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EASTERN PIEDMONT FARMSTEADS AND PLANTATIONS: A SITE FILE EXPEDITION

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For much of North Carolina's history her people toiled on plantations and farmsteads. Through their labor they shaped North Carolina's agrarian landscapes and through their interactions they formed, maintained, and transformed a good part of North Carolina's culture. Using the eastern piedmont of North Carolina as an example, this author argues for the importance of farmstead archaeology, spanning the colonial through postbellum periods. This is illustrated in a brief historical review of settlement and of the rise and fall of agrarian lifeways in the eastern piedmont drawn partially from a few intensive Carolina piedmont farm studies (e.g., Joseph 1997; Stine 1989, 1990). Previous investigations in the piedmont were often driven by cultural resource or heritage management project needs (e.g., Wheaton and Reed 1987) and most were not undertaken within a regional research framework. Although this can still lead to some creative research questions (e.g., Houston and Novick 1993), it often results in perfunctory and descriptive research designs and site-specific determinations of an agrarian site's potential eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places (<http://www.nps.gov/nr/>). This single-site approach has been lamented by farmstead archaeologists nationally and well-voiced since Wilson's (1990) classic article on farmstead significance. This is in part due to the volume of farmsteads, the ephemeral material culture at some farms and the fact that plowing, an agricultural practice, is often used to declare a site poorly preserved (Cleland 2001a, 2001b; Clements 2009; Delle and Heaton 2003; Drucker et al. 1982; Groover 2008; Jorgenson and Brown 2009; Joseph et al. 2004; Lees and Noble 1990; Stine 1985, 1989).

Archaeologists who wish to place a particular steading or plantation within a broader comparative context often turn first to the Office of State Archaeology (OSA) which houses the state's archaeological site files recording past survey, testing, and excavation projects. The OSA also maintains numerous archaeological reports related to those works. At present, any inquiry into agrarian archaeological sites starts with a search of their data base.

As an example of how the current system works, the relative frequency of reported significant historic sites and components in portions of the North Carolina piedmont was investigated. Particular attention was paid to farmsteads and plantations—those places and spaces where most colonial, antebellum, and postbellum piedmont Tarheels lived. Were these site types well represented in the OSA database? Could the recorded data inform scholars about cultural transformations in the economy, political integration, and social relationships over time?

This case study of Guilford County compared numbers of eligible to ineligible historic sites or components, meaning which cultural resources met or did not meet the criteria for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) (<http://www.nps.gov/nr/>; Neumann et al. 2010). The North Carolina archaeological site files were examined to see if these data could be used to determine the number of farmstead and plantation sites found and figure how many: (1) were determined eligible for the NRHP; (2) were actually placed on the study list (SL); or (3) were listed on the National Register. Focusing on the eastern piedmont, the frequencies of National Register and eligible historic sites were encoded for nine counties. Results were compared as a broader interregional sample with special discussion of farmstead

and plantation properties or components. All of these farm/plantation sites or components were tabulated and briefly described.

This study illustrates how important but difficult it is to build an interpretive scaffolding for farmsteads and plantations out of site file data. The results provide an initial snapshot of piedmont agrarian archaeological sites as well as offer suggestions for improving completion of individual site forms for plantation and farm archaeological resources. This research documents the need for the development of a regional archaeological context for farmstead and plantation research. Such a context or in-depth cultural assessment and summary of known historic patterns, architectural stylistic ranges, and archaeological trends and variations will aid future assessments of farmstead/plantation site research potential by academic investigators, cultural resource management (CRM) specialists, and heritage managers, akin to that developed by the architectural survey group in the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources. This will provide a relevant guide to research themes and summary resource information that will greatly enhance theoretical studies as well as determinations of National Register significance.

AGRARIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Agrarian archaeology—the historical archaeological exploration of rural life—is primarily a study of the material culture found on farmsteads and plantations. Myriad arrangements of terraced or eroded fields, woods, orchards, pastures, houses, outbuildings, kitchen yards, gardens, livestock pens, fencelines, wells, cisterns, roads, rivers, ponds and springs formed much of the historic North Carolina piedmont landscape. Part of that view includes the occasional trash pile or midden, often conveniently located in a discrete gully behind the main house core (Drucker et al. 1982; Joseph 1997; Stine 1989). Farmstead and plantation sites are varied in food production systems and settlement patterns, and offer interesting examples of anthropogenic (human-made) change across the land through time. As discussed by Joseph et al. (2004), farms are typically smaller units of production (less than 500 acres) than plantations (over 500 acres) and, unlike plantations, are primarily focused on producing subsistence crops. Plantation owners focus much more of their resources on producing cash crops and use slave or hired labor (Joseph et al. 2004). Cash crops are grown on farmsteads to garner money for sewing goods and other sundries. Labor is family-based, with the occasional neighbor, hired laborer, or enslaved worker forming part of the workforce (Joseph et al. 2004; Stine 1989, 1990).

Farmstead and plantation archaeology offers a rich data resource for delving into perennial questions about families, households, neighborhoods, and communities (e.g., King 2006). Carolina farmers and planters lived together in communities of dispersed steadings with ties to small hamlets and towns (Prunty 1955; Stine 1989, 1990; Stine and Selikoff 2000). The makeup of farm and plantation households vary based on chronological and spatial variables. They also differ due to social factors such as ethnicity, age or gender, and the class and economic statuses of its members (Clements 2009; Groover 2008; Joseph et al. 2004; Stine 1989). Orser (2007:57) theorizes that households are constituted as social relations that can be represented in various settlement patterns as well as through specific cultural rules related to the use of space and other forms of material culture. Whether explored within a landscape, political-economic, practice theory, or feminist theoretical framework, the archaeology of agrarian sites offers an abundance of landscape evidence, settlement patterning, architectural data, portable material culture, oral histories, and historic documents on transforming farm lives from the colonial

through modern periods (e.g., Adams 1990; Delle and Heaton 2003; Groover 2004, 2008; Joseph 1997; Joseph et al. 2004; Jorgenson and Brown 2009; Robinson 2004, 2009, Stewart-Abernathy 1986; Stine 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 2011; Stine and Madry 1986; Stine and Stine 1996). Broad trends in the agricultural history of the upland south have parallels in the North Carolina piedmont, but archaeologists as yet do not have a firm grasp of plantation and farmstead interregional patterns of variation.

PIEDMONT AGRARIAN OVERVIEW

The North Carolina piedmont was settled primarily by individuals and families wanting to farm or to participate in agrarian-related industries that serviced farmsteads. The immigrants and workers of African, English, German, Irish, and Scots descent who arrived in the mid-eighteenth century settled large and small tracts of farmland deeded to them through the representative of Lord Granville, the Lord Proprietor and owner of this section of the piedmont (Mitchell 1993; Powell 1989). Some individuals set up small stores, mills, smithies, and ordinaries along major travel routes. These various groups and their descendants lived in a mostly rural environment until the stirrings of urbanization in the decades before the Civil War, spurred by increasing industrialization and concomitant improvement in railroad and roadway transportation systems, altered these rural settings (Bishir 1990; Brown 1995; Daniel et al. 1994; Lautzenheiser 1990; Robinson 2004, 2009; Stine 2011; Stine and Selikoff 2000). The creation of the town and subsequent city of Greensboro, for example, resulted from a political battle between northern and southern Guilford County farmers over control of the location of the new county courthouse. Each group wanted to ride or walk the shortest possible distance to conduct court business as well as transport some of their goods to local markets. The courthouse was moved from the old northern location (Martinville) to the present, central site of Greensboro circa 1808 (Brown 1995; Stine 2011; Stine and Selikoff 2000) and brought with it the construction of inns, stores, markets, and residences, and the expansion of its road system as the area urbanized. As this demonstrates, the importance of growers to the political, intellectual, ethnic, economic, and cultural history of the piedmont cannot be understated, especially when the majority of piedmont Carolinians were engaged in farming or some related pursuit through the late nineteenth century (Jorgenson and Brown 2009; Stine 1989, 1990). Their influence upon the state's landscape cannot be denied.

