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THE EFFECTS OF KINSHIP ON LAND TRANSFER:
A STUDY OF SETTLEMENT ON THE CUMBERLAND
PLATEAU OF KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Jeffrey W. Gardner

March 1987

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents,

Ernest R. Gardner Sr.
and
Emma Jean Gardner

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Completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the assistance, support and friendship of a number of individuals. Sincere thanks go to my committee members, Drs. Charles H. Faulkner and Walter E. Klippel, for their patience, constructive criticism and comments, and particularly to my thesis chairperson, Dr. Benita J. Howell, whose continued interest, support and encouragement enabled me to finally reach that light at the end of a very long tunnel. I am also indebted to Suzanne Langlois and the late Dr. Raymond Baby for providing the spark that ignited my interest in anthropology.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines specific aspects of nineteenth century Euroamerican settlement on the Cumberland Plateau of Kentucky and Tennessee. Primary historical documents, i.e. county deed records, are used as the principal data source in a study of the effects of kin relationship on the process of land transfer. Blevins family property transfers, recorded between 1800 and 1910 in Wayne County, Kentucky and Scott County, Tennessee, are examined systematically to: 1) test previous ethnographic and ethnohistoric emphases placed on kinship as a primary settlement determinant and the principal basis for local group solidarity; and 2) demonstrate the utility of deed record information to historical, geographical and anthropological studies of settlement.

Analysis procedures involve synchronic and diachronic comparisons of deed record variables, i.e. transfer frequency, tract acreage, and distance from the transferred tract to the grantors' homeplace, calculated for transactions among Blevins kin, and between Blevins family members and non-kin. Records of land transfer are evaluated as a logical data source for investigating aspects of historic settlement by reconstructing local Blevins family property history, utilizing a sample of sequentially-ordered land transfers.

Examinations of land transfers indicate that variation in purchases and sales are largely dependent upon changing social and economic conditions and prevalent stages of settlement. Overall results dispute previous contentions emphasizing preferences shown toward kin in land transfer and support expanded use of county deed records in further research.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the effects of kin relationships on specific aspects of settlement and economic development in frontier and rural agricultural settings. Local and regional historians and cultural geographers concerned with patterns of settlement, and ethnographers studying relatively isolated Appalachian communities have consistently emphasized the role of family in social, economic and political spheres. While several anthropological investigations have focused on defining the cultural emphasis placed on kinship in determining social status, organization and political alliance, few have dealt with the specific effects of kinship on the various aspects of land acquisition, use, and sale or the general implications of land transfer to studies of settlement. This study will explore these processes of land transfer through the examination of an often neglected primary data source, county deed records, in an effort to determine the role of kin relationship in land transfer and settlement.

Research Interest

Initial interest in this topic came as a result of the author's participation as Historic Sites Supervisor for the Big South Fork Archaeological Project (BSFAP) from 1981 to 1984. The BSFAP was a reconnaissance, survey, and site testing program undertaken within

selected development areas of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, and conducted through the Anthropology Department, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville under contract with the Nashville District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Ferguson et al. 1986). The National Area consists of approximately 125,000 acres of sparsely-populated wilderness on the northern Cumberland Plateau, straddling the Kentucky-Tennessee border. Responsibilities of the author during this project focused on the location, delineation and interpretation of historic sites encountered within development tracts. The most predominant historic sites encountered during reconnaissance were small and secluded, late nineteenth and twentieth century family farms.

In addition to the determination of site boundaries and the descriptive recording of archaeological and architectural remains at these sites, the principal goals of interpretation included the documentation of previous site inhabitants and period of occupation. Due to time constraints which limited the scope of archaeological site excavation, historical research was proposed as an alternative means of effectively accomplishing these goals. An examination of available, relevant historical materials revealed two data sources which could potentially yield information on site occupation. The first, local histories, often contained discrepancies and were generally limited in scope, and thus could not be utilized to identify specific inhabitants or site temporal boundaries. While useful as supplemental and background data, written and oral historical accounts lacked the detail necessary to include all or most observed site areas.

The second data source identified, county deed records, were found to be much more complete and objective than local histories. As primary historical documents, i.e. documents recorded by participants in events at the time these events took place, deed records provided a variety of information, including names of property buyers and sellers; dates of transactions; location, size and boundaries of transferred tracts; and often, previous transfer history of the tract. In light of the obvious advantages presented by these legal records of land transfer over other information sources, county deed records were chosen as the primary data base.

Subsequently, extensive deed research conducted by the author in appropriate Register of Deeds offices (i.e. those having jurisdiction over the various county areas included within the National Area) resulted in the identification of nearly all of the historic farmstead and house sites encountered during survey by owner or owners and general period of occupation (Gardner 1982, 1984; Ferguson et al. 1986). In addition, locations were suggested for previously unrecorded, early to mid - nineteenth century homesites (Gardner 1982).

An indirect consequence of this research was the author's realization of the potential utility of county land transfer records for studies in the fields of anthropology, history and geography. At present, little research has been attempted which includes any form of systematic examination of county deed records (See Chapter II for a review of literature on this subject). Primary data included in deed records could be utilized to expand and support previous assumptions made in reference to regional and local settlement, land use, phases

of commercial and industrial development, and changes in rural community composition and form.

The overall purpose of this study is threefold. Of primary concern will be a demonstration of the efficacy and broad utility of deed record information. It is hoped that conclusions reached in this research will provide support for further detailed investigations of county deed records as an informative and useful primary data source in historical, geographical and anthropological research.

A secondary but nonetheless equally important focus of this thesis involves the testing of previous emphases placed on kinship as the principal basis for group solidarity during the pioneer settlement period and through subsequent growth and spread of rural populations. Specifically, maintenance of family-held land passed down from early ancestor settlers through generations of descendants continues to be a predominant view held by ethnographers and historians (Pearsall 1959; Bryant 1981); a reluctance on the part of family members to relinquish claim to the "old homeplace" is generally based on oral historical accounts and remembrances and has not previously been supported or denied by primary historical documentation. This thesis will explore these assumptions to determine whether they are substantiated by historical and legal data extracted from the texts of deed records.

A tertiary focus of this study concerns potential application of locational inferences suggested by sequences of land transfer to aspects of initial settlement and subsequent settlement diffusion. The process of purchasing and selling property through time may imply presence of participants, restructuring of landed assets, or the movement of individuals and groups from one site to another. Accounts

of land transfers found in deed records provide documentation for purchases and sales, but are generally not explicit in providing reasons for this activity. In order to address this issue, information compiled from county deed books will be combined with other government records; regional, local and family histories; and previous comparative research in the area of settlement. An attempt will be made to identify specific types of land transfer and to reconstruct settlement patterning based on land transactions and supplemental sources.

As previously noted, preliminary data for this study were recorded during research conducted by the author in connection with archaeological survey and testing of development tracts within the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area of Kentucky and Tennessee (Ferguson et al. 1986). The National Area itself encompasses a majority of the drainage of the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River which, in turn, constitutes nearly all of the project area chosen for this study. Additional research was conducted independently by the author between November 1985 and March 1986. An overview of historic settlement on the Cumberland Plateau is presented below as an introduction to the study area.

Regional Settlement History

The movement of Euroamericans into the Cumberland Mountain and Plateau areas of present-day Kentucky and Tennessee began in the mid-eighteenth century as hunters and trappers of deer and fur-bearing animals traveled from established urban centers of the Mid-Atlantic region south and westward into the mountains and valleys of the Southern Appalachian Highlands. Following the routes of early explorers and land speculators such as Thomas Walker, whose land survey in 1750 across southeastern Kentucky is recorded as the earliest, well-documented incursion into the region (Collins 1874), these adventurers (the so-called Long Hunters) first entered into the new territory in the late 1760s to exploit the abundant wildlife observed and recorded by Walker and, perhaps, to investigate potential areas for later settlement.

Early Tennessee and Kentucky historians recorded the paths and progress of numerous hunters and explorers who, after crossing into what is now southeastern Kentucky and northeastern Tennessee through the Cumberland Gap, followed well-worn game paths and Indian trails, atop ridges and through creek and river valleys, into the upper drainage of the Cumberland River (Collins 1874; Goodspeed 1887). Although most of these men had little interest in permanent settlement, preferring seasonal movement with intervening trading journeys to commercial centers in the East, their exploration and resultant descriptions of this area and its resources convinced prospective pioneer families of the opportunities awaiting them in the West.

Actual settlement of the Cumberland Plateau occurred somewhat later than settlement in adjacent areas of central Kentucky and eastern and central Tennessee (Hamer 1933). Groups of settlers moving westward into these areas in the late eighteenth century often traveled circuitous routes to avoid the natural barrier of the Plateau's steep eastern escarpment, following the Boone Trace into the Bluegrass area of Kentucky or taking a southern route into the lower Cumberland River Valley (The Nashville Basin) in Middle Tennessee (Haywood 1891). Rugged terrain, a lack of navigable river routes, hostile Indians and the relative paucity of large tracts of arable bottom land were all factors influencing slow movement into this area (see also Sanderson 1958).

This relatively late initial settlement of the Cumberland Plateau may also have come partially as a result of perceived over-crowding in the more favored areas of Kentucky and Tennessee. Kentucky transmountain roads were established to provide passage across the rugged Cumberland Mountains to the rich, rolling farmlands of the Bluegrass. Settlers traveling through the mountains from eastern Virginia and the Carolinas initially saw the terrain to be more of a barrier to westward movement than a potential area for settlement. For this reason, many pioneers preferred riverine and overland routes which bypassed the irregular terrain of the highly dissected uplands. The area remained relatively unsettled and "...only when the central Kentucky settlements became well-established did permanent settlers push back into East Kentucky" (Bowman and Haynes 1963:36). The same probably holds true for the Plateau area in Tennessee where the issuance of Revolutionary War land grants in the Nashville Basin

served as an incentive for pioneers to travel around or through the Cumberland Mountains and Plateau into the lands of the Lower Cumberland River (Goodspeed 1887).

The first permanent white settlement within the Big and Little South Fork drainages probably occurred in Kentucky prior to 1800 as a result of several factors. Greater utilization of existing trail systems (Myer 1928) passing around and through the area stimulated road construction and maintenance activity, making travel into the mountains somewhat less difficult (Verhoeff 1911). Three treaties signed with members of the Cherokee Nation (the Hopewell Treaty - 1785, and the first and second Tellico Treaties - 1798 and 1804) officially opened plateau areas to white settlement (Satz 1979). The Tellico Land Grants (issued after the Second Tellico Treaty) provided impetus for movement into southern Kentucky (Garrett and Goodpasture 1903). Greater access via the Cumberland River and along Boone's Wilderness Road probably also contributed to earliest settlement taking place in Kentucky.

Exploitation of certain mineral resources discovered in southeastern Kentucky also affected early movement into the area. Owing to a shortage of once-imported salt supplies after the American Revolution and the War of 1812, and the subsequent discovery of the preservative mineral on the Cumberland Plateau, the Kentucky legislature, at the urging of eastern business interests, began offering financial inducements to prospective settlers in Wayne and Pulaski counties. Land grants issued for this area (after 1813) afforded settlers inexpensive tracts and delayed payment until the grantee was able to produce 1,000 bushels of salt (Bowman and Haynes

1963; Edwards 1970).

According to county and family histories, historic maps, and census and courthouse records, this initial settlement in Kentucky was soon followed by a southerly migration into Tennessee wherein descendants of the original pioneers and later settlers followed the Big South Fork upstream to several of its major tributaries. Because subsistence farming (coupled with varying degrees of wild animal and plant utilization) was the primary industry practiced on the sparsely settled Cumberland Plateau at this time, early settlers chose the limited but fertile alluvial floodplains and adjacent terraces for their home sites. It was in these often isolated and somewhat restricted areas that the basic requirements of the simple agricultural economy were met: access to a relatively permanent water source, arable soils and generally low slope. Conditions such as these were typically encountered at the mouths of creeks, where rich, easily tilled alluvial deposits were available (Raine 1924; Knipe and Lewis 1971).

The focus of agriculturally-oriented settlement on the highly dissected Cumberland Plateau was the river and stream bottom. Although sparsely distributed along the generally narrow, steep-sided creek and river courses and relatively lacking in soil fertility (as compared to the mineral-rich soils of the Bluegrass and Nashville Basin regions), these isolated floodplains and terraces provided adequate space and resources for subsistence-level farming, but only for limited numbers of people. The advantages to settling here over other areas of the Plateau lay in year-round availability of water, seasonal flooding which deposited vital organic and mineral compounds onto floodplain

soils, and somewhat-flat ground surface on which to plant and harvest crops. The major crop raised in the stream bottoms was corn; however, wheat, oats, hay, sorghum and other crops were also cultivated. Terrace and floodplain gardens supported a variety of vegetables, including beans, potatoes, pumpkins, melons, squash and onions, and fruit trees produced abundant supplies of apples, peaches and plums (Eller 1982:17-18; Caudill 1963:22).

Although much of the subsistence activity on early Cumberland Plateau farms took place on the terraces and floodplains, other segments of the local environment were also exploited. Arnow (1960), Caudill (1963) and Eller (1982) described creek bottom farmers' dependence on adjacent, complementary micro-environments which provided a more diverse resource base. Arnow (1960:34) noted that the total farm area encompassed sections of slope, bluffline and upland as well as stream bottoms, in order that the varied resources available in each of these zones could be utilized. Streams and rivers contained fish and frogs and often attracted various water fowl. Wooded hillsides supported an array of wild game including wild turkey and squirrels, while also providing the pioneer with wood for structures, furniture, and tool manufacture. When game became scarce, hogs were raised on wooded slopes, nourished by the abundant oak and chestnut mast. Cleared hillside areas also served as expanded cornfields as populations increased and bottom soils became depleted. Bluffline rockshelters served a number of useful purposes, including temporary housing, livestock pens, equipment storage, and water sources. Patchy upland areas supported a varied population of wild game, most important of which was the white-tailed deer, which provided a welcome

meat supplement to the diet of the early settlers. As deer populations dwindled as a result of over-hunting and disease, cattle and sheep were grazed in the scattered woodland and meadow areas (Caudill 1963:24; Eller 1982:17-21).

Early terrace farmsteads minimally consisted of a small log or frame house and a log or frame barn. These structures formed the core around which other outbuildings, gardens, fields, orchards and livestock pens clustered. As a principal feature of a predominantly subsistence-level agricultural economy, the farmhouse was the center of food preparation activity. Buildings such as the smokehouse, chicken house and other structures related to home produce consumption were arranged to provide easy access from the house. In a like manner, farm animal housing, corn cribs, and equipment sheds were generally clustered around the barn, which served as the focus of farm production and maintenance. Surrounding the overall farm structure grouping were the fields, pastures, and woodland which provided for most of the farm family's everyday needs. In some cases, the farm lands occupied all of the potentially arable land from stream to hill slope, relegating farmstead structures to the least fertile areas of the property, which in turn removed farm buildings from central primary access.

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, as a result of sporadic but continued migration into the region (Perry 1983:145) and a high birth rate among farm families (Eller 1982:8), population densities in the river and stream valleys began a slow, steady increase. Expansion of settlement throughout the Plateau occurred in a similar manner to other areas of the Appalachian South (see also Wilhelm 1978, for a

Virginia example). Although migration into the region contributed to some extent to early growth and community development, writers on Southern Highland folk history emphasize the growth and spread of family groups in discussions of settlement demography. Campbell (1921:41) and Raine (1924:30), suggest that a logical result of population increase was the settlement of successive generations on family held or acquired lands upstream and/or upslope from the already overworked farms of older family members. Evidence of this generational "line pattern" (Knipe and Lewis 1971:26) movement can be seen today in hollows, streams, and valleys named for particular families.

Ultimately, these same factors, growth in population and expansion of agricultural land-use in creek and river valleys, led to movement out of the hollows to "...the less desirable slopes and ridge lands, where [settlers] struggled to eke out a living on arid and rocky soil" (Eller 1982:8). Other processes probably influenced this migration. Developing opportunities for wage work (beginning in the late 1800s) in the railroad, timber and coal industries, improvements in agricultural technology (e.g. mechanization, the development of chemical fertilizers), and improvements in existing ridgetop transportation systems had predictable effects on population movement. With the introduction of alternatives to farming as an occupation, many families moved to newly constructed timber and coal camps. Others, observing the increasing availability of cleared acreage on upland ridges resulting from expansion of timbering operations, bought or leased property there, often relying on chemical fertilizers and tractors to duplicate crop yields formerly enjoyed on river terraces.

Duda (1980) and Howell (1981) have noted that nearly all principal transportation routes presently in use across the Plateau had been established by the mid-nineteenth century (see Colton 1865 and 1886; and Mitchell 1860). Although these roads did not undergo substantial improvement until well into the twentieth century (Howell 1981:27), it is probable that they provided easier access to growing commercial centers (Monticello and Williamsburg, Kentucky, and Huntsville and Jamestown, Tennessee, for example) and may have led to a desire to more efficiently attain market goods by moving closer to these ridgetop roads.

Upland farmsteads included all of the same features that characterized terrace farmsteads, although temporal differences in development probably accounted for a greater occurrence of features related to technological improvements in farm methods (e.g. special storage and maintenance areas for tractors and other farm machinery). The centers of farm activity continued to be the house and the barn, with appropriate outbuildings being placed accordingly. However, as a result of the greater availability of potentially farmable tracts (particularly in the upper Big South Fork drainage) and the increased utilization of ridge top road systems, farm structures (and specifically houses) tended to be located adjacent to primary and secondary roads.

As a result of the construction of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad (later the Southern Railroad) from Cincinnati, Ohio across the plateau to Chattanooga, Tennessee, in the 1880s, and subsequent large-scale expansion of the lumber and coal industries, notable shifts began to occur in patterns of settlement in the still

predominantly agricultural population on the Cumberland Plateau. Particularly in the case of the coal-mining industry, where mineral resource extraction entailed a need for permanent facilities, erection of company-owned housing lured many farmers and their families to the newly established coal mining communities.

Although general economic foci were changing, the agricultural population and number of farms operating within the Big South Fork drainage remained relatively stable and, in some cases, grew noticeably. Howell (1980:39-41) described a continuing reliance on agricultural production as an economic alternative to industrial employment. The continuation of a farming lifeway well into the twentieth century may have been made possible by the somewhat benevolent attitude of the major industrial power in the area, the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company. As Howell noted "...coal mining never totally dominated the economy in the Big South Fork area as it did in the coal fields of Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia" (1982:132). In most Stearns coal camps habitation in company housing within company communities was not mandatory and part-time miners with operating farms were given equal opportunities to earn cash in mining while maintaining a farm residence. An extension of this policy involved the leasing of selected company tracts to Stearns miners as residence sites and farmland in return for protection from squatters, and as a means of strengthening company proof of ownership (Dr. Frank Thomas, personal communication).

From the initial movement of Euroamericans into the Big and Little South Fork drainages in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to the beginnings of large scale exploitation of

the timber and mineral resources in the area after 1900, agricultural production and its associated lifeways have played a major role in shaping settlement on the Plateau. The basis for early occupation of limited tributary bottomland was the presence of relatively fertile soil for farming. While population growth and movement, and a developing market orientation often forced modifications in methods and foci, the major economic pursuit in the area continued to be farm production. Knowledge of this continued maintenance of a relatively small-scale agricultural base in the study area throughout the nineteenth century aided in the selection of a research sample.

Sample Selection

Previous researchers studying various aspects of kinship in Appalachia have chosen communities composed of several kin groups as their study sample (Matthews 1965; Hackbarth 1980; Bryant 1981). Communities within the drainage of the Big South Fork are known to have shared similar patterns of recognized multiple kin relationships (Howell 1981: 157-159). In order to provide data for the current study, initial research involved the selection of six family surnames, representing the most prominent and numerous family groups observed in local written and oral histories, as a sample for property records investigation. Complications involving difficulties in determining exact kin relationships among family members and the logistics of carrying out a detailed examination of an estimated 1600 property transfers undertaken by family groups and individuals suggested that a smaller sample should be selected. Due to the specific nature of the

present research, it was felt that one family group which included an early settler family in the area and all of their known descendants living within the project boundaries during the defined period would provide a sufficient sample of property transactions.

A study of one family's land transactions over several generations may seem somewhat limited and particularistic in scope; however, given present varying perceptions of the role played by kin relationship in the areas of settlement, environmental and cultural adaptation, and economic development, such a study can provide a basis for deriving inductive postulates. Suggested generalizations implied in this research might then be combined with or compared to other studies of the social and economic role of kinship in similar settings.

In order to be considered appropriate, the chosen family group had to meet two important criteria. First, the family had to be perceived as representative of a majority of the population of the study area. Second, detailed historical information and genealogical data had to be available in order to maintain accuracy in tracing intra-regional movement and relative closeness of kin relationship. After reviewing compiled information on six local family groups, the Blevins family was chosen. Historical records of the family of Jonathan Blevins closely parallel local and regional histories and suggest that the Blevinses can be considered typical of the early-established, small-scale farmers who moved west across the mountains and settled on the Cumberland Plateau in the early nineteenth century. Their settlement in the major river and creek valleys and later movement south from Kentucky to similar areas in

Tennessee also mirrors initial and subsequent settlement site choice for a great many other Plateau inhabitants. The detailed genealogical information necessary for the study was provided, in large part, by reference to Jonathan Blevins Sr. of Virginia and His Descendants (Laccie W. and Ray E. Blevins 1982). This book, combined with information obtained recently in interviews with family members, and reference to local histories, Federal censuses and cemetery records, supplied a relatively complete genealogical profile of the Blevins family.

Examinations of land records, written history and oral tradition concerning Jonathan Blevins and his descendants suggested that nearly all family members pursued a relatively self-sufficient, agricultural lifestyle, supplemented to varying degrees by hunting and trapping, and later by wage work and land speculation associated with the timber and mineral extraction industries. Beginning after 1800 and continuing into the twentieth century, the Blevinses purchased or were granted Wayne and Scott County property areas which included both stream bottomland providing fertile cropland and pasturage for livestock, and adjacent wooded slopes supporting a varied population of wild game. While dependence on hunting declined to some extent and the production of livestock increased, this generally subsistence-level farming lifeway was maintained as the primary economic base (Wayne and Scott County Deed Records; Duda 1980; Howell 1981; Blevins and Blevins 1982; Blevins 1984 a,b,c).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

Literature Review

The documentation and study of kinship systems has been a major concern of social scientists since the publication of Lewis H. Morgan's Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family in 1871. This comparative study was based primarily on research conducted among various American Indian groups (Eggan 1960:179-201). Anthropologists and sociologists since Morgan's time have continued in his painstaking tradition, not only in recording and comparing varying kinship terminology among cultures of the world, but also in utilizing various theoretical orientations, such as cultural evolution, structuralism, and functionalism, to explore origins, functions and cognitive aspects of kin relationships.

Whether considered simply as a classificatory system of human relationships (Firth 1951; Schneider and Homans 1955), or as a terminological guide to culturally prescribed behavior within given societies (Fortes 1953; Davenport 1959), the concept of kinship is recognized as one of the most important and basic aspects of social structure. Kinship functions as a primary system of organization for most societies and serves both as a labeling mechanism for indicating biological, social, economic and political relationships (Kroeber 1909), and an indicator of societal status and social and economic roles (Linton 1936).

Formal kinship studies among simple and complex, Western and non-Western societies, have been predominately addressed toward conceptualizing various aspects of social structure (see Graburn 1971, for a review of methodological and theoretical development of kinship research). Although social scientists have debated definitional characterizations of the kinship concept of role (Linton 1936; Merton 1957; Goodenough 1965), most have ignored, until recently, the practical applications of such studies. As a result, previous research into the specific area of kinship and land transfer has been relatively sparse.

For the purposes of the present study, prior research related to the topic area is divided into three categories. The first to be discussed focuses on examinations of kinship in relationship to family ownership of land and inheritance practices. The second category concerns previous investigations of kinship as a factor affecting settlement. The final category reviews proposed models of frontier and subsequent settlement patterning considered directly applicable to the project area.

During the literature review, an attempt was made to focus on research conducted in regions similar to the Cumberland Plateau. As a result of this goal, a large portion of the comparative data referenced was taken from studies undertaken in the Southern Appalachians (particularly the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia) and the Ozark Mountains area of Arkansas. Extensive examinations of these regions provides a useful and comparable data base for the present study.

Due to the number of descriptive studies undertaken in the southern Appalachians during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, (see Shapiro 1978, for a discussion of the development of Appalachian studies), ethnographic accounts of mountain life and pioneer economics would seem to be a logical source of data on perceptions of land and family. These early chroniclers of southern Appalachian history and folk culture record a vast spectrum of characteristics considered typical of the southern mountaineer and his family, but few writers investigated residents' attitudes toward the land they lived on and farmed, or passing that land on to future generations. Horace Kephart (1913), John C. Campbell (1921), and James Raine (1924), the most prominent of these researchers, make some references to land and family; unfortunately these observations are neither detailed nor substantive enough to be useful to the present study.

More recently, anthropological and sociological studies of contemporary Appalachian community social structure have addressed aspects of the interrelatedness of kinship perceptions and land acquisition and sale. Pearsall (1959), in an acculturation study of a geographically isolated community in the mountains of East Tennessee, notes the importance of family in all aspects of life and emphasizes residents' desire to maintain ownership and residence on ancestral land. This goal was usually accomplished through equal inheritance of property among local descendants. Hicks (1976) and Martin (1983) suggest similar reluctance to relinquish claim to family property; however Hicks (1976:37) noted a tendency toward granting a larger share of inherited property to adult children who remain at home to

care for sick or elderly parents, and Martin (1983:82) observes a reluctance and delay on the part of parents in selling or bequeathing land to their children until the children had demonstrated a willingness to remain on family property (see also Bryant 1981:67-68).

Elmora Matthews (1965), in a sociological examination of farm households in three neighboring, kin-based communities in Middle Tennessee, attempts to explain the effects of endogamy, bilateral descent, and kinship solidarity on community levels of social structure. These aspects of kinship are considered typical of and functionally adaptive for closely-knit, rural communities. Specifically referring to attitudes toward family-owned land, Matthews documents a somewhat loosely structured but apparently effective system of maintaining family ownership through time:

Although property in the area changes easily from the possession of one nuclear family to another, it remains within the same valley lines. This is sort of an extended and untimed "fruit basket turnover". The same families change places often but continue to fill the positions, and persons who are left out of one play may wait for positions in the next or, on rare occasions, drop out of the game entirely [Matthews 1965:13-14].

