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In the Shadow of Greatness: The Archaeology of Capitalism, Agriculture, and the Informal Economy at Marble Springs, Knox County, Tennessee, 1847-1932

Tanya Alexandra Faberson
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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Tanya Alexandra Faberson entitled "In the Shadow of Greatness: The Archaeology of Capitalism, Agriculture, and the Informal Economy at Marble Springs, Knox County, Tennessee, 1847-1932." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Anthropology.

Charles H. Faulkner, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

David G. Anderson, Benita J. Howell, Janis Appier

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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IN THE SHADOW OF GREATNESS: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CAPITALISM, AGRICULTURE, AND THE INFORMAL ECONOMY AT MARBLE SPRINGS, KNOX COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1847-1932

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Tanya Alexandra Faberson
August 2005

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Charles H. Faulkner,

mentor and friend,

who has taught me that above all,

we are anthropologists first…

and to J,

for believing in me.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people that have inspired and helped me along in this research process. First, I would like to thank my committee, Dr. Charles H. Faulkner, chair, Dr. Benita J. Howell, Dr. David G. Anderson, and Dr. Janis Appier, for their support and encouragement during this research and writing endeavor. Thanks as well to Dr. Faye V. Harrison. All of you have inspired me in various ways to be a better anthropologist, archaeologist, scholar, and teacher.

I would also like to thank several members of the Knox County community, such as Wayne Byers, Geneva Jennings, and David Blazier, who have shared their childhood memories of their interactions with the Kirbys. Your stories brought the Kirbys to life, and your detailed descriptions of Marble Springs in the late 1920s and early 1930s were invaluable to this research. Many thanks to Jennifer Price for her drawings of structures 3 and 4 based on the oral history testimony provided by Wayne Byers.

I need to thank my family and friends for hanging in there with me through all these years. Jenny and Tylar not only let me turn the house upside down while I was researching and writing this dissertation, they also continued to encourage and support me in spite of the mounting books, paper, and other debris. Thanks to Mom, Alan, Kristina, Terry Faulkner, Brooke Hamby, and

Elijah Ellerbush for their friendship and support over these last few years. Thanks as well to Henry Johnson, whose love of history and archaeology inspired me as a child to go in search of the past as an adult.

Finally, I need to thank the Kirbys, who through this process I feel I have come to know like family. Although your lives at Marble Springs have been overshadowed by the legacy of Gov. John Sevier over the last 73 years, your triumphs, dreams, and challenges are no longer hidden behind the "history that counts."

ABSTRACT

This archaeological study investigates a 19th- and early 20th-century farmstead in Knox County, Tennessee. Archaeological investigations at Marble Springs (40KN125) in 2002 and 2003 originally aimed to recover information on the lifeways of John Sevier, the first governor of Tennessee. However, these investigations revealed a dense assemblage of artifacts from the Kirby family who resided on the site after Sevier from 1847 to 1932. Using a combination of archaeological data, oral history testimony, and archival documents, this dissertation focuses on the Kirby occupation of the site. In an attempt to view the changing lifeways of the Kirbys over four generations and 85 years at Marble Springs, four primary avenues of inquiry are addressed: rural capitalism, the agricultural ladder, the intersections of gender, class, and race, and the informal economy. These four areas demonstrate how and why the Kirbys transitioned from small-acreage, self-sufficient farmers in the 19th-century to full-time moonshiners in the 20th-century. Rather than resisting participation in the capitalist economy, the Kirbys resisted dependence on an economic system within which they could no longer flourish. Although direct evidence of moonshining was not discovered at the site, the high frequency of container glass, such as canning and other food jars, gives indirect evidence of these

activities. Other evidence of the shift from agriculture to moonshining was discovered in the form of purchased food containers, ceramic and glass tableware vessels, and personal and recreational items. The high frequency of these items suggests that although the Kirbys resisted dependency on capitalism, they aspired to social respectability in their community through conspicuous material consumption in hopes of counteracting their reputations for disease, poverty, and illegal liquor production and distribution.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The longest part of the journey is said to be the passing of the gate.
- *Marcus Terentius Varro, On Agriculture (116 BC – 27 BC) (Hooper and Ash 1979)*

Many familiar with southern history, or the history of Tennessee in particular, have heard of John Sevier, or "Nolachucky Jack" as he was heroically addressed, the first governor of Tennessee (Barber 2002; MacArthur 1976). Sevier (1745-1815) resided in Knoxville during his first tenure as governor, but during his last two terms and until his death, he resided at Marble Springs, his farm approximately six miles south of the city near the southern border of present-day Knox County (Figure 1.1). Overall, Sevier and his family resided at Marble Springs from sometime in the mid-1790s until shortly after his death in 1815 (Barber 2002; Hagaman 1987).

Sevier's cabin still stands today, and what remains of his tract of land (approximately 40 acres of his original 290 acres), is owned by the state of Tennessee (Knox County Register of Deeds 1942:290-291). Visitors to the site can take a tour of the land and enter the main cabin as well as the restored kitchen

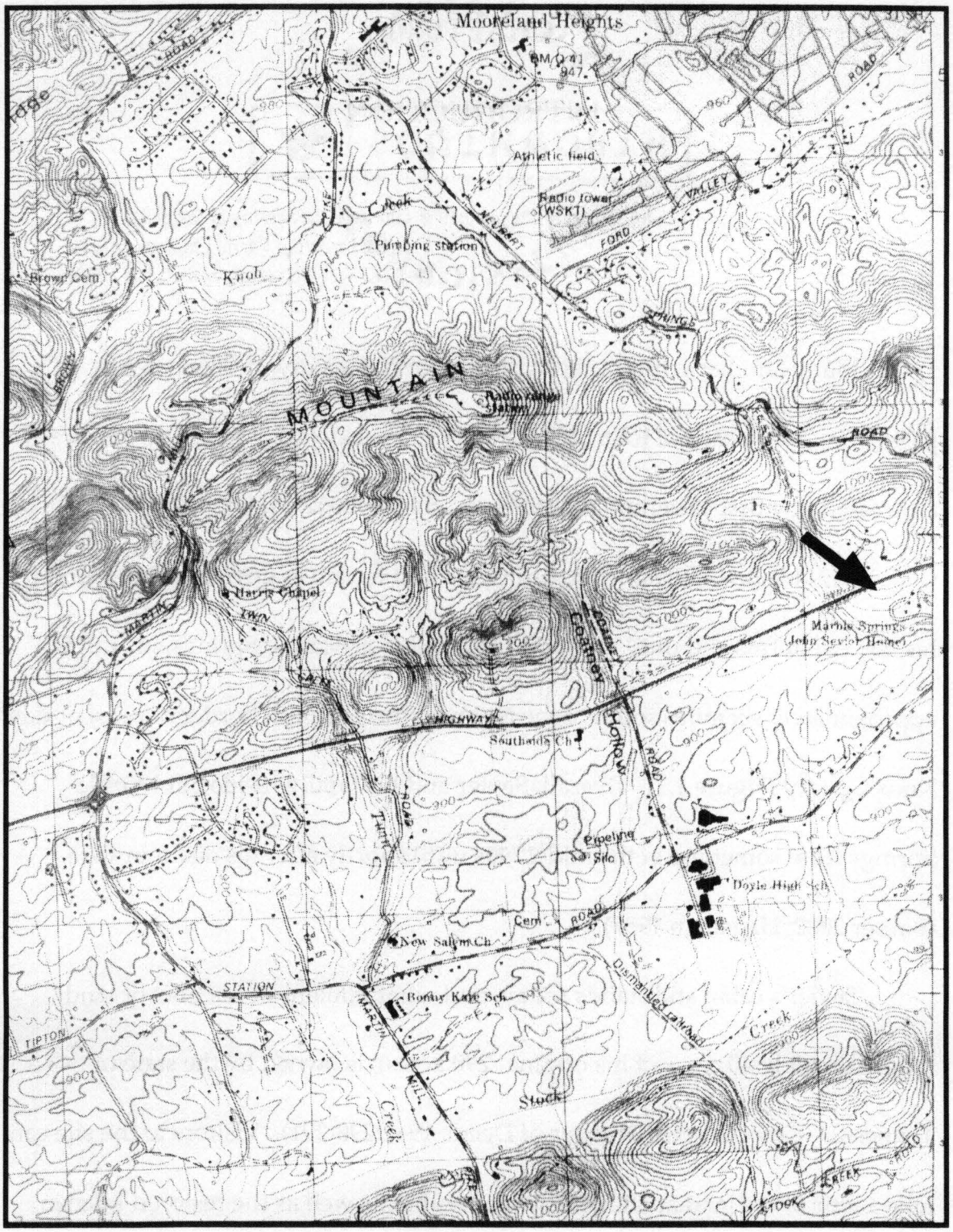

Figure 1.1: U.S. Geological Survey map of the Knoxville Quadrangle (1978).

and several other buildings that have been moved onto the site over the years by the state (Figure 1.2). In recent years, interest in the personal lifeways and activities of John Sevier and his family has spurred archaeological investigations at Marble Springs (40KN125) (see Avery 2002; Avery et. al 2000; Barber 2002; Barber et. al 2002; Faberson and Faulkner 2003). However, very little attention has been paid to the post-Sevier occupants of the site, even though Marble Springs was, for the most part, continually occupied after Sevier's death through the mid 20th-century. This is not surprising in light of Sevier's importance in Tennessee history, and literature discussing the site as an important historical marker (see, for example, Hagaman 1987; MacArthur 1982:20-21). When post-Sevier occupations of the site have been addressed, it has usually only consisted of names and dates regarding changes in deed ownership (see Barber 2002; Hagaman 1987).

Following the 15 to 20 year occupation of Marble Springs by the Sevier family, the land came under ownership of an attorney and merchant named James Dardis, who sold the property in 1847 to a farmer named George W. Kirby. From 1847 to 1932, Marble Springs was owned and continually occupied by the Kirby family, followed by two other brief owners until the state of Tennessee purchased the property in 1942 (Faberson 2003).

Figure 1.2: Original 18th-century one-and-a-half story cabin and reconstructed kitchen at Marble Springs (40KN125).

Preliminary background research into the lives of the Kirbys at Marble Springs indicates that they were initially self-sufficient small-acreage farmers, moderately successful by 19th-century standards, who over the generations broke away from farming as their primary economic support to eventually engage in making a living through the informal economy in the 20th-century. Considering this shift over time and the little attention that has been given to the post-Sevier occupations of the site, the purpose of this dissertation is to examine the past lifeways of the Kirby family, via historical sources and archaeological investigations, in order to address larger social and economic issues. These issues, imbedded within rural capitalism, impacted the daily lives of the four generations of Kirbys that resided there from the mid-19th-century through the early 20th-century. This archaeological case study is particularly suited to this kind of examination because it can be used to address how similar issues and challenges may, or may not, have been faced by other farm families within their community and the region as a whole.

Archaeological investigations at Marble Springs (40KN125) began in 2001 and continued until the summer of 2004. Archaeological excavations conducted by Dr. Charles H. Faulkner's University of Tennessee historical archaeology field schools at Marble Springs in 2001 and 2002 focused on posthole testing and the

excavation of units in the area around the main cabin and reconstructed kitchen in order to gather information regarding the Sevier occupation of the site. In addition to yielding 18th- and early 19th-century artifacts that correspond to the Sevier occupation, these tests revealed a large assemblage of mid-to-late 19th- and early 20th-century artifacts (Faberson and Faulkner 2003). These 19th- and 20th-century artifacts date to the Kirby occupation of the site.

Testing and excavation in 2003 by Dr. Faulkner's field school in the east peripheral yard uncovered a large structure (possibly an early 19th-century barn), a turn-of-the-20th-century structure, as well as a large assemblage of primarily 20th-century artifacts. The large possible barn structure, designated Structure 2, may have been built by John Sevier, but was also likely utilized by the Kirbys during the 19th-century. The turn-of-the-20th-century house (Structure 3) was built by the Kirbys and, according to informants, occupied by at least two generations of the family (Faberson and Faulkner 2005). Further tests in the summer of 2004 revealed more material culture and structural information regarding Structure 3. Ethnographic information provided by an informant who remembers the Kirbys led to further tests south of the Structure 3 area, revealing evidence of Structure 4, a domestic structure in use during the early 20th-century, but possibly built in the late 19th-century.

This dissertation focuses on the feature information, associated artifacts, and spatial organization information gathered during the 2002 and 2003 archaeological field seasons, as well as the testing of the Structure 4 area in the summer of 2004. Relevant material culture recovered during previous excavations will also be included in this study.

In order to analyze the social and economic effects of rural capitalism that may have impacted the daily lives of the Kirby generations at Marble Springs, four primary avenues of inquiry will be addressed. The first concerns the overall development of capitalism within American agriculture with an emphasis on Appalachia and the southeastern United States, and Knox County in particular. The second issue concerns social stratification, namely the agricultural ladder, which represented social mobility from the late 19th- through the early 20th-century. The third issue concerns the intersections of class, gender, and race and how they are intertwined with the development of rural capitalism. The fourth avenue of inquiry concerns everyday forms of resistance to social and economic constraints; specifically, resistance in the form of participation in the informal economy.

This body of work is divided into eight chapters beyond the Introduction. Chapter II examines the history of agriculture in the United States with particular

attention paid to Southern Appalachia. Chapter III presents a detailed history of the Kirby family at Marble Springs, Knox County, Tennessee, using archival documents and ethnographic interviews. Chapter IV examines rural capitalism and the agricultural ladder. Chapter V is an analysis of the intersections of class, gender, and race as they pertain to rural capitalism and the history of the Kirby occupation. Moonshining as aspect of the informal economy is discussed in Chapter VI. Chapter VII discusses the testing and excavations conducted in the 2001-2003 field seasons, in addition to the testing conducted in 2004. Chapter VIII discusses the material culture recovered during these field seasons, and Chapter IX concludes the dissertation with a cultural analysis of the site.

The primary goal of my research at Marble Springs has been to shed light on the everyday lifeways of the small-acreage farm owner in Southern Appalachia over the late 19th- through the turn-of-the-20th-century. When one thinks of poverty-afflicted farmers, one usually has the image of sharecroppers or tenant farmers in the early 20th-century. Although the Kirbys owned their land, they often lived on the edge of poverty, much like many sharecroppers and tenant farmers, eventually resorting to abandoning farming as their primary means of making a living. They were able to keep control of, and survive on their land for 85 years before a trust company foreclosed on their property. The

story of the small-acreage farm owners, like the Kirbys, is often untold. Hence, they have truly been hidden in the shadow of greatness … and in the shadow of the American dream.

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE IN SOUTHERN APPALACHIA

The American farmer's land is his most precious resource. His relation to the land is the vital condition for his security.
- Lee Fryer (1947)

Agriculture has had a long and colorful history in the United States. It was the preeminent feature of the British colonial economy due to the assistance of Native American Indians whose plants, cultivation, and harvesting methods were adopted by the first European settlers, and it has continued to contribute to the nation's economy throughout the last several hundred years (Rasmussen 1960:12). In spite of its importance in the history of this country, the legacy of American agriculture is not a story of continuous advancement and progress. Instead, for every technological advancement implemented over time, there has also been a setback or environmental trade-off. For every bountiful harvest, there has been perpetual poverty and hunger. For every farm that has been successful, there have been many that failed (Hurt 1994:viii-ix).

This chapter examines how agriculture developed over time in the United States, with particular attention paid to Southern Appalachia. Southern

Appalachia may not have had the rice plantations of the southern Atlantic Coast, the large corn fields of the Midwest, the wheat fields and cattle ranches of the West, or the cotton fields of the Deep South; however, Southern Appalachia has contributed to the history of agriculture in its own ways – with its tobacco fields, fruits, vegetables, and the blood, sweat, and tears of its predominantly small-scale family farmers.

Agriculture in Antebellum Southern Appalachia

During the colonial era, nearly 75 to 90 percent of the population in the northern and southern colonies along the eastern seaboard engaged in farming, and it provided a relatively high standard of living for most individuals. Corn became the first crop cultivated by the Southern colonies, and it was soon followed by tobacco and rice farming in the early to mid 17th-century (Hurt 1994:35, 41). By the mid 18th-century, some southern farmers began diversifying by raising wheat, and many also raised cattle. These cattle were often not provided with feed or shelter; instead, the cattle were allowed to graze freely on public land and were seasonally rounded up (Hurt 1994: 48). This practice continued in many areas of the South until the mid to late 19th-century, when population growth and increasing urbanization led to decreased grazing land

availability and stricter city and county livestock regulations (Faberson 2001; McArthur 1976:36).

The majority of southern agricultural land along the Atlantic coast and in the Deep South was comprised of large plantations during the colonial period. These large commercial farms, having cheap labor at their disposal in the form of enslaved Africans and African-Americans, evolved to meet the world's needs for staple crops such as tobacco, indigo, and rice (Prunty 1955:459). In addition to the economic gain sought by these large-scale planters, many also aimed at self-sufficiency.

In contrast to the large-scale agricultural production of plantations along the southern Atlantic coast and in the Deep South, the Upland South, which stretches from western Virginia and western North Carolina down through what is today central Texas and includes Southern Appalachia[1] (Figures 2.1 and 2.2), was comprised mostly of smaller farms focused on self-sufficiency and mixed farming. These farms usually had small herds of open-range cattle and sheep, free-range pigs and turkeys, a horse and a milk cow or two, small fields of corn, oats, and tobacco, and a kitchen garden (Jordan-Bychkov 2003:44).

[1] Southern Appalachia includes West Virginia, southwestern Virginia, eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, and northeastern Georgia (Otto 1986).

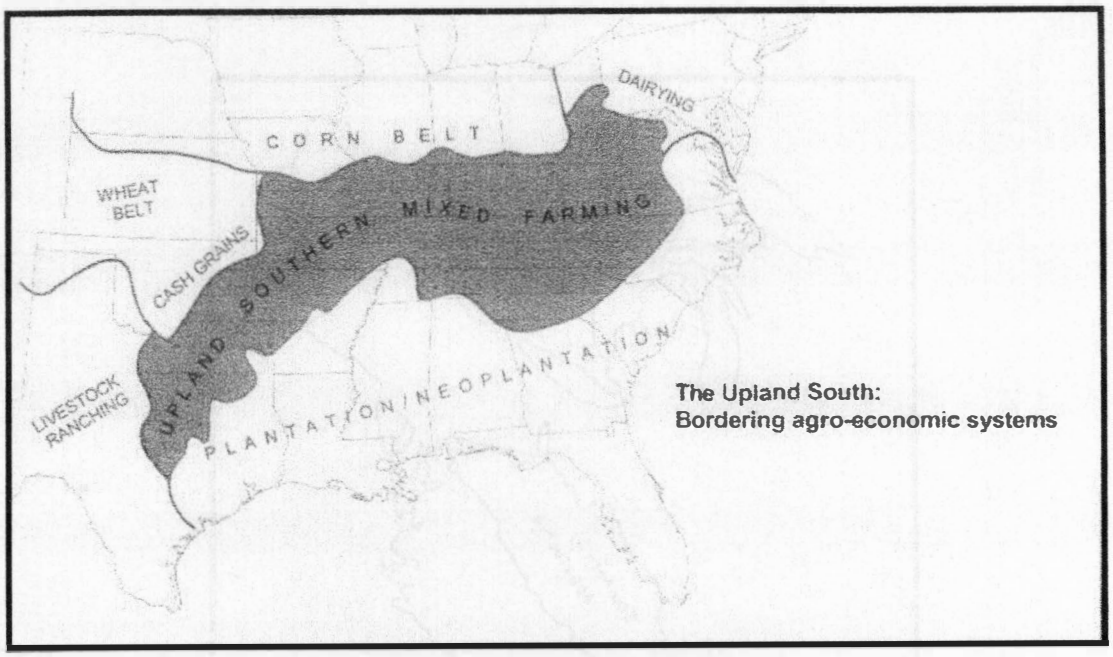

Figure 2.1: Geographic boundaries of the Upland South (Jordan-Bychkov 2003:43, Fig. 4.1).

Figure 2.2: Map of Southern Appalachia (Dunaway 1996:2, Map 1.1).

The notion of self-sufficiency should be addressed at this point. Farming during and after the colonial era was never a totally self-sufficient endeavor, whether in the Upland South or otherwise. Most farmers, both small and large acreage farmers throughout the history of this nation, have focused on attaining some measure of wealth and increased profits in order to achieve a higher standard of living[2] (Hurt 1994:35). However, "self-sufficiency" continues to be a useful way of defining certain agricultural practices[3]. Self-sufficiency, as defined here, delineates agricultural practices that focused primarily on meeting the subsistence needs of farm families, with some goods sold for profit as well, from agricultural practices directed toward primarily producing cash crops, rather than growing crops and raising livestock for basic subsistence.

Self-sufficiency has often been equated with poverty because of its subsistence basis. If one measures poverty in terms of market commodities sold, then self-sufficiency/ subsistence agriculture would appear to render most individuals to a poverty-stricken existence. However, if one examines the actual crops and goods produced versus those actually sold, then one would need to

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[2] According to Otto (1994:109), self-sufficiency as defined here relates to the tradition of "yeomanry," where small-acreage farmers raised livestock and provisions, as well as some cash crops for profit.

[3] Some researchers, such as Dunaway (1996:123-124), prefer to use "subsistence" instead of "self-sufficiency." One could argue that "subsistence" is just as misleading as "self-sufficiency" in describing the complexity of agricultural lifeways.

reevaluate their concept of poverty. Many farmers in Central and Southern Appalachia rarely received cash for their goods; instead, they often exchanged their goods through a barter system (Haynes 1997:46). That is not to say, however, that farmers never sold livestock, produce, and tobacco at local markets (Jordan-Bychkov 2003:44). Usually, inadequate roads or proximity to towns were the determining factors for participation in local markets at any level (Hurt 1994:155). By the 1840s, agriculture in Southern Appalachia consisted of a diversity of crops and livestock production, and these farmers likely had a relatively good standard of living when compared to other rural regions in the United States (Conti 1980:55; Haynes 1997:46).

During the time period leading up to the Civil War, there were few distinctions between rural and urban life. In spite of increasing numbers of commercial and residential buildings within cities, there also existed urban farmsteads, city lots containing all of the typical aspects of rural farms such as livestock, outbuildings, and gardens[4] (Stewart-Abernathy 1986). Although the clustered nature of farms within cities allowed urban farmers to have more direct access to markets and other goods and services, rural farm areas as noted above maintained strong economic ties with towns, villages, and cities. Not only did

[4] According to Stewart-Abernathy (1986:13), the majority of urban farmsteads disappeared in intensely developed cities by the mid-19th-century. These farmsteads spread to the suburbs in the late 1800s and continue to exist in small towns.

rural farmers bring goods to market in urban areas, but they also took advantage of clerical, medical, and legal services there (Hurt 1994:150). Hence, rural life was not completely removed from the political, social, and economic aspects of urban society.

Agriculture began to decline in some parts of Appalachia during the late antebellum period due to large families and the decreased in land availability (Drake 2001:70). Hence, many individuals fled the rural hinterlands in search of employment and other opportunities in the coastal cities. Economic depressions in 1819, 1837, and 1857 also caused many farms to suffer (Hurt 1994:156). Nevertheless, agricultural production rebounded, and most farmers experienced general economic success and continued to play important roles in the political, social, and economic arenas within the region.

Southern Appalachia and the Civil War

On the eve of the Civil War, much of Southern Appalachia was far removed from the cotton plantations of the Deep South, politically, socially, and economically. Since the majority of the farms in this region were small and non-slaveholding, many farmers and other individuals – especially in regions such as the Tennessee Valley – opposed separating from the Union (Inscoe and

McKinney 2001:55). Nevertheless, Tennessee and several other states within the Southern Appalachian region did eventually secede, and the small-acreage farmers were thrown into the middle of a full-scale war, whether they sympathized with the Union or the Confederacy.

From an economic and agricultural perspective, much of Southern Appalachia did not have much in common with the cotton belt, and individuals in this region felt increasingly alienated from the rest of the southern states as the Civil War progressed (Inscoe and McKinney 2001:56). In his comprehensive history of Appalachia, Richard B. Drake (2001) discusses several key points of division between the small, self-sufficing farmers of Southern Appalachia and the large-scale planters of the Deep South that go beyond the ties, or alienation from, the market economy. First, the planter society was mostly aristocratic and modeled its traditions and beliefs on English country noblemen. In contrast, the small-scale Appalachian farmers modeled their lifeways on the European yeoman tradition (Drake 2001:80). Planter society furthermore supported state-sponsored churches, such as the Presbyterians and Anglicans. The small-scale farmers supported independent and dissenter churches such as the Baptists and Methodists, and on a theological level, found themselves more and more at odds with the planter class (Drake 2001:81).

The issue of representation in the state legislature also divided the planter class from the small-scale farmers. Even though enslaved African-Americans were not allowed to vote, they were still counted for representation purposes, giving the small number of planters the majority of power in the state legislatures (Drake 2001:81-82). Finally, the number of slaves one owned also contributed to divisive sentiments between the planter and small-scale farmers in that planters with large numbers of slaves were exempt from Confederate conscription laws, rendering the majority of draftees to come from the yeoman class, many of whom did not agree with secession to begin with (Drake 2001:103).

The Civil War had a dramatic effect on the South as a whole, but it had a debilitating effect on Southern Appalachia in particular. Education was interrupted as schools closed and businesses were forced to shut down. Dividing sympathies between Unionists and Confederates often resulted in feuds between neighbors, and sometimes even within families. Agriculture, both from a subsistence and economic standpoint, was interrupted as livestock, grain supplies, and farm implements were frequently destroyed by raiding parties (Drake 2001: 102). Hence, many Southerners, whether farmers, townsfolk, or

soldiers, often went without food. In addition, many farmers frequently could not raise enough money to pay their debts or taxes (Hurt 1994:161).

The Civil War negatively impacted agriculture much more so in the South than in the North. While many Southern farms, especially in Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Mississippi, and the Carolinas, lay in ruin by the end of the war, many Northern farms were not affected, except perhaps with a shortage of labor[5] (Hurt 1994:162-163). Hence, Northern farmers were able to maintain their fields, livestock, and farm equipment, allowing them to adopt new implements as they became available after the war's end. Many Southern farmers lost their land by the end of the war or had little left to rebuild. In Southern Appalachia, farmers attempted to rebuild their farms and continued as they had in the past: self-sufficient, diversified, and independent (Eller 1982:16).

The Gilded Age in Southern Appalachia

Significant changes in American agriculture occurred in the years following the Civil War up to the turn of the 20th-century. The North became increasingly mechanized over time, and both the North and the South became entrenched in the drive towards crop specialization. This, combined with a

[5] This is also because the North, for the most part, did not experience a serious invasion during the war.

realignment of the labor system with the emancipation of enslaved African-Americans, resulted in many farmers becoming reliant on credit or becoming entrapped in the sharecropping and tenant farming system (Hurt 1994:165). This will be discussed further in Chapter IV.

The Homestead Act of 1862 and the construction of the transcontinental railroad stimulated agricultural development and westward expansion after the Civil War. Cattlemen and farmers profited significantly from the newly established railroad routes and legislation up through the end of the 19th-century that allowed them to gain access to large areas of land at a cheap price (Hurt 1994:189). These gains for the cattlemen and farmers who moved west of the Mississippi often caused challenges and economic hardships for farmers in the Southeast. Not only were the roads and railways wrecked after the war, leaving many farmers without the means to bring their goods to market or ship their goods to the North, but the competition from the western farmers often forced many farmers, especially in areas such as Southern Appalachia, to change the types of crops they grew or the cattle they raised in hopes of finding a market niche (Bonser and Mantel 1945a:8; Otto 1994:48).

As technological changes in agriculture swept the country throughout the late 19th-century, small-scale farmers, especially in the South, often did not have

access to applied science and technology as they did in the North and the Great Plains, and hence, their farms often remained unprofitable and unproductive. With an ever-increasing focus on crop specialization and an economic, political, and social shift away from self-sufficiency, many farmers were forced to try to improve their land and agricultural practices by getting themselves further and further into debt or give up farming completely (Hurt 1994:216-217). In Southern Appalachia, the response of some farmers was to turn to mining and logging, two industries that began to transform the region from a quiet backcountry to a frontier of industrial capitalism after the Civil War (Eller 1982:xix).

Rural life during the Gilded Age can be characterized as very diverse with increasing distinctions between progress and poverty, and rural and urban living, especially in the South. Many farmers led relatively isolated lives, and while indoor plumbing and hot running water were becoming more commonplace in urban areas, privies, wells, and cisterns prevailed in the rural countryside (Hurt 1994:213). Even wealthy farm owners and operators often did not enjoy the convenience of the telephone, paved roads, or electricity until long after they became available in town, and those farmers who did not own the land they worked often lived in poverty-stricken conditions and suffered poor health due to inadequate diets.

The Golden Age of Agriculture

Prosperity and economic growth reigned for many American farmers during the first two decades of the 20th-century. However, many farmers decided to give up farming during these decades as well, or watched their children move to town thus ending, in many cases, the farm family tradition of maintenance of the homeplace (Hurt 1994:217,221). The South, especially the Deep South, remained generally impoverished, with more than 75-percent of farmers working land that they did not own. According to Hurt (1994:223), the development of efficient and profitable agriculture at the turn-of-the-20th-century was prevented in the South due to the number of farmers who did not own their land as well as resistance to learning new agricultural methods combined with insufficient markets, capital, and long-term credit.

The farming scene changed with the onset of World War I, however, as international demand increased for cash crops such as tobacco, cotton, and rice. Farmers who focused on these crops were able to enjoy increased prosperity during the war. Nevertheless, the momentary upswing of the tobacco, cotton, and rice markets did little to change the structure of Southern agriculture. By the end of the second decade of the 20th-century, nearly half of the farms in the

region contained less than 50 acres, many of which perpetuated single crop agriculture and low incomes, and prevented diversification (Hurt 1994:225).

During the early 20th-century, mechanized farm equipment became increasingly available to farmers who could afford to adopt it, and its use became commonplace in many parts of the Midwest and the Great Plains. The replacement of horse-powered implements by steam-powered and gasoline-powered machines allowed for faster plowing, cutting, and threshing. However, many farmers without large amounts of capital could not afford to purchase and maintain mechanized farm equipment, and small-acreage farmers often found mechanized equipment too difficult to maneuver in small fields or over rough terrain (Hurt 1994:246-247). Overall, farming by this time earned less as a business venture than other occupations, which perpetuated long-term low-income situations for farmers and did not allow for the incorporation of technological improvements that would boost their earnings on a national level (Shideler 1957:6).

Southern Appalachia during this period was embroiled in the effects of the industrial age. Many towns and villages had sprung up around mines and logging areas, and agriculture began to decline in the region as a whole, although this decline was most pronounced in industrial areas (Eller 1982:xix). The

number of farms actually increased over time, but these farms were generally smaller in terms of acreage. This resulted, for the most part, from absentee companies who purchased farm and forest land for their industrial pursuits, as well as the division of farms among heirs from one generation to the next[6] (Eller 1982:230).

Rural life in the earliest decades of the 20th-century was not much different from the decades of the late 19th-century; however, there were some changes that impacted the everyday lifeways of the average farmer. As mentioned above, the majority of farmers, especially the small-acreage farmers, continued to utilize horse-powered farm equipment. They also continued to live without the urban conveniences of electricity, running water, and indoor toilets. In many rural areas, these conveniences did not become commonplace until the mid 20th-century (Ahlman 1996; Carlson 1990). Nevertheless, there was a shift in some of the consumer habits of farmers in the early decades of the 20th-century. Although it may have seemed extravagant to some considering the prevalence of low incomes, many farmers began purchasing material goods and comforts in order to gain a sense of social equality with their urban and more affluent neighbors (Shideler 1957:41).

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[6] For a comprehensive historical archaeological examination of the division of land among heirs over several generations in Southern Appalachia, see Groover (2003).

Another change that significantly impacted rural life after the turn-of-the-20th-century was mail delivery to rural areas. The establishment of the Post Office Department in 1896 (made permanent in 1902) allowed for easier communication between rural areas and urban areas. Rural dwellers were then able to receive mail-order catalogs and order necessary or desired goods. Not only did the postal service promote increased consumerism in the countryside, but it also resulted in the improvement of rural roadways, as farmers, wanting their mail and packages, contributed to the establishment and maintenance of better roads in their communities (Hurt 1994:272).

The Great Depression in Southern Appalachia

As mentioned, World War I boosted the international market for farm goods. The United States and Canadian farm industries worked to feed European troops, and after the United States became involved, farm goods were used for the American soldiers as well. After the war, however, an agricultural crisis occurred that launched the American agricultural industry into a major economic slump. Overproduction, market dislocations, and freight-rate increases all contributed to the crisis, which resulted in increased mortgage indebtedness for farmers throughout the nation (Joint Commission of

Agricultural Inquiry 1921; Shideler 1957:46-47). Farmers became increasingly dependent upon distribution agencies because most agricultural endeavors focused on cash cropping, and this became increasingly costly (Shideler 1957:5).

Southern Appalachia continued to experience substantial economic growth with the constant demand for mineral and timber resources. Unfortunately, this economic growth was not associated with any long-range local development. Many parts of the region remained impoverished as the resources were stripped from the land to enrich the absentee companies who owned the mining and timbering businesses, many of whom were located in the North (Eller 1982:229).

The 1920s was a difficult decade for many farmers, and the onset of the Great Depression exacerbated their suffering, especially in the South, where they had already struggled throughout the preceding decade. Not only did the prices for cash crops such as cotton and tobacco reach record-breaking lows with laissez-faire market conditions, but droughts made matters worse by ensuring poor yields. American farmers, especially small-acreage farmers, continued to work at a loss (Bureau of Agricultural Economics 1930b; Drake 2001:195).

Southern Appalachian farms were not initially affected by the Crash of 1929 since they did not have close market ties like other agricultural parts of the

country, but over time, even these farmers became affected by the economic depression (Eller 1982:237). In addition to the worsening agricultural conditions, there were droves of people who initially had left farming to find work in urban industries that had lost their jobs and decided to return to farming as their livelihood (Bureau of Agricultural Economics 1930a; Hurt 1994: 296). The influx of people back to rural communities only compounded the poverty in these areas, because many of these returnees had to rent land or work as wage hands. This increased competition between farm families for land and labor opportunities, and thus drove wages lower and lower (Ibid.)

Continual poverty and agricultural policies implemented by the federal government in the 1930s, such as the several Agricultural Adjustment Acts, reversed the rural migratory trend. With the onset of World War II, thousands of Southern farmers left the countryside for work in urban areas, especially urban areas in the North, and the farm population decreased by 20.4-percent (Hurt 1994:298). As many more Southerners left for enlistment in the armed services during the War, many large-acreage farm owners had to increasingly turn to mechanization to meet the wartime needs for staple crops. After the war, many of the servicemen and women did not return to the farms to work, and when

they did, they often demanded conveniences such as electricity and running water (Ibid.).

By the end of the Second World War, rural life had improved for many farmers throughout the nation. More and more farmers were able to acquire mechanized farm equipment as the prices of gasoline tractors and combines decreased, and many were able to make improvements in their living conditions with the installation of electricity and running water. However, many farmers, especially in the South, continued to live in poverty, especially those who did not own the land they worked.

In Southern Appalachia, small-acreage self-sufficient farms continued to persist in spite of decreased land availability and the rise of new national markets. Although the majority of these farms by this time had electricity, many did not have telephones, trucks, or tractors, and continued to rely on animals for farm work as well as family members for their primary labor source (Drake 2001:196). With the rise of national markets and the underdevelopment that resulted from industries that stripped the land of resources, many farmers in Southern Appalachia turned to part-time farming because they could not make ends meet with farming alone. Hence, many farmers took seasonal employment

in nearby industries, such as mines, logging ventures, and mineral quarries (Eller 1982:231).

Oftentimes, these industries would also eventually disappear as the resources declined, and the part-time farmers had to decide whether they would try to return to their former life of full-time farming or follow the industries west to Oregon and Washington (Eller 1982:235-236). Even if they returned to farming full-time or found other part-time occupations, agriculture in Southern Appalachia never returned to its self-sufficient past. According to Drake (2001:197,212), the agricultural situation in rural Appalachia continues to look gloomy, as the 21st-century promises only increasing economic decline and hardship for the small-acreage Appalachian farmer.

The history of American agriculture is interwoven with progress as well as hardship for the men and women who worked the land over the last several centuries. Farmers in Southern Appalachia, as well as farmers throughout the entire American South, have toiled and suffered through droughts, wars, and changing economic conditions. The following chapter is a historic case study of one small-acreage farm family in Southern Appalachia who farmed the land and relied on any means necessary to survive during these changing times, even if that meant eventually giving up farming altogether. Although their story is

unique to them, the challenges they faced from social and economic standpoints were likely experienced by many other farmers in the region, and possibly in other parts of the nation as well.

CHAPTER III

THE KIRBYS AT MARBLE SPRINGS

It is not too soon to provide every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small landholders are the most precious part of the state.
- Thomas Jefferson (Oct. 28, 1785, in a letter to James Madison)

A Brief History of Agriculture in Knox County

Knox County, located in the eastern part of Tennessee (Figure 3.1), is situated in the Ridge and Valley, or Great Valley, a region composed of rolling and undulating hills, bordered by the Cumberland Plateau to the west and the Blue Ridge Mountains to the east (Figure 3.2). The majority of the land in the Great Valley around Knox County is productive and durable, and has been suitable for the growth of wheat, corn, hay, and tobacco (Bennett 1921:196; Fenneman 1938).

Much of the history of agriculture in Knox County is similar to that witnessed in the rest of Southern Appalachia. In the late 18th-century through the 19th-century, most farmers in the county participated in mixed grain and livestock farming. Corn was the leading crop in the county throughout this time period, followed by wheat, oats, and rye (Bonser and Mantle

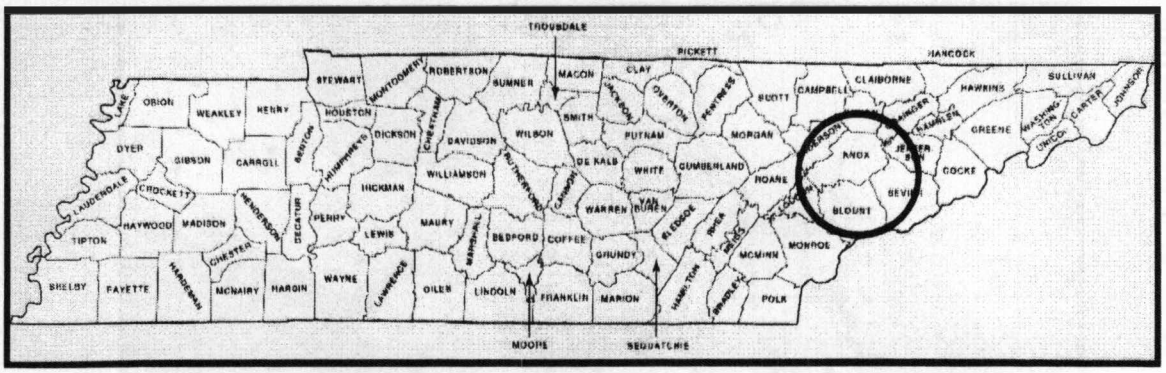

Figure 3.1: Map of Tennessee divided by county (TNGenWeb Project 2003).

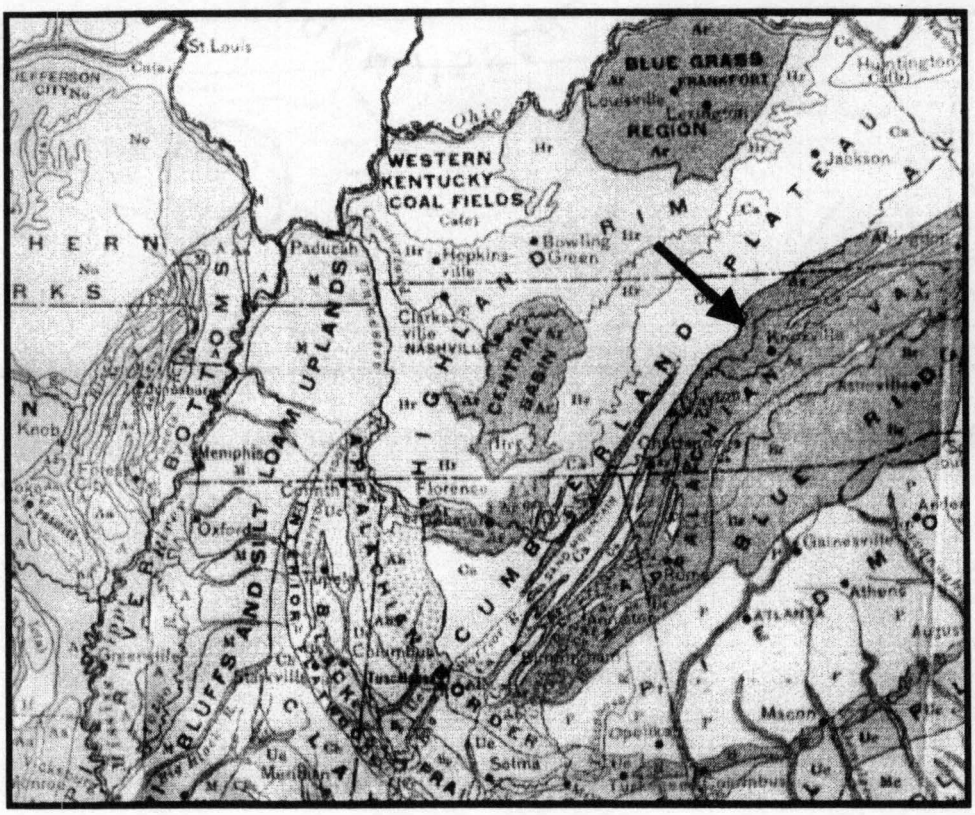

Figure 3.2: Detail of 1921 soil map of the Southern states, showing the Appalachian Valley, which includes Knox County, Tennessee[7] (Bennett 1921).

[7] The Appalachian Valley is now more commonly referred to as the Great Valley (Fenneman 1938).

1945a:5-8). Early in the history of the county, the city of Knoxville provided a market for farmers to sell their products as well as a place for them to collect their mail and purchase other goods and services they might need. In 1816, the farmer's market in the center of the city was erected with the support of the city government, and it thrived as a produce market until the early 20th century. Farmers within Knox and neighboring counties were encouraged to bring their produce and livestock for sale, and by the 1850s, special booths had been erected for the potato, vegetable, and fruit vendors as well as the farmers with livestock or poultry for sale (Bonser and Mantle 1945a:13-14; Gray and Adams 1976:79,131).

The Civil War brought challenges for the farmers in Knox and neighboring counties in East Tennessee. Most of the farmers in Knox County did not own plantations, and although some farmers owned enslaved African-Americans, the agricultural economy was not based on cash cropping. Although many in the county, such as politicians, journalists, and industrialists, agreed with the practice of slavery and the importance of states' rights, they were also hostile to the secessionist sentiments of the Old South. The average small-acreage farmers often felt the same way (MacArthur 1976:23). In the county as a whole, separation from the Union was rejected by a margin greater than four to

one (McKenzie 2001:75). Those who did side with the Confederacy were often in the top five-percent of property holders in Knox County, often owning slaves[8] and controlling the majority of the total wealth in the county[9] (Ibid).

As mentioned in Chapter II, Tennessee did eventually secede from the Union and enter the war. Knox County and other parts of East Tennessee witnessed soldiers who entered the war on both sides of the conflict, and after the war, they were left to return to their work in the cities or return to their farms to see how they fared. Throughout Knox County and the rest of the post-bellum South, many small yeoman farmers were forced by declining economic conditions to switch from subsistence farming to cash cropping goods, such as tobacco and cotton, or to give up farming completely and pursue employment in burgeoning industrial centers (Ayers 1992:190; Stine 1990:38; Woodman 1997:4).

Although not plagued by the cotton-production problems associated with the Deep South, such as far-reaching farm tenancy, poor livestock, and less grain, many farmers in the lush countryside of East Tennessee, as well as the bluegrass region of Kentucky and the western section of Virginia, had difficulty making a

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[8] Slave owning was a symbol of status and wealth in most of Southern society, whether in Southern Appalachia or the Deep South (Drake 2001: 86).

[9] Interestingly, many wealthy Union sympathizers in Knox County also owned slaves, believing in the preservation of the Union as well as the preservation of the institution of slavery (McKenzie 2001:80). To many of these Union-loyal slaveholders, secession was unconstitutional and, therefore, should have been avoided (Drake 2001:94).

profit from their surplus and/ or cash crops after the war (Ayers 1992:191). Even if they often owned mules, chickens, pigs, and milk cows - commodities many in the cotton belt could not afford to purchase or maintain - they frequently did not earn very much cash to purchase goods that they could not produce themselves (Ayers 1992:191; Stine 1990:43). As in the past, in order to make a profit, farmers attempted to sell their goods at local markets or export their goods to other parts of the country. However, railroad freight shipping costs, increasing market competition over western-state produced meat, flour, corn, and hay, and limited markets for orchard fruits in local areas left many farmers without a profit (Bonser and Mantle 1945a:14). Therefore, fluctuating market, economic, and even environmental conditions sometimes forced farmers to fall into debt, some taking out loans against their land, equipment, or stock, in order to purchase necessary goods to survive until the following year.

Interestingly, while some farmers packed up and moved their families to urban areas, such as Knoxville or cities in the North, in search of employment after losing their farms to banks and merchants, the overall number of producing farms continued to increase throughout the South up through the end of the 19th-century (Ayers1992:187-190). This likely was a result of two factors. First, the overall acreage of Southern owner-operated farms decreased significantly

between 1880 and 1900 as parts of large farms and plantations were sold off or divided among heirs (Woodman 1997:10). The second factor could be related to the on-going campaigns by railroad companies, real estate and immigration agencies, as well as local businessmen, to quell the agricultural labor shortages of the post-Civil War decade.

The 1870s witnessed a mass-migration of African-Americans and impoverished whites from rural hinterlands into cities, and from the southern states to the western frontier and northeastern and midwestern cities (Bonser and Mantle 1945a:14,35; McDonald and Wheeler 1983). In order to attract laborers and new potential farm owners to Knox County, the Knoxville Board of Trade and local newspapers, such as the *Knoxville Daily Chronicle,* heralded the growing economy, available farm land, and employment opportunities for farm laborers. Many of those who heeded these calls were from the Northeast, and even Europe (Bonser and Mantle 1945a:34,36). Hence, the steady influx of land- or employment-seeking immigrants, combined with decreasing farm acreage, caused the overall number of farms to increase in Knox County in the last quarter of the 19th-century, in spite of the numbers who gave up farming altogether.

As the century came to a close, economic and employment opportunities in Knox County decreased, and farming experienced a depression (Bonser and Mantle 1945a:36). Small-acreage landowners throughout the South complained about growing competition with large farms that had better equipment, fertilizer, work animals, and utilized sharecropper labor. Government officials responded by advocating self-sufficiency and debt avoidance (Woodman 1997:16-17). That is, small landowners were basically told that in order to keep their land and survive, they would need to accept lower standards of living, not modernize their farming techniques or equipment, and exist in the margins of society.

The early 20th-century witnessed new shifts in Knox County agriculture. Tractor and tractor-operated machinery became available to local farmers[10], and with the expansion of agricultural production to meet food needs during World War I, the standard of living for farm families generally increased (Bonser and Mantle 1945b:1). However, depression hit again as farm prices declined after WWI. The declining prices of livestock and livestock products, along with a large surplus of grains, combined with failing export demands after the war threw the U.S. agricultural economy into a tailspin (Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry 1921:13). Knox County farmers were still in the middle of

[10] Although tractors were infrequently used in Knox County until after WWI (Bonser and Mantle 1945b:15).

this depression when the financial crash occurred in 1929. As mentioned in Chapter II, farmers in this region did not immediately feel the effects of the stock market crash, but they were not able to avoid it completely. As the prices of grain plummeted, farmers in the county responded by shifting their focus from grain production to dairying, but many, especially the small-acreage landowners, could not financially recover from the low grain prices and the overall economic crisis that had enveloped the nation (Ibid.). More and more farms were lost to overwhelming debt, and the presence of tenant farmers and laborers in the county increased.

