsey Jr. did not want to do business with the colonists and remained self-sufficient even though "modern" conveniences were now available in Rugby and only after his death did the family conduct business with them. While Dempsey Jr. may not have wanted to do business with the colonists, that does not necessarily mean he did not have any contact with them due to Esther Walton's referral to Dempsey Jr. as "Uncle Dempsey" which indicates a familiarity between the two.

No records of students attending the Rugby public school were located;

however, it can still be determined that Massengale children were attending the school. On November 10, 1883, *The Plateau Gazette* reported the results from a spelling bee at the school, listing the second and third grade spelling bee winners as George Massengale and Henry Massengale (*Plateau Gazette* 1883). Henry's relationship to Dempsey Jr. and Elizabeth cannot be positively determined, but one of their sons was named Henry and this could be his son. George is probably their grandson who was reported as living with them in the 1880 census. George's name is also listed in records from the Hughes Public Library which contains the names of those checking books out from the library and the name of the book. Just below George's name, Mrs. Massengale is also listed, but no first name is provided, therefore it is not certain whether or not it is Elizabeth.

Detailed church records from Christ Church Episcopal also provide insight of the inclusion of the mountain families into the Rugby community. Through the turn of the century, no mountain family names were listed in church membership, baptisms, confirmations, weddings, or funerals. However, a list of families who were not officially church members but who attended the church and/or Sunday school regularly, is provided and William Massengale and his family are listed. Due to their being Baptist, it is not unexpected that Dempsey Jr. and Elizabeth did not join the Christ Church. Closely related to the church and an important part of any community is its cemetery. A listing of grave markers from Laurel Dale cemetery, which date prior to the turn of the century, list only one as having a mountain family name, which is Massengale. The grave is marked with a

metal marker with a piece of paper enclosed in glass indicating the name. Unfortunately the first name is unreadable due to the glass being broken and the elements fading and washing away the ink over the years. A record of Laurel Dale grave markers made several years ago state that this marker read, "Massengale, ??, d. in 1880's" (Kries and Kries 1996: 133). While the time frame does correspond when the family believes he died, it is not certain if this grave marker represents Dempsey Jr., a member of his family, or even one of William Massengale's descendants.

A personal account of Rugby during the first half of the 20th century is still available through Loren Lawhorn (2001), who was born in 1922 and grew up in Rugby. He shared many of his memories of surviving English colonists, the changes the colony had on his family, and his thoughts on the relationship between the colonists and the mountain folk. Unfortunately, he had no recollections of the Massengale cabin. Lawhorn's father, McKager, was 70 years old when he was born and was a veteran of the Civil War. After the war was over, McKager moved to Armathwaite, Tennessee, just a few miles west of Rugby, where he worked as a blacksmith. Lawhorn's older brothers where in their teens during the 1880s and worked in the colony. Lawhorn states that his family's lives changed for the better with the introduction of the English and the colony. For example, his brother William was employed by Rugby's town manager, driving a hack between the train station in Sedgemoor and Rugby. He drove many wealthy people back and forth between the two towns, which is how he met his future wife and her father. William left Rugby and became a

merchant for his father-in-law and years later, died a millionaire after running a jewelry business in California. His other brother, Frank, stayed in Rugby and worked for the commissary and various construction jobs. Lawhorn stated that if it was not for the colony both of his brothers would have followed in their father's footsteps and become blacksmiths. Lawhorn also spoke of many of the surviving original colonists with the greatest respect and appreciation for the ways they effected his life. When asked about relations between the colonists and the mountain folk, he stated, ". . . there was no dissension. I've never heard of any fussing or resentment, or anything like that towards the English. People appreciated them, they brought job opportunities. They hired people to do things. A lot of people got jobs over there working for these people - housekeeping jobs, sometimes laundry, those kinds of jobs. Extra money wouldn't have been available, if it hadn't been for the English" (Personal communication, Loren Lawhorn 2001).

According to most reports, relations between the two communities were strained during the early days of the colony, with both groups keeping their own cultures and lifeways. The two communities interacted with one another to some extent, with historical records from the 1880s indicating mountain families were able to join and participate in important aspects of the Rugby community, if they chose to do so. There is no doubt that in the years following the opening of the Rugby colony, life changed for the mountain folk. But these changes were not necessarily due to the colony, but more likely to the introduction of the railroad. Not only did the railroad bring more manufactured goods to the Cumberland

Plateau, but it also opened lumber and coal industries which led to the opportunity to move away from farming to wage labor (Gardner 1987). After the colony declined and many of the Rugby colonists moved out of the area, the distinctions between these two communities became less and less, eventually merging into one community, with descendants from the two communities working together to continue Rugby's existence and to educate the public about their town, its founder, and its families. A prime example of this cooperation between the two communities can still been seen. Today, Historic Rugby is operated by Barbara Stagg, Director of Historic Rugby and a descendant of a mountain family, the Tompkins, and her husband, John Gilliat, Rugby's Properties Manager and a descendant of English colonists.