The potential for property to pass on to non-kin ownership over time would seem high under these circumstances, were it not for two persistent mechanisms at work in the system: interrelatedness of the "Players" guarantees some degree of kin relationship, and auctions, the most prominent means of property transfer at the death of a land owner, usually favor local family members over non-locals or non-kin (Matthews 1965: 15-16).

F. Carlene Bryant's (1981) conclusions concerning tendencies toward less-than-formal maintenance of family land ownership support

Matthews' observations and provide both a stronger emic perspective regarding variability in individual rights and inheritance practices, and a better explanation of complex divisions and recombinations of family property. By detailing complex transactions among close and not-so-close kin, and discussing participants' perceptions of family rights and duties relative to family land, Bryant defines the broad yet structured processes which help to maintain family and community solidarity:

In most cases, land that is "sold off" is nonetheless still retained "in the family", for most land transfers occur between close kin, members of the same family group [Bryant 1981:69].

... the family land of the top of the mountain, although often not passed directly from generation to generation and although not shared equally by all family members, seems usually to have remained "in the family", and most people live on or own land in the community settled by and inherited from their founder. [Bryant 1981: 73-74].

Bryant also notes inequities among family members in their rights to ownership of "family land" and in processes of passing property on to the next generations. Unequal inheritance and transfer produced concentrations of acreage among a few individuals and a situation in which greater than half of the households (28 of 52) owned no land at all (Bryant 1981:67). Described sequences of land transfers illustrate both the constant reorganization of smaller tracts to provide for changing needs of individual households, and the various means by which segments of family land fell from, and were returned to family hands.

As suggested by the lack of historical data and early ethnographic evidence, references to past patterns of land transfer in relation to family groups are difficult to locate. Robert Vernon's

(1979) study of marriage patterns and inheritance in the Blue Ridge Mountains typifies recent anthropological inquiries into the historical relationship between kinship and land (see also Seaman 1969; Sabeian 1976; and Driver 1978). Vernon utilizes federal census records, lists of Shenandoah National Park area residents, and marriage records for one extended family, the Jacobsens (201 marriages over a 130 year period) to construct genealogical charts and to document expected frequencies of cousin marriage. His objective is to determine the effects of this type of union on property inheritance. Vernon suggests that close kin marriages ... "had the effect of maintaining land within the family and perhaps reuniting divided lots so that subsistence farming would be possible" (Vernon 1979:340). Vernon utilizes deeds and wills (which recorded land holdings) to a very limited extent, citing logistical difficulties as a reason for avoiding a systematic examination of these documents; however he proposes land records as a potential source for further testing of his hypotheses.

Although anthropologists and historians have contributed to studies of kinship and land, researchers in related disciplines have more often attempted to define and explain the roles of kin relationship in land transfer and inheritance of property. Examples include Robert Ostergren (1981), a geographer whose study of ethnic differences in (family farm land) transfers among immigrant Swedish communities in Minnesota and migration-linked districts in Sweden emphasizes the relationship between land and family as it affected rural community development. Agricultural economists John E. Carlson and Don E. Dillman test the effects of kinship on agricultural

innovativeness, i.e. the propensity toward adoption of new technology, and conclude that two-generation family farms tend to be more open to change as a result of greater sensitivity to long range farm maintenance for the benefit of future generations on the same property. (Carlson and Dillman 1983).

The second category of previous research consists of studies concerned with the relationship between kinship and settlement. If one can assume that the closeness felt toward family lands observed in recent mountain communities developed over generations in time, the emphasis placed on continued family ownership of ancestral land noted in contemporary kinship studies may result from similar priorities developed by original settlers in this area. Historical accounts of the settlement and long-term maintenance of kin-based communities, specifically in isolated, rural, mountain settings, are prevalent in early historical works (Collins 1874; Goodspeed 1884), ethnographic observations (Kephart 1913; Raine 1924), and recent anthropological and sociological studies (Pearsall 1959; Mathews 1965; Bryant 1981). Only recently however, have researchers attempted systematic examinations of the particular effects and relative position of kinship in shaping settlement.

Several previous studies addressing aspects of kinship and settlement have been undertaken, predominately by historians and geographers. An early study by Owsley (1945) examines historical accounts recording the progression of settlement across the Appalachian South and presents a useful overview of the sequence of migration and settlement. In referring to pioneer period migration,

Owsley emphasizes the part played by family groups:

Friends or relatives living in the same or neighboring communities formed one or more parties and moved out together, and when they had reached the promised land they constituted a new community... other settlers would come in after the first trek in smaller groups or in single families and fill in the interstices. These later comers would often be relatives or friends of those who had come first [Owsley 1945:171].

More recently, anthropologists have relied upon various primary historic records to test the accuracy of historians' accounts and to evaluate the effects of kinship on settlement and site choice. Price and Price (1978, 1981) in historic settlement studies in southeast Missouri, note what they described as a "clustering phenomenon" (Price and Price 1981:248) similar to the pattern discussed by Owsley (1945). Utilizing a variety of historical sources and land grant data, the Prices observe:

... a pattern of early agricultural settlement in which families moved together with parents and married sons and daughters or sets of brothers settling adjacent to one another. This pattern of movement produced small clusters of settlements initially with later arrivals filling in the gaps [Price and Price 1981:248].

Mark Hackbarth (1980) in a study of frontier adaptation in mid-nineteenth century Washington County, Arkansas, transcribes original land entry information and consults various genealogical sources to provide a basis for his study. He then examines kin relationships and agricultural soil types to determine their effect on settlement site choice. Hackbarth notes clustering of related families on variably productive soils, suggesting an emphasis on kin-based settlement over soil quality. From this information he hypothesizes that reciprocal social and economic interactions among

closely spaced farms may have enabled "extended family" groups to compete with (and in many cases, drive out) nuclear family farms on more productive soils. Hackbarth also utilizes European studies of optimal intrafarm size (i.e. the distance between various farm tracts of a single owner) and inter-farmstead distance (Chisholm 1968) to test similar measurements in Arkansas and imply a potential constant in dealing with settlement spacing (Hackbarth 1980: 49-50).

A similar study by Jane Joyce (1981) enumerates eight potential determinants of settlement location encompassing physical, social and cultural factors, and, utilizing quantitative methods and map analysis, she evaluates their degree of influence on aspects of settlement site choice and settlement sequence. Patented land entries from federal and state land office tract books enabled Joyce to trace the progression of settlement in portions of Madison County, Arkansas. Of the variables described and tested, Joyce determines that the spatial nearness of blood relatives (kin propinquity) appears to be selected over more favorable physical factors (soils, topography, etc.), at least where related individuals settled within 1.25 miles of each other (Joyce 1981:84).

In order to provide a suitable context for a study concerned with the temporal and spatial aspects of kinship and land transfer, one must also consider a third research category, historic settlement studies. An overview of previously proposed settlement models considered appropriate to the study area will help identify similar patterning which might be seen among Big South Fork family groups and

suggest hypotheses concerning initial settlement and subsequent settlement movement.

The theoretical basis for many recent settlement studies, particularly those in the American Southeast, is defined by Kenneth Lewis (1976; 1984) as a result of archaeological investigations undertaken in Camden, South Carolina. Lewis proposes a "frontier model" of settlement which encompasses ethnographic and historical information concerning aspects of ... "cultural change among intrusive cultures faced with adaptation to a frontier situation" (Lewis 1976:13). By describing specific, observable characteristics which define frontier colonization (including provisions for adapting to a different environment, and models of structural components, i.e. frontier towns, entrepots, single-family farmsteads) Lewis provides other researchers with a means of categorizing similar patterns in other areas. Subsequent studies in the Ozark Escarpment region of Missouri and the Cumberland Plateau in Kentucky and Tennessee will be discussed below.

In an attempt to test hypotheses concerning frontier adaptive systems, James and Cynthia Price (1978; 1981) produced an historic settlement model for subsistence farmsteads (considered a primary site type within a community settlement system) in the topographically diverse Ozark Border Region. Assuming that environmental and cultural variables were perceived as equally important, and enumerating specific sets of these variables which were considered necessary for

successful adaptation, Price and Price defined and ranked potential settlement areas spatially and temporally:

The model predicts ... a pattern of settlement in the highland portion of the ecotone in stream valleys at the [Natchitoches] trace crossings or in the lower reaches of stream valleys with later or second generation settlement filling in along the valleys and moving outward onto the Escarpment and into the Lowlands [Price and Price 1981:248].

From the results of an architectural and engineering resource inventory conducted in the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, Dugan and Levy (1981) propose and define four intra-community settlement patterns previously existing within the drainage of the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River. Basing their work on previous studies by Lewis (1976) and Price and Price (1978), Dugan and Levy utilize environmental data coupled with locational analysis to identify and describe spatial and temporal characteristics of these patterns.

The inclusion of a large portion of the National Area within the present study boundaries underlines the relevance of Dugan and Levy's models to this research. Although their study emphasizes the concept of community and includes descriptions of associated economic (stores and post offices), social and religious (churches) and educational (schools) components and their spatial relationship to overall settlement, this discussion will follow the emphasis of Price and Price (1978, 1981) and focus on the basic domestic component, the single family home or farmstead, represented generally by the first and second models described below.

The first settlement model defined by Dugan and Levy (1981) is termed the Dispersed Hollow Pattern. This pattern is considered to

have been established chronologically earliest. It consisted of scattered, nuclear and extended family farmsteads located at intervals along the Big South Fork and at its major tributaries. Although communities often consisted of kin-related nuclear families, spatial distances between individual components of this pattern are considered to be relatively large as a result of the perceived need for a broad and diverse catchment area and an early emphasis on hunting and trapping in addition to subsistence-level agriculture as an economic base (Dugan and Levy 1981:8). Although established in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in this area, this pattern continued to exist, with some economic modification, into the mid-twentieth century (Ferguson et al. 1986).

The second model, termed the Semi-Dispersed Ridgetop Pattern, is said to have developed out of an increased reliance on agricultural production, with a corresponding decrease in hunting and trapping for subsistence. This may have been a factor in (or a result of) road improvements on ridge areas making a market orientation more feasible. These factors contribute to relatively smaller distances between farmsteads (as compared with the Dispersed Hollow Pattern), which were now located in close proximity to interregional transportation routes along ridgetops (Dugan and Levy 1981:9).

The third and fourth settlement models developed as a result of the growth of extractive industries on the Cumberland Plateau during the earlier twentieth century and will only be described briefly. The Planned Linear Arrangement was a community pattern associated with the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company coal camps, ... "characterized by a linear arrangement of miners' houses paralleling the railroad line and

stream" (Dugan and Levy 1981:8). The Clustered Informal Pattern consisted of closely spaced groupings of houses, lacking formal structural patterning, which occurred in both coal and timber camps.

Problem Statement

The primary purpose of this thesis is a demonstration of the applicability of county deed records to specific types of analysis. Previous writers addressing kinship, land transfer and settlement in rural small-scale agricultural settings have generally disregarded or dismissed the use of deed records as a principal source of information, preferring ethnographic methods and oral testimony. Pearsall (1959) and Bryant (1981) relied chiefly upon data obtained through formal and informal interviews and participant observation. Matthews (1965), while citing a variety of local government records, also based her conclusions primarily on behavior noted as a participant in community activities, and on answers to constructed questionnaires. Hicks (1976) made only ancillary reference to records of land transfer, preferring oral and written historical accounts. While alluding often to local deed records and Federal census schedules, Martin (1983) avoided a thorough investigation of "the incomplete descriptions in deeds, census records and tax lists" (Martin 1983:4), utilizing a combination of oral history and local architectural analysis.

Ethnographically-recorded and historically-documented aspects of the relationship between kinship and processes of land transfer and settlement suggest questions which can be answered utilizing county

deed record information. A systematic examination of data contained in or inferred from Blevins family deed records in Wayne County, Kentucky and Scott County, Tennessee (1800 - 1909) will be undertaken to aid in the support or refutation of previously-held views on two selected problem areas: kinship and land transfer; and deed records and settlement.

A summary of ethnographic investigations considering the effects of kinship on the process of land transfer indicates a general bias against transferring property to anyone considered to be outside of family lines. This tendency is best illustrated in two related observations linking kinship and property transaction. The first observation has been defined as a strong desire among family members to remain settled on (or at least in possession of) so-called "family land" (Pearsall 1959; Hicks 1976; Martin 1983). This predilection for the maintenance of family property manifests itself in several cultural behaviors designed to keep property within family lines, including inheritance practices, marriage, auctions and direct sales (see also Matthews 1965).

The second observation is related to the strong preference shown toward transferring property among kin as opposed to buying from and selling to non-kin. Matthews (1965:20) indicates that all resident couples in her study area had received their homes from kin, either by inheritance or purchase. Hicks (1976:36) notes preferences shown toward kin in remarking that "kinsmen are expected to, and often do, sell land and automobiles at lower prices to their relatives than they would to non-kin." Bryant (1981:69), while describing unequal patterns of inheritance, states that most land transactions took place

between family members.

Previous historical and anthropological studies in the southern Appalachians have documented observed patterns of settlement in which kinship played major roles. While Owsley (1945) and Price and Price (1981) record sequences of initial settlement in which family groups migrated together and formed kin-based communities, Hackbarth (1980) and Joyce (1981) suggest that kinship provided a major incentive for settlement site choice and was often emphasized over more favorable physical factors. Recent contemporary observations by Pearsall (1959) and Martin (1983) note the inevitable out-migration of some married children, but also describe offspring who "married and settled on their parents' land or on nearby tracts" (Pearsall 1959:98). Martin (1983:10) describes instances when land near the parents' homeplace was deeded to certain children as an inducement to stay.

Researchers generally agree on sequences of settlement, but certain aspects of observed behavior present possible contradictions. Pearsall (1959) and Bryant (1981) record the relative mobility of contemporary families in their study areas, but Bryant notes inconsistencies with "the notion of 'family land' that has been retained in the family for generations suggest[ing] residential stability and continuity" (Bryant 1981: 64-65). Pearsall describes a:

.....surprisingly mobile [population]... Family histories indicate these frequent moves within a radius of two to three counties have been common for several generations... Most of the moves are over relatively short distances to similar mountain neighborhoods, although a few families have moved to small towns nearby or even outside the region [Pearsall 1959:38].

Research Questions

In order to demonstrate various uses for deed record information and to examine the role played by kin relationship in the areas of property transaction and settlement, two research questions are presented which relate to the problem areas discussed above. Question 1 concerns observed differences between kin and non-kin transfers. Question 2 proposes expanded use of deed records as a complementary tool, with history and ethnography, in settlement studies.

1. Do property transactions among kin differ significantly from transactions involving kin and non-kin parties?

Addressing this question will involve a two part investigation of Blevins land transfers. The first part will be a synchronic examination of the total sample of transactions undertaken by Blevins family members between 1800 and 1910. Two recorded variables, number of transfers and tract acreage, and one measured variable, distance to the grantor's homeplace from the transferred tract, will be examined and total figures (i.e. transfer frequency, mean acreage per transfer and mean distance from transferred tract) will be calculated for a number of kin and non-kin groups. Calculated figures will then be compared to determine whether differences exist: 1) between total kin transfers and total non-kin transfers, 2) among divisions of kin transfers, and 3) among kin transfers, local non-kin transfers and outsider (non-local non-kin) transfers.

The second part of this study will be a diachronic examination of

Blevins kin and non-kin land transfers. Transactions recorded between 1800 and 1909 will initially be divided into five year time periods. Transfer frequency, mean acreage per transfer and mean distance to grantor's homeplace will then be calculated for each five year period and graphed. Divisions of transfers to be compared in this investigation will include: 1) kin and non-kin transfers and 2) kin transfers, local transfers and outsider transfers.

After completion of synchronic and diachronic examinations, results will be summarized and discussed. Indications of preferences noted in land transactions and perceptions of changing social and economic trends will be compared with current ethnographic and historical literature addressing land transfer and kinship.

2. Can detailed analysis of sequentially-ordered family land transfers provide insight into processes of settlement?

Answering this question entails an evaluation of land transfers as a data source for reconstructing historic settlement. A temporally-sequential ordering of selected Blevins land transfers (i.e. property transactions involving Jonathan Blevins Sr. and 27 of his direct descendants) will be combined with other relevant local records, histories, and the Blevins family genealogy (Blevins and Blevins 1982) to construct a property history. This Blevins property history will provide a chronological summary of land purchases and sales undertaken by selected family members and will document local patterns of settlement, observed changes in rural community composition and form, and phases of commercial and industrial

development. Observed local sequences will then be compared to suggested regional settlement patterns, social structure and economic trends from current literature.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data Sources

Detailed analysis of family property history over an extended time period necessitated the investigation of a variety of data sources, including histories, ethnographies, genealogical works and government records. State, regional and local histories provided essential background information and assisted in placing particularistic data in the proper historical context. Ethnographic studies, particularly those focusing on the Southern Appalachian region, furnished comparative material for the cultural interpretation of statistical inferences. Genealogical materials pertaining to the Blevins family aided in the identification of individuals and family groups and in the placement of these family members in temporal and spatial contexts. Legal records, particularly those related to the acquisition, holding and disposition of property, were utilized to establish or verify land ownership, locations of tracts and presence of settlement loci.

Research for historical background information encompassed state, regional and local subject areas. While general state histories had few direct references to the study area, nineteenth century Kentucky and Tennessee works (Collins 1874; Goodspeed 1887; Garrett and Goodpasture 1903) were chosen particularly in an effort to portray contemporary views of people and events rather than analyzed

composites of past happenings. Regional resources included documentation of rural nineteenth and early twentieth century lifeways along the Cumberland River (Arnow 1960, 1963) and historical studies of the origins and development of industrialization in the Southern mountains (Caudill 1963; Eller 1982). Local materials ranged from narratives of South Fork Country (Perry 1983) and county histories (Scott County - Sanderson 1958, 1974; and Smith 1985; Wayne County - Johnson 1939; and McCreary County - Perry 1979), to genealogically-based accounts (Blevins n.d.; Blevins and Blevins 1982), and recent research associated with the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (Dugan and Levy 1981; Howell 1981; Humphrey 1981b; Gardner 1982, 1984; Ferguson et al. 1986).

Early examples of ethnography in the Southern Appalachian region (e.g. Kephart 1913; Campbell 1921; and Raine 1924) were useful in developing an overall cultural setting for this study, but specific data on kinship and land transfer could only be obtained from more recent research. The work of Pearsall (1959), Matthews (1965) and Bryant (1981) in documenting various observed aspects of family, residence and land ownership in rural mountain communities in the South, and Hicks (1976) in examining changing perceptions of property and kin organization in Appalachia, provided large amounts of comparative data. Recent studies undertaken within the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (Duda 1980; Howell 1981) supplied needed examples of family economic adaptations and general folkways in the area of the present study.

A critical requirement of the present study was the availability of precise and complete records of Blevins family descent and

relationship. Genealogical sources referenced encompassed all accessible data relevant to the Blevins family and their residence on the Cumberland Plateau. The primary source for this data was the published work, Jonathan Blevins Sr. of Virginia and His Descendants (Blevins and Blevins 1982). Supplemental texts included two unpublished manuscripts (Humphrey 1981b; and W.H. Blevins n.d.), and the unpublished transcripts of interviews conducted with Oscar Blevins (1984 a,b,c). Additional data was provided by reference to U.S. Census records for 1800 through 1910; available records of vital statistics, i.e. births, marriages, and deaths for Wayne, Scott and other adjacent counties in Kentucky and Tennessee; and area cemetery inventories (Humphrey 1981a).

Federal, state and local government records pertaining to land ownership and transactions among individuals, businesses, county and state agencies were the primary sources of information consulted in this study. Records of various governmental land grants and purchases, particularly in the Kentucky portion of the study area (Jillson 1971), were examined for supplemental information on early settlement dates, areas of settlement and tract acreage. While limited in availability, county tax lists, court records and entry books (Scott County, Tennessee b,c,d; Wayne County, Kentucky b,c,) also aided in establishing arrival and departure dates and locations of initial settlement. County deed records, i.e. legal documents recording transfer of property, were found to be the most complete and accurate contemporary accounting of land ownership and transaction information available and were chosen as the principal data base for this study.

Deed records were utilized as the primary data source for this investigation for a number of reasons. Previous studies have examined land entry books (Joyce 1981), land tax records (Van Atta 1979), and federal census and marriage records (Vernon 1979) to provide spatial and temporal data. All of these resources were available for Scott and Wayne counties and were investigated thoroughly during the course of this research; however, the information they provided individually was limited in various ways. Combined, they constituted a non-continuous and sketchy record of the past. Land entry books record the original intention of the purchase but lack information related to proof of actual sale and settlement; moreover, they are limited to purchases from the states during initial movement into the area. Unlike less topographically - dissected areas where the system of township and range designations make precise location of entered tracts feasible (See Joyce 1981 and Ostergren 1981, for examples), rugged plateau terrain produced irregular survey metes and bounds, so that entries are often defined simply by estimated acreage, nearest named watercourse and/or adjoining property owner (Scott County Entry Book A; Wayne County Entries).

Federal, state, and local government records of essential information (i.e. births, marriages, taxes and deaths) suffer from similar limitations. Birth and death records are often missing or incomplete. Land tax records often provide valuable data concerning acreage held and probable, although general, locations of home sites; however, they are not available for all years because records have been lost or destroyed, and they may not include all landowners, particularly those located in isolated, mountainous regions. Marriage

and census records are valuable sources of kinship information, but lack the important spatial dimension necessary for a settlement study; although census enumerators recorded families within district boundaries, these enumeration district boundaries have changed over time, making even general placement of home sites difficult.

County deed records, although proposed as a potential data source in archaeological research (Vernon 1979; Hackbarth 1980; Joyce 1981), and utilized to a limited degree by historians (Van Atta 1979), cultural geographers (Ostergren 1981) and sociologists (Carlson and Dillman 1983), have been virtually ignored as a principal data base. This is somewhat surprising considering the potential information available in these land transaction records. H.G. Jones (1980:149) suggests several, purely historical possibilities:

A deed often conveys more information than the date, names of grantor and grantee, amount of consideration and description of the property. Although property being transferred is registered in the county of its location, either the grantor or the grantee, or both, may be living in another county or state, and that information was often indicated. Family relationships are sometimes stated, or the conditions under which the transfer was made. A deed of gift, for instance, may express appreciation for the kindness of the grantee (a daughter) who cared for the grantor in old age when no other son or daughter offered assistance. The conveyance may reveal that the property was sold to pay off a debt or to satisfy taxes, or that it was acquired under the headright system. The metes and bounds may be as intriguing as informative, for they may refer to long forgotten landmarks that can be relocated by a careful processioning of the lines.

Archaeologically relevant data can also be obtained through examination of deed records. Detailed analysis can assist in locating early farm, mill, and town sites, thereby providing information for settlement studies. By utilizing recorded metes and bounds, property boundary maps can be reconstructed and, when compared with modern

topographic maps, can aid in the relocation of described boundary and related features such as fencelines, cultivated fields, farm ponds, farmhouse and outbuilding sites, and roadways. Careful recording of property marker trees can serve as an aid to reconstructing historic vegetational and environmental conditions.

Although considered by some researchers to be logistically difficult to examine systematically (Vernon 1979), county deed records may provide the single most complete and objective record of land ownership and sale available. Careful examination through the use of simple sampling techniques such as the surname-based system utilized here, should provide adequate data for similar studies. (Suggestions for future research will be made in the final chapter of this thesis).

Data Recording

After selection of the Blevins family, deed record research began. Initial deed record research consisted of the transcription of all property transaction entries referencing individuals and groups having the surname Blevins in Direct and Reverse Indexes of Conveyances in Wayne County, Kentucky and Scott County, Tennessee, between 1800 and 1910. Spatial boundaries for this study correspond with both early settlement areas for the Blevins family and major areas of later resettlement. Extensive examinations of deed and census records in neighboring counties (Whitley and Pulaski counties in Kentucky; Campbell, Fentress, Pickett and Morgan counties in Tennessee) substantiated previous indications that settlement of Blevins family members took place almost exclusively in Scott and

Wayne counties.

Temporal boundaries were chosen to include both the earliest recorded Blevins land transaction in the area and the last property conveyances involving the Blevins family prior to large-scale land acquisition by extra-regional individuals and companies for timbering and coal mining. Deed records for Wayne County were first indexed in 1800, the year the county was formed from portions of neighboring Cumberland and Pulaski counties. Scott County deed records began in 1850 with the formation of that county from parts of Anderson, Campbell, Fentress and Morgan counties. Although it was originally felt that the relatively late formation date for Scott County might create a void in the record of Blevins land transactions in Tennessee, this was not the case. According to Blevins and Blevins (1982), federal census schedules, and deed records of Scott's parent counties, no permanent settlement or land speculation involving Blevins family members occurred in this portion of Tennessee prior to 1850.

Transactions recorded after 1909 were not utilized in this study as a result of the widespread increase in large scale land speculation related to extractive industries (specifically, coal) which occurred in the area after 1910. This development was due in large part to the operations of the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company, and to related business concerns in Kentucky and Tennessee. A non-systematic investigation of property transfer records for the period 1910-1980 was undertaken which suggested trends toward increasing fee simple (e.g. purchase involving legal rights to all aspects of a property) and minerals only (purchase of all mineral rights leaving surface rights to the seller) sales to Stearns, and leasing of coal-poor or

timbered out ridgeland to family groups by Stearns (SRDB and WRDB). No marked change in intrafamily transactions was evident during this period. Further investigations were considered to be beyond the scope of this study.

As indicated, initial recording of property transaction entries was limited to transactions listed under "Blevins" in Wayne and Scott County Indexes. Although transactions entered by members of the Blevins family having other family names (i.e. Blevins females marrying into other families, or Blevins in-laws) were often encountered, total transfers transcribed for this study included only those transactions in which a named "Blevins" was involved as a grantor or a grantee.

Information recorded from Blevins deed references included Grantor (the person(s) from whom the property was being transferred), Grantee (the person(s) to whom the property was being transferred), kind of instrument (type of conveyance, e.g. warranty deed, trust deed, lease), date of instrument (the date the agreement was made and signed), and book and page references. The total number of index listings recorded was 379, including 108 from Wayne County and 271 from Scott County (this total excludes several Scott County references to deed books partially or completely destroyed in a 1948 courthouse fire).

After index listings were transcribed, all individual land conveyances were located and examined carefully to reveal information relevant to the study. Primary data recorded consisted of land acreage figures and locational references for the conveyed property. A few transactions included information on residence(s) of the grantor

and grantee; specific purpose for the transaction (e.g. payment of a debt, court judgement against one of the involved parties, custodial payment to grantee for care of grantor in old age); kin or business relationship of parties involved (if any), and/or previous divisions or additions to the property (either in acreage or multiple ownership). Wherever available, such information was recorded.