Early farmers cut and milled old growth timber, tilled the soil, built small dams and millraces along many creeks, constructed and maintained roads, brought in non-native plants (crops and weeds) and animals, and planted orchards (Mrozowski 2006). They also constructed farm buildings, often initially based on their native vernacular traditions (Bishir 1990; Bishir and Southern 2003; Brown 1995; Smith 1978; see Groover 2008 for general national trends). These farming and building practices were not stagnate; indeed, they reflected changes in technology, access to materials, and the intermixing of cultural ideas and practices. This has been documented in historical archaeological research of agrarian sites (e.g., Groover 2008; Joseph 1997; Robinson 2004, 2009; Stine 1989, 1990).

The agricultural history of the south, while varying in its regional specifics, had a broad, shared history. Transformations in the economy related to the successful development of cash crops such as tobacco, cotton, and orchard products led to the consolidation of large colonial and antebellum plantations in some portions of the piedmont. At the same time, many farmers remained subsistence agriculturalists or balanced subsistence-based farming with a little cash

cropping for luxury items or those things the family could not produce for itself (Stine 1989, 1990). The labor-intensive qualities of some of the cash crops led eventually to the development of a slave-based agricultural economy in many areas of the south. Slavery was a continued presence in the piedmont, although there were only a handful of plantations inhabited by over 50 enslaved Africans and/or African-Americans. In Guilford County Governor Morehead maintained a household and estate with about 30 slaves at Blandwood, while Chatham County's DeGraffenreids held over 60 persons in bondage in some decades (Houston and Novick 1993; Stine 2011). In other cases, such as the Hoskins farmstead in present-day Greensboro, a single enslaved woman and possibly her infant were in residence without the support of other African-Americans in the household. After the Civil War the labor situation changed. Owners of farms and plantations had to hire their labor, or, if cash poor, worked out tenant agreements or did the labor themselves. Both cash and share tenancy were common in the piedmont (Houston and Novick 1993; Jorgenson and Brown 2009; Stine 1989, 1990). Occasionally the same families that had served as slaves on a property became tenants on a portion of that property. Sometimes they or their descendants were able to purchase some of those lands to create their own farm (Fearnbach 2009; Houston and Novick 1993). This broke the land up into smaller and smaller units.

In some cases land patterns changed again. With industrialization in the twentieth century, mechanized farming became the norm on large, consolidated holdings. Numerous tenants, those who could not purchase their lands, were driven off their holdings or kept on as hired laborers on the larger farmsteads (Groover 2008; Stine 1989, 1990). This led to a major transformation in the agrarian landscape. In the later twentieth century, inheritance patterns also played a role in the modification of the rural piedmont landscape.

The total number of farms and plantations in 1850 North Carolina was about 56,963 for a general population total of 869,039. Fifty years later the farm total increased to 224,637 in a general state population of 1,893,810. By 1950 there was close to the same number of farms (n=288,508) in a population measuring about twice as great (n=4,061,929) (Historic Census Browser, <http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/php/newlong2.php>). In 1900, North Carolina had a farm population of 125,800 persons or 6.6 percent of the general population (United States Bureau of the Census 1900:xx, Table V.). Guilford County, for example, was divided into approximately 63.7% rural and 36.3% urban in 1900 (<http://www.learnnc.org/lp/table.php?id=5691>). The total farm population in the United States dropped from 41.9% in 1900 to 2.2% in 1985 (United States Bureau of the Census 1975:457, Series K 1-16; 1986:619, Table No.1093). Comparably, the majority of early eighteenth-century colonial settlers arrived with the purpose of starting farms or plantations. Even those who migrated with the purpose of starting a small community, such as the Moravians of Bethabara, came knowing their town would service a large agrarian hinterland (South 1999).

The frequency of farm families and their place within the landscape has definitely been altered from the dominant colonial household form to a much smaller portion of the modern household. The problem is that piedmont families and other residents are relinquishing the state's agrarian heritage—and unwittingly its plantation and farmstead archaeological sites. Overall, North Carolina is losing in both sheer number of farms and total farm acreage. Recent state trends are accelerating as North Carolina removed over 6,000 farms and 300,000 farm acres from state records between 2002 and 2008, making it one of the highest-ranking states in the union participating in this cycle of abandonment or removal (Kish 2008). Abandoned farm buildings are being reused as storage, torn down and salvaged, burned by chance or for fire



Figure 20-1. Abandoned farmhouse in Guilford County, 2011. Photo by Linda Stine.



Figure 20-2. Dismantling Hines Log Cabin in Guilford County, 2011. Photo by Linda Stine.

fighter practice, or are slowly returning to the earth through sheer neglect (Figures 20-1 and 20-2). These sites are being lost an alarming rate, even though focused rural preservation efforts have been on-going for over 30 years (Southern n.d.).

The site file search should reveal a myriad of farmstead and plantation archaeological sites, reflecting the numerous piedmont Carolinians who lived on farms throughout much of the

colonial, antebellum, and pre-World War II periods. However, realistically, archaeologists know that archaeological sites are most often found during government land surveys and pipeline, highway, lake, and other infrastructural development projects (e.g., Millis 2000). This leaves large expanses of non-surveyed lands in the eastern piedmont, lands slated for development that often do not need a federal or state permit requiring archaeological site assessment.

METHODS

Site file data for this project were collected at the North Carolina OSA, which houses the complete database of archaeological site files, from an electronic, access-style database available to qualified researchers. Site forms were transferred to the researcher's hard-drive (August 30, 2010 and the week of July 18, 2011). Some of the older, non-digitized files were photocopied (agrarian sites or a Guilford County site form). The report room at OSA was revisited (April 8, 2012) and CRM and grant reports were matched to all sites deemed potentially eligible for nomination to the NRHP, sites on the study list, and sites on the NRHP for Guilford County. Other county reports were also skimmed to provide further information about significant agrarian sites. Occasionally a report was not filed in place, most likely because it was being used by OSA staff in light of other project needs or by other researchers. Informal interviews were conducted with OSA staff about specific projects.

Additional information was sought from the North Carolina National Register of Historic Places' offices housed at the Department of Cultural Resources. Separate records kept there pertain to archaeological sites, objects, houses, districts, and landscapes deemed eligible for, nominated to, or placed on the National Register. Some of these data were accessed online through the Department of Cultural Resources web portal. Insightful reports with differing approaches toward farmstead/plantation research were obtained. They provided information into particular types of agrarian resources and various means of exploring, recording, and analyzing them as well as management recommendations for these properties within the North Carolina CRM and heritage management communities.

Nine eastern piedmont counties were selected as a study subset and compared for frequency of farmstead/plantation National Register sites, including those pending on the study list. These were as follows: Alamance, Caswell, Chatham, Durham, Guilford, Orange, Person, Rockingham, and Wake counties. A second subset was taken from one county, Guilford, to delve more deeply into its data base. Guilford County archaeological site forms were collected by scanning them, if paper, or by digitally copying them as .pdfs from the Office of State Archaeology (OSA)'s database.

It was first of interest to compare the relative frequency of prehistoric to historic recorded archaeological properties (sites and districts) for the nine counties under study. This is illustrated in Figure 20-3 below.

It should also be noted that the number of recorded prehistoric as opposed to historic sites is consistently near 3:1 if not greater (Table 20-1). One explanation is the archaeological community's inconsistency in recording farmsteads or postbellum historic scatters—often viewed as just “whiteware and glass in a plowed field” or too recent to be of interest to a serious researcher (cf. discussion in Lees and Noble 2001). This results in agrarian sites being overlooked and underrepresented in the literature and in the site files, especially those sites listed as DOE (determination of eligibility), SL (study list), or on the National Register.