CHAPTER 7:

CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE COMPARISON WITH UFFINGTON HOUSE

One part of this study is a comparison of the Massengale family ceramic assemblage to that from nearby Uffington House where archaeological investigations were conducted by Avery in 2000 and 2001. These two sites represent two different socioeconomic classes and this comparison was completed in order to study the foodways and consumer choices between the two residences. Ceramics provide the best way to study such lifestyles, with container glass also being important; however, due to the poor condition of much of the container glass from the Massengale site, only the ceramic assemblages will be compared.

During the time of the Rugby Colony, Uffington House (Figure 28) was the home of Margaret and Emily Hughes (Figure 29), the mother and niece of Rugby's founder, Thomas Hughes. After the death of Margaret in 1887, Emily returned to England and Uffington House was up for sale. Over the next few years, the property was rented out to at least two families. The first was Madame Marshall and her six sons, who were related to Emily's husband and the second was Dr. Sebastian Raynes and his family. In1904, Uffington House was purchased by Charles and Nellie Brooks, who owned the house until 1958. After the Brooks, a number of families lived at Uffington House until 1997 when

Figure 28. Uffington House.

Figure 29. Margaret and Emily Hughes (DeBruyn 1995).

the property was purchased by Historic Rugby, Incorporated (Avery 2001).

The Hughes family was from the upper class of England and as the family of the colony's founder, they were considered to be the elite of Rugby society. The two families who rented Uffington House between the Hughes' and Brooks' occupations were probably from fairly substantial families, due to one being related by marriage to Emily and the other a doctor. The Brooks were also considered to be a substantial family in the Rugby area after the turn of the century. Charles was a successful businessman, farmer, and politician, and his wife Nellie was from a wealthy German family that lived in Cincinnati and vacationed at the Rugby Colony (Avery 2001). Because of differences in socioeconomic class between the Massengales and those who lived at Uffington House, certain differences, including number and types of vessels, ware types, and decorative styles, were expected when a comparison of their ceramic assemblages was conducted.

Little variety is evident in the ceramic sherds from the Massengale site (Figure 30). Ware types represented included whiteware, ironstone, stoneware, and refined stoneware and with the exception of four handpainted saucer rim sherds, no decoration could be seen on any of the whiteware or ironstone sherds. It can only be assumed that these sherds are from plain, undecorated tableware which was popular from the mid-to-late 19th century, although it is possible that some pieces were decorated but the intense heat from the fire destroyed any evidence of decorations such as transfer prints or decals. A minimum vessel count resulted in 35 individual vessels that could be identified at

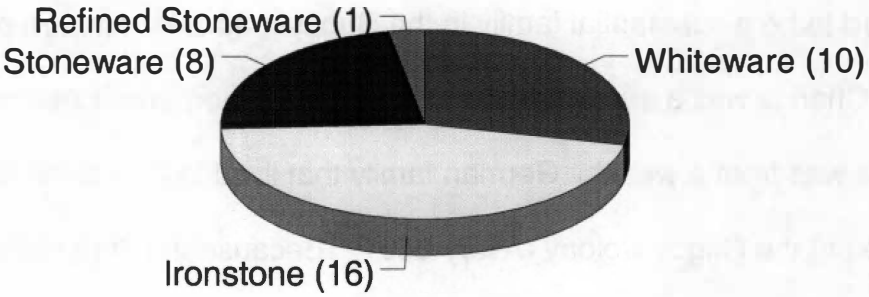


Figure 30. Massengale ware types by vessel count.

the Massengale site, but due to the lack of decoration on the ceramic sherds, this total is probably on the conservative side.

At Uffington House a wider variety of ware types was present, with whiteware, ironstone, and porcelain being the most prevalent (Figure 31). Additionally, many of these ware types were decorated with such styles as transfer prints, decals, flow blue, gilding, and embossing, along with colored glazes such as green, yellow, and light blue which are indicative of early 20th century ceramics. A total of 64 minimum vessels was identified, with the process made easier due to the varying decorative styles.

Ware Types

As expected, differences due to socioeconomic status were identified in ware types, decorative styles, and number and types of vessels between the two ceramic assemblages, with the Uffington House assemblage consisting of higher-end ceramics. While some of these differences may be attributed to the later and longer occupation date of Uffington House, they are also good indicators of the differences in socioeconomic status between the two family groups. The differences in ware types should not be affected by the differences in occupation dates due to the fact that all ware types recovered at Uffington House were widely available during the mid-late 19th century. At the Massengale site, ware types included whiteware, ironstone, stoneware, and refined stoneware, while at Uffington House those ware types were recovered in addition to porcelain, yellow ware, modern earthenware, and refined redware. The larger