In spite of these economic challenges, many farmsteads in Knox County witnessed mechanical improvements in the home during this period. In 1937 alone, 162 families in the county[11] installed electricity on their property, 106 installed indoor plumbing in their kitchens and bathrooms, and 765 added some form of miscellaneous electronic equipment (Bonser and Mantle 1945b:17). Some farmers were able to purchase automobiles, and country village general stores and blacksmith shops became decreasingly important as rural citizens were increasingly able to drive to Knoxville to purchase necessary or desired goods (Bonser and Mantle 1945b:15).

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[11] This includes farm and city residents, so how many farm homes versus urban dwellings had electricity installed is not known.

By 1940, a new trend had emerged as New Deal economic programs allowed business and professional men to purchase farms to run as hobbies, and others to cultivate for a profit "part time"[12] (Bonser and Mantle 1945b:19). Hence, many farms being worked in this way did not necessarily have families living on them full-time. Instead, many farmers lived in the city or near their farms and simply worked the farm in their spare time. In addition, the total land in farms in Knox County continued to decrease, a trend that began in the late 19th-century. Between 1930 and 1950, the total land in farms decreased by 36,000 acres[13]; however, the total number of farms increased by 200. Hence, increased population over time put more and more pressure on the land resulting in smaller farms and less farmland over all (U.S. Soil Conservation Service 1955:10).

The influx and outflow of farmers from rural areas, the introduction of part-time farming, continuing market competition with the Great Plains and the Midwest, and the continuing decline in the availability of rural land resulted in an increase in the number of rural county residents who did not farm. As farm size decreased, homes were placed closer and closer together. Having little land to farm or finding it unprofitable, many farmers, or the offspring of farmers,

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[12] By 1940, 46-percent of the farmers in Knox County actually farmed part-time.

[13] The average acreage per farm in Knox County in 1925 was 58.1 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1925:705). In 1930, the average acreage per farm was 62.8, but this fell to 47.0 acres in 1935 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1936:597)

moved to the cities to find other occupations. Others found work in mineral quarries or mines and built their homes in their own neighborhoods (Bonser and Mantle 1945b:18). Hence, rural communities were established where farming was no longer the central occupation.

Case Study: The Kirby Family at Marble Springs

Marble Springs was first deeded and officially purchased by John Sevier in 1806[14]. The plantation consisted of 355 ½ acres (Hagaman 1987:58). Sevier (Figure 3.3), notorious Indian fighter and famed leader in the battle against the British at Kings Mountain in 1780, was the elected governor of the state of Franklin and then elected as the first governor of Tennessee when the state was admitted to the union in 1796 (MacArthur, Jr. 1982:21). Sevier and his family maintained a residence within the city of Knoxville, and they periodically resided at their farm at Marble Springs, where they would entertain guests and visitors. After 1801, Sevier, his wife, and their four youngest children likely resided permanently at Marble Springs, since Sevier sold his property in town at this time (Barber 2002: 27,30).

[14] Sevier had possession of the property since the 1790s, but since Tennessee was originally part of North Carolina and land surveying was halted until after Tennessee statehood, no deeds were granted for land in Tennessee until 1806, the same year Marble Springs was deeded to Sevier (Barber 2002:30; Griffey 2000).

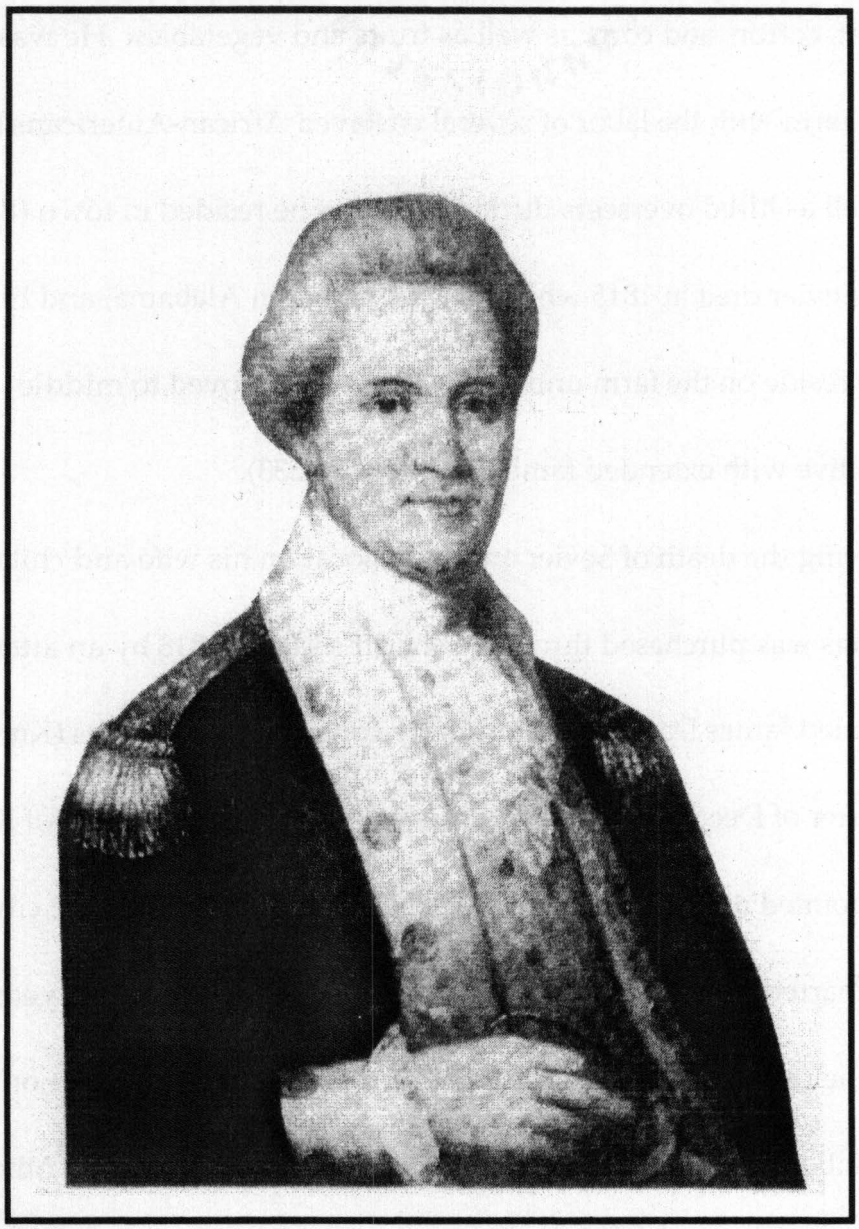

Figure 3.3: John Sevier, first governor of Tennessee.

During his ownership and occupation of the site, Sevier grew crops such as oats, wheat, cotton, and corn, as well as fruits and vegetables. He was able to maintain his farm with the labor of several enslaved African-Americans that he owned, as well as hired overseers during the times he resided in town (Barber 2002:31,33). Sevier died in 1815 while on assignment in Alabama, and his family continued to reside on the farm until 1817, when they moved to middle Tennessee to live with extended family (Barber 2002:33).

Following the death of Sevier and the relocation his wife and children, Marble Springs was purchased through a sheriff's sale in 1818 by an attorney and merchant named James Dardis. The property consisted of 290 acres (Knox County Register of Deeds 1818:365). Dardis was a prominent citizen of Knoxville who was appointed as one of the first aldermen of Knoxville after the city received its charter in 1815 (Gray and Adams 1976:76)[15]. In the early years of the 19th-century, he primarily lived in Knoxville in a large brick residence on the corner of Cumberland Avenue and Main Street[16], and he also owned other lots within the city (Rothrock 1946:408). He likely never resided at Marble Springs, or if he did, it was only for a short period of time. In 1829, he advertised three

[15] He continued as alderman of the city of Knoxville from 1816 through 1819, and again in 1828 (Deaderick 1976:634-635).
[16] Interestingly, Dardis is said to have owned a spring on his residence lot in Knoxville (Rothrock 1946:408).

tracts of land for sale in Knox County, in addition to several houses and lots within the Knoxville city limits. In 1830, he moved to Winchester, Franklin County, Tennessee. Once there, Dardis engaged in railroad construction and served on several juries. He died on Christmas Day in 1846 at the age of 80 (Rothrock 1946:409).

In 1847, George W. Kirby purchased 140 acres of the original property owned by Sevier through Dardis' attorney, James Campbell, for $300 (Rothrock 1946: 408-409; Knox County Register of Deeds 1847:373-374). This tract of land included the 40 acres of what is today still called Marble Springs. George Kirby, aged 38, moved to his new farm in 1847 with his wife, Lettie McCammon (aged 41) and their three sons, John M. (aged seven), Frank (also known as "Francis," aged five), and Joseph Upton (aged one). Very little is known about the agricultural practices of George Kirby or what life was like at Marble Springs before 1860.

In 1860, George, his wife, Lettie, and their three sons had two other people residing with them: Sarah Cummings, aged 33, and her daughter, Jane (also known as Betty Jane), aged three (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860:396). It is unknown whether Sarah and her daughter were related to the Kirbys, or why they moved to Marble Springs. However, sometime between 1860 and 1865,

George's wife, Lettie, died, and Frank, the second-oldest son and a Union soldier, died in a Confederate prison sometime during the Civil War (Harrington 1965).[17] On November 21, 1865, 56-year-old George Kirby married his 38-year-old housemate, Sarah Cummings[18] (Figures 3.4 and 3.5) (Duggan 2002).

In 1868, George Kirby sold approximately 81 acres of land to his youngest son, Joseph Upton Kirby for $100 (Knox County Register of Deeds 1868:471-472). Joseph had married Malinda Melvina French[19] the previous year. Joseph's tract of land included the area containing the Sevier cabin and kitchen. Although archival records could not be located regarding any other additional neighboring tracts of land purchased by George Kirby, he likely had purchased more land between 1847 and 1868. After selling 81 acres to Joseph, George continued to own 140 acres (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870b). George Kirby had also likely sold several acres to his oldest son, and Joseph's surviving brother, John, on a previous date. Joseph's warranty deed states that his property adjoined the "J. M. Kirby line," but any further information regarding John's property is

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[17] This is not surprising in light of how many Union soldiers died while imprisoned in camps such as Andersonville and other Confederate camps. Many prisoners were sick or badly wounded and often did not receive treatment or care from Confederate physicians (Dyer 2001:138).

[18] Sarah familiarly was called "Sally."

[19] Malinda Melvina Kirby often went by the names of "Linda," Melvina" and "Vina" throughout her life. The French family was a prominent farm family in the community, and many of the descendents continue to reside in the area (Geneva Jennings, 2004, pers. comm.).

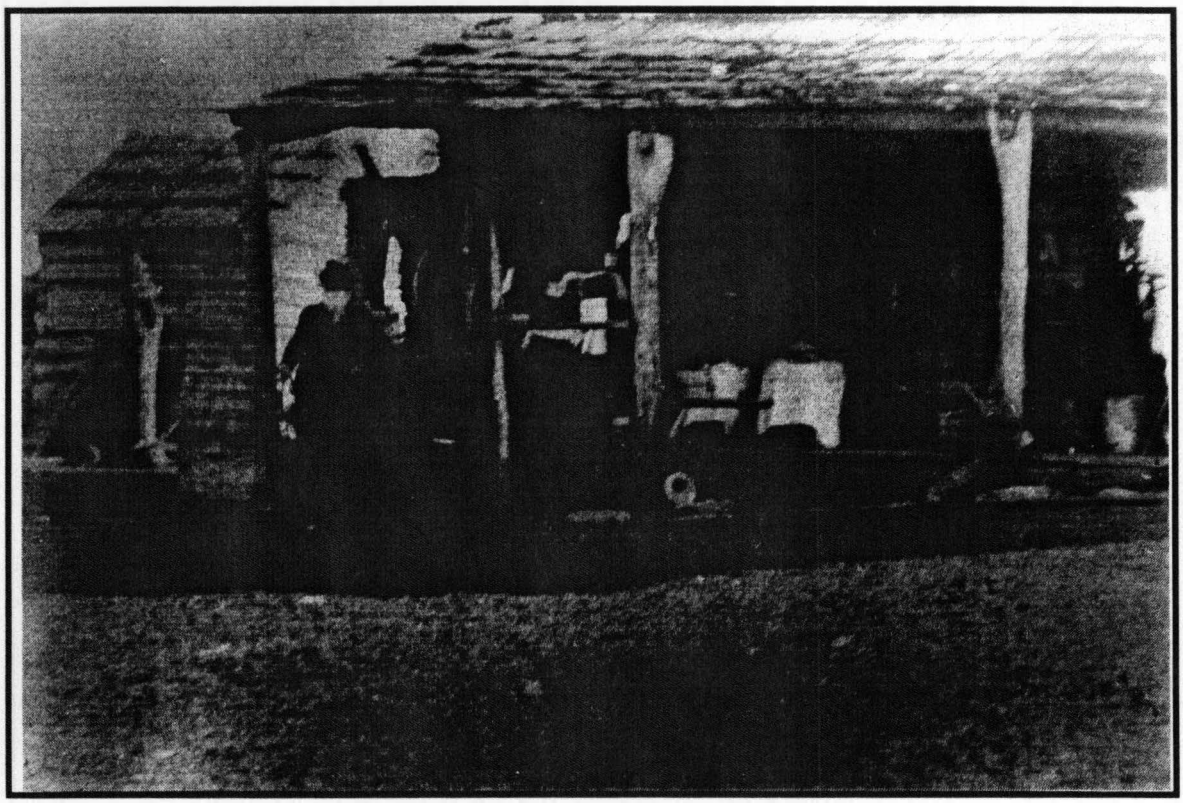

Figure 3.4: The Kirbys on the porch in front of the kitchen at Marble Springs, ca. 1890 (from left to right: George W. Kirby, Betty Owens [nee Cummings], and Sarah "Sally" Kirby).

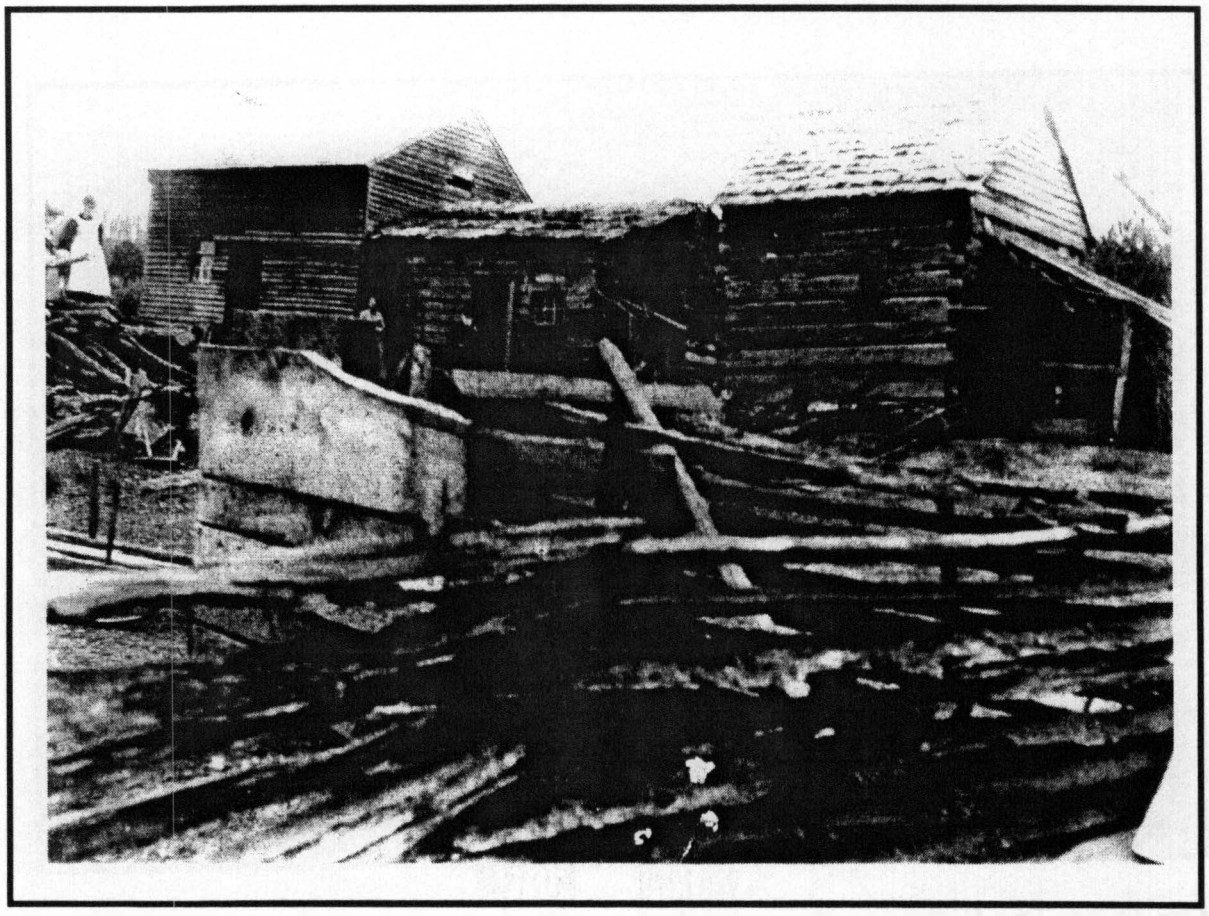

Figure 3.5: The Kirbys standing in front of the main cabin and kitchen (George, with white beard, stands in front of the kitchen door), ca. 1890.

unknown at this time (Knox County Register of Deeds 1868:471). By 1870, three generations of Kirbys were residing at Marble Springs. The 1870 U.S. Census indicates that George and his second wife, Sally (Sarah), and her 19-year-old daughter, Betty Jane, were residing there with Joseph and "Vina," and their two-year-old son, Charles (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870a:13).

Both George and his son, Joseph, farmed the land at Marble Springs. Although George, by this time, did not technically own any of the farmland around Marble Springs, he was still listed as a farmer alongside Joseph in the agricultural census (Table 3.1). In 1870, both George and Joseph grew wheat and Indian corn, while George also grew tobacco, Irish and sweet potatoes, and Joseph grew oats (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870b). Both had several horses, a mule, several milk cows, and swine, and raised sheep for meat and wool. Like many farmers during this time period, George and Joseph produced enough surplus goods to make a profit at local markets and purchase other goods not produced on their land.

Sometime between 1870 and 1880, George's stepdaughter, Betty Jane, married Alexander Owens and moved away from Marble Springs to live with her husband, although she maintained close ties with the Kirbys throughout the

Table 3.1: 1870 Knox County agricultural census data (Schedule 3) for George W. Kirby and Joseph Upton Kirby (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870b).

Agricultural data	George W. Kirby	Joseph Upton Kirby
Improved acres	40	40
Woodlands	100	40
Cash value of farm	$900	$1000
Farm implements and machinery	$50	$5
Horses	2	3
Mules	1	-
Milk cows	2	3
Other cattle	1	1
Sheep	5	5
Swine	10	8
Value of all livestock	$209	$365
Wheat (bu.)	25	5
Indian corn (bu.)	100	150
Oats (bu.)	-	30
Tobacco (lbs.)	15	-
Wool (lbs.)	9	9
Irish potatoes (bu.)	4	-
Sweet potatoes (bu.)	15	-
Butter (lbs.)	50	200
Hay (tons)	2	3
Molasses (gal.)	30	18
Value of home manufactured goods	$8	$18
Value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter	$72	$50
Total value of all farm productions	$312	$380

late 19th-century (Figure 3.6). In 1875, Joseph and Melvina had their second child, Hugh O. Kirby (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880a:15). The agricultural practices of George and Joseph likely remained similar to what they were in 1870. However, by 1880, George and Joseph also added poultry to the livestock they raised at Marble Springs, and grew beans (Table 3.2). George had also added one-half acre of fruit bearing apple trees to his crops (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880b:8).

One can also see in Table 3.2 that although the farm values for both George and Joseph did not increase significantly, they expanded their farm production in the decade between 1870 and 1880[20]. Butter production significantly increased and the presence of poultry assured the family of eggs for personal use and sale at local markets. Sheep – for meat and fleece – became the major livestock of the Kirby farm, although they continued to retain several milk cows. Oat production increased and wheat production remained the same from 1870 to 1880, but Indian corn production decreased and George ceased farming tobacco and Irish potatoes altogether (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880b). All of these changes are likely a result of changing market prices during this time

[20] Notice, however, that the overall cash value of farm productions decreased by more than 50-percent. This will be elaborated on further in Chapter IV.

Figure 3.6: Betty Owens (seated, center) with other members of the Owens family (from left to right, Eliza Cupp, Mable Owens, Harrison Owens, Charlie Owens, and Joe Cupp), ca. 1890. (Photo courtesy of Myrtle Simms.)

Table 3.2: 1880 Knox County agricultural census data (Schedule 2) for George W. Kirby and Joseph Upton Kirby (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880b).

Agricultural data	George W. Kirby	Joseph Upton Kirby
Tilled land	35	35
Permanent meadow	4	-
Woodlands	100	40
Cash value of farm: (land, fences, and buildings) (implements and machinery) (livestock)	 $400 $50 $178	 $1000 $25 $175
Cost of building and repairing fences in 1879	$4	-
Amount of wages paid for farm labor in 1879	$12	-
Weeks hired labor in 1879	3 (white)	-
Acreage not mown	2	-
Horses	2	2
Milk cows	2	1
Other cattle	1	-
Cattle sold living	1	-
Cattle slaughtered	-	1
Sheep on hand in 1879	12	3
Lambs dropped	3	-
Sheep purchased	-	6
Sheep sold Living	-	4
Sheep killed by dogs	-	6
Sheep died of disease	3	-
Fleeces (no.)	8	6
Weight of fleeces (lbs.)	15	9
Swine	5	5
Poultry (barnyard)	15	8
Other	6	-
Eggs (doz.)	208	200
Wheat (bu.)	22	22
Indian corn (bu.)	150	60
Oats (bu.)	20	40
Cow peas (bu.)	2	-
Beans (bu.)	1	1
Sweet potatoes (bu.)	15	10
Molasses (gal.)	28	-
Value of all farm productions (sold, consumed, or on hand in 1879)	$155	$100

period, as well as weather conditions and personal choice. A perusal of the 1880 U.S. agricultural census indicates that many of the Kirbys' neighbors farmed and raised similar products, and also hired farm laborers for several weeks out of the year.

In 1884, Joseph sold the 81 acres he had purchased from his father to his wife, Melvina, for $300 (Knox County Register of Deeds 1884:45-46). Both Joseph and George were alive and continued to reside on and farm the land at Marble Springs, at least according to the census records, where they are listed as "farmers," but Melvina became sole owner of the property (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880, 1891). It is unknown at this time why Joseph was motivated to sell the property to his wife. It is possible that he may not have been farming, the land being worked and managed instead by Melvina, but that he was still being listed as a farmer by the census recorders, who would have assumed that Melvina, as a wife, would have been "keeping house" while Joseph farmed the land.

It is not known whether Melvina and Joseph resided in the same domestic dwelling with George and Sally during the early years of their marriage, but by 1895 they were definitely residing in a separate structure on the Marble Springs

property (Figure 3.7). One can see "Geo. Kirby" designated as a separate residence from "Joe Kirby," and another unknown structure just labeled "Kirby"[21]. Hence, one can ascertain from the 1895 Knox County map that at least two, or possibly three, separate household structures were in place at or near Marble Springs by this time.

In 1896, Melvina's father, Peter French, died. In his will, he bequeathed one bed and springs to his daughter as well as $20 in cash (Knox County Archives 1896). Following the death of her father, Melvina's mother, Malinda Allison French, came to live with Melvina at Marble Springs (Figure 3.8). She resided there shortly with her daughter and died later that same year. Both she and her husband, Peter, were buried in the New Salem Methodist Church cemetery, a church within a few miles southwest of Marble Springs (Figure 3.9) (Geneva Jennings, 2004, pers. comm.)

In 1897, 88-year-old George Kirby died of pneumonia (McClung Collection 1897a). He was buried at the Keyhill-Kirby Cemetery at the junction of what are now the John Sevier and Chapman highways (McClung Collection 1982). George Kirby's obituary mentions that he frequently rode to Knoxville to go to market "as was his custom."

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[21] Likely J. M. Kirby, George's oldest son and Joseph's brother.

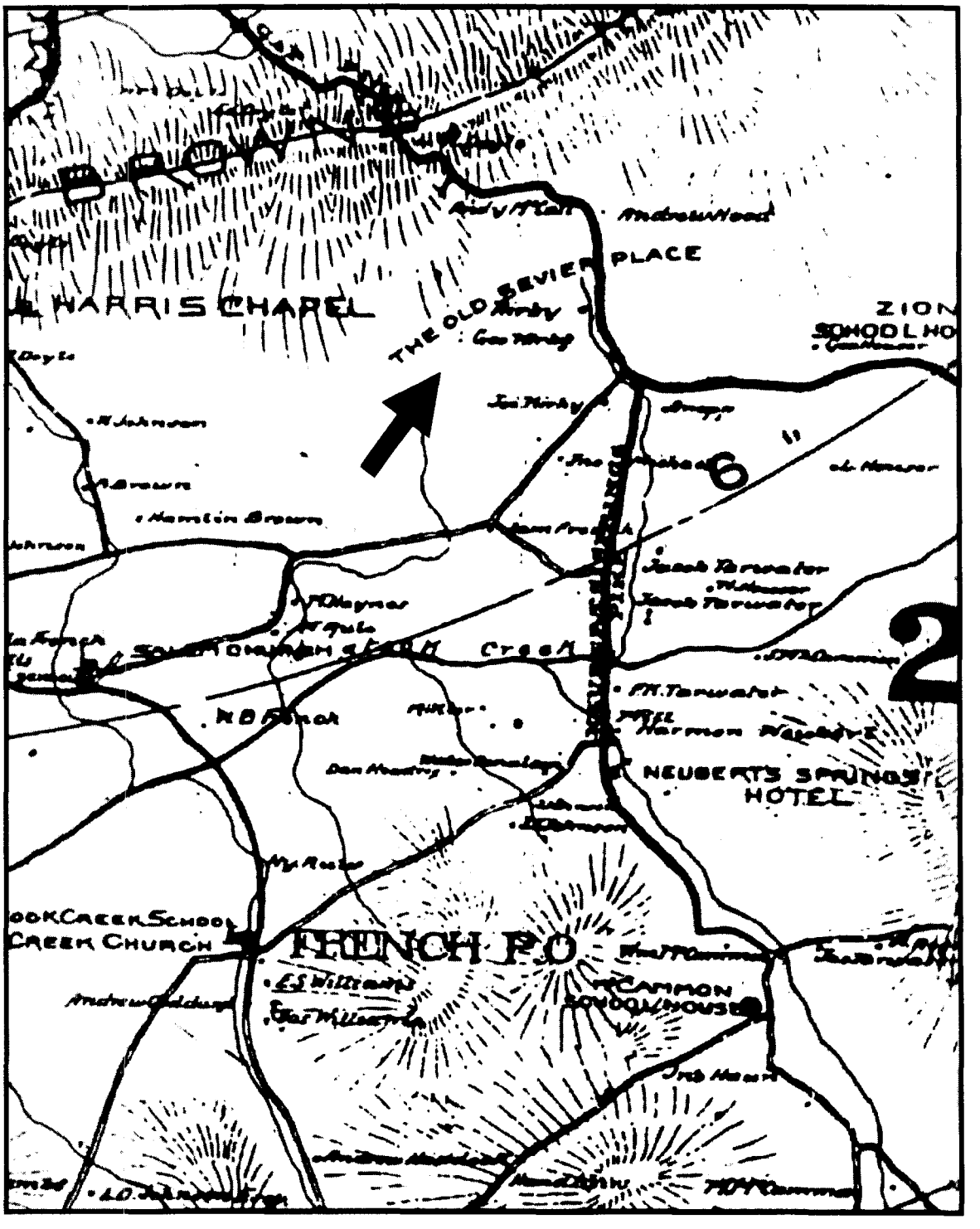

Figure 3.7: 1895 Knox County map showing Kirby households at "The Old Sevier Place" (McClung Collection 1895).

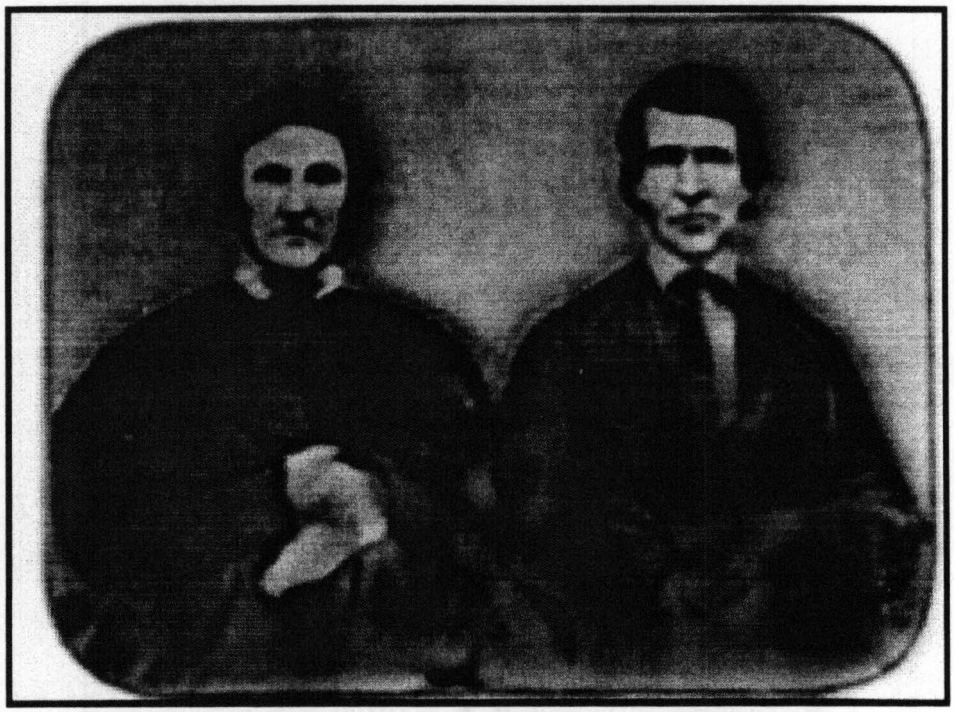

Figure 3.8: Malinda Allison French and Peter French, Melvina's parents. (Photo courtesy of Geneva Jennings.)

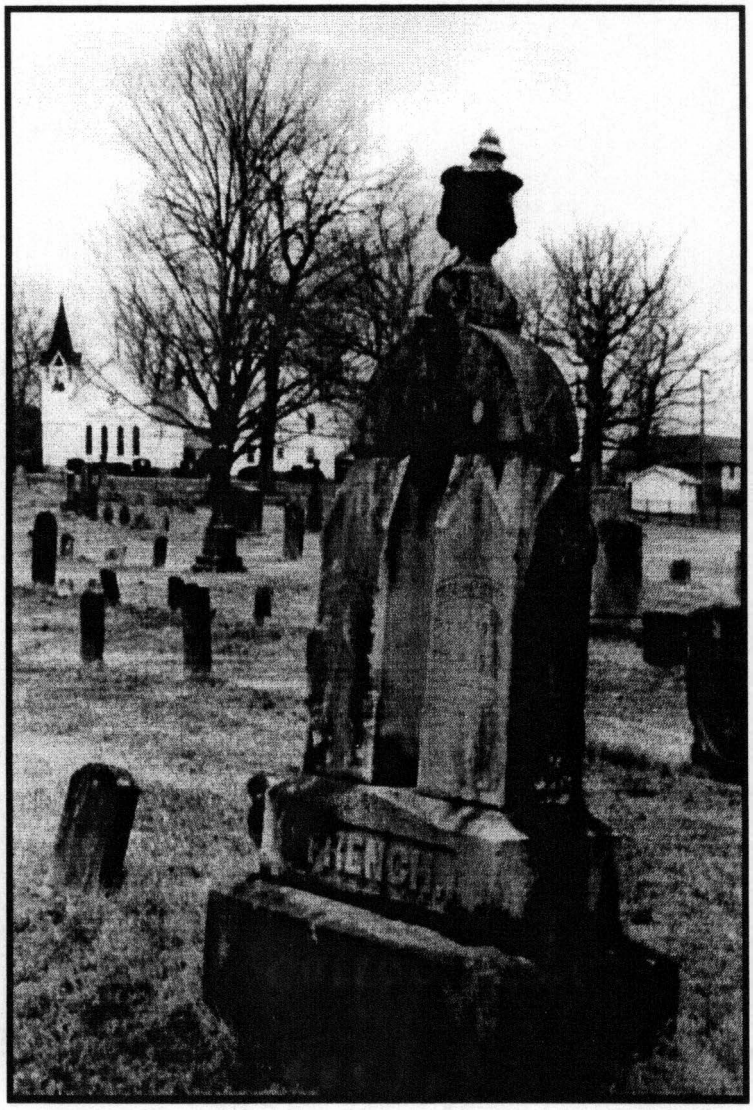

Figure 3.9: Malinda and Peter French tombstone at the New Salem Methodist Church cemetery. (Photo courtesy of Geneva Jennings.)

A descendant in a correspondence stated that he was known as "Friday Kirby" for his weekly rides to the city where he got "gloriously drunk," returning home eventually on his "faithful horse" that knew the way back to Marble Springs (Harrington 1965:2). Charles Owens, pictured in Figure 3.5, often rode behind George on his saddle. Harrington (1965:2), a great grand-niece of George Kirby, states that Charles recounted to her a time where he tried desperately to hang on following one of these ventures to town, and that George would shout, "G** D***it, Charlie, hang on, hang on!"

Following his death, nearly $55 worth of George's personal belongings and farm equipment was sold to settle his debts[22] (Table 3.3). It is not known whether Sally remained at Marble Springs after George's death. Except for possibly a chest, cupboard, table, and desk – items not sold during the estate sale – she likely did not have much furniture or other household items remaining. Even the bed was sold (Knox County Archives 1897a:147). It is possible that she left Marble Springs to live with her daughter, Betty Owens. Sally died in 1911

[22] It is interesting to note in Table 3.3 how many of George's farm tools and furniture were sold to members of the Kirby family as well as members of the community. Joseph purchased a kettle and a bedstead, and Hugh, his son and George's grandson, purchased a kettle and scythe. In spite of the farm implements sold, some farm equipment remained with the family, such as a wagon, a feed cutter, rakes, a plow, a few barrels, and some smith tools (Knox County Archives 1897a:147).

Table 3.3: Goods and chattel sold belonging to the estate of George W. Kirby, deceased (Knox County Archives 1897a:147).

Name	Item	Cost ($)
Moses Neubert	gears	0.25
J. M. Kirby	spade and shovel	0.75
Hutton	saw	0.10
Nancy Dempster	wrench	0.25
Hugh Kirby	brass kettle	0.10
Charles Cuffon	fork	0.30
Joseph Kirby	kettle	0.05
Jno. Kirby	curtain	0.80
Jno. Kirby	barrel	0.30
Moses Neubert	cradle	0.35
Jno. Kirby	wagon bed	0.25
Eeb. Spangler	wagon bed	5.75
Harry Deport	horse	35.00
Tom Kirby	wagon	0.50
Tom Kirby	chattels	0.05
Wm. Kirby	plow	0.25
Eeb. Spangler	double plow	0.45
Eeb. Spangler	turning plow	1.50
Hugh Kirby	scythe	0.30
J. O. Hows	oats	0.30
A. J. Winkle	box	0.30
Joseph Kirby	bed stead	0.35
A. J. Winkle	bed	0.10
A. J. Winkle	dogs	0.35
Jno. Sayne	mates	0.10
George Tarwater	kettle	0.05
Eeb. Spangler	kettle	0.50
Harry Deport	lard can	0.15
Hugh Kirby	chattels	0.25
Hugh Kirby	bell	0.15
Harry Deport	cart	0.20
Eeb. Spangler	gears	0.30
Sam Kirby	unknown	0.55
Jno. Kirby	unknown	0.05
Jno. Kirby	gun miller	2.55
Jno. Kirby	saddle	0.15
J. M. Kirby	unknown	0.10
William Haun	sash mill	0.45
J. M. Kirby	corn planter	0.20
Jno. Sayne	half bushel of unknown	0.10
Eeb. Spangler	harrow	0.50
Total		55.30

and is buried next to George in the Kirby-Keyhill cemetery (McClung Collection 1987; Tennessee State Library and Archives 2005).

At the time of his grandfather's death, it is apparent that Hugh Kirby was farming regularly, possibly farming the land his mother had acquired from his father (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900). However, not much is known regarding the Kirby farming practices or what kinds of crops or livestock were raised and maintained. Specific agricultural census data divided by farm or individual was not available for Knox County after 1880. On July 29, 1900, Hugh married Daisy Eddington[23]. Hugh's older brother, Charles, had already married in 1893 and moved away from Marble Springs (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900).

It is not known when Melvina contracted tuberculosis, but she had likely been ill for some time when she wrote her last will and testament in September 1909 (Knox County Archives 1909a:38). Tuberculosis, or "consumption" as it was called for many years, was not an uncommon disease in Knoxville and Knox County in the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries. In 1870, 10-percent of the deaths reported in Knoxville were a result of tuberculosis, and in 1881 and 1882, the disease was responsible for 14-percent[24] and 12.5-percent of the total deaths,

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[23] Also known as "Clemie" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910).

[24] According to Boyd (1882:2), the majority of these individuals were not native Knoxvillians and had migrated to the area in order to seek better climate conditions as a form of treatment for their disease.

respectively (Boyd 1882:4, 1885b:380; Tadlock 1876:7). According to S. B. Boyd (1882:2), secretary of Knoxville's Board of Health in the 1880s, consumption was commonly known as "the fell destroyer that takes more lives than any three diseases known to man."

After the turn-of-the-20th-century, tuberculosis continued to be the leading cause of death in the city and county, where 15-percent of deaths were due to the disease (Knoxville Board of Health 1908:12). This number may not seem very high when compared to the percentages from the 1880s; however, the overall increasing number of individuals and rapid spread of the infectious disease does make this number significant. Whereas in 1881, 39 people died from the disease, in 1884 there were 70 people that died and in 1907 there were 115 people that died, and these numbers do not take into account the number of people who lived with the disease for many years (Boyd 1882:4, 1885a:10; Knoxville Board of Health 1908:17).

Melvina was treated by a physician named J. N. Ellis, who lived within the same county district. One month after she wrote her will on October 13, 1909, Melvina died at the age of 65 (Knox County Archives 1909b:271). In her will, she divided the farm between her two sons, Charles and Hugh, giving the northern portion of the farm that contained the Sevier cabin to Hugh and his

wife, Daisy, and the southern half to her son, Charles. Interestingly, she explicitly states in her will that Joseph should "have a home and support during his natural life, provided he does not remarry" (Knox County Archives 1909a:38). If he did remarry, she stated that he would "forfeit all rights to home and support," indicating that in the event that he remarried, he would no longer be allowed to reside at Marble Springs, the land his father purchased nearly 60 years prior. Melvina had no debts that required settlement at the time of her death, and she was buried in the New Salem Methodist Church cemetery, the same cemetery her parents were buried in 13 years earlier (Figures 3.10 and 3.11) (Knox County Archives 1914:239; McClung Collection 1982).

Although Hugh and Charles inherited Marble Springs from their mother, Charles never moved back to Marble Springs. By 1910, he was living in Knoxville with his wife, Laura, and their son, Roscoe (Knoxville City Directory 1910). Charles worked as a building contractor, and he and his family remained in the city at least until the mid-1930s (Knoxville City Directory 1935). In 1910[25], Hugh and Daisy, and their three children, Cora L. (also known as "Cora Lou,"

[25] Considering that the census lists were published the year following the enumeration by the census takers, one could consider this information for the year 1909.

Figure 3.10: New Salem Methodist Church, Knox County, Tennessee (main building on the left was constructed in the 19th-century and is currently on the National Register of Historic Places; addition on right was constructed more recently).

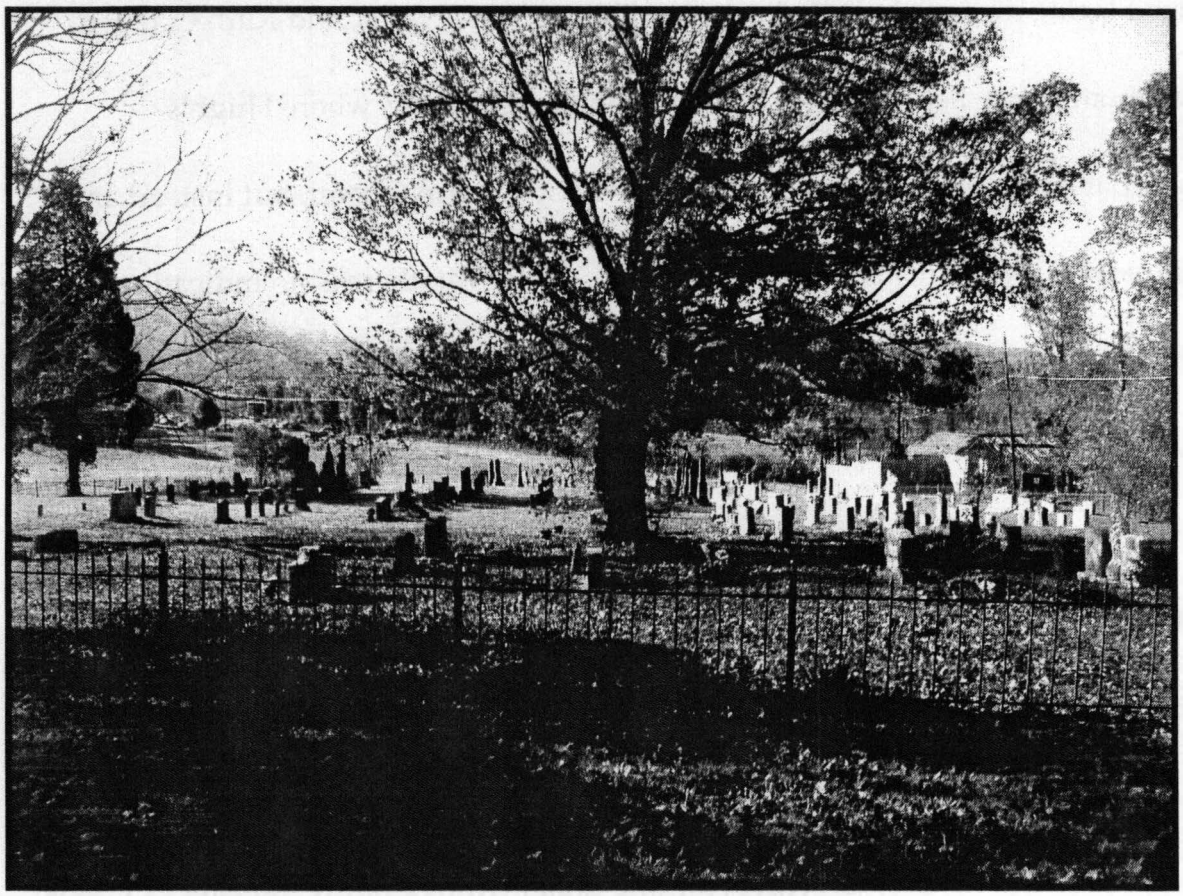

Figure 3.11: New Salem Methodist Church cemetery, where Melvina and Joseph Kirby are buried[26].

[26] This is the same church cemetery where Melvina's parents are buried. However, unlike Malinda and Peter French, Melvina and Joseph no longer have standing tombstones.

aged eight), Frances M. (also known as "Marie," aged four), and Ruth C. (aged six-months) are listed in the census as renting their home, where Hugh's occupation is "general farming." Hugh was not a farm laborer, but instead an employer (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910). However, there is no indication in the census if he indeed hired any laborers or for how long. It is not known whether they were residing at Marble Springs when the census was taken, although it is quite possible[27]. Joseph was listed separately in the census from Hugh and his family. It states that at this time he was working as a laborer doing "odd jobs" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910).

In 1911, only two years after the death of Melvina, Charles sold his half of the property to his brother, Hugh, for one-dollar (Knox County Register of Deeds 1911:164). Figure 3.12 shows the main cabin, kitchen, and smokehouse during this time period[28]. To the right of the cabin past the palen fence one can see a field with what appears to be crops of corn. On February 22, 1919, 17-year-old Cora Lou, the oldest daughter of Hugh and Daisy, married 28-year-old Simon Haun, a wage laborer at the local quarry (Knox County Archives 1919:349; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920). In the 1920 U.S. Census, Cora Lou and Simon are

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[27] Hugh may have at some point been "renting" from his mother, Melvina, around the time the census was taken. It is unclear, however, since Melvina died during the same year the census was taken. If he was residing at Marble Springs, he may have lived in one of the buildings designated on the 1895 map of Knox County.

[28] According to MacArthur (1982:21), this photograph was taken in 1913.

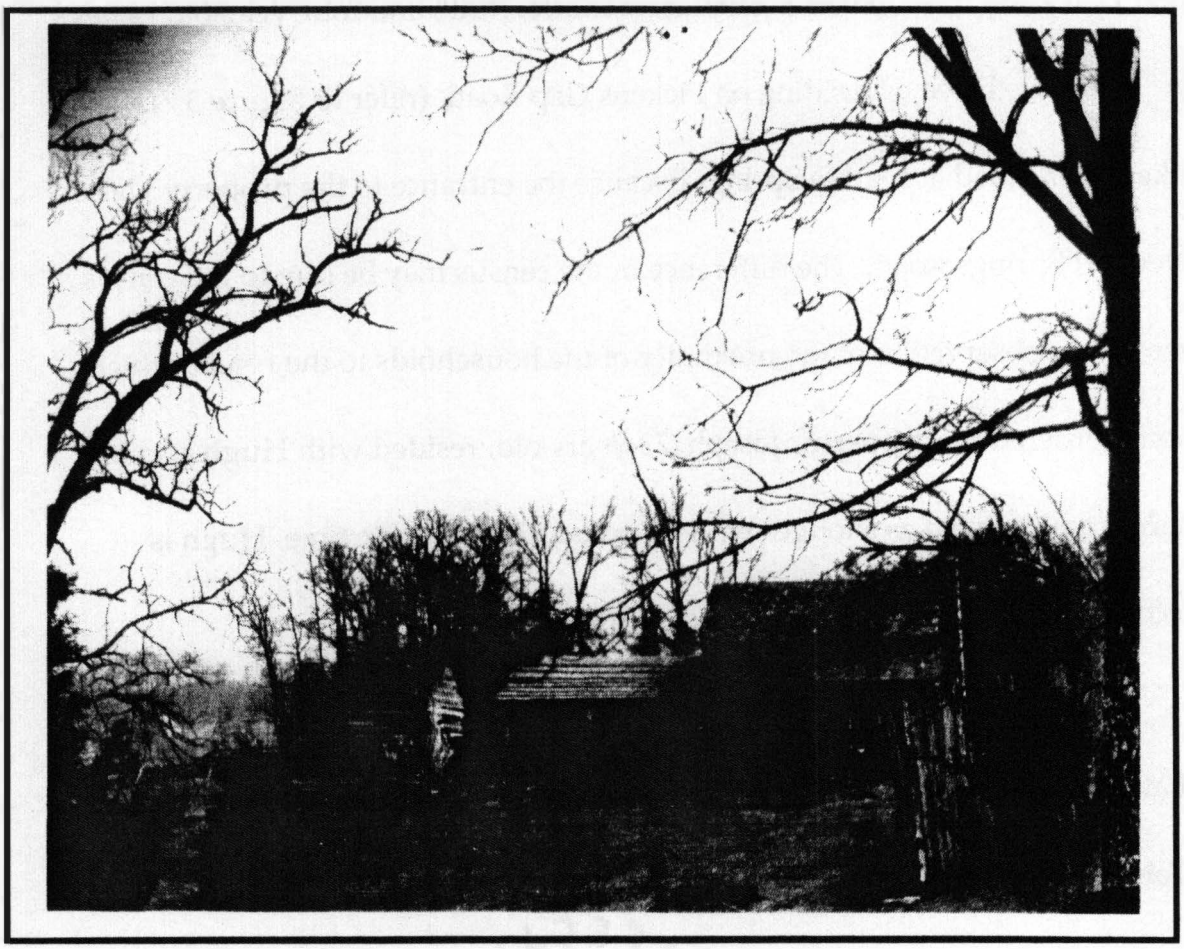

Figure 3.12: Kirby farmstead ca. 1913 showing (from left to right) the smokehouse, kitchen, and main cabin.

listed as residing in a separate residence on Neubert Springs Road from Hugh and Daisy and their remaining children: Marie, Ruth, and four-year-old James A.[29], who are listed as residing on Pickens Gap Road (refer to Figure 3.7). They likely all resided at Marble Springs because the entrance to the property was on Neubert Springs Road. The difference in the census may be due to the census recorder's observation of the proximity of the households to the roads, which both bordered the property. Joseph, 73-years-old, resided with Hugh and his family and is listed as a lodger with no occupation. By this time, Hugh is recorded to be a general farmer who owns his property.