Unfortunately, few conveyances contained detailed information such as this, while the majority recorded only the most basic information required by law to secure a property transfer.

During the examination of recorded conveyances, evaluations were made concerning the applicability and usefulness of each transfer to present research goals. Due to a number of inconsistencies and omissions in original deed recording and difficulties in specifically identifying some Blevins family members, several transfers had to be dropped from the total listing. Transfers lacking both acreage figures and locational information for the purchased tract were omitted; however, transactions lacking specific tract locations but containing acreage amounts were retained for use in tract size computations. Similarly, transactions describing tract locations but omitting acreage figures were retained for use in a distance study. Transfers documenting the sale of property other than land (e.g. livestock, furniture, personal possessions) were also deleted, but conveyances referring to the transfer of rights to land or natural resources either present or suspected to be present on that land such as coal, oil, gas, timber, brick or pottery clay, or salt were included. Several transfers involved individuals having the Blevins name who could not be identified by specific family relationship i.e.

individuals not listed in Blevins and Blevins (1982). If no further information could be located on these individuals through census listings, these transactions were also deleted. The above omissions brought the total listed transfers to 321. This list, as presented in the Appendix, constituted the principal data base from which all primary source information related to land transfers was obtained.

Analysis Procedures

Initial examination of the total listed transfers involved the separation of these transfers into two groups: transactions referring to property in either Wayne County, Kentucky or Scott County, Tennessee. This division was made in order to determine whether inferences concerning initial settlement and settlement migration could be made based upon data contained in county deed records. Specific information examined included frequency of land transfers, average acreage of transfers over time, and compared frequencies of Blevins family members participating in transfers as either grantors (i.e. property sellers) or grantees (i.e. property buyers). In cases where a "Blevins" appeared as both the grantor and the grantee (e.g. Armstead Blevins selling property to his children, Jacob, Lewis, Shade, W.H. and Jane Blevins), the transfer was recorded as both a sale and a purchase to avoid unfair weighting of either transfer type. Duplications of these transfers increased the total number of transfers to 364. The total study period (1800-1909) was divided into five year blocks in order to maintain temporal resolution while providing samples for statistical manipulation.

The principal goal of this thesis, an examination of the role of kinship in land transfer, determined the next major division of property transactions for analysis. Transfers listed in the Appendix were divided into two non-overlapping groups. The first group, the Kin Group, was chosen to represent all recorded transactions involving members of the Blevins family as both grantors and grantees. The Non-Kin Group consisted of the transactions involving non-kin individuals, i.e. transfers carried out by a Blevins and a party or parties not related to the Blevinses by birth or marriage. This second group also included transactions involving Blevins family members as grantees and various governmental offices as grantors.

Delineation of transactions involving the Blevinses and state and local government offices was fairly straightforward, but some difficulties were encountered while attempting to determine precisely whether some individuals listed from deed indexes were related to the Blevins family. Although Blevins and Blevins (1982) provided a relatively complete listing of Blevins family members who retained the family name, less information was available concerning the families of individuals marrying into the Blevins family, or children of Blevins women and non-Blevins men. Available marriage records (Scott County Marriages n.d.; Wayne County Marriages n.d.) and an index including surnames of individuals related to the Blevins family by marriage (Blevins and Blevins 1982: 169-174) were referred to in an effort to better identify individuals and family groups involved in property transactions with known Blevins family members, and to determine their possible kin relationship to the subject family. Due to emphases placed on levels of kin relationship and the varied methods of

kin-reckoning noted in previous studies (e.g. Matthews 1965; Bryant 1981), all individuals identified as possible kin were included in the Kin Group.

Efforts to more closely investigate possible links between actual kin relationship and the process of land transfer lead to a two-part, in-depth examination of a portion of the Kin Group transactions. Transfers included in this examination involved identifiable members of the Blevins family as both grantors and grantees, whose actual kin relationships were known. Following compilation of these transfers and determination of kin relationships among grantors and grantees, transfer frequencies, total acreage and mean acreage per transfer figures were calculated and compared for: 1) nuclear family transactions versus extended family transactions, and 2) lineal, sibling, affinal and collateral transactions, to determine possible transfer preferences among known kin.

Initial indications of a possible dichotomy within the Non-Kin Group led to the division of this group into local and outsider subgroups. It was felt that such a division would aid in determining the effect of relative residential location on the process of land transfer and, in turn, provide a spatial dimension comparable to previously suggested divisions in the kin group reflecting possible differing perceptions of close versus distant kin. Differentiation of non-kin subgroups was accomplished in two ways. In a small number of cases, place of residence of parties involved in the transactions was stated within the text of the transfer or was noted in the county registrar's statement of record following the transfer. In a majority of the transfers involving Blevins family members and private

individuals and groups, the parties' local or outsider status had to be determined through reference to supplementary historical source materials (Johnson 1939; Sanderson 1958, 1974; Arnow 1960; Perry 1979; Humphrey 1981; Perry 1983; and Smith 1985). Transfers recording county government offices (e.g. Sheriff, County Clerk, Clerk and Master) as grantors were considered local transactions, while transfers listing the state (Kentucky or Tennessee) as grantors were considered to be non-local.

After division of Blevins transfers into the above described groups and subgroups, statistical and analytical data were calculated for the transactions. Group transaction (i.e. overall, county, kin and non-kin transfers) calculations included frequency of transfers, total acreage and average acreage per transfer. Group transfer frequency and acreage calculations were recorded and graphed in five year time periods in order to define and characterize transactions occurring within these groups through time and to simplify comparisons among these groups. Local and outsider calculations for transfer frequency, total acreage and average acreage per transfer were also recorded and graphed in five year time periods. Tables, graphs and a discussion of the above calculations are presented in Chapter IV.

Measurements and calculations made for transfer frequency, total acreage and average acreage per transfer were relatively straightforward. Individual transfers were tallied within five year time periods for all groups and subgroups, and these sums were totalled to provide overall transfer frequencies for the study period. Recorded acreage figures were similarly added and totalled with certain modifications for clarification. Tracts under one acre in

size were rounded up to one acre to simplify calculations. Acreage in transfers which recorded the transaction of a portion or interest in a tract (e.g. $1/5$ interest in 2200 acres) was calculated by multiplying the total acreage by the interest (e.g. $2200 \text{ acres} \times 1/5 = 440 \text{ acres}$) to obtain an approximation of the actual acreage conveyed. Mineral and timber lease acreage was recorded as the full amount leased. Mean acreage per transfer was calculated by dividing the total acreage recorded by the appropriate number of transfers containing acreage figures.

An analysis of distances between the property grantor's homeplace and the tract which was sold provided a spatial dimension to the overall examination of preference in land transfer, however several problems arose during the measurement of these distances. A majority of these difficulties concerned the process of accurately locating both the homesite of the grantor and the property transferred. Others involved missing or unclear data, and the circumstances surrounding the property sale. These problems will be discussed briefly below, followed by a description of procedures utilized to calculate distances.

Measuring distances between grantor homeplaces and properties sold implied a fairly accurate knowledge of the locations of these places in space and time. Due to the rugged, rural nature of the project area and an absence of period maps or descriptions recording house locations, specific settlement sites were often difficult to pinpoint. In addition, the relatively long time period chosen for the study required the location of several different areas of settlement for the same family groups, resulting from frequent moves and

resettlement in other parts of the study area.

In order to provide as many accurate homeplace locations as possible and thereby maximize the distance study sample, all available reference sources were consulted. Census and tax records were helpful in providing general information concerning county and district locations. In several cases, deed descriptions of purchased properties recorded specific homeplace information as either an integral part of the transaction (e.g. WRDB K:216 [1847], in which Jonathan Blevins "granted unto his two sons [Henley and Armstead] ... his land whereon he now lives..."), or as an additional descriptive phrase (e.g. SRDB C:303 [1871], a mineral lease property "where Diance Blevins lives"). The majority of the homesite information was acquired through reference to the genealogical study by Blevins and Blevins (1982), interviews with Oscar Blevins (1984a,b,c,) and related local history materials (e.g. Johnson 1939; Perry 1979; and Humphrey 1981).

Although property descriptions were included in most deed records, specific locational data on transferred tracts (e.g. references to permanent, locatable landmarks) were sometimes lacking. References to marker trees and stones, or to adjacent, contemporary property owners was sometimes helpful in verifying suspected locations, but seldom served as a primary source or principal means by which tracts were found; in many cases, included or adjacent watercourses or roads provided the only point of reference for a tract location.

Missing or unclear information concerning homeplace and property locations eliminated several transactions from the distance study.

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Missing or unclear information concerning homeplace and property locations eliminated several transactions from the distance study. In some cases, accurately defined homesites could not be assigned to specific individuals or family groups due to a lack of historical documentation of their whereabouts during a particular period of time. As suggested above, some property descriptions, while sufficiently defining the area of the tract, neglected to provide exact locational reference points. Other records of transfer were found to contain discrepancies between sizes and locations of tracts purported to be the same property.

Because the "homesite" criterion was not applicable, all "Government" transactions (i.e. grants or purchases from state, county, or local agencies, such as the sheriff or county court) were deleted from the distance study, as were purchases from land, resource, and manufacturing companies. Transactions documenting sales of homeplace tracts were also deleted. Some transfers documenting sales of multiple tracts of varying size scattered throughout the area were also not included due to difficulties in locating poorly defined individual properties and delineating them as individual tracts.

Despite the problems noted above, the actual procedures followed in the distance study were relatively straightforward: 1) homesites

comparative calculations were recorded and graphed in ten year time periods, providing more useable statistical samples. Mean distances for ten year time periods were computed by dividing the sum of the measured distances by the number of associated transfers from which these distances could be accurately determined.

In addition to this distance analysis, an attempt was made to construct the framework for a chronological survey of Blevins property history by selecting a sample of Blevins family members and presenting all of their land transactions sequentially. Criteria for selection of included individuals were relative frequency of land transfers and the author's overall knowledge of various kin relationships within the family. A total of 28 individuals, including Jonathan Blevins Sr. and 27 of his direct descendants, spanning four generations and participating in land transactions between 1819 and 1909, was chosen for inclusion. Deed record information was combined with census, birth, tax and death records, and family history to create a scenario documenting initial property acquisition, subsequent sales and purchases, movements of residence within the study area, and final disposition of landed property. This chronological overview will be presented at the beginning of Chapter IV.

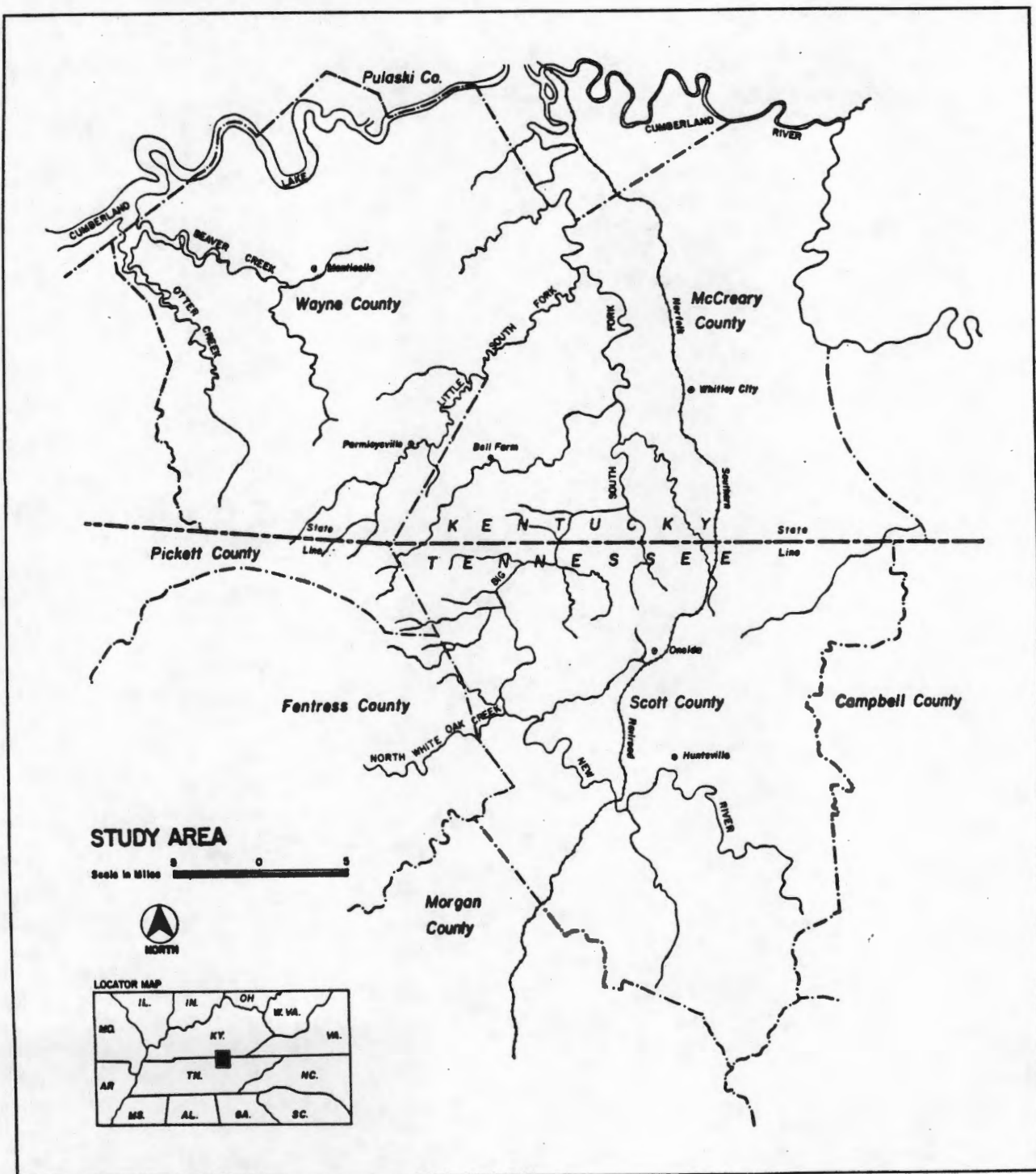
CHAPTER IV

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Blevins Property History

A general history of the Jonathan Blevins family in Wayne and Scott counties, documenting settlement and property history during the study period, is presented below. This overview consists of information taken directly from county register of deeds deed books supplemented by genealogical data from Blevins and Blevins (1982), interviews conducted with Oscar Blevins (1984a, 1984b and 1984c), the Federal Census for 1800-1910, county tax lists, and records of Kentucky and Tennessee land and county court order grants in the area. All genealogical information, including dates of birth, marriage and death, was recorded from Blevins and Blevins (1982) unless otherwise specified. Reference may be made to Figures 1, 2 or 3 (detailed maps of Wayne and Scott counties) for approximate locations of properties transferred. Figure 4 (Selected Blevins Family Geneaology) may be referred to for clarification of kin relationships. A complete transcription of relevant deed record information is available in the Appendix.

A discussion of Blevins family history must logically begin with the progenitor of most of the Blevins family on and around the Cumberland Plateau, Jonathan Blevins. Although probably not the first Blevins to move westward across the mountains into the frontier, Jonathan Blevins was one of a few who settled in the Wayne County,



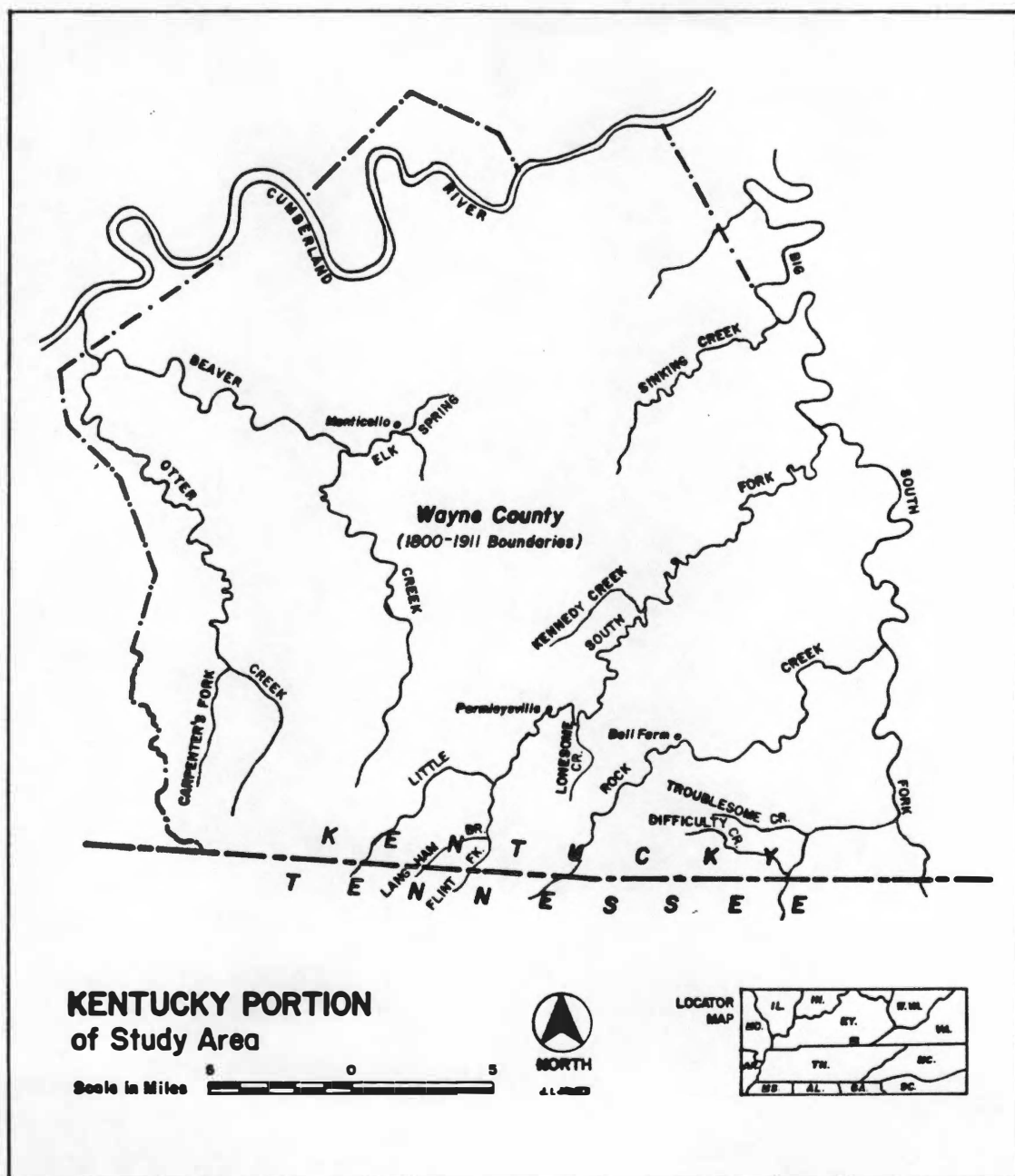


Figure 2. Map of Wayne County, Kentucky (1800-1911 Boundaries).

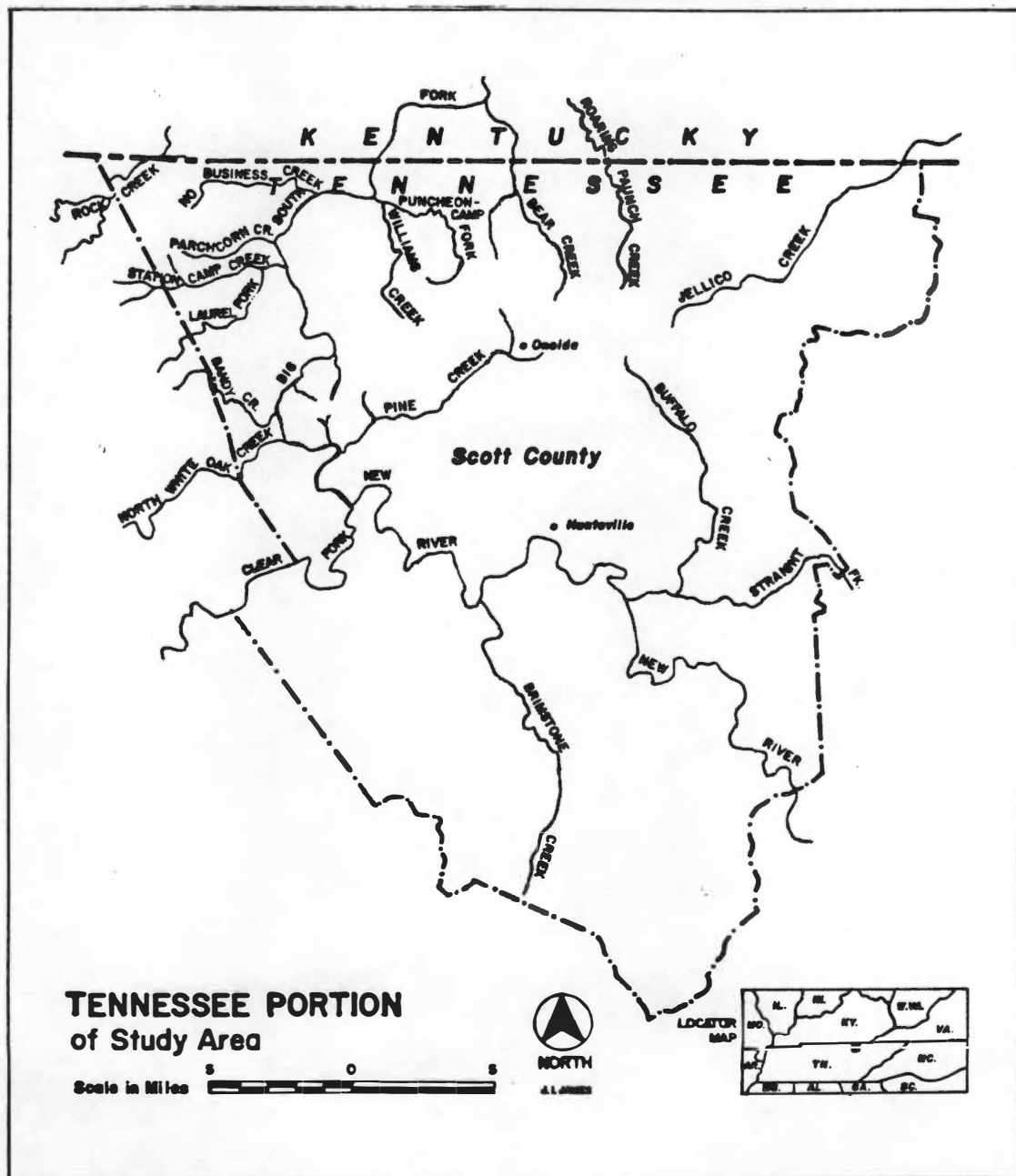
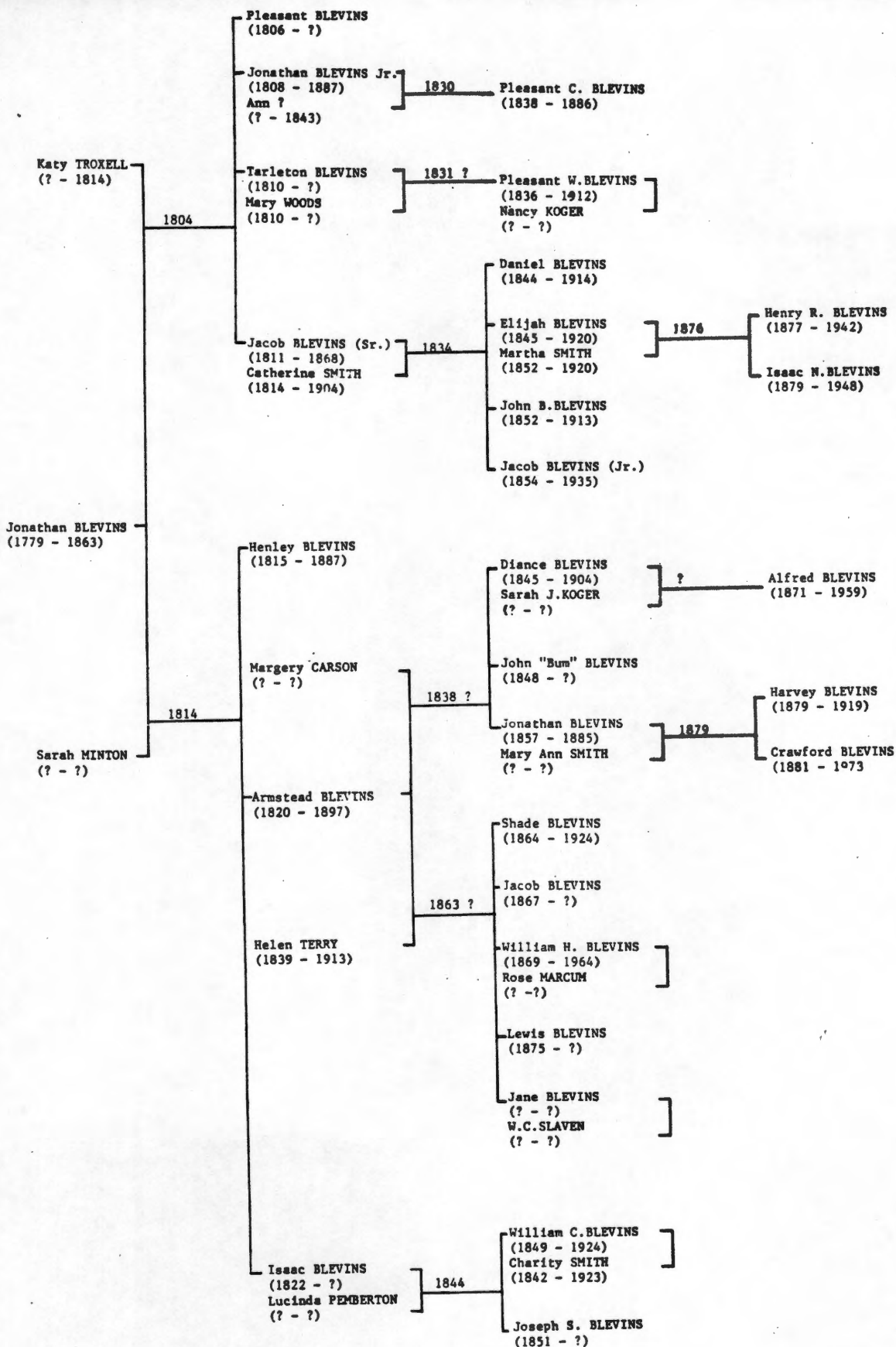


Figure 3. Map of Scott County, Tennessee.