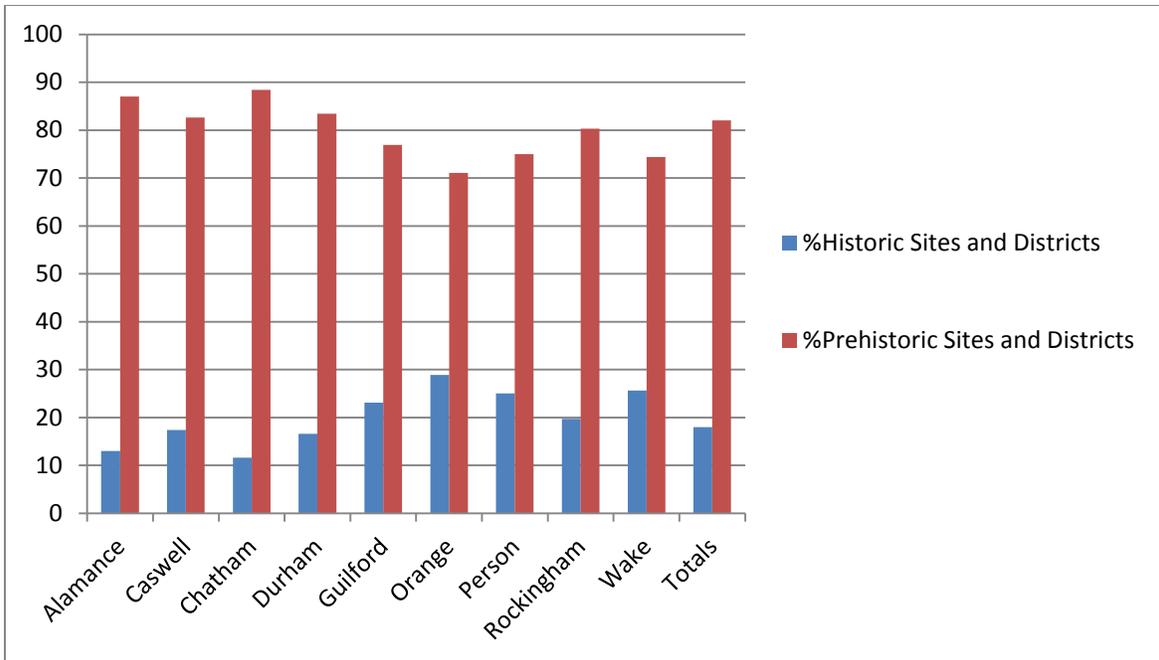


Figure 20-3. Relative frequencies of prehistoric and historic properties in nine Piedmont counties.

Table 20-1. Number of Historic and Prehistoric Properties in Nine Piedmont Counties.

County	Historic Sites and Districts	Prehistoric Sites and Districts	Total Sites
Alamance	54	350	404
Caswell	12	57	69
Chatham	111	843	954
Durham	122	612	734
Guilford	111	369	480
Orange	37	91	128
Person	31	93	124
Rockingham	40	163	203
Wake	161	468	629
Totals	679	3,046	3,725

One would suspect that the high ratio of prehistoric to historic sites might be reflected in the numbers chosen for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places or actually placed on the NRHP. This investigation, however, illustrates that that assumption is false.

NATIONAL REGISTER SITES

The examination of historic sites on the NRHP in the eastern piedmont was not limited to farmsteads and plantations, but extended to examination of all property types. In all, there were 20 historical properties listed on the NRHP under archaeology or on the study list for possible

listing (as of July 18, 2011) in the OSA archaeological site databank for the nine study counties with the addition of two potteries from Randolph County (Appendix 17-A). The types were varied and included domestic, quarrying and mining, potteries, and other industrial sites. Many of these sites served more than one function over time or held various components. To confound matters, some of the properties were districts with multiple sites which in some cases also included both prehistoric and historic components.

The Bennehan-Cameron Plantation District offers a good example of some of the problems inherent working with the site file data. This district encompasses the Stagville plantation with its house, outbuildings, and possible slave quarters. It also includes Horton Grove quarters. Although counted as one district, each has its own site number (31DH191** and 192** respectively). Both sites can be found referenced as DOE, or determined eligible, and/or as listed as on the National Register. This makes constructing tables of each management category difficult. The NRHP nomination form (no author or date) encompasses 6,000 acres and includes Fairntosh Plantation, the adjoining plantation started by the original landholder's descendant and spouse.

It is important to note that these are the NRHP properties listed in the OSA site files. The majority of these properties are archaeological sites or districts which include sites as part of their significance evaluations. A few seem to have been initially recorded as part of a project for the Survey and Planning Branch at the Department of Cultural Resources which were revisited, with archaeologist in tow, to reassess and update the property nomination. Possible sites found through Survey and Planning surveys that have not been recorded or assessed are not included in the present analysis. For example, the Battle of Alamance (Study List 2000) and Gov. Tryon's military camp (near battlefield, NR 1970) are in the Alamance County files but not listed under evaluated archaeological sites as yet. Blandwood Plantation (31GF191**) and the Hoskins farmstead (31GF413**) in Guilford County are not listed in Appendix 17-A because they were initially placed on the NRHP as significant buildings or through their connection with important events (Battle of Guilford Courthouse) and not for their archaeological components. Appendix 17-A lists the 20 National Register or Study List archaeological sites and districts by county as of July 2011. The results are summarized in Figure 20-4 below.

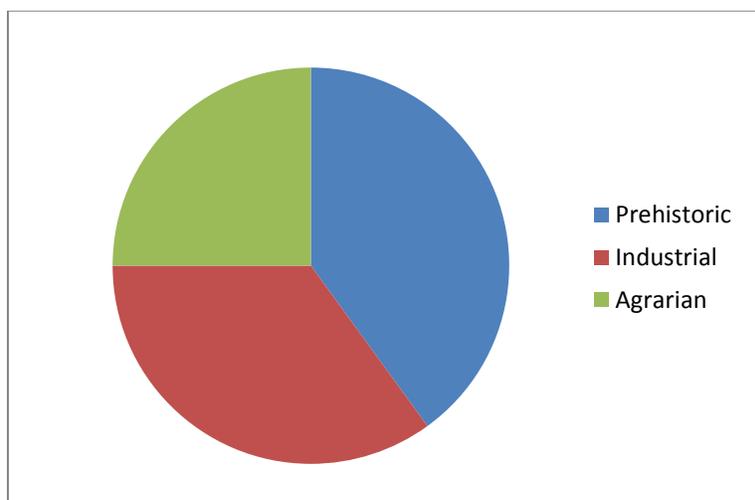


Figure 20-4. Relative frequency of National Register of Historic Places and study list properties in 10 eastern counties.

There are four solely Native American sites listed plus two that fall within the Hillsborough Historic District. There are two other major prehistoric districts, mainly with Archaic components (one, Rolling View, crosses the two counties of Durham and Wake) that also contain historic farmstead or plantation remains, some with graveyards. These historic components are listed as contributing to a district or a site nomination that primarily focuses on the prehistoric findings. The multi-component forms' research questions for further work take an ecological approach to constructing potential research questions. Investigators seek to preserve a series of sites within an Upland South ecotone to test theories about changing settlement over time (e.g., Hargrove, Sandling Site NRHP nomination, ARC March 7, 1983; form further prepared and edited by Richard H. Lewis, Archaeologists USAED, Wilmington, NC). In all, eight prehistoric properties or districts are located on the Study List or the National Register from the eastern Carolina piedmont.