The Knox County tax lists from 1853 to 1931 for Marble Springs indicated that there was a significant increase in the property value from 1911 to 1920[30] (Table 3.4). In 1911, after Melvina's death and the sale of Charles' half of the property to his brother, Hugh, the 81 acres were worth $800. By 1920, they were worth $2,400 (Knox County Archives 1853-1931). This indicates that there were either improvements on the property or property values in the county increased overall. Both cases are likely true. One can see in Table 3.4 that the property

[29] James A. Kirby was commonly called "Albert" or "Rabbit" later in life (David Blazier, 2004, pers. comm.; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930).
[30] Interestingly, the 1920 census also indicates that the property is mortgaged for an unknown amount.

Table 3.4: Knox County tax list information for Marble Springs, 1853-1931 (Knox County Archives 1853-1931).

Year	Name	Acres	Value ($)	Polls	Aggregate Tax ($)
1853	George Kirby	140	1,000	1	1.48
1856	George Kirby	140	900	-	7.53
1868/69	George Kirby	140	1,000	-	11.80
1873	Joseph Kirby	81	640	-	6.90
1882	Joseph Kirby	81	400	-	4.60
1885	Joseph Kirby	81	400	-	5.68
1887	M. M. Kirby	81	400	-	5.02
1892	M. M. Kirby	81	400	-	5.00
1897	M. M. Kirby	81	550	-	7.53[50]
1900	M. M. Kirby	81	600	-	6.30
1900	Hugh Kirby	-	-	1	-
1911	M. M. Kirby	81	800	-	11.60
1920	M. M. Kirby	81	2,400	-	25.44
1930	M. M. Kirby	35	1,000	-	12.50
1931	M. M. Kirby	35	1,000	-	11.40

values, and therefore the taxes owed, increased over time, but the jump from $800 to $2,400 suggests that improvements or other factors had occurred. It is difficult to ascertain whether this increase continued or reversed over time because the tax lists after 1930 only show the Kirbys (still under Melvina's name because she willed the property to her sons and the transfer of ownership was never deeded) owning 35 acres[31].

On January 24, 1924, Joseph passed away from unknown causes. His obituary states that he resided in the Sevier cabin all of his life (Dalby 2001). He was buried next to Melvina at the New Salem Methodist Church (McClung Collection 1982). Hugh and Daisy took out a trust deed on their property on May 2 of the following year totaling $2,718.00 (Knox County Register of Deeds 1925:220-221). The trust was to be paid in annual installments of $271.80, to be paid in full within ten years to the Fidelity Trust Company. It is not known whether this trust was taken out by Hugh and Daisy in order to help pay the earlier mortgage of unknown amount.

Interest in the life and heroics of Governor John Sevier brought attention to Marble Springs in the early 20th-century. In June 1926, the Daughters of the

[31] The 35 acres is not supported by the transfer of warranty deeds over time, which continue to list the property (except for the small lot purchased by the Daughters of the American Revolution – see below) as 81 acres. The property today consists of about 41 acres. It is likely that the remaining 40 acres were sold around the time that the state purchased the property in 1942.

American Revolution purchased a lot, 50 feet x 36 feet, from the Kirbys in order to erect a monument in honor of John Sevier (Knox County Register of Deeds 1932:26). The monument was placed at the edge of the property, near the Neubert Springs Road entrance (Rule 1943:C9).

In 1930, the Kirbys continued to reside at Marble Springs, and their property was still mortgaged (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930). By this time, three separate Kirby residences were on the property: Hugh Sr., Daisy, 14-year-old Albert, eight-year-old Hugh Jr., and Ruth Godfrey (their 20-year-old married daughter) resided in the main cabin; Cora Lou and her second husband[32], Cecil Rhea, resided in a small two-room cabin across the creek southeast of the main cabin; and, Marie and her husband, John Moranville, resided with their daughter, Jacqueline, in a four-room house in the east peripheral yard down the slope from the main cabin (Figure 3.13) (Wayne Byers, 2004 pers. comm..; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930). While Hugh Sr. was recorded as a farmer who owned his land, Cecil Rhea was listed as a wage laborer at the Marble Mill who rented his home, and John Moranville was a farm laborer who also rented. One can presume they rented from Hugh Sr., if they paid any rent at all, since they were married to Hugh's daughters. The young children, Hugh Jr. and

[32] It is not known when Cora Lou and Simon Haun divorced. After 1935, Simon was remarried to a woman named Jessie, residing in Knoxville, and working as a driller (Knoxville City Directory 1935-1960). He died in Knoxville in 1960 at the age of 69 (MyFamily.com 2004).

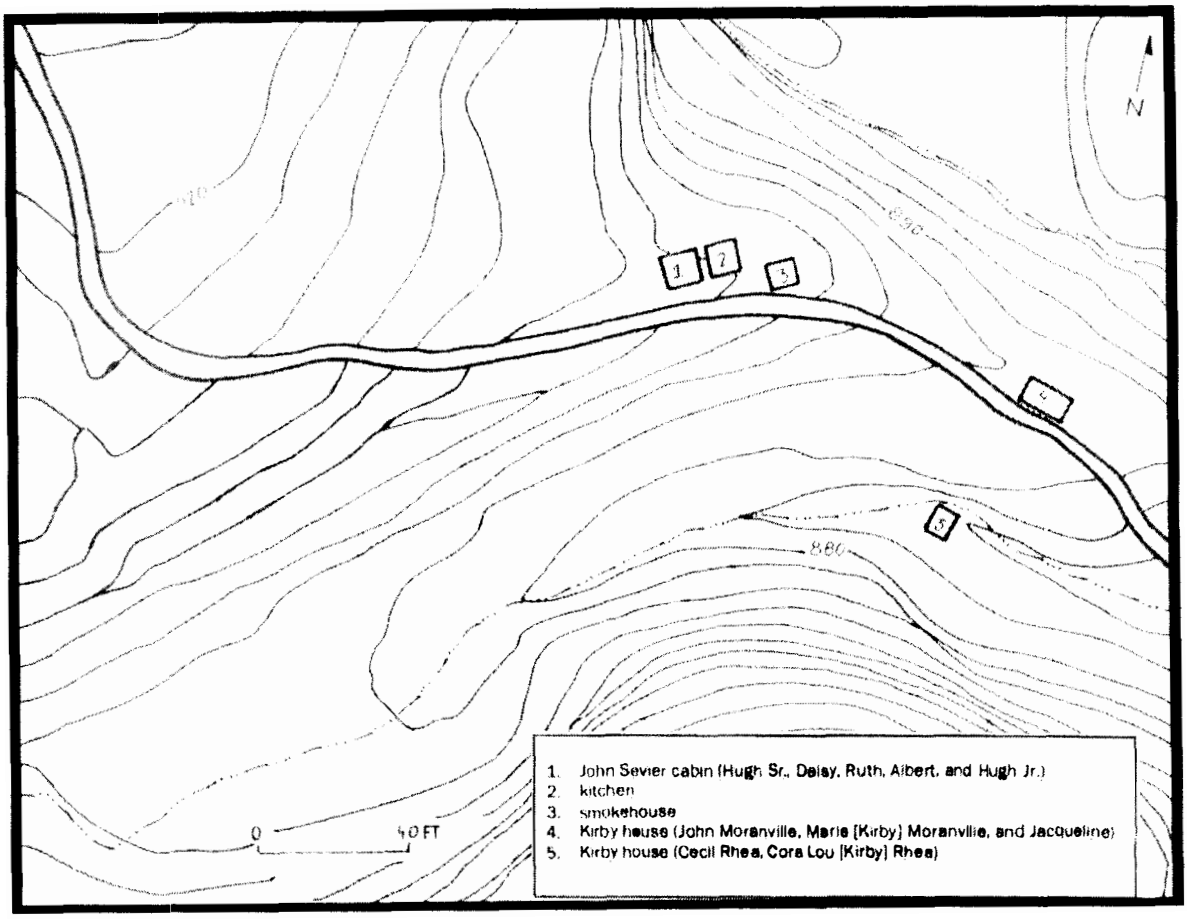

Figure 3.13: Map of domestic dwellings and smokehouse at Marble Springs, ca. 1930.

Jacqueline, both attended the Winkle School (later called the John Sevier School) 0.50 miles south of Marble Springs (Figures 3.14 – 3.16), and it appears that several Kirby children went to school there (Wayne Byers, 2004, pers. comm.; Geneva Jennings, 2004, pers. comm.).

According to several members of the community who lived around Marble Springs in the 1920s and 1930s, the Kirbys were notorious moonshiners who were somewhat ostracized for their nefarious activities and for the "disease" in their family, namely tuberculosis. According to Byers (2004, pers. comm.), Cora Lou – like her grandmother before her – was consumptive. Tuberculosis continued to be a major illness in the state of Tennessee during the 1920s and 1930s, and Tennessee led the nation in the number of deaths from the disease by the end of the latter decade (Tennessee Tuberculosis Association 1939:8). Byers recalled that when he came to Marble Springs to play with Hugh Jr. and ran across Cora Lou, she would tell him that he should not be there because she was very sick. He also recalled that she spent some time in a local sanitarium[33].

According to David Blazier (2004, pers. comm.) and Byers (2004, pers. comm.), by the late 1920s and early 1930s, Hugh Sr. farmed very little and

[33] Possibly the Beverly Hills Sanitarium in Knoxville, which opened in 1924 (Tennessee Tuberculosis Association 1939:20).

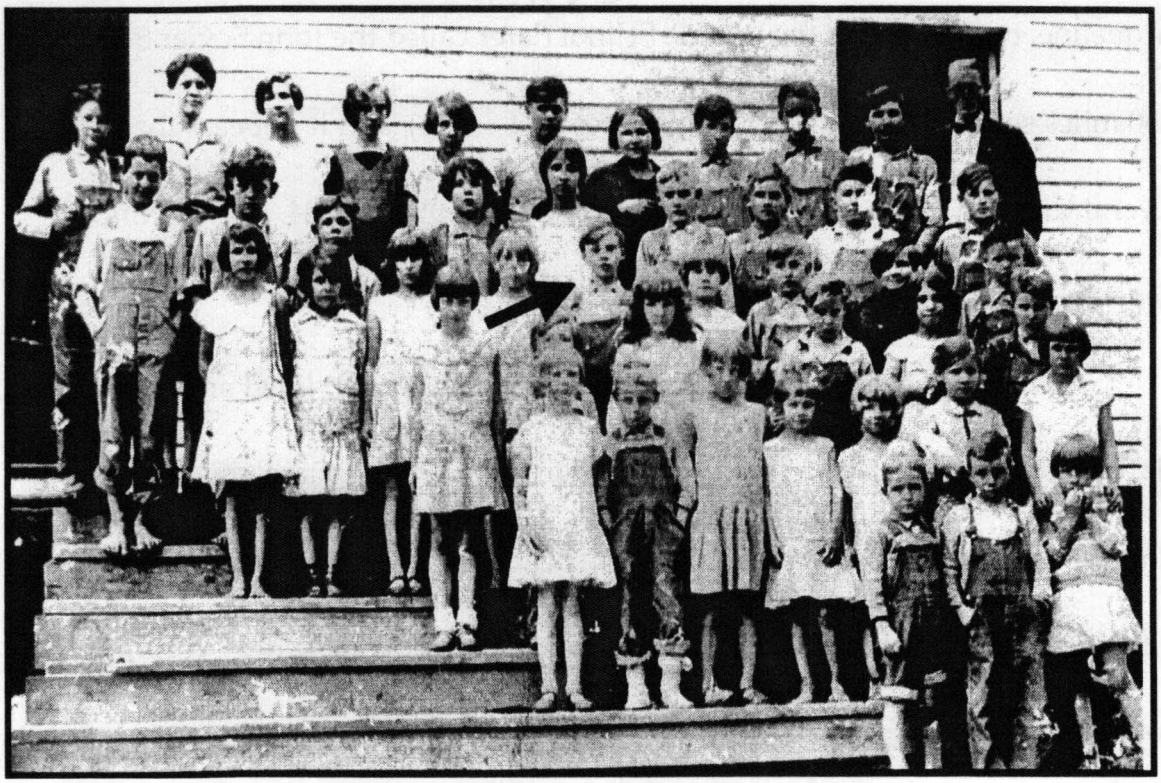

Figure 3.14: Hugh O. Kirby, Jr., standing with his class at the Winkle School, ca. 1928 or 1929. (Photo courtesy of Geneva Jennings).

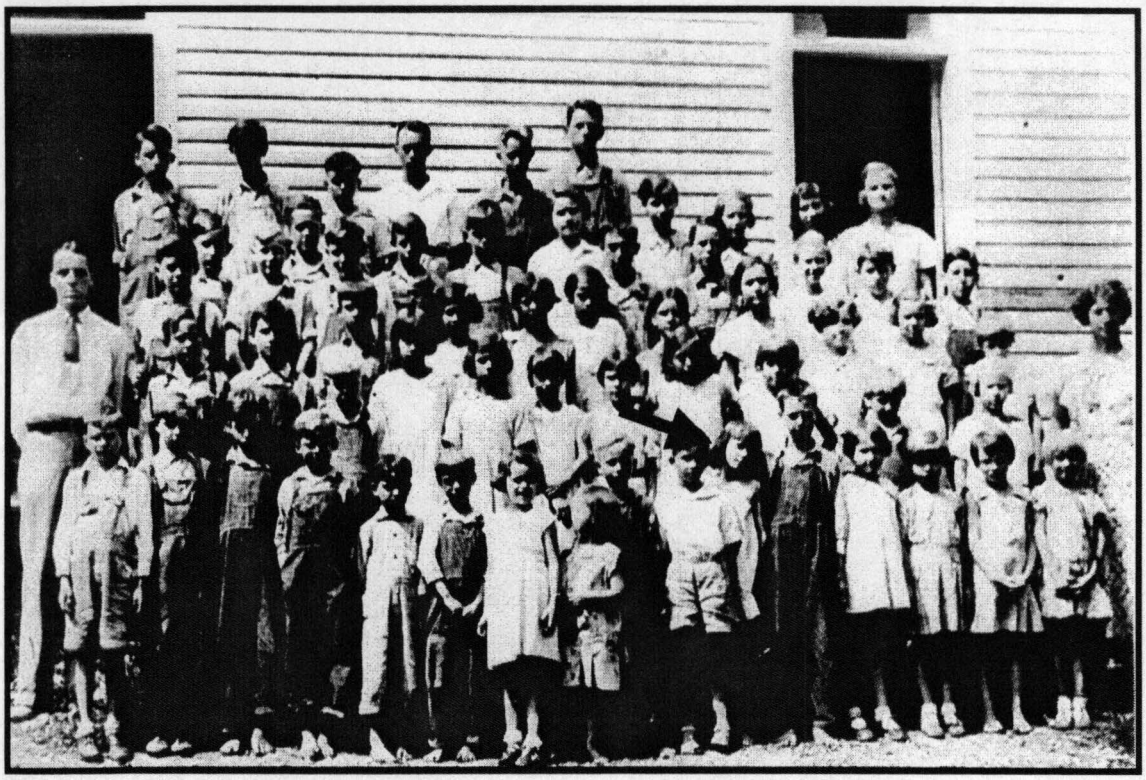

Figure 3.15: Jacqueline Moranville standing with her class at the Winkle School, ca. 1932. (Photo courtesy of Geneva Jennings).

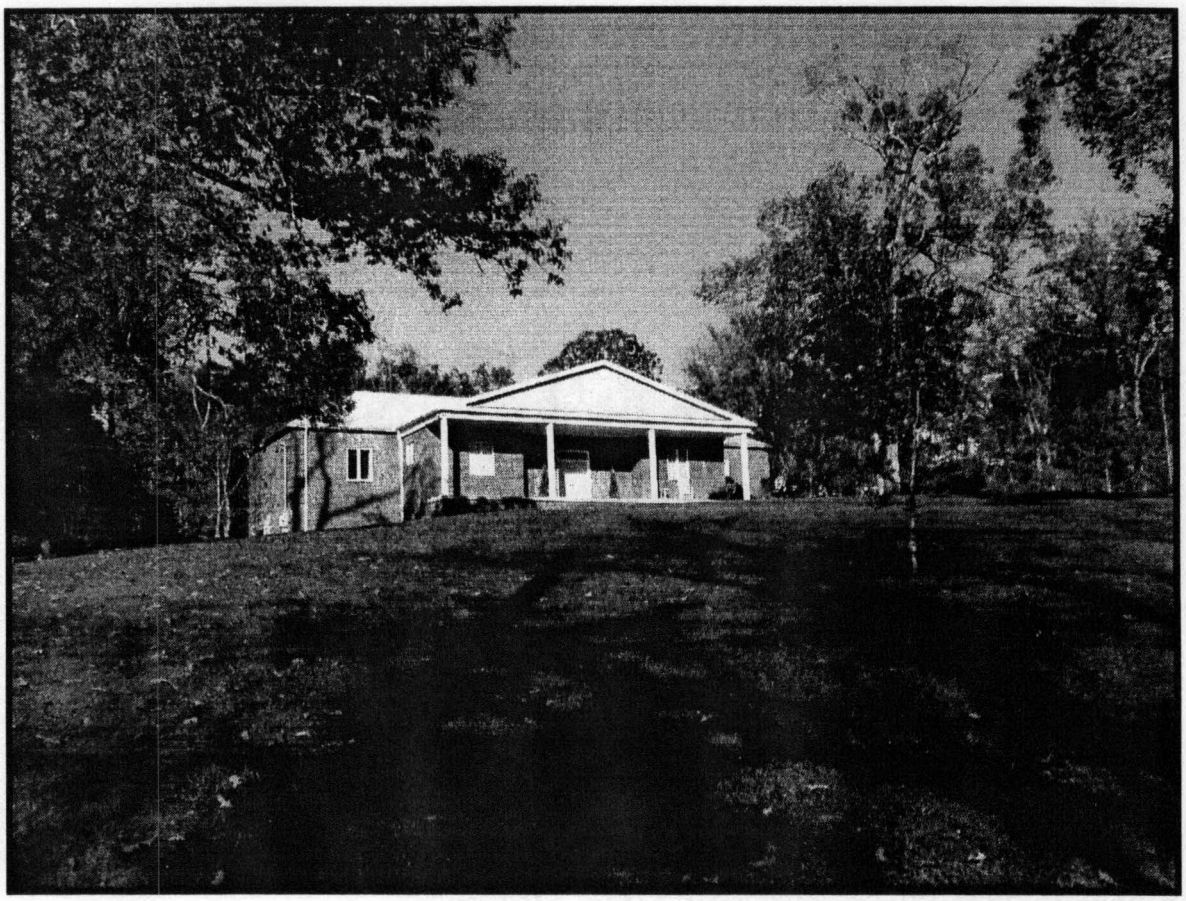

Figure 3.16: The brick John Sevier School that replaced the frame Winkle School on Neubert Springs Road. The school is now a private residence.

focused instead –along with his son, Albert, and John Moranville - on moonshining. Albert was also known to "run" homemade liquor for their African-American neighbors. Byers recalled that Hugh Sr. was very feeble by this time, and that Albert and John did most of the work. Sometimes this work landed them in the county jail[34]. The irregularity of the work and income frequently left them in need of food or other goods, especially if moonshining profits were low or non-existent. According to Blazier (2004, pers. comm.), other members of the community frequently shared butchered meat or other food with the Kirbys when they were in need. He recalled that they did not own any livestock. Blazier's father, William Blazier, would also hire the male Kirbys to help out on his farm near Marble Springs in order to give them an opportunity to earn money, and he also hired some of the female Kirbys, such as Ruth, to help his wife during the late terms of her pregnancies.

In the 1930 U. S. Census, Ruth is listed as married and her surname at this time is Godfrey. However, the census records do not indicate that her husband ever resided with her at Marble Springs, and if she left the property to live with him somewhere, it was likely for only a few years. There also were no official records regarding this marriage. Byers (2004, pers. comm.) recalled a time

[34] In 1929, John Moranville is listed as appearing in Knox County criminal court for an unknown offense (Knox County Archives 1929).

around 1930 or 1931 when Ruth was purported to have born an illegitimate child, who ultimately died. He recalled that the Kirbys could not afford to have the infant buried, and that William Blazier arrived with a car to take the baby away in its coffin.

The reputation the Kirbys had for moonshining and disease also extended to their younger children. A woman[35] (2004, pers. comm.) who taught 8-year-old Hugh Jr. at the Winkle School recalled that Hugh would often walk home during lunch while all the other children would eat the food they had brought in their lunch pails. He would then come back to school in the afternoons intoxicated, which very much angered his teacher. She also stated that his parents, Hugh Sr. and Daisy, would very rarely, if ever, participate in school pageants with the children, which further led her to feel that their lifeways were morally incompatible with her own.

In 1932, the Kirbys lost their land to the Fidelity-Bankers Trust Company. Principal and interest had not been paid, and they defaulted on their mortgage (Knox County Register of Deeds 1932:26). Byers (2004, pers. comm.), who was a boy at the time, stated that he remembers word spreading through the community that the Kirbys had been forced off their land. Following the default

[35] She asked to remain anonymous.

of the trust, the Kirbys ended their four-generation, 84-year occupation of Marble Springs, and the land was put up for auction[36] on the steps of the Knoxville-Knox County courthouse.

Sam Sayne, a long-time member of the community, purchased Marble Springs in December 1932 for $1,600 cash (Knox County Register of Deeds 1932:220-221). Sam's daughter, Grace, and her husband, Bill Rudd, rented the property from her father and farmed the land. According to Frank Sayne (2003, pers. com.), brother of Sam Sayne, there had not been a standing barn on the property when Sam Sayne purchased the land, and they had to build a barn, which still stands south of the main cabin (Barber et al. 2002). At the end of 1941, Sam Sayne sold the property to J.S. Cephas Remine and his wife, Ona Peters Remine, for one-dollar and "other valuable considerations" (Knox County Register of Deeds 1941:406). According to Frank Sayne (2003, pers. comm.), Ona Remine hired Grace and Bill Rudd and allowed them to continue residing on the property. After purchasing Marble Springs from Sam Sayne, J.S. Remine quickly resold the property to the state of Tennessee on October 6, 1942, and Marble Springs has been owned and managed by the state ever since (Knox County Register of Deeds 1942:290).

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[36] Omitted from the auction was the 50 x 30 feet of the original property that had been sold to the Daughters of the American Revolution for the Sevier monument in June 1926.

Not much is known about what became of the Kirbys after they were forced to leave Marble Springs. Blazier (2004, pers. comm.) stated that Sam Sayne did not immediately force them to leave the property. Byers stated that they might have moved to a nearby community. Several informants stated that they remembered that Albert eventually committed suicide by jumping off the Gay Street Bridge in Knoxville sometime in the early 1930s. According to Byers (2004, pers. comm.), Cora Lou eventually died of her disease[37]. Cora Lou's second husband eventually moved to New Alabany, Mississippi, where he married a woman named Helen and died in 1976 (McCoy 2004). Byers remembered meeting Hugh Jr. as an adult in downtown Knoxville. He stated that Hugh Jr. told him that he was entering the army[38]. No other information regarding any of the Kirbys, or Moranvilles, could be located. The site itself, currently a state tourist attraction centered on the life of Governor John Sevier, does not possess any archival documents on the Kirbys, nor does the signpost at the entrance to the site mention that they ever lived there. Like their history at Marble Springs, the Kirbys seem to have vanished into thin air.

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[37] Neither Cora Lou's death, nor Albert's, could be corroborated through official documents.
[38] No military documents for Hugh O. Kirby, Jr., could be located.

CHAPTER IV

RURAL CAPITALISM AND THE AGRICULTURAL LADDER

Poor America, of what avail is all her wealth,
if the individuals comprising the nation are wretchedly poor?
If they live in squalor, in filth, in crime, with hope and joy
Gone, a homeless, soilless army of human prey.
- Emma Goldman (1917:54)

Capital, as defined by Karl Marx, is accumulated wealth that results in governing power over labor and its products (1988a:35-36). This governing power is not based on personal qualities or abilities, but is based on the ownership of capital. Unlike Max Weber (1958), who defined capital, and hence "capitalism," as simply wealth in pursuit of more wealth, Marx states that wealth does not become capital until it combines with human energy and technology in a relational system. This relational system is used for the purchase of labor power (Wolf 1997:298). Labor power is offered for sale by members of a workforce who have little other means of survival, using tools – or technology – to produce more wealth for the capitalist, which in turn is used by the capitalist to purchase more labor power and technology. Hence, capitalism can be defined as a set of social relations, not focused entirely on economic gain, but imbedded within what Eric Wolf calls a "mode of committing social labor to the

transformation of nature" (1997:298).

In a capitalist system, people in a workforce sell their labor power in exchange for wages. The capitalist makes a profit by employing members in the workforce and earning more from their production than what is paid for their labor in wages. What results over time in an emergent capitalist system is an increasing division of labor. Self-sufficiency decreases as wages (or money) is needed to purchase necessary goods, and they furthermore become alienated from their labor, which, as Marx states, "is very one-sided, machine-like labor" (1988b:23). Intellectual pursuits and manual labor come to be viewed by many in a capitalist system as separate endeavors, and manual work overall is increasingly viewed as demeaning or is despised by those who do not engage in manual labor (Kropotkin 1899:170). Overall, as workers are progressively more reliant on wages to purchase necessary goods, they become reliant on the market for jobs and wages.

Common ownership of land, money, raw materials, and property is limited within capitalism. Most of these resources are privately owned (Leone 1999:4). According to Frederick Engels, a contemporary of Marx, the immediate consequence of private ownership is trade; that is, buying and selling of commodities (1988:176). This buying and selling is an aim of the capitalist, who

tries to earn a profit for each exchanger with the least output for the most gain. Included in these trade operations is the buying and selling of labor power. As human labor power becomes something that can be bought or sold, the workers themselves become commodities that compete with one another for jobs. As production increases and supply surpasses demand, profits inevitably decrease for the capitalist. The capitalist in turn lays off or does not hire more workers. Hence, unemployment (and its associated poverty) is a cyclical and common feature of capitalist systems. As demand grows again[39], employment rates begin to increase again, although often times never to the level they once were, and the cycle continues. Workers compete with other workers as markets fluctuate and capitalists compete with other capitalists. The larger and more profitable capitalist enterprises swallow the small, and in the end, it is the worker that suffers from the cyclical nature of the market and the depression of wages that result from this competition (Marx 1988b:23).

Production is commodified, and as a result, human beings are given titles and labels such as worker, renter, consumer, educator, owner, taxpayer, and so on. Along with these titles and their associated tasks is attached money, which from an economic standpoint produces profit accumulations or conversely,

[39] Or new technological innovations stimulate the market.

poverty (Leone 1999:5). From a social standpoint, one can see that levels of prestige are attached to certain titles or labels, and these levels fluctuate depending on the condition of the economy. Hence, it is not only the value of labor that becomes preeminent in a capitalist society, but the value of human beings themselves. Titles and labels are then used as measures of human worth, and oftentimes they are used as justification for exploiting certain groups. This topic will be explored further in Chapter V.

Capitalism has often been synonymous with the industrialization of urban areas. This is because technical and economic development has been pronounced in cities with large populations and unlimited labor power. Capitalism is generally thought to have originated in Renaissance Europe (Leone 1999:4). However, scholars such as Wolf (1997:298) trace the origins of capitalism to the advent of the industrial era in the late 18th-century. Before this time, mercantilism dominated European expansion and production, and the means of production and labor power were not yet subsumed under a capitalist framework. In the United States, capitalism began to emerge at the turn of the 19th-century, but did not fully dominate the economy until the mid to late 19th-century. Since rapid industrialization was taking place during this time period, capitalism and industrialization, more specifically the industrialization of urban

areas, are often assumed to be synonymous.

Rural areas, and agricultural areas in particular, have often been thought to function outside of the sphere of capitalist economy. This has rendered the development of an intellectual dichotomy between rural (pre-or non-capitalist) and urban (capitalist) spheres (Groover 2003:9; Rochester 1975:17). Although it may appear that rural areas, especially agricultural areas in the South, may have lagged technologically and commercially behind urban areas throughout the 19th- and the early 20th-centuries, the development of capitalism in the United States dramatically affected the economic, social, and political realms of rural people's daily lives.

The Origins of Rural Capitalism in Southern Appalachia

When one considers the development of a capitalist economy in Southern Appalachia, one's mind may shift to images of Kentucky and Tennessee coal miners, or logging companies from the North stripping forests in Virginia and North Carolina of hardwoods in the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries. However, Southern Appalachia was one of the first regions of the United States to feel the effects of capitalism as this socioeconomic system began to inch its way from the European continent to the American colonies in the latter half of the 18th-century.

Southern Appalachia was one of the first frontiers in the early settlement of the United States. Before the land was encroached upon by European Americans, the land had been occupied by the Tuscaroras, Senedos, Toteros, Shawnees, Creeks, and the Cherokee – all Native American groups that had occupied the land for hundreds, and even thousands, of years. By the early 19th-century, many of the Native American Indians in the region had been displaced by Euro-Americans, and the majority of the land in Southern Appalachia was owned by northeastern merchant capitalists, land companies, and merchant planters (Dunaway 1995:50-52).

Land speculation was the primary focus of the early 19th-century merchants, brokerage houses, attorneys, and surveyors – absentee or otherwise - who sought to acquire more and more land and earn large profits through the sale, trade, or use of their holdings. According to Dunaway (1995:59), even middling and small acreage farmers in Southern Appalachia engaged in land speculation, frequently selling, trading, or renting their land. However, the region was not quickly resettled, in spite of the fervor in land speculation. Settlement of Southern Appalachia was hampered by speculators who kept their holdings off the market for sometimes as long as 30 years as they waited for land prices to rise before selling to homesteaders or other individuals interested in

developing the land (Dunaway 1995:61). A significant socioeconomic result of absentee land holding and speculation was the polarization of Southern Appalachian society. Following the Revolutionary War, very few emigrants to the region could afford to purchase land with the high prices set by the speculators. Hence, many remained landless while the wealthy local and absentee gentry continued to increase their holdings (Dunaway 1995:67-68).

Nevertheless, some individuals were able to purchase small farms, and over time, even increase their holdings. Hence, from the beginning of the resettlement of the Southern Appalachia, small acreage farmers have been part of the development of the region, and they certainly comprised a large part of the southern population in general. That is, the majority of farmers in Southern Appalachia, and in the South in general, lived outside of the plantation economy, owning fewer than twenty slaves or owning no slaves at all (Otto 1986:25).

In spite of small acreage farmers being part of the resettlement and development of Southern Appalachia, scholarly debate exists regarding whether Southern Appalachia has been part of the national shift to capitalism over time. Most scholars agree that Appalachia has been affected by industrialization[40]. However, since the majority of rural areas have been occupied by small acreage

[40] Such as in the logging and mining examples mentioned previously.

farmers, and these small acreage farmers operated outside of the plantation economy, research on agrarian capitalism has often not considered them a part of, or affected by, capitalist development. As mentioned above, rural areas in general have often been thought to function outside of the capitalist economy. The primary reason why Southern Appalachian farmers, namely the small acreage farmers, have been consistently ignored in studies of capitalism is due to the "myth of the happy yeoman" and stereotypes of Appalachia as a backward, undeveloped region (Dunaway 1996).

According to Dunaway, the "myth of the happy yeoman" has been entrenched as a stereotype of Southern Appalachian farmers since the early 19th-century, and it continues into modern times (1996:2-3). This myth idealizes Southern Appalachian farmers as self-sufficient, honest, and independent, and furthermore not interested in exploiting opportunities and making profits. Basically, this myth posits that Southern Appalachia farmers historically have not been interested in progress or technological change, and in some cases, that they have been violently opposed to any change. The myth also idealizes middling and small acreage farmers as people removed from negative external influences, living in a historical vacuum, leading simple lives removed from the chaos of general society. Popular literature at the turn-of-the-20th-century fueled

the myth of the happy yeoman and perpetuated stereotypes of Southern Appalachian people in general as a backward culture removed from a globalizing world. Accounts of "mountaineer feuds," log cabins with no running water, and dueling banjos has continued to reinforce this stereotype (Otto 1986:25).

Another reason why small acreage farmers are thought to operate outside of the capitalist economy is that most theories of rural capitalist development dichotomize the concepts of "subsistence" and "market" (Dunaway 1996:7). This leaves one to assume that in order to be part of a market economy, one has to be removed from a focus on subsistence and vice versa. In Chapter II, self-sufficiency was defined as agricultural practices that focus primarily on meeting the subsistence needs of farm families; however, as noted, "self-sufficient" farmers throughout the history of American agriculture have always attempted to gain some measure of wealth or increased standard of living, often selling surplus goods or bartering for items at local and national markets in pursuit of that endeavor (Hurt 1994:35; Salstrom 1994:6). As early as the late 18th- and 19th-centuries, the acquisition of cash for farm goods and products was especially important for farmers who wanted to acquire land or slaves, and as discussed above, expand their holdings (Salstrom 1994: 8). Hence, it stands to reason that

farmers throughout the last several centuries have had market ties, whether one considers them "self-sufficient" or "subsistence" based in their agricultural practices. Indeed, small acreage Southern Appalachian farmers have been a part of, as well as affected by, the development of capitalism into the 20th-century.

Emerging Capitalism in Rural Southern Appalachia, 1810-1880

As discussed above, many emigrants to Southern Appalachia following the Revolutionary War were landless due to land speculation by wealthy local and absentee gentry. Hence, without title or deed, many of the emigrants were in effect squatters on land they did not own. This trend continued throughout the antebellum era. Although some less affluent individuals were able to purchase land after the turn-of-the-19th-century, the majority of land continued to be concentrated in hands of absentee and local land resource monopolizers (Dunaway 1996:128).

One-fifth of the farmers who purchased land after 1800 owned fewer than 100 acres, and overall, they controlled less than four-percent of the agricultural land in Southern Appalachia (Dunaway 1996:129). The majority of these farmers also owned few, if any, slaves and had to rely on family or other[41] labor to

[41] See below.

operate their farms. However, just because these farmers did not own large plantations does not mean that they were not interested in purchasing enslaved African-Americans. Instead, many could not produce enough surpluses to earn the cash required to purchase slave labor. By 1810, the slave population in East Tennessee peaked (i.e., it reached its highest number in proportion to the white population), and according to Salstrom (1994:9), this indicates that the region's per capita wealth began to decline in the succeeding decades leading up to the Civil War. If cost was a deterrent for most Southern Appalachian farmers concerning the purchase of slaves, then the decreasing proportion of slaves after the early years of the 19th-century may indicate that the average Southern Appalachian farmer was not growing richer during the antebellum years, but instead growing poorer (Ibid.).

There is contrary evidence, however, to indicate that Southern Appalachia was not – or should not have been – in economic decline during the antebellum era. According to Dunaway (1996:131), the majority of Southern Appalachian farm owners exceeded national averages in wheat, corn, and hog production, and were equivalent of the national average in their per capita production of tobacco and cattle. Indeed, Southern Appalachian farms provided the majority

of livestock, such as hogs, cattle, and mules, to the states of the Deep South who were primarily centered within a plantation economy revolving around cotton. The majority of the surplus producers in the region that enjoyed such success were not the large landholders, but instead, they were small and middling farm owners, the majority of which, as stated above, did not own slaves (Dunaway 1996:133). Nevertheless, the small segment of Southern Appalachian farmers that owned plantations and had more than 10 slaves to work the land produced nearly one-fifth of the regional output of livestock and grain (Dunaway 1996:135).

Between 1840 and 1860, the livestock needs of the Deep South had begun to outstrip the livestock available in Southern Appalachia, and farmers of the cotton belt had to search as far north as Ohio to find available livestock. Grain production also began to decline by 1860, although gradually (Salstrom 1994:9,18). The growing human population in Southern Appalachia by the beginning of the Civil War also put pressure on livestock availability, especially food-providing livestock, and population pressures also began to affect the availability of fertile farmland in the region. As mentioned, the majority of farmers (and wealthy speculators) that purchased land in the region as it was first resettled selected the most fertile land in the widest valleys (Salstrom

1994:10). However, after this land was no longer available, less affluent farmers and other prospective landowners had to settle for land they could afford in narrow hollows, and finally, on steep hillsides. Hence one can see that although the economic prospects of Southern Appalachia during the antebellum years were for the most part positive, the control of fertile land by the rich white minority, falling livestock and grain production and exportation, and population pressures by the eve of the Civil War resulted in moderate economic and agricultural decline.

The Civil War as experienced in Southern Appalachia not only divided families and ravaged the landscape, but it significantly affected the region's economy in a negative way. The number of hogs, which had been a mainstay of the agricultural economy throughout the antebellum era, was cut in half during the 1860s, even further from the previous declining number of available livestock, and grains and mainstay crops, such as potatoes, declined per capita as well (Salstrom 1994:20). Following the Civil War, Southern Appalachian agricultural production rose, but unfortunately, the region now had to compete with goods produced in the Midwest. Since the 1850s, states such as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan had begun to dominate the eastern market with their exported grains and livestock (Salstrom 1994:22-23). Hence the

1870s and 1880s became decades of distress for many Southern Appalachian farmers, and many had to leave farming altogether and find work in the region's booming mining and logging centers.

Capitalism and the Agricultural Ladder: Southern Appalachia from 1880 to 1940

As previously discussed, farming in Southern Appalachia from the time of the region's resettlement up through the Civil War was, for the most part, self-sufficient. Almost everything a family needed was produced on the farm, and surplus items were often sold or traded at local markets in order to purchase or acquire any other necessary goods. However, revolutionary changes in American agriculture and the full emergence of a capitalist economy following the Civil War caused many to reject self-sufficiency (Hurt 1994:216-217). Many thought cash crops and large surpluses to be "in the line of progress," and hence, a multitude of farmers abandoned self-sufficiency in exchange for cash cropping in hopes of increasing their standard of living, or at least returning them to the standards they attained during the antebellum years (Ibid.).

As discussed in Chapter II, the Gilded Age was a time of rapid technological and commercial progress, but it was also a time of extreme poverty, especially in the South. In addition to the struggles associated with

agricultural depressions and droughts, many farm owners lost their land due to mounting personal debts or poor health (National Resources Committee 1937:5; U. S. Department of Agriculture 1945:9). Others who had no land to begin with, such as emancipated African-Americans, struggled to acquire enough capital to purchase land once the contract labor system under Reconstruction that kept formerly enslaved African-Americans bound to the land was lifted (Hurt 1994:166,217; Woodman 1997:6).

It is during this time that a system of social stratification emerged where farm owners were socially and economically ranked above renters and laborers[42]. This system, familiarly known as the agricultural ladder, was implemented initially by the remaining planters who, for the most part, were without ready labor, money or credit after the Civil War. Simplistically, the agricultural ladder can be broken down into the following hierarchy, from highest ranking to lowest: owner, share or cash tenant, sharecropper, day laborer, and unpaid family laborer (Alston and Kauffmann 1997; Hamilton and York 1937; Woodman 1997).

Farm owners, at the top of the hierarchy, included everyone from the

[42] This is not to say that a hierarchical system of land tenure and farm labor did not exist during the antebellum years. From the incept of the frontier years until the Civil War, both large and small farm owners hired tenants to work their fields and exploited various coerced workers such as enslaved African-Americans, Cherokee squatters, and indentured paupers (Dunaway 1996:262). Rural capitalism merely intensified the struggle for access to land and labor exploitation.

planter to the small-acreage yeoman farmer. Whether they operated the farm[43] they owned or not, they still owned the land and ostensibly were able to reap the benefits of whatever could be grown or raised there. That being said, landownership and capitalist agriculture in the late 19th-century produced ever-increasing demands for laborers to work the land. Wealthy farm owners who only worked the land part-time, or who had a primary profession other than farming, often had to hire operators and laborers to do the work. Large landowners, like planters, often had to find laborers to produce the surplus necessary to make a profit, and small-acreage landowners sometimes had to hire laborers to work with them in the fields until their children were old enough to help (Dunaway 1996:87). Hence, almost every farmer had to hire laborers at one time or another to help with planting and harvesting, whether they owned a large plantation or a small farm.

Tenant farming involved two facets: cash renting or share renting. Landowners rented out acreage to tenant farmers for a prearranged cash amount (such as monthly or yearly rent) or a prearranged share of the crops, such as pounds of cotton or bushels of corn (Otto 1994:105). Tenants usually had to supply all of their seed and equipment and assume all risk for any failure or

[43] Or multiple farms.

success their work produced. Although tenants generally had more independence in their agricultural endeavors than sharecroppers, they were still often subject to the landowner's planning of crops and detailed supervision of their work (Rochester 1975:59).

Sharecropping was developed in response to the need for cheap agricultural labor after the Civil War. Like tenant farming, sharecropping involved the division of large plots of land – often plantations in places such as the Deep South – into smaller farms (Hurt 1994:168). These 20 to 50 acre farms were then worked by black or white farmers who paid the owner of the land a share of the crops for their use of the land. That is, the owners often let them keep – or were "paid" - a share of the crops for their own use, usually one-half to two-thirds of the crops they grew (Ibid.)[44]. The amount that the "cropper," as they were familiarly called, was allowed to keep usually depended on whether the owner furnished seed, fertilizer, and work animals in addition to the land and a dwelling place.

Sharecroppers, like tenants, were often hired by landowners who split up their holdings in order to place the tenants' and croppers' fields and domestic dwellings adjacent to their own fields (Dunaway 1996:263). This enabled the

[44] Share tenants usually had give the landowner one-fourth or one-third of the crop (Rochester 1975:59).

landowners to better control and maximize the labor they hired. If, for whatever reason, the owner was unhappy about the work or general behavior of a tenant or cropper, then they could be easily evicted from the land[45]. Competition for tenant and cropper positions in some regions intensified this exploitative relationship in that tenants and croppers who wanted to remain where they were often had to abide by living and work conditions from the landowner that were less than substandard, otherwise risking expulsion from the land (Rochester 1975:61). Whether through the deliberate search for better living and work conditions or expulsion by a landowner, the majority of these farmers did not remain on the same tract of land for more than a few years, if that. The high rate of mobility of tenant and cropper families only created more poverty and suffering among these farmers and decreased their chances over time of ever owning their own parcel of land.

Wage laborers, the next lowest rung on the agricultural ladder, usually received a stipulated sum for their work by the month or by the year (Otto 1994:104). Many landowners preferred to hire wage laborers because they could closely supervise the planting and harvesting and carry out any improvements necessary to keep the farm in good repair. Although it was less risky to work as

[45] Supporters of tenancy thought tenant farmers would work more diligently than sharecroppers because they had a higher stake in the harvest. However, hiring sharecroppers resulted in lower transaction costs over the life of the contract (Reid 1973:124-125).

a laborer, wage laborers were usually in short supply, as most individuals wanted to have a partnership in the land or the crops with the hope of eventually owning their own parcel of land (Otto 1994:104-105). Unpaid family laborers were at the bottom of the farm tenure hierarchy. Women and children typically served as the unpaid hired hands, whether they worked on the farms their fathers or husbands owned, or worked on rented land or for wages that the head of the household received (Hurt 1994:274; Rochester 1975:60).

Farm owners are assumed to have had access to the means of production; that is, they had both capital and land in order to produce a surplus and make a profit. Tenants, sharecroppers, and laborers, on the other hand, did not own land nor have much if any capital, and hence, they often lived in extreme poverty.[46] Many tenants, sharecroppers, and laborers did not even have money to purchase necessary items at local markets for their families, and as a result they were usually caught in a perpetual cycle of debt to local merchants as well as the landowners. Landowners, who beyond charging their tenants and sharecroppers for fertilizer and necessary farm equipment, also often required them to purchase necessary goods from plantation stores established on their land, giving owners the ability to control the price of goods such as cloth, coffee,

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[46] This imagery was popularly exemplified in Agee and Evans' early 20th-century account of sharecropping in the South, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1939).

and sugar without competition (Hurt 1994:168-169). If a plantation store was not located on the landowners' property, then the landowners often required their tenants and croppers to trade at selected shops in nearby towns.

Whether purchased at a plantation store or from a merchant in town, many of these goods were acquired through credit transactions to be paid off after the yearly harvest. When they were unable to pay for their goods at the end of the year, landowners and other merchants put liens on the tenants' and sharecroppers' crops for the following year. In many cases, the tenants and croppers were never able to free themselves from the mounting debts. Some farm-owners also became caught in the cycle of debt and lost their land[47]. Many merchants acquired mortgaged land and farm equipment after a farmer was unable to pay at the end of the year for needed goods. Once acquired, these merchants worked the land by hiring tenants and sharecroppers[48], becoming part of the new business-elite, the planter-merchants (Otto 1994;81-82).

In the Southern states, 36.2 percent of farmers were tenants in 1880, and this increased to 55.5 percent in 1930[49] (Rochester 19755:59). Overall, the majority

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[47] This is interesting considering that in 1900, the federal government concluded that rising tenancy rates were a result of sharecroppers and wage laborers climbing the agricultural ladder as opposed to farm owners losing their land and falling down the ladder (Woodman 1997:6).
[48] Some of whom may have been the former landowners.
[49] Their numbers had doubled between 1880 and 1900, and then doubled again between 1900 and 1930 (Rochester 1975:59). Unfortunately, sharecroppers and tenant farmers were lumped into one

of tenants, sharecroppers, and wage laborers were unable to climb the agricultural ladder; that is, they were unable to break the cycle of debt and poverty and attain enough capital to purchase land of their own (Rochester 1975:61). Changes in the farm labor system after the Civil War – namely, the abolition of slavery – had paved the way for capitalism to fully emerge, and those individuals without or with little capital, except what their labor was worth to the capitalist, were thrown into a socio-economic system where they were increasingly alienated from their labor, their work was exploited, and they had little means or hope of bettering their situations.

In the 1930s, the farm tenancy and sharecropper system began to break down, as many landowners had to find means of reorganizing their land and their methods of production due to increasing competition and technological developments[50] (Rochester 1975:63). Although tenancy rates continued to be staggeringly high, many tenants and sharecroppers were evicted from the land and became unemployed, resulting in even more desperate financial dilemmas for those families. Although released from the shackles of tenancy and

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category until 1920, so it is difficult to ascertain how many of these "tenants" were actual tenants or sharecroppers instead (Alston and Kauffman 1997:464).

[50] By 1950, the percentage of farms operated by owners in Knox County, Tennessee, was relatively high, approximately 90-percent. Tenants operated approximately nine-percent, and managers less than one-percent (U.S. Soil Conservation Service 1955:210). Overall, there had been a gradual decrease in farm tenancy in the twenty years prior to 1950.

sharecropping, as Anna Rochester states: "They do not benefit from their release because they are now facing the destitution to which decaying capitalism condemns those workers whom it no longer finds it profitable to exploit" (1975:63).