Kentucky area and whose descendants continue to maintain residence there to the present day. Jonathan was born in 1779 in Montgomery County, Virginia, moved south with his family to Burke County, North Carolina prior to 1790 and then migrated to Kentucky shortly after 1800 (Blevins and Blevins 1982: 67-70). Although Jonathan may have initially migrated to Pulaski County (Oscar Blevins interview 1984a: 1), he eventually settled in Wayne County, and, by 1804, was probably living along Beaver Creek (Wayne County Tax List [WCTL] 1804).

Although no specific residence location can be ascertained, it is probable that Jonathan settled near other family members who had preceded him there, notably one Elisha Blevins (relationship unknown) who settled on Elk Spring around 1800 (Blevins and Blevins 1982: 67). This watercourse is located near Monticello, the present county seat.

In 1804, Jonathan Blevins married Katy Troxell, daughter of Jacob Troxell and his Cherokee wife, Princess Cornblossom (Wayne County Marriages; Laccie Blevins 1982: 59-60), and soon afterward moved to a farm on the Little South Fork of the Cumberland River, near the community of Parmleysville (WCTL 1808). Blevins received his first recorded claim to property here in 1814, in the form of a 100 acre Tellico Land Grant (Jillson 1925: 443; WCTL 1814).

It was also in 1814 that Jonathan's wife Katy died, survived by a husband, five sons (Timothy, Pleasant, Jonathan Jr., Tarlton and Jacob) and two daughters (Mary A. and Ada). On December 21, 1814, Jonathan married Sarah (Sally) Minton (Wayne County Marriages). Between 1815 and 1820 Jonathan seemed to have been content living, hunting and farming in the Little South Fork River valley. A single property purchase of 50 acres in 1821 (Wayne County Register of Deeds

Deed Books [WRDB] c: 230) increased his holdings here; however, a Kentucky Land Warrant assigned to him in 1819 containing 50 acres along Rock Creek (Kentucky Land Warrants [KLWB] F: 403) may suggest that the Blevins family was preparing to move east to Rock Creek. This move probably took place in the late 1810s or early 1820s, as evidenced by Jonathan's purchase of an additional 100 acres on Rock Creek in 1823 (WRDB C: 449) and subsequent sale of his entire holdings on the Little South Fork (WRDB C: 448, 450).

Wayne County deed records between 1829 and 1855 contain a number of transactions involving Jonathan Blevins. All involved tracts of land along Rock Creek (a tributary of the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River) varying in size from 50 to 100 acres (WRDB). During this time, Jonathan's total acreage fluctuated between a maximum of 300 acres and a minimum of 150 acres.

By the mid 1840s all of Jonathan's sons (three boys - Henley, Armstead and Isaac - were borne by Sally) had married and most had purchased or were granted property near their parents on Rock Creek. Jonathan Jr. married Ann (surname unknown) in the early 1830s and purchased 150 acres on Rock Creek in 1832 (WRDB F: 59, 69). Although Tarlton married Mary Woods in 1831, he is not listed as a landowner until 1848, when he was granted 80 acres on Rock Creek (KLWB 33: 300). In 1834, Jacob married Catherine Smith and probably lived on or near his father's farm until he purchased 50 acres on Rock Creek in 1840 from his brother Jonathan Jr. (WRDB H: 343). Henley married Lelitha Steel in 1836 and Armstead married Margery Carson in 1839 (Campbell County, Tennessee Marriage Records), but they owned no real estate until Jonathan Sr. conveyed all of his property to them in exchange

for support of himself and Sally in their old age (WRDB K: 216).

Isaac, the youngest brother, married Lucinda Pemberton in 1844 and, by 1847, had accumulated approximately 245 acres on Rock Creek; 125 acres from his father and his brothers, Jonathan Jr. and Jacob (WRDB I: 327, and K: 64) and 120 acres in a County Court Order Grant([COGB] 23: 480).

During the late 1840s and early 1850s the Blevins family continued to increase their holdings on Rock Creek. Between 1848 and 1854, Jonathan Sr. was granted 104 additional acres (COGB 34: 263; and COGB 44: 16), Armstead was granted a total of 63 acres (COGB 34: 264; and COGB 43: 603), Isaac purchased and/or was granted 205 acres (COGB 43: 702 and WRDB M: 1), and Henley was granted 40 acres (COGB 43: 696).

It was also during this time period (1848 to 1854) that several Blevins family members began making land purchases away from the family homestead. In 1851 Jonathan Jr. bought 100 acres on Kennedy Creek, a tributary of the Little South Fork (WRDB L: 184). Tarlton, in 1853, purchased a tract of undisclosed size in Elk Spring Valley, near Monticello (WRDB M: 360). In 1854, Isaac obtained title to three tracts totalling 375 acres located along Pine Creek in Scott County, Tennessee (Scott County Register of Deeds Deed Book [SRDB] A: 174) representing the first land transaction by a Blevins in that newly-formed county.

Although some oral history suggests an earlier move south into Tennessee, the mid 1850s probably marked the initial immigration of Blevins family members into Scott County, Tennessee. Isaac's 1854 purchase along Pine Creek was followed, in 1856, by additional

purchases of nearly 500 acres along that watercourse (SRDB B: 60; B: 64; and B: 69). Jonathan Sr., who sold his most recently granted 100 acre tract on Rock Creek in 1854 (WRDB M: 277), is listed as "moved to Tennessee" in the 1857 Wayne County Tax List. In 1859, Jonathan, Armstead, and Isaac (all listed as Scott County residents) sold 400 acres on Rock Creek (WRDB O: 92), probably representing the family's final disposition of their major Kentucky land holdings. In addition, two late 1850s land transactions involving Henley Blevins record a Scott County residence (WRDB 54: 283 and WRDB O: 92).

Although many of the Blevinses moved south into Tennessee at this time, several family members elected to stay in Kentucky. Tarlton is listed in the Wayne County Census from 1840 through 1870, probably residing until his death on his tract in Elk Spring Valley. Pleasant obtained lands totalling 100 acres along the Big South Fork (exact location not determined) in 1856 and 1857 (COG 48: 347; and WRDB N: 529). Jonathan Jr., while probably maintaining a residence on Rock Creek, was granted 275 acres on Troublesome and Difficulty creeks, (COG 56: 336, 343), tributaries of the Big South Fork in what was then the southeastern corner of Wayne County.

Unfortunately, property records do not indicate the location of initial settlement of Jonathan Blevins Sr. when he moved to Tennessee. Discrepancies in temporal information from oral history sources tend to lessen their potential for providing accurate spatial data.

Jonathan's grandson, William Houston Blevins stated that Jonathan initially settled at the mouth of Parchcorn Creek, but gives 1815 as the date of settlement (W. H. Blevins n.d.). Oscar Blevins, a great-great-grandson of Jonathan, suggested that his family came first

to the mouth of Tackett Creek on No Business Creek and then later moved to a farm on Station Camp Creek where Jonathan died in 1863 (O. Blevins interview 1984a: 1). H. C. Smith, citing W. H. Blevins and other oral tradition, has suggested that the Blevins family was living on Parchcorn Creek by 1820 (Smith 1984: 85). Humphrey (1981: 22-23), also referring to family oral history, recorded an initial Blevins settlement at No Business Creek in 1815 followed by a later move to the "Noble Smith Place at Station Camp" (actually located near the mouth of Parchcorn Creek) and a final move to the Hatfield Cemetery location on Station Camp Creek where Jonathan died in 1863.

The single historical reference affirming specific residency is the 1860 Federal Census listing of Jonathan, his wife Sally, and two teen-aged dependents in the 8th District of Scott County. Unfortunately, changing district boundaries make it difficult to pinpoint even a general residence location.

As a probable result of the War Between the States, few land transfers are recorded in Scott and Wayne counties in the early 1860s. In 1861, just prior to Tennessee's succession from the Union, Scott County actually attempted to secede from the State of Tennessee (Smith 1985:132). Thus, due to relative political uncertainty and guerilla activity in the area between 1861 and 1863, plateau residents may have been inclined to avoid monetary transactions which might later be voided in the changing tides of war. Whatever the specific reasons for this lack of real estate activity, by 1865 when a degree of stability had been established, land transactions involving the Blevins family increased in both frequency and amount of acreage involved. In Wayne County, between 1864 and 1870, Jonathan Jr. sold a

75 acre portion of his Troublesome and Difficulty Creek holdings (WRDB O: 553), Pleasant sold 100 acres on the Big South Fork (WRDB M: 478), and Pleasant William (son of Tarlton), after purchasing 150 acres (WRDB 71: 171), sold a total of 400 acres (WRDB Q: 526, 538; R: 23) on the Little South Fork.

Scott County transactions were more numerous and extensive. Jacob purchased 5050 acres (SRDB J: 27) on White Oak and Bandy creeks and sold a 235 acre tract (SRDB G: 387) on the Big South Fork between Station Camp and Parchcorn creeks. Armstead sold 575 acres (SRDB E: 191) on Station Camp Creek and purchased various tracts scattered throughout the county totalling 2540 acres (SRDB F: 271). John "Bum" (son of Armstead) registered a 5000 acre entry in northern Scott County (Scott County Entry Book A: 124) in 1866, but subsequent land records do not indicate whether this entry was ever settled.

Beginning in the mid 1860s and continuing into the early 1880s, Isaac Blevins, youngest son of Jonathan, began a series of land transactions which chronicle his involvement in private large-scale land speculation in Scott County. As a result of a number of low cost/large acreage purchases from the Scott County tax collector, Isaac (in partnership with Wayne County attorney John Marion) was able to accumulate interest in over 60,000 acres in northern Scott County (SRDB). Additional purchases and entries in the late 1860s provided an additional 38,000 acres. By the early 1870s, Isaac had begun selling various tracts on Williams, Bear, Pine and Upper Rock creeks to lumber companies and other land speculators (SRDB, various).

A variety of land transactions involving other Blevins family members occurred in the 1870s. Armstead, having relocated to Scott

County in the late 1850s, sold a 110 acre tract on Puncheoncamp Branch (SRDB G: 339), entered a 5000 acre tract on the upper portion of No Business Creek (SRDB N: 408) and purchased 200 acres near the mouths of Station Camp and Parchcorn Creeks (SRDB N: 250) from his son John. Catherine (widow of Jacob Sr.), Isaac's eldest son William C., Armstead's son Diance, and Tarlton's daughter-in-law, Nancy leased various tracts for mineral exploration (SRDB H: 77, 166; C: 303; and WRDB S: 562, respectively). Henley, previously a resident of Scott County, returned to Wayne County, purchasing 50 acres on Rock Creek (WRDB R: 473).

Isaac Blevins continued as a major land dealer in the 1880s, selling several tracts of varying size to individuals interested in settling in or near the new Cincinnati Southern Railroad stop at Oneida Station on Pine Creek. The small size of many of the lots (some consisted only of square footage near the railroad right of way) implies a desire on the part of many individuals to take advantage of railroad-related business opportunities (SRDB). Isaac's sons William C. and Joseph S., and his nephew Pleasant C. (son of Jonathan Jr.) were also involved in the sale of Oneida town lots at this time (SRDB N: 52, 604, 606, 619; and X: 143).

Family land transfers in the late 1880s through the mid 1890s were dominated by Armstead Blevins property sales. From 1887 until his death in 1897, Armstead sold a total of 13,424 acres, encompassing large tracts on the headwaters of No Business and Rock creeks and smaller tracts on Parchcorn and Station Camp Creek. Over half of this property (8424 acres) was transferred to Armstead's children and grandchildren (SRDB, various). The remaining acreage, a 5,000 acre

tract on upper No Business Creek, was sold to A. L. Crawford, a mineral speculator from Pennsylvania (SRDB R: 472).

Additional transactions during this time period included sales of property on Station Camp Creek (SRDB V: 223; 73 acres to Daniel Blevins) and Bandy Creek (SRDB T: 35; remainder of a 5050 acre tract) owned in common by the heirs of Jacob Blevins Sr., and several purchases by William C. Blevins, in conjunction with his brothers, or several local and non-local businessmen, as potential mineral leasing areas (SRDB various). Elijah Blevins added to his previous holdings by purchasing several tracts on tributaries of Pine Creek (SRDB S: 398, X: 159, X: 349, and W: 173), and Diances (Armstead's son) sold two tracts (250 acres total) along the Big South Fork above No Business Creek (SRDB T: 469 and W: 9) and purchased a total of 800 acres at the headwaters of Rock Creek (SRDB T: 187 and 2A: 287) from his father.

Through the late 1890s and early 1900s William C. Blevins continued to buy and sell large tracts of property (sometimes as an individual but often in various partnerships), presumably for the purpose of mineral resource exploitation (SRDB various). William's largest transaction of this period involved his joint purchase of 2/9 interest in a 1000 acre tract in 1895 (SRDB 29: 498). In 1899 he transferred the same tract to a trustee, George Chandler of Harriman, Tennessee, one of several shareholders in the tract, in order that it might be sold and the proceeds divided among the partners (SRDB 29: 515, 518).

Other land transactions recorded by Blevins family members at the turn of the century are difficult to categorize due to their

diversity, but combinations of these transactions can be interpreted utilizing genealogical history. For example, it is evident from certain sales of property in Scott County and subsequent purchases in Wayne County that at least two family groups had decided to return to Kentucky. In 1899, John B. and Polly Blevins purchased approximately 480 acres on the north side of the Little South Fork, above Langham Branch (WRDB 30: 312). Family sources (Blevins and Blevins 1982: 106; Oscar Blevins interview 1984a; 6) have stated that John B. and his family moved to this property that same year. By 1902, two additional tracts (acreage not recorded) had been purchased by John B. on the Langham and Flint Forks of the Little South Fork (WRDB 35: 294, 40: 336).

Property records of Elijah, Henry R. and Isaac N. Blevins imply a similar sequence of sales and purchases. Elijah and his wife, Rachel purchased 290 acres on the Little South Fork in 1902 from Rachel's brother, Calvin Smith (WRDB 35: 296), after having sold most of Elijah's Scott County property the previous year to their sons, Henry and Isaac (SRDB 32: 209). Family records indicate that Elijah and his family moved to a farm adjacent to his brother, John B., in Wayne County in 1904 (Blevins and Blevins 1982: 106). Henry and Isaac probably followed soon thereafter, having sold the majority of their own Scott County property (SRDB 33: 75, 82; and SRDB 34: 168) and purchased a tract (acreage unknown) on Flint Fork from their uncle John B. (WRDB 35: 553).

Another example of the interpretation of groups of transactions from the early 1900s involved a 200 acre tract possibly perceived as the "home place" of one family group. As mentioned previously,

Armstead Blevins had purchased this tract, located near the mouth of Parchcorn Creek, in 1873 (SRDB N: 258) and sold it to his children in 1893 (SRDB W: 347). This property probably represents the original farmstead of Armstead and his family in Tennessee. Sometime after Armstead's death (1897) the property passed from the hands of his children; but in 1904, as the result of a court case (Lewis Blevins et al. versus W. C. Slaven, Scott County Circuit Court Book L: 134), Lewis Blevins was allowed to repurchase the farm (SRDB 37: 233). That same year, Lewis sold 1/5 interest in the property to his sister, Polly (SRDB 38: 224) and 2/5 interest to his sister-in-law Rosa, wife of William Huston (SRDB 37: 315). In 1909, W. H. and Rosa sold 1/5 of their interest to Lewis and Shade (SRDB 43: 450), and Lewis sold 1/5 interest to his brother, Jacob (SRDB 43: 449). Although later transactions were not recorded due to temporal limitations placed on this study, it is suggested that subsequent sales occurred which ultimately placed the property in the hands of Jacob Blevins, as implied by W. H. Blevins (n.d), thereby keeping the home place in the family.

Noticeable increases in large-scale extractive industry land speculation after 1900 indicate changes in regional patterns of land transfer. These changes occurred predominantly as a result of the beginning of timber and coal mining operations undertaken by Stearns Salt and Lumber Company of Michigan (later Stearns Coal and Lumber Company) in Wayne and Whitley counties, precursor of the Kentucky and Pickett and Scott counties, Tennessee. The sale of 275 acres by W.H. Blevins to Stearns Salt and Lumber Company in 1906 (SRDB 41:101) marked the Blevins family's initial association with the company.

Subsequent sales of interests in 2200 acres on Rock Creek and the Little South Fork to W.A. Kinne (an agent of Stearns) and his wife, Nola (WRDB 41: 410, 593, 612; 45: 91, 95), indicated further expansion of Stearns operations, and provided a termination point for the study period.

Land Transfer Analysis

Information presented below consists of calculated values, tables and graphs based wholly on the texts of land transfers involving Blevins family members recorded in the Register of Deeds offices in Wayne County, Kentucky and Scott County, Tennessee, between 1800 and 1909. Procedures for dividing transfers into groups and subgroups, and the statistical manipulations performed on these data were described in Chapter III. Tabular summaries include:

- Land transfer frequency, acreage and mean acreage for the study area, individual counties, Kin and Non-Kin Groups and Subgroups, grantors and grantees, and
- Comparisons and rankings of transfer frequency, acreage and mean acreage for Kin and Non-Kin Groups and Subgroups.

In order to determine whether dissimilarities noted in the above calculations resulted from observable temporal changes or trends in sales or purchases, tables documenting transfers through time, and figures illustrating this information within five year time periods were also constructed.

Tabular summaries and line graphs provide a means toward presenting large amounts of data efficiently; however, difficulties often arise in their interpretation and the recovery of meaningful information. In order to facilitate conclusions and explanations offered in Chapter V, a general discussion of all of the above data follows.

Wayne County and Scott County Transfers Comparison

The total listed land transfers for Wayne County, Kentucky and Scott County, Tennessee for the time period 1800 - 1909 numbered 364. Of this total, 203 transfers containing 160,314.25 acres listed a Blevins as the grantor, and 161 transfers recording 129,164.25 acres listed a Blevins as the grantee (Tables 1 and 2). The total acreage recorded was 289,478.5 acres, however, 16 of the 203 Blevins sales, and 12 of the 161 Blevins purchases listed no acreage figures. The mean transferred tract for this sample measured approximately 862 acres. The average size of a tract sold by a Blevins family member was slightly more than 857 acres, while the mean size of a purchased tract was slightly more than 867 acres (Table 3).

In Wayne County, Blevins transfers numbered 115, encompassing a total of 10,300 acres. Numbers of Blevins purchases and sales were nearly equally divided: but 5,118 acres were recorded in purchases and 5,182 acres were recorded in sales (Tables 1 and 2). Given that seven purchase transfers and six sale transfers recorded no acreage, the average tract transferred by family members between 1800 and 1909 contained just over 100 acres. An average tract purchased in Wayne County consisted of nearly 88 acres while the mean size of a tract sold was almost 118 acres (Table 3).

Blevins land transactions in Scott County numbered 249 and contained 258,489.5 acres. Ninety-five purchases accounted for 124,046.25 acres (5 transfers did not record acreage) while 154 sales recorded 155,132.25 acres (10 transfers lacked acreage data). The mean transferred tract contained 1,193 acres. Mean purchased and sold

Table 1. Frequency Calculations

A. Overall Frequency Data

Overall Purchases	161 (44%)
Overall Sales	203 (56%)
Overall Transfers	364 (100%)

B. Wayne County, Kentucky and Scott County, Tennessee Frequency Data

Wayne Co. - Total Transfers	115 (32%)	
Scott Co. - Total Transfers	249 (68%)	
	364 (100%)	
Wayne Co. Purchases	65 (57%)	(18.0%)
Wayne Co. Sales	50 (43%)	(14.0%)
	115 (100%)	
Scott Co. Purchases	95 (38%)	(26.0%)
Scott Co. Sales	154 (62%)	(42.0%)
	249 (100%)	(100.0%)

C. Kin Group Frequency Data

Kin Group Purchases	91 (49%)
Kin Group Sales	96 (51%)
Total Kin Group Transfers	187 (100%)

D. Non-Kin Group Frequency Data

Local Non-Kin Transfers	100 (56%)
Outsider Transfers	77 (44%)
Total Non-Kin Group Transfers	177 (100%)
Non-Kin Group Purchases	70 (40%)
Non-Kin Group Sales	107 (60%)
Total Non-Kin Group Transfers	177 (100%)

Subgroup	Purchases	Sales
Local	55 (79%)	45 (45%)
Outsiders	15 (21%)	62 (55%)
	70 (100%)	107 (100%)

Table 2. Acreage Calculations

A. Overall Acreage Data

Overall Acreage Purchased	129,164.25 acres (45%)
Overall Acreage Sold	<u>160,314.25 acres (55%)</u>
Overall Acreage Transferred	289,478.50 acres (100%)

B. Wayne County, Kentucky and Scott County, Tennessee Acreage Data

Wayne County (acreage transferred)	10,300.0 acres (4%)	
Scott County (acreage transferred)	<u>258,489.5 acres (96%)</u>	
Total Acreage Transferred	268,789.5 acres (100%)	
Wayne County (acreage purchased)	5118 acres (50%)	(2%)
Wayne County (acreage sold)	<u>5182 acres (50%)</u>	(2%)
	10,300 acres (100%)	—
Scott County (acreage purchased)	124,046.25 acres (44%)	(43%)
Scott County (acreage sold)	<u>155,132.25 acres (56%)</u>	(53%)
	279,178.50 acres (100%)	(100%)

C. Kin Group Acreage Data

Kin Group acreage purchased	28,677.0 acres (45%)
Kin Group acreage sold	<u>34,632.6 acres (55%)</u>
Total Kin Group acreage transferred	63,309.6 acres (100%)

D. Non-Kin Group Acreage Data

Local Non-Kin acreage transferred	96,350.5 acres (43%)
Outsider acreage transferred	<u>129,818.4 acres (57%)</u>
Total Non-Kin Group acreage transferred	226,168.9 acres (100%)
Non-Kin Group acreage purchased	100,487.25 acres (44%)
Non-Kin Group acreage sold	<u>125,681.65 acres (56%)</u>
Total Non-Kin Group acreage transferred	226,168.9 acres (100%)

<u>Subgroup</u>	<u>Acreage Purchased</u>	<u>Acreage Sold</u>
Local	77,011.25 (77%)	19,339.25 (15%)
Outsider	<u>23,476.00 (23%)</u>	<u>106,342.4 (85%)</u>
	100,487.25 (100%)	125,681.65 (100%)

Table 3 . Mean Acreage Per Transfer Calculations

A. Overall Mean Acreage Per Transfer

Mean acreage per Purchase	867 acres (12) ¹
Mean acreage per Sale	857 acres (16)
Mean acreage per Transfer	862 acres (28)

B. Wayne County, Kentucky and Scott County, Tennessee Mean Acreage Per TransferWayne County

Mean acreage per Purchase	88 acres (7)
Mean acreage per Sale	118 acres (6)
Mean acreage per Transfer	101 acres (13)

Scott County

Mean acreage per Purchase	1378 acres (5)
Mean acreage per Sale	1077 acres (10)
Mean acreage per Transfer	1193 acres (15)

C. Kin and Non-Kin Groups Mean Acreages Per TransferKin

Mean acreage per Purchase	322 acres (2)
Mean acreage per Sale	389 acres (7)
Mean acreage per Transfer	356 acres (9)

Non-Kin

Mean acreage per Purchase	1647.3 acres (9)
Mean acreage per Sale	1309.2 acres (11)
Mean acreage per Transfer	1440.6 acres (20)

D. Kin and Non-Kin Subgroups: Ranked Mean Acreages Per Transfer, Per Purchase and Per Sale

<u>Subgroup</u>	<u>Mean Acreage Per Transfer</u>
Outsiders	1881 acres (8)
Local	1095 acres (12)
Kin	356 acres (9)

<u>Subgroup</u>	<u>Mean Acreage Per Purchase</u>
Local	1674 acres (9)
Outsiders	1565 acres
Kin	322 acres (2)

<u>Subgroup</u>	<u>Mean Acreage Per Sale</u>
Outsiders	1969 acres (8)
Local	461 acres (3)
Kin	389 acres (7)

()¹ indicates number of transactions from this group or subgroup recording no acreage figures

tracts measured approximately 1,378 acres and 1,077 acres, respectively (Tables 1,2 and 3).

During the study period, Blevins Scott County transfer frequency, total acreage and mean acreage figures ranged much higher than those from Wayne County. Overall, Scott County transfers constituted greater than two-thirds (68%) of the total number of land transfers and contained 96% of the total acreage transferred. As a result of these differences, calculated mean acreage values for Scott County transfers were significantly higher than those for Wayne County in total transfers, purchases and sales (Table 3).

Kin and Non-Kin Transfers

Kin Group transfers made up over 51% of the total listed land transfers, but contributed only 22% of the total recorded acreage (Tables 4 and 5). Of the total Kin Group transfers, property sales and property purchases were nearly equal and the amount of property sold by Blevinses to related individuals (34,632.6 acres) accounted for slightly over half of the total Kin Group acreage transferred (Tables 1 and 2). The mean transferred tract from Kin Group transfers contained 356 acres. The mean size of a tract sold by a Blevins to a member of the Kin Group was just under 389 acres; an average tract purchased measured nearly 322 acres (Table 3).

An in-depth examination of selected Kin Group transfers revealed a total of fifty transactions (27% of Kin Group total) in which the actual kin relationship of grantor to grantee could be determined. Initial division of these transfers into nuclear family transactions (n=31) and extended family transactions (n=19) suggested a preference

Table 4. Comparison of Kin and Non-Kin Groups: Transfer Frequency

A. Kin and Non-Kin Groups: Transfer Frequencies

Kin Group Transfers	187 (51%)
Non-Kin Group Transfers	<u>177 (49%)</u>
Total Transfers	364 (100%)
 Kin Group Purchases	 91 (57%)
Non-Kin Group Purchases	<u>70 (43%)</u>
Total Purchases	161 (100%)
 Kin Group Sales	 96 (47.3%)
Non-Kin Group Sales	<u>107 (52.7%)</u>
Total	203 (100%)

B. Kin and Non-Kin Groups: Ranked Subgroup Transfer Frequencies

	<u>Total Transfers</u>	
Kin	187 (51%)	
Local	100 (28%)	
Outsiders	<u>77 (21%)</u>	
Total Transfers	364 (100%)	

	<u>Total Purchases</u>	
Kin	91 (57%)	
Local	55 (34%)	
Outsiders	<u>15 (9%)</u>	
Total Purchases	161 (100%)	

	<u>Total Sales</u>	
Kin	96 (47.3%)	
Outsiders	62 (30.5%)	
Local	<u>45 (22.2%)</u>	
Total Sales	203 (100%)	

Table 5. Comparison of Kin and Non-Kin Groups: Transfer Acreage

A. Kin and Non-Kin Groups: Transfer Acreage

Kin Group Acreage	63,309.6 acres (22%)
Non-Kin Group	226,168.9 acres (78%)
Total	289,478.5 acres (100%)
Kin Group Purchases	28,677.00 acres (22%)
Non-Kin Group Purchases	100,487.25 acres (78%)
Total	129,164.25 acres (100%)
Kin Group Sales	34,632.6 acres (22%)
Non-Kin Group Sales	125,681.65 acres (78%)
Total	160,314.25 acres (100%)

B. Kin and Non-Kin Groups: Ranked Subgroup Transfer Acreage

	<u>Total Acreage (acres)</u>
Outsiders	129,818.4 (45%)
Local	96,350.5 (33%)
Kin	63,309.6 (22%)
Total	289,478.5 (100%)
	<u>Total Purchases (acres)</u>
Local	77,011.25 (60%)
Kin	28,677.00 (22%)
Outsiders	23,476.00 (18%)
Total	129,164.25 (100.0%)
	<u>Total Sales (acres)</u>
Outsiders	106,342.40 (66%)
Kin	34,632.60 (22%)
Local	19,339.25 (12%)
Total	160,314.25 (100.0%)

(at least among Blevins family members) for transferring property among close family rather than with more distant kin. A comparison of mean acreages per transfer for nuclear family and extended family transactions further supports this contention (See Table 6).