There are varied reasons for nominating historic sites to the NRHP. For example, the dearth of information on upland, isolated plantations in the 1980s was offered as an example of the importance of nominating the Sandling Site's antebellum through twentieth century farm/plantation complex. (See also Rolling View NRHP nomination information, Durham and Wake counties for a similar situation.) This was echoed in a nearby Forsyth County farmstead excavation report (Wheaton and Reed 1987) and a nomination supporting an extended boundary for Chatham County's Alston-Degraffenreid Plantation in 1993 (Houston and Novick 1993). It can still be argued today (e.g., Fearnbach 2009; Jorgenson and Brown 2009).

Historic sites listed in Appendix 17-A fall within two major categories: industrial sites or agrarian ones for a total of 12 sites or districts. The industrial sites and districts number seven and include a myriad of mills and associated dams, potteries, an ironworks and a gold mill. Plantations and farmsteads (five in total) make up the agrarian site types although some are recorded as associated districts while others are simply recorded and nominated as single sites. As mentioned, two of the prehistoric districts include a number of possible contributing farmsteads but their forms were not clear as to if the historic sites were considered contributing versus possibly contributing. St. Mary's Road corridor study (Stine et al. 1999) was an in-depth map and site file survey that was field checked through mostly windshield survey and oral history. Possible taverns, road remnants, farmhouses, plantations and mills were located along this historic road leading northeast of Hillsborough. (A number of interesting prehistoric sites were located there as well.) It tangentially included Ayr Mount Plantation house site. The archaeology of that site was limited and additional studies could offer much comparative information to other plantation sites in the region (Stine and Madry 1986).

The Bennehan-Cameron Plantation District contains numerous farm buildings: a main house, the Horton Grove slave cabins, an immense barn, and various other outbuildings. The district also encompasses part of the historic agricultural landscape. This is said to have been the largest plantation in North Carolina at one time (Bishir 1990). Archaeological work has been intermittent and usually performed by North Carolina Historic Sites personnel (now integrated into OSA) to mitigate for reconstruction, repair, or utility work. Research questions have centered on finding features and determining their clarity and integrity for management. For example, in the late 1970s the author worked under the direction of Terry Harper of Historic Sites on a testing project at Horton Grove slave quarters to determine the site's potential for intact below-ground features and clearly defined soil levels. The site was in good condition at the time. The work was primarily undertaken to help with planned renovations and stabilization of the structures. Sites such as Horton Grove offer both above- and below-ground material

culture to investigators with rich results. For instance, one two story, four-room framed structure was insulated by low-fired brick noggin. This architectural detail would have been difficult to decipher from a torn down structure.

In agrarian families, when nuclear family members aged the young adults either left to pursue their own careers or chose to stay and take over the homeplace (Groover 2004, 2008; Houston and Novick 1993; Stine 1989). This is often manifested archaeologically through construction (new outbuildings) or pit fill, resulting from the “spring cleaning” of last generation’s odds and ends. The Alston-Degraffenreid Plantation complex (31CH719**) dates from about the 1780s through the 1940s, when it ceased to primarily be an agricultural enterprise. Its importance lies in its long-term ownership and residency by the same primary family line. The plantation survived three major family life cycles as well as head-of-household transitions and should offer archaeologists features and settlement patterns for study that correspond to changes in family composition and leadership.

This plantation site, one of the largest in the piedmont, was partially investigated by Hargrove in 1990 as prelude to road widening of Highway 64 (Houston and Novick 1993). He surveyed the site of a possible slave cabin that was later used as a tenant house in the twentieth century (Houston and Novick 1990). This site, 31CH 657**, is on the expanded NRHP boundaries of site 31CH719** (it originally was placed on the National Register in 1974 under criterion d, for aspects of the main house’s architecture). This plantation site, like the Bennehan-Cameron Plantation District, offers numerous related historic documents and oral histories along with the archaeological materials and the remaining remnants of their respective historical agricultural landscapes (roads, fields, forests, outbuildings), including evidence of slave settlements. A comparison of just these two plantations, for instance, would be of great benefit to students of plantation archaeology and especially those wanting to elucidate piedmont plantation lifeways using an historical ecological or landscape approach. The Alston–DeGraffenreid Plantation also offers data on a large plantation that existed during a substantial period in the nineteenth century by a widow with the help of an overseer and provides data on the transition from a slave-based agricultural enterprise to a share and cash-crop tenant based one (Houston and Novick 1993; see Stine 1989 for an overview of the post-bellum “agricultural ladder”).

The David Caldwell House site in Guilford County is also on the National Register. It once was part of a 550-acre plantation that housed the Caldwell family and their enslaved workers. David Caldwell and his wife Rachel Craighead Caldwell lived on this small plantation from about 1766 to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Their holdings also served as an important colonial school, either in the main house or an outbuilding. They were instrumental in educating some of the state’s most prominent future governors, including John Motley Morehead. A mill site and a purported African-American cemetery are associated with the Caldwell place. Archaeologists have investigated the site searching primarily for information on the construction of the main home and to seek the possible “log school” as well as other outbuildings (Baroody 1980; Robinson 2004, 2009). Activity areas were interpreted within the yard areas of the site and the results placed within the socio-historical context of the county’s colonial and antebellum eras, and numerous features were uncovered (Baroody 1980; Robinson 2004, 2009). It was judged an important site as it offered comparative information for studies of small colonial and antebellum piedmont agrarian sites, such as the Hoskins farm a few miles to the north (Stine and Selikoff 2000) and those sites discussed previously. Material remains included local and imported ceramics and other items. This was one of the state’s early historic

archaeological projects, led by Stanley South who tested the foundations in the mid-twentieth century (Baroody 1980). He isolated the cellar foundation and found what he interpreted as a tunnel leading to a nearby creek, perhaps used as part of the Underground Railroad, or perhaps used by the Caldwells to escape Loyalist or British persecution. Subsequent excavations reinterpreted the tunnel as more likely a drainage system; however, the Caldwells did lose part of their library, set fire by their British enemies (Baroody 1980).

Orange County's Alexander Hogan Plantation (31OR296**) is the site of a small antebellum through postbellum plantation in present-day Duke Forest (Daniel et al. 1994; see also his NRHP nomination form, 1996). This site finds its significance for the National Register in its well-preserved building foundations, midden (found through test augering) and rich oral and written history. The site once was a small, 380-acre plantation where a few slaves grew various grains for their owner, Alexander Hogan. Three slaves were there in the 1840s, and less than 10 were there in the 1850s. Most were young adults (under age 20). Hogan is said to have fathered a slave child. This may have been the case as after the Civil War the land was divided into shares, with some land sold and some deeded over to former Hogan slaves. The site had an approximately 50x25 ft square stone foundation with one stone chimney fall. There was a possible kitchen and three other outbuildings (perhaps slave cabins) present (Daniel et al. 1994).

One of the NRHP sites recorded primarily for its association with one of the earliest iron manufactures in the state, a colonial mill and furnace complex called Troublesome Creek and/or Speedwell Ironworks, also contains the remnants of a log cabin and an antebellum plantation. They may provide additional comparative data to Hogan, DeGraffenried, and the other plantation/farmstead sites in the piedmont. These two archaeological sites have yet to be assessed as to their eligibility to the NRHP so it is not known if they might be contributing or not. The cabin site has been only been surface collected. It measured 16x20 ft. The cabin's extant features include a stone chimney and some stone footings (Phillips 2011). The plantation site was tested during a University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG) fieldschool in 2005, and survey results described in an M.A. thesis compare data from the two sites (Phillips 2011). These data were shared with North Carolina Department of Transportation (DOT) archaeologists when a bridge replacement project was going to impact the site area (Petersen 2008). Data derived from three excavation units at the main plantation site are being inputted into the UNCG database for further comparative analysis.