The federal government attempted to investigate the plight of American tenant farmers in the 1930s. Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture in 1936, headed a committee to examine farm tenancy rates, and the committee found that tenancy had a harmful effect on farm families and rural communities (Rasmussen 1999:86-87). Since many tenants were plagued with poor health, moved frequently, and for the most part, lacked an education, it was thought that they were unlikely to support local schools, churches, and other community institutions. The solution, according to the Roosevelt Administration, was to anchor tenants to the land, limiting their ability to move frequently, with the hope that the "social erosion" that was occurring could be transformed into rural community progress and eventual farm ownership (Rasmussen 1999:86). Although these conclusions appeared to support farm tenants in general, below the surface, they blamed tenants for social and moral decay, and did not address how the emergence of capitalism in the United States had driven American farmers into a maelstrom of despair. Instead, New Deal administrators wanted

to conserve the capitalist agricultural economy, and this they thought to be predicated on the private ownership of land (Ibid.).

However, private ownership of land was not a guarantor of success. Small farm owners also suffered as a result of the full emergence of capitalism after the Civil War. In Southern Appalachia, as well as the Ozark Mountain region of Arkansas and Oklahoma, poor soil, the cost of seed, livestock, and tools combined to stifle the productivity of small-acreage farm owners into the first decades of the 20th-century (Rochester 1975:68). In 1929, there were over one-million small acreage farmers in the South that grossed less than $1,000, comparable to the poorest sharecroppers. In 1930, three out of four small acreage "self-sufficing" farmers earned less than $600 (gross) annually (Rochester 1975:68-69). By the 1920s and 30s, many of the small acreage farm owners in Southern Appalachia sought supplementary work in coal fields, lumber yards, and textile mills. However, this work was usually irregular and poorly paid, and some farmers – especially in the mountain communities – sold their land to the mining and lumber companies and moved to nearby cities and towns with the hope of finding regular employment (Rochester 1975:69). However, many of these farmers remained on the land and attempted to eke out a living to the best of their ability.

The Archaeology of Rural Capitalism and the Agricultural Ladder

Historical archaeologists, who often work with written historic documents as well as the archaeological record, are uniquely suited to studying capitalism and its influence on people's lives, both at the macro (population) and micro (individual) level. Hence, it is not surprising to see that capitalism, and its influence on the historic past, has become a recent avenue of inquiry in historical archaeological circles (see, for example, Leone and Potter 1999). This is especially true of historical archaeologists specializing in urban areas, where historical documents are usually more available and economic and social transitions (i.e., the formation of separate socio-economic classes) are usually much more "visible" (see Fitts 1999; McGuire and Walker 1999; Paynter 1999; Wurst 1999).

Capitalism in rural contexts has also become of interest to historical archaeologists, although not to the degree seen in urban contexts[51]. Archaeological investigations of capitalism in rural contexts have been conducted by Orser (1999), and more recently, Groover (2003). Orser (1999) discussed the effects of capitalism on creating and perpetuating farm tenancy in

[51] This is likely tied to the fact that industrialization, the harbinger of a capitalist system, is more "visible" in urban areas with large populations.

the South from the late 19th- through the early 20th-century. In his research, he illustrated how tenant farmers and sharecroppers, who are removed from access to the means of production because they do not own the land in which they invest their labor, are caught in an endless cycle of poverty and despair. In order to be successful in a capitalist economy – namely to own land and produce a surplus to earn a profit – one needed capital and land. As tenants, or wage workers like sharecroppers, capital and land were nearly always out of reach as debts continued to accumulate rather than savings to go toward land ownership, usually resulting in decreased quality of living standards over time (Ibid.).

Groover's (2003) multi-disciplinary study of rural capitalism, material life, and temporal process at the 19th-century Gibbs farmstead in Knox County, Tennessee, on the other hand, demonstrated how the Gibbs family operated within both capitalist and traditional economic strategies, namely through rural patrimony and the intergenerational transfer of the means of production. In his research, Groover (2003) discussed how the Gibbs family remained successful farmers for a long period of time because they owned their land and were able to create the surplus necessary for profit accumulation (i.e., they had both capital and land), and they were committed to perpetuating this trend through succeeding generations. Rural infilling and the continued division of inheritable

land over time, in addition to agricultural markets in East Tennessee switching to dairying and tobacco production instead of grain production and livestock farming, which had been the Gibbs' primary agricultural ventures, prompted later generations of Gibbs to leave the farm in the early years of the 20th-century (Groover 2003:274-275).

Although both historical archaeological investigations cited above differ somewhat in their subject matter, e.g. Orser's focus on tenants versus Groover's examination of yeoman farmers, each study demonstrates the efficacy of using capitalism as a starting point for examining the daily lives of rural Southerners, especially those engaged in agriculture, within the last 200 years.

In Appalachia, the average small-acreage farmers owned their land in the early to mid 20th-century. Only 14-percent of the farmers in this region worked the land as tenants or sharecroppers (Drake 2001:197). Something that has not often been discussed, especially in the historical archaeological literature, is the plight of these small-acreage farm owners, who for all intents and purposes, appeared to suffer amidst poverty and despair along with their tenant and sharecropper brethren[52]. With increasing dependence on the market over the

[52] According to Drake (2001:197), although Appalachian farmers in the early to mid 20th-century often worked land that they owned themselves, they continued to use non-mechanized farm equipment long after mechanization was adopted by the majority of the farmers in the United States, and they continued to have a standard of living far below most Americans.

19th- and into the 20th-century, these American farmers were prompted to increase their productivity, and hence, improve their farming techniques. While capitalist forces were able to drive some of these small acreage self-sufficing farmers toward large-scale and completely capitalist operations as well as adequate, if not large, profit margins, these same forces drove less successful farmers into poverty and despair (Rochester 1975:76-77).

Hence, the larger commercially successful farms and the smaller, extremely poor farms are inter-related aspects of rural capitalism. Unfortunately, many of the studies being conducted by historical archaeologists have focused on either the successful capitalist farmers or the plight of the tenant and sharecropper classes. Very little attention has been paid to those who did not enjoy a lifestyle qualitatively in proportion to their tenure level nor has regard been paid to those who "fell down" the agricultural ladder. When the agricultural ladder has been discussed, it is usually in relation to the socio-economic positions of tenants and sharecroppers or in terms of discussing how land ownership was of central importance to the economy and social structure of the 18th- and 19th-centuries.

Groover's (2003) study of the Gibbs farmstead addresses the agricultural ladder in terms of the importance of land ownership to the Gibbs family. Since

they were relatively successful farmers throughout the 19th-century, less successful farmers were not a focus of his research. Linda F. Stine (1990) and Orser (1999), have addressed the agricultural ladder with regard to tenants and owners, but they do not examine the financial plight of small acreage farm owners who lived at or below the poverty level or fell down the agricultural ladder. In her archaeological examination of two turn-of-the-20th-century Piedmont farms, Stine (1990) discussed how many archaeologists falsely engage in a chain of assumptions, namely assuming that tenancy is equivalent with poverty and land ownership is equivalent with wealth. However, her case study focuses more on examining the material differences and similarities between tenants and owners, as both families in her study had risen from tenants to land owners, rather than examining the economic and social implications of poverty at the landowner tenure level. Orser (1999:156-162) followed a similar line of reasoning as Stine (1990) when he compared archaeological data sets of tenants and owners and found material distinctions less pronounced than what he first assumed when beginning his analysis.

Other archaeologists, such as Holland (1990) have focused on the importance of using oral history when researching tenant sites. Miller (1974), Trinkley (1983), and Anderson and Muse (1983) have centered their research on

the archaeological visibility and material culture of tenant sites. All of the archaeological research mentioned above has added to our growing knowledge of tenant sites and tenant farmers in general. However, little is still known about the small-acreage farm owners who lived at or below the socio-economic level of tenants and sharecroppers. This dissertation is an attempt to address this important and neglected aspect of the American historic past. The plight of the small-acreage farm owner is no less a part of our agricultural history than the large-scale plantation owners, tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and wage laborers that worked the land and attempted to attain the American dream.

Rural Capitalism and the Agricultural Ladder at Marble Springs

The Kirbys at Marble Springs, like the Gibbs, were small landowners who, like all "self-sufficing" farmers, needed to produce at least a small surplus in order to sell farm produce for profit to purchase necessary goods not produced on their farm. However, unlike the Gibbs household where generations were able to successfully partake in capitalist surplus production as yeoman farmers, the Kirbys at Marble Springs did not increase their farm productivity over the last quarter of the 19th- and into the early 20th-century, and hence they were unable to "keep up" with the product output necessary for survival, let alone success.

The Kirbys at Marble Springs were also landowners from the beginning of their occupation at Marble Springs until they left the property in 1932. Archival records and ethnographic interviews with individuals who knew the Kirbys in the early 20th-century indicate that although they had access to capital and land, they lived in poverty. This is in contrast to their early occupation of the site. Archival records in the form of deeds and estate records indicate that the Kirbys were somewhat more financially affluent in the mid to late 19th-century.

As discussed in Chapter III, George Kirby purchased Marble Springs in 1847 from the estate of James Dardis. George's father and brothers were successful farmers in Blount County, Tennessee, and it is not surprising to see that George wanted to purchase his own tract of land[53] (Harrington 1965). As seen with the Gibbs family (see Groover 2003:59-62), rural patrimony was an important concept to George Kirby. Sometime before 1868, he acquired more land to add to his original 140 acres purchased from Dardis and sold part of it to his oldest son, John M. Kirby. In 1868, he sold 81 acres to his youngest son, Joseph. This ensured that each of his surviving sons had land that they could call

[53] George's brother, Isaac, eventually did the same and is listed as owning 200 acres in District 14, Knox County, in the Knox County tax records by 1853. This is the same district as George Kirby (Knox County Archives 1853). Isaac is no longer listed in the tax records for this district after 1882 (Knox County Archives 1882).

their own and that the homeplace was maintained by the family[54]. It was also a way for George to pass on the means of production – namely ownership of land and the potential for agricultural success – to his sons. Hence, as a "self-sufficing" farmer, George Kirby not only participated in capitalist agricultural practices (with the production of a small to moderate surplus[55]), but he also partook in practicing an ideology (i.e., rural patrimony) that was one of the primary reasons and reinforcers of capitalist farm production[56].

In 1870, the cash value of George Kirby's farm was $900, and Joseph's was $1,000, with total values of all farm production equaling $312 and $380, respectively (see Table 3.1 this volume). In 1880, George and Joseph's cash values were $400 and $1,000, and the total of all farm productions were $155 and $100, respectively (see Table 3.2 this volume). Although the farm values were similar to the prior decade, one can see that total value of farm production had decreased by more than 50-percent[57]. In addition, when one compares George and Joseph's farm values and production with their surrounding neighbors in 1880, the monetary values of their land, implements, and livestock were much more similar to their sharecropper neighbors than their landowner neighbors.

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[54] This is especially salient because George continued to live on and work the farm that he sold to Joseph.
[55] This was a surplus comparable to many other Southern Appalachia self-sufficing farms.
[56] See Groover (2003:5) and Salamon (1992) for further in-depth discussions of rural patrimony.
[57] This in spite of increased butter and egg products generated on the farm.

For example, Jacob Spangler and James Donaldson were both white sharecroppers in 1880 with cash values of farm production at $150 and $80, respectively (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880b). Overall, their farm-owning neighbors with similar acreage had values from $300 to $400 more than the Kirbys (Ibid.). Joseph's wife, Melvina, purchased the property from her husband in 1884[58], and agricultural census data after this date was not available for this research.

Background research also indicates that the Kirbys struggled with disease and alcoholism throughout the late 19th- and early 20th-century, which may - or may not - have had an impact on their success as farmers. There were, however, social repercussions of disease and alcoholism in the family that affected their reputation in the community. These issues will be further addressed in Chapter V. What is known is that after 1900 – likely after Melvina's death in 1909 – the Kirbys no longer focused on farm production as their primary source of income[59] and began moonshining as their principal economic endeavor instead. Capitalist agricultural production was no longer a viable means for attaining financial security, and with the understanding that the Kirbys were socio-economically

[58] This purchase will be further discussed in Chapter V.
[59] They continued, however, to grow a few staple crops, such as corn.

similar to their sharecropper neighbors, it is not entirely surprising that they turned to other economic means to survive.

The changing economic position of the Kirbys over the 19th- and 20th-centuries is significant because it illustrates how although the Kirbys were at the top of the agricultural ladder and participated in capitalist farm production, in some ways they were economically equivalent to sharecroppers – and possibly considered socially equivalent to sharecroppers as well by their neighbors. Extenuating circumstances, such as alcoholism, disease, topography, and soil conditions may all have contributed to the financial plight of the Kirbys. Individual choice, or agency, was likely also a factor. Nevertheless, one can see how land tenure does not determine socio-economic status. One can also see that the issues surrounding capitalist farm production are not cut and dried. The ability to create a surplus did not guarantee success in agriculture. In fact, the degree to which one was able to participate and succeed in a capitalist economy had more to do with a variety of factors: capital and technology in addition to the ownership of private property, as well as socio-cultural factors. The following chapter discusses the intersections of social inequality, namely gender, class, and race, as they apply to the Kirby occupation of Marble Springs. These issues

should be viewed as important aspects or integral consequences of rural capitalism.

CHAPTER V

"ALL RIGHTS TO HOME AND SUPPORT": THE INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER, CLASS, AND RACE AT MARBLE SPRINGS

...She would later
Marry mostly from pity, she said.
But it was not a pitiful marriage,
Grim poverty notwithstanding.
She was the driving force...
- George Scarbrough (1989)

Gender, class, and race are socially constructed categories that profoundly affect the social dynamics of everyday life. These categories are created, become part of the social norm, and shape the ways in which people interact with each other on a day-to-day basis (Baker 1998:14; Brodkin 1996; Brodkin-Sacks 1989). Imbedded in these categories are relations of power, as certain groups are ranked socially above others with the lower-ranking groups continually marginalized, disenfranchised, and made invisible by the power elite.

Grassroots and freedom movements following World War II led the way for scholarly investigations into class and race issues, as well as investigations into the relations between class and race. Second-wave feminism in the 1970s, shaped by the civil rights movement, also spurred questions in academic circles regarding the importance of gender (Brodkin-Sacks 1989:535). However, as class,

race, and gender began to be investigated by various scholars and other interest groups, some feminist scholars, such as Brodkin (1998), Harrison (1991), Mies (1986), Mohanty (1999), and Mullings (1994) to name a few, critiqued these studies for disregarding how these issues intersect[60] with one another as well as how these intersections affect the way in which social inequality is experienced by different groups or individuals.

As a result of these criticisms, many scholars began to examine the ways in which class, race, and gender affect one another. Unfortunately, as Scott (1994:8) points out, the "triumvirate" of gender, class, and race became such popular analytic categories that they have become synonymous with studies of the oppressed as opposed to avenues for investigating all genders, classes, and constructions of race. Socially established gender roles and gender categories have historically affected men as well as women. In the same vein, constructions of race have shaped white people's lives in the United States as well as people of color (Scott 1994:8). Hence, the study of gender should not just pertain to

[60] Although relationships between class and race had been investigated by scholars to some extent, gender was usually ignored. This was especially true of traditional Marxist studies, many of which disregarded women in their analyses of class and labor relations. See Biewener (1999) and Brodkin-Sacks (1989:535-537) for an elaboration of these points as well as a critique of traditional Marxist scholars' reluctance to include family and domestic relations in their analyses of class.

women, in the same way that research into issues of race should not only apply to African-Americans (Hewitt 1992:315-316).

This chapter examines the intersections of gender, class, and race as it pertains to the Kirby occupation of Marble Springs. An intersectional analysis will shed light on the complex social relations engaged in and experienced by this family as well as perhaps shed light on these social relations on broader local or regional scales. According to Hurt (1994:215), farm families throughout the United States have been historically divided by class according to wealth, race, and culture. As a white, landowning family, the Kirbys offer a unique opportunity to examine how they structured and experienced their everyday lives in terms of wealth, race, and culture.

Farmwomen have also played an important role in these divisions as Hurt (1994:215) describes. As discussed in Chapter III, the Kirby women, especially Melvina Kirby, played significant roles in the everyday rural lifeways of the farm. Farmwomen, like other women in 19th- and early 20th-century society, took on the class and racial categories of their fathers and husbands, but were often at the same time considered less equal in terms of their biological sex. Historically, farmwomen have been expected to do their own work as well as help the significant men in their lives, and depending on their class or racial social status,

these challenges varied. The gendered division of labor as well as the importance of land ownership, therefore, will be the focal points in this chapter for examining these intersections.

The Division of Farm Labor and the Ownership of Land

Historic accounts of the division of farm labor in eastern North America between 1750 and 1850 detail how white women were primarily tied to the garden, barn, dairy, chicken coop, and kitchen, whereas men were occupied with tasks in the barn, livestock, and the fields (Hurt 1994:112; Jensen 1986). Although the lives of white rural women focused primarily on the home, they were not completely isolated from the rest of the world. In addition to producing food and clothing and keeping the home and family organized, farmwomen also worked in the fields and tended the crops. Many women maintained strong ties with local markets, selling butter, eggs, woven linen, and packed pork (Hurt 1994:151).

In addition, white women were not only caretakers of their husbands and manufacturers of farm products, but they were also responsible for the reproduction of farm labor (i.e., bearing children to increase the number of farm hands, especially on farms without enslaved or indentured laborers) (Jensen

1986:34-35). Enslaved African-American women, on the other hand, were often relegated to grueling work in the fields, especially in the South, and frequently were not allowed to sell any extra goods that they may have been able to produce (Hurt 1994:154). Reproductively, African-American women were further exploited to produce more and more children in order to increase the number of enslaved laborers.

During this time period, the development and growth of industry created contrasts between white rural women in the North and white rural women in the South. In the North, the growth of industries devalued home-manufactured goods, such as linen cloth, and hence reduced the value of women's labor at home. As a result, many white women - especially those who were young and unmarried – were drawn to the cities to find employment, or were relegated to more domestic tasks in the home and around the farm (Hurt 1994:151-152). White farm women in the South did not have the same competition with industries as seen in the North, due in part to the majority of the South investing in slaves and land rather than commerce or manufacturing. Instead they continued growing flax and spinning sheep's wool for sale and for home use well after factory-produced cloth was available (Hurt 194:154).

By the late Antebellum period, women, especially white upper-class

women in urban areas, began to be considered frail, delicate, and keepers of home and hearth (Welter 1966). This change can be attributed to emergent industrial capitalism, which had socially generated separate spheres for men and women. As men worked increasingly outside of the home, women were more and more relegated to the private, domestic sphere (Rynbrandt 1999). This ideal was especially salient in the South, where white (affluent) women were considered fragile and in need of protection by Southern white males. Women were to be kept hidden from the public eye and engagement in politics was highly discouraged (Lerda 1994). This ideal continued into and after the Civil War, and no better portrayal of this "feminine ideal" exists than that witnessed in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind* (1936).

This ideal often did not apply, nor was it a reality, for many women, whether they lived in urban or rural areas. In rural areas centered within agricultural economies, women in all levels of tenure, whether landowning, tenant, sharecropper, or wage laborer often had to, as mentioned above, engage in some form of farm production, whether taking care of chicken coops or working out in the fields (Sharpless 1999:33). However, wealthier farm women were often able to hire help for their duties, unlike less wealthy, widowed, abandoned, or single women. These women, black or white, often worked in all

spheres of farm production (Ayers 1992:204; Walker 2000:93-95).

During the Civil War, many women had to work the fields, tend livestock, or take over marketing fresh produce in the absence of their husbands or fathers (Hurt 1994:161). Even wealthier women, who normally hired help for their duties or utilized the labor of enslaved African-Americans, often found themselves essential for physical tasks in the fields in order to provide food for themselves and their families. Following the Civil War, provided that their husbands and fathers survived the battlefields and returned to their homes, many women continued to tend to their domestic tasks and work on the farm wherever they were needed. Apart from neighborly visits, church services, and occasional trips to town, many farmwomen, both black and white, continued to engage in strenuous work that had few material rewards (Hurt 1994:216).

Regardless of how much women's labor was crucial to subsistence and commercial production, women's work (within the domestic sphere and within the spaces closest to the farm house) was often undervalued in relation to men's work (out in the field) (Hurt 1994:155). Advances in farm equipment and increased mechanization in the transition to industrialized agrarian enterprises often improved the labor conditions of men's work, but little was done to improve work within the women's spheres on the farm up through the first half

of the 20th-century (Hurt 1994:274-275; Osterud 1993:22; Stine 1992:105).

According to Osterud (1993:17), feminist analyses of the transition to capitalism in rural regions must include an examination of the relationship between the gender division of labor and market and non-market oriented production as well as gender divisions at the community level. I would argue that an examination of class and race, and the way that these axes of inequality intersect with gender, should also be examined within this context. Following the Civil War, division along racial lines became a focal point for whites that wanted to maintain a conceptual and physical separation from blacks that had been recently emancipated. Even in Southern Appalachia, Union-friendly sentiments did not equate with feelings of racial equality. Life may have been less restrictive for African-Americans in this region when compared with parts of the Deep South, but segregation and disenfranchisement continued to exist (Walker 2000:25). In some parts of Southern Appalachia, such as East Tennessee and West Virginia, African-Americans were not formally disenfranchised, but a climate of fear discouraged many from voting nevertheless (Ibid.).

In rural Southern Appalachia, apart from socially separating themselves from their black neighbors, white farmers in general defined themselves and judged other whites according to a combination of factors. As in most of the

South, everyone had a clear idea of the social status of their neighbors, more obviously divided by levels of land tenure and less conspicuously by lines of respectability and influence. Age, church affiliation, kinship, as well as reputations for meanness, generosity, bad luck, "personal industriousness," and drunkenness furthermore complicated the ways in which people viewed one another (Ayers 1992:206-207; Walker 2000:26).

Similar class and social status distinctions were also prevalent in African-American communities. In addition to classifications along economic and social lines relating to respectability and influence, many blacks viewed each other according to how their individual status and behaviors affected the way that the entire African American population was viewed by whites. More affluent African Americans, ascribing to white middle class values, often worried that working or lower class blacks were ruining the reputations of all black people, and in turn, working or lower class blacks accused middle class blacks of selling out all African Americans for "acting white" (Walker 2000:28).

For many white women, racial distinctions from their African-American neighbors were increasingly important during the late 19th- and early 20th-century. This is because white women's status, especially poor white women's status, differed from African-American women's status in society only by a small

degree (Sharpless 1999:38). Overall, white women's status in society was determined by the status of their husbands and fathers, and white women could improve their social status by marrying elite men. In the same manner, they generally lost status, or were viewed to have fallen in respectability, if they married men that were beneath them in the social hierarchy (Walker 2000:28). A woman who married a man that was poor as well as reputed to be shiftless and prone to drunkenness or violence was often pitied, but regardless of her personal character and diligence on the farm, she could never increase her status (Walker 2000:28-29). She was forever socially tied to the status and actions of her husband[61]. Hence in addition to socially separating themselves from black women - since white women's status was dependent on men - white women frequently drew class distinctions between themselves and other white women, often denying at the same time that class distinctions existed (Sharpless 1999:38). These distinctions were used to maintain social boundaries and either reinforced or resisted the economic divisions of the agricultural ladder.

African American women's status, when compared to white women, was not necessarily dependent on the status of their fathers and husbands. Hard work, regular church attendance, and ascribing to middling standards of upright

[61] Interestingly, women could also boost the status of their husbands by her actions in the community, namely in the ways in which her behavior fell in line with the socially accepted feminine gender roles and displays (Walker 2000:28-29).

behavior could raise the status of black women, regardless of the status of the men in their lives (Walker 2000:29). Nevertheless, black women's status was still socially considered below that of white women, regardless of the respectability they attained within black communities. Often, while black women used these standards to evaluate each other's respectability, whites used these standards to patronizingly evaluate black women's potential to be hired as domestic help.

As discussed in Chapter IV, private land ownership was considered to be at the top of the agricultural ladder and the pinnacle of rural capitalism. In addition to inequality in the division of labor and social inequality along class and racial lines, women were also unequal in terms of the lack of ownership of land. Although women have owned land in the United States since the early settlement of Europeans in this country, by custom women did not own land independently (i.e, apart from joint ownership with their husbands[62]) until well into the mid 20th-century[63] (Effland et. al 1993:238; Weise 2001). Before then, women often only obtained land ownership in the event of widowhood or inheritance, and when these events occurred, many women sold their land and

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[62] In addition to customarily lacking land ownership, women who brought real estate or other capital into a marriage surrendered ownership of that property to her husband. Even in cases where there was some legal protection of women's prenuptial landholdings, men frequently resorted to coercion in order to gain control of it (Weise 2001:216).

[63] It is interesting to note that by as recently as 1992, women constituted only seven- to eight-percent of all farmers and farm-operators. This was a 10-percent increase from the prior decade (Sontag and Bubolz 1996:11).

moved to urban areas (Ayers 1992:204). In some situations, wealthier farmwomen were able to maintain their farms by hiring laborers to work the fields or help tend the livestock (Dunaway 1996:87).

In parts of Southern Appalachia, such as East Tennessee, approximately two-thirds of the farmers overall owned their land in comparison to the state average of 58.8-percent. Two-thirds of the African American farmers in East Tennessee owned their land, but the acreage owned was generally less (approximately 59 acres) when compared with the average acreage of white farm owners (approximately 98 acres) (Walker 2000:18). Black women, aside from living under the burdens of racism, also generally could not own land independently. In the event that her landowning husband died, many black women fell down the agricultural ladder, sometimes having lost the land to pay their husband's debts or, having lost the valuable labor of her husband, the inability to continue maintaining the farm[64].

Without a large amount of capital and cash on hand to hire laborers, it was often impossible to keep up with the day-to-day needs of the farm, let alone have means to purchase seed and repair farm equipment. Many black women – as well as poor white women - turned to renting or sharecropping as a matter of

[64] This would also be true of less affluent or poor white women.

course, typically having worked in all aspects of farm production while they were married, gaining the experience necessary to continue farming (Ayers 1992:204). This is not to say that all African American women and poor white farmwomen lost their land after their husbands passed away or abandoned them. Some black and white women were able to maintain their land after their husbands passed away with the presence of a large labor pool: namely in the form of their children (Ibid.). Hence, the presence of the unpaid family laborer, the lowest rung on the agricultural ladder, could make or break the ability to retain one's farm after the male head of household was no longer present.

While a woman was married, the gendered division of land tenure also often translated into male control of farm production in both white and black families. That is, men typically made the decisions regarding what was planted or raised, when they were harvested or slaughtered, and eventually, what would be kept for family use and what would be sold at market. Since these important decisions were usually in the domain of the husband, many women had to deal with the positive and negative repercussions of these decisions without having any social, economic, or legal means to change them.

If the husband was lucky, generally hard working, and moderately successful, the wife and children reaped the benefits. However, in the event of

poor decision-making or lack of "personal industriousness," women had to find ways to insulate their families from the incurred consequences[65]. Therefore, many women helped their families deal with these hardships by feeding them with crops raised in their kitchen gardens and clothing their families with homespun textiles (Ayers 1992:205). Women also earned cash, a priority for any farm family whether "self-sufficient" or otherwise, by selling butter, eggs, milk, and honey at local markets (Walker 2000:49). Many women, particularly black women, also earned extra money for their families by selling their services as midwives for both white and black families[66]. Midwives were not always paid in cash, but the corn, potatoes, chickens, or other goods were often enough to get the family by for a number of days (Ayers 1992:205).

In times of need, women also looked after one another, offering aid to extended family members in need and drawing on traditional strategies of mutual aid in their communities (Walker 2000:52). When a woman and her family were facing particularly hard times, women in the community rallied around her, extending necessary food, clothing, and even their labor with the

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[65] In cases where their farmer husbands were unwilling to work on the farm or were unable due to illness or injury, women were often left responsible for all aspects of farm production (Walker 2000:49).

[66] Although some farm families supplemented their incomes by having their older children, especially their daughters, engage in off-farm work, there were divisions in the jobs available depending on whether one was black or white. Most of the industries, such as textiles, would not hire black women, and hence, black women often earned very low wages doing domestic work or acting as midwives for white families in their neighborhoods (Walker 2000: 86).

implicit knowledge that she would reciprocate the aid in the event that other women in the community should suffer same. According to Walker (2000:53), mutual aid networks in rural communities in regions such as Southern Appalachia have been integrally important because they empowered women and offset their legal lack of control and gender equality by giving them access to resources they would not otherwise have.

These factors indicate that although women may not have had a determinant role in important farming decisions and farm ownership, many women contributed to the self-sufficiency of the farm as equally importantly as the crops that were planted by their husbands, sometimes even more so. Throughout the 19th-century and early 20th-century, with fluctuations of droughts, floods, pests, and major economic and agricultural depressions, women helped their families survive through hard times often with little reward other than the health of their children and knowing that they managed to make it another day. Their labor, although undervalued in comparison with men, was often invaluable for the survival of the family and the farm, and by engaging in mutual aid strategies, women were able to look after one another to offset their lack of legal and social control.

Historical Archaeological Investigations of Gender, Class, and Race

Within recent years, historical archaeologists, prompted by feminist and cultural anthropological research, have maintained that gender, class, and race be included in the analyses and interpretations of historic sites (see Deagan 1991; Mrozowski et al. 2000; Patterson 2000; Scott 1994; Yentch 1991). Since most of the archival records and historic texts used by historical archaeologists in their research were written by white, elite men, archaeologists need to go beyond these documents and their own biases to "dig deeper" to understand the ways in which the axes of social inequality intersect and to consider how these inequalities are manifested materially.

Capitalism's influence on the construction of gender, as well as the ways in which class lines are drawn and groups of people are classified and exploited based on their ethno-racial identity cannot be overemphasized. As capitalism began to emerge in the late 18th-century, social relations began to develop wherein the wealthy elite took control of the means of production, and certain groups were left with their labor – and, I would argue, their ability to sexually reproduce - as their chief commodities (Mrozowski et al. 2000:xiv-xv). Since capitalism's emergence, there have been periods of economic prosperity and

depressions, and these have had social consequences, usually in the form of more rigid social boundaries. Archaeologically, the economic shifts and the shifting social relations should be materially visible (Mrozowski et al. 2000:xvi). Nevertheless, in the quest for material manifestations of social inequality and other effects of emergent capitalism, one should shy away from making essentialist assumptions, namely that certain artifacts can be used as "markers" for certain classes, ethno-racial groups, or genders. This does not entail a hyper-relativist perspective regarding material remains; only that one should be wary of relying solely on pattern recognition and artifact types when examining complex social relations among groups and individuals.

Much of the historical archaeological literature regarding gender, class, and race can be geographically divided into urban areas and rural areas, with the majority of the work focused in urban areas, especially with regard to issues of class and gender/ sexuality (see Fitts 1999; McCarthy 2001; Seifert 1994; and Wall 1994, 2000 for but a few examples). This is not surprising considering the amount of archival data available to archaeologists in urban areas, as well as the more physically obvious effects of industrialization in cities throughout the last 150 years. The majority of archaeological research regarding race has usually been conducted on African American sites, and until recently, this was more

often than not conducted on former plantations (Singleton 1990). However, some research has begun regarding African Americans in urban contexts (see Mullins 1999). Other than studies of African American sites and occasionally, historic period Native American sites (see Ewen 1996; Farnsworth 1992), historical archaeological analyses of race have yet to fully delve into studies of other ethno-racial groups or whiteness as a racialized concept.

Although much of the historical archaeological literature regarding gender, class, and race has been centered primarily within urban contexts, rural sites have also demonstrated the efficacy of using these analytic categories for understanding rural lifeways. Slavery, as mentioned above, has been a continuing area of rural historical archaeological research at plantation sites. Traditional approaches that tended to confuse behavior with culture and focused on searching for ethnic markers (i.e., "Africanisms") has prompted some archaeologists such as DeCorse (1999) and Howson (1999) to call for a broader interpretation of these sites, one that incorporates class analysis as well as transformations of cultural beliefs.

Class analysis in rural contexts has been conducted effectively by Wurst (1999). She discusses how traditional historical archaeology of rural sites has tended to equate "rural" with "farmsteads" at the expense of not examining non-

agricultural activities such as industries, service, and labor (1999:12). Furthermore, Wurst (1999:12-13) posits that archaeological analyses of farmsteads have tended to portray rural communities as classless. She demonstrates, as does this dissertation, that rural communities in the 19th- and early 20th-centuries were socially stratified according to levels of land tenure as well as perceived respectability.

Unlike other studies that examine various aspects of race or class, Stine (1990, 1992) analyses the intersections of gender with class and race at turn-of-the-20th-century farmsteads. Drawing from her analyses of archaeological data collected from two Piedmont farms formerly occupied by black and white tenants who had become farm owners, Stine (1990) concluded class and racial distinctions were not clearly defined by the archaeological record. Economic variables impacted the ability of both black and white families in the study to purchase goods, and respect in the community was more integral to access and ability to purchase goods than racial or economic stratification (Stine 1990:49).

Stine (1992) extended this analysis in a later article to include gender. With regard to the black and white farm families she examined, she found that although patriarchal ideals existed, they were not always practiced. Artifact patterns relating to women's (domestic) and men's (field) spheres were not

evident, and oral history data confirmed that women, as well as children, often had to work in the fields when necessary. Some women even preferred work in the fields, regardless of ethno-racial or economic background. Nevertheless, they were ever cognizant of the socially ascribed feminine ideals, calling themselves "tomboys," "mannish," or they would say that they were unattractive (Stine 1992:106).

Both of Stine's (1990, 1992) articles demonstrate that although there are no definitive material class, racial, or gender markers, one can still examine the complexities of these relationships by using archival documents and oral history along with the archaeology. Instead of searching for markers or patterns within sites to identify unequal social relations, archaeologists should examine their data in terms of the relationships between ideology and variable activities and institutions (Stine 1992:107). By addressing broader issues, such as comparing actual behaviors with idealized behaviors, one can begin to ascertain the ways in which the axes of gender, class, and race intersected and were experienced by groups and individuals in the past. Hence, contextualizing site-specific archaeological data into community or regional levels is integral to understanding the complex nature of rural lifeways in the past.

The Intersections of Gender, Class, and Race at Marble Springs

The Kirby family at Marble Springs resided in a small, rural community south of Knoxville, where racial, class, and gender distinctions were part of the way in which members of the community measured one another as well as identified themselves. However, these distinctions were not always clear-cut, as in many ways, the Kirbys over four generations did not always adhere to the ideal social displays and behaviors. At times there were social sanctions against these behaviors, and the Kirbys lost respect in their community. At other times – in spite of the fact that they had lost respect - members of the community rallied around them and aided them in times of need. Hence, the Kirbys are an interesting case study of a family who, amidst economic, social, and personal struggles over 84 years, were able to persevere on their farm thanks many times to the women in the family and their ties to the community.

From the time that George Kirby purchased Marble Springs in 1847 until the Kirbys were forced to leave in 1932, Kirby women have contributed to the maintenance and production of the farm. Lettie McCammon, George's first wife, likely aided in butter and egg production as well as soap-making, and these practices were probably continued by his second wife, Sally Cummings, as well

as her daughter, Betty Jane. After George's son, Joseph, married Malinda Melvina French in 1868, she likely carried on these aspects of farm production as well. In 1870, the Kirby women produced a total of 250 pounds of butter, 200 of which were attributed to Joseph Kirby (i.e., Melvina) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870b). Interestingly, butter was not listed on the 1880 agricultural census for either Kirby household[67]. Instead, eggs and poultry – two aspects of farm production that were typically within the feminine-gendered domain – were listed, whereas in 1870, they were not. Between the two families, the Kirbys had 23 chickens and produced over 400 eggs (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880b). Therefore, the Kirby women were like other typical women in Southern Appalachia and other parts of the U.S.: they took care of their houses, tended kitchen gardens, fed and clothed their families, and produced home-manufactured goods for sale at local markets such as Knoxville's farmer's market at Market Square. They would have likely traveled there weekly or several times per month in hopes of selling their goods for cash or barter.

Throughout the 19th- and early 20th-centuries, the Kirbys lived among Euroamerican and African American neighbors. Although some members of the community owned slaves before the Civil War, George Kirby never owned

[67] This may have been an oversight by the census taker. With three milk cows between the two families, they were undoubtedly making butter.

slaves. This does not mean that George Kirby and the rest of the family were accepting of African Americans as their equals. Instead, like many small acreage, self-sufficient farmers, they probably could not afford to purchase enslaved African Americans. Following the Civil War and over the turn-of-the-20th-century, the Kirbys continued to live among African American families, namely the Brown family who lived to the northwest of their property. Although racial distinctions were clearly drawn between blacks and whites in the community, the Kirbys had frequent contact with the Browns, purchasing vinegar from Mrs. Brown, the matriarch of the family, as well as running illegal liquor for them in the 1920s and early 30s[68] (Byers, 2004, pers. comm.).

A very interesting and important development in the history of the site is the purchase of the property by Melvina Kirby from her husband, Joseph, in 1884 (Knox County Register of Deeds 1884). Both her husband and her father-in-law were still alive and continued to reside on the property for many years. The U.S. Census reports for 1880 and 1900 indicate that Melvina was "keeping house;" however, one could easily speculate that she was and had been managing the farm for a number of years. As mentioned previously in this chapter, some women had to take over the management of their farms in the event that their

[68] This will be further addressed in Chapter VI.

husbands failed to operate them properly or neglected their farms completely. Women's labor and perseverance were sometimes the only ways that a family was able to hold onto their property or put food on the table.

Although there is no proof that Joseph was a lousy farmer, two things stand out that lend support to the possibility that Melvina managed and operated the farm, if not earlier, then at least by the time she purchased the property. First, the cash value of farm productions for Joseph Kirby significantly decreased from 1870 to 1880, indicating that either environmental conditions significantly affected the farm productions or that he no longer farmed the land properly. Secondly, four years after 1880, Melvina purchased the property, which was generally not in line with the social norm. She had to have had a reason to purchase the property, and there had to be willingness on the part of Joseph to even sell the land[69]. That Melvina continued to be listed as "keeping house" even after she purchased the property would not be surprising considering the strategies of depreciation practiced by census takers in the 19th- and early 20th-centuries. Many census takers only listed the productive activities of men while rendering invisible the work performed by women (Anglin 1995:189). Unless women held socially accepted, gender-appropriate public

[69] George, who appeared to continue farming or at least maintained an interest in the farm until his death in 1897, may have even sanctioned this purchase if he saw that his son was not operating the farm properly.

positions such as teachers or seamstresses, women's productive activities were typically considered negligible.

As mentioned in Chapter III, sometime before 1909, Melvina became ill with tuberculosis. Her granddaughter, Cora Lou, also had the disease. Not much is known regarding how Melvina would have been viewed or treated as a consumptive in her community, but a little more is known about the community reactions around the time that Cora Lou resided on the property in the early 20th-century. According to Byers (2004, pers. comm.), everyone in the community "knew that the Kirbys had disease in the family." As far as the community was concerned, "they all had it." The Kirbys were generally pitied, but at the same time reviled[70]. Children were cautioned to stay away, and although the Kirbys were landowners, they were regarded with less respect than one would imagine a family at the top of the agricultural ladder would be. Hence, disease was an important component of status in the community, and if one or two members of a family were stricken with the disease, the entire family was considered diseased.

Shortly before Melvina's death in 1909, she willed the property to her

[70] By the 1930s, it was generally common knowledge that tuberculosis spread easily within a family and that various family members may carry the disease at one time, even if the disease was only manifested in one or two individuals. Isolation of the tuberculosis patient was one of the only ways to keep from spreading the disease around the community, even if the infected individual was not officially quarantined (Puffer 1944: 79-82).

sons, Hugh and Charles, stipulating that Joseph be allowed "all rights to home and support" during the remainder of his life as long as he did not remarry (Knox County Archives 1909a). Considering that things were usually the other way around, the husband allowing his widowed wife to remain on *his* property after he died, an examination of Melvina Kirby's life becomes very interesting in light of so few women owning and controlling their own farms during this time period. This is especially salient since very little is known about the lives of small-acreage or middling farmwomen in general (Sharpless 1993:35). It was obviously important to Melvina to write a will granting the land to her sons after her death and stipulating conditions for Joseph's continued residence on the property. Since she was the only Kirby to write a will, there may have been some contention between Joseph and their sons over the property, or rather, Melvina may have had concerns regarding Joseph's possible re-mismanagement of the farm that she had worked so hard to maintain. If she had died without writing a will, Joseph would have inherited the farm. It is obvious from what is written in the will that she did not want that to happen[71].

In spite of Melvina's empowering purchase of the farm, she and many of the other Kirby women struggled with poverty during their occupation of the

[71] It is important to note that Melvina had no debts at the time of her death.

property. Melvina likely struggled with maintaining a farm with poor, eroding soil. Following George's death in 1897, several pieces of farm equipment had to be sold off at an estate sale in order to settle his debts, and her illness by this time may have caused her further struggles with regard to maintaining the farm. After her death and by the mid-1920s, Hugh and Daisy Kirby had to mortgage the property and were likely farming very little. There were times when the Kirbys were without food, and considering that they eventually lost the property due to non-payment of their trust deed, things eventually financially turned for the worse.

Notwithstanding their struggles and the ways in which they were negatively regarded in the community due to disease and their more nefarious activities, the Kirbys did manage to help their neighbors and occasionally give gifts. Jennings (2004, pers. comm.) remembered sometime in the early 1930s when Daisy Kirby, clad in a colorful dress and jewelry, bought her a child's bowl, spoon, and fork set and brought it to their house[72]. Jennings (2004, pers. comm.) as well as her brother, David Blazier (2004, pers. comm.), also recalled that Daisy and her daughter, Ruth, helped other women in the neighborhood during times of labor and delivery as well as during the weeks following the

[72] Jennings (2004, pers. comm.) also recalled how her mother was not impressed with Daisy's attire, remarking that respectable women did not dress that way.

birth of a new child. Some of the Kirby men also assisted neighboring farmers with their work, and in turn, were given cuts of butchered meat (Blazier, 2004, pers. comm.). Sometimes the meat was given without reciprocal work when the Kirbys were in a particularly dire position (Ibid.). When Ruth bore an illegitimate child that died, members of the community reached out to the Kirbys and helped with the removal of the body and burial of the infant (Byers, 2004, pers. comm.).

The Kirbys eventually lost their property and were forced to leave, but without the help of their community, they would likely not have managed to survive for as long on the property as they did. In spite of the prevalent social standards of behavior for their class, ethno-racial group, and gendered divisions of labor and land tenure, the Kirbys did not adhere to the ideals of their time. Hence, gender, along with class and race, are salient avenues of inquiry for understanding the lives of the Kirbys at Marble Springs.

For the majority of the 19th-century, as a family they could be considered hard-working, self-sufficient, small-acreage farmers that were generally respected in the community. By the late 19th-century, Melvina became the sole farm owner and eventually contracted tuberculosis, forever tarnishing the reputation of the family, in spite of her hard work and perseverance. Later

activities in the 20th-century, such as moonshining, further blemished the status of the family. Eventually, the Kirbys were regarded as a pitiable bunch, in need of extra work and food, more of a burden to the community than an asset. Hence their position as a white, farm-owning family was not enough to counteract the effects of disease, poverty, and behaviors considered less respectable to the majority of their rural community. The following chapter will examine how these less-respectable behaviors, mainly moonshining and liquor-running, became the sole financial pursuits of the Kirbys in the early 20th-century and why these pursuits – in spite of their social consequences – may have seemed to the Kirbys to be the only way of surviving tumultuous agricultural and economic times.

CHAPTER VI

HIDDEN IN THE TREES: THE INFORMAL ECONOMY AT MARBLE SPRINGS

"Back in thirty-three, we couldn't get money in any other way. Everybody nearly back then was in whiskey. Anybody that you seed riding in a car had something to do with whiskey, now, someway a'nother...either bootlegged, hauled it or made it."
- Hubert Howell of Cartersville, Ga., ex-moonshiner (quoted in Dabney 1980:82)

The manufacture of moonshine, simply defined as the illegal production of alcohol, namely whisky, but also rum, cordials, brandy, vodka, and gin, has been historically documented as a cultural tradition in the southeastern United States, and in Southern Appalachia in particular, throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, but especially the early 20th-century during Prohibition (Kellner 1971:5-6, 30). The production of moonshine became so widely associated with Southern Appalachia that the popular imagery of the mountain moonshiner has often been used to support negative stereotypes of mountain folk in general. It was often stated that in addition to their "natural" aggression, mountain folk have historically been superstitious, uneducated, and lazy – except when it came to producing moonshine, which was known for requiring a great deal of hard labor (May 1968:192-230; Otto 1986). Ethnographic interviews of several members of

the community who remember the Kirbys indicate that they engaged in moonshining and running illegal liquor for their neighbors. This chapter will explore how the Kirbys transitioned from an economic reliance on farm production in the mid to late 19th-century to nearly a sole reliance on earning cash through the production and distribution of illegal liquor (i.e., the informal economy) in the early 20th -century.

Everyday Forms of Resistance and the Informal Economy

Resistance is typically conceptualized as opposition to domination, loosely defined as the "exercise of power through the control of resources" (Paynter and McGuire 1991:10). For Marx, this exercise of power was extended to control over production as well as reproduction with ideologies put in place by the elite to convince those alienated from the means of production that their labor belongs to the owners of capital (Miller et. al. 1989:4-5). In the past, some researchers, such as Tilly (1998:225), have examined domination as a uniform structure that is pervasive, exclusionary, and conservative (Miller 1989:63). However, other researchers, such as Maria Mies (1986), Daniel Miller (1989), Chandra Mohanty (1999), Robert Paynter and Randall McGuire (1991), and James Scott (1985), have suggested that domination is heterogeneous; that is, there is a limit to

dominance, or the exercise of power, whether the power is being exerted by institutions or individuals.

Resistance, like domination, is heterogeneous and can exist in many forms (Paynter and McGuire 1991:12). According to Scott (1985:29, 1989), resistance can occur in two forms, open defiance and what he called, "every day forms of resistance." Everyday forms of resistance can include pilfering, foot dragging, desertion, and false compliance, among others (Scott 1985: 29, 1989:22). Resistance in this fashion can occur in any socio-economic stratum in order to deny the claims of a super-ordinate group, or groups, as well as to advance one's own position (Scott 1985:32).

In capitalist societies, as well as in other state-level societies, when the dominant mode of production is insufficient, and segments of the population are marginalized or impoverished as a result of it, some individuals or groups may choose to engage in what is known as the *informal economy* (Peattie 1987:852; Uzzell 1980:43). The informal economy can be defined as the anti-economy; namely, it is the opposite of the formal, or mainstream, economy (Halperin 1996:45; Halperin and Sturdevant 1990:323-324). Within the informal economy, people's labor, circulation, and consumption of goods and services operate outside of the sphere of government, and there may be formal sumptuary laws

against these activities, they may be considered social taboos, or both (Halperin 1996:45; Smith 1989:292, 294). Hence, some individuals or groups may choose to resist capitalist processes and governmental control (i.e., social and economic domination) and engage in illegal or quasi-legal[73] economic activities as a means for survival, whether these activities are sanctioned by their communities or not. Others may not resist capitalism per se, but instead, resist *dependency* upon capitalism, and therefore use capitalism and its associated processes to earn a livelihood through illegal or quasi-legal means (Halperin 1996:50).

The informal economy has been a focus within cultural anthropological discourse, usually involving segments of urban populations in various parts of the world as they struggle with capitalist development and a decline in the goods and services needed for daily life (see, for example, Despres 1990; Halperin and Sturdevant 1990; Roberts 1990; Sanjek 1998). In order to avoid taxation by the government or simply to make ends meet in urban areas such as New York City, some individuals have been noted to peddle wares on the street, sell items at flea markets, and scavenge goods to sell, as well as to run illegal rooming houses and sweat shops, gamble, deal drugs, steal property, or engage in prostitution (Sanjek 1998:119). According to Halperin (1996:44), rural parts of state systems have not

[73] As Ferman and Ferman (1973:3) state, the majority of the work that is conducted within the informal economy is quasi-legal in that the work is not out rightly outlawed, but instead has to do with people failing to report taxable income or failing to receive the proper licenses.

received very much attention by researchers interested in the informal economy, but similar activities, such as selling untaxed items at flea markets, have flourished in these areas. The lack of focus on the informal economy in rural areas can be extended to historical archaeological discourse, where the informal economy as defined above has been infrequently addressed in the literature, if at all, especially in rural contexts.