Table 6. Blevins Kin Group Divisions: Transfer Frequencies and Mean Acreages

Division	Transfer Frequency	Mean Acreage
<u>First</u>		
Nuclear family	31 (62%)	729 acres
Extended family	19 (38%)	165 acres
<u>Second</u>		
Lineal Kin	17 (34%)	768 acres
Sibling	13 (26%)	727 acres
Affinal Kin	13 (26%)	168 acres
Collateral Kin	7 (14%)	152 acres

Transfer frequencies and mean acreages from a second division of known kin transfers in the Kin Group provided additional definition of observed preferences in land transactions. Lineal kin transfers, i.e. transactions between parents and children or grandparents and grandchildren, produced the highest transfer frequency and the largest mean acreage per transfer of the four groups in this division. While sibling (brothers and sisters) and affinal (individuals related by marriage only) kin transfer frequencies were equal, mean acreages differed widely. Collateral kin transfers (transactions between

descendants of the same ancestor but in different lines) produced the lowest transfer frequency in this division but maintained a mean acreage comparable to that of affinal transfers (Table 6).

Approximately 49% of the total listed land transfers were placed in the Non-Kin Group. Non-Kin Group transfer acreage totalled 226,168.9 acres (or 78% of the total transfer acreage); 56% of this acreage was sold by Blevins family members to non-kin individuals and groups, while 44% was purchased from non-kin. The mean acreage of a tract transferred in the Non-Kin Group was slightly over 1,440 acres; an average purchased tract encompassed 1,647 acres and an average tract sold to a non-Blevins contained 1,309 acres (Tables 2, 3 and 5).

Within the Non-Kin Group, 56% of the transfers were designated local non-kin transactions and 44% were recorded as transactions with outsiders. Forty-three percent of the total Non-Kin Group acreage was assigned to the local non-kin subgroup, and 57% was recorded from outsider transfers (Tables 1 and 2). The mean acreage of a tract transferred in the local non-kin subgroup was approximately 1,095 acres; the mean tract acreage for the outsider subgroup measured 1,881 acres. Calculated values for local and outsider subgroups followed similar patterns when divided into grantor and grantee categories. Sales to outsiders produced the largest mean acreage for any Group or subgroup - 1,969 acres, while mean acreage per sale to local non-kin - 460.5 acres is relatively smaller. Purchases from locals and outsiders involved tracts nearly as large, 1,674 acres and 1,565 acres, respectively (Table 3).

Summary

Comparisons of transfer frequency, acreage and mean acreage figures for Kin and Non-Kin Groups suggest a degree of dissimilarity between transfers involving only family members and those which included non-Blevinses as grantors or grantees. While Kin Group transfers produced slightly higher transfer frequencies in overall transfers and purchase transfers, non-kin sale transfer frequency was slightly higher than sales for the Kin Group (Table 4). Total non-kin acreage transferred, acreage purchased from non-kin, and acreage sold to non-kin surpassed similar figures for kin transfers by wide margins (Table 5). These data combined to produce much higher mean acreage amounts for overall non-kin transfers, non-kin purchases and non-kin sales (Table 3).

Ranked Kin Group and Non-Kin subgroup figures for transfer frequency, acreage and mean acreage followed the same general trends as those noted above; however, differences noted served to further clarify these comparisons. Total, purchase, and sale transfer frequencies for local and outsider transactions ranked below those for kin transfers (Table 4). Calculations for ranked transfer acreage placed outsider transfers above local and kin transfers in the total acreage and total sales categories, while local transfer acreage ranked above kin and outsider acreage in total purchases (Table 5). High local purchase frequency combined with relatively high local purchase acreage to produce the highest mean acreage per purchase of all subgroups; outsider mean acreage per purchase ranked a close second, while kin mean acreage per purchase was substantially lower. Outsider mean acreage per sale lead both local and kin sale mean acreages by a wide margin, based primarily on a moderately high sale transfer frequency combined with a very high

sale acreage total (Tables 1 - 5).

Chronological Analysis

Overall Blevins Transfers

An examination of all listed Blevins grantor and grantee transfers through time suggested general trends which were seen later in Group and Subgroup divisions. From 1800 to 1860 a very slow, irregular increase occurred in mean acreage of both purchased and sold tracts (see Figure 5). Prior to 1860, mean acreage of a transferred tract ranged generally between 50 and 150 acres (Table 7). Between 1860 and 1864 transfer frequency and mean acreage fell briefly; however, in the late 1860s, mean acreage figures rose substantially (Figure 5), due primarily to the purchase and sale of several very large tracts (see Appendix). Large acreage transactions continued into the early 1870s (Figure 6 and Table 7 record mean acreages rising to over 4000 acres), then dropped sharply to levels slightly above those before 1860. From 1875 to the turn of the century, purchase and sale frequencies experienced slow, if halting increases; associated mean acreages followed similar patterns. While sale transfer frequencies ranged noticeably higher than purchase frequencies from 1875 to the end of the study period (1909), similar patterns were not evident in compared mean acreage figures. After 1900, sale and purchase transfer frequencies remained relatively high, while sale and purchase mean acreages suffered sharp declines (Figures 5 and 6).

Kin and Non-Kin Transfers

Compared chronological plots of Kin and Non-Kin Group transfers

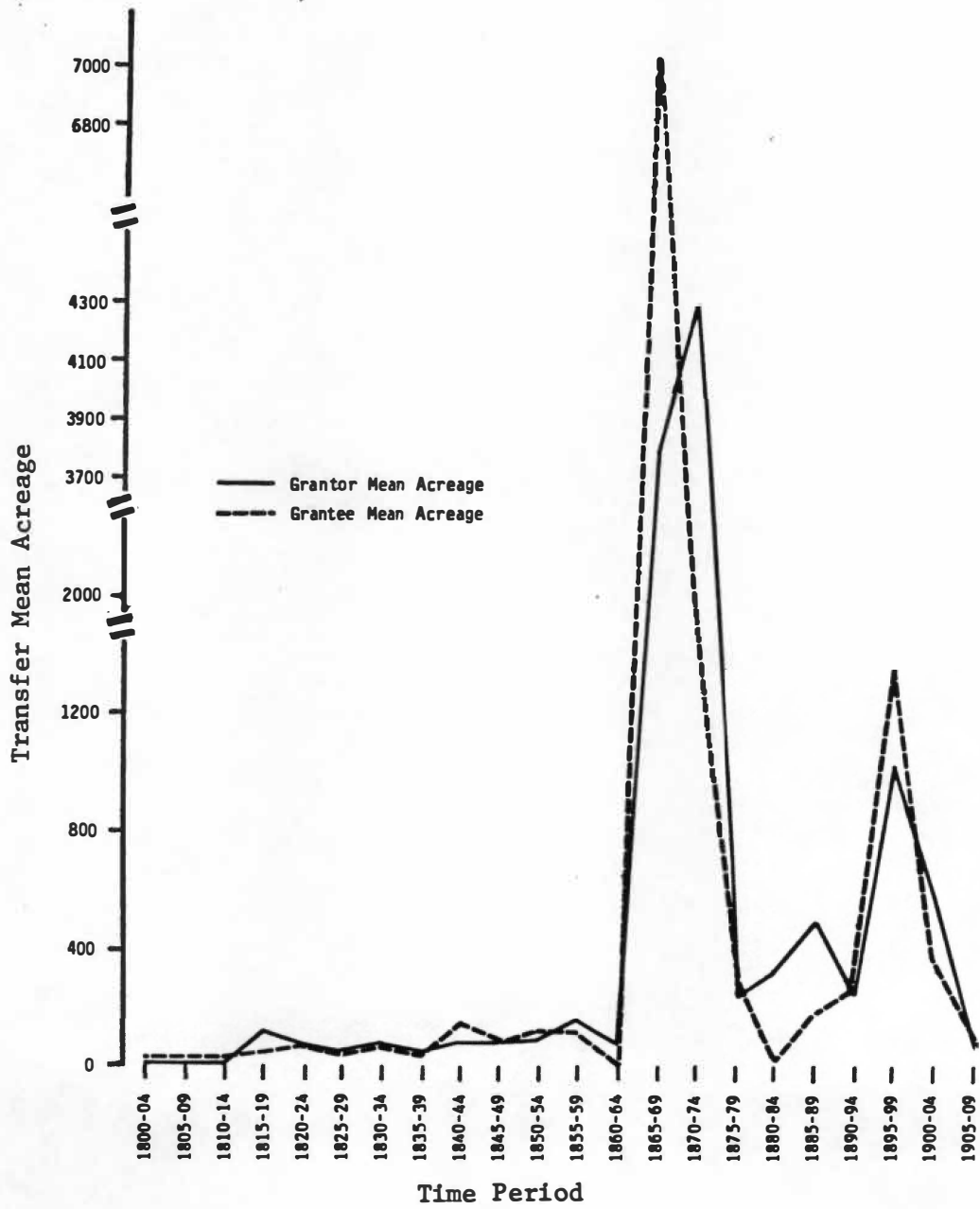


Figure 5. Blevins Overall Grantor (Sales) and Grantee (Purchases) Transfer Mean Acreages, 1800-1909.

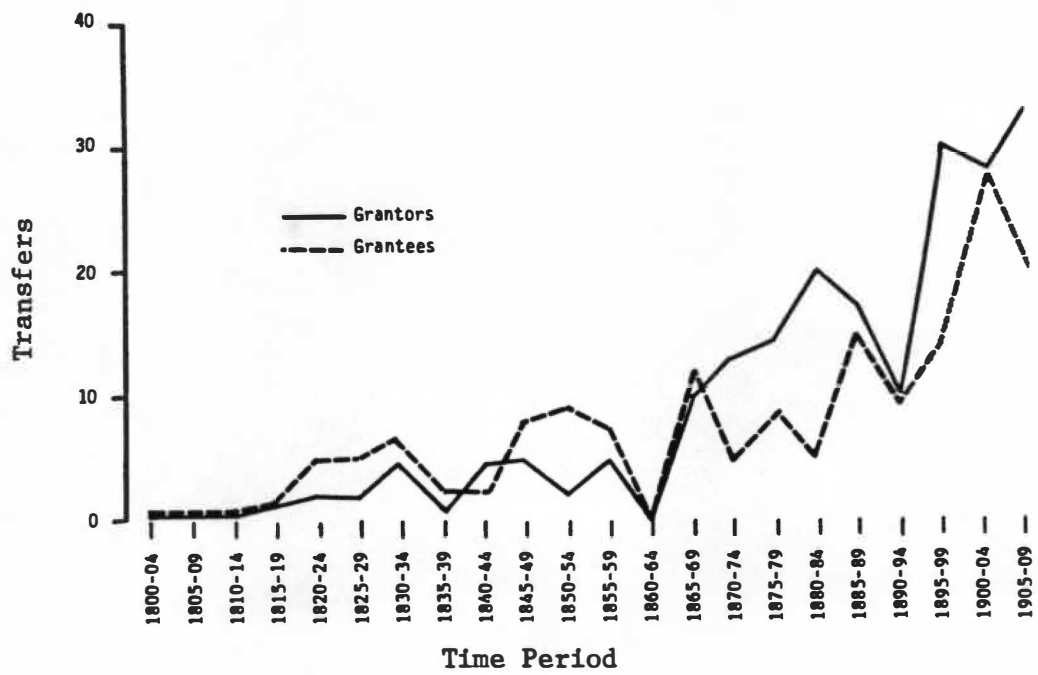


Figure 6. Blevins Overall Grantor (Sales) and Grantee (Purchases) Transfer Frequencies, 1800-1909.

Table 7. Overall Grantor (Sales) and Grantee (Purchases) Transfer Frequency, Acreage, and Mean Acreage Data, 1800-1909.

<u>Date Range</u>	<u>Grantor Transfers</u>	<u>Grantor² Acreage/Mean</u>	<u>Grantee Transfers</u>	<u>Grantee² Acreage/Mean</u>
1800-04	-	-	-	-
1805-09	-	-	-	-
1810-14	-	-	-	-
1815-19	1	130/ 130	1	50/ 50
1820-24	2	150/ 75	5	350/ 70
1825-29	2	100/ 50	3(2)	150/ 50
1830-34	3(2) ¹	250/ 83	7	500/ 71
1835-39	1	50/ 50	3	146/ 49
1840-44	4	375/ 94	2	200/100
1845-49	5	421/ 84	8	667/ 83
1850-54	2	200/100	8(1)	845/106
1855-59	5	910/182	7	873/125
1860-64	1	75/ 75	-	-
1865-69	10	37,896.25/3790	12	84,331/7028
1870-74	13	55,852.90/4296	5	10,450/2090
1875-79	14	3,430.75/ 245	8	2,448/ 306
1880-84	20	6,364.00/ 318	4(1)	78/ 20
1885-89	14(3)	6,884.00/ 492	12(1)	2,191/ 183
1890-94	10	2,694.00/ 269	8(1)	2,139/ 267
1895-99	26(4)	26,492.00/1019	11(2)	14,868.50/1352
1900-04	26(3)	15,653.50/ 602	23(5)	7,272.25/ 316
1905-09	29(4)	2,385.85/ 82	18(3)	1,605.50/ 89

¹() indicates number of transactions from this date range lacking acreage data

² rounded to nearest whole acre

illustrated two distinctive periods of transfer activity, defined by degree of fluctuation in frequency and mean acreage figures. From 1800 to 1864, Kin and Non-Kin Group sale and purchase frequencies and mean acreages showed little variation; numbers of transactions occurring during each five year period remained generally below five, and mean acreages of tracts purchased and sold remained below 200 acres (Tables 8 - 10). After 1864 and continuing through the turn of the century, major fluctuations in acreage amounts caused mean acreage totals to vary widely. This variation was most evident in Non-Kin purchases and sales which experienced dramatic increases in mean acreage between 1865 and 1874, followed by similar decreases between 1875 and 1885; a general rally (particularly in sale acreage) occurred during the 1890s and ended with another major decline after 1900 (Figures 7 and 8). Kin Group purchase and sale mean acreages for the last half of the nineteenth century also fluctuated markedly, with major increases from 1885 to 1899 followed by similar decreases after 1900 (Figures 7 and 8). Similar trends are evident (to a much lesser degree) in Kin and Non-Kin transfer frequencies between 1865 and 1909 (Figure 9).

Temporal plots of Non-Kin subgroup purchases and sales exhibited the widest variation seen in transfer frequency and mean acreage values of all subgroups combined, and were also divided into two distinct time periods. These periods can generally be defined by dissimilarities in both transfer frequencies and mean acreage amounts. The first period began in 1800, ended in 1864 and was characterized by small overall numbers of transactions combined with minimal (generally 50 to 150 acres) acreage amounts (Figures 10 - 12, Tables 9 and 10). Local and outsider purchases consisted primarily of county and state land grants,

Table 8. Blevins Kin Group- Grantee (Purchase) and Grantor (Sale)
Transfer Frequency and Mean Acreage Data, 1800-1909.

<u>Date Range</u>	<u>Kin Purchases</u>	<u>Purchase Mean Acreage</u>	<u>Kin Sales</u>	<u>Sale Mean Acreage</u>
1800-04	0	0	0	0
1805-09	0	0	0	0
1810-14	0	0	0	0
1815-19	0	0	1	130 ²
1820-24	0	0	0	0
1825-29	2(1) ¹	50	2	50
1830-34	3	83	0	0
1835-39	1	50	0	0
1840-44	2	100	3	75
1845-49	3	108	3	108
1850-54	4	163	1	100
1855-59	4	137	5	182
1860-64	0	0	1	75
1865-69	1	50	5	422
1870-74	1	200	2	155
1875-79	7	290	7	278
1880-84	3	26	10	561
1885-89	9	185	8	244
1890-94	8	267	7	226
1895-99	7(1)	1899	11(1)	1157
1900-04	15(3)	390	10(3)	533
1905-09	14(2)	90	15(1)	81

¹() indicates number of transactions from this date range lacking acreage data

² rounded to nearest whole acre

Table 9. Blevins Non-Kin Group and Subgroups- Grantee (Purchase) Transfer Frequency and Mean Acreage Data, 1800-1909.

Date Range	A	B	C	D	E	F
1800-04	0	0	0	0	0	0
1805-09	0	0	0	0	0	0
1810-14	0	0	0	0	0	0
1815-19	0	0	1	50	1	50
1820-24	2	75	3	67	5	70
1825-29	(1) ¹	0	0	50	1(1)	50
1830-34	0	0	4	63	4	63
1835-39	2	48	0	0	2	48
1840-44	0	0	0	0	0	0
1845-49	5	68	0	0	5	68
1850-54	4(1)	49	0	0	4(1)	49
1855-59	3	108	0	0	3	108
1860-64	0	0	0	0	0	0
1865-69	10	6648 ⁴	1	17,500 ³	11	7662 ^{3,4}
1870-74	3	1750	1	5000	4	2563
1875-79	1	420	0	0	1	420
1880-84	(1)	0	1	1	1(1)	1
1885-89	2(1)	188	1	150	3(1)	175
1890-94	(1)	0	0	0	(1)	0
1895-99	3(1)	517	1	25	4(1)	394
1900-04	7(2)	168	1	250	8(2)	178
1905-09	4(1)	88	0	0	4(1)	88

A - Local Transfers
B - Mean Acreage²
C - Outsider Transfers
D - Mean Acreage²
E - Non-Kin Transfers
F - Mean Acreage²

¹() indicates number of transactions from this date range lacking acreage data
² rounded to nearest whole acre
³ includes one purchase of 17,500 acres (1866)
⁴ includes purchase of 45,000 acre tract (1867)

Table 10. Blevins Non-Kin Group and Subgroups- Grantor (Sale) Transfer Frequency and Mean Acreage Data, 1800-1909.

Date Range	A	B	C	D	E	F
1800-04	0	0	0	0	0	0
1805-09	0	0	0	0	0	0
1810-14	0	0	0	0	0	0
1815-19	0	0	0	0	0	0
1820-24	2	75	0	0	2	75
1825-29	0	0	0	0	0	0
1830-34	3(2) ¹	83	0	0	3(2)	83
1835-39	1	50	0	0	1	50
1840-44	1	150	0	0	1	150
1845-49	2	48	0	0	2	48
1850-54	1	100	0	0	1	100
1855-59	0	0	0	0	0	0
1860-64	0	0	0	0	0	0
1865-69	1	100	4	8922 ³	5	7157 ³
1870-74	0	0	11	5049 ⁴	11	5049 ⁴
1875-79	2	418	5	131	7	213
1880-84	5(1)	76	4	95	9(1)	84
1885-89	5(1)	967	1(2)	100	6(3)	822
1890-94	0	0	2	556	2	556
1895-99	10	1117	5(3)	518	15(3)	918
1900-04	3	311	13	723	16	646
1905-09	5	58	9(3)	98	14(3)	84

A - Local Transfers
B - Mean Acreage²
C - Outsider Transfers
D - Mean Acreage²
E - Non-Kin Transfers
F - Mean Acreage²

¹() indicates number of transactions from this date range lacking acreage data
² rounded to nearest whole acre
³ includes sale of 1/4 of 123,989 acre tract (1869)
⁴ includes sale of 42,300 acre tract (1871)

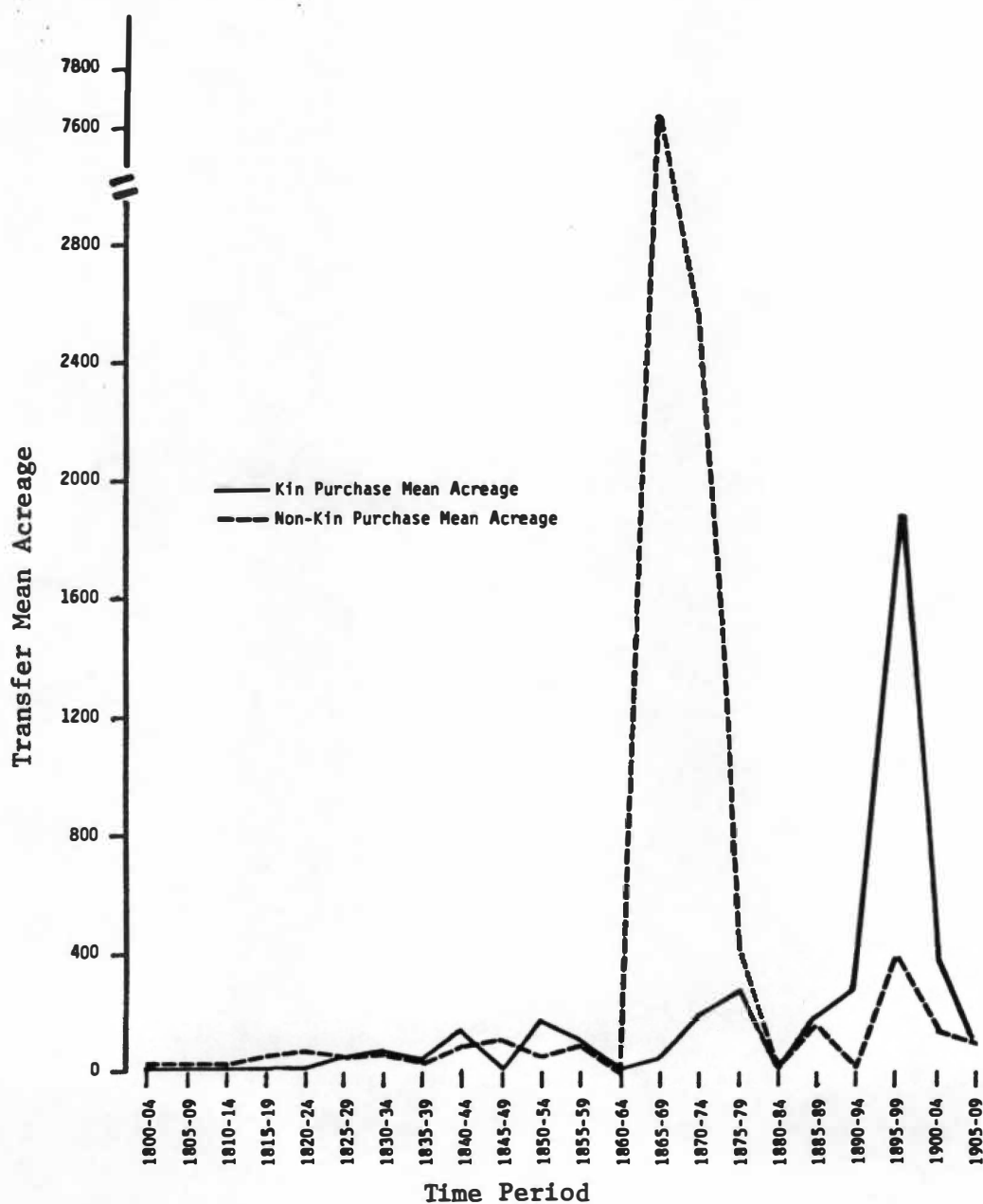


Figure 7. Blevins Kin and Non-Kin Groups- Purchase Mean Acreages, 1800-1909.

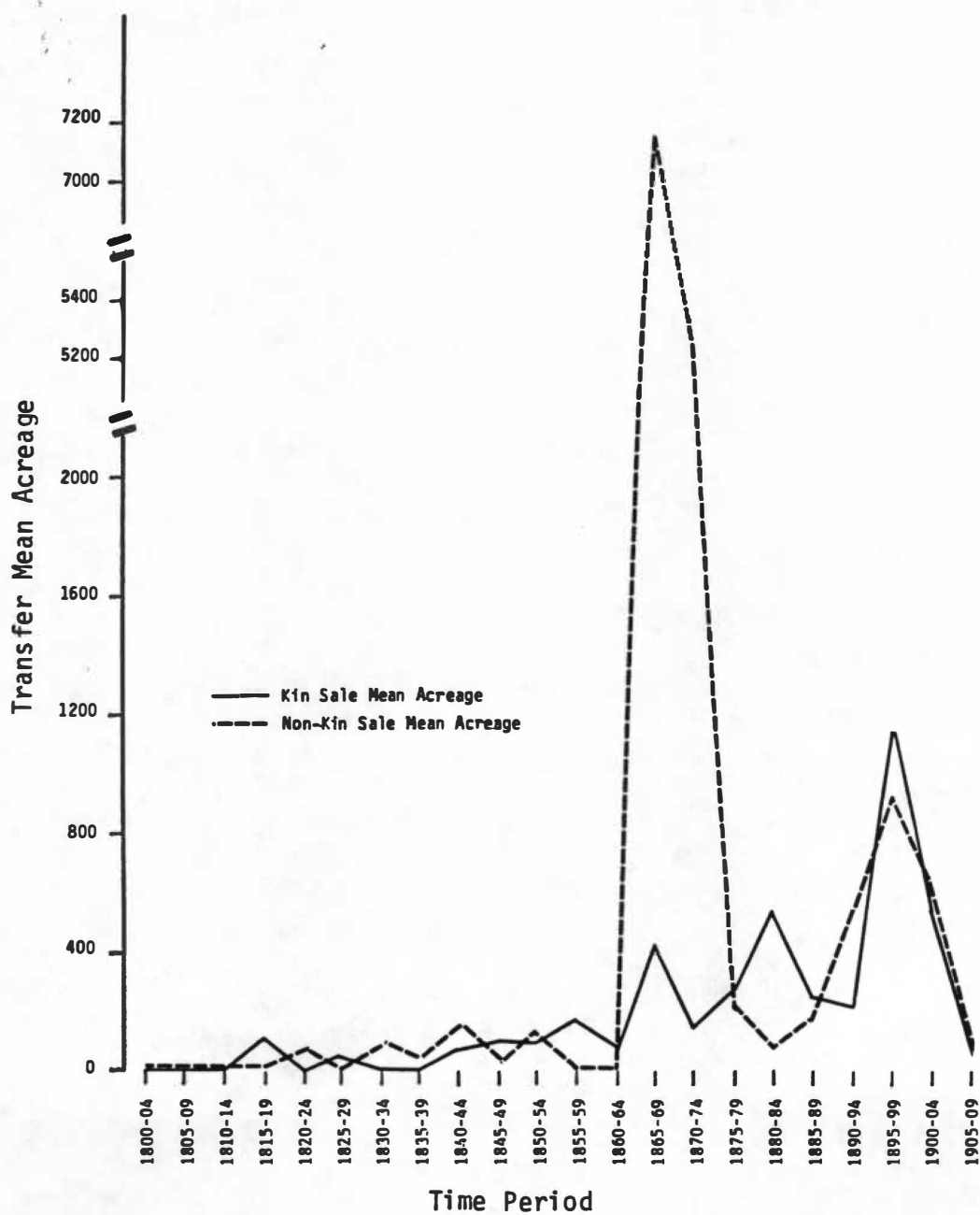


Figure 8. Blevins Kin and Non-Kin Groups- Sale Mean Acreage, 1800-1909.