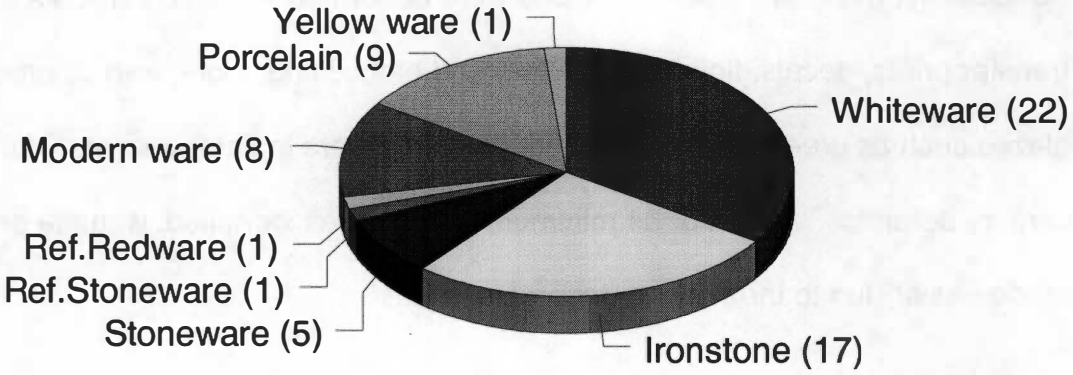


Figure 31. Uffington House ware types by vessel count.

variety of ware types indicate the residents of Uffington could afford a larger variety of ceramics and/or could afford to buy new ceramic vessels as the popularity of styles changed. One of the most striking indications of the difference in status between the Massengales and Uffington House residents was the complete absence of porcelain from the Massengale site, which has been referred to as the only ware type that indicates status, due to its much higher price compared to any other ware type (Miller 1980).

Decorative Styles

Decorative styles are often seen as another indicator of socioeconomic class. Miller (1980) describes the four price categories, based on decorative styles, used by 18th and 19th century potters. The first, or lowest level, are undecorated pieces, but it should be added that undecorated white ironstone introduced in the mid 19th century is not included in this category due to its higher price. Ceramics included in the second level are those with only a small amount of decoration including shell edging, sponging, annularware, and mocha patterns. The third level included handpainted decorative motifs such as flowers, leaves, geometric patterns, and the also popular Chinese scenes. The fourth level, and most expensive, included transfer printed wares.

As previously mentioned, refined ceramics from the Massengale site consisted almost exclusively of undecorated whiteware and white ironstone. The only exceptions were the black basalt glazed teapot, one embossed whiteware plate rim, and four saucer sherds which appear to be handpainted around the

rim. At Uffington House, a wide variety of decorative styles were present, including late 19th/20th century styles such as transfer printing, flow blue, decals, and gilding (Avery 2001). The variety of decorative styles at Uffington House could point to the fact that residents could afford the latest trends in ceramic decorative styles. However, this variable may be skewed due to the number of families that lived at Uffington House between the late 1880s and early 1900s. Each family would have brought their own ceramics with them and may have left evidence of their own individual pieces behind, therefore increasing the variety that is seen in the archaeological record.

Undecorated vessels, such as those recovered from the Massengale site, are often considered to be the least expensive of refined wares. While this may be the case for undecorated whiteware, it is not necessarily true of undecorated ironstone. Due to its popularity and the price decline of decorated vessels by the mid 19th century, undecorated white ironstone entered the marketplace at approximately equal prices as transfer printed pieces (Miller 1980). A minimum of ten whiteware vessels and sixteen ironstone vessels were identified at the Massengale site. Only one of the whiteware vessels has a marker's mark, which dates between 1872 and 1904. The lack of marker's mark on the other whiteware vessels points to a pre-1892 manufacturing date, which is when items made outside of the United States were required to place the country of origin on the item. Seven individual ironstone marker's mark were identified, with only one being positively dated from 1897 to 1905. Beginning manufacturing dates for the other six vessels with marker's marks are assumed to be after 1892. The

presence or absence of marker's marks indicate the undecorated whitewares, considered to be the most inexpensive ceramics, date earlier than the more expensive, undecorated ironstone vessels. The ironstone with marker's marks have a TPQ date of at least 1892, which would be after Elizabeth is believed to have died and when William Grant and his family lived in the cabin. This change in ceramics from undecorated whiteware to undecorated white ironstone suggests that William Grant may have had the resources to purchase the more expensive white ironstone than his parents before him. If this is the case, his economic status probably did not improve dramatically, because porcelain along with a larger variety of late 19th/early 20th century decorative styles probably would have also been present.

Number and Type of Vessels

The number and types of vessels are also good indicators of socioeconomic status. Today, and in the past, most families have ceramic place settings which consist of sets of dinner plates, small plates, bowls, cups, and saucers. Those who are financially able may purchase a higher quantity of each of these pieces and/or additional pieces, such as salad and dessert plates, platters, and soup tureens. Comparing the number and types of vessels between the Massengale site and Uffington House (Figure 32), it is obvious that the Uffington House residents had a larger variety of refined ceramic vessels. Dinner plates, cups, saucers, and teapots were recovered from both sites with all but the saucers nearly equal in number. A couple of vessel types, small plates