A Brief History of Moonshining

American history and folklore is filled with accounts of moonshiners playing cat and mouse games with law enforcement officials throughout the 19th- and 20th-centuries. Hence, many people believe that moonshine originated in the United States. However, moonshining originated in Ireland after 1662 when the first whiskey taxes were imposed upon the Irish people by the British government (Kellner 1971:32). Like the moonshining that occurred throughout Southern Appalachia several centuries later, Irish moonshining was often conducted at night at stills hidden throughout the countryside. Those who engaged in the practice of producing the illegal beverages typically lived in close-knit families and had more loyalty to their families than any sense of obligation or loyalty to the reigning government (Kellner 1971:32-33).

The practice of moonshining was brought to the American colonies and later the United States by primarily the Irish and these practices were continued by Americans over the next several years and continue even today. Today it is unlawful to possess a workable, unregistered still, and it is also unlawful to distill alcohol without a federal permit (Dabney 1974:3). Nevertheless, people continue to produce the illicit beverages. In the early years of this nation, it was not illegal to produce liquor, such as whiskey, on one's property. Whiskey production remained untaxed until 1791, and many felt it was their inalienable right to produce their home-made spirits since the work was conducted on their own land, with their own equipment, and their own crops, such as wheat, corn, and barley (Dabney 1974:3; Kellner 1971:32).

Alcohol production was regulated and taxed following 1791 until 1802, when the federal government lifted the regulations on its production. Except for three years following the War of 1812, the production of alcohol for personal use and sale went unrestricted until 1862 when it was again illegalized (Bathgate 2003:3; Dabney 1974:3). After unlicensed liquor production became a federal offense in 1862, moonshining became widespread, especially throughout the Southern Appalachia region and all the way north to southern Indiana (Kellner 1971). For many of these people, most of Irish or Scotch-Irish descent, the

production of "home brews" was a part of their heritage handed down from father to son, traceable to the practices of their European ancestors, and a practice worth continuing, even with the risk of jail time or even death at the hands of law enforcement agencies (Kellner 1971:60).

The practice of producing moonshine has remained relatively unchanged throughout the last several centuries. The changes that have taken place have usually concerned the technology available for certain parts of the distilling process. There are two basic steps, namely fermentation and distillation. A variety of foodstuffs can be fermented to make drinkable spirits, although corn, wheat, rye, and barley appear to have been the most popular over time[74] (Dabney 1974:4). Once the grain of choice is selected, one begins the malting process to change the starches of the grain into sugar. Oftentimes, grain such as corn was placed into a container with holes on the bottom or in sackcloth, and hot water was poured over the contents. The corn was then kept warm and moist and allowed to sprout over the next three days. After these three or four days, the corn was then allowed to dry in the sun for another few days (Dabney 1974:7; Dolan 2003:28-29; Kellner 1971:57).

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[74] Throughout the history of homemade or personal alcohol production, surplus crops were often utilized for distillation (Bathgate 2003:8). Besides the use of crops for personal subsistence and cash income, distillation often provided a way of utilizing all of one's crops as well as an easier way of shipping grain products.

Following the drying process, the corn was then coarsely ground[75]. The milled grain was then turned into "mash" by putting it into a container, usually a barrel with hot water, and kept warm for several days. This process was often difficult during winter months of extreme temperatures, especially if the fermentation and distilling were taking place away from the home place, which was usually the case once the practice was illegalized (Dabney 1974:7). Once the mash was "ready" after several weeks, it could be strained and added to a still for distillation.

The still is a cooker, pot, or kettle used in the distillery process. Most of these, especially in the more illicit operations, were small and portable; that is, easily moveable in the event of pressure from revenuers. The still was attached to a copper worm (i.e., coil) condenser immersed in a tub of cold, running water (Bathgate 2003:6; Dabney 1974:xxv). The strained mash in the still was then cooked over a fire, and the still was sealed. Once the temperature reached 176° Fahrenheit, the alcohol began to cook and vapor ran into the pot lid, which is attached to the worm. The vapor then is cooled by the cold coil and turned into whiskey and poured through a pipe into a jug or container. Since this "first run"

[75] Many farmers owned tubmills to grind their corn or could pay to have their sprouted grain ground at nearby mills (Kellner 1971:57).

is usually a watery version of whiskey, it is often put through a "second run" to strengthen and purify it[76] (Kellner 1971:59-60).

To many moonshiners, whiskey production is not only a tradition but also an art. Instead of just boiling mash and running it through a still, one has to know when to add the right ingredients at the proper time and sequence. According to Dabney (1980:73), what those right ingredients are depends on the individual making the whiskey. Without sugar or malt, fermentation takes approximately 21 days, but the addition of these ingredients can shorten the process to three to seven days for fermentation, depending on the seasonal temperatures. To some, the addition of these ingredients was considered "cheating," but to others, the addition of these ingredients simply hastened the fermentation process, and hence, hastened the profit.

Overall, making moonshine is difficult work. Not only did one have to haul hundreds of pounds of sugar to the still for fermentation and later haul heavy kegs of the product once the brewing was completed, but the work often had to be conducted at night away from the watchful gaze of law enforcement (Dabney 1980:25). Once unlicensed alcohol production was made illegal in 1862,

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[76] The second run was important for purification because harmful bacteria often infiltrated the brew during the initial distillation, and these could be killed through the reheating during the second distillation. One also had to be careful to clean the still properly after each use (Campbell 2003:145).

those who continued to produce it had to conduct their activities out of sight. The federally implemented Act of July 1 that year mandated that taxes had to be collected on all distilled spirits and also created the office of commissioner of internal revenue (Kellner 1971:67). The following year, a deputy commissioner was added along with detectives (i.e., "revenuers") who were hired to prevent, detect, and punish tax evaders.

The taxes on distilled alcohol quickly climbed over the next several years from 20-cents per gallon at the law's incept to $2.00 by the end of the following year (Kellner 1971:68). As the taxes rose, the actual revenue decreased, and the sole reason for this decrease was moonshine. Over the next several years, penalties for moonshining increased. However, so did the taxes, and the practice of moonshining continued. In the 1870s, the excise tax was reduced to 50-cents in order to discourage moonshining, however, the practice continued. By 1877, it was estimated that three thousand illegal stills were operating in Southern Appalachia, and that these stills were producing 50 gallons of moonshine per day (Kellner 1971:69).

Enforcement of the federal excise tax laws was no easy task for the United States government, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and his deputies often had to rely on "local deputies" to aid in tax collection and arrest

moonshiners. According to Kellner (1971:70), the majority of these "deputies" were ruthless, greedy criminals themselves who abused their power. Many deputies extorted money from moonshiners with the promise that they would not be arrested, and others would at times simply shoot the moonshiners when they were sent to arrest them[77]. In turn, moonshiners generally hated the revenuers and sometimes even the government in general. Many moonshiners felt betrayed by a government that they had fought for during the Civil War[78], and overall, they felt that the government should not have the right to interfere with their lives. Hence, violence often erupted from both sides, with the revenuers sometimes ambushing and killing the moonshiners, and the moonshiners and their lookouts sometimes ambushing and killing the revenuers (Kellner 1971:70-71). The violent acts that occurred sporadically between the revenuers and moonshiners was often hyped by the media in the late 19th-century, only adding to popular stereotypes of Southern Appalachian folk as backward and naturally aggressive (Kellner 1971:89; Wolfe 1979).

The turmoil surrounding the excise tax and the illegal practice of moonshining occurred during the same time that temperance movements were

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[77] Not all revenuers or local deputies were cruel and unseemly. Some understood the plight of moonshiners, namely that they oftentimes had no other way of earning a living and feeding their families (Wigginton 1972:304).

[78] Recall that many men in Southern Appalachia voluntarily fought for the Union army during the Civil War.

being sprung throughout the nation. With the beginning of the Progressive Era in the late 19th-century, many campaigns had been formed by primarily white, elite individuals to end the "social evil," namely alcohol sale and consumption, gambling, and prostitution, as well as to physically purify the city streets through sanitation reform (Ayers 1992:414; Faberson 2001; Pivar 1973; Wiebe 1967). Many of these sentiments by the Progressive social reformers were rooted in traditional Protestant respectability, and by advocating key issues such as prohibition, they had the assurance that they were "fighting for the Lord and the sanctity of the hearth" at the same time (Wiebe 1967:56).

The states that included Southern Appalachia varied to what degree they implemented social reforms. In the state of Tennessee, 19th-century laws regarding prohibition were generally lax. In 1887, a law had been enacted prohibiting the sale of liquor within four miles of a school, but cities and unincorporated towns were exempt from this law (Roblyer 1949:7). Lawmakers sought to strengthen this regulation in 1899 when they amended it to include towns with populations under 2,000. Four years later, this law was re-amended to include towns with populations of 5,000 and under (Gray and Adams 1976:106). In 1907, a new law was passed that extended the four-mile rule to any city within the state with fewer than 150,000 residents. In order for this law to be

accommodated in Knoxville, the city charter had to be repealed. Amidst mass temperance and anti-saloon meetings[79], the city charter of Knoxville was repealed and reinstated, with the four-mile rule intact (Gray and Adams 1976:106-107).

Many saloon owners and their patrons did not take kindly to the imposition of the social reforms on their livelihoods and lifeways (Roblyer 1949:120). Hence, resistance to the excise tax and temperance movements in the late 19th-century is quite apparent by the ways in which organizations such as the Cotton Exchange, the Merchant's Exchange, and the Lumbermen's Club openly protested these restrictions, as well as the fact that alcohol continued to be illegally sold in areas where it was restricted (i.e., the regulations were difficult to enforce) and the ways in which moonshining in rural areas also continued (Isaac 1965:171). However, one can also view the initial temperance movements as resistance. These movements openly resisted the dominant state of societal affairs, which included the sale and consumption of liquor. In the struggle to change what many viewed as "immoral behavior," conflict between legitimacy and coercion occurred. Aside from attempting to fully overthrow laws that protected the sale and consumption of alcohol (coercion), the temperance groups

[79] In the late 19th-century, two organizations dominated the prohibition efforts throughout Tennessee: the Prohibition party and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) (Roblyer 1949:9).

and other Prohibition advocates wanted their movement to have legitimacy with the public.

According to Miller (1989:72), there are two common strategies when groups make an appeal to legitimacy. The first faces outward towards mass participation. This would include the mass marketing campaigns that were used by the social reformers to entreat the masses to resist the temptation of alcohol consumption and aid them in the fight to close down all saloons. The second strategy focuses inwards on personal salvation. Although Miller (1989:73) discusses this strategy toward legitimacy in terms of monastic and sainthood systems as well as hippies in the 1960s, one could argue that the religious and moralistic undertones of the temperance movement were targeted towards individuals incorporating ideologies of personal salvation. By resisting the temptations of liquor (and the nefarious activities associated with it, such as gambling and prostitution), individuals would in turn resist the temptations of evil and champion the causes of good.

The resistance to the temperance movements, state prohibition laws, and excise tax did not end with the dawn of the 20th-century. Instead, resistance increased at the same rate that national prohibition advocates campaigned for reform (Wiebe 1967). Some progress had been made by social reformers to

restrict the locations of brothels and saloons to red-light districts, and sanitation overall began to improve. Nevertheless, public sentiments remained mixed regarding national alcohol prohibition.

Things began to change in favor of the temperance movement leaders, such as the Anti-Saloon League, however, in the first two decades of the 20th-century. With growing labor strikes and increasing racial tension within the first decade, many of the urban-industrial leaders began to financially support national prohibition efforts in the hopes of controlling the masses (Wiebe 1967:290-291). By 1913, with increased financial support from the industrialists, prohibition sentiments reached a new level of respectability. In the South, prohibition became especially popular among the white elite who distrusted and wanted to control the behaviors of African-American and poor white workers (Wiebe 1967:291). The late teens witnessed the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and fear of the masses intensified throughout the United States. Violence arose in many industrial quarters, and the Supreme Court, moderate in its leanings up to this point, finally gave ear to the cries of the prohibitionists. After much political and social wrangling, national prohibition became the 18th Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1919 (Szymanski 2003: 198-199).

Rather than further restricting the production of liquor, national prohibition increased moonshine production and its distribution on the black market. Whereas a gallon of whiskey before Prohibition usually earned $2 per gallon, after the 18th Amendment was enacted, it could earn up to $22 per gallon (Kellner 1971:104). Parts of Southern Appalachia, such as Knox County, Tennessee, had already been hotbeds for the illegal moonshine trade since the manufacture of all intoxicating liquors had been fully outlawed since 1910 in that state (Roblyer 1949:126). After the enactment of the 18th Amendment, historic accounts of the moonshine trade indicate that moonshine production and distribution became so prevalent in places such as Knox County, Tennessee, that well-known gangsters such as Chicago's Al Capone maintained part-time residences in Knoxville (Hooper 2003:78).

National Prohibition remained in place from 1920 until it was finally repealed in 1933. With the repeal of the law and the legal ability to manufacture alcohol, many of the small moonshine operators were forced out of business by major liquor, wine, and beer manufacturers that opened businesses throughout the United States (Wigginton 1972:301). As mentioned, moonshining still continues today, but not to the extent that was seen during the Prohibition years. Today it exists as cultural tradition, and for some, it has become a lost art.

"They Made and Ran Liquor": The Kirbys and the Informal Economy

As mentioned in Chapter III, the Kirbys at Marble Springs were small-acreage, self-sufficient farmers throughout the 19th-century. However, by at least the 1920s and early 1930s, the Kirbys pursued moonshining as their primary economic endeavor and continued raising some staple crops, such as corn, for whiskey-making and food consumption (Blazier, 2004, pers. comm.; Byers, 2004, pers. comm.). One has to question why the Kirbys would have, for the most part, abandoned their inter-generational farming practices and taken the risk of producing illegal liquor. Blazier (2004, pers. comm.) and Byers (2004, pers. comm.) both recall that the Kirbys were well-known throughout the community for producing moonshine and distributing moonshine as well as running illicit liquor for their neighbors.

Although the practice of home-liquor production and moonshining may have begun with George Kirby[80], factors appear to have been in place by the early 20th-century that may have prompted the Kirbys to fully invest in the illicit beverage business rather than rely on farming. Poor soil at Marble Springs may have been a factor in the low agricultural output of the farm, especially after 60

[80] Recall that George Kirby frequented the saloons of Knoxville on his weekly rides. It is possible that he may have also produced spirits himself.

years of continued cultivation. The soil at Marble Springs is primarily Tellico loam eroded hilly phase (Th), surrounded by Tellico loam steep phase (To) and gullied land (Ge) (Figure 6.1). The Tellico loam eroded hilly phase comprises the majority of the land at Marble Springs, and although an appreciable portion of the surface soil has been eroded and is less fertile than Tellico loam hilly phase, the soil is moderately fertile and can yield crops such as corn and vegetables (U.S. Soil Conservation Service 1955:149). The surrounding Tellico loam steep phase and gullied land are both, for the most part, unsuitable for crop growth. When compared with Knox County in general, the soil at Marble Springs is part of the 25-percent of the hilly surface soils in the area. Although careful management will allow for some crop cultivation, the soil is generally shallow to bedrock, stony, and very compact (U.S. Soil Conservation Service 1955:13). Hence, farming land of this nature could be somewhat tenuous, and considering rates of erosion over time, cultivation over time may lead to poor returns[81] (Bennett 1921:198).

In light of state-wide prohibition laws that began in 1910, the Kirbys may have found an avenue for earning a living by moonshining (i.e., participating in the informal economy). As discussed in previous chapters, even farm ownership

[81] This may have made Melvina's purchase of the land even more critical for the survival of the family if Joseph had been indeed poorly managing land that was already tenuous.

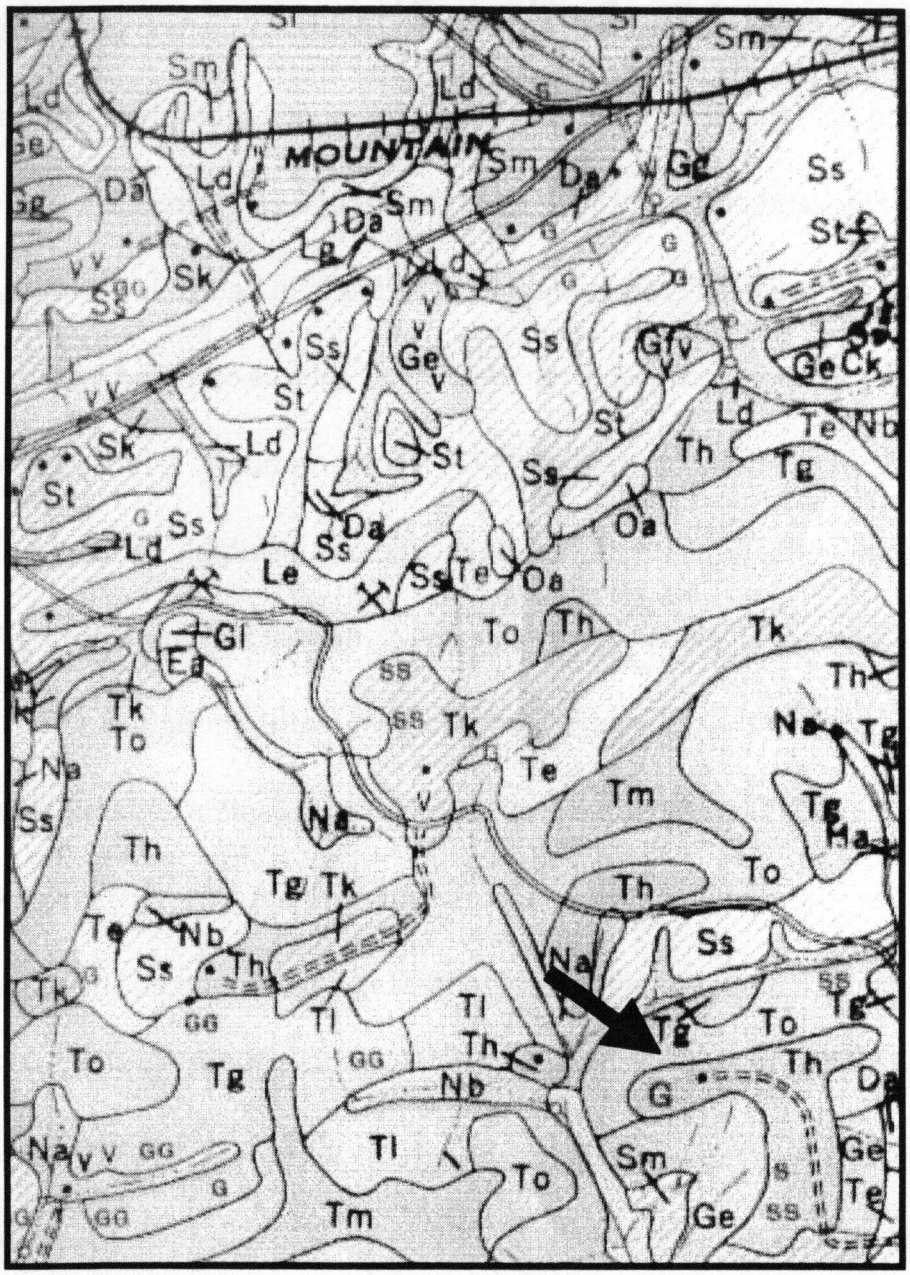

Figure 6.1: USCS soil map of the Knoxville Quadrangle, Knox County, Tennessee (1955).

did not guarantee financial success over the late 19th- into the 20th-centuries. The opposite would most likely be true in situations where the soil was poor, the land was mismanaged, or both. Even work off the farm was often unreliable and poorly paid.

Oral history testimony recorded by Joseph E. Dabney, who traveled throughout Southern Appalachia in the 1970s and conducted many interviews with ex-moonshiners and former revenuers, sheds light on the economic plight of farmers during this time period. Simmie Free, an ex-moonshiner in his 80s at the time, stated (Dabney 1980:22-23):

> Back then when I got married in 1916, I was young and didn't have nothin' to start off with. Got no money and nothin' to do with. Back then you couldn't get work to do. If you could get work with a man on a farm, you'd put in ten hours, even if it was down in a ditch, ditchin', ten hours for a dollar. Maybe twelve hours. Sunup to sundown. So when you got a dollar for a gallon of whiskey, that was big money. *Big* money.

Simmie also recounted how when he and his father produced too much whiskey, or the going rate of whiskey went down to 25-cents, that it was very difficult to survive (Dabney 1980:24). At times they could purchase sugar and coffee to consume in addition to the meat and vegetables they raised themselves, but even the staple items like coffee and sugar, as well as flour, were often difficult to obtain.

Byers (2004, pers. comm.) recalled that Hugh Sr. was very feeble by the 1920s[82], and that his son, Albert (i.e., "Rabbit"), and his son-in-law John Moranville did most of the liquor running while Hugh Sr. watched over the production. Byers also recalled that Albert and John were sometimes arrested by local deputies and served time in the county jail[83]. In addition to producing the illegal spirits, several of the Kirbys were also known to drink the whiskey they produced, "often hidden in the trees in glass jars to keep it out of sight" (Byers, 2004, pers. comm.). The irregularity of the work and income along with the arrests sometimes left them in need of food or other goods, especially if profits were low or non-existent, and overall, oral history testimony by local informants leaves the impression that the Kirbys were relatively impoverished by this time. Hence, one can see that kinship (i.e., the work of extended family members) as well as community networks (such as the Kirby women's ties with their neighbors) were integral to the survival of the family in times of dire need.

Although not necessarily a continually reliable income due to fluctuating markets and the threat of revenuers, moonshining allowed the Kirbys to maintain some form of financial stability no longer offered through agricultural

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[82] It is uncertain whether he had suffered an injury, or one may speculate feebleness as the result of long-term illness (possibly tuberculosis?).
[83] As mentioned in Chapter III, in 1929, John Moranville is listed as appearing in Knox County criminal court for an unknown offense (Knox County Archives 1929).

practices, in spite of the fact that some agricultural practices were still involved (i.e., the sowing and harvesting of corn)[84]. Contemporary research with regard to participation in the informal economy discusses similar conclusions. In Halperin's (1996:49-51) study of what she called "The Kentucky Way," a mode of economic resistance in rural northeast Kentucky, she found that participation in the informal economy allowed people to exercise control of their lives and maintain financial stability. The individuals she interviewed were retired, unemployed, and even employed at full-time jobs in the city or in the hinterlands. By selling household and novelty items new, used, or reconditioned - at major markets (centrally located markets situated along interstate highways), intermediate markets (located along state and country roads), and minor markets (located along local country roads or situated in school or church parking lots), individuals within her research area are able to attain a quality of life not possible if they were to rely on their primary (i.e., legal) incomes (Ibid.). The items sold at these markets are untaxed, and the incomes generated from their sale go unreported to the government.

According to Halperin (1996:50-51), three important aspects of "The Kentucky Way" that support the informal economy and the economic survival of

[84] See Buck (2001:43) for a brief discussion of tobacco farming versus moonshine production in historic eastern Kentucky.

the individuals who participate in this way of life are kinship, knowledge of the local ecology, and private land ownership. Kinship is integral for the labor needed to produce goods for the marketplace as well as labor to work the booths at the various markets. Kinship is also essential as an exchange network (Halperin 1996:44). Knowledge of the local ecology is important because hunting and fishing provide additional essential protein. Gardens and indigenous plants provide additional nutrition as well as cash from their sale[85]. Land ownership is also important because the land can be used for growing subsistence crops and therefore continues to provide a buffer against dependency on the market economy, outsiders, and government assistance such as welfare (Halperin 1996:51).

In light of Halperin's analysis of "The Kentucky Way," one may draw certain parallels with her observations of participation in the informal economy with the practice of moonshining in Southern Appalachia, and moonshining by the Kirby family at Marble Springs in particular. Moonshining was a means of resistance to taxation and government authorities, as well as a means of earning cash to buy necessary food and other desired goods. The Kirbys of the 20th-century were not likely consciously resisting capitalist processes, but they were

[85] The importance of the familiarity of the local ecology in Halperin's (1996) study can be paralleled with the collection of local moss and blood root for untaxed income by the Bowling family – also in eastern Kentucky - in Rory Kennedy's *American Hollow* (1999).

definitely affected by the social and economic changes that arose with the onset of capitalist agriculture, and hence, they resisted dependency on capitalism and the poverty that often was dependency's result. Like in "The Kentucky Way," the Kirbys utilized kinship ties and kin networks to aid in moonshine production and distribution. They also extended these ties to the community and frequently conducted their business with and for their neighbors. Their knowledge of the local ecology is a little more difficult to ascertain, but it is known that they maintained a kitchen garden, and they grew some grain crops, such as corn[86], for their moonshining operations[87]. They were also likely hunting and fishing on the side to supplement their diets. This will be further explored in Chapters VIII and IX.

It is not certain how much cash was earned by the Kirby family through moonshining and liquor-running. As Halperin (1996:77) states, informal economies and their subsequent "hidden" incomes are difficult to study. Measuring the cash earned or goods traded is nearly impossible as those who are engaged in the illegal or quasi-legal sale of goods rarely leave a paper trail of

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[86] It is interesting to note that some farmers who did not initially grow corn began to cultivate the crop in order to participate in the moonshining boom during the Prohibition years (Salstrom 1994:109).

[87] This is confirmed by Blazier (2004, pers. comm.), whose father owned a grain mill near the Kirby home. He recalled that many of the local farmers, including the Kirbys, would periodically stand in line at the mill with their sacks of grain waiting for their products to be ground to meal. He also stated that many times these farmers did not pay in cash, but instead, bartered for the milling of their grain, trading farm animals and products as well as labor.

their activities. Nevertheless, one can conclude that even moonshining was not enough to sustain the Kirbys, as is seen with the community aid of food to this family, but also due to the fact they had to mortgage their property and were not able to maintain the payment schedule, consequently losing the property to the Fidelity Bankers Trust Company in 1932[88].

The Kirbys turned to moonshining when they felt there were few other means of attaining financial security. As a result, they dealt with frequent arrests, but they also were able to gain a measure of control over their lives. Their reputations, already scarred by the tuberculosis that plagued the family, were further marred by their moonshine production, distribution, and consumption activities. Nevertheless, the Kirbys are a testament to the resourcefulness and tenacity of the Southern Appalachian folk who, in spite of negative stereotypes that would have one believe otherwise, worked hard, maintained close community ties, and took care of their kin in sickness and in health and through the best and worst of times.

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[88] It is possible to speculate that the Kirbys may have had to mortgage their property to pay legal bills acquired through frequent arrests. Walker's (2000:41) analysis of farm women in the Upland South between 1919-1941 details how one particular family in Sevier County, Tennessee, lost their land after it was mortgaged to pay legal bills after a moonshine raid. Unfortunately, no legal documents could be located to support this possibility for the Kirby family.

Material Traces of Moonshining and the Informal Economy

Very little historical archaeological work has been conducted on moonshining, and even less has attempted to apply the informal economy to interpretations of historic sites[89]. Primarily two research endeavors, namely Pace and Gardner (1985) and Douglas (2001), have addressed the material traces of moonshine production. Pace and Gardner's (1985) seminal discussion of the historical archaeology of moonshining addresses the research potential of moonshining sites for understanding local economies in rural Appalachia. Douglas (2001), drawing on the work of Pace and Gardner (1985), examined the industrial uses of caves in Tennessee, with moonshining being one of those industrial uses. According to Douglas (2001:252,257), taxation and later prohibition of alcohol drove many moonshiners to work in caves throughout the countryside. In caves, the stills would be hidden from view by nosy neighbors as well as hidden from law enforcement divisions, and the frequent presence of water also often proved useful in the production of the moonshine liquor.

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[89] Some historical archaeological work does exist pertaining to the temperance (and other social purity) movements of the 19th- and early 20th-centuries and the ways in which these regulations were often resisted by the elite as well as the classes or ethno-racial groups they were aimed at (see Faberson 2001 and Reckner and Brighton 1999), but these analyses do not discuss the social and economic aspects of moonshine production.

Material evidence of moonshining in caves and wooded areas can include artifacts from the production process, such as drums, barrels, metal piping, and sheet and scrap metal, as well as glass and ceramic containers for the finished product (Douglas 2001:259; Pace and Gardner 1985). The most diagnostic artifacts would include fireboxes and platforms, since the drums, barrels, and piping could have been used for domestic water supply systems. The material traces of moonshining may be harder to discern at domestic sites where moonshining was conducted elsewhere. Once state-wide prohibition was enacted in 1910, many individuals moved their distilleries to hidden areas, such as wooded areas and caves (Douglas 2001:260).

However, archaeologists should be aware that some stills were "hidden in the open" and not dismiss domestic sites for leaving evidence of moonshining activities. Historic research into the practice of moonshining indicates that illicit beverage production sometimes took place on domestic sites in infrequently used buildings and buildings that normally would not be suspected, such as barns, smokehouses, abandoned homes, and tool sheds (Wigginton 1972:310). Evidence of these operations may remain on domestic sites for years unless they were deliberately removed. Even if the more diagnostic evidence of moonshine production such as the firebox and platform are removed, indirect evidence of

moonshining may remain. Sugar bags or containers, high frequencies of fruit or canning jars and lids, stoneware jugs, and pieces of copper may all indicate moonshining activities. Naturally, all of these artifacts may indicate less nefarious activities, such as food preservation and preparation. However, at sites where oral testimony or archival documents indicate moonshine production may have taken place in the site vicinity, one should not omit these artifacts as possibly indicative of moonshining activities.

Aside from the production of moonshine, archaeologists should also consider related behaviors such as the consumption of illicit beverages, whether within the site under investigation or from a broader, community level. Although little definitive literature exists regarding the historic consumption of moonshine in the United States, there has been a recent contemporary, cross-cultural analysis of illicit beverage consumption in six different countries including Russia, India, Zambia, United Republic of Tanzania, Mexico, and Brazil that may shed light on these behaviors and suggest future avenues of inquiry for historical archaeologists. In her cross-cultural research, Bennett (2004) found several interesting commonalities across the six countries. First, all of the countries had some form of illicit alcohol that was manufactured, and India had several. Secondly, illegal liquor was readily available to the general

public in all of the countries, and there appeared to be little distinction between choosing legally produced alcohol versus illegally produced beverages, although availability and cost appeared to be the most determinate factors when choosing legal or illegal drinks (Bennett 2004:161). Finally, women appeared to drink less overall than men despite there being similar proportions of men and women that brewed the illicit beverages themselves (Bennett 2004:162).

Although not historically situated within the study region of this dissertation or even the United States itself, one can ascertain that legal sanctions against the production, sale, and consumption of illicit beverages generally does little to counteract actual production, sale, and consumption. In fact, and as this dissertation indicates, legal sanctions against these behaviors can actually boost the income generated by these activities. Secondly, there is little evidence that the consumption of illegal liquor entails outright resistance to these legal sanctions. Instead, liquor availability and the desire to drink alcoholic beverages combined with cost seemed to weigh more heavily with the participants in the study than any ideological pursuit. Finally, Bennett's (2004) study raises important questions regarding women's involvement in the consumption as well as production of illegal liquor. Although Kellner's (1971) research on the historic production of moonshine indicates women were involved in the production of

illegal spirits, there has been little other research exploring gender as a component of this practice.

The following chapter details the archaeological testing and excavations that were conducted over several field seasons at Marble Springs. The data that have been recovered from these field seasons span the 18th- through the mid 20th-centuries. For the purpose of this dissertation, only the Kirby era features will be discussed in detail, with some reference given to the earlier and later archaeological components.

CHAPTER VII

MATERIAL LIFE AT MARBLE SPRINGS: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

... there can be more beauty and more deep
wonder in the standings and spacings of mute
furnishings on a bare floor between the squaring bourns
of walls than in any music ever made...
- James Agee (1939)

Archaeological research at Marble Springs began in 2000 and continued through the summer of 2004. Until 2000, no systematic archaeological work had been conducted at the site although the site was protected by state antiquities laws (Faulkner 2005b:16). The State of Tennessee purchased the property in 1942, and since that year, buildings have been moved on and off the property, land has been graded for parking lots, and historic dumpsites on the property have been bulldozed - most with little, if any, archaeological testing[90]. Since 2000, the archaeological fieldwork has been conducted by graduate and undergraduate students led by Dr. Charles Faulkner, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee. Archaeological excavations were also conducted by Law Engineering and Environmental Services (LAW) in 2002. Although the initial focus of the testing and excavations was the recovery of

[90] The archaeological work that had been conducted at the site before 2000 was carried out by "amateur archaeologists" (i.e., bottle hunters).

information pertaining to the occupation of the site by Gov. John Sevier and his family over the turn of the 19th-century, other significant archaeological deposits pertaining to later occupations, such as the Kirbys, have been discovered.

My research strategy, based on previous chapters, has been to examine the lifeways of the Kirbys during their occupation of the site from 1847 until 1932. Over four generations of Kirbys, significant changes took place in their everyday lifeways. I have attempted to document these changes through archaeological data collection, analysis, and interpretation, as well as through the collection of oral history testimony and archival information discussed in previous chapters.

Methodology

Marble Springs is divided into six historic excavation areas and one prehistoric excavation area (Figure 7.1). This dissertation will focus on archaeological data collected from the historic areas (areas A through E) during the 2002 and 2003 field seasons. Data collected from the southeast peripheral yard (area G) and limited data collected from the east peripheral yard (Area E) during the 2004 field season will also be included. Data collected and

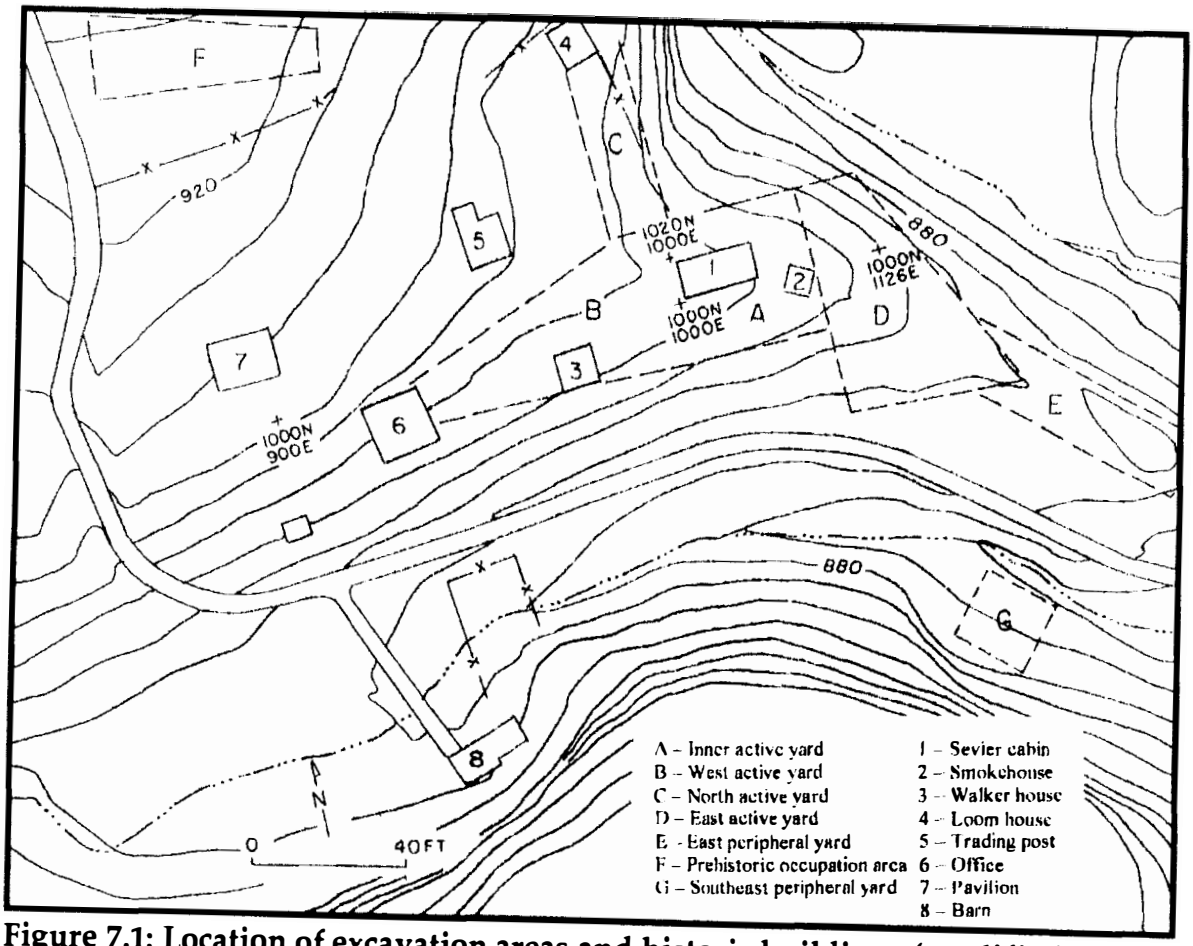

Figure 7.1: Location of excavation areas and historic buildings (modified from Faberson and Faulkner 2005: Figure 5).

interpretations made prior to the summer 2002 field season, such as those documented in Avery (2002), Avery et al. (2000), Barber (2001), and Barber et al. (2002) will be considered where relevant. All three areas in this study contain archaeological material prior to, and post-dating the Kirby occupation; however, these deposits will not be discussed in depth.

In order to document the changing lifeways of the Kirby family through the 19th- and early 20th-centuries, several topics will be discussed. These are architecture, foodways, health and medicine, moonshining, and miscellaneous activities. These topics will be discussed in terms of significant structures, features, and artifacts that were discovered during the 2002 and 2003 field seasons, as well as to a limited degree, the 2004 field season. Artifacts will be discussed in depth in the following chapter.

Field methodology during the 2002 and 2003 field seasons included gridded posthole testing and 3 x 3 foot test unit excavations. All measurements were taken in feet and tenths of feet beginning at the primary datum point, 1000N1000E, located at the southwest corner of the main cabin. Posthole tests in areas A, E, and G were excavated at 6-foot intervals unless obstructions, such as gravel, tree roots, etc., were encountered. Each posthole test was excavated to subsoil depth where possible. When significant features or artifacts were

discovered in the posthole tests, 1 x 1 test units were placed over the posthole tests. All soil collected during posthole testing and unit excavation was screened through ¼-inch mesh hardware cloth. Artifacts recovered from posthole tests and test units were bagged separately according to provenience, and soil samples were collected from significant features for flotation.

After each field day, artifact and soil sample bags were brought to the University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology historical archaeology laboratory for processing. Each bag, according to provenience, was assigned a field catalogue number. Following each field season, floatation was conducted on the soil samples and the artifacts were washed, sorted, labeled, and analyzed by undergraduate and graduate students. Delicate artifacts were not washed, but instead, carefully brushed when possible. Artifacts were sorted into nine artifact type categories: ceramics, curved glass, flat glass, nails, faunal material, construction material, flora, metal, and miscellaneous. All artifacts were then re-bagged according to type and provenience, and where applicable, also sorted according to associated structure.

Marble Springs artifact analysis was originally conducted using Stanley South's (1977) classification scheme for historic sites. However, this classification scheme is not very useful on sites dating to the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries,

since South's system was designed for historic sites dating to the colonial and antebellum periods. The artifact classification scheme utilized in this dissertation was developed by Roderick Sprague (1981), which was designed for postbellum sites. Although the Kirbys did live on the property during the antebellum period, the majority of their occupation occurred during the postbellum period. Hence, the use of Sprague's (1981) classification scheme is more appropriate.

Once analyzed, all artifact data were entered into Microsoft Access databases according to artifact type and site area. Artifact frequencies and distributions were calculated using Golden Software's Surfer 8.04. All databases and artifacts are currently located or being stored at the University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology.

Excavations Prior to Summer 2002

As mentioned above, several systematic archaeological surveys and tests were conducted at Marble Springs prior to the summer 2002 field season. In February 2000, the woodlot west of the historic area of the site was surveyed and tested by Dr. Faulkner and students in anticipation of the woodlot being cleared for future use as a camping area. Very little material dating to the 18th-century occupation of John Sevier was recovered in this area, and it was determined that

development of the area would have no adverse affect on potential prehistoric or historic remains (Avery et al. 2000).

In June 2001, Dr. Faulkner and his students, who were conducting excavations at a different historic site in Knox County, were called to Marble Springs to conduct salvage excavations around the main cabin at this site (Building 1 in Figure 7.1). Impending repair work to the floor joists of the cabin and drainage problems on the north side of the cabin threatened the archaeological remains (Faulkner 2003c:11). Dr. Faulkner and his crew discovered the remains of a porch that once stood on this side of the cabin. This porch, dating to the early 20th-century, can be seen in Chapter III, Figure 3.12. Although erosion appeared to have destroyed the 18th- and early 19th-century deposits around the cabin, late 19th- and early 20th-century artifacts that had accumulated under the porch were recovered (Ibid.).

In September 2001, another unit was excavated at the northeast corner of the kitchen that revealed material culture dating from the late 18th-century through the mid 20th-century. In January 2002, an archaeological excavation of the sub-floor beneath the main cabin was conducted by LAW. This excavation revealed artifacts dating from the late 18th-century through the 20th-century (Avery 2002; Faulkner 2003c:12).

In April 2002, archaeological excavations and dendrochronological studies were conducted by Dr. Faulkner and students around the barn (Building 8, Figure 7.1) to determine whether the structure dated to the Sevier occupation of the site. Flooding threatened the preservation of the barn, and the Governor John Sevier Memorial Association considered moving the building to protect it from further damage. However, they wanted to be certain that the barn dated to the Sevier era. Archaeological excavations around the building and dendrochronological examinations of the logs revealed that the structure dated to the early 20th-century. This information was corroborated by Frank Sayne (2003, pers. comm.), brother of Sam Sayne, who purchased the property after the Kirbys lost their land to the Fidelity Bankers Trust Company. Frank Sayne stated that he helped build the barn in the mid 1930s because there was no barn present when his brother, Sam, purchased the land.

The Summer 2002 Field Season

The 2002 University of Tennessee archaeological field school's goal at Marble Springs was to extend the historical archaeological testing and excavations from around the main cabin to the inner and outer active yards (Areas A, B, C, and D in Figure 7.1) as well as conduct archaeological testing of

the parking lot north of the historic area[91] (Area F in Figure 7.1). In Area A, the inner active yard, 88 gridded posthole tests were placed at 6 foot intervals, and 83-percent of these tests were positive (Faulkner 2003a:15-17). Material culture dating from the 18th-century through the mid 20th-century was recovered from these tests, indicating that the main cabin had been occupied over a long span of time.

In Area B, the west active yard, 71 posthole tests were conducted. Of these tests, only 38-percent were positive, and these tests were located close to the main cabin. Artifacts dating to the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries were recovered that may have been associated with an outbuilding that once stood in this area during that time (Figure 7.2). Seventy-two posthole tests were conducted in Area C, the north active yard. Of these tests, 61-percent were positive and these tests were located in the section of Area C closest to the main cabin. Evidence of the palen fence seen in Figure 3.12 in Chapter III as well as a colluvial deposit that may have been associated with a garden also dating to the time of that photograph were discovered in this area (Faulkner 2003a:17).

[91] The testing of Area F was conducted after a prehistoric Native American lithic scatter had been discovered in that part of the site due to soil erosion. The testing of this site area indicated that it once had been a temporary field camp dating approximately between 10,000 and 3,000 BP (Ellerbusch 2002, 2003).

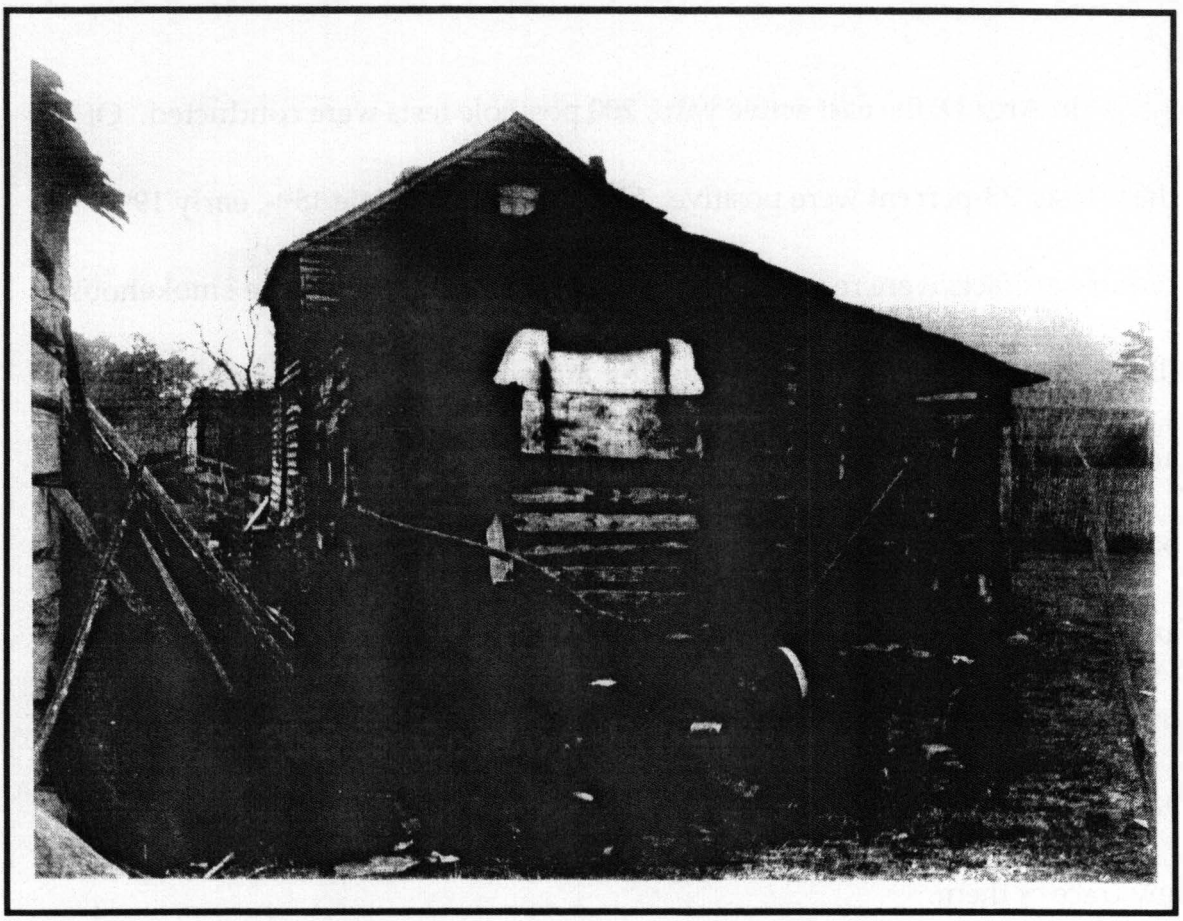

Figure 7.2: Main cabin and kitchen ca. 1910s or 1920s (camera faces west). Smokehouse is to the left and another outbuilding can be seen past the main cabin to the west.

In Area D, the east active yard, 200 posthole tests were conducted. Of these tests, 33-percent were positive. Concentrations of late 18th-, early 19th-century artifacts were recovered on the north and east sides of the smokehouse (Building 2 in Figure 7.1). Very few later artifacts were recovered from this site area. A photograph dating to the 1890s (Figure 7.3) indicates that other outbuildings were located on this slope, but testing was restricted to the mowed area of the slope (the open steep slope in the photograph is now overgrown with trees and underbrush), and in the parts of Area D that were accessible and may have been the site of one of these outbuildings, erosion appears to have erased any trace of them.