The Orange County Fewes Ford Community in Eno River State Park was nominated as representing a small settlement surrounding a natural ford with various types of homes and mills plus a road associated with this rural community. It is difficult to tell from the nomination if any of these homes served as rural or "urban" farmsteads (Stewart-Abernathy 1986) or if the inhabitants were early Quakers or Scots-Irish (i.e, Engstrom 1983). (See Hargrove 1982 for a discussion of the Cate's Ford Phase 1 Survey results, also located in Eno River State Park.) New Hope Rural Historical Archaeological District was once part of an agrarian landscape, formed now by the foundation ruins of various farmsteads (31CH538-543, with 331CH542** being listed as "Tara slave cemetery"). These sites were located during an Army Corps of Engineer (COE) survey before impounding Jordan Lake and are periodically inundated (NRHP nomination for New Hope Rural Historical Archaeological District, COE, Richard Lewis, 1985).

For a state that was primarily rural until the early decades of the twentieth century, it is hard to imagine that so few eastern piedmont farmsteads and plantations have been nominated and placed on the National Register or its Study List. The North Carolina National Register section states that 2,780 North Carolina properties have been listed on the Register, with about

85% being owned privately and only 15% owned by the public (North Carolina Preservation Office, <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nrfacts.htm>). They mention that the Department of the Interior, National Park Service has records on approximately 66,000 historic resources in North Carolina as “individual listings or as contributing properties within districts” (<http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nrfacts.htm>). This indicates that these buildings, archaeological sites, and districts remain protected by the good graces, will power, and abilities of their owners. It is hoped that good citizens and government managers are caring for this agrarian heritage. It is unfortunate that so few NRHP resources include agrarian sites.

Were many of North Carolina’s agrarian sites surveyed, determined eligible but mitigated and subsequently destroyed? One avenue of investigation was to figure how many farms and plantations were listed as determined eligible for nomination to the NRHP or “DOE.” These cultural resources, usually listed under criterion “D,” are sites, districts, or properties “having yielded or are likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history” (36CFR60.4; Neumann et al. 2010:35). They are almost always listed as a result of a CRM survey or testing project. Site management solutions are recommended such as avoidance of the historic property or mitigation with subsequent destruction of the resource (Neumann et al. 2010). Actual nomination forms are rarely completed for the National Register, even for avoided or protected eligible properties first discovered during the course of a CRM survey (Dolores Hall, personal communication 2012).

To implement this part of the investigation, site data for nine eastern piedmont counties were collected and all historic sites (listed as a site number with an asterisk) were pulled into a table. Their site forms were examined to see how each site was assessed. Next, the DOE sites were cross-checked against Appendix 17-A. Redundant site listings were classed under the highest level of Historic Preservation Office (HPO) management (Appendix 20-A) and removed from Table 20-2.

Table 20-2. Number of Sites in Nine Piedmont Counties Determined Eligible for Nomination to the National Register (DOE).

County	Total Sites	Historic Sites and Districts	DOE Historic Properties
Alamance	404	54	3
Caswell	69	12	1
Chatham	954	111	12
Durham	734	122	14
Guilford	480	111	9
Orange	128	37	3
Person	124	31	0
Rockingham	203	40	12
Wake	629	161	5
Totals	3,725	679	59

Table 20-2 shows that less than 10% of the total historic sites in these counties were Determined Eligible or DOE. The range falls between 3–30% of the total number of historic sites per county. Historic site significance and the presence or absence of above-ground remains

was also examined. Approximately 28.3% of significant sites had no above-ground features while the remaining 71.6% were recorded as significant historic properties with above-ground remains. This suggests that historic sites with remains such as foundations, chimney falls and other noticeable features have a better chance at being judged worthy of nomination. That does not mean that properties or sites with no above-ground remains, but deemed eligible, were actually placed on the NRHP. Determining eligibility is a tool designed to investigate whether a property should be investigated further, be curated, be avoided, or simply be destroyed after consultation of all interested and legal parties involved in the Section 106 of the NHPA resolve their different opinions. Eligible sites are more often excavated and eventually destroyed through the undertaking that triggered the federal regulatory process and the HPO involvement (Neumann et al. 2010).

GUILFORD COUNTY HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

Guilford County was examined more closely to check all of its listed historic archaeological resources. Site relative frequencies were determined by type. Both evaluated and non-evaluated listings were investigated, recorded and described.

Beginning in the colonial era, this region provided natural resources for sustaining numerous farms and plantations—small, medium and large—throughout what is now Guilford County. Small settlements of Quakers, Scots-Irish, English, and Germans based their steading locations on access to land as well as proximity to their places of worship. They also settled in locations that were convenient to the paths, fords, and river systems of the piedmont. Historic maps of the 1781 Battle of Guilford Courthouse depict a series of small farms with alternating cleared fields, fencelines, and large wooded areas between farm cores, a typical pattern for the era (Stine and Selikoff 2000). One of the Guilford County farmsteads drawn on those Revolutionary-era maps was not listed on the NRHP for its archaeological component, but was listed on the National Register in 1988 as part of a district. This site was called the Hoskins House (31GF413**) (not included in Table 20-2 above).

The Hoskins site has an extant log cabin, measuring 18x24 ft in size, that is seated on the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (GUCO). The building sits on an approximately seven-acre parcel donated to the National Park by the City of Greensboro to become part of GUCO. This colonial farm held a substantial one and one half-story log dwelling resting on a stone foundation. It was heated with a large chimney of local fieldstone. This important structure is at least an early antebellum log structure (Grissino-Mayer and Henderson 2006) that may date to the 1780s (Abbott 1984; Stine and Selikoff 2000). Dendrochronology results suggest that the extant logs were cut circa 1813–1816 (Grissino-Mayer and Henderson 2006) and the site Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) is about 1808 (Stine and Selikoff 2000). Based on the distribution of colonial-era ceramics in the assemblage it is clear that a colonial domestic site was located on the main site, as is the existing structure. A hypothesized predecessor to the extant log structure most likely was located on the same small hill. The site was investigated archaeologically by Wake Forest University in the 1980s (Abbott 1984) and by University of North Carolina at Greensboro from 1999–2004 (Stine 2005; Stine and Adamson 2003; Stine and Selikoff 2000). The site was tested to see if twentieth-century additions and modifications of the landscape during creation of a city park (Tannenbaum Historic Park) had destroyed the colonial and antebellum archaeological materials. Results showed that although some areas were severely impacted, others portions of the site retained integrity and contained below-ground

features. Testing at the site revealed intact features that can shed light on colonial and antebellum adaptations before, during, and after the Revolutionary War. The Hoskins place was listed as historic military instead of a domestic site although its primary purpose was as a farm. Its importance to the National Park Service and local support groups such as the Guilford Battleground Company (and ultimately to the NRHP at the moment) lies in its use as the staging ground for Cornwallis' troops and as a hospital after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

Like the families at Troublesome Creek (31RK135**), the Hoskins family used a mixture of local and European ceramics for preserving, serving, and eating their food, and maintained a diet consisting of wild and domestic animals as well as foodstuffs they harvested from their orchards and fields. The Hoskins family lived on a relatively small farm of about 150 acres, in the vicinity of Horsepen Creek, just east of the Quaker New Garden community and west of Guilford Courthouse. The author included the site, now part of the GUCO National Landmark, in the case study as it is a prime example of a smaller farmstead containing a large farm family with perhaps one slave woman and her child in residence. This site remained connected to the Hoskins family until at least the 1930s, paralleling the length of family residence of the Alston-DeGraffenreid plantation.