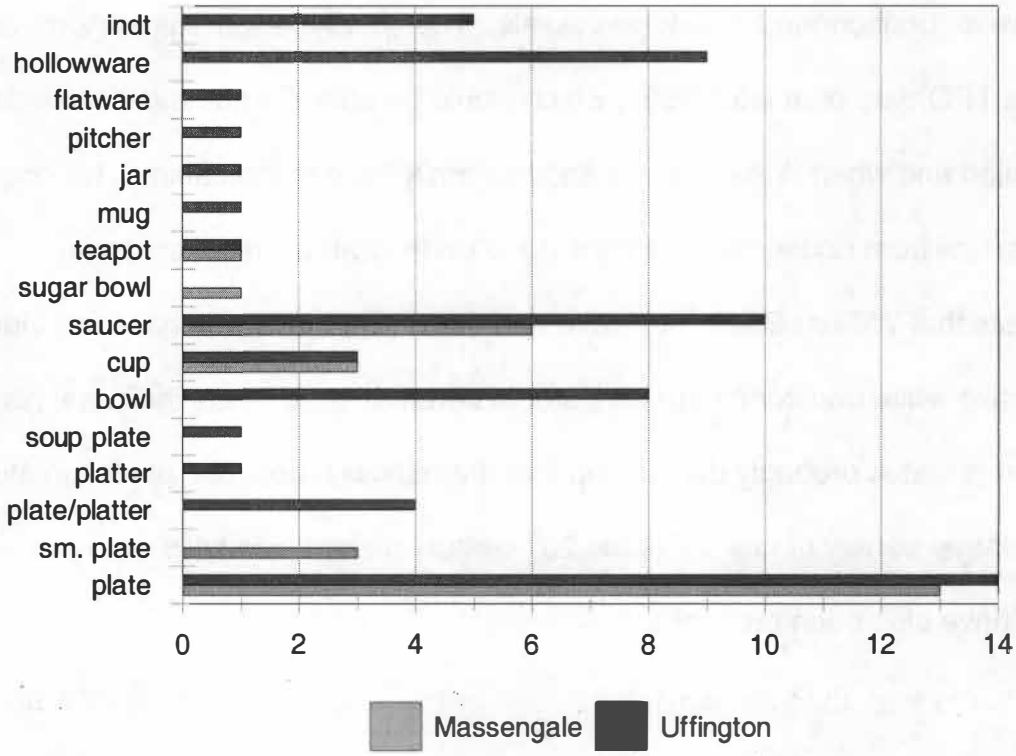


Figure 32. Massengale and Uffington House vessel forms (by MVC).

and the sugar bowl, were unique to the Massengale site, but a larger variety of vessel types were recovered from Uffington House, including bowls, soup plates, platters, and a pitcher. Nine vessels from Uffington House could only be described as "hollow ware" and it is possible these could be from a variety of serving pieces.

Teawares

Examining the quantity and variation of teawares, including teapots, cups, and saucers, from a site are yet another way to examine socioeconomic status. Due to the Hughes' upper class status and elite social position in Rugby, it was expected that many more teaware vessels would have been recovered from Uffington House, but this was not the case (Figure 33), with the minimal number of teaware vessels virtually even between the two households. While the number of teaware vessels alone may not indicate any real differences between the Massengale house and Uffington House, the number of individual teasets may provide additional information.

At the Massengale house, two individual teasets, one undecorated whiteware and the other undecorated ironstone, were identified in addition to the black basalt glazed stoneware teapot, which would not have matching cups and saucers. At Uffington House, a total of eight teasets was identified, including a variety of ware types and decorative styles. These teasets included four styles of whiteware, embossed, decaled, brown transfer printed, and flow blue, two styles of ironstone, embossed and blue transfer printed, and two styles of

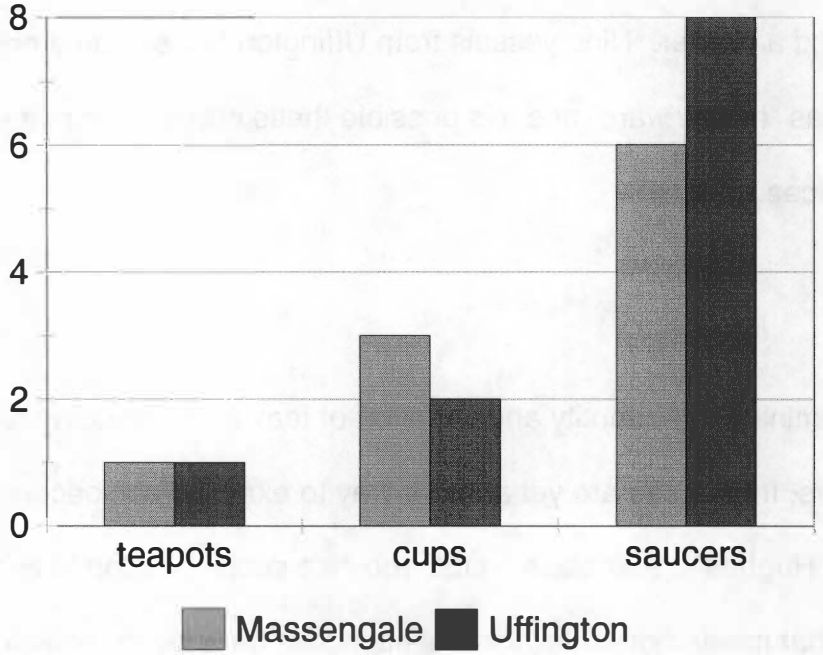


Figure 33. Teawares (by MVC) from Massengale site and Uffington House.

porcelain, green glazed with decal and gilding and undecorated. The only identified teapot was made of refined redware. The larger quantity of teasets at Uffington House could be attributed to the higher socioeconomic status of the Uffington House families, because they could afford to buy new teasets as styles changed. Another consideration is that a larger number of families lived at Uffington House. While only two individual families lived in the Massengale house, at least four families are known to have resided at Uffington House between the early 1880s and early 1900s, but in any case it appears that multiple sets were owned by at least one of the families.