In Area E, the east peripheral yard, 70 posthole tests were conducted. Eight-percent of the tests were positive, and most of these tests were located near the steep slope adjacent to the underbrush-covered area. An additional line of 10 posthole tests were placed near the east end of this site area, and seven of these tests were positive (Faulkner 2003a:19). All of these artifacts dated to the early 20th-century.

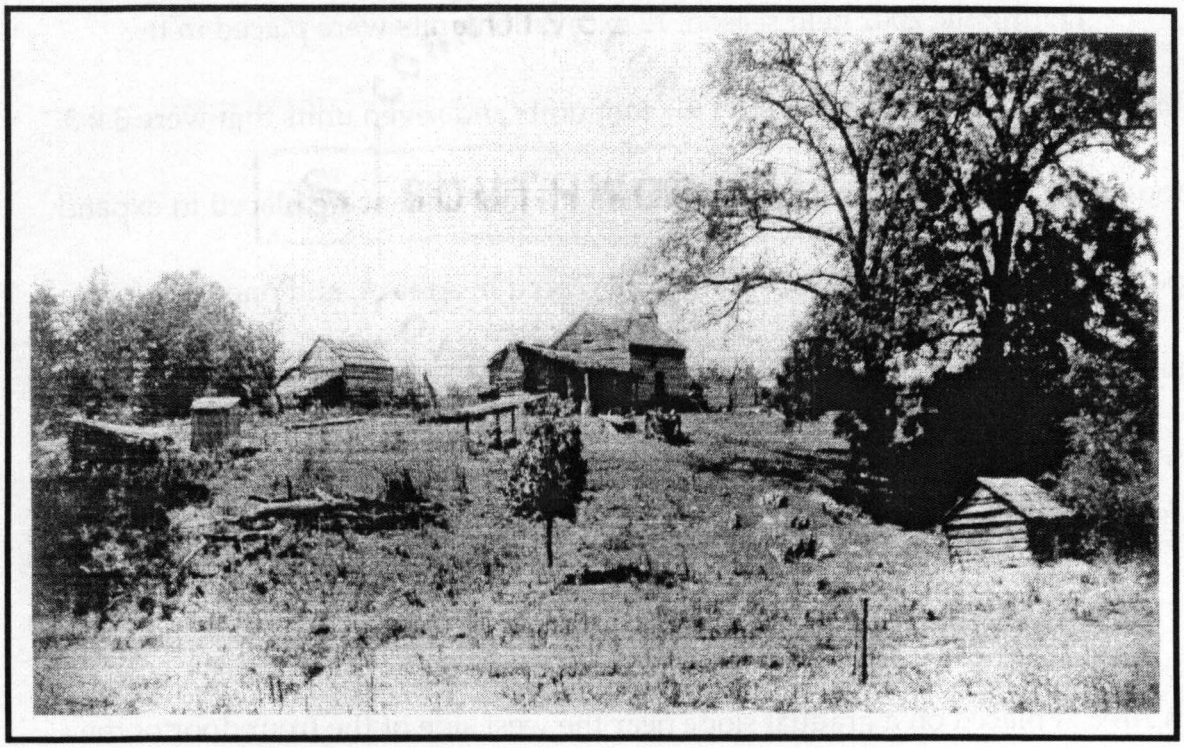

Figure 7.3: Photograph of Marble Springs ca. 1890. The majority of this slope north and east of the main cabin is now covered with vegetation.

During the 2002 field season, 12 excavation units were placed in the historic area, five of which were 1 x 1 foot units and seven units that were 3 x 3 foot units (Figure 7.4). All but one of the 1 x 1 foot units were placed to expand posthole tests. Four 1 x 1 foot units were placed in Area A, and one 1 x 1 foot unit was placed in the east active yard. Four of the 3 x 3 foot units were placed in Area A, and the remaining three were placed one each in areas B, C, and D (Faulkner 2003a:19).

Unit 7 (southwest coordinate [SW coord.] 997N1006E) was a 3 x 3 foot unit in Area A placed on a gradual slope near the west side of the front door of the Sevier cabin. This unit was placed near the door in order to ascertain disposal patterns out of this entrance. The slope appeared badly eroded, and all of the strata in this unit appeared to date to no earlier than the late 19th-century.

Unit 8 (SW coord. 997N1024E) was a 3 x 3 foot unit located in Area A between the main cabin and the kitchen at the south entrance of the dogtrot located between these two buildings. A fired clay subsoil surface, designated Feature 7, was discovered in this unit. Although its function is unknown, this feature contained ceramics dating to the turn-of-the-20th-century and container glass dating to the 1930s (Faulkner 2003a:24). Coins found above this feature

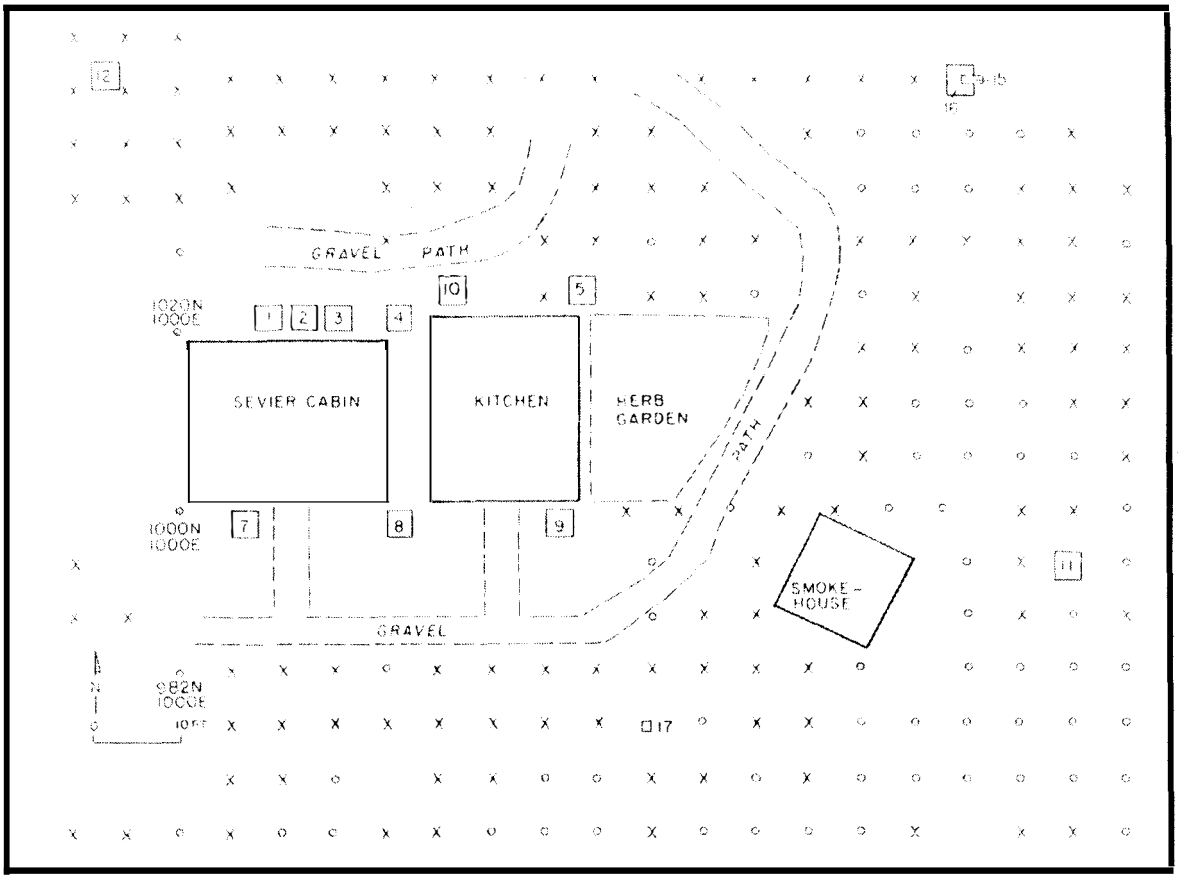

Figure 7.4: Posthole tests and units excavated in the inner and east active yards[92] (Faberson and Faulkner 2003: Figure 6).

[92] Note that all units numbered before "7" were excavated previous to the summer 2002 field season.

dating to 1944 and 1956, respectively, along with the ceramics and container glass indicate that the strata cannot date any earlier than the early 20th-century.

Another 3 x 3 foot unit designated Unit 9 (SW coord. 997N1042E) was placed on the south side of the kitchen in Area A. Although this unit was initially excavated with the intent to determine whether any intact Sevier-era deposits were located there, the earliest intact deposits dated to the late 19th-century. Feature 9, a cluster of limestone rocks located in the east half of the unit, may have been foundation stones of an earlier kitchen. Artifacts on top of this feature, such as a PERFECT MASON canning jar sherd, window glass with a mean date of 1919, and five wire nails all date to the early decades of the 20th-century (Faulkner 2003a:25).

Unit 10 (SW coord. 1023N1030E) was located in Area A and placed on the north side of the kitchen. Late 18th- and early 19th-century artifacts were recovered in an ash stratum (Level 5); however, this stratum had been partially destroyed by a conduit trench (Feature 3) that had been dug on the north side of the kitchen at an unknown date (Faulkner 2003a:24).

Unit 11 (SW coord. 992N1100E) began as a 1 x 1 foot unit placed over a posthole test in Area D, the east active yard. After a large creamware sherd was discovered at the bottom of this unit, the 1 x 1 foot unit was expanded to a 3 x 3

foot unit. At 1.10 feet below surface, a pit was discovered containing late 18th- and early 19th-century artifacts. This pit was designated Feature 14. Late 19th-century window glass and other artifacts were discovered at the top of this feature along the west profile.

Unit 12 (SW coord. 1047N990E) was located in Area C northwest of the main cabin. The deep homogeneous dark soil and rarity of rocks and artifacts in this unit corroborated that a garden bordered with a palen fence had been situated in that area (Faulkner 2003a:22), seen in the 1913 photograph (Figure 3.12, Chapter III).

Unit 13 (SW coord. 1000N971E) was located in Area B and placed 30 feet west of the main cabin to locate remains associated with the outbuilding seen just past the main cabin in Figure 7.2. Although no foundational or artifactual evidence associated with this structure could be located within this unit, two features were discovered. The first, Feature 13, was the remains of a path consisting of coal cinders that likely led to the outbuilding in the photograph. Artifacts dating to the early 20th-century, such as a flow blue whiteware sherd, a porcelain doll sherd, and four wire nails were discovered in this feature (Faulkner 2003a:27). Feature 15 was situated beneath Feature 13 in the northwest corner of the unit. No artifacts were discovered in this feature, and it was likely

either a root mold or a fence post that had later been disturbed by a root (Faulkner 2003a:29).

Unit 14 (SW coord. 1017N1104E) was a 1 x 1 foot unit located in Area B. Very few artifacts were recovered from this unit. Unit 15 (SW coord. 1048N1090.5E) was placed at the north end of Area A. This 1 x 1 foot unit contained limestone rubble and some burned and fired clay was exposed (Feature 12), but very few artifacts were recovered.

Unit 16 (SW coord. 1046N1087.5E) was a 3 x 3 foot unit that began as a 1 x 1 foot unit placed next to Unit 15 to further explore Feature 12. Some 18th- and 19th-century artifacts were recovered. However, the later 20th-century artifacts indicated that the burned and fired clay area was a result of a restored smokehouse being placed there in the mid 20th-century, which was later moved to its present location[93] (see Figure 7.1). Unit 17 (SW coord. 975N1053E) was a 1 x 1 foot unit in Area A. Very little material was discovered in this unit (Faulkner 2003a:24).

[93] The original smokehouse/s dating to the Sevier and Kirby eras no longer exists. The current smokehouse was moved from a different historic house to Marble Springs in the mid to later 20th-century at the bottom of the slope north of the restored kitchen. This same smokehouse was then moved to its current location, which is generally in the same location as, at least, the Kirby-era smokehouse seen in Figures 7.2 and 7.3. Notice, however, that the Kirby smokehouse runs parallel with the main cabin and kitchen. The current smokehouse was placed catercorner to the restored kitchen.

The posthole testing and unit excavation during the summer 2002 field season revealed a number of interesting deposits and artifact distributions (see Chapter VIII). Although the intent of the archaeological fieldwork was to locate Sevier-era deposits, material culture and other archaeological data pertaining to later occupants, such as the Kirbys, was recovered. The results of this field season prompted Dr. Faulkner to conduct another field school at Marble Springs the following year.

The Summer 2003 Field Season

Dr. Faulkner and students in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Tennessee continued posthole testing and unit excavations in the outer and inner active yards during the 2003 field season, as well posthole testing and unit excavation in Area E, the east peripheral yard. Although initial posthole testing in this area during the summer 2002 field season did not signify the presence of any buildings, remote sensing conducted by Dr. Gerald Schroedl in May 2003 indicated that the remains of a large structure lay below the ground surface. A large number of metal artifacts were also located in this area with this non-invasive archaeological technique (Schroedl 2005). Surface collections of a

20th-century midden located north and down the slope from the main cabin, west of the springhouse, were also conducted.

A total of 162 posthole tests was conducted during the 2003 field season. Nine of these were placed in Area D with the objective of locating the privy shown in an 1890 photograph (refer to Figure 7.3). Very little was recovered from these tests. Since clay subsoil was encountered almost immediately below the ground surface, it appears that this area is severely eroded, destroying any archaeological features (Faulkner 2005a:22). The remaining 153 posthole tests were conducted exclusively in Area E. These tests were placed at 6 foot intervals, and 94 of the 153 posthole tests were positive. In addition, 255 probes and soil cores were conducted at 1 foot intervals between the posthole tests in Area E.

During the 2003 field season, 31 3 x 3 foot units were excavated. Five of these units (18, 19, 20,23, and 28) were located in Area A around the main cabin, kitchen, and smokehouse, and three units (21, 22, and 30) were located in Area D east of the smokehouse (Figure 7.5). Units 21, 22, and 30 were placed near Unit 11, which had been excavated during the 2002 field season. These units were opened in order to continue excavating Feature 14, believed to be the remains of

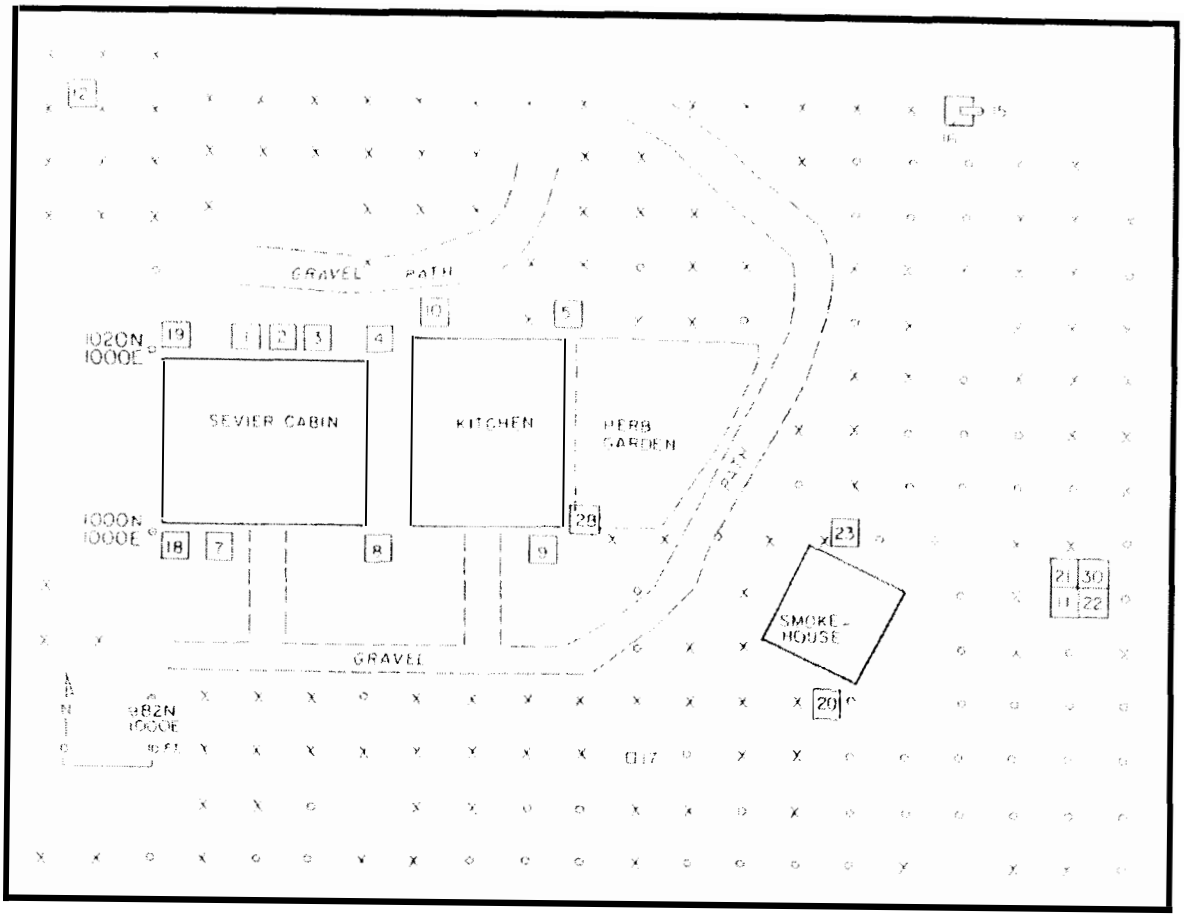

Figure 7.5: Excavation units and posthole tests in the inner and east active yards, 2002 and 2003 field seasons (Faberson and Faulkner 2005:Figure 6).

a root cellar that once stood beneath the slave quarters (Structure 1) constructed by Gov. John Sevier (Faulkner 2005a:21).

The remainder of the excavation units were opened in Area E. Through the posthole testing and unit excavations, as well as the remote sensing conducted by Dr. Schroedl, it was determined that two structures once stood in this area (Figure 7.6). The remains of a large building, designated Structure 2, measuring approximately 32 x 32 feet, was likely a 19th-century barn built by Sevier in 1808 (Sevier 1790-1815). Structure 3 was a small shotgun-style house that was likely built around 1900, shortly after the collapse or destruction of the barn, Structure 2. Although the barn was built by Sevier, it was likely used by the Kirbys for the majority of the 19th-century. The shotgun-style house was built by the Kirbys. These structures and their association with the lifeways and activities of the Kirbys will be discussed in greater detail in the following two chapters. Due to the number of units opened in Area E and their direct association with structures 2 and 3, the following discussion of the excavation units will only include those excavated in areas A and D. The units in Area E will be discussed in terms of features that were discovered in the various units as they relate to structures 2 and 3.

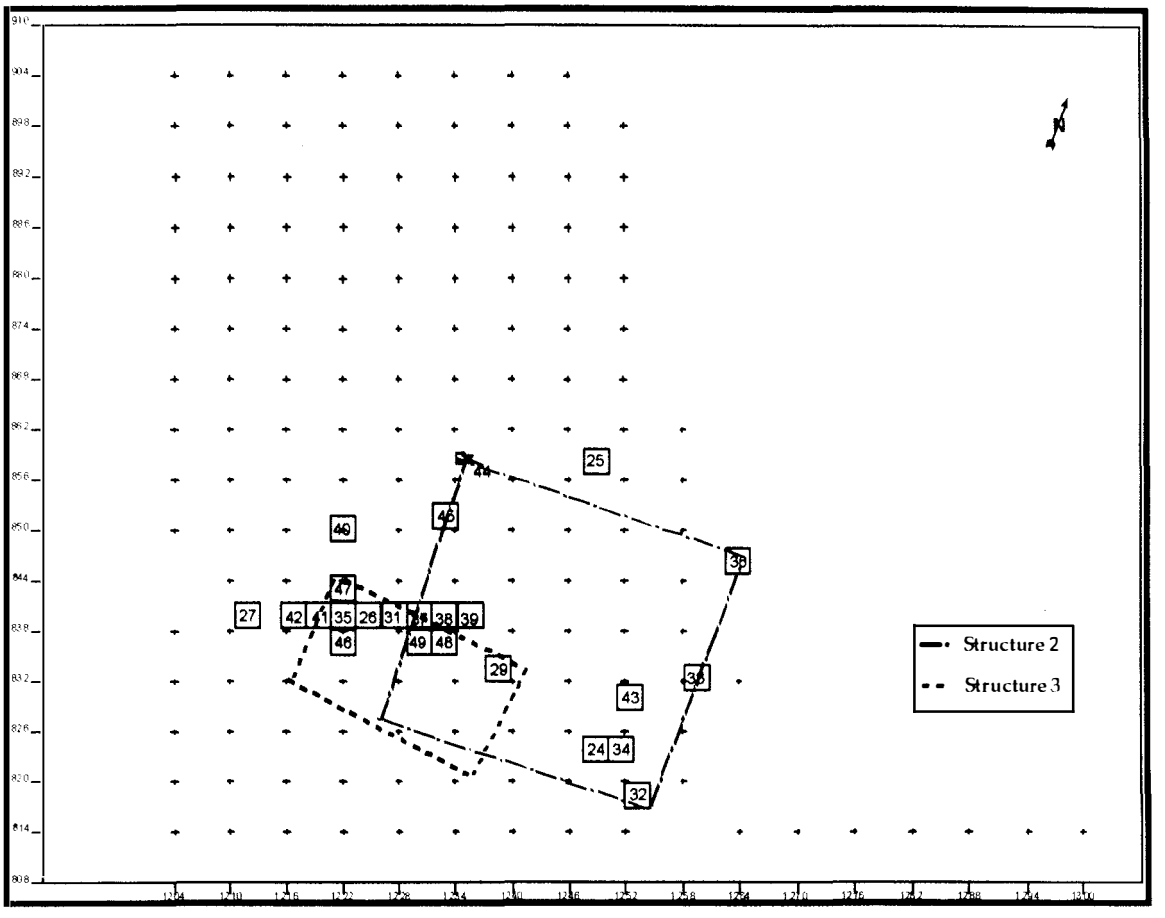

Figure 7.6: Structures 2 and 3 based on posthole test and unit excavation data in Area E.

The Main Cabin, Kitchen, and Smokehouse Areas

Unit 18[94] (SW coord. 997N1002E) was placed at the southwest corner of the main cabin to determine whether a defensive fence may have once been connected to the building. These defensive fences were common during the late 18th-century, and were discovered at other late 18th-century historic homes in Knox County, such as Blount Mansion and Ramsey House (Faulkner 2005a:22). Although no evidence of a fence post was discovered in this unit, late 19th- and early 20th-century artifacts were discovered here.

Unit 19 (SW coord. 1020N1001.5E) was placed at the northwest corner of the main cabin in search of an 18th-century defensive fencepost. Like Unit 18, no evidence of a fencepost dating to this time period was located in this unit. Feature 17, a scatter of limestone rock, was determined to be the remnants of a replaced limestone footer. Feature 19, located beneath Feature 17, was a possible post mold, likely from the palen fence seen in Figure 3.12 in Chapter III.

Unit 20 (SW coord. 981N1074E) was located south of the smokehouse. Subsoil was encountered 0.16 ft below the ground surface and it was determined that this area was too eroded to retain any archaeological material. Unit 21 (SW coord. 995N1100E) and Unit 22 (SW coord. 992N1103E) were located in Area D

[94] Unless stated otherwise, all units measured 3 x 3 feet.

east of the smokehouse north and east of Unit 11, which was excavated during the previous field season. These units, along with Unit 30 (SW coord. 995N1103E), were excavated in order to gather additional information on Feature 14 (the root cellar beneath Structure 1). The majority of the artifacts in these units within Feature 14 and the strata above it dated to the late 18th- and the early 19th-centuries except for some 20th-century artifacts discovered in the humus. It is likely that this building was no longer in use by the time that the Kirbys purchased the property in 1847 and had likely been torn down or moved before they arrived, or at least shortly thereafter[95].

Unit 28 (SW coord. 1000N1047E) was placed east of the southeast corner of the restored kitchen in order to further investigate Feature 9, a cluster of limestone footer stones that may have been associated with an earlier kitchen, first discovered in Unit 9 during the previous field season. Two features were discovered in Unit 28. Feature 22 was a tree root ball located in the southeast corner of the unit. This feature contained 20th-century artifacts. Feature 34 was a scatter of limestone rocks located in the west section through the center of the unit. This scatter was likely not a footer *in situ*, but instead represented scatter

[95] Recall that the Kirbys did not own slaves, and hence, they would have had little need for slave quarters. Recall as well from Chapter III that James Dardis, who purchased Marble Springs from the Sevier estate, likely never resided on the property and would have had little use for the building as well.

from the rebuilding of the kitchen (Faulkner 2005a:24). Material culture in this feature also dates to the mid 20th-century.

Structure 2

Several units and features were definitely associated with Structure 2, the 19th-century barn, located in Area E. In Unit 32, a very large pink limestone/ marble footer (Feature 24) was discovered that represented the southeast corner footer of the barn (Figure 7.7). This footer measured 1.7 x 2.1 feet with a depth of 0.82 feet. This footer had likely been placed on the former ground surface as no associated builder's trench was discovered. A late 19th-century machine-made brick was discovered southeast of the footer within the same unit. This brick had likely been wedged under the corner of the building and placed on the footer during the late 19th-century in order to prop up the sagging barn floor. Once the barn was demolished, the brick could have easily fallen to the side of the footer and left there. Feature 31 was also discovered in this unit. This was a shallow pit on the south side of footer that contained two pressed bricks dating from the mid to late 19th-century. Late 19th-century ceramics and canning jar fragments were also discovered in this feature, as well as fully machine cut, wire, and horseshoe nails (Faulkner 2005a:38). It is possible that this pit was a robber's trench from an

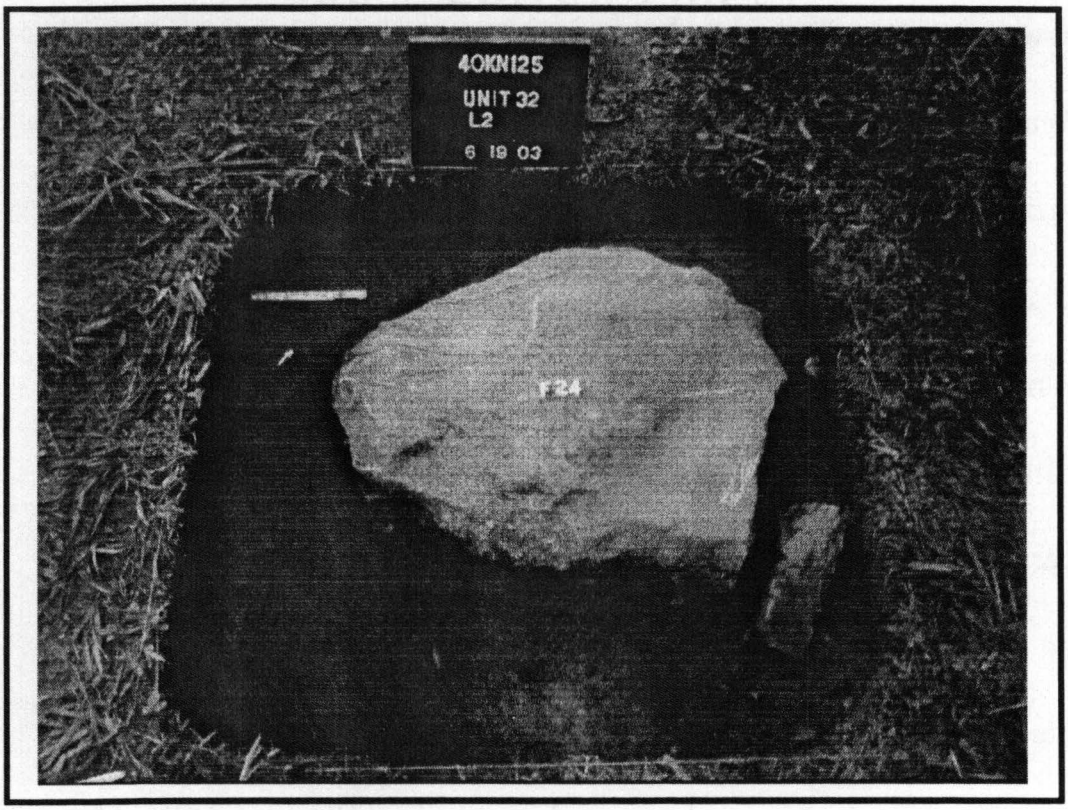

Figure 7.7: Unit 32, Feature 24 barn footer.

unsuccessful attempt to remove and reuse the large footer for Structure 3 after the barn was razed.

Features in three other units in Area E were also definitively associated with the barn. Units 33 (SW coord. 831N1252E) and 30 (SW coord. 995N1102E) also contained large limestone/ marble footers (features 25 and 30, respectively) similar and size and shape to the large footer discovered in Unit 32. Together with Feature 24, these footers were 16 feet apart and made up the east wall line of the barn. Like the footer discovered in Unit 32, the footers in units 33 and 30 both had a machine-made brick lying to the side of each boulder. No artifacts were found beneath these footers, indicating an early building date.

The final barn footer was discovered in units 31 (SW coord.839N1227E) and 37 (SW coord. 839N1230E) within the wall line of Structure 3 (Figure 7.8). This footer (Feature 36) was the center footer of the west wall of the barn. It was distinguished as a barn footer by its large size and its composition of limestone/ marble. All of the other Structure 3 foundation stones were limestone rocks. This footer was also exactly 32 feet from the center footer of the east wall of the barn (Faulkner 2005a:39).

Two other interesting features may have been associated with the barn during the late 19th-century before this building was razed. Feature 23 in Unit 24

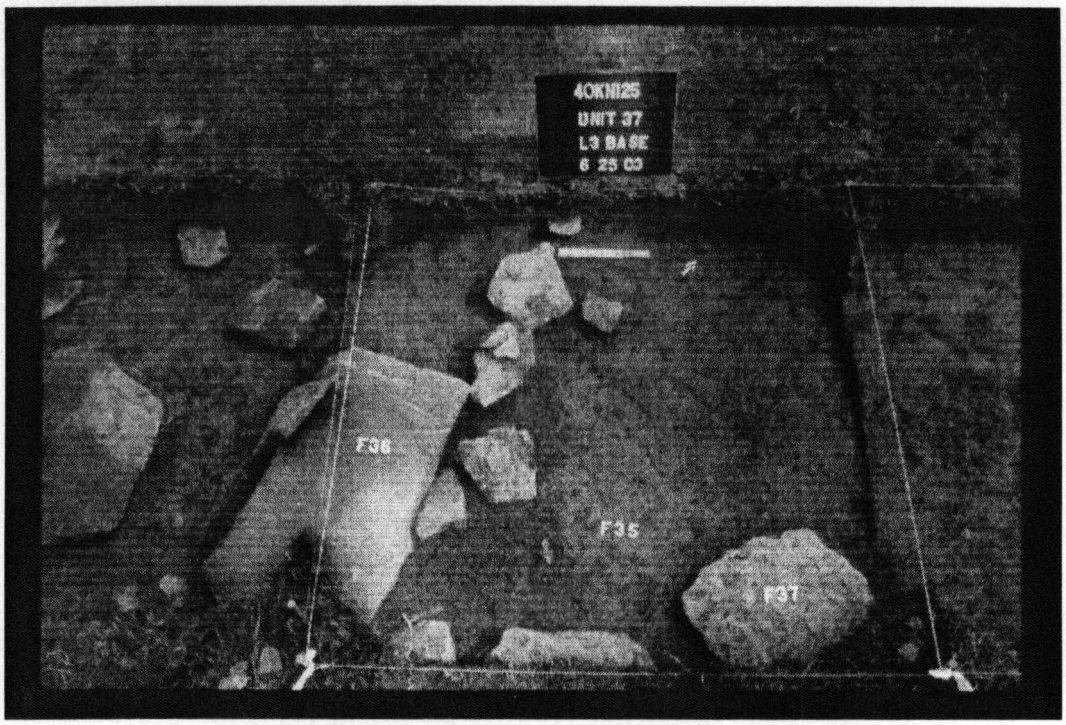

Figure 7.8: Feature 36, footer of Structure 2, in units 31 and 37 that was reused as part of the wall line of Structure 3.

(SW coord. 822N1247E) and Feature 38 in Unit 43 (SW coord. 828N1251E) (Figure 7.9) together composed a brick pavement consisting of soft, light red, machine-made pressed bricks dating between the 1880s and 1890 (Faulkner 2005a:41). The features in these units in addition to information recovered from posthole testing, coring, and other brick fragments found in neighboring Unit 34 (SW coord. 822N1250E) indicate that this brick pavement may have measured 6 x 6 feet. Although it is not certain what function this brick floor may have served, it is possible that it may have been the floor of a blacksmith shop that was once located in the southeast corner of the barn (Faulkner 2005a:41). However, it may also have been part of a walkway in front of Structure 3. Byers (2004, pers. comm.) stated that he recalled that there was a path in front of the "Kirby house" that led to the road, but he could not recall whether this path was paved. If indeed this had been the floor of a blacksmith shop, the pavement may have served as a sort of path or paved area in front of Structure 3 after the barn was razed. Hence, this pavement may have had multiple uses as Area E transformed from an agricultural activity area to a domestic living area.

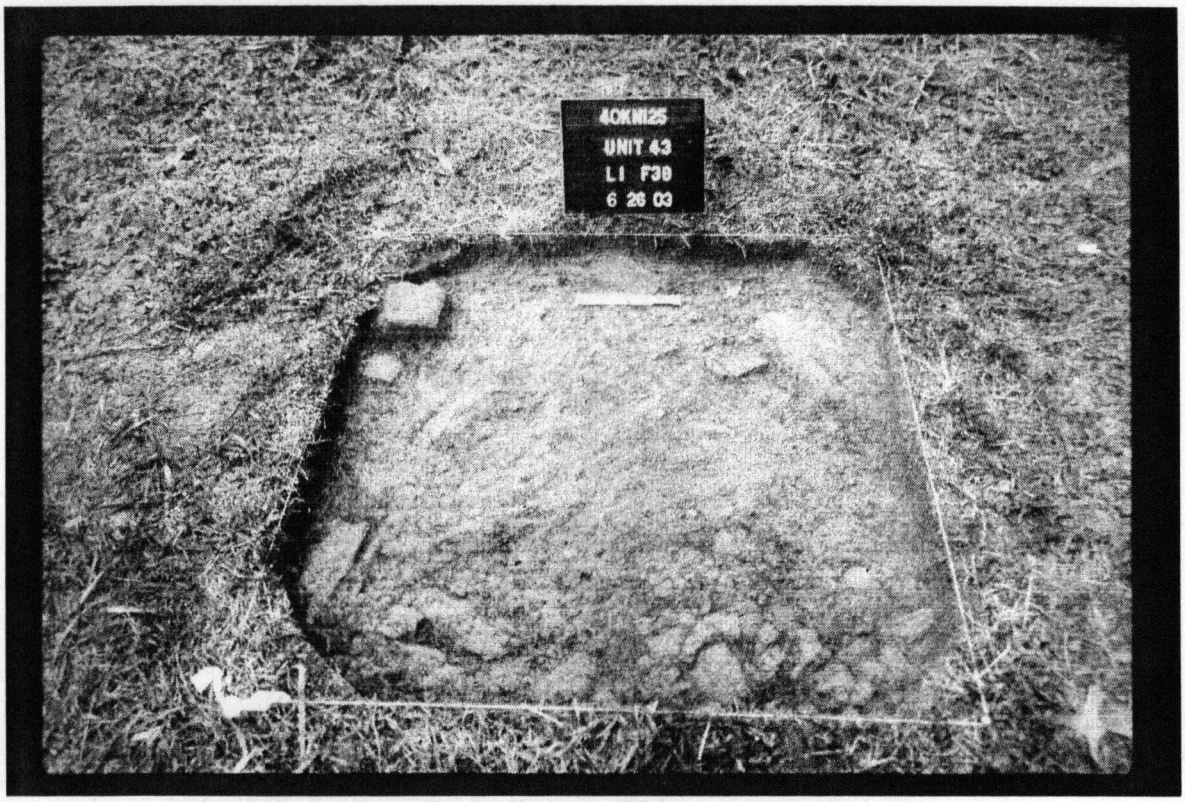

Figure 7.9: Brick pavement (Feature 38) discovered in Unit 43 in Area E.

Structure 3

The archaeological remains of this structure are well-defined by the archaeological remains discovered in Area E. Although remains of the south wall and southwest corner of the building had been destroyed or eroded by a later mid 20th-century road that led to the main cabin, the north, east, and west walls were well defined. Features 26, 36, 37, 41, 42, and 43 in units 31 (SW coord. 839N1227E), 37 (SW coord. 839N1230E), and 48 (SW coord. 836N1233E) were roughly dressed limestone foundation stones that made up the north wall of this building (Figure 7.10). Features 28 and 29 were both located in Unit 29 (SW coord. 833N1237E) and made up the east wall of Structure 3. Based on oral history testimony provided by Byers (2004, pers. comm.), this was believed to be the front of the house[96]. These features also consisted of roughly dressed limestone foundation stones.

The west wall of Structure 3 was discovered in units 35 (SW coord. 839N1221E), 41 (SW coord. 839N1218E), and 47 (SW coord. 842N1221E). Feature 27 in Unit 35 was a roughly dressed limestone foundation stone that may have been the hearth stone at the base of the chimney at the west end of this building (Faulkner 2005a:37). Feature 32 in units 35, 41, and 47 was determined to be the

[96] See the discussion of the summer 2004 field season below regarding the dimensions of Structure 3.

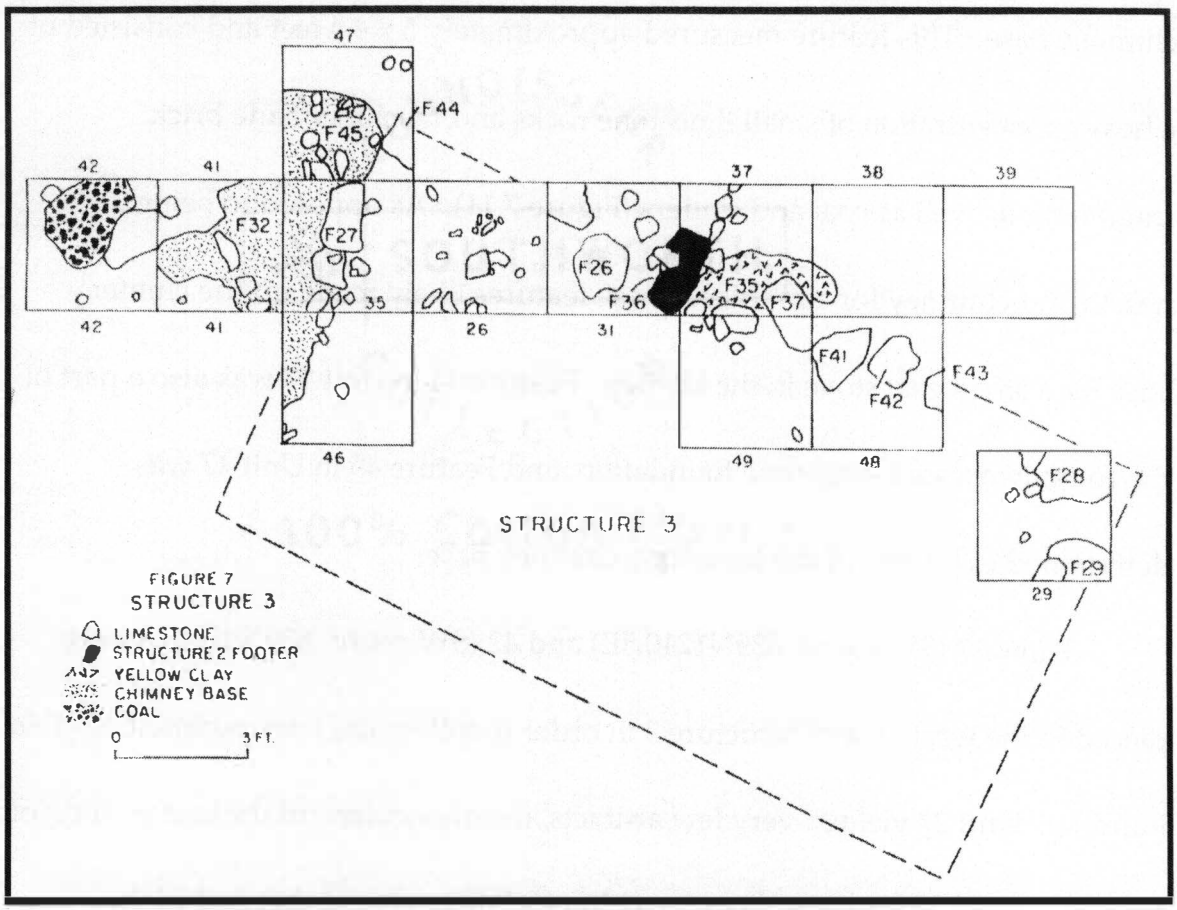

Figure 7.10: Units and features associated with Structure 3 (Faberson and Faulkner 2005: Figure 7).

chimney base. This feature measured approximately 5 x 4.4 feet and consisted of a heavy concentration of small limestone rocks and machine-made brick fragments, as well as coal and cinders (Figure 7.11). As opposed to being a hearth and chimney for a fireplace, these features likely made up the chimney base for a small coal stove in the kitchen. Feature 44 in Unit 47 was also a part of the roughly dressed limestone foundation, and Feature 45 in Unit 47 was determined to be part of the limestone chimney base.

Units 27 (SW coord. 839N1210.5E) and 42 (SW coord. 839N1215E) were placed in the west area of Structure 3 in order to follow the west perimeter of this building. Unit 27 yielded very few artifacts, mostly cinders, in the east portion of the unit. These likely came from the chimney/ stove area at that end of the house. Unit 42 contained brick, coal, and cinder fragments as well as a variety of artifacts such as curved glass, metal, liquor bottles, and kitchen utensils and ceramics. Again, these likely came from the kitchen area of the house.

Many artifacts dating to the late 19th- and early 20th-century were associated with Structure 3. Artifacts were discovered within the perimeter of the building as well as around the structure. These artifacts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VIII.

Figure 7.11: Feature 32, limestone chimney base of Structure 3, in Unit 41.

Units in Area E Not Associated with Structures 2 and 3

Other units were excavated in Area E that were not in direct association with Structures 2 or 3. These units, 25 (SW coord. 858N1247E), 40 (SW coord. 848N1221E), 44 (SW coord. 860.5N1234.5E), and 45 (SW coord. 852N1232E) were excavated during the field season in order to gather more information on additional structures as well as any other activity areas that may have been present in the east peripheral yard. Unit 25 did contain some 19th-century material culture in the northeast corner of the unit, but very little else was discovered here. It was determined that most of the archaeological remains likely had eroded over time down the north slope of Area E. Unit 40, located north of the northwest corner of Structure 3, contained a high concentration of early 20th-century artifacts such as canning jars and milk glass lid liners. This may have been the location of a small kitchen midden.

Unit 44 was a 1 x 1 foot unit located north of Structures 2 and 3. Probing in this part of the site area indicated that a building footer may have been located here. The limestone rock that was discovered in this unit was designated Feature 33, but its association with Structures 2 or 3 is unknown. Unit 45 was located south of Unit 44. Feature 39 in this unit was determined to be the remains of a gully once located in Area E. A high concentration of mid 20th-century artifacts

was discovered in this feature including curved glass, metal, and sheets of roofing paper. These artifacts were likely deposited here after the Kirbys no longer resided at Marble Springs. Bill Rudd (2003, pers. comm.), son of Grace and Bill Rudd who lived at Marble Springs after the Kirbys, stated that he recalled his family "throwing trash in the gullies down there." The artifacts in Feature 39 were likely a result of this deposition by the Rudds in the 1940s and 50s.

The Summer 2004 Field Season

In 2004, the archaeological investigation of Structure 1, the Sevier slave quarters, and Structures 2 and 3 in Area E continued. Although the material culture associated with Structures 2 and 3 that was recovered during this field season is not included in this dissertation, two important results of the fieldwork warrant discussion. The first regards the dimensions of Structure 3. During the 2003 field season, the dimensions of the small shotgun-style Kirby house was determined to be 18 feet wide and 40 feet long. However, further excavation of the east wall (front) of the house in 2004 indicated that the 2003 field results regarding the length of Structure 3 to be incorrect. The front of the house actually extended another 4 to 6 feet, including the remains of a small porch[97].

[97] The location of the porch was later corroborated by Byers (2004, pers. comm.).

Many artifacts appear to have been deposited under the porch and in the immediate front yard of the building.

The second important result of the 2004 field season regards the posthole testing that was conducted in Area G of the site (refer to Figure 7.1). Byers (2004, pers. comm.) recalled that a small, one-room house with corner posts once stood southwest of Structure 3 across the creek. Thirty posthole tests were conducted in this area, and 17 of these tests were positive for material culture. Time constraints limited further investigation of Area G, and no significant features were located during the posthole testing. However, the domestic artifacts and ash deposits found in this area indicate that a structure was indeed once located in this area. This structure was designated Structure 4 and will be discussed further in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

MATERIAL CULTURE

What does this lovely maiden see?
And her's good fortune e'er must be
Her fortune in a cup of tea
She buys from the GREAT A & P.

- *Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company trade card (1886)*

The material culture analysis will concentrate on the artifacts recovered from the 2002 and 2003 field seasons, as well as artifacts recovered from Area G in 2004. The artifacts recovered from these field seasons will be classified according to four primary structures or activity areas on the site: the main cabin/ kitchen area in Area A, the 19th-century barn (Structure 2) and the shotgun-style Kirby house (Structure 3) in Area E, and the small house across the creek in Area G (Structure 4). Although there may have been other structures, such as privies, a smokehouse, and various other outbuildings used by the Kirbys, well-defined features and correlated artifacts were recovered with these three primary structures/ activity areas. Each of these structures/ activity areas will be discussed according to five broad analytical categories: architecture, foodways, health and medicine, moonshining, and miscellaneous activities. These

categories will be used to interpret the daily lives of the Kirbys and illustrate the ways in which their lifeways changed from 1847 to 1932.

Main Cabin/ Kitchen Area

Architecture

During the archaeological investigations over the last several years at Marble Springs, there have been persistent rumors that the main cabin may not have been the home of the Gov. John Sevier (Faberson and Faulkner 2005:100). Hence, one of the goals of the archaeological investigations has been to determine the age of the cabin based on the associated material culture. Through the investigations, it has been determined that the construction of the building likely dates to the late 18th century, although whether Sevier actually resided there himself is still somewhat inconclusive notwithstanding the contemporary literature that has described it as such[98].

The kitchen is a much more recent construction (Figure 8.1). According to Conroy (1955:C-2), who interviewed Grace Rudd for a Knoxville News-Sentinel

[98] Interestingly, the Tennessee State legislature hesitated before purchasing Marble Springs because they believed that the property was too small and impoverished to have been the home of the first governor of Tennessee. Their conclusion that this was the property of Sevier was based on the 1818 Knoxville Register, which vaguely describes the location (Conroy 1955:C-2). Since that time, it has been taken as fact, for the most part, that Sevier indeed resided there. More conclusive evidence, however, has yet to be discovered.

Figure 8.1: Main cabin and reconstructed kitchen as they stand today.

article in 1955, the original kitchen had been destroyed in 1929. The kitchen was rebuilt after Sam Sayne, Grace Rudd's father, purchased the property in 1932. The nearby smokehouse was also said to have been destroyed sometime before the Conroy article was published.