It is easy to predict that a great number of other farmstead/plantation sites should be recorded for Guilford County. The OSA site files for Guilford were first queried in 2010 under headings of "historic domestic" and "historic above ground ruins" as well as "agricultural" and "barns." Results revealed that about 56 agricultural and 26 nonagricultural historic sites were present out of a total of 440 sites. Only four sites were keyed in as farmsteads (31GF389**, 31GF372** and 31GF449**). Nothing came up under site component names such as bake oven, dairy, ice house, kitchen, and privy, or tobacco barn headings. Many of the agricultural sites turned out to be like 31GF11**, an unknown twentieth-century agricultural site (601–5,000 m in size) found in scrub pine, heavily impacted by construction.

Re-examining the site files in 2011 using the OSA tracking list revealed site numbers 1–480 for Guilford County, which indicated about 40 (31GF10, 181 and 182 are still open numbers) new sites had been recorded, often through numerous recent transportation projects. A number of family cemeteries were recorded, such as the King Family (31GF435**), Pitchford (31GF377**), Auberndale (31GF351**), and Lambeth-Dougherty Family (31GF480**) cemeteries. The county was also once busy with mills and dams to power rural industries: Holton Mill (31GF85**), Lake Jackson Dam (31GF173**), McCulloch's gold mill (31GF191**), David Ingle's Grist Mill and house (31GF194**), Faust Mill (31GF195**), a mill component at the Caldwell site (31GF196**), Mendenhall Mill (31GF440**), Stewart's Mill (31GF433**), Young's mill dam (31GF270**), Freeman's Mill (31GF373**), Hanner Mill (31GF315**), Woody's Mill (31GF321**), Field-Company Mill (31GF326**), and the Kimesville Mill complexes (31GF349**) were recorded. Determining the number of farmstead sites was a bit more difficult. Some researchers apparently called an historic scatter in a field an "unknown agricultural site" while others designated it an unknown "historic scatter." Upon the recommendation of OSA personnel the historic sites listed with above-ground ruins were examined. These sites tended to have site function indicated on the forms. Once revised, a total of eight historic farmstead sites were derived from querying the database at OSA. Six more were added based on the author's knowledge of the area (Table 20-3). These sites range in date from the colonial era to before World War II, and their physical remains range from chimney falls to reconstructed or extant farmsteads.

Table 20-3. Archaeological Farmstead Sites Listed for Guilford County.

Site	Site Number	Status	Comment
Guilford Courthouse	31GF44**	NRHP battlefield	Webb Farmstead component
Ed Smith Farm	31GF87**	Not evaluated	
Caldwell/House on Hobbs Road	31GF196**	NRHP famous person	plantation
White Site	31GF198**	Not evaluated, famous person	Dolley Payne Madison birthplace
Blandwood	31GF199**	NRHP Architecture	farm and urban plantation
Beal Homestead	31GF200**	Determined Eligible	Quaker, later dairy farm
Edward R. Murrow Birthplace	31GF216**	NRHP famous person	Weavers, some farming
Oakely Farm	31GF308**	Not evaluated	
Clark-Hodgin House Site	31GF372**	Not evaluated	Historic farm, later dairy, eroded/house destroyed.
Farmstead	31GF389**	Farm not evaluated	
Farmstead	31GF399**	Not evaluated	Quaker? 19 th c. farmstead
Hoskins Farmstead	31GF413**	NRHP House, battle	plantation
Jarrett Farm	31GF417**	Not evaluated	
Farmstead	31GF449**	Not evaluated	tobacco barns, barn

Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (GUCO, 31GF44**) holds a number of historic components besides the Hoskins farm: military, agrarian and village (Stine et al. 2011). In the mid-1860s a farmhouse was built on the ruins of a colonial town, Martinville. This postbellum farm was in the vicinity of the Revolutionary-era, all-important “third line action” of the 1781 battle. The family that farmed the land, the Webbs, retained the property until the park purchased it about 100 years later. Their farmstead, as an important example of regional postbellum agrarian culture, should be preserved as its study could be vital to understanding the archaeological layers and components in this part of the federal park. For example, one family member recalls collecting numerous lead balls and gun parts, plus her family used large pier stones from colonial buildings such as the Courthouse jail to shore up her family’s outbuildings (Hatch 1970). The archaeology of the Webb place could also contribute more data on a piedmont postbellum occupation that has some clear surface features (foundations, chimney fall, well, drive) and potential subsurface features (Stine et al. 2011).

The David Caldwell plantation (31GF196**) consisted of a mill, a one- or two-pen house resting on a stone foundation, and a purported slave cemetery. The plantation once contained orchards, fields, gardens, and likely slave quarters and other outbuildings. As mentioned, the Caldwell’s maintained an important colonial school at their place, either in a separate space or in their household. Archaeology has revealed the main house as well as outdoor features such as a possible oven (Baroody 1980; Robinson 2004, 2009).

In 1971 archaeologists from the then Division of Historic Sites and Museums, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, conducted test excavations at the White Site (formerly 31GF2**, now 31GF198**). This site, traditionally associated with the home of Dolley Payne Madison (Schwartz 1971), was explored by digging two test units to the base of the plowzone. They uncovered eighteenth- and nineteenth-century domestic ceramics and other items as well as a subsurface feature believed to be part of a “potato hole.” Members of the

White family filled in the feature sometime around 1915 (Schwartz 1971). Root cellars or potato holes were not uncommon in northern Guilford County. The Folley house, located west of Guilford College, was an early period log house that had a similar feature. By 1942 this structure was gone, but the cellar depression was evident adjacent to the hearth remnants (Schwartz 1971 cites this from a March 24, 1942 article by Eleanor Fox Pearson concerning Dolley Madison's life in Guilford County).

The Bland family constructed a colonial farm or small plantation in the vicinity of present-day downtown Greensboro before the courthouse was moved from Martinville to the north about 1808 (Stine 2011). This farmstead was later purchased by a Mr. Humphries, a wealthy industrialist and merchant from the bustling, yet small town of Greensboro. He lived on the outskirts on what is called an urban farmstead, meaning water and sanitation services were not provided by the town. They also may have tended a small kitchen garden and kept livestock to supplement their food supplies (Stewart-Abernathy 1986; Stine 2011). His son-in-law, John Motley Morehead, soon Governor Morehead, purchased the home with its added acreage (about 50). He commissioned a famous architect to design a new front to the frame farmhouse, and expanded the house by placing an Italianate villa onto the front of the traditional two-story hall and parlor, renamed Blandwood (summarized in Stine 2011).

In 1985, archaeologists working on the preferred alternative route for the Benjamin Parkway Extension intensively surveyed the area (Padgett 1985). One historic site, discovered just east of New Garden Road, on what was then Jefferson-Pilot Country Club property, consisted of a well and two distinctive rises (possible building locations) with scattered recent-era artifacts (Padgett 1985). This site (31GF200**) was judged potentially eligible for nomination to the NRHP based on its proximity to the intersection of two eighteenth-century roads (Horse Pen and New Garden roads) and initial historical research results. Plat research revealed that Thomas Beals, a Quaker, once owned these lands. In 1990 archaeologists from Wake Forest University instigated a program of intensive research at Site 31GF200** to further identify and evaluate the location (Keller et al. 1990).

Wake Forest archaeologists uncovered the remains of a small structure, including an estimated 4.5-ft square stone-and-mortar chimney base and hearth. Feature attributes indicated that it might have been rebuilt. It is hypothesized that the chimney stack was brick (Keller et al. 1990:20–24). The associated 30 x 40-ft structure was delineated by pier remnants, which consisted of stones and/or unmortared stone piles, mixed brick and stone piles, and “set posts surrounded by unconsolidated stone rubble” (Kellar et al. 1990:24–25). This structure was interpreted as a small house, either a Hall-and-Parlor or an I-House variant. Another site feature found near the structure was a well and associated brick and stone paving. The approximately 2-ft diameter well proved to be extensively modified in the twentieth century, making it difficult to determine when it was initially dug (Keller et al. 1990:27).