In addition to determining socioeconomic status, the number of teasets owned by a household may provide additional information. Wall (1991) studied the teawares from two mid-19th century households in New York in an attempt to answer questions regarding how women used domestic goods in their homes. These households were both considered middle-class, but the household on Washington Square was considered to be a wealthier middle-class family, while the one on Barrow Street was regarded as being from the lower end of the middle class. Analysis of the teawares indicated only one teaset, of undecorated paneled ironstone, which matched the dinner plates, was present at the Barrow Street household. At the Washington Square household, a similar teaset was identified, also with a matching dinner service; however, at least one more expensive teaset, made of porcelain and decorated with gilding, was also recovered. While at the poorer Barrow Street household the ironstone teaset was used for all occasions, Wall suggests at the wealthier Washington Square

house, the ironstone teaset was used for everyday family meals, but the more expensive teaset was used for afternoon tea parties, where non-family guests would have been entertained. Wall believes that wealthier families had a wider variety of teasets, not just because they could afford them, but because it was a way to express their higher social and economic position to their guests (Wall 1991).

This may also be the situation at the Massengale house and Uffington House. At Uffington House, the Hughes were definitely a part of the upper class of Rugby society and it is likely that the Marshalls and Raynes were also in higher social positions. The presence of multiple sets of teawares may be the result of these families using one set of teawares for family meals, while another more expensive set would have been used for guests. This would be even more true of the Hughes' women. In her letters, Emily wrote that she and Margaret often entertained at their home, hosting social events (E. Hughes 1976). Additionally, due to their relationship to Thomas Hughes and the proximity to the Tabard Inn, Margaret and Emily likely entertained several out-of-town visitors and businessmen at their home. As a way to impress their guests and to show that the finest goods were available even though they were in the mountains of Tennessee, the Hughes' women may have used their more expensive teaset(s) for entertaining. On the other hand, both teasets at the Massengale house were undecorated and functional, probably used for both family meals and entertaining. They were a farming family with limited means and therefore, did not feel they needed to impress visitors, but instead used the same teasets for

all occasions.

Stoneware

Another difference can be seen in the percentage of utilitarian stoneware vessels in each assemblage. It is expected that ceramic assemblages from higher socioeconomic status households will not have a large number of utilitarian earthenware or stoneware vessels while lower socioeconomic status households are likely to have more a larger amount of utilitarian vessels (Smith 1980) and that was the case here. At the Massengale house, 23% of identified vessels were utilitarian stoneware, while at Uffington House, only 8% were utilitarian stoneware. The higher number of stoneware vessels at the Massengale site is expected as they were producing and storing much of their own food products.

Summary

In all aspects the Uffington House ceramic assemblage consistently indicated a higher socioeconomic status for its residents than the Massengale family. Ceramics at the Massengale site were less expensive, functional items indicated by the number of stoneware vessels, the lack of decorative styles, the lack of variety in the vessel forms in their dinnerware sets. At Uffington House, the various styles and ware types indicate their ceramics served functional and social purposes, especially during the Hughes' occupation.

CHAPTER 8:

CONCLUSIONS

This archaeological investigation of the Massengale homesite is the first archaeological study of the mountain folk who lived in the Rugby area before, during, and after the Rugby Colony. The disturbances discovered at the site made it difficult to answer some of the proposed research, but all were addressed, if not completely answered. While this study has provided some answers, there is much more to learn about the Massengale family and their lifeways.

To learn more about the family, additional archaeological research should focus on the entire property, not just the immediate cabin area. To support the family and farm, several outbuildings, including a barn and privy would be expected along with other likely outbuildings such as a smokehouse. To locate these outbuildings, a much larger area of Dempsey Jr.'s property should be post-hole tested, including both sides of Allerton Ridge and the area around the spring. Recovered artifacts from around the spring may indicate if it was built by Dempsey Sr. or Dempsey Jr. If artifacts from the springhouse date earlier than those from the cabin area, Dempsey Sr. may have built the spring and the remains of an earlier cabin may be nearby. Finally, a thorough excavation of the large depression in front of the chimney fall is recommended. If the depression

is a root cellar, it could provide more exact answers to what happened to the cabin. Such as excavation would be a very time-consuming project and securing the site after this feature was exposed may also cause problems.