A number of architectural artifacts were recovered around the main cabin/ kitchen area during the 2002 field season. In 2002, Unit 9 revealed a scatter of limestone rocks that may have been part of the earlier kitchen, supporting reports that the kitchen standing today is not original. A number of nails were also collected around the main cabin during the 2002 and 2003 field seasons. Posthole testing in Area A around the main cabin/ kitchen in 2002 recovered a high frequency of wire nails at the southeast and northeast corners of the kitchen, likely a result of the restoration efforts in the mid to late 20th-century. Unit 7 at the south end of the main cabin contained 205 nails, 67-percent of which were wire and 33-percent of which were cut (Faulkner 2003b:31). Nails recovered during the 2003 field season were similar, with 84-percent of the nails being wire and 15-percent cut (Howard and Faulkner 2005:71). Overall, very few cut nails were recovered around the main cabin/ kitchen, and virtually no wrought nails, indicating that the majority of the construction activities around the main cabin/ kitchen did not occur until the reconstruction efforts after the Kirbys were gone.

Another interesting architectural artifact in the main cabin/ kitchen area is window glass. All window glass recovered in this area dates between 1784 to after 1923 using the Moir (1987) window glass formula. This indicates a high degree of window replacement in these two buildings. According to Faulkner (2003b:33), in the decade 1851 to 1860, there is a peak in the thickness of window glass, indicating that after George Kirby purchased the property, improvements had begun to be made. Between 1861 and 1870, window replacement seems to drop and then rises again in the decades between 1871 and 1890. It is during this time that Melvina Kirby purchases Marble Springs from her husband, and she may have wanted to make improvements to these buildings. Window glass replacement does not peak again until after the 1920s.

From the time that the Kirbys resided on the property until they left in 1932, they never had electricity or plumbing at the site. Hence, little to no fixed illumination or plumbing artifacts were recovered around the main cabin or kitchen[99]. According to Grace Rudd, the main cabin had no roof when her father purchased the property in 1932 (Conroy 1955:C-2). He also covered the log cabin with weatherboarding. From the architectural artifacts recovered around the main cabin/ kitchen one can see peaks in improvement of these buildings, such

[99] Thirty lamp chimney glass sherds were recovered from this area dating between 1860 and the 1920s (Sutton and Faulkner 2005:62).

as after George Kirby purchased the farm in 1847 and when Melvina Kirby purchased the property in 1884. After Melvina's death in 1909, it appears very few improvements were made until the 1920s. If this was the case, this supports the oral tradition that the kitchen was in disrepair or torn down by a storm by 1929 and that the main cabin had no roof by 1932.

Foodways

In the main cabin/ kitchen area, foodways are represented by the presences of ceramic vessels, container glass, glassware, and faunal remains. The Kirbys who lived in the main cabin probably used the open fireplace at the base of the sticks and clay chimney in the kitchen for cooking and heating. After the kitchen was destroyed, they likely used the hearth in the main cabin for cooking as well as heating. A coal stove was not installed in the main cabin until Sam Sayne closed off the fireplace and installed one sometime after 1932 (Conroy 1955:C-2).

During the 2002 and 2003 field seasons, 972 ceramic sherds were recovered during the posthole testing and unit excavations around the main cabin/ kitchen. Two hundred and nineteen identifiable foodways-related container glass and glassware sherds were recovered in this area during the 2003

field season and will be considered in this dissertation. Identifiable faunal remains include pig, rabbit, mammal, and bird.

Porcelain (N=90)

The porcelain recovered from the 2002 and 2003 field seasons at Marble Springs can be divided into soft paste and hard paste, although less soft paste porcelain was recovered when compared to hard paste. Eighteen soft paste porcelain sherds were recovered in the excavation units in this area. Three of these were overglaze enameled and the remainder was undecorated.

Fifty-three hard paste sherds were found in the units in the main cabin/ kitchen area, consisting primarily of undecorated teawares (such as tea cup and saucer sherds) and two decorated sherds, overglaze enameled and decalcomania, respectively. The porcelain in this area likely dates from around the 18th-century to the early 20th-century. Posthole testing in this area yielded 6 undecorated soft paste porcelain sherds and 13 hard paste porcelain sherds, several of which were underglaze or overglaze hand painted with the remainder undecorated. The porcelain vessel sherds recovered from the posthole tests were primarily teacups, saucers, plates, and bowls.

Stoneware (N=52)

Three types of stoneware were recovered from the posthole tests and excavation units in this area. Salt-glazed stoneware (N=27) is the earliest type and dates from ca. 1820 to 1900 in the Knoxville area (Faulkner 1982, 2002). Seven alkaline-glazed stoneware sherds were recovered, this type usually dating from ca. 1780 to 1900. Bristol/ Albany slip glazed stoneware sherds were also recovered from this area (N=16). Bristol glazing was invented during the Victorian era and is still used today (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:110). The majority of these sherds were crocks and jugs. Two stoneware sherds were indeterminate.

Ironstone (N=3)

Ironstone is refined stoneware that dates from 1830 to after the turn-of-the-20th-century, and it is still commonly manufactured today. Although ironstone was manufactured by 1830, it became extremely popular after the 1860s with the increasing consumer focus on purity and plain white tablewares in the late 19th-century (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:122). Only three ironstone sherds were recovered in this area.

Redware (N=30)

Redware can be divided into coarse and refined redware. Coarse redware was popularly used for utilitarian vessels from before the 18th-century until the middle of the 19th-century, when it was replaced by salt-glazed stoneware. Refined redware, on the other hand, was often used for table- or teawares and was popular in the early to late 18th-century. Only coarse redware was recovered in this area of the site. Four lead-glazed sherds were recovered from Unit 7, one sherd from Unit 10, and three sherds were recovered from Unit 12. Two lead-glazed redware sherds were recovered from units 19 and 28. The remainder of the redware sherds was discovered during posthole testing. These redware sherds likely date to the Sevier occupation of the site, or possibly the early occupation by the Kirbys, shortly after George purchased the property and moved his family there.

Yellow ware (N=5)

By the 1830s, yellow ware became a popular ceramic type that was manufactured for tableware, but more popularly, for utilitarian vessels, such as mixing bowls. Three sherds, likely from an early 20th-century bowl, were recovered from the main cabin/ kitchen area in units 7 and 18 during two separate field seasons. These sherds are bright yellow with white annular bands

and appear to have been from the same vessel. The other two sherds were discovered during posthole testing in that part of the yard.

Cream-bodied ware (N=1)

Cream-bodied ware is one of the earliest refined tablewares that dates between the mid- and late 18th-century. One early cream-bodied ware sherd was recovered from this part of the site in Unit 18. It was classified as "pineapple ware," or "Whieldon," because of the kelly green glaze over the cream-bodied paste, which dates between 1750 and 1770. Many pineapple ware, or Whieldon, vessels were teapots in the shape of fruits and vegetables. Unfortunately, the sherd was very small; hence, the vessel form was indeterminable. This sherd likely dates to the Sevier occupation of the site, although it may have been a curated vessel owned by the Kirbys.

Creamware (N=164)

Creamware is also one of the earliest refined tablewares and dates between approximately 1762 and the 1820s. This ceramic type was recovered from the units around the main cabin/ kitchen and the posthole testing. Creamware can be divided into decorated and undecorated types. Eighty-five of the recovered creamware sherds were molded or embossed, and the remainder was undecorated. The quantity of creamware sherds indicates that the

deposition of these artifacts likely predates the Kirby occupation and not curation.

Pearlware (N=167)

Pearlware is also an early refined tableware, and it was manufactured between approximately 1780 and 1830. As the popularity of creamware began to decline in the late 18th-century, pearlware began to take its place (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:118). Most pearlware was decorated, although many of the sherds recovered during the 2002 and 2003 field seasons at Marble Springs are undecorated (N=121), approximately 72-percent. However, the majority of these are body sherds from vessels with decorated rims.

Forty-six pearlware sherds were recovered from the units and general surface around the main cabin/ kitchen. Decorative types from this area include underglaze blue hand-painted, blue shell edge, and underglaze polychrome hand-painted. The vessel forms are primarily plates and saucers and likely date to the Sevier occupation of the site.

Whiteware (N=308)

Whiteware was manufactured after the 1820s, and over 31-percent of the ceramics recovered in this area were of this type. Table 8.1 lists the frequencies

Table 8.1: Frequencies of decorated and undecorated whiteware in the main cabin/ kitchen area.

Decoration	N	%
annular	11	<1
edge decorated	2	<1
underglaze polychrome hand-painted	5	<1
underglaze transfer printed	8	<1
underglaze blue hand-painted	2	<1
overglaze enameled	2	<1
spatter	9	<1
embossed	13	<1
flow blue	14	<1
decal	1	<1
yellow or blue "modern" glazed	2	<1
undecorated	239	78
Total	308	100

of decorated and undecorated whiteware sherds recovered from this area. The main cabin/ kitchen area appears to have an even range of early and later whiteware, indicating continual occupation of the buildings from around the mid-19th-century through the early 20th-century.

Unidentifiable Earthenware (N=31)

These sherds were too small, weathered, or burned to be classified into specific ceramic type categories.

Container glass (N=195)

Among the foodways-related container glass recovered from this area of the site, 98 sherds (44-percent) came from jars. The majority of these (N=88) are from machine-made canning or food jars (Sutton and Faulkner 2005:61). Sixteen of these sherds were clear and indeterminate as to whether they were canning or food jars. The remainder was aqua glass (N=72) and determined to be canning jars[100]. Other jar sherds included blow-back mold canning jars (N=3) which date to the latter half of the 19th-century, one meat jar sherd, and four sherds from unidentifiable vessels. Only six milk glass canning jar lid liners were recovered in this area.

[100] Although not necessarily used for canning. See below.

Twenty-eight olive glass wine bottle sherds were recovered, as well as aqua glass historical flask (N=27), soda (N=6), whiskey (N=3), possible alcohol (N=2), and milk (N=1) bottle sherds (Ibid.). Two empontilled basal sherds were also recovered. The food jars and bottles in this area demonstrate that this cabin was intensively occupied over a long period of time. They also indicate that the occupants of the cabin were producers for the most part, rather than consumers as so few glass canned food items were actually being purchased. This will be more apparent when compared with Structure 3, discussed below.

Glassware (N=24)

Out of the glassware sherds recovered in this area, half of the assemblage was composed of clear glass tumblers. Six sherds were from crackle glass tumblers, and three were from a pressed glass candy dish with a lid (Sutton and Faulkner 2005:61). Glassware also included one etched glass sherd, one milk glass sherd, and one unidentifiable glassware sherd. The majority of the glassware likely dates from the late 19th or early 20th-century. It may seem surprising that a family such as the Kirbys would have been able to afford glassware vessels such as these, but by the late 19th-century, these vessels were becoming increasingly popular and were mass produced at a growing rate

(Blaszczyk 2000:23). Hence, the prices for glassware dropped and even less-affluent farmers could afford a vessel or two.

Faunal remains (N=12)

Faunal remains were recovered from units 7, 8, 18, and 19 during the 2002 and 2003 field seasons. Very few animal bones were recovered from these four units, and they included two pig bones, one rabbit, five identifiable only to mammal, one unidentified bird, and three unidentifiable bones (Duncan 2005:91). It is unclear whether these bones date to the Kirby era or not. It is interesting to note, however, how few bones were discovered outside of the main cabin/ kitchen. Soil erosion in this area and disposal patterns may account for this lack of faunal remains, and it may also indicate food consumption primarily occurred in the kitchen.

Health and Medicine

The health and medicine category includes glass medicine bottles and medical devices. During the 2003 field season, 46 medicine bottle sherds were recovered from the main cabin/ kitchen area (Sutton and Faulkner 2005:61). Fifty-nine-percent of these medicine bottles were solarized, dating them between 1880 and 1915. Although the bottles that were discovered were not marked as to

type of medicine, it is interesting to note that out of all the container glass recovered from the main cabin/ kitchen area, 19-percent was medicinal. The time period for solarized glass may also coincide with the time period when Melvina Kirby was ill with tuberculosis. However, medicines were commonly used during this time to cure all kinds of ills, real or imagined, and these medicines could have been used for a number of ailments (see Faberson 2001).

Moonshining

In Chapter VI, it was noted that archaeological evidence of moonshining, short of finding a still or a platform, was limited to indirect evidence of the activity. Stoneware jugs and glass canning jars were commonly used as moonshine containers, and many of these sherds were discovered in the area around the main cabin/ kitchen. The majority of the stoneware found in this area was determined to have been crocks and jugs, and the majority of the container glass was composed of canning jars. Although one could have used these vessels for food preservation, one has to question whether any of these jars could have been used for more illicit purposes. Whiskey and other alcohol bottles were also discovered in this site area, but these do not indicate moonshining activities as much as they point to Sevier and Kirby tastes for wine and other spirits.

Miscellaneous Activities

Miscellaneous activities includes objects classified in the personal items group, such as clothing, adornment (jewelry and beads), body ritual and grooming, pastimes and recreation, birth control devices, and pocket tools and accessories, to name a few (Sprague 1981:255). This group also includes medical and health and personal indulgences (i.e., tobacco pipes and whiskey flasks), but these have been analyzed separately due to their importance in the interpretation of the past lifeways of the Kirbys.

Miscellaneous activities in the main cabin/ kitchen area were represented by artifacts recovered from units 18, 19, and 28 during the 2003 field season. Clothing items, such as a belt buckle and four buttons, were recovered from units 18 and 19. The metal belt buckle dates to the late 19th-century. The buttons were comprised of an early 19th-century metal button and a round pink plastic dome button dating to the early 20th-century. There was also one metal clothing rivet.

Adornment items included one triangular metallic pendant or broach with embedded rhinestones. The pendant or broach likely dates to the early 20th-century. Body ritual and grooming items included two cosmetic jar fragments (Sutton and Faulkner 2005:61). Pastimes and recreation was represented by two machine-made glass marbles that post-date 1910. Five pieces of pencil lead

dating between 1860 and the early 20th-century were also discovered. It is interesting to note here that the Kirbys were able to read and write. This was evidenced by their signatures on various official documents, such as deeds, and the census reports, which indicated that they were all able to read and write.

Finally, two coins were also recovered from the units around the main cabin/ kitchen: a 1994 penny and a 1964 nickel. Although these coins post-date the Kirby occupation of the site, it is interesting to note that no early coins dating to the Kirby or Sevier occupations have been discovered around the cabin during any archaeological investigations. Avery (2002:22) discovered a nickel and a penny under the floor of the main cabin, but the years were unidentifiable. From the markings on the coins that were visible, they likely dated to the mid 20th-century. There may be two possible explanations for the lack of early coins around the main cabin/ kitchen. One explanation is that the cabin may have been metal detected by looters over the last several years. Another explanation comes from oral history testimony by Bill Rudd (2003, pers. comm.), who was born in the cabin in the 1930s. He stated that as a boy he crawled under the floor of the cabin in search of a particular hen and found a coin that dated to 1802. He stated that he collected many "old things" that he found on the property, but he

does not recall whatever happened to any of these items[101]. Since the majority of the miscellaneous activities items possibly post-dated the Kirby occupation of the property, it is difficult to gain much insight into this aspect of their lives around this structure.

Structures 2 and 3

Architecture

As described in Chapter VII, four large limestone/marble footers at 16 and 32 foot centers were discovered in Area E. These footers are believed to be the architectural remains of a 19th-century barn that was located in the east peripheral yard, initially built by John Sevier. A number of wrought and cut horseshoe nails were discovered in the area around and in the barn, and that this building was an early barn is further supported by the rarity of late 18th- and early 19th-century kitchen artifacts in this area (Faberson and Faulkner 2005:106). Whether Sevier built the barn or not, it is likely that this structure had been used by the Kirbys as a barn for the greater part of the 19th-century. While few late 19th-, early 20th-century agricultural artifacts were associated with the barn, machine-made bricks were apparently used to prop up the sagging floor in the

[101] Except for several jars of prehistoric projectile points, which he said he tired of after a while and threw away.

late 19th-century. According to Howard and Faulkner (2005:78), the even distribution of these early cut nails across this site area indicates that they likely came from the construction of the barn, rather than Structure 3, which later stood in the same area. Wire nails were more concentrated in the immediate area around Structure 3, suggesting that these later nails were used to build this structure.

Little is known regarding the appearance of the barn. It measured 32 x 32 feet and likely had two pens. Double-crib barns were typical in the Upland South in the pioneer era, but transverse crib barns were more popular in the Watauga settlements (Jordan-Bychkov 2003:47-48). John Sevier came from the Watauga region, and one would assume that he would have built a transverse crib-style barn. What likely occurred is that the barn was first built as a double crib and eventually the run, which is in the center of the barn in transverse crib barns, was placed on the side at a later date (Faberson and Faulkner 2005:106).

It is unknown why the Kirbys eventually decided to tear down the barn, but it appears to coincide with two important events in the lives of the Kirbys. In 1897, George Kirby died and most of his possessions, including some of his farm implements, were sold to settle his debts. In 1900, Hugh O. Kirby, the son of Joseph and Melvina, married Daisy Eddington. It is possible that following

George's death there was little need or desire to retain the barn, and it may have been in disrepair by this time. It would have made sense to the Kirbys to dismantle the building and use the land to build a house for Hugh and his new wife at this time, possibly even using some of the timbers. At least one barn footer was used in the Structure 3 foundation.

Artifacts recovered within and around the foundation of Structure 3 support that this building was constructed at the turn-of-the-20th-century. As mentioned, the nails found around this structure were primarily wire nails, which date to 1890 and later. The window glass found both within and outside this structure has a range of 1880 to 1910 with a mean date of 1899.7 (Blankenship 2005:79). This structure never had electricity installed.

Besides the oral history testimony provided by Byers (2004, pers. comm.), very little other information on this dwelling could be located. One newspaper article written in 1943 discussing the restoration of the main cabin states that, "Until 14 years ago another cabin, one of five or six buildings which were built by Governor Sevier for his family of 16 or 17 children and in which he carried on his duties for the new-born state, still stood on the site just as it was when Sevier lived in it" (Rule 1943:C-9). Although incorrect as to Sevier constructing the building, this article could be referring to Structure 3, which would have been

razed in the early 1930s. From the information provided by Byers (2004, pers. comm.), the structure looked similar to a shotgun-style house with the door at the gable end and vertical unpainted board siding (Figure 8.2). The house originally only had one end chimney on the west end of the house (kitchen end), but another chimney was later added in the late 1920s to accommodate a coal stove that had been donated to the Kirbys by the Byers family. The road into the property ran adjacent to the south side this structure and up the hill toward the main cabin/ kitchen. Byers stated that by 1930, the building was in disrepair, but that it appeared to have been the social congregating point for all the Kirbys. After the Kirbys were removed from the property, Byers did not return to Marble Springs until 1936. By this time, the building had been razed and the Kirbys had disappeared.

Foodways

Foodways in Area E were centered around Structure 3. Associated artifacts include ceramics, container glass, glassware, faunal remains, and metal. These artifacts were collected during the 2003 field season in both posthole tests and excavation units. The ceramics recovered during this season included 1,504

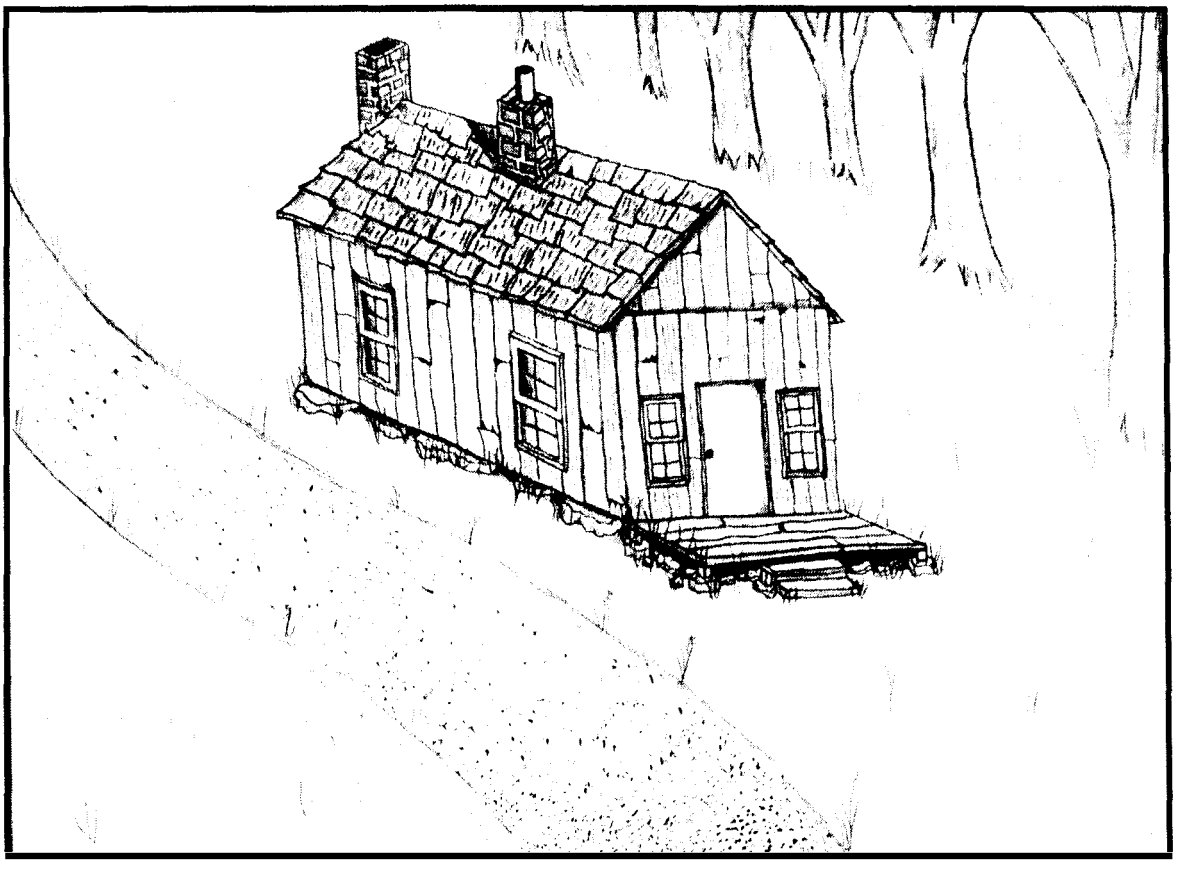

Figure 8.2: Artistic interpretation of Structure 3, ca. 1930. Note added chimney in center of building for donated coal-burning stove.

sherds. Interestingly, many of the ceramic vessels were nearly complete. Several vessels associated with Structure 3 were discovered broken in the various levels of the units, but lying *in situ*, suggesting that these vessels were either lying under the building or were left in the building when the building was razed. In addition to the ceramic sherds, there were 950 foodways-related container glass sherds and 211 glassware sherds. Identifiable faunal remains recovered primarily from the chimney area at the west end of Structure 3 include pig, squirrel, rabbit, chicken, rat, white-tailed deer, opossum, and hawk (Duncan 2005:95).

Porcelain (N=154)

All of the porcelain sherds recovered in Area E were hard paste. Fifty-seven undecorated porcelain teaware sherds and 93 decorated sherds, consisting of teawares, bowls, and plates were recovered from the units and posthole tests in this area (Table 8.2). Distributions of the porcelain recovered from this area were calculated using Surfer 8.04 and show that porcelain was recovered from units and posthole tests within and outside of the Structure 3 perimeter (Figure 8.3). Identifiable decorative types are overglaze enameled, overglaze hand-painted, embossed, flow blue, decalcomania, gilded, and underglaze blue

Table 8.2: Ceramic wares by vessel form (Area E).

Type	tea cup	saucer	plate	flatware	hollow ware	service	util.	unknown
porcelain								
decorated	8	27	0	3	0	4	0	12
undecorated	3	20	1	8	11	0	0	10
stoneware								
undecorated	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	0
ironstone								
decorated	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0
undecorated	30	32	0	9	14	0	0	8
redware								
coarse	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
refined	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
yellow ware								
decorated	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0
undecorated	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
pearlware								
decorated	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
undecorated	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
whiteware								
decorated	58	15	109	16	3	1	9	4
undecorated	130	60	207	409	99	3	0	33

Figure 8.3: Decorated and undecorated porcelain concentrations in Area E.

transfer printed. More than half of the decorated porcelain sherds in the east peripheral yard are underglaze blue transfer printed with the same Japanesque design, likely dating from around the 1920s to the 1930s (Figure 8.4). Overall, the earliest porcelain sherds in this area may date to the mid-19th-century, but the majority appears to date sometime around or after the turn-of-the-20th-century.

Stoneware (N=16)

Bristol glazed stoneware, as well as salt glazed stoneware, was recovered in the posthole testing and unit excavations in Area E. A little over half of the 16 sherds found in two posthole tests and six units, including units 27, 31, 35, 40, 47, 48, are Bristol glazed/ Albany slipped. Six sherds are salt glazed. Distributions of the stoneware recovered in the east peripheral yard were also calculated (Figure 8.5). Concentrations of stoneware appear to be at the rear and outside of the structure (northwest end of Structure 3), primarily Bristol glazed stoneware in and around Unit 40 and Unit 47. Like the stoneware sherds recovered from the main cabin/ kitchen area, these sherds were identified as primarily from crocks and jugs.

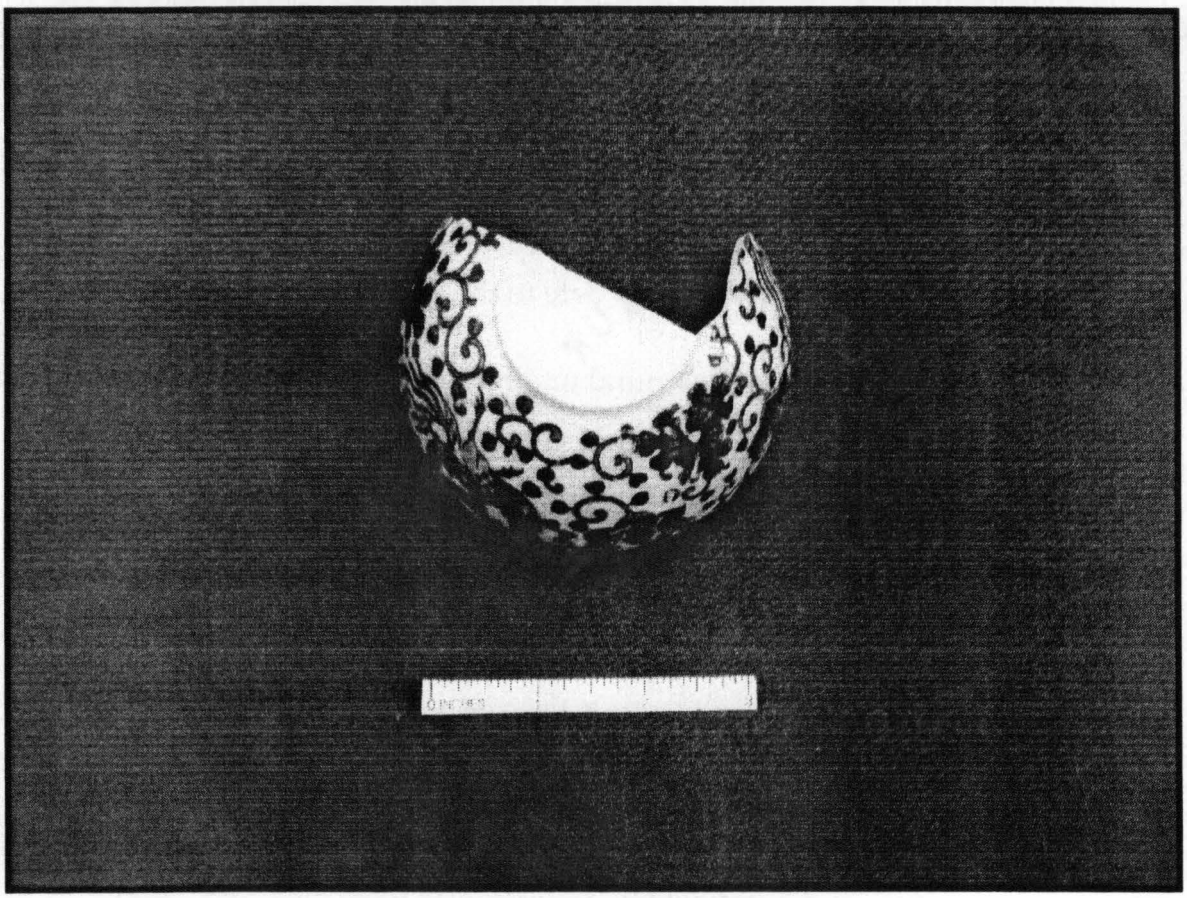

Figure 8.4: Underglaze blue transfer-printed porcelain bowl. Japanese motif, 1920s or 30s.

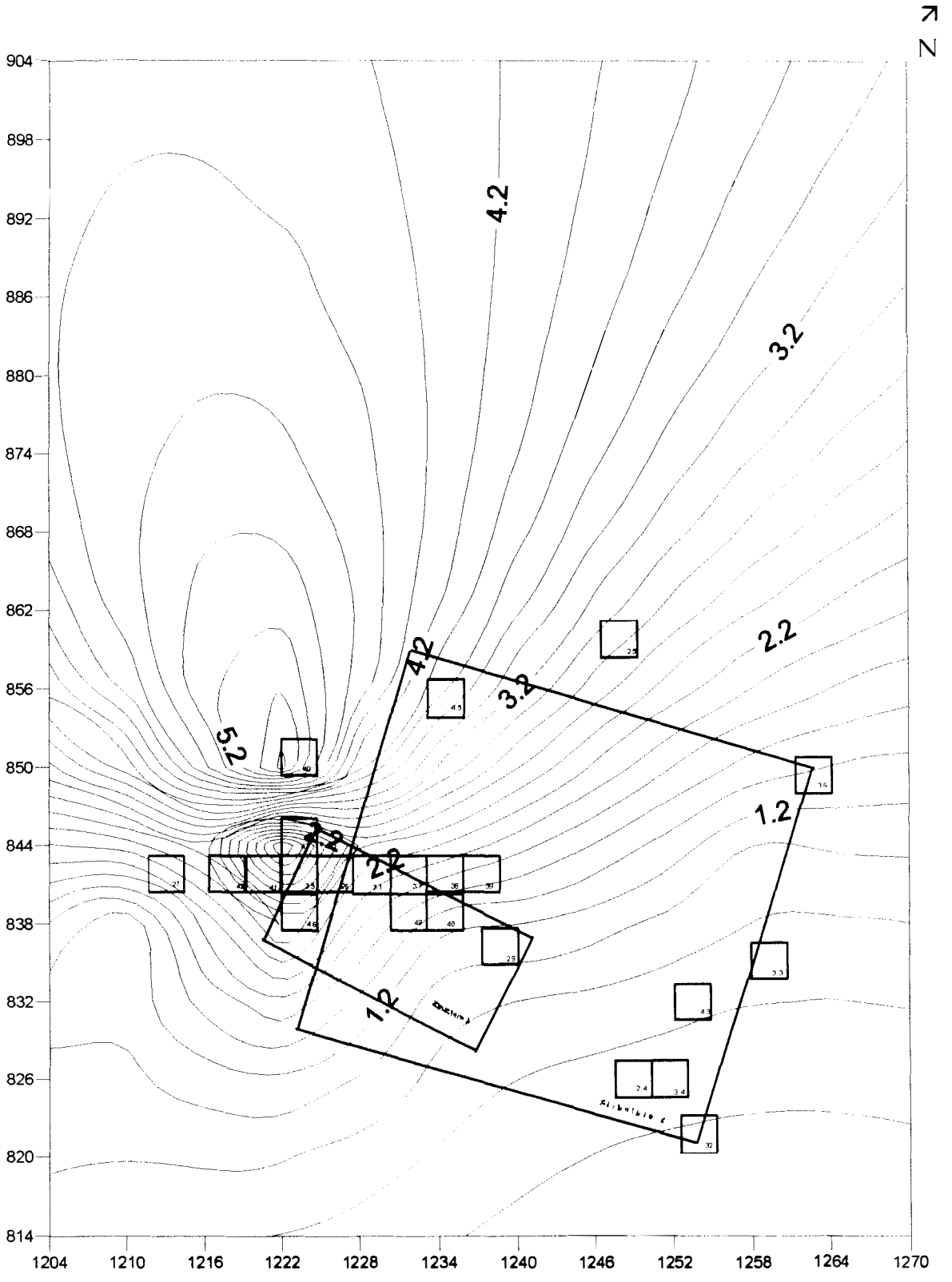

Figure 8.5: Stoneware distribution in Area E.

Ironstone (N=101)

Nearly all of the ironstone sherds recovered during the 2003 field season at Marble Springs were found Area E. Ninety-six of the 101 ironstone sherds recovered in the east peripheral yard are undecorated, and 65-percent of these are teacup or saucer sherds. The remaining five ironstone sherds recovered in the east peripheral yard are plate sherds that are embossed, or embossed in combination with decal. Distributions of the ironstone using Surfer 8.04 indicate that these sherds were concentrated around the rear of Structure 3, near the hearth/ kitchen area in the west end of the building.

Redware (N=3)

Two lead-glazed redware sherds were recovered in units 32 and 43. Although the sherd recovered from Unit 26 is in the Structure 3 area, it is more likely associated with Structure 2. Only one refined redware sherd was recovered from the site during this field season, and it was found in the east peripheral yard towards the base of Unit 26. Considering the time period when this ware was manufactured (early to late 18th-century), it is more likely associated with the early occupation of the site, or activities around Structure 2. This could have been from an heirloom piece, but considering that the sherd was

very small and no other sherds of this kind were found within this site area, it is more likely associated with the Sevier occupation.

Yellow ware (N=10)

Ten yellow ware bowl sherds were recovered from Area E, three of which were decorated with annular bands. Like the stoneware and ironstone discovered in this site area, the yellow ware sherds were concentrated at the rear of Structure 3 near the kitchen.

Cream-bodied ware (N=0)

Cream-bodied wares were not recovered in this part of the site.

Creamware (N=0)

Creamware also was not recovered in Area E.

Pearlware (N=2)

Only two pearlware sherds were recovered in the posthole tests and units in the east peripheral yard. One is undecorated and the other is blue shell edge decorated. Both were located outside of the Structure 3 area, and were likely not associated with the occupation of that structure. Instead, they may have been associated with activities located in or around Structure 2, which most likely dates to the same time period.

Whiteware (N=1,218)

Approximately 91-percent of all the whiteware recovered during the 2003 field season was found in the east peripheral yard (Table 8.3). Although there were several mid-19th-century whiteware vessels represented in the assemblage, such as blue shell edge, underglaze polychrome, underglaze blue hand-painted, and underglaze red and underglaze blue transfer printed, the majority of the sherds dated to the late-19th and early-20th-centuries. This evidence suggests that the mid-19th-century sherds were likely associated with Structure 2 or some other activities in this site area, whereas the late 19th-, early 20th-century whiteware, such as undecorated and embossed and decal decorated vessels (Figure 8.6), was likely associated with the occupation of Structure 3.

Spatial distribution calculations of the whiteware recovered from the posthole tests (N=81) in the east peripheral yard using Surfer (see Figure 8.7) shows concentrations of decorated and undecorated whiteware around and within Structure 3. However, the greatest concentrations of whiteware were seen in the units within the Structure 3 area. These units contained 955 of the 1,134 whiteware sherds recovered in the unit excavations in the east peripheral yard.

Several different vessel forms, including teacups, tea pots, saucers, plates, flatware, hollow ware, and a sugar bowl (service vessel), were represented by the

Table 8.3: Frequencies of decorated and undecorated whiteware in Area E.

Decoration	N	%
blue shell edge	1	<1
stenciled	2	<1
underglaze blue hand-painted (broad line)	1	<1
underglaze polychrome hand-painted (broad line)	1	<1
underglaze blue transfer printed	1	<1
underglaze red transfer printed	1	<1
overglaze enameled	1	<1
underglaze blue-green transfer printed	15	<1
embossed	94	<1
flow blue	22	<1
majolica	9	<1
gilded	17	<1
decal	59	<1
decal with overglaze hand-painted detail	2	<1
"yellow glazed"	7	<1
undecorated	985	81
Total	1,218	100

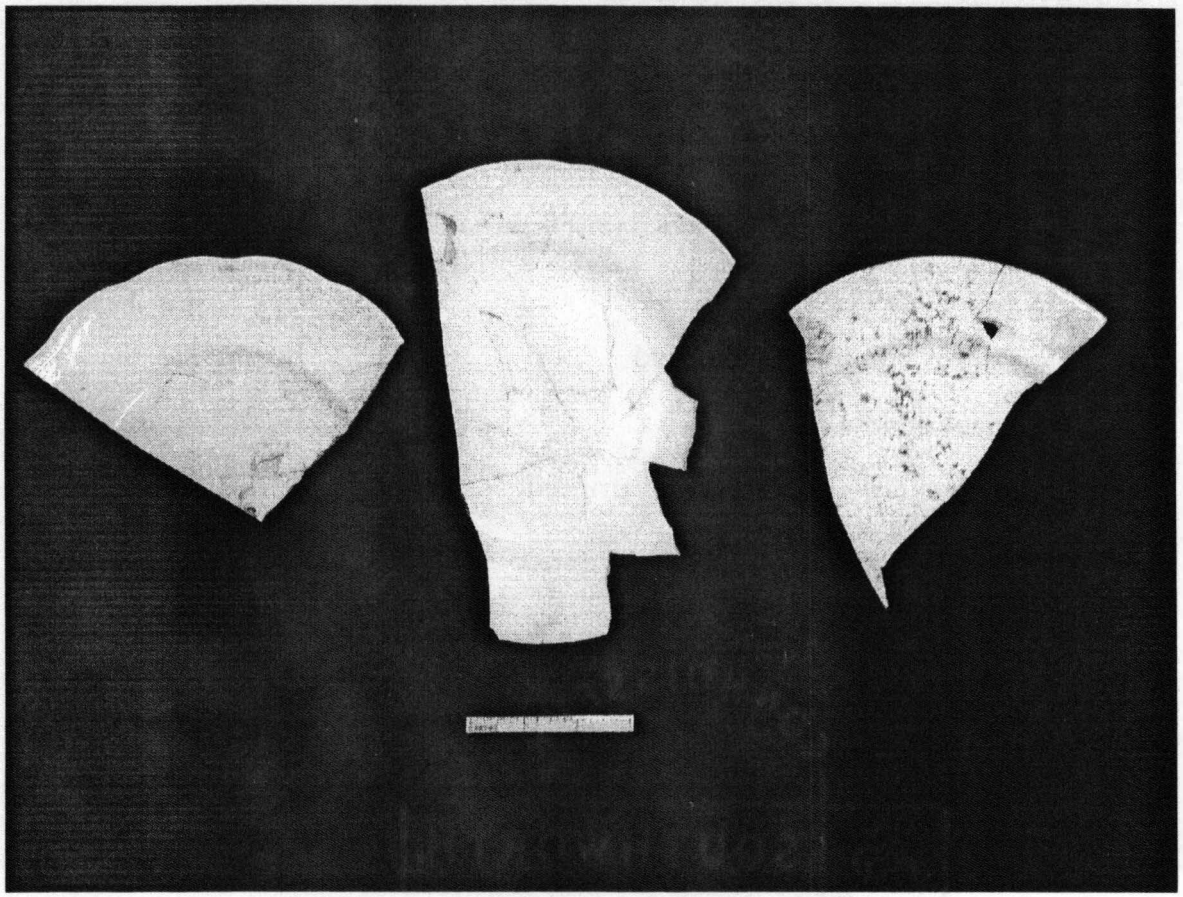

Figure 8.6: Embossed, undecorated, and decal whiteware plate sherds (refitted) recovered from Structure 3 in Area E.

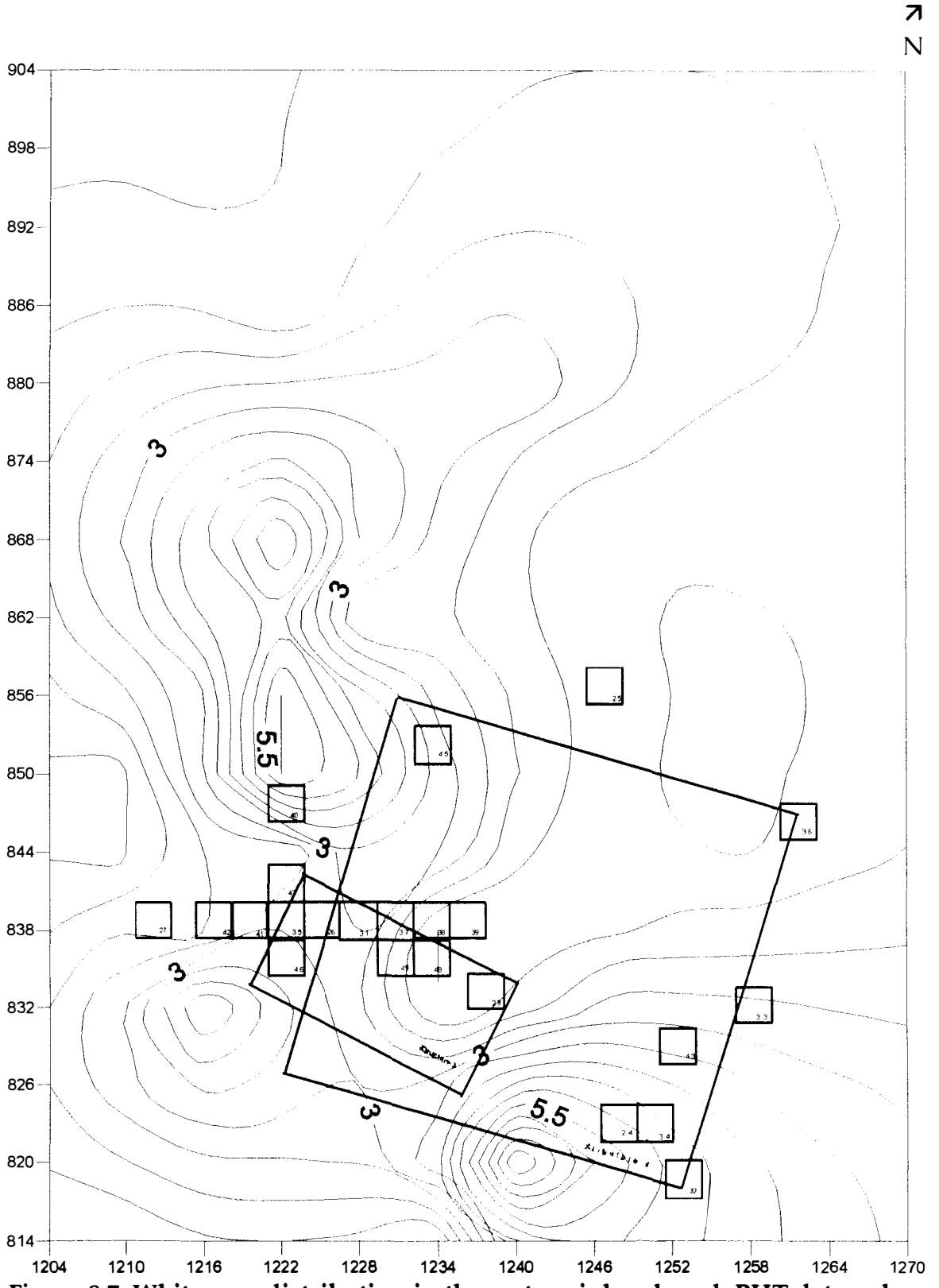

Figure 8.7: Whiteware distribution in the east peripheral yard, PHT data only.

whiteware sherds recovered in the east peripheral yard (refer to Table 8.2). A significant number of undecorated sherds came from teacups, saucers, and plates. Although undecorated sherds could be fragments of decorated vessels, at least 56-percent of this assemblage were identified as coming from completely undecorated vessels.

Unidentifiable Earthenware (N=22)

These sherds were too small, weathered, or burned to be classified into specific ceramic type categories.

Container Glass (N=950)

A significant number of foodways-related container glass vessels were recovered from Structure 3 in Area E. Six hundred ninety-one container glass sherds were from machine-made canning or food jars. Of these 691 sherds, 239 (35-percent) were clear glass indicating that they likely were food jars (Sutton and Faulkner 2005:63). The remainder of these jars were aqua glass canning jars. Eight of the jars were marked and date between 1890 and 1920. Seven date before 1890. One hundred thirty-five milk glass lid liner sherds were discovered here as well. Fifty-eight meat jars were also recovered, and 64 sherds were from unidentifiable jars.

Bottles were also recovered from Structure 3. Sixty-eight bottle sherds were from soda bottles, 14 of which came from the same Chero-Cola bottle. The soda bottles have an incept date of 1915 (Ibid.). Twenty-five whiskey bottle sherds and five amber glass beer bottle sherds were also recovered. Four sherds came from condiment bottles and 36 sherds were unidentifiable bottle sherds. Distribution analysis of the container glass recovered from Structure 3 indicates that these sherds were concentrated at the rear of the building near the kitchen. This contrasts with the lamp chimney glass, which is primarily concentrated towards the front of the building near the living room/ front parlor (Sutton and Faulkner 2005:67).

Glassware (N=211)

Of the 211 glassware sherds recovered from Structure 3, 61 were unidentifiable and one was solarized pressed glass. One stemware vessel was represented, and there were five lid sherds and three from a red-stained vessel. The most frequent type of glassware recovered from Structure 3 was tumblers (N=84), the majority of which were clear glass. Depression glass was also discovered and includes 15 unidentifiable vessel sherds, 11 plate sherds, three bowl sherds, and one cup sherd (Sutton and Faulkner 2005:64). Other interesting glassware vessel sherds recovered were from a solarized cake plate with stand,

saucers, clear plates, serving plates and bowls (including one carnival glass bowl), and sugar bowls.

The number of glassware sherds was surprising, considering the financial state of the Kirbys in the early 20th-century. However, most of these vessels, such as the Depression glass, were often very inexpensive (Blaszczyk 2000). However, whether the glassware was expensive or inexpensive is not as important to the interpretation of Kirby lifeways during this time as the fact that the number of glassware sherds indicates that they were becoming conspicuous consumers by the early 20th-century.

Faunal remains (N=192)

A number of faunal remains were recovered from around the chimney base of Structure 3 (Table 8.4). Not only were there significantly more faunal remains recovered from Structure 3 than from the main cabin/ kitchen, but the species present indicate a diverse meat diet rich in wild species. Over 59-percent of the faunal species were wild, indicating that the Kirbys may have relied on these wild species, such as squirrel and opossum, rather than merely using them to supplement their diet (Duncan 2005:96). Oral history testimony related that in the 1920s and early 30s, the Kirbys often received cuts of meat from their neighbors when they were in need. The high percentage of these wild species

Table 8.4: Structure 3 faunal remains (Duncan 2005:Table 8).

Species	N=	%
Pig, *Sus scrofa*	12	6.25
Squirrel, *Sciurus carolineus*	10	5.21
Rabbit, *Sylvilagus floridanus*	9	4.69
Norway rat, *Rattus norvegicus*	2	1.04
Opossum, *Didelphis marsupialis*	1	0.52
White-tailed deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*	1	0.52
Small mammal	20	10.42
Medium/ large mammal	39	20.31
Mammal	33	17.19
Chicken, *Gallus gallus*	3	1.56
Cooper's Hawk, *Acceteris cooperi*	1	0.52
Phasianidae	2	1.04
Aves	12	6.25
Unidentifiable	47	24.48

indicates that the Kirbys likely faced very hard times indeed. One might expect these frequencies on a pioneer site, but this appears very unusual at an early 20th-century site (Duncan 2005:95).

Metal (N=28)

Several foodways-related metal artifacts were discovered in this area. Three zinc canning jar lids were recovered as well as 13 zinc canning jar lid fragments. Other pertinent metal artifacts include one fork with a wooden handle and lead bolsters, one fragmentary metal table knife, one spoon handle, and three sardine can keys.

Health and Medicine

Health and medicine artifacts were represented by medicine bottles recovered around Structure 3. Forty-four medicine bottle sherds were recovered from this area. Two amber glass medicine bottles pre-date 1880, two medicine bottles were solarized and date to 1880-1915, and one graduated dosage bottle dated after 1913 (Hutton and Faulkner 2005:63). The remainder of the medicine bottle sherds was clear or aqua glass.