Over 15,800 artifacts were recovered during archaeological investigations at this site (Keller et al. 1990:36). The majority of artifacts date from the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, although a total of 61 pearlware ceramic fragments were found. The average manufacture date of ceramics found is 1884.44. Technological attributes of glasswares indicate a post 1890s occurrence. The majority of iron nails were wire (post 1880) and, using a dating formula based on the thickness of window glass, a post-1900 date was calculated (Keller et al. 1990:42). The range of materials found was typical for an average-to-poor farm family based on the authors' viewpoint. Oral history and documentary research indicate that renters farmed these lands, probably as cash tenants. These farmers would have been tenants for a local family (the

Taylor) before Jefferson-Pilot bought the property in 1924. Until the 1950s that company continued to operate the farm through use of tenants and a farm manager (Keller et al. 1990:46). Although judged worthy of nomination to the NRHP, this site has since been destroyed through construction. The data collected is the only remaining evidence of a series of small farmsteads on these lands.

Two other historic sites were found on Jefferson-Pilot Club property: site 31GF223** (recorded as “unassessed for eligibility”) and 31GF224** (determined not eligible for nomination to the NRHP). These sites were discovered during the archaeological survey of alternatives for the proposed Greensboro western loop roadway (Lautzenheiser 1990). Site 31GF223**, a small historic site, was considered potentially eligible for nomination to the NRHP at the time of the report. It was found about 2,000 ft east of the Jefferson Pilot Club swimming lake near the western side of Jefferson Road. The site is on an upland ridge knoll in a relic orchard. It contained a brick chimney fall, depression feature, and a light scatter of historic artifacts (e.g., wire nails, window glass, and brick fragments). It is believed that this represents the remains of a turn-of-the-century small farmstead (Lautzenheiser 1990:55, 57, 95).

Site 31GF224**, located about 0.2 miles south of Julian and Ethel Clay Price Park, has been destroyed by construction of Jefferson Elementary School. This historic site was deemed potentially eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places but no further work was undertaken before construction. Archaeologists discovered a button, whiteware and stoneware sherds, bottle glass, cut and wire nails, and other materials dating from the past two centuries. The preponderance of materials dated to the late nineteenth-early-twentieth centuries, but some artifacts dated to the early nineteenth century (Lautzenheiser 1990:58, 95). The site was interpreted as an early twentieth-century small farmstead, perhaps overlying an earlier Quaker or at least antebellum house site. The chronological and functional associations of both site 31GF224** and site 31GF200** have been interpreted in a similar manner, as earlier farmstead sites that are obscured by an overlay of more recent domestic materials. This settlement pattern of colonial Quaker farms strung along the creeks or early paths is echoed and later blurred by antebellum and postbellum farmsteads (Hargrove 1996; Lautzenheiser 1990; Stine 1999; Stine and Selikoff 2000).

Archaeological Research Consultants (ARC) undertook a survey of 51 acres just north and west of Greensboro’s Price Park, across New Garden Road (Hargrove 1996). During that survey another historic site (31GF372**) was located close to Jefferson Pilot Club lands. Named the Clark-Hodgin house site, it consists of above-ground remains. The house was originally built in 1840 by Asenath and Dougan Clark, superintendents at the New Garden Boarding School. Later outbuildings such as a twentieth-century dairy barn were constructed at the site. In 1996 the eighteenth-century house had already been demolished, but a few later outbuildings remained standing (Hargrove 1996; see also North Carolina Office of State Archaeology site form). Once again a pattern is clear, where a Quaker-built house and farmstead was adapted by late twentieth-century small farmers in the New Garden area. This was found at a nearby survey as well.

In 1999 approximately 79 acres of Jefferson Pilot land were surveyed for archaeological resources under the auspices of the Piedmont Land Conservancy and the City of Greensboro Parks and Recreation Department (Stine 1999). These acres are now part of Greensboro’s Julian and Ethel Clay Price Park. One purpose of the survey was to search for evidence of the Revolutionary War action that occurred in the vicinity the morning of March 15, 1781 (Newlin 1977). No such evidence for the Battle of New Garden was found, although local informants did

indicate that arms from that era had once been found on Jefferson-Pilot lands (Stine 1999). Prehistoric and other historic materials were discovered in the project area. An approximately 400 x 400-ft historic farmstead site was located near the intersection of New Garden Road and the original Clubhouse Drive (Site 31GF399**). This historic site conformed to the pattern established in previous studies. The site contained below-ground features and a general sheet midden. Indications are that an early nineteenth-century component (evidenced by cut nails and a creamware sherd) was masked by later nineteenth- through twentieth-century assemblages.

NATIONAL REGISTER FARMSTEADS LISTED BY THE ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY

Other farms and plantations are listed for Guilford County, but these are recorded on forms developed by the “sister” branch of the OSA, the architectural survey side of North Carolina’s Department of Cultural Resources’ historic preservation equation. For this paper the author did not copy the standing architectural survey lists of agrarian properties. During this initial study, the author decided not to investigate farms and plantations listed on the NRHP based solely on their architectural heritage or contribution to understanding a cultural theme such as colonial agriculture, the tenant farming system, or a tobacco farm, and not their archaeological potential. One grouping of two farms, however, caught the author’s notice as it was nominated due to the preservation of many landscape, architectural, and probable archaeological elements. These farms (Foust-Carpenter and Dean Dick Farms) are located in southeastern Guilford County. Listed on the NRHP July 1, 2009, they have retained the same landscape pattern from at least the third decade of this century through the present. They too show an alternating pattern of woods and smaller fields, with long strips of woods usually paralleling creeks, rivers, and springs such as was recorded for the Hoskins farmstead. Roads are maintained but dirt, such as they are described at the Alston-DeGraffenreid plantation. At its greatest extent the farm entailed about 419 acres, but current holdings from the era of significance (1880–1950) are about 325 acres (Fearnbach 2009). Four generations of the Foust-Carpenter family have farmed this land, often with the help of tenants. The Carpenter farmstead held 17 persons with various household and working arrangements with tenants and family members. Their current property holds an 1898 I-House, a circa 1850s log house, a two-story tenant house (circa 1880s), an 1875 tenant house, two twentieth-century barns, a late nineteenth-century outbuilding, nine equipment sheds, two corn cribs (circa 1930s), two pack houses, a tobacco barn, four sheds, an outbuilding (circa 1930s), a granary, and a hay shed. There is also a related lake house (one-story) nearby (Fearnbach 2009).

One neighboring section (just under 20 acres) was pieced together by an African-American farmer, Dean Dick, over a period of years. This was ultimately added to the Carpenter property at his death in the late 1940s. It may have become a tenant house at that time. The present and future data from this site could fruitfully be compared to that from the Alston-DeGraffenreid tenant site Cabin C and some of the sites associated with the Alexander Hogan Plantation. At the Ernest Dean Dick Farm (c. 1880s–1947), Fearnbach (2009) found that the main house initially may have been an outbuilding converted for habitation, as only a single stove provided heat for the home. She describes it as a one-and-a-half-story log building on stone piles with dovetail notching and porches front and back. In association is an extant ice house, once a common feature in the area (e.g., Bauman House, on the NRHP for architecture). A wooden upper-story structure is positioned over a deep stone foundation like others in the

region. This farm complex also includes a log barn thought to be a dairy. These agrarian complexes reveal that the property was intensively farmed during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It entailed numerous buildings with diverse and often multiple functions, various machinery and animals to help power the workload, and people to plan and implement the hard work necessary to provide a living. Besides generational knowledge or that handed down between friends, family, and employers and employees, certain state institutions were developed to educate and thus improve a farmer’s chances of staying on his or her place, especially in the years before World War II.