As is often the case, historical accounts often stress the lives of wealthy white men, ignoring the lives of women, minorities, and those from lower socioeconomic classes. That is not the case for Historic Rugby. While much of their past research has focused on the founder, Thomas Hughes, much of their future endeavors focus on those whose histories are often neglected. Through their renovations at Uffington House, visitors will have an opportunity to learn about the lives of Margaret and Emily Hughes, the leading women of the Rugby colony. The inclusion of the Massengale site to Rugby's hiking tours will provide visitors a glimpse into the lives of the mountain folk and how different their lives were from their English neighbors. Just as the English colonists and the mountain folk and their descendants have worked together over the past 100 years for Rugby's continued existence, archaeological investigations at the Massengale site and Uffington House stress the importance of the university and Rugby communities working together in ways to educate the public about the significance of this historic town.

REFERENCES CITED

REFERENCES CITED

Anonymous
n.d. Map of Rugby. Historic Rugby Inc. Archives, Rugby, Tennessee.

Anonymous
1954 Plat Laban Risedon to W.M. Todd 300 acres. Historic Rugby Inc. Archives, Rugby, Tennessee.

Avery, Paul G.
2001 This Strangely Beautiful Solitude: An Archaeological and Historical Study of Uffington House, 40MO145, Rugby, Tennessee. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Brachey, Doug and Dawn Brachey
1987 *Rugby- Tennessee's Victorian Village*, JM Productions, Brentwood, Tennessee.

Bailey, Robert L.
1997 Morgan County, Tennessee, Land Survey Books A and B, 1824 - 1836, compiled and indexed by Robert L. Bailey. Located in the McClung Collection of the Lawson-McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Board of Aid To Land Ownership
1884 *The Rugby Handbook*. Reprinted 1996 by Historic Rugby Press, Rugby, Tennessee.

Brachey, Doug and Dawn Brachey
1987 *Rugby- Tennessee's Victorian Village*, JM Productions, Brentwood, Tennessee.

Brooks, Nellie Lender
1941 "Sketches of Rugby, Tennessee", no publisher.

Brown, Martin R. and John W. Dunn
1969 *A Guide to the Grading of United States Coins*. Western Publishing Company, Inc., Racine, Wisconsin.

Cooper, Hobert Schofield
1925 German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee. Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Crass, David C. and Martha Zierden
1999 Touching our Frontier Past: The Power of Archaeology. Paper presented at the Backcountry Conference, Winchester, Virginia.

DeBruyn, John R.
1995 *A New Centre of Human Life: The Family of Thomas Hughes at Rugby, Tennessee.* Historic Rugby Press, Rugby, Tennessee.

Dickinson, W. Calvin
1993 Whose Sons Settled Rugby? A Study of the Population of Rugby, Tennessee, in the 1880s. *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 52(3): 192-198.

1987 *Morgan County.* Memphis State University Press, Memphis, Tennessee.

Egerton, John
1977 *Visions of Utopia: Nashoba, Rugby, Ruskin, and the "New Communities" in Tennessee's Past.* University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Emerick, Michael
1995 Historic Structures Report: Uffington House, Rugby, Tennessee. Reported prepared for Historic Rugby, Incorporated, Rugby, Tennessee.

Faulkner, Charles H.
1986 The Pit Cellar: A Nineteenth Century Storage Facility. *Proceedings on the Symposium on Ohio Valley Urban and Historic Archaeology,* Volume IV, p. 54-65.

1998 Here are Frame Houses and Brick Chimneys: Knoxville, Tennessee in the Late Eighteenth Century. In *The Southern Colonial Backcountry,* edited by D. Crass et al., p. 137-161. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Freytag, Ethel and Glena Ott
1971 *History of Morgan County*, Speciality Printing Company, Wartburg, Tennessee.

Gardner, Jeffrey W.
1987 The Effects of Kinship on Land Transfer: A Study of Settlement on the Cumberland Plateau of Kentucky and Tennessee. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Goode, Eric
2000 Conceptual View 1800's Massengale Homeplace Log Cabin "Ghost Structure" & Wayside Exhibit.

Greer, Georgeanna H.
1996 *American Stonewares: The Art and Craft of Utilitarian Potters.* Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., Atglen, Pennsylvania.

Guilland, Harold F.
1971 *Early American Stoneware Pottery.* Chilton Book Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Hamer, Marguerite B.
1940 *Cameos of the South.* John C. Winston Company, Chicago, Illinois.

Howell, Benita J. and Susan E. Neff
2002 Victorian Environmental Planning in Rugby, Tennessee: A Blueprint for the Future. In *Culture, Environment, and Conservation in the Appalachian South*, edited by Benita J. Howell, pp. 170-181. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois.

Hughes, Emily
1976 *Dissipations at Uffington House: The Letters of Emily Hughes*, John R. DeBruyn, editor. Historic Rugby, Inc., Rugby, Tennessee.

Hughes, Thomas
1880 *Rugby, Morgan County, Tennessee, Settlement Founded October 5th, 1880, by the Board of Aid to Land Ownership (Limited), of London, England.* R. Clarke and Company, Cincinnati.