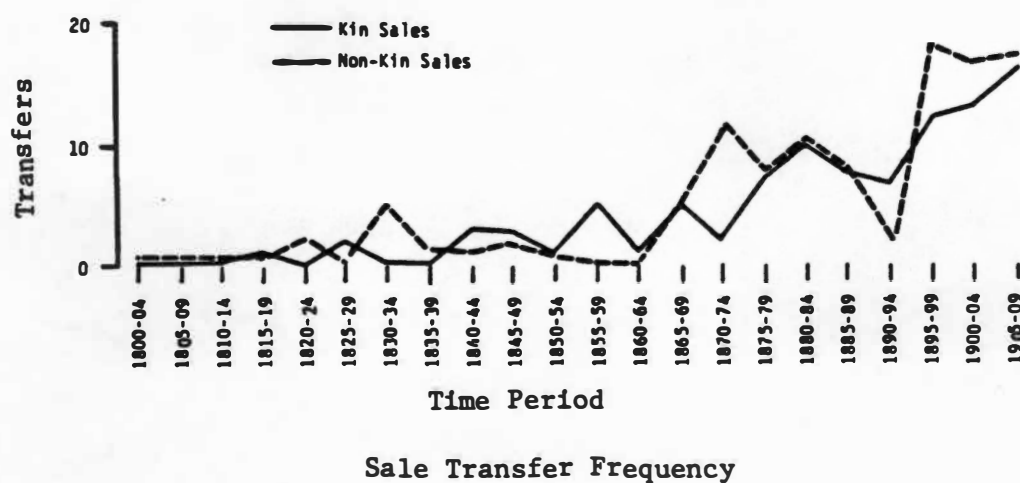
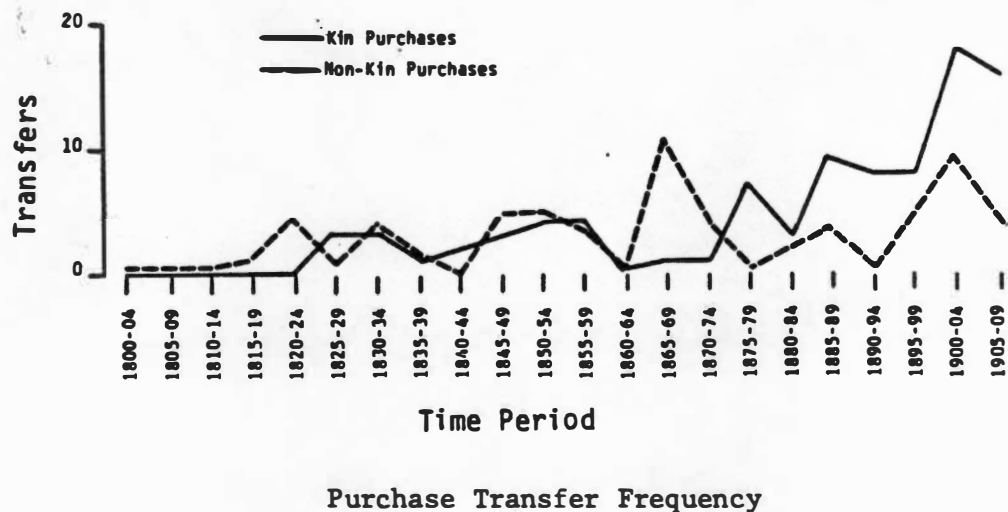
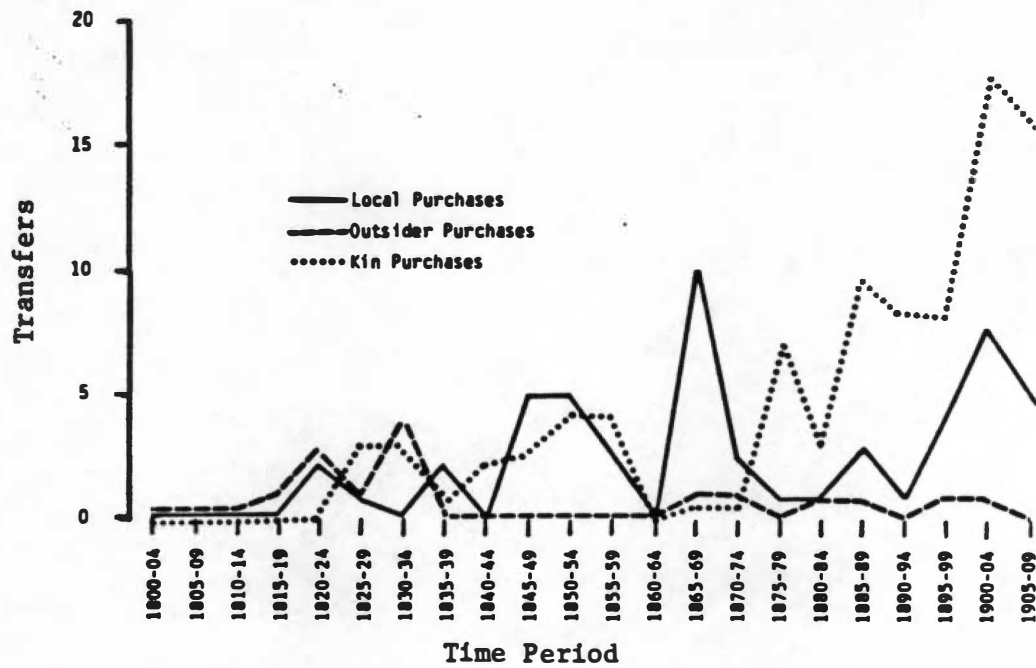
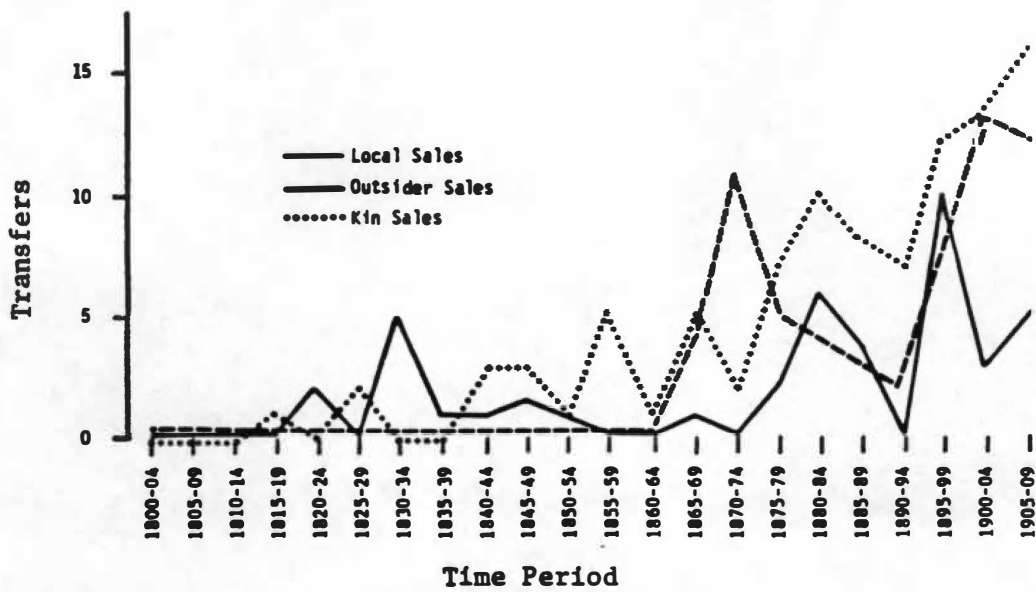


Figure 9. Blevins Kin and Non-Kin Group Purchase and Sale Transfer Frequencies, 1800-1909.



Purchase Transfer Frequency



Sale Transfer Frequency

Figure 10. Blevins Kin Group and Non-Kin Subgroups-Purchase and Sale Transfer Frequencies, 1800-1909.

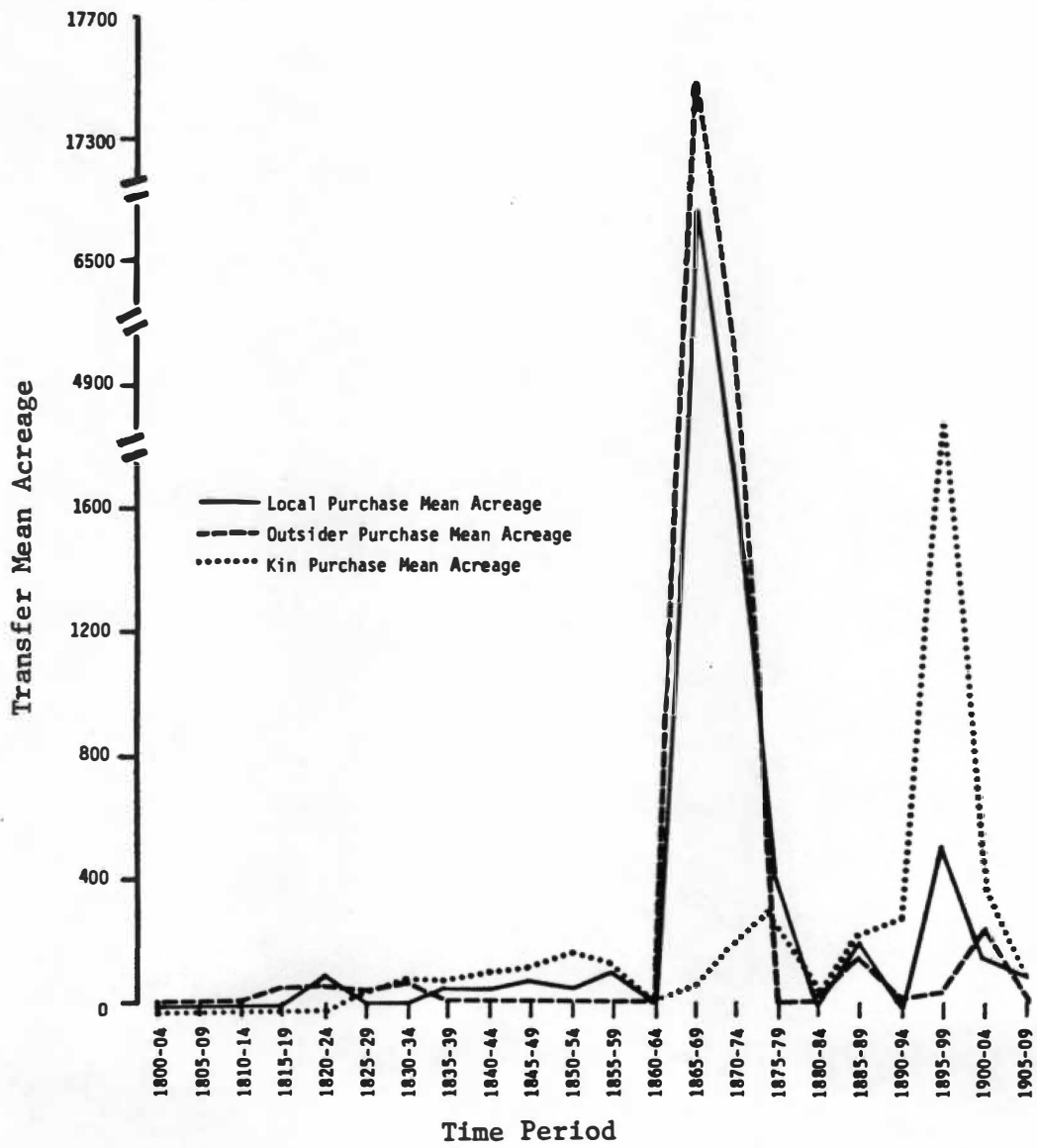


Figure 11. Blevins Kin Group and Non-Kin Subgroups-
Purchase Mean Acreage, 1800-1909.

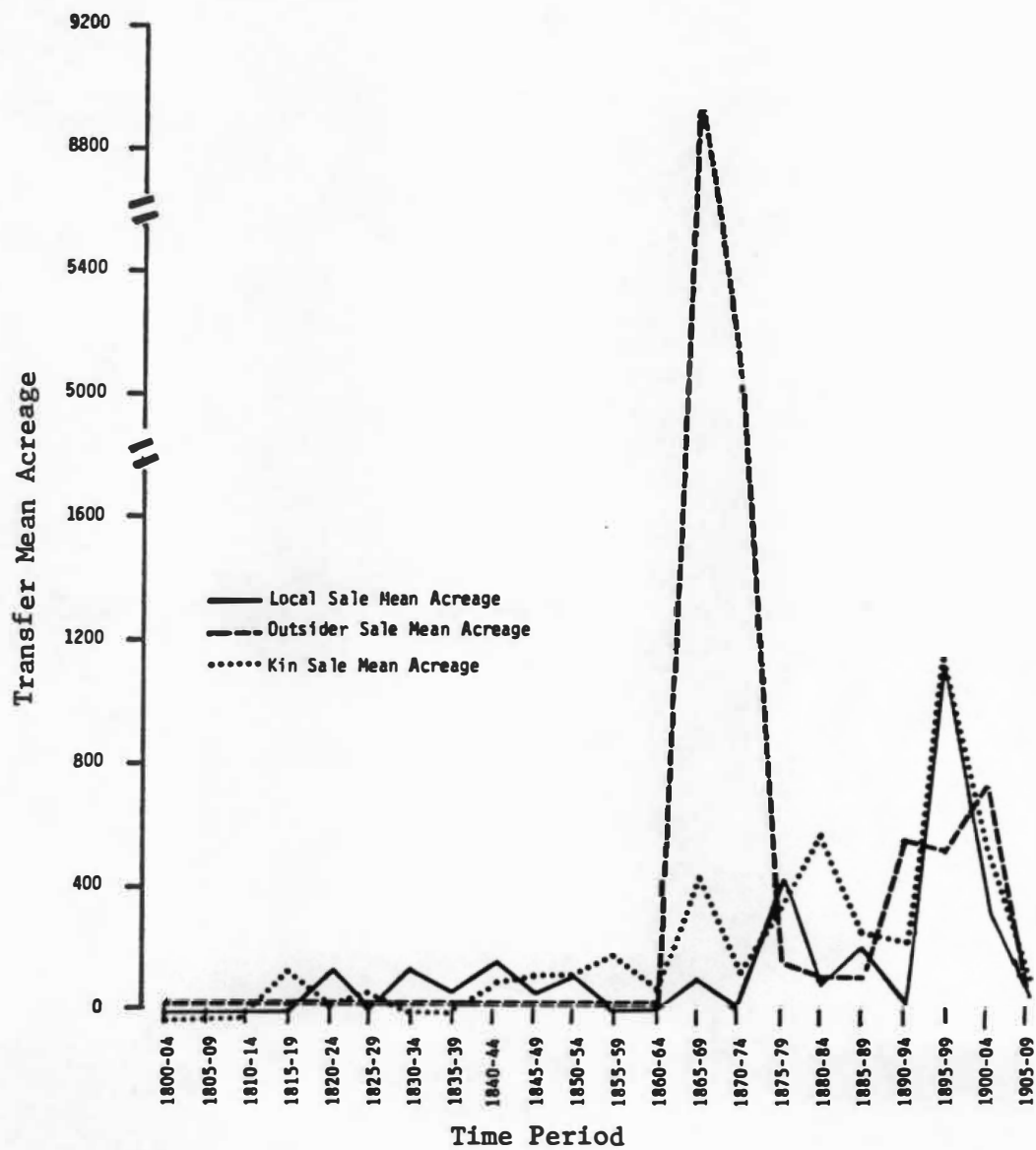


Figure 12. Blevins Kin Group and Non-Kin Subgroups-Sale Mean Acreage, 1800-1909.

respectively. No sales to outsiders were recorded, and sales to local non-kin were small. As in the comparison of Kin and Non-Kin Groups, this period also ended with total cessation of transfers during the early 1860s.

The second period of the Non-Kin subgroup purchases and sales began in the late 1860s and was defined by wide variation in mean acreage amounts coupled with lesser but similar trends in transfer frequency. Between 1865 and 1874, marked transfer increases (particularly in sales to outsiders and purchases from locals) combined with very large acreage amounts for several transactions (See Appendix) to produce dramatic increases in mean acreage figures (Figures 11 and 12). These increases were followed, in the late 1870s and early 1880s, by similarly sharp decreases, causing all purchases to fall to below pre-war mean acreage levels. While local and outsider sales suffered similar declines, transfer frequencies and mean acreage totals for sales maintained somewhat higher levels through the 1880s.

The latter portion of the second period is characterized by a somewhat irregular increase in transfers and mean acreage for both subgroups. From 1880 to 1909, purchase and sale mean acreage amounts (particularly those for local transfers) rose and fell, at continually increasing rates, every ten years (Figures 11 and 12). While outsider transfers followed a similar trend, increases and decreases in transfer frequency and mean acreage were less than regular (Figures 10 - 12). Between 1900 and 1909, local and outsider sales and purchases were in decline.

Summary

As described above, parallel relationships existed in chronological examinations of kin, local and outsider transfers undertaken by the Blevinses between 1800 and 1864. While purchase and sale transfer frequencies for all three groups vary somewhat during this period, the number of transactions occurring for any one time period remained relatively low (Figure 10). A similar lack of variation is evident in mean acreage figures for the period prior to 1864 (Figures 11 and 12) with no group exhibiting transferred mean acreage greater than 185 acres for any five year time period (Tables 8 - 10). Pre-1864 local and outsider purchases consisted primarily of county and state land grants, respectively; no sales to outsiders were recorded, and sales to locals and kin were generally small. Purchases from kin, while increasing haltingly from 1800 to 1859, also remained small in mean acreage, dropping to zero in the early 1860s (Figures 10 and 11).

While differences among kin, local and outsider transfers in the first half of the nineteenth century were considered minimal, transfers after 1865 were characterized as dichotomous. In temporal plots of transfer frequency and mean acreage, visible differences between kin and local transfers and outsider transfers became apparent. Purchase and sale transfer frequencies and mean acreages for kin and local transfers experienced parallel increases from 1865 to 1900 (Figures 10 - 12). While kin transfer frequencies and mean acreages ranged generally higher than the same figures for local transfers during this period, a number of large acreage purchases made from local individuals and county agencies between 1865 and 1874 (Appendix) produced dramatically higher local purchase mean acreage amounts (Figure 11).

Unlike local and kin transfers recorded after 1865, outsider transfers did not follow discernable patterns. Transfer frequencies for purchases from outsiders continued to be relatively low from 1865 to the end of the study period; except for figures from 1865 to 1874, when two very large purchases by Isaac and Armstead Blevins from outsiders (Appendix; SRDB G:225 and N:408, respectively) inflated the results, purchase mean acreages also remained relatively small (Figure 11). Transfer frequencies and mean acreages for Blevins sales to outsiders fluctuated widely after 1865; transfer frequencies varied from two in 1890-94 to thirteen in 1900-04 and mean acreages ranged from 95 acres in 1880-84 to 5,049 acres in 1870-74.

Distance Study

Recorded Blevins land transfers in Wayne and Scott counties between 1800 and 1909 served as the initial data source for the distance study by providing the names of grantors and the locations of transferred tracts. Distance measurements were accomplished by following the procedures outlined in Chapter III. Table 11 and Figures 13 and 14 record and illustrate various results of the distance study. Table 11 lists calculated mean distance values by ten year increments for the Kin Group, the Non-Kin group and its subgroups, and total transfers. The line graph in Figure 14 illustrates relationships between the Kin Groups and Non-Kin subgroups. Figure 13 plots Kin and Non-Kin mean distance data through time.

The total number of Blevins transfers for which distance data could be measured was 134 (nearly 66% of total Blevins as grantor transfers).

Table 11. Mean Distance to Grantor Homeplace for Blevins Non-Kin Group and Subgroup, Kin Group, and Total Transfers, 1800 - 1909.

<u>Date Range</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
1800-09	--- ²	---	---	---	---
1810-19	---	---	---	---	---
1820-29	2/1 ¹	---	2/1	2/1	4/1
1830-39	2/3	---	2/3	---	2/3
1840-49	3/1	---	3/1	6/1	9/1
1850-59	1/1	---	1/1	3/4.67	4/3.75
1860-69	---	3/5.7	3/5.7	6/3.67	9/4.33
1870-79	2/3.5	14/3	16/3.06	9/5	25/3.76
1880-89	8/1.75	7/1.6	15/1.67	13/2.69	28/2.14
1890-99	8/1.88	6/7.8	14/4.4	12/2.83	26/3.69
1900-09	4/2	8/2.5	12/2.3	15/2.87	27/2.63
Totals	30/1.87mi.	38/3.6mi.	68/2.8mi.	66/3.05mi.	134/2.94mi.

A - Local Non-Kin Transfers/Mean Distance

B - Outsider Transfers/Mean Distance

C - Total Non-Kin Transfers/Mean Distance

D - Total Kin Transfers/Mean Distance

E - Total Transfers/Mean Distance

¹ distance recorded in miles

²--- indicates no data available

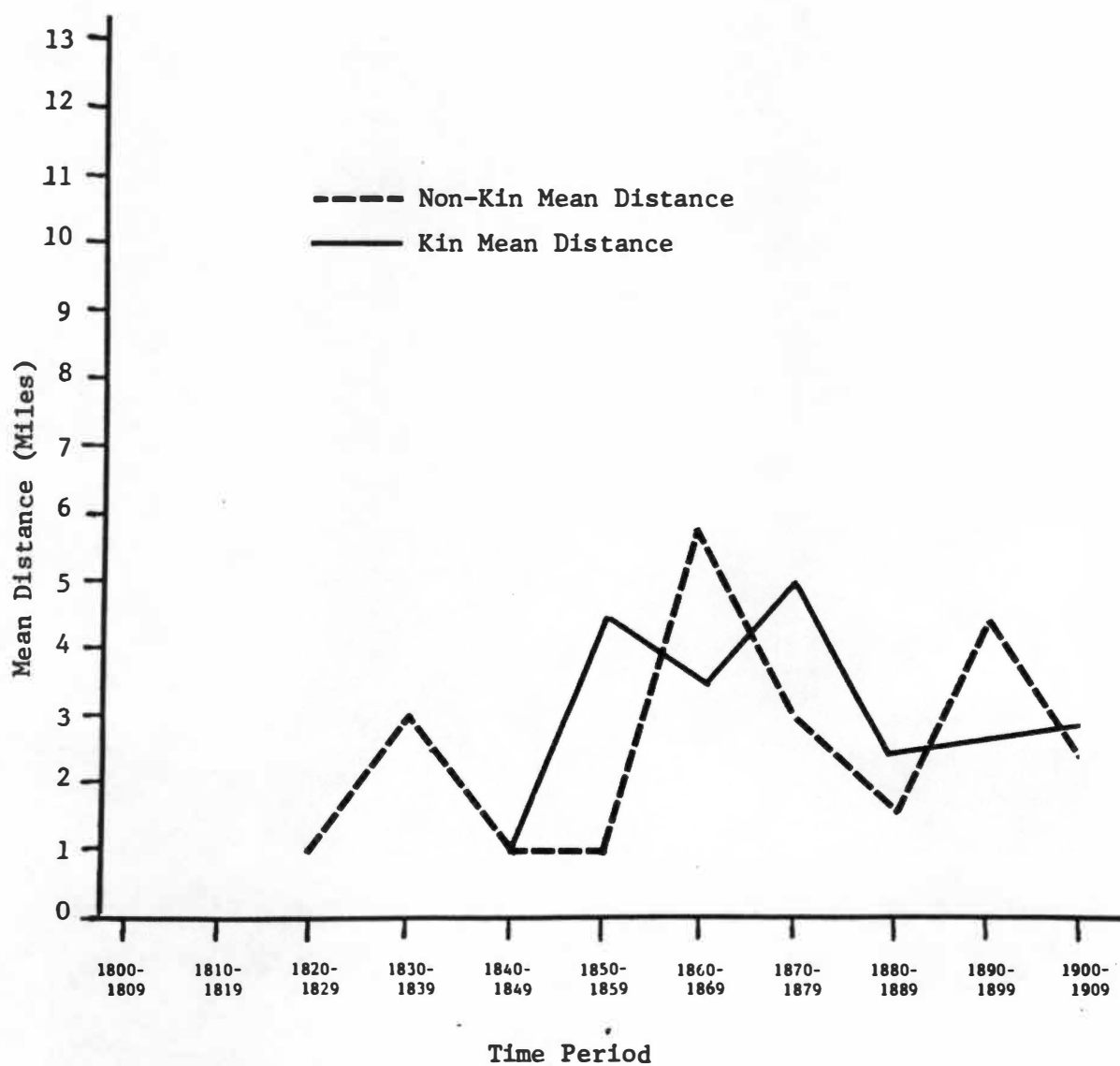


Figure 13. Blevins Kin and Non-Kin Groups- Mean Distance to Grantor Homeplace, 1800-1909.