Moonshining

As mentioned above, 691 container glass sherds were from machine-made canning or food jars. Stoneware jug sherds were also recovered. The high frequency of canning and food jars suggests that these jars may have been used for more than food preservation. Considering that the Kirbys were purchasing much of their food, as evidenced by the number of food and meat jars, rather than preserving food, it is reasonable to suggest that some of these jars may also have been used to hold moonshine. As mentioned in Chapter VI, Byers (2004, pers. comm.) recalled that the Kirbys "used to hide moonshine all over the site in glass jars." The 25 whiskey bottle sherds and five amber glass beer bottle sherds also further indicate a preference for liquor and other spirits.

Miscellaneous Activities

Many artifacts were discovered in Area E that can be classified in the personal items group. All of these artifacts were centered around Structure 3. Fifty-four buttons were recovered from this structure, the majority of which were shell (N=12) and prosser (N=24). The incept dates of the shell and prosser buttons were 1855 and 1840, respectively, but these continued to be popular until after 1920 (Epstein 1990). The rest of the buttons were brass (N=6), bone (N=7),

metal (N=2), milk glass (N=1), and Bakelite (N=2). It should be noted that the milk glass button was very small and of a triangular shape, possibly used as a child's clothing fastener or for a woman's blouse. The two black Bakelite buttons were decorated with a leaf motif. Two belt buckles, four metal clothing rivets, one metal snap, one suspender fastener, and one safety pin were also recovered from this structure as well as two rubber shoe soles and five pieces of thin black fabric, likely from a sock.

Adornment artifacts recovered from around this structure includes several jewelry items (Figure 8.8). Five gold-plated rings (one imitation), all but one of which were decorated, were recovered. Decorations on the rings included enamelling, small flowers and crests, glass inlays, and a center plate for engraving (although the ring itself was not engraved). Other jewelry items included an enameled cross pendant with vines, flowers, and leaves, one chain bracelet, one pearl bead, and two earrings. One earring had a screw fastener and was of a drop style with a plastic bead. The other earring was a clip-on gold drop earring missing the drop embellishment. Twenty-six glass beads were also recovered, but these likely date to the late 20th-century, as they were found directly under the ground surface and historic reenactments and camping activities had brought many craft-makers to the site over recent years.

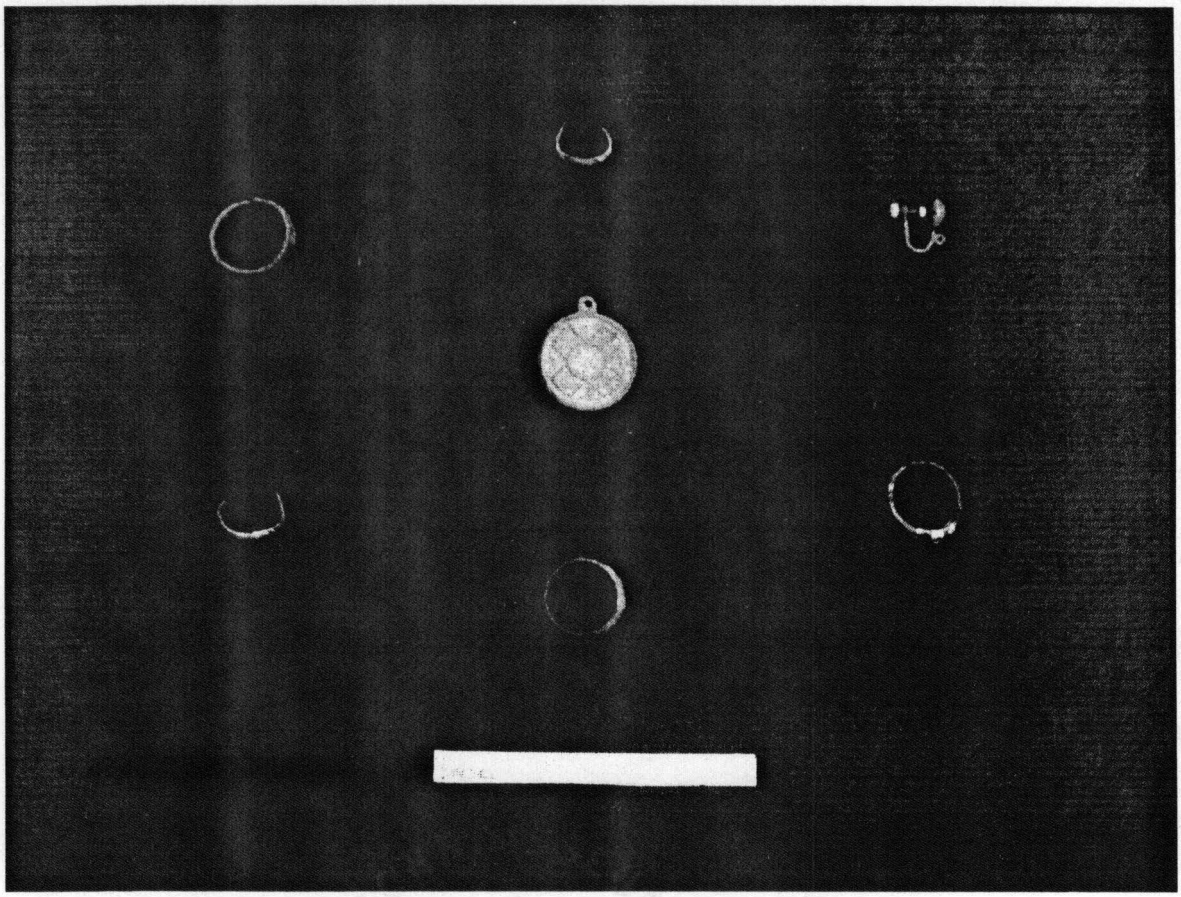

Figure 8.8: Sample of jewelry recovered from Structure 3 in Area E, including five rings, one pendant, and one screw-back drop earring.

Body ritual and grooming items included cosmetics and hair accessories. Cosmetics recovered from the Structure 3 area include three glass and two metal cosmetic jars. Near one of the metal containers in Unit 26, fragments of orange-red make-up (possibly rouge) was recovered. Another cosmetic item was a metal lipstick case engraved "Dorothy Grey Ltd. Distr. NYC Made in USA," which dates to 1916. Hair items include black, pink, tortoiseshell, and bakelite plastic comb teeth, as well as a complete celluloid tortoiseshell comb and a celluloid green and black checkered sparkly folding comb. All of these items date to the early decades of the 20th-century. An interesting item that was recovered in Unit 49 was a double-edged tortoiseshell lice comb. Hair accessories recovered from Structure 3 include one hair bow snap, two metal barrettes, and one Bakelite hair curler fastener.

Pocket tools and accessories found around this structure include one brass pocket watch with a white face, one pocket watch chain with a medallion and hook at one end, one square metal watch face with gold enamelling, and two keys. A metal token embossed with "Good for 5 cents in trade" and "L M Evans" on each side was also recovered, but its origins are unknown. This appears to have been a grocery token, and may have come from the grocery store that once stood at the corner of Neubert Springs Road and Martin Mill Pike near

the Marble Springs property. Several coins were also recovered including one wheat penny (1909-1958) with an indeterminate date, one buffalo nickel (1913-1938), one 1903 dime, and five pennies dating to 1902, 1909, 1911, 1915, and 1920, respectively. The mean date of the identifiable coins is 1910. These coins further support the assertion that this structure was built sometime around 1900. All of the personal items including the adornment, body ritual and grooming, and pocket tools and accessories were analyzed as to distribution in Area E (Figure 8.9). Although there appear to be heavier concentrations of these items to the rear of the building, one can see that they are distributed throughout the structure rather that concentrated in just one area.

Pastimes and activities items recovered from this structure include writing implements, toys, and phonograph records. Twenty-seven pieces of pencil lead were discovered throughout the Structure 3 area. This is not surprising as it has been previously documented in this dissertation that the Kirbys could read and write, and it is known that several of the Kirby children attended school. Toys were also in abundance. Sixteen marbles were recovered. Fifty-percent of the marbles were machine-made glass swirled marbles dating after 1910. The other half of the marble assemblage was hand-made earthenware clay marbles, one of which was very small and may have been used inside a rattle. Twelve ceramic

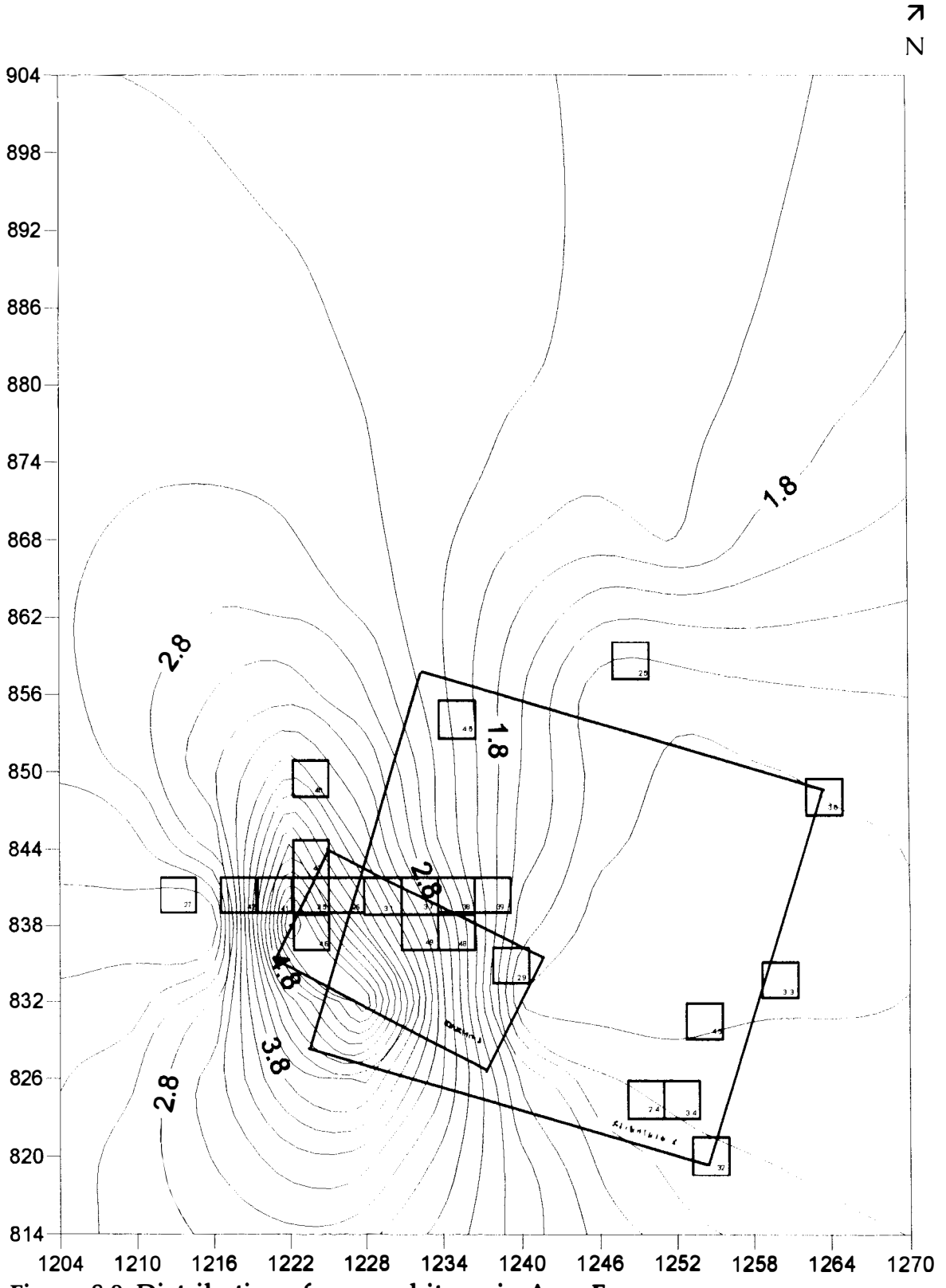

Figure 8.9: Distribution of personal items in Area E.

doll fragments were also recovered, including one frozen charlotte, eight bisque porcelain sherds from a large doll, two sherds from a white and blue porcelain doll, and one white porcelain doll arm. Several children were raised in or near this structure, such as Jacqueline Moranville[102], and it is not difficult to imagine that even if they did not sleep in this building, Kirby children in the other structures, such as Hugh Jr., would have played around this building.

It was very interesting to find an abundance of phonograph record pieces in Area E (Figure 8.10). Seventy-four phonograph record sherds were found distributed throughout the Structure 3 area. Although these sherds appear to be concentrated in the refuse area northwest of the kitchen, sherds appear to have fallen through the floor of the building as well as scattered around the building. Since the Kirbys did not have electricity on the property, they must have owned a wind-up phonograph machine, possibly a Victor Talking Machine, commonly known as a Victrola. These machines played phonograph records similar to the way an electric-powered turn-table plays records today, except that they were wound before each song. These machines, such as the Victrola, became popular in the early 20th-century, but they were usually very expensive ($200 to $300). By 1911, the prices went down on these machines, ranging in price from $15 to $50

[102] As noted in Chapter III, Ruth (Kirby) Godfrey's illegitimate child may have also been born or resided here in the short time before it died.

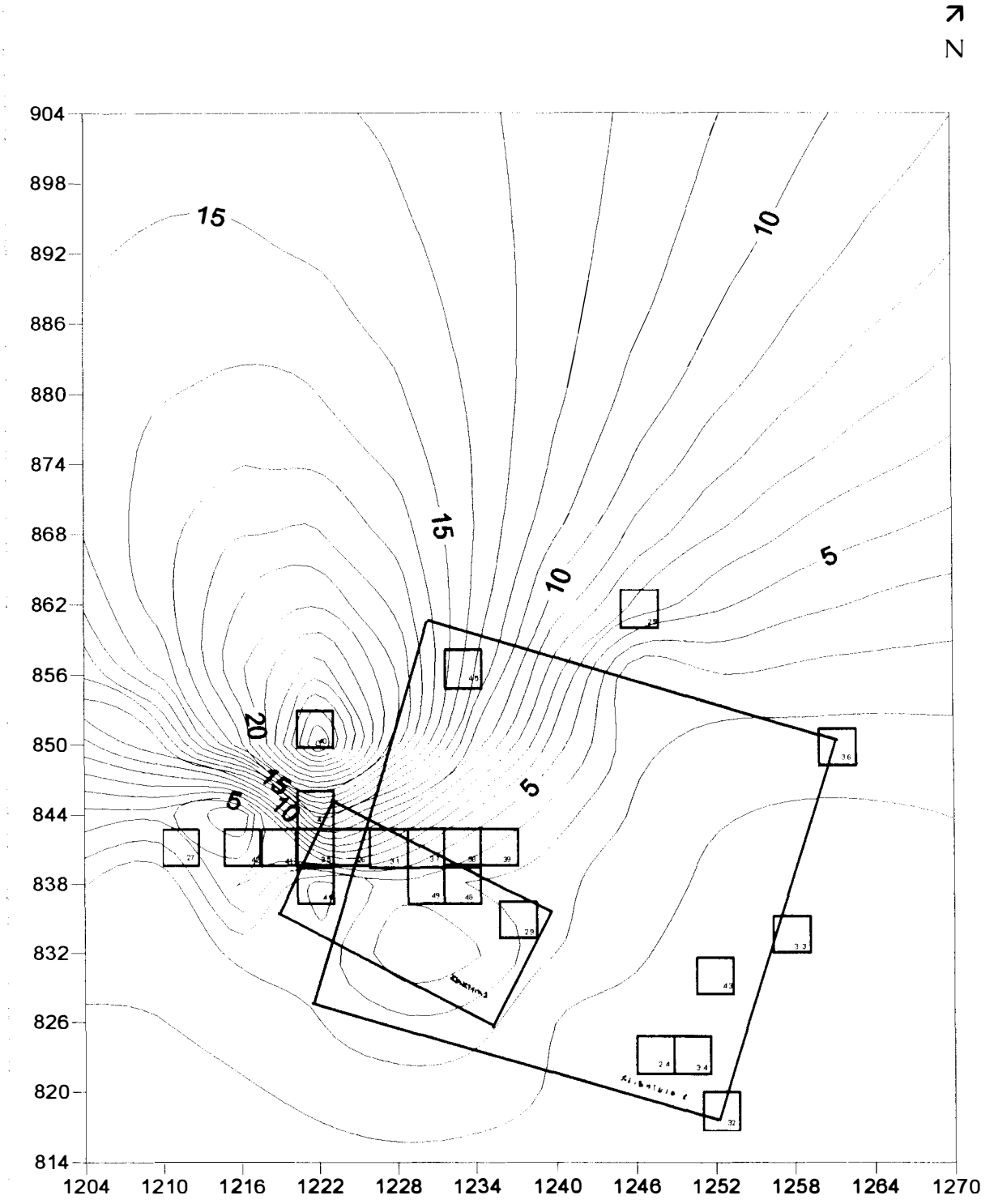

Figure 8.10: Phonograph record distribution in Area E.

(Edie 2004). This would still be costly for many families during this time, especially for a family like the Kirbys. Parts of a phonograph machine were not recovered in the testing and excavations of this area, and it is likely that the Kirbys took the machine with them when they left.

Structure 4

Architecture

In 2004, thirty posthole tests in Area G south across the creek from Structures 2 and 3 in Area E recovered very few architectural artifacts. No footers were discovered. Interviews with Byers (2004, pers. comm.) after the summer 2004 field season provided the majority of the information on this structure. According to Byers, this structure was a small one-room frame dwelling with vertical unpainted siding that sat on corner posts sunk in the ground rather than stone footers (Figure 8.11). The house was likely built on posts rather than footers to counteract the flooding from the nearby stream. Byers stated that a small, planked bridge was used to cross over the stream to this house.

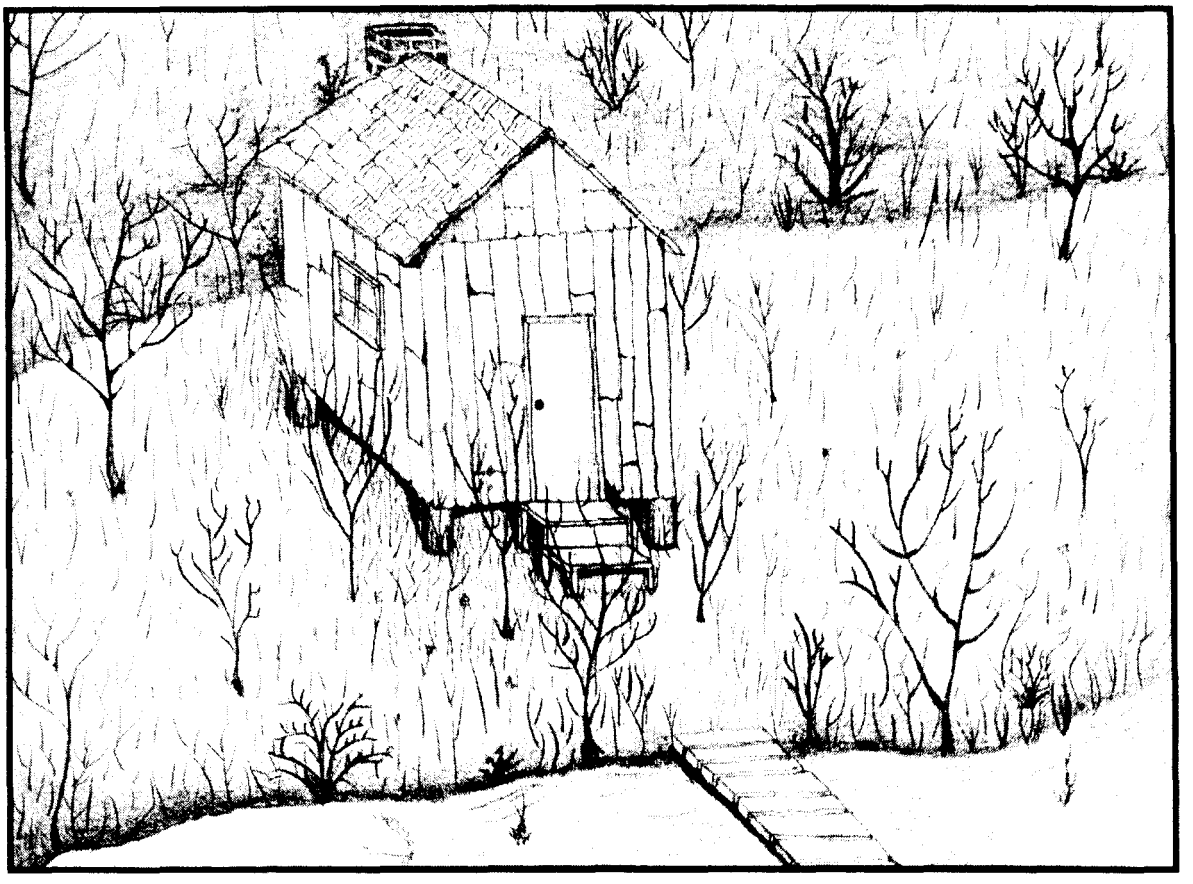

Figure 8.11: Artistic interpretation of Structure 4 in Area G.

Two late fully machine cut nails dating to 1830-1890 were recovered during the posthole testing as well as three wire nails (1890+) and one indeterminate nail. All of the nails were bent suggesting that the structure was dismantled rather than burned down. Twenty sherds of window glass were also recovered. Twelve of these sherds dated to 1923 or later (Moir 1987). The remaining eight sherds had a mean date of 1911. The earliest window glass sherd dated to 1903; however, the structure may have been built earlier and eventually had windows that were replaced. The few artifacts that were recovered from this area make it difficult to definitely date the construction of this building, but the building had to have been constructed by the early years of the 20th-century. Like the other dwellings at Marble Springs which date to the Kirby occupation, this building did not have plumbing or electricity. The five sherds of lamp chimney glass recovered from Area G attests to the use of kerosene lamps for portable illumination.

Foodways

Foodways artifacts include ceramics, container glass, and metal. Only three ceramic sherds were recovered in Area G. All three sherds came from plates. Two of these sherds were undecorated, and one had a scalloped rim with

overglaze gilding applied to the edge. This sherd has an incept date of 1890, and the plain sherds could date to as early as 1830, but likely date later than that. Foodways-related container glass sherds recovered from this area consisted of clear glass canning jars (N=3), aqua glass canning jars (N=1), milk glass canning jar lid liners (N=1), and one indeterminate clear glass bottle or jar. Metal foodways artifacts include one iron spoon and one metal fork with a wooden handle and iron bolsters. This fork appears to match a fork discovered in Structure 3 during the previous field season.

Health and Medicine

Health and medicine artifacts include one clear glass panel medicine bottle fragment of unknown type[103].

Moonshining

Like the main cabin and Structure 3, Structure 4 had several glass canning jar fragments. However, the scarcity of artifacts in this area make drawing any definitive conclusions regarding moonshining difficult. According to Byers (2004, pers. comm.), Cora Lou Kirby and her second husband, Cecil Rhea, lived

[103] Recall that Cora Lou resided in this house, and she suffered from tuberculosis.

in this structure. He did not recall that Cecil or Cora Lou engaged in moonshining activities as did Marie's husband, John Moranville. Nevertheless, it is possible that they participated; however, material evidence of these activities was not discovered in this area.

Miscellaneous Activities

Only two personal items artifacts were recovered that were associated with this structure. One metal snap and a brown leather eyelet, likely associated with the snap, were discovered in a single posthole test. It is of unknown origin, but it could have been part of a leather bag or other clothing item.

CHAPTER IX

LIFE IN THE SHADOW: THE KIRBYS AT MARBLE SPRINGS

If we shadows have offended,
Think but this, and all is mended,
That you have but slumbered here,
While these visions did appear...
- William Shakespeare (from "A Midsummer Night's Dream," 1600)

Before the 2002 and 2003 fields seasons, very little was known about the Kirbys. Previous historic (see Hagaman 1987) and archaeological literature (see Barber 2002) pertaining to the property said very little about the Kirbys, and when the family was mentioned, it is usually only with regard to changes in deed ownership. However, even this record of deed ownership has been incorrectly documented. Both Hagaman (1987) and Barber (2002) state that George Kirby sold his property to his son Joseph, *who then later sold the property to his daughter, Melvina.* In addition, they state that Hugh O. Kirby *sold his property to his son, Arnold, in 1925.* It is not a far stretch to assume that Melvina would have been Joseph's daughter rather than his wife, considering how rare it was during that time for women to become sole farm owners. However, it is ironic, and somewhat sad, to consider that instead of being Hugh's son, "Arnold" was the last name of the trustee who held the mortgage of the property at the Fidelity

Banker's Trust Company. The default of this trust seven years later resulted in the Kirbys losing their family land.

In the 73 years since the Kirbys left Marble Springs, little information has surfaced regarding their lifeways on the land, and until now, there has been little interest. Curiosity over the years into the lifeway of Gov. John Sevier at Marble Springs for the short period he resided there has cast a mighty shadow over the lives of the small acreage, self-sufficient farmers who lived on the land after his death. However, over the 84 years that the Kirbys resided at Marble Springs, they left a material imprint on the land that has finally been brought to light. This imprint can be used to demonstrate how the Kirbys, like many farmers in Southern Appalachia in the 19th- through the early 20th-century, faced many challenges with the rise of capitalist agriculture, habitually poor soil, and personal health crises. It also can be used to reveal how families like the Kirbys sometimes met these challenges by changing their lifeways altogether.

This chapter will conclude this dissertation by discussing the lifeways of the Kirbys with regards to the archaeological data discussed in the two previous chapters. For simplicity's sake, these lifeways will be discussed in order of significant ownership changes of the property: George W. Kirby, Joseph Upton Kirby, Melvina M. Kirby, and Hugh O. Kirby. For each of these owners, the

material culture will be compared with the documentary evidence and oral history testimony presented in previous chapters.

George W. Kirby

According to S. G. Heiskell (1920:337), an interview with Joseph Upton Kirby sometime before 1918 indicated that when George W. Kirby purchased the property in 1847, the structures on the property consisted of the main governor's cabin, three other disconnected buildings, and a smokehouse[104] (Figure 9.1). In the interview, Joseph Kirby also indicated that the kitchen still standing at the time was built during the Sevier occupation of the site. As far as he remembered, the kitchen had never been torn down or added to (Ibid.). One of the disconnected buildings that Joseph mentions was likely the barn located in the east peripheral yard. The acreage for sale (140 acres) and the standing buildings may have been an impetus for George Kirby to purchase the property. With a cabin and kitchen as well as necessary outbuildings, such as the smokehouse and barn, George – who as a younger brother of many siblings would have had little acreage to inherit from his father – would likely have jumped at the chance to

[104] It is interesting to note that Joseph Upton Kirby claimed to be the owner of the property at the time of the interview since he had sold it to Melvina in 1884, and following her death in 1909, the property came under the ownership of Hugh O. Kirby, his son.

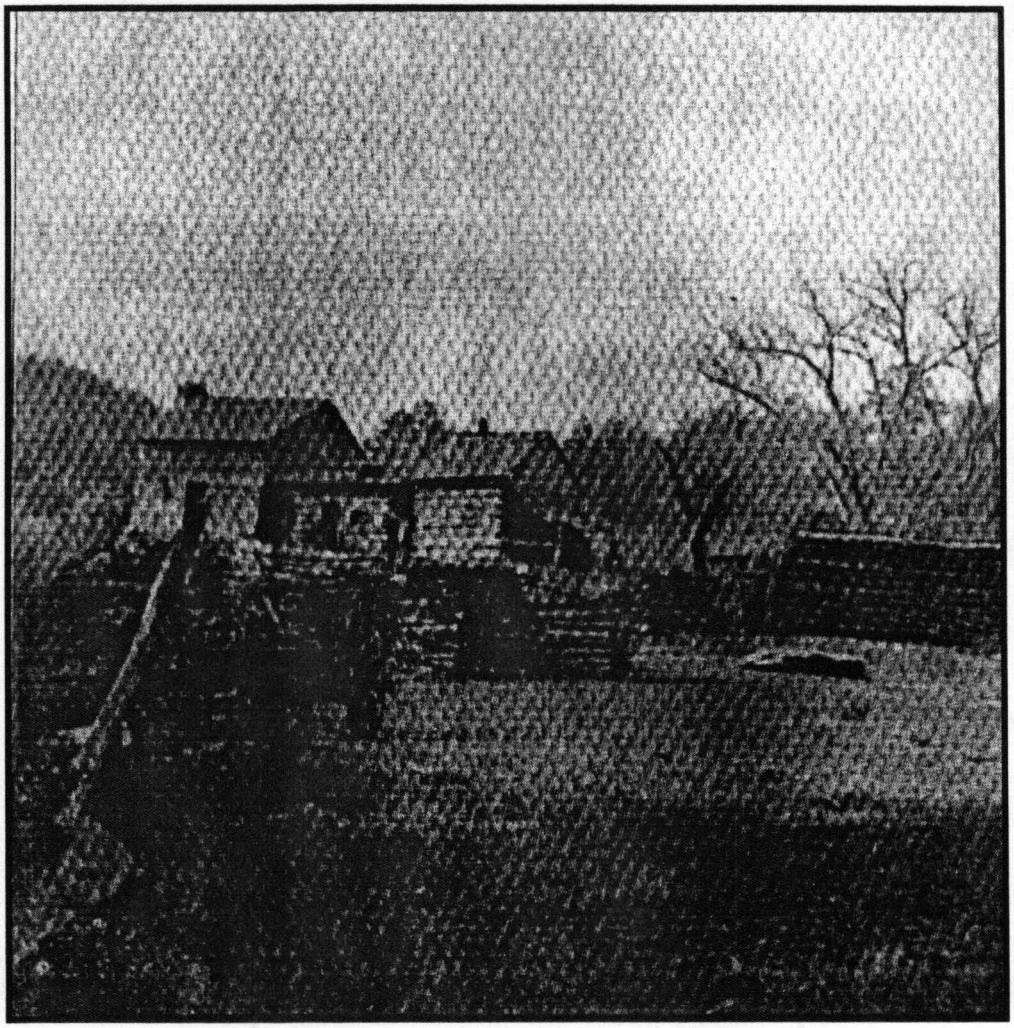

Figure 9.1: Photograph of Marble Springs in the 1890s (Moore 1898). Note farm equipment and fencing in the foreground.

purchase a farm where he only would need to make improvements on the buildings and fields, rather than start from scratch.

The archaeological remains document these improvements after George purchased the property. As mentioned in Chapter VIII, the window glass recovered from around the main cabin peaks in the period between 1851 and 1860. He likely also made improvements to the main cabin and kitchen, as well as the smokehouse and barn since they were likely at least 50-years-old[105].

George was a moderately successful farmer, and the comparison of refined tableware vessel sherds with utilitarian vessels sherds indicates that although redware and stoneware were likely used for culinary and gustatory functions, such as butter production and the consumption of stews, refined tablewares were also purchased, such as blue shell edge whiteware, underglaze polychrome hand-painted whiteware, and underglaze transfer-printed whiteware. Most of the food consumed by George and his family during these early years would have been produced or raised on the farm rather than purchased[106]. Desired or needed goods not produced on the farm would have

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[105] Also recall from Chapter III that James Dardis, the second owner of the property, likely never actually resided at Marble Springs, and the buildings on the property may not have had regular maintenance before the Kirbys purchased the land.

[106] Although the faunal remains recovered from around the cabin could not be definitively dated, recall that pig and rabbit bones were discovered there.

been purchased or bartered for at local markets, but this would have been to a limited extent.

It is not known whether George engaged in moonshining during these early years or not. Early olive glass wine bottle sherds and fragments of a historical flask and whiskey bottles, as well as archival documents recounting George's frequent travels to saloons in Knoxville, attest to George's tastes for alcohol. If he produced liquor at home, this would be in addition to the alcohol he purchased in Knoxville saloons.

Joseph Upton Kirby

George sold 81 acres to his son, Joseph Upton Kirby, in 1868. This was shortly after Joseph married Malinda Melvina Kirby. Very few improvements seem to be made to the main cabin, and it appears that George and his second wife, Sally, continue to reside in this dwelling. As mentioned in Chapter III, it is not known whether Joseph and Melvina continued to reside in the main cabin, but considering that they are listed as a separate residence in the census, it is likely that they did not. One possible place they could have lived is in Structure 4, although no archaeological material supporting this possibility was discovered in the 2004 field season. The 1895 Knox County map (refer to Figure 3.7 in

Chapter III) shows Joseph residing across the road from George in a similar location to Structure 4. However, further archaeological investigations in Area G would need to be conducted in order to determine whether this might have been the case.

Following Joseph's purchase of the property from his father, he continues to the farm the land alongside George, and their productions are moderately successful in 1870. A decade later, cash is paid to improve the land and hands are hired for several weeks to harvest the crops. However, the cash value of the farm productions significantly decreases. This may have had something to do with market values of farm goods, but it may also have something to do with Joseph not carefully farming land that is naturally prone to erosion. Hence, Joseph's role in the decrease in the value of farm productions may have contributed to Melvina's purchase of the farm in 1884.

Melvina Kirby

Melvina's purchase of Marble Springs was a significant event in the history of the site. Not only did the land come under her sole control with her husband and father-in-law still living, she began making improvements to the farm. Whether she was living in the main cabin or not, the window glass

recovered from around this building indicates a peak in replacement between 1871 and 1890. Hence, her efforts not only kept the ownership of the land in the family, but her efforts also likely kept food on the table.

The late 19th-century ceramics recovered from the site are typical for this period. Embossed whiteware and flow blue whiteware were present around the main cabin, and the majority of the whiteware sherds were undecorated, which is typical for the late 19th-century (Blaszczyk 2000). Overall, however, the Kirbys were not conspicuous consumers at this time and could be considered relatively modest in their living arrangements. Although they were landowners, they did not attempt to occupy a highly visible place in their community in line with their level of tenure like other landowners in the late 19th-century, who even if they owned only several acres of land, often made significant additions to their homes (Wurst 1999:13).

Melvina's purchase of the farm elicits questions regarding the material aspect of gender relations at Marble Springs. However, gender-specific artifacts related to the late 19th-century or before were not recovered from the site during the 2002 and 2003 field seasons. Although wives were regarded to tend the house and children, and the men were thought to tend the fields, Melvina's purchase of the farm (and work in the fields, no doubt) renders a gendered

artifact analysis unsuitable (see Stine 1990, 1992). Some artifacts discovered in Structure 3 that date to the early 20th-century are more indicative of gender-specific functions, but one still needs to be wary of searching for "gender markers" at historical archaeological sites.

Throughout the 19th-century and until George's death, Melvina and the rest of the Kirbys likely used the barn in the east peripheral yard, Structure 2, as their primary agricultural structure. This building may also have been used as a smithy in the late 19th-century. However, this building may have been in disrepair by the 1890s as evidenced by the bricks that were found near the Structure 2 that were used as props. Shortly after George's death, the barn was torn down and most of the farm equipment sold to settle his debts. Within a few years, perhaps immediately after, the shotgun-style house, Structure 3, was built over the former barn area. In 1900, Hugh O. Kirby got married, and this house was likely built as a residence for him.

The sale of farm equipment after George's death is somewhat perplexing, as one would assume that Melvina would have needed these items to continue farming. She may have had some of her own equipment to use on the farm, or used what remained after the estate sale, but by this time she may also have been too ill to work in the fields. As previously described, Melvina was afflicted with

tuberculosis. Wherever it was on the site that Melvina and Joseph resided on the property after their marriage, they likely moved into the main cabin after George's death and they likely spent time in Hugh and Daisy's house down the hill. Medicine bottles dating to late 19th- and early 20th-century were discovered in both the main cabin and kitchen areas as well as Structure 3. However, it is not known what kinds of medicines these bottles contained[107]. Some of these bottles may have been reused, as home remedies prevailed throughout the 19th- and early 20th-century in rural areas (Fryer 1947). Even if one had access to medicines, farmers often only received cash twice per year, leaving the family to "make due" if anyone became ill.

The number of these medicine bottle sherds throughout the site indicates that the purchase and consumption of medicines were important to the Kirbys. This is in line with the documentary evidence of Melvina's illness as well as Cora Lou's illness. However, what is interesting is that Melvina likely primarily resided in the main cabin, and Cora Lou resided in Structure 4. What likely occurred on the property is a lot of contact between these residences, and

[107] More so than medicine, rest was prescribed as the "cure" for tuberculosis in the 19th-century. By the early 20th-century, quackery in the medical industry caught on to the "tuberculosis fever" and every sort of patent medicine and pillow inhaler was marketed as a definitive treatment for "consumption" (Ott 1996:87).

Structure 3 – said by Byers (2004, pers. comm.) to be the social center of the Kirby property – was also likely the center of healthcare treatments for the family.

It is not known whether Melvina and Joseph participated in the informal economy by moonshining, but it appears unlikely[108]. Melvina's illness undoubtedly impacted the farm production, but by this time Hugh and Charles were likely able to help their mother in the everyday production of the farm. They may not have been able to make many improvements to the farm in the first decade of the 20th-century, but they likely were able to keep food on the table as there were no debts against the estate of Melvina Kirby when she died in 1909.

Hugh O. Kirby

The majority of the material culture recovered from Marble Springs in the 2002 and 2003 field seasons was discovered in or around Structure 3. The artifacts associated with this structure indicate a major change in the lifeways of the Kirbys. After Melvina's death in 1909, and coincidentally, state-wide prohibition in Tennessee, Hugh Kirby and the rest of the family gave up farming almost entirely and invested their labor in moonshining and liquor running for their neighbors. Although no still was discovered during the archaeological

[108] However, this does not mean that other members of the family, such as Hugh and Charles, did not engage in moonshining.

investigations of this structure, the plethora of glass canning and other food jars give indirect evidence of the practice. The still, or number of stills, may have been hidden anywhere on or off the property.

More so than evidence of moonshining, the number and kinds of artifacts in this structure indicate that the Kirbys had become conspicuous consumers by the early 20th-century and were producing little food goods at home, if at all. A high number of different types of ceramic and glass tableware vessels (see Chapter VIII) were used. Many of the ceramic vessels were undecorated, but some were decorated with flow blue, decals, embossing, and gilding. Vessel types ranged from teacups and saucers, to teapots, plates, and bowls. Some of these vessels even had holiday themes, as evidenced by the porcelain teapot sherds with holly leaf decals.

When compared with other historic sites in Knox and surrounding counties in East Tennessee that date to the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries, the ceramic vessels recovered from Structure 3 are particularly interesting (Table 9.1). The Massengale family that lived in Morgan County was socio-economically similar to the Kirbys at the turn-of-the-20th-century (Pyszka 2003). The Massengales were small-acreage, self-sufficient farmers on the Cumberland

Table 9.1: Ceramic type comparison of Structure 3 vessel sherds with ceramics recovered from other late 19th-, early 20th-century historic sites in East Tennessee.

Site	Ceramic Type	N=	%
Marble Springs (Structure 3)	porcelain	154	10
	whiteware and ironstone	1,319	89
	stoneware	16	1
Massengale[109]	porcelain	0	0
	whiteware and ironstone	26	76
	stoneware	8	24
Gibbs[110]	porcelain	42	3
	whiteware and ironstone	1,056	72
	stoneware	373	25
Davey Crockett Birthplace[111]	porcelain	0	0
	whiteware and ironstone	25	81
	stoneware	6	19
Ramsey House[112]	porcelain	49	9
	whiteware and ironstone	449	80
	stoneware	63	11

[109] Data from Pyszka (2003:118).
[110] Data from Groover (2003:231).
[111] Data from Smith (1980:59).
[112] Data from Faberson (2003:60).

Plateau. When compared to the Kirbys, the Massengales had a higher percentage of stoneware vessel sherds (i.e., utilitarian vessels) and no porcelain was discovered at the site. When compared to the Gibbs farmstead in Knox County and the Stonecypher farmstead[113] in Greene County, the Kirbys, who were notably of lower socio-economic standing than the middle-class Gibbs and Stonecyphers, appear to have had a higher frequency of porcelain, whiteware, and ironstone and less stoneware (Groover 2003:231).

The porcelain, whiteware, and ironstone frequencies in and around Structure 3 at Marble Springs were much more similar to the frequencies of these ceramic types at Ramsey House in Knox County. The Watsons lived at Ramsey House from 1884 until 1912. Although not independently wealthy, this middle-class farm family was able to hire a servant and house boarders who may have helped work on the farm (Faulkner 1986:57). The Kirbys did not have the means to hire servants, and by the early 20th-century, they likely were no longer hiring farm laborers. Hence, what becomes clear when comparing the ceramic type frequencies of the 20th-century Kirby household to families such as the Watsons is that the purchase of refined ceramic tablewares (likely glassware as well) went beyond utilitarian functions and had social meaning (Wall 2000:134).

[113] This farmstead was located at the Davy Crockett Birthplace State Historic Area (Smith 1980).

According to Byers (2004, pers. comm.), Structure 3 was the social center of the property as it was located nearest the road. In addition to domestic functions, this dwelling served social functions as a meeting place for the family and visitors to the site. Although generally impoverished when compared with their landowning neighbors, the Kirbys may have attempted to *appear* equivalent of their class as landowners. Many farmers and other rural dwellers in the early decades of the 20th-century wanted to create and have material culture similar to urban and suburban dwellers (Kline 2000:275). The Kirbys were likely not alone in this endeavor in their community, and in light of their notoriety for disease and moonshining in the family, attaining social status (i.e., respect) through the conspicuous consumption of goods may have been especially salient.

Other artifacts that support this supposition are the personal items objects, such as jewelry and phonograph records. The jewelry recovered from Structure 3 suggests that the women who resided on the property may have tried to "dress up" their appearance. Recall from Chapter V that Jennings (2004, pers. comm.) recollected Daisy Kirby wearing bright clothes and flashy jewelry. Unfortunately, her appearance did not increase her respectability in the community, as Jennings recalled her mother making derogatory comments about women "who dressed like that."

The phonograph records attest not only to consumerism, but also the influence of younger generations on the older Kirbys. Along with consumerism, recreation became part of the new youth culture in the early decades of the 20th-century (Neth 1993:164). New forms of enjoying music were associated with urban life, and hence, modernization. Attaining these goods and appreciating these social implications of these items would have been a priority of the Kirby youth such as Albert, Hugh Jr., and Jacqueline who would have had regular contact with other youth in the neighborhood at school and local social functions.

In spite of the conspicuous consumerism of the Kirbys in the 1910s and 20s, there were times when the Kirbys could not put food on the table and had to receive handouts from their neighbors. In addition to the food they received from the neighbors, it appears from the material culture recovered from Structure 3 that they regularly consumed wild species such as squirrels, opossums, and birds. This is interesting because in Knox County, game birds and animals were limited in number by the mid 20th-century. The most common species were squirrel, quail, and dove, and the most common game fish were pike, bass, white bass, jack salmon, bream, catfish, and drum (U.S. Soil Conservation Service 1955:9-10). At least 5-percent of the faunal assemblage recovered from Structure 3 was squirrel, and 6.25-percent were birds.

Although the family in the 19th-century attempted to participate in capitalist farm production and were at the top of the agricultural ladder as landowners, they were economically and socially equivalent to sharecroppers. Eventually tired of eking out an existence as farmers, they resisted dependence on capitalist agriculture and participated in the informal economy by moonshining. Moonshining earned them cash and bartered goods, and the quantity of purchased food and other items in Area E suggests that there were times when their moonshining and liquor running endeavors were financially successful. However, in spite of their ability to purchase most of their food, dishes, and even recreational items and jewelry, they were unable to pay on their trust and keep their land. This may have been the result of mounting legal bills that forced them to streamline their cash towards paying off revenuers and court costs.

When the Kirbys were evicted from the property in 1932, it appears that they only took the items they decided to be the most important and left the rest. This is evidenced by the high frequency of nearly complete ceramic vessels discovered in this structure *in situ* (Figure 9.2) and the high variety of different kinds of artifacts discovered within and outside of this structure. It is not known what became of the Kirbys after they left Marble Springs, but their legacy will no

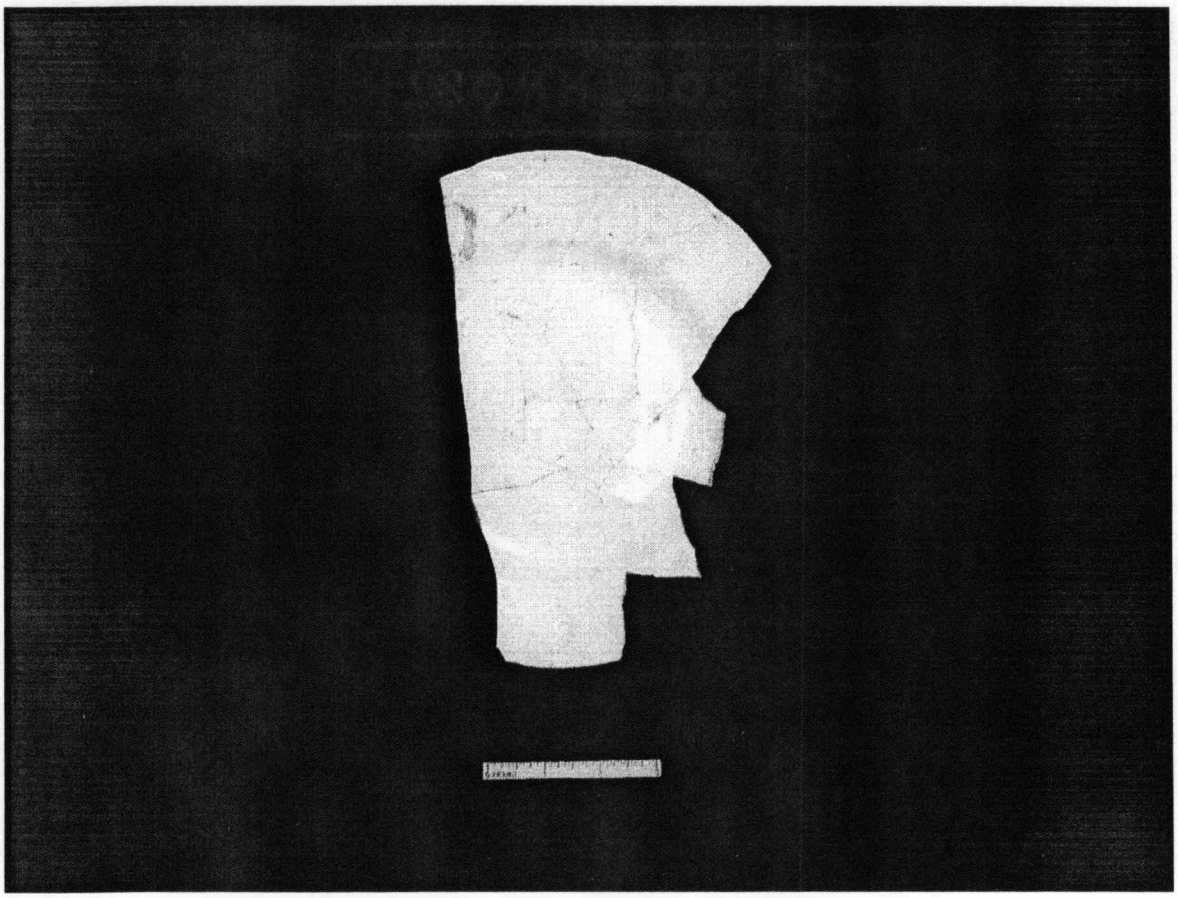

Figure 9.2: Undecorated whiteware plate recovered *in situ* from Unit 46 in Structure 3[114].

[114] The left side of the plate continues to reside under the ground surface in the east peripheral yard in a neighboring, unexcavated unit.

longer be lost in the shadow of greatness. Theirs is a legacy of hard work and hardship, of family ties and loss, and perseverance and suffering, the ability to do what they needed to do to make ends meet. The Kirbys are a testament of the fortitude of the small acreage, self-sufficient Southern Appalachian farmer.

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VITA

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