1881 *Rugby, Tennessee: Being Some Account of the Settlement Founded on the Cumberland Plateau by the Board of Aid to Land Ownership, Limited*, MacMillan and Company, London.

Hutton, Edith Wilson
1982 *A Promise of Good Things - Longfield Baptist Church 1831-1981.* Adroit Inc., Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

Jones, Olive and Catherine Sullivan with contributions by George L. Miller, E. Ann Smith, Jane E. Harris, and Kevin Lunn
1985 *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary for the Description of Containers, Tableware, Flat Glass, and Closures.* National Historic Parks and Sites, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Jones, Reece A.
1940 A Geographic Survey of Morgan County, Tennessee. Master's thesis, Department of Geography, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Ketchum, Jr., William C.
1991 *American Stoneware.* Henry Holt and Company, New York, New York.

Knoxville Sentinel
1923 Morgan County's Unique History. *Knoxville Sentinel*, 29 April. Knoxville, Tennessee.

Kries, Susie and Carla Kries
1996 *Morgan County Cemeteries II.* Privately Published.

Lane, Patricia G.
1984 Mountain View: An Ethnographic Account of Cooperation and Conflict in a Tennessee Community on the Cumberland Plateau. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

LaPaglia Associates
2001 Historic Rugby Interpretative Planning Report. Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Lewarch, Dennis E. and Michael J. O'Brien
1981 Effect of Short Term Tillage on Aggregate Provenience Surface Pattern. In *Plowzone Archaeology: Contributions to Theory and Technique*, edited by Michael J. O'Brien and Dennis E. Lewarch, pp. 7-50. Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology, Nashville, Tennessee.

McGehee, Margaret
1998 A Castle in the Wilderness: Rugby Colony, Tennessee, 1880-1887. *The Journal of East Tennessee History*, No. 70, pp. 62-89.

Mack, Edward C. and W. H. G. Armytage
1952 *Thomas Hughes: The Life of the Author of "Tom Brown's School Days."* Ernest Benn Limited, London.

Mann, David
2002 The Dendroarchaeology of the Swaggerty Blockhouse, Cocke County, Tennessee. Master's thesis, Department of Geography, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Myers, Suzita
1983 The Potter's Art: Salt-glazed Stoneware of 19th century Alexandria. *Alexandria Papers in Urban Archaeology*, Museum Series, Number 1, City of Alexandria, Virginia.

Miller, Ernest I.
1941 The English Settlement at Rugby, Tennessee. *Rural Research Series Monograph No. 128*, Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Department, College of Agriculture, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Miller, George
1980 Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics. *Historical Archaeology* 14: 1-40.

1991 A Revised Set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880. *Historical Archaeology* 25(1): 1-25.

Moir, Randall
1987 Socioeconomic and Chronometric Patterning of Window Glass. In *Historic Buildings, Material Culture, and People of the Prairie Margin*, edited by David H. Jurney and Randall W. Moir, pp. 73-81. Richland Creek Technical Series, Vol. V. Archaeology Research Program, Institute for the Study of Earth and Man, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

Morgan County Registrar of Deeds
1859 Deed Book M: 668. Wartburg, Tennessee.

1893 Deed Book E-2: 245-248. Wartburg, Tennessee

1894 Deed Book G-2: 443. Wartburg, Tennessee

1896 Deed Book H-2: 241. Wartburg, Tennessee

1914-1951 Deed Record Index 1914-1951. Wartburg, Tennessee.

1933 Deed Book B-4: 267. Wartburg, Tennessee

Morgan, John
1990 *The Log House in East Tennessee*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Niles, Rena
1939 Briton's Dream Colony Reverts to Pine Trees. Louisville, Kentucky (?), October 1939. Louisville, Kentucky newspaper(?). Located in the McClung Collection of the Lawson- McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Owsley, Harriet
1968 The Rugby Papers: A Bibliographic Note. *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 27(3): 225 - 228.

Plateau Gazette
1883 No title. *Plateau Gazette*, 10 November. Rugby, Tennessee.

Poole, Julian C.
1987 Fanthorp Inn: A Study of Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Buttons. In *Archaeological Investigations at Fanthorp Inn State Historic Site (41MG79), Grimes County, Texas, Spring and Fall 1982*. Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, Sites and Restoration Branch.

Randall, J.
1987 Knobs and Latches. *Old House Journal*, Nov/Dec 1987, p. 37-43.

Randall, Mark E.
1971 Early Marbles. *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 5: 102-105.

Raycraft, Don and Carol Raycraft
1985 *Collector's Guide to Country Stoneware and Pottery*. Collector Books, Paducah, Kentucky.

Roper, Donna
1976 Lateral Displacement of Artifacts Due to Plowing. *American Antiquity* 41, No. 3: 372-374.

Scott County Registrar of Deeds
1879 Deed Book M: 666. Huntsville, Tennessee.

1884 Deed Book P: 333, 334, and 339. Huntsville, Tennessee.

Shaw, Simeon
1968 *History of the Staffordshire Potteries and the Rise and Progress of the Manufacture of Pottery and Porcelain.* Reprint of 1829 edition. Beatrice C. Weinstock, Great Neck, New York.