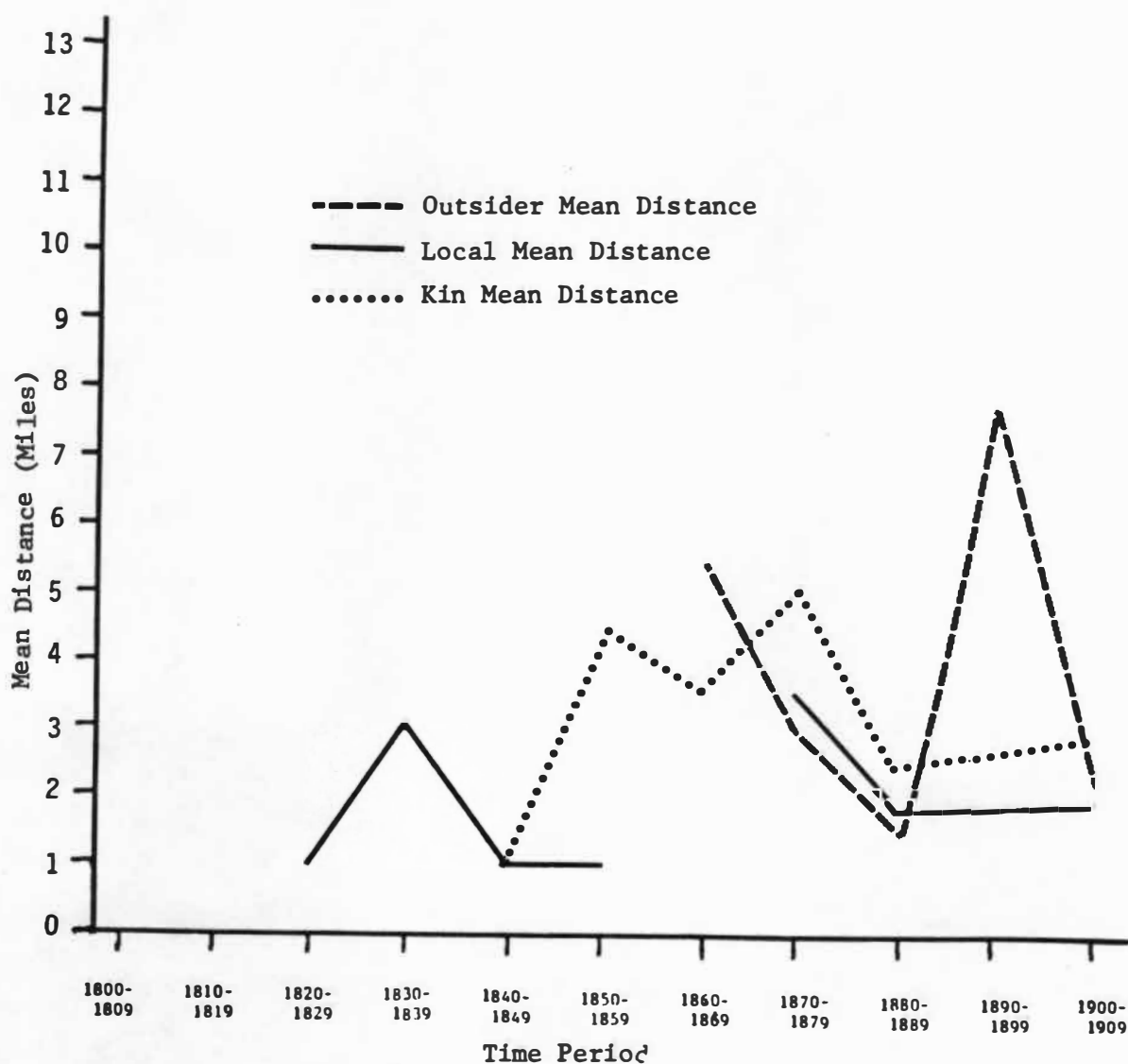


Figure 14. Blevins Kin Group and Non-Kin Subgroups- Mean Distance To Grantor Homeplace, 1800-1909.

These transfers were nearly evenly divided between Kin (n=66) and Non-Kin (n=68) Groups. With measured distances ranging from 1 to 15 miles, overall mean distance for the total measured transfers was calculated at 2.94 miles. The mean distance from the grantor's homeplace to tracts sold to Kin Group members was 3.05 miles; the same calculated distance for Non-Kin transfers was 2.8 miles (Table 11).

Mean distances calculated for Non-Kin subgroups may suggest differing perceptions of Blevins grantors toward local and outsider grantees. The mean distance from the grantor's homeplace to tracts sold to local non-kin (n=30) was 1.87 miles, while the mean distance to similar tracts sold to outsiders (n=38) was 3.6 miles (Table 11).

Chronological comparisons of Kin Group-Non-Kin Group and Kin Group-Non-Kin subgroup mean distance calculations suggest few trends or major differences which would indicate temporal patterning. Relatively high mean distances recorded for Kin and Non-Kin Groups between 1860 and 1879 may be related to an overall upsurge in large acreage land transfers which occurred in the late 1860s and early 1870s (see Figures 11 and 12). Line graphs illustrating outsider, local and kin mean distances were too fragmentary (due to lack of accurately measureable grantor-tract distances) to indicate trends; but in cases where comparable values were available (i.e. 1870 - 1909), kin and local mean distance lines ran generally parallel while outsider mean distance rose and fell obliquely (Figure 14), possibly indicating a closer relationship among kin and local groups.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Chapter V will consist of two sections: Conclusions and Implications. The Conclusions portion will present discussions of study findings relative to research question areas (Kinship and Land Transfer, and Deed Records and Settlement), then conclude with brief comparisons of these data with previous literature addressing similar topics. The Implications section will attempt to define the strengths and weaknesses of the primary data source utilized in this thesis, county deed records, and suggest other possible avenues of research.

Conclusions

Kinship and Land Transfer

A synchronic examination of Blevins kin and non-kin land transactions (1800 - 1909) in Wayne and Scott counties revealed somewhat conflicting results. If total numbers of kin and non-kin transactions were the only criteria for determining possible preferences shown in land transfer, analyzed data would suggest that little difference existed in perceptions of kin and non-kin; however, additional data are available in property records which tend to obscure this seeming parity. As noted, Blevins kin and non-kin purchase and sale transfer frequencies were nearly equal, indicating similarity in perceptions. The major difference between transactions among kin and transactions between Blevinses and non-kin appears to be

in size of tract transferred; total and mean acreage figures indicated tracts purchased and sold between Blevinses and their kin were significantly smaller than tracts purchased by or sold to Blevinses from/by non-family.

Division of Non-Kin Group transfers into Local and Outsider subgroups and their comparison with Kin Group transfers suggest further variation. While transfer frequencies for both Kin transfer types (i.e. purchases and sales) are predictably higher than frequencies for either Non-Kin subgroup, mean acreage figures continue to suggest that transferred tracts for both local and outsider purchases and sales were significantly larger than tracts purchased by kin or sold to kin from/by Blevinses. Compared frequency and acreage figures reveal a pattern of Blevinses strongly preferring to purchase from local non-kin and sell to outsiders. This pattern, combined with similarities between mean acreage tracts sold to locals and kin, may indicate perceptions of affinity between Blevins family members and their neighbors.

While comparisons between total kin and non-kin transfers presented a relatively cloudy picture of transfer preference, an examination of Kin Group divisions provided clear delineation in preferences for close over distant kin transfers. An initial division between transfers of identified nuclear and extended family members yielded definitive indications (in both transfer frequency and mean acreage) of a preference for dealing with close kin. Further division supported this dichotomy by including lineal and sibling kin in the preferred group and affinal and collateral kin in the less favored group.

Distance study figures for comparisons of total kin and non-kin transfers were generally inconclusive. A small amount of variability (1/4 mile) between kin mean distance and non-kin mean distance suggested that very little difference existed between these types of transfers over the time period studied. A somewhat larger gap between local transfer mean distance and outsider transfer mean distance (slightly less than 1 3/4 miles) implied a slight preference toward selling nearby tracts to neighbors as opposed to outsiders. These results may also be interpreted as a willingness by Blevins family members to relinquish ownership of more distant tracts to outside interests.

A diachronic study of Blevins kin and non-kin land transfers between 1800 and 1909 suggested two distinctive periods of property transactions generally distinguished by differing levels of transfer activity. Relatively minimal land transfer activity among Blevins family members between 1800 and 1864 probably represents normal processes of initial settlement and subsequent settlement diffusion. Small, intermittent purchases may indicate initial land acquisition to establish farmsteads, followed by gradual expansion to increase holdings and accommodate growing families. Subsequent sales and purchases suggest sales of holdings to children and neighbors and resettlement in other areas.

The period 1865 - 1909 is characterized by dramatic increases and decreases in land transfer frequency and mean acreage, particularly in Blevins transfers with outsiders. The sharp increase in land transfer activity after 1865 is suggested to be a result of the expansion of industrial development into the region after the Civil War. The

discovery of vast timber tracts and mineral reserves by Northern and Eastern manufacturers in need of fuel, coupled with anticipation of a railroad link to these areas, probably resulted in large-scale land speculation. Sales and leases of large tracts to outsiders for mineral exploration and timber harvesting prior to 1909 were precursors of later development by Stearns Coal and Lumber Company. Lesser amounts of transfer activity after 1880 may indicate delays in development of facilities to process and ship raw materials. Increases in transactions between Blevinses and their kin could have resulted from overall increases in family population and influence or may be a factor of greater participation of family members in resource and land speculation near the turn of the twentieth century.

Contributions of the distance study toward understanding chronological development in land transfers are tentative at best. While mean distances to grantors' homeplaces are generally shorter prior to 1860, sample size of measured tracts for that time period is too small for valid analysis. Peaks in mean distance occurring in the 1870s and 1890s (particularly seen in calculations for sales to kin and outsiders) roughly parallel peaks in sale mean acreage during the same time periods.

Results of various portions of this study tend to support suggestions that marked differences have existed between land transactions among kin and transactions involving non-kin parties. Overall conclusions combining synchronic and diachronic studies of Blevins family land transfers through the nineteenth century do not support previously-held ideas of preference shown toward kin in land transfers (Matthews 1965; Hicks 1976; Bryant 1981), suggesting instead

a reliance on several different sources in purchasing and selling property depending upon social and economic conditions and stages of settlement.

Deed Records and Settlement

Contributions of county deed record information toward understanding various aspects of settlement and local economic development are apparent in this diachronic study of Blevins kin and non-kin land transfers. Additional insights into the role of kinship in settlement, family group clustering and migration, and indications of previously undocumented land speculation activities, appear throughout the reconstructed property history of selected Blevins family members (Chapter IV). The following discussion will summarize aspects of Blevins family history as documented in county deed records and compare these observations with previous historical and ethnographic studies as an assessment of deed record applicability.

Wayne County, Kentucky Deed Records do not specifically document arrival dates for the Blevins family, but the presence of at least three family members in the area by the early 1820s (Elisha, Jonathan and Henry) and their participation in land ownership prior to that time is implied by recorded property sales listing them as grantors. Deeds of initial purchases recording locations and acreage indicate establishment of small farmsteads along major tributaries of the Big South Fork and the Cumberland River. Subsequent sales and purchases of predominantly small acreage tracts (generally 50 to 200 acres) prior to the mid-1860s suggest a continuation of this pattern.

The appearance of Jonathan Blevins Jr. as a grantee in an 1832

land transfer (WRDB F:59), and later listings for Jacob, Isaac, Henley, Armstead and Tarlton Blevins, indicated participation of a second generation of the Blevins family in Wayne County land transactions. Prior to 1853, nearly all property transfers involving these individuals were located along Rock Creek. A suggestion that these transfers may indicate a family settlement cluster is supported by Jonathan's sale of 200 acres (on Rock Creek) to his sons, Henley and Armstead, in return "for the following consideration to wit that they shall comfortably support him [Jonathan]... and their mother Sally Blevins during their natural life" (WRDB K:216).

No specific dates are recorded in Wayne County deed records for the group movement of several members of the Blevins family from the Rock Creek area to Scott County, Tennessee. Initial purchases of Scott County land by Isaac Blevins in 1854 and 1856 (SRDB A: 174, 256; B: 60, 64 and 69) may signal the beginning of this southerly migration. A large acreage sale by Jonathan, Armstead and Isaac (all listed as Scott County residents) in 1859 probably represents the total liquidation of their Rock Creek holdings (WRDB O:204).

An abrupt increase in transfers and size of tracts purchased and sold noted in Blevins deed records after 1865 indicated the first period of large-scale land speculation activity in the study area. While several Blevins family members were involved in this previously unrecorded land boom, Isaac Blevins and later his son, William C. Blevins were dominant in purchasing and selling or leasing large tracts for timber production and mineral exploration. Deed records from Wayne and Scott counties indicate that this activity occurred almost exclusively in Scott County, probably in anticipation of

railroad construction. Transfers directly related to the coming of the railroad began in the early 1870s but increased dramatically in 1880, as indicated by a number of sales, measured in fractions of acres and feet, located on Pine Creek and near Oneida Station (SRDB various).

During and after initial appearances of land speculation in the deed records, a continuation of moderate acreage purchases and sales among Blevins kin and locals was always apparent. By the turn of the 20th century, deed record information suggests a return migration of several Blevinses to Wayne County. Purchases by John B. and Elijah Blevins, and Elijah's sons, Henry and Isaac (WRDB various), may indicate that some Blevins family members continued to maintain small-scale family farms while also participating in the developing market economy. Transfers among kin members involving interests in several inherited tracts (80 and 2200 acres in Wayne County; 200 acres in Scott County) seem to represent redistribution of property for consolidation and sale.

Due to the types of basic information available in county deed record texts, two principal subjects have been predominant in this discussion of the interpretation of family land transfers: settlement and economy. The availability of accurately dated transfers of property in which the identity of both parties involved and the location of the tract can be determined, presents a useful data base for studies of settlement. Research in economic development can utilize changes in tract size and frequency of transfer and dominance or absence of certain individuals or groups to define transitions in local economies.

Aspects of settlement patterns recorded and described in this study are supported by previous investigations. Historians have documented similar examples of family group migration and settlement (Owsley 1945) and anthropologists have noted the emphasis placed on maintenance of kin-based settlement in comparable settings (Hackbarth 1980; Joyce 1981; Price and Price 1981). Early ethnographic studies (Campbell 1921; Raine 1924) and recent researchers (Knipe and Lewis 1971) have described similar examples of clustered, family-held land oriented along river and stream valleys.

The identification of early land speculation activities in the study area parallels similar economic development noted elsewhere in the southern Appalachian region (Eller 1982). While some local studies recognized the effect railroad construction and use had on patterns of local economy (Sanderson 1974; Perry 1979; Perry 1983), only recently have anthropologists noted the existence or role of local "middlemen" (Howell 1981:35; see also Duda 1980) in the expansion of the market economy.

Implications

The principal purpose of this study has been to emphasize the broad utility of county deed record information in historical, geographical and anthropological investigations. This has been accomplished through the examination of two specific problem areas: Kinship and Land Transfer, and Deed Records and Settlement. County records of land transfer have been shown to be an appropriate data source for studies of preference in land transaction, particularly in

comparisons among individuals of known kin relationship, and between groups of kin and groups of non-kin. The importance of county deed records as primary historical documents has been illustrated by their use as the principal data source in reconstructing the settlement history of the Blevins family, and in supporting secondary historical and ethnographic sources relative to general economic trends.

The major strengths of county deed records over other sources for historical, geographical and anthropological research lie in their relative objectivity and their contemporaneity with the events they record. As legal records, deeds lack subjective interpretations found in secondary historical works; they generally contain only that information considered necessary to the recording of legal and binding land transfers. As primary historical documents, deed records are considered preferable to recent ethnographic works and secondary historical sources in providing contemporary data for studies involving 19th century regional and local settings such as those undertaken here.

Weaknesses noted in using county deed records as a principal data source were considered minimal and generally correctable through increased sample sizes and the introduction of supplemental information sources. For example, in discussions of temporal variation in purchases and sales for Blevins kin, local and outsider transfers, care had to be taken in assigning significance to certain factors or observed trends due to small sample sizes. As previously noted, substantial decreases in sample sizes occurred when redivisions into subgroups and grantor/grantee categories took place. When these decreases were noted, delineation of trends became more difficult due

to the increasing weight of the single transactions. The inclusion of additional transfers to increase the overall sample would provide sufficient data to maintain significance levels.

While deed records have the potential for providing certain types of detailed information, supplemental sources are necessary to construct the proper setting. In the above studies, genealogical research provided essential data for interpretation of kin and non-kin transactions. Local and regional historical accounts and ethnographies furnished background settings for recorded behavior.

Solutions noted for weaknesses in the data source and conclusions recorded for these investigations suggest several areas for additional research. Temporal expansion of deed record samples (i.e. utilization of land transfers recorded after 1909) would be useful in discerning recent trends in kin and non-kin transfers and in examining continued changes in settlement and economy. The addition of transfers undertaken by other known Blevins kin (e.g. in-laws) would aid in providing statistically relevant samples for studies of transfers within close and distant family categories, and might increase distance study information sufficiently for calculation of statistically meaningful results.

Further sample expansion could provide necessary data sets for testing hypotheses generated from this study of the Blevins family. Systematic deed records research of families in communities studied previously (e.g. Matthews 1965, or Bryant 1981) might provide complementary data supporting or refuting ethnographic observations. Examinations of other local family land transfers or land transactions recorded by family groups in other less-isolated and more

economically diverse settings could indicate whether kin preference, settlement and economic development patterns observed in Blevins family analyses were typical of 19th century agriculturalists elsewhere, or typical as a result of relatively lesser amounts of industrial activity.

Observations of relatively large-scale land speculation involving local residents (e.g. Isaac Blevins) may indicate variation from previously-held views characterizing Southern Appalachia as an example of "colonial domination" (Lewis et al. 1978). Duda (1980) describes the "Internal Colonialism Model" as illustrating "the process by which outside capitalist intrusions resulted in the establishment and in the continued control of the economic resources of a culturally and spatially bound group" (Duda 1980:22). Results of the present investigation, and studies by Conti (1980) and Caudill (1983) suggest the need for a reevaluation of emphases placed on extraregional domination and exploitation of land and resources in the Southern Appalachian region. Primary historical data (i.e. deed records) which record aspects of economic activity involving local entrepreneurs could be utilized to determine the degree of involvement of local residents in regional industrial development.

In sum, while this study involved a limited sample of deed records, it amply demonstrated their utility for investigating settlement patterning and land transfers in nineteenth century Appalachia. Findings also suggested some new approaches to the study of Appalachian industrial development, for example, examining the role played by local land speculators through systematic investigation of deed records.

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APPENDIX:

BLEVINS PROPERTY TRANSFERS

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
W	1817	Elisha Blevins	David Allen	K	130A	LSF	B/416
W	1819	Kentucky	Jonathan Blevins	O	50A	Rock Cr.	F/403
W	1821	Ephraim Burgand	Jonathan Blevins	L	50A	LSF	C/230
W	1822	Kentucky	Henry Blevins	O	50A	Rock Cr.	N/427
W	1822	Kentucky	Henry Blevins	O	50A	Rock Cr.	N/428
W	1823	Jonathan Blevins	Wm. Ryan	L	100A	LSF	C/448
W	1823	Jonathan Blevins	Wm. Ryan	L	50A	LSF	C/450
W	1823	Wm. Ryan	Jonathan Blevins	L	100A	Rock Cr.	C/449
W	1823	Kentucky	Elisha Blevins	L	100A	LSF	S/398
W	1826	Sherrod Kidd	Henry Blevins	K	50A	LSF	D/258
W	1826	Henry Blevins	Jonathan Blevins	K	50A	Rock Cr.	D/287
W	1826	Joseph Abbott	Jonathan Blevins	K	?	Rock Cr.	D/362
W	1826	Rodes Garth	Henry Blevins	L	?	Blue Spr. Branch	D/279
W	1827	Jonathan Blevins	Reuben Sloan	K	50A	Rock Cr.	D/361
W	1827	Kentucky	Jonathan Blevins	O	50A	Rock Cr.	X/466
W	1831	Gains Blevins	Philip Gilstrap	L	?	Otter Cr.	F/350
W	1831	Kentucky	James Blevins	O	50A	Otter Cr.	A2/39
W	1831	Kentucky	Henry Blevins	O	50A	LSF	B2/35
W	1832	Kentucky	Jonathan Blevins	O	100A	Rock Cr.	B2/54
W	1832	Elijah Koger	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	K	100A	Rock Cr.	F/59
W	1832	Thomas Koger	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	K	50A	Rock Cr.	F/60

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
W	1833	Abraham Blevins/ Robert Minton	William Waldrop	L	50A	BSF	F/163
W	1833	Jno. Bookout	Gains Blevins	K	100A	LSF	F/202
W	1833	Henry Blevins	Emanuel Sandusky	L	?	Rock Cr.	F/212
W	1833	Kentucky	Gaines Blevins	O	50A	Lonesome Cr.	C2/333
W	1834	Henry Blevins	George Barrier	L	150A	Blue Spr. Br./LSF	F/413
W	1834	James Blevins	William Guffey	L	50A	Otter Cr.	G/384
W	1837	George W. Sallee	Henry Blevins	L	46A	Carpenters FK./ Otter Cr.	H/237
W	1837	Wayne Co.	Henry Blevins	L	50A	Otter Cr.	2/279
W	1839	Jonathan Blevins	Ann Green	L	50A	Rock Cr.	H/29
W	1839	Samuel Abbott	Jonathan Blevins	K	50A	Rock Cr.	H/65
W	1840	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	Joseph Abbott	K	125A	Rock Cr.	H/345
W	1840	Joseph Abbott	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	K	100A; 50A	Otter Cr.; Rock Cr.	H/341
W	1840	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	Jacob Blevins	B-B	50A	Rock Cr.	H/343
W	1843	Gains Blevins	Harmon Cooper	L	100A; 50A	LSF; Lonesome FK.	J/74
W	1843	Jonathan Blevins	Lewis Dolen	K	50A	Rock Cr.	K/233
W	1845	Henry Blevins	Ewing Luttrell	L	46A	Carpenters Fk/ Otter Cr.	I/87
W	1845	Henry Blevins	Ewing Luttrell	L	50A	Carpenters Fk.	I/280
W	1846	Jonathan Blevins	Isaac Blevins	F-S	50A	Rock Cr.	I/327

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
W	1847	Jacob Blevins	Isaac Blevins	B _S -B	75A	Rock Cr.	K/64
W	1847	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	Henly & Armstead Blevins	F-S _S	200A	Rock Cr.	K/216
W	1847	Wayne Co.	Isaac Blevins	L	120A	Rock Cr.	23/480
W	1848	Wayne Co.	Tarlton Blevins	L	80A	Rock Cr.	33/300
W	1849	Wayne Co.	Jonathan Blevins	L	58A	Rock Cr.	34/263
W	1849	Wayne Co.	Armstead Blevins	L	38A	Rock Cr.	34/264
W	1849	Wayne Co.	Jonathan Blevins	L	46A	Rock Cr.	44/16
W	1851	Hiram Roberts	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	K	100A	Kennedy Cr.	L/184
W	1851	Joseph Abbott Heirs	Isaac Blevins	K	125A	Rock Cr.	M/1
W	1851	Wayne Co.	Jonathan Blevins	L	50A	Rock Cr.	43/697
W	1851	Wayne Co.	Isaac Blevins	L	80A	Rock Cr.	43/702
W	1852	Wayne Co.	Armstead Blevins	L	25A	Rock Cr.	43/693
W	1852	Wayne Co.	Hendley Blevins	L	40A	Rock Cr.	43/696
W	1853	Joel Morris	Tarlton Blevins	L	?	Elk Spring Valley	M/360
W	1853	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	David Bell	K	100A	Kennedy's Cr.	M/185
W	1854	Jonathan Blevins Jacob Troxell	Smith Barrier	L	100A	Rock Cr.	M/227
S	1854	Richard W. Smith	Isaac Blevins	K	375A	Pine Cr.	A/174
S	1854	Rebecca & John Slaven	Isaac Blevins	K	50A	BSF/No Business Cr.	A/256
W	1855	Salley Blevins	Lewis Dolen	K	50A	Rock Cr. dower release	N/52

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
W	1856	Isaac Blevins	Andrew Lewellen	K	320A	Rock Cr.	N/469
S	1856	Elijah Terry	Isaac Blevins	K	350A	Pine Cr.	B/60
S	1856	Elijah Terry	Isaac Blevins	K	110A	Pine Cr.	B/64
S	1856	Calvin Terry	Isaac Blevins	K	38A	Pine Cr.	B/69
S	1857	Isaac Blevins	Peter & J. J. Burk	K	100A	BSF/Above No Business Creek	B/191
W	1857	Jonathan Abbott	Pleasant Blevins	K	50A	BSF	N/529
W	1858	Wayne Co.	Henley Blevins	L	50A	Beaver Cr.	54/283
W	1859	Wayne Co.	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	L	75A	Troublesome/ & Difficulty Crs.	56/336
W	1859	Wayne Co.	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	L	200A	Troublesome/ & Difficulty Crs.	56/343
W	1859	Henley Blevins	Jno. Lewellen	K	40A	Rock Cr.	O/93
W	1859	Jonathan, Armstead, and Isaac Blevins	Jno. Lewellen	K	400A	Rock Cr.	O/204
W	1864	Jonathan Blevins, Jr.	Jno. Lewellen	K	75A	Troublesome/ & Difficulty Crs.	O/553
W	1865	Pleasant Blevins	L. Barney	L	100A	BSF	M/478
S	1865	Benjamin Atkins	Jacob Blevins	L	5050A	Bandy Cr./BSF	J/27
S	1865	Calvin Barrier					
S	1865	Armstead Blevins	E. L. Van Winkle	O	575A	Station Camp Cr.	D/11
S	1865	Armstead Blevins	Isaac Thomas	K	575A	Station Camp Cr.	E/191
S	1865	Isaac Blevins	Crittenden Leary & Co.	O	375A*	Pine Cr.	D/78

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1865	Isaac Blevins	Crittenden Leary & Co.	O	3740A*	?	D/103
S	1866	Jacob Blevins	Sarah Terry	Kx	235A	Station Camp/ Parchcorn Crs.	G/387
S	1866	J. M. Cordell	Isaac Blevins	O	17,500A	?	G/225
W	1866	Wayne Co.	Pleasant Blevins	L	150A	LSF	71/171
W	1867	Pleasant Blevins	Isaac Burnett	K	140A	LSF	Q/538
W	1867	A. Phipps	Pleasant Blevins	K	50A	LSF	R/23
S	1867	John W. Marion	Isaac Blevins	L	161A	?	F/221
S	1867	Tax Collector	I. Blevins/J. Marion	L	2540A	various	F/222
S	1867	Tax Collector	I. Blevins/J. Marion	L	1600A	various	F/224
S	1867	Tax Collector	I. Blevins/J. Marion	L	45,000A	various	F/229
S	1867	Tax Collector	Armstead Blevins	L	2540A	various	F/271
S	1867	Isaac Blevins <u>et al.</u>	Jefferson Pemberton	K	949A	Brimstone Cr.	K/243
S	1868	Tax Collector	I. Blevins/J. Marion	L	550A	No Business Cr.	G/265
S	1868	Moses Anderson & and Sheriff	Armstead Blevins	L	650A	upper Rock Cr.	V/100
S	1869	Tax Collector	I. Blevins/J. Marion	L	8540A	various	F/470
S	1869	Isaac Blevins	W. A. Haskins	L	¼ of 123,989A	various	F/416
W	1869	Pleasant Blevins	Calvin Jones	K	210A	LSF	Q/526
S	1870	Armstead Blevins	James Carson, Sr.	K	110A	Puncheoncamp Br.	G/339
S	1870	I. Blevins/J. Marion	Cumberland Lumber & Manufac.	O	4110A	various	G/369
S	1870	Isaac Blevins	CSRR trustee	O	7.9A	Pine Cr.	I/546
S	1870	John Rosser	I. Blevins/J. Cordell	L	5000A	?	G/433

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
W	1871	Emanuel Davis	Henly Blevins	L	150A	Rock Cr.	R/473
S	1871	James Litton, Jr.	Charlie Blevins	L	100A	Cotton Br.	G/680
S	1871	I. Blevins/J. Cordell	Wm. A. Haskins	O	42,300A	various	G/436
S	1871	Armstead Blevins	F. E. Goodell	O	1450A*	upper Rock Cr.	C/288
S	1871	Isaac Blevins	F. E. Goodell	O	1000A*	upper Rock Cr.	C/291
S	1871	John Blevins	F. E. Goodell	O	200A*	Parchcorn & Station Camp. Crs.,	C/298
S	1871	Diance Blevins	F. E. Goodell	O	650A*	upper Rock Cr.	C/303
S	1871	Daniel Blevins	George W. Colbert	O	1150A*	Station Camp Cr.	H/64
S	1871	Elijah Blevins	George W. Colbert	O	75A*	Laurel Fk.	H/74
S	1871	Catherine Blevins	George W. Colbert	O	4500A*	BSF	H/77
S	1871	William C. Blevins	George W. Colbert	O	100A*	Cotton Fk/Pine Cr.	H/166
S	1872	Tennessee	Armstead Blevins	O	5000A	West BSF	N/408
S	1873	John Blevins	Armstead Blevins	S-F	200A	Parchcorn and Station Camp Crs.	N/258
S	1875	John Blevins	Lewis Burk	BI-BI	50A	No Business Cr.	33/272
S	1876	Isaac Blevins	Hiram Watson	K	60A	Williams Cr.	J/447
S	1876	Isaac Blevins	Austin Trover	O	50A	Bear Cr.	J/484
S	1876	J. Marion/I. Blevins	Armstead Blevins	8-8	1303A	Rock Cr.	O/484
S	1877	Isaac Blevins	A. J. C. Robbins	O	498A	Pine Cr.	J/681
S	1877	W. C. Blevins	A. J. C. Robbins	O	100A	Pine Cr.	J/686
S	1877	Martin & Sarah Terry	Elijah Blevins	UI-NI	200A	?	O/746

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1877	Isaac Blevins	Granville Ryan	L	1/5A	Oneida Station	J/512
S	1877	Isaac Blevins	Huston Brown	L	834A	Pilot Ridge & Williams Cr.	N/252
S	1878	Milton & Jane Terry	Isaac Blevins	K	35A	Pine Cr.	M/465
S	1878	Joseph Sandusky	D. Blevins/Wm. Koger	K	150A	Big Br. BSF	M/468
S	1878	Elijah Terry	Armstead Blevins	BI-BI	235A	Station Camp Parchcorn Crs.	M/595
S	1878	Isaac Blevins	P. C. Blevins	U-N	5A	Oneida Station	M/642
S	1878	W. C. Blevins	Emily Phillips	K	100A	Pine Cr.	M/220
S	1878	Isaac Blevins	Joseph Coffey	K	325A	Pine Cr.	M/397
S	1878	Henly Blevins	Oliver Litton	K	100A	Bear Cr.	M/461
S	1878	Isaac Blevins	CSRR Trustee	O	3.75A	Oneida Station	M/568
S	1879	J. B. Brown & Sheriff	Isaac Blevins	L	420A	Bear Cr.	M/591
S	1879	Isaac Blevins	Henry De Bees	O	1A	Pine Cr./Oneida	M/555
S	1879	Richard Smith	Elijah Blevins	FI-SI	100A	?	33/210
S	1880	Isaac Blevins	W. C. Blevins	F-S	1ot	Oneida Station	M/711
S	1880	Isaac Blevins	W. C. Blevins	F-S	1ot	Oneida Station	N/102
S	1880	Isaac Blevins	John McCollum	O	1A	Oneida Station	M/710
S	1880	P. C. Blevins	Joseph Coffey	K	880'	Pine Cr./R.R. R.O.W.	N/52
S	1880	Isaac Blevins	Manerva Bone	O	1/2 A	Pine Cr./Oneida Sta	N/74
S	1880	Isaac Blevins	John W. Rosser	L	1440'	Oneida Station	N/135
S	1880	Isaac Blevins	T. G. Ryan	L	1000'	CSRR R.O.W.	N/140
S	1880	Isaac Blevins	M. A. Byrd	L	1000'	CSRR R.O.W.	N/141
S	1880	Isaac Blevins	J. H. Alexander	K	5050A	West BSF	N/141
S	1880	Isaac Blevins	W. H. Hughett	L	1/4 A	CSRR R.O.W.	N/200

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1880	Isaac Blevins	Granville Ryan	L	1/5A	Oneida Station	O/294
S	1880	Armstead Blevins	William Kidd	K	100A	Bear Cr.	P/363
S	1881	J. M. Newport	Elijah Blevins	L	?	Pine Cr.	N/375
S	1881	I. Blevins & Sheriff	H. R. Gibson	O	375A	Pine Cr.	N/375
S	1881	Isaac Blevins	W. H. Carson	K	1/16A	Oneida Station	N/538
S	1881	J. S. Blevins	W. H. Carson	K	1/2A	Oneida Station	N/606
S	1881	W. C. Blevins	Barbara J. Anderson	O	2 lots	Oneida Station	N/619
S	1881	Isaac Blevins	Richard Smith	K	25A	Pine Cr/Oneida Sta.	N/231
S	1881	Elijah Smith heirs	Henly Blevins	K	75A	BSF northside	N/241
S	1881	George A. Bone	J. S. Blevins	O	1/2A	Oneida Station	N/604
S	1882	Isaac Blevins & Sheriff	Jeremiah Burnett	K	375A	Pine Cr.	O/142
S	1883	I. Blevins/J. Pemberton	W. H. Potter	L	375A	Pine Cr.	O/553
S	1884	Isaac Blevins	Joseph Waters	K	50A	Pine Cr.	P/328
S	1885	John & Rutha Roisden	M. G. B. Blevins	K	5A	Bear Cr.	Q/14
S	1885	A. L. Puckett	M. G. B. Blevins	L	76A	Bear Cr.	Q/18
S	1885	M. G. B. Blevins	Gideon S. Owens	L	8A	Bear Cr./CSRR	Q/16
S	1885	Abraham Blevins	T. J. Miller	L	300A	northside BSF	X/435
S	1886	W. C. Blevins	Cowan, McClung & Co.	O	100A	Cotton Cr.	Q/299
S	1886	Diance Blevins	Francis Miller	K	100A	BSF above	T/469
S	1886	W. C. Blevins	W. H. Carson	K	1/16A	No Business Cr.	X/143
S	1886	Diance Blevins	Patten Foster	L	150A	Oneida Station	W/9
						Big Branch/BSF	

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1887	J. O. Hodge & W. L. Hastings	Isaac Blevins heirs	L	300A	?	Q/546
S	1887	W. E. and Lucinda Ellis	Elijah Blevins	L	?	Pine Cr./BSF	R/11
S	1887	A. L. Crawford	John Blevins	O	150A	?	T/339
S	1888	Anderson Smith	John B. Blevins	FI-SI	100A	Station Camp Cr.	T/50
S	1888	Martin Terry	W. C. Blevins & W. H. Carson	K	100A	Bills Br.	R/384
S	1888	Martin Terry	W. C. Blevins & W. H. Carson	K	111A	Bills Br.	S/25
S	1888	Joseph S. Blevins	John Rosser	L	375A	Pine Cr.	T/642
S	1888	Elijah Blevins	J. O. Hodge & L. A. Hastings	L	property and timber	?	R/451
S	1889	John B. Blevins	Edgar Jones	O	timber contract	Station Camp Cr.	T/103
S	1889	Armstead Blevins	Edgar Jones	O	timber contract	Parchcorn Cr.	T/109
S	1889	C. C. Terry	Armstead Blevins	K	100A	Poplar Br./BSF	T/81
S	1889	Armstead Blevins	Diance Blevins	F-S	150A	Rock Cr.	T/187
S	1889	Armstead Blevins	Harvey & Crofford Blevins/Mary Ann Burk	Gf-Gs & DI	25A	?	T/188
S	1889	Armstead Blevins	Isaac Blevins	B-B	1000A	Rock Cr.	T/193
S	1889	Jane Blevins	Armstead Blevins	D-F	75A	NW BSF	T/195
S	1889	Armstead Blevins	Granville Burk	FI-SI	150A	?	T/191
S	1889	Jacob Sr. heirs	Miles Terry	K	450A	Bandy Cr.	T/35
S	1889	Jacob Sr. Heirs	S. H. Pile	L	share of 4000A	Bandy Cr./BSF	47/44
S	1890	W. C. Blevins	D. P. Root, H. S. Greeno/J. H. Baillie	O	111A	Bills Br./Spr. Br.	T/460

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1891	Richard Slaven	W. C. Blevins, H. S. Greeno and G. W. Chandler	K	250A	Williams Cr./BSF	U/542
S	1891	Anderson Smith heirs	Jacob, Nancy, and Talitha Blevins	BI-BI & SI	591A	Station Camp Cr.	V/5
S	1891	Kirby King	John B. Blevins	K	40A	Station Camp/Charit Cr.	V/260
S	1891	William Ellis	Elijah Blevins	K	100A	Pine Cr./BSF	X/159
S	1891	Jacob Blevins, Sr. heirs	Daniel Blevins	Bs-B	73A	Laurel Branch/Station Camp Cr.	V/233
S	1892	J. O. Hodge, and W. L. Hastings	Elijah Blevins	L	?	Panther Branch	Y/349
S	1892	Elijah Blevins	Peter Hunley, Jr.	C-C	100A	Jacks Branch	W/173
S	1893	Armstead Blevins	Diance Blevins	F-S	650A	Rock Co.	2A/287
S	1893	Armstead Blevins	Jacob, Jane and Shade Blevins	F-Ss & D	235A	Parchcorn/Sta. Camp	W/307
S	1893	Armstead Blevins	Jacob, Lewis, Jane, Shade & W. H. Blevins	F-Ss & D	200A	Parchcorn/Sta. Camp	W/347
S	1893	Isaac Blevins	G. W. Carter	O	1000A	Rock Cr.	W/497
S	1893	Armstead, Jacob, Jane & Shade Blevins	George W. Litton	K	75A	BSF/NW side	W/550
S	1894	W. C. Blevins	James Watson	K	250A	Williams Cr/BSF	X/542

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1895	E. B. Smith & George Chandler	W. C. Blevins	L	1000A	Carson tract area	29/498
S	1895	Jacob Sr., heirs	John Litton	K	100A	Fall Br.	Y/111
S	1895	W. C. Blevins, G. W. Chandler, E. B. Smith John Carson, Jr.	Templeton and Parker	O	1000A	Carson tract area	29/515
W	1895	Joe Blevins et al.	Nancy A. Lair	K	50A	Big Sinking Cr.	28/274
W	1895	M. M. Powers & Bros.	Joseph Blevins	O	25A	LSF	28/440
S	1895	Diance & Sarah Blevins	John Blevins	B-B	timber sale	upper Rock Cr.	30/16
S	1895	John B. Blevins	S. H. Pile	L	500A*	Station Camp Cr.	Y/441
S	1895	John Blevins	S. H. Pile	L	1000A*	No Business Cr.	Z/47
S	1895	Armstead Blevins	S. H. Pile	L	6000A*	BSF	Z/60
S	1895	Daniel Blevins	S. H. Pile	L	400A*	?	Z/52
S	1895	Jane Blevins	S. H. Pile	L	200A	No Business Cr.	Z/71
S	1896	Armstead Blevins	W. H. Blevins	F-S	200A*	Parchcorn Sta. Camp	Z/193
S	1896	Armstead Blevins	Jacob, Lewis, Shade W. H. & Jane Blevins	F-Ss & D	5414A	Rock Creek	Z/341
S	1896	Isaac N. Blevins	J. N. Kerns	L	2417A ⁺	?	2A/29
S	1896	Jacob Blevins, Jr.	E. G. Smith	L	290A ⁺	Station Camp Cr.	2A/254
S	1896	Armstead Blevins	J. M. Minton	K	235A	Parchcorn/ Station Camp Crs.	Z/454
S	1896	Jacob, Lewis, Shade Blevins	W. H. Blevins	Bs-B	5414A ⁺	upper Rock Cr.	Z/352
S	1897	G. L. Davis et al.	Elijah Blevins	L	50A	Anderson Br.	31/102
S	1897	Elizabeth Duncan	Carrie C. Blevins	L	500A	?	2A/444
S	1897	Armstead Blevins	Diance Blevins	F-S	600A	Rock Cr.	29/313

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1897	H. E. & James P. Blevins	George & John Carson	K	1A	Oneida Station	2A/567
W	1897	Nancy Blevins	Jno. Koger	K	50A	LSF	29/184
S	1898	John B. Polly, Jacob	Edgar Jones	O	6 years ext.		28/397
		Nancy, Talitha Blevins			timber contract		
S	1898	John B. Polly, Jacob	Edgar Jones	O	6 years ext.		28/399
		Nancy, Talitha Blevins			timber contract		
S	1898	John B. Polly, Jacob	Edgar Jones	O	6 years ext.		28/400
		Nancy, Talitha Blevins			timber contract		
S	1898	W. H., Shade and Jacob Blevins	Lewis Blevins	Bs-B	313A	Parchcorn/ Station Camp Crs.	28/101
S	1898	Elijah Blevins	David Forbis	L	15A	Pine Cr.	49/350
S	1899	Jacob Blevins, Jr.	John B. Blevins	B-B	352.5A	Station Camp Cr.	29/352
S	1899	George W. Carter	Isaac Blevins	K	1000A	Rock Cr.	29/471
S	1899	Elijah Blevins	School Directors	L	1/2A	Possum Rock Sch.	28/458
S	1899	John B. Blevins	T. R. Lyon	O	600A	Station Camp Cr.	29/406
S	1899	Daniel Blevins	T. R. Lyon	O	301.5A	Laurel Fk/ Station Camp Cr.	29/415
S	1899	Isaac Blevins	T. R. Lyon	O	50A	Rock Cr.	29/475
S	1899	W. C. Blevins	Wyler Ackerland & Co.	O	640A	?	30/14
S	1899	Jacob Blevins	S. H. Pile	L	348A	Laurel Fk/ Station Camp Cr.	30/34
W	1899	Wm. Dobbs, Jr.	John B. Blevins	L	?	LSF	30/312
W	1900	Wm. Dobbs, Sr.	Alfred Blevins	L	60A	BSF	34/235
S	1900	Travis Davis	Elijah Blevins	K	100A	Phillips Br/BSF	30/545
S	1900	Wm. & Sarah Smith	Newton Blevins	K	50A	?	31/28
S	1900	Richard & Jane Slaven	Polly Blevins	K	50A	?	31/182
S	1900	L. Riseden	Abraham Blevins	L	50A	Mill Br./BSF	31/184

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1900	I. M. Jones	D. B. Blevins	O	250A	Ponch Cr. head	31/339
S	1901	Clerk & Master	Isaac N. Blevins	L	640A	?	32/19
S	1901	Elijah Blevins	Henry R. & Isaac N. Blevins	F-Ss	?	Pine Cr/Pan. Br.	32/209
S	1901	John Carson	W. C. Blevins	K	408A	Fentress-Scott Co. Line	32/343
S	1901	W. C. Blevins	John Carson, Jr.	K	?	West BSF	32/390
S	1901	Armstead Blevins, heirs	H. M. Hembree	O	5414A	West BSF/below No Business	32/111
W	1901	John Blevins <u>et al.</u>	H. P. Kidd	K	55A/620A	Rock Cr/BSF	34/500
S	1901	Newton Blevins & Wm. Smith	John A. Wood	O	400A**	Williams Cr./BSF	32/59
S	1901	Abe Blevins	John A. Wood	O	100A**	BSF	32/62
S	1901	Isaac Blevins	J. R. Ryan	O	55A*	Rock Cr.	32/221
S	1901	John Blevins	J. R. Ryan	O	180A*	?	32/223
S	1901	Diance Blevins	J. R. Ryan	O	1000A*	?	32/225
W	1902	F. B. Dobbs	John B. Blevins	L	?	Flint & Langham Fks.	40/336
W	1902	F. B. Dobbs	John B. Blevins	L	?	Flint Fk.	35/294
S	1902	Daniel Blevins	John A. Wood	O	150A**	Jellico & Paunch Crs.	33/575
S	1902	Daniel Blevins	S. S. Miller	O	400A*	Paunch Cr.	35/103
W	1902	Calvin Smith	Elijah Blevins	BI-BI	290A	LSF	35/296
S	1902	W. W. Owens	Charity Blevins	L	5A	Pine Cr.	41/246
S	1902	Wm. & Sarah Smith	Newton Blevins	K	40A	Oneida Road	33/229
S	1902	John & Martha Davis	Isaac N. & Henry R. Blevins	L	50A	White Oak Cr./Phillips Br.	33/234
S	1902	Stephen Hatfield	Rosa Blevins	K	50A	Williams Cr./Gid Br.	34/159
S	1902	Abe Blevins	John A. Wood	O	100A*	BSF	32/62
S	1902	Elijah Blevins	R. S. Marcum	K	25A	Panther Br.	33/63

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1902	Henry R. & Isaac N. Blevins	E. G. Foster	L	568A	Pine Cr.	33/75
S	1902	Henry R. & Isaac N. Blevins	E. G. Foster	L	300A	Pine Cr.	33/82
S	1902	Isaac N. Blevins	F. D. Brown	O	766A	?	33/434
S	1903	S. H. Pile	W. C. Blevins	L	169.75A	?	46/174
S	1903	John Marcum	Rosa Blevins	K	100A	Birch Br.	36/237
S	1903	Elijah Blevins	Isaac N. Blevins	F-S	4000A	Bandy Br.	36/543
S	1903	Isaac N. & Henry R. Blevins	E. G. Foster	L	65A	Phillips Br.	34/168
S	1903	Daniel Blevins	James Crabtree	K	108A	Ponch Cr.	34/350
S	1903	Isaac Blevins	F. D. Brown	O	766A	?	35/555
S	1903	Newton Blevins	John A. Wood	O	40A	?	37/187
S	1903	Newton Blevins	John A. Wood	O	24A	?	37/189
S	1903	Daniel Blevins & W. A. Crabtree	A. J. Crabtree	K	7.5A	Paunch Cr.	45/562
S	1904	W. H. Carson	F. M. Miller & Abe Blevins	K	?	Big Branch	37/219
S	1904	County Clerk	Lewis Blevins	L	200A	Station Camp Cr.	37/233
S	1904	Lewis Blevins	Rosa Blevins	BI-SI	interest in 200A	Station Camp Cr.	37/315
S	1904	Abraham Blevins	Polly Blevins	H-W	50A	Coal Spring Br.	37/319
S	1904	Lewis Blevins	Polly Blevins	B-S	interest in 200A	Station Camp Cr.	38/224
W	1904	Elijah Blevins	Henry Blevins	F-S	290A	LSF	35/298
W	1904	John B. Blevins	I. N. & H. R. Blevins	U-Ns	?	Flint Fk.	35/553
W	1904	Ebben Gregory	I.N.Blevins & Melvin Dobbs	K	248.5A	LSF	37/248

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1904	Abraham Blevins	Elizabeth Blevins	K	50A	No Business Cr.	37/317
S	1905	Newton Blevins	Amanda Blevins	H-W	100A	?	41/245
S	1905	Newton Blevins	Elijah Spradling	K	50A	?	38/184
S	1905	Elizabeth Blevins & Wm. Smith, heirs	C. H. Smith	K	50A	No Business Cr.	38/362
S	1905	Daniel Blevins	John Morris	L	50A	Ponch Cr.	38/514
S	1905	Newton Blevins	Samuel Smith	K	36A	?	41/9
S	1906	C. Cross	M. F. Blevins	L	1ot	Oneida	42/99
S	1906	J. A. Boles	James P. Blevins	L	?	Oneida	40/397
S	1906	Clerk & Master	W. H. Blevins	L	275A	Station Camp/ Parchcorn Crs.	41/99
S	1906	Charley Blevins	E. E. Barthell	O	75A	?	40/283
S	1906	John Blevins	Peter Hunley	BI-BI	179.1A	?	40/564
S	1906	W. H. Blevins	Stearns, Salt & Lumber	O	275A	between Parchcorn and Station Camp	41/101
S	1906	Newton Blevins	W. F. Thomas	O	100A	?	41/289
S	1906	W. C. Blevins	Smith Bros.	O	timber sale	?	41/24
W	1906	Melvin Dobbs	Isaac M. Blevins	K	248.5A	LSF	39/531
W	1906	Wm. Slaven	Alfred Blevins	U-N	75A	Troublesome and Difficulty Crs.	40/185
S	1907	Daniel Blevins	O. J. Terry	FI-SI	23A	?	41/300
S	1907	Clerk & Master	W. C. Blevins	L	25.5A	Pine Cr.	42/98
S	1907	W. C. Blevins	M. F. Blevins	B-B	25.5A	Pine Cr.	42/152
W	1907	Talitha Blevins/ Richard Slaven	Newton Blevins	K	Interest in 80A	Rock Cr.	43/155
W	1907	Laten Blevins	Newton Blevins	K	Interest in 80A	Rock Cr.	43/144

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
W	1907	Sarah Blevins <u>et al.</u>	Newton Blevins	K	interest in 80A	Rock Cr.	43/150
W	1907	Jno. Ross	Newton Blevins	K	interest in 80A	Rock Cr.	43/152
W	1907	Nancy King	Newton Blevins	K	interest in 80A	Rock Cr.	43/153
W	1907	Pleas T. and Jno. C. King	Newton Blevins	K	interest in 80A	Rock Cr.	43/147
W	1907	Newton Blevins	John Blevins	K	80A	Rock Cr.	43/193
W	1908	John B. Blevins	Rock Cr. Prop. Co.	L	80A	Rock Cr.	44/12
S	1908	Daniel Blevins	Jonathan Blevins	O	52A	Ponch Cr.	42/367
W	1908	John B. Blevins	Wm. Kinne	O	interest in 2200A	Rock Cr./LSF	41/612
W	1908	Lizzie & Armstead Blevins	W. A. Kinne	O	interest in 2200A	Rock Cr./LSF	41/593
W	1908	Sarah Blevins	W.A.Kline	O	interest in 2200A	Rock Cr./LSF	42/410
W	1908	Jno. Cal. Blevins	Joe H. Gibson	O	interest in 2200A	Rock Cr./LSF	42/462
W	1908	Bisdell Blevins	Nola E. Kinne	O	interest in 2200A	Rock Cr./LSF	45/95
W	1908	Sarah Ellen Blevins	Nola E. Kinne	O	interest in 2200A	Rock Cr./LSF	45/91
W	1908	Mintford Sexton	Isaac & Henry Blevins	L	50A	LSF	42/215
S	1909	Lewis Blevins	Jacob Blevins	B-B	interest in 200A	Station Camp	43/449
S	1909	W. H. Blevins	Lewis & Shade Blevins	B-B	interest in 200A	Station Camp Cr.	43/450
S	1909	C. H. Smith	Harvey Blevins	K	50A	Station Camp	43/543

County	Date	Grantor	Grantee	Group or Relationship	Acreage	Location	Reference Book/Page
S	1909	W. H. Blevins	George Pennington	L	50A	Williams Cr/Gld Br.	43/531
S	1909	Crawford & Harvey Blevins	C. H. Smith	K	25A	BSF	43/541
S	1909	W. H. Blevins	Huntsville Banking Co.	L	109.25A	?	44/174
W	1909	Drue Blevins	Rock Cr. Prop. Co.	L	Interest in 80A	Rock Cr.	45/85
W	1909	John B. Blevins	Isaac M. Blevins	U-N	480A	Longhouse Fk	44/373
W	1909	I. M. Blevins	Bauer Cooperage Co.	O	trees	LSF/Mt. Pisgah	44/235
W	1909	Isaac M. & Henry R. Blevins	Bauer Cooperage Co.	O	trees	Longhouse & Flint Fork and LSF	44/375

Group or Relationship Abbreviations

L = Non-Kin, Local
 O = Non-Kin, Outsider
 K = Probable Kin, exact relationship unknown
 Kx= Kin; (1866) Grantee is the mother-in-law of the Grantor's brother
 B or Bs = Brother or Brothers
 C = Cousin
 D = Daughter
 F = Father
 Gf = Grandfather
 Gs = Grandsons
 ex: B-Bs = Brother to Brothers
 or: FI-SI = Father-in-law to Son-in-law
 H = Husband
 I = -In-law
 N = Nephew
 S or Ss = Son or Sons
 U = Uncle
 W = Wife

Symbols

* = Mineral Lease
 ** = Mineral Sale
 + = Oil Lease
 ? = acreage or location not recorded

VITA

Jeffrey Wade Gardner was born in Salem, Ohio on October 2, 1955. He spent much of his childhood in Cambridge, Ohio, graduating from Cambridge High School in 1974. After attending Eastern Kentucky University for one year, he transferred to Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio to study archaeology. In March 1978 he received a B.A. degree in Anthropology and immediately gained employment in contract archaeology projects, first in Ohio, then in Illinois.

After nearly a year of fieldwork and feeling the need for a more extensive education, Jeff applied and was accepted into the Master's program in the Anthropology Department at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. While a student, he became involved in several contract and research projects. From 1981 to 1984 he served as Historic Sites Supervisor for the Big South Fork Archaeological Project. In March, 1987 he received the Master of Arts degree in Anthropology.

Jeff enjoys woodworking and photography, and hopes to continue working indefinitely in the field of historic sites archaeology.