Smith, Samuel
1980 Historical Background and Archaeological Testing of the Davy Crockett Birthplace State Historic Area, Greene County, Tennessee. Department of Conservation, Division of Archaeology, Nashville, Tennessee.

Smith, Samuel and Stephen T. Rogers
1979 *A Survey of Pottery Making in Tennessee*. Department of Conservation, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.

South, Stanley
1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York, New York.

1978 Pattern Recognition in Historical Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 43 (2): 223-230.

Stagg, Brian
1968 Tennessee's Rugby Colony. *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 27(3): 208-224.

1973 *The Distant Eden: Tennessee's Rugby Colony*. Paylor Publications, Rugby, Tennessee.

Steinhauer, Curtis
2002 Centerfire Cartridges - Headstamp Identification, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, http://members.shaw.ca/cstein0/uscenter.htm

Stewart, Regina and Geraldine Cosentino
1977 *Stoneware: A Guide for the Beginning Collector*. Golden Press, New York, New York.

Taylor, Lucy
1887 Lucy Taylor Diary, Historic Rugby Inc. Archives, Rugby, Tennessee.

Tennessee State Library and Archives
[19–]a. Rugby Papers. Microfilm, Hodges Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[19–]b Lands about Rugby. Undated Blueprint Map. Microfilm, Hodges Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Thompson, Bernice Carver and Sheila Katheryn Studdard
2001 *The Ancestors and Descendants of Matthew Massingale.* Tennessee Valley Publishing, Knoxville, Tennessee.

United States Bureau of Census
1810 The Third Census of the United States: 1810. Washington, D.C.

1820 The Fourth Census of the United States: 1820. Washington, D.C.

1830 The Fifth Census of the United States: 1830. Washington, D.C.

1840 The Sixth Census of the United States: 1840. Washington, D.C.

1850 The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Washington, D.C.

1860a The Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Washington, D.C.

1860b The Eighth Census of the United States: 1860, Agricultural Census, Washington, D.C.

1870a The Ninth Census of the United States: 1870. Washington, D.C.

1870b The Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Agricultural Census, Washington, D.C.

1880a The Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Washington, D.C.

1880b The Tenth Census of the United States: 1880, Agricultural Census, Washington, D.C.

1890 Statistics of the Population at the Eleventh Census, 1880, Washington, D.C.

1900 The Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Washington, D.C.

Walker, John W.
1971 *Excavation of the Arkansas Post Branch of the Bank of the State of Arkansas.* Southeastern Archaeology Center, Division of Archaeology, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C.

Wall, Diana
1991 Sacred Dinners and Secular Teas: Constructing Domesticity in Mid-19th Century New York. *Historical Archaeology* 25(4): 69-81.

Walton, Esther
1993 *The Hermit, the Donkey and Uncle Dempsey: Recollections of a Rugby Girl,* Historic Rugby Printing Works, Rugby, Tennessee.

Walton, Sarah L.
n.d. *Memories of Rugby Colony.* Privately published.

Walton, William T.
1940 Map of Rugby Tennessee: Morgan and Scott Co. Historic Rugby Inc. Archives, Rugby, Tennessee.

Whipple, Harvey
1925 Rugby: the Village That Didn't Keep Its Promise. *The Dearborn Independent*, Vol. 25, No. 52, 17 October.

Wichmann, Patricia Guion
1963 *Rugby: A Great Man's Dream.* Patricia Guion Wichmann, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Woodhead, E. I., C. Sullivan and G. Gusset
1984 Lighting Devices in the National Reference Collection, Parks Canada. *Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History.* National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Hull, Quebec, Canada.

Worthy, Linda H.
1982 Classification and Interpretation of Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Ceramics. In *Archaeology of Urban America: The Search for Pattern and Process*, edited by Roy S. Dickens, Jr., pp. 329-360. Academic Press, New York.

Young, Amy L.
1991 Nailing Down the Pattern in Historical Archaeology. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Zierden, Martha
2002 Frontier Society in South Carolina: An Example from Willtown (1690-1800), In *Another's Country: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on Cultural Interactions in the Southern Colonies*, edited by J.W. Joseph and Martha Zierden, pp. 181-197. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

VITA

Kimberly Sue Pyszka was born on July 31, 1969, in Rock Island, Illinois, growing up outside of the Quad-Cities. After graduating from Rockridge High School, she first attended Western Illinois University in Macomb, Illinois and then Blackhawk Community College in East Moline, Illinois. She transferred to The College of Charleston in Charleston, South Carolina her junior year as a History major, when Kimberly enrolled in her first anthropology class, which peaked her interest in archaeology and led to her changing her major to Anthropology. During her second semester, only one archaeology class was offered, Historical Archaeology, and Kimberly was hooked. After graduating in 1992 with a Bachelor of Science Degree in Anthropology, she moved back to Illinois and took a position working in a Human Resources department for a riverboat casino. Seven years later, Kimberly decided to go back to graduate school to pursue a career in her first love, Historical Archaeology. She began the Master's program in Anthropology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in the Fall of 2000, which culminated in this thesis.