During the Great Depression, North Carolina farmers such as Carpenter and Dick had to deal with the consequences of earlier farming practices that led to severe erosion of the topsoil; and perhaps up to one foot of topsoil was lost in some areas (Trimble 2008). Alternate farming practices were introduced to agriculturalists such as terracing, crop rotation, and field-side planting systems through the growth of agricultural institutions such as the extension service, home economics and agricultural courses in public schools, and the growing popularity of farming magazines (Fearnbach 2009; Stine 1989). One 80-year old farmer recalls learning about a new form of long grass to plant along the field banks to prohibit erosion; he was able to show the tall, feathery “grass” to the author as it had naturalized across the landscape since the 1930s and 1940s (Kenneth Stine, personal communication 1988). In Guilford County, African-American and Euro-American extension service agents succeeded in convincing 600 farmers to use these new systems of farm management, a remarkable achievement for a North Carolina county in the late 1930s (Fearnbach 2009). One could wonder how many more were too traditional to try them. Modern agricultural specialists continue to experiment with erosional controls helping to improve soil retention by about 30–50% (e.g., Ted Bilderback, <http://www.ces.ncsu.edu/depts/hort/nursery/> accessed Dec 31, 2011).

Fearnbach (2009) completed a parallel farmstead study, by querying the North Carolina HPO Survey and Planning architectural database. She discovered a total of 28 farms recorded varying in size from over 200 or more acres to 1–9 acres listed for Guilford County from all time periods (Table 20-4).

Table 20-4. Frequency of Guilford Farms by Acreage, 2009 Architectural Survey.

Count	Percentage	Acreage Range
1	3.5	200+
3	10.7	100–199
5	17.9	50–99
6	21.4	10–49
7	25.0	1–9
6	21.4	undetermined
28 Total	99.9	

Fearnbach reports what most Greensboro area residents can see for themselves—many of these and other Guilford farms have been subdivided into smaller and smaller plots. Farming is often generational, and if at least one descendant member wishes to continue the occupation the farm is preserved—if siblings do not contest the parents’ arrangements of their inheritances. Today, larger places are often broken into smaller holdings so each descendant receives his or her inheritance. These lands sometimes are still farmed as one unit but may also be broken into

much smaller agricultural or solely residential units (Groover 2008; Stine 1989). Farmsteads are also preserved by collateral descendants such as an uncle's or aunt's or even nephew's or nieces' children (e.g., Fearnbach 2009; Stine 1989). It is important to note that with new tax instruments available in some areas, farmers are able to save lands and still provide some inheritance monies to non-farming children. The State's Conservation Tax Credit Program (GS 113A-231, as well as GS 105-130.34 and 151.12) allows landowners to donate a conservation easement to a nonprofit or other qualified group and receive in return a tax credit "equal to 25 percent of the fair market value of interest in real property donated for conservation purposes" of up to \$250,000 for individuals (North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources http://www.onencnaturally.org/pages/CTC_Overview.html).

CONCLUSIONS

The North Carolina archaeological site files have been sifted to see if their data can be used to decipher the number of historic farmstead and plantation sites found in the eastern piedmont of North Carolina and to assess how many were determined eligible for the NRHP (DOE), were placed on the study list (SL), or were actually listed on the National Register. It is difficult to figure relative percentages with absolute certainty as the site form and file information is uneven. The required data on the forms has changed with time, and diverse people fill out the forms (e.g., amateurs, students, academics, CRM specialists). On the other hand, the OSA site file forms have improved over the years and researchers are taking the time to complete the forms more thoroughly. It is clear that historic sites are judged worthy of preservation, but farmsteads and plantations still have not garnered the additional attention that these sites deserve. This can only be accomplished through a focused debate within the archaeological community about the importance of understanding the causes of variation in the historic archaeological record, including agrarian sites.

These data have allowed the author to develop a clear picture of the types of sites present in nine eastern piedmont counties and their relative abundance. She has discerned that about three times as many prehistoric sites are typically recorded per county than historic archaeological properties. This too is likely a relic of past archaeological practice more so than relative site frequencies on the ground. It is clear that having standing ruins versus being a subsurface site is somewhat related to a site's chances of being nominated to the NRHP or for determinations of eligibility. In terms of percentages, only about 9% of historic sites in the nine counties studied are listed as DOE for nomination to the National Register.

As for the properties themselves, a good number of rural industrial sites in the form of mills, ironworks, potteries, dams, and mines are recorded in the piedmont. This reflects the rich geologic resources here as well as the numerous creeks with "good fall" to turn a miller's water wheel for hydropower. The soils of the county were once rich, but poor farming practices led to a great deal of soil erosion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There are fewer historic archaeological plantation and farm sites listed than anticipated, even for Guilford County, although a quick perusal of the Department of Cultural Resources Survey and Planning architectural sites or listings of standing structures on the NRHP reveals various types of farmstead and plantation structures and, occasionally, agricultural landscapes. This is likely due to the more systematic system of county surveys of architectural remains in the state. It is strongly recommended that these sites be visited by archaeologists to determine their archaeological potential. At the least, each of these nominations should be amended to include

the “OSA Recommended Statement of Archaeological Potential (Where Deemed Applicable)” if they do not already have the insert:

The structure is closely related to the surrounding environment. Archaeological remains, such as **trash pits, wells, and structural remains** which may be present, can provide information valuable to the understanding and interpretation of the structure. Information concerning **use patterns, social standing and mobility**, as well as structural details, is often only evident in the archaeological record. Therefore, archaeological remains may be an important component of the significance of the structure. At this time no investigation has been done to discover these remains, but it is likely that they exist, and this should be considered in any development of the property.

Otherwise, even if listed as a NRHP property, the archaeological potential of the plantation or farmstead site will not have to be taken into account during renovations or other ground-breaking activities (Dolores Hall, personal communication 2012). One other possible solution to the difficulty of discovering and assessing information on farmsteads and plantations would be to combine survey and planning and archaeology of these rural sites with a landscape or district nomination. The NRHP bulletin for rural landscapes (McClelland et al. 1999) (in the process of being updated) offers good advice on how to apply a landscape perspective to researching, determining significance, and nominating farms and plantations at a larger scale of analysis. It would be helpful to develop an overlapping context at the historic preservation office, perhaps supported through a survey and planning grant (e.g., Jorgenson and Brown 2009; Joseph et al. 2004). Perhaps state historic preservation agencies could share in the cost, or partner with the Forest Service, Department of Transportation, Army Corps of Engineers, or other agencies to support this context. A context would provide a stronger notion of variation in the archaeological record of the piedmont. The perusal of reports and site forms for this project indicates that building construction (log, brick or frame), presence or absence of half or full cellars, number of rooms or styles of additions, size (circa 15x15 ft to 40x50 ft), anthropogenic changes, and artifact assemblages and distributions need to be assessed systematically. There is indeed variation in the piedmont sites and this should be indicative of cultural nuances within farm and plantation life.

In some instances the occasional small, special grant project offers a glimpse of the possible density of agrarian piedmont sites (e.g., Daniel et al. 1994; see also Daniel and Ward 1993; Joy 2007). In a survey of portions of Orange County, a Chapel Hill team discovered numerous historic scatters plus 14 sites with chimney falls, stone foundation remnants, several with cellars, and two associated with cemeteries (Daniel et al. 1994). These were not officially assessed as to eligibility to the NRHP (“unassessed”), although the researchers did state that these sites offered a unique opportunity to test questions of settlement variation in time and space in a particular river basin (Daniel et al. 1994). An example is found in site 31OR548**, the Cate farmstead. This farm had a chicken coop, smoke house, wash house, barn, house, and a lithic workshop (prehistoric). These sites, and many more unassessed properties, could offer good testing grounds for research. Ferreting out these sites, however, will be difficult as their site forms are not always filled out as to site association or function.

The present project raises issues about the quality of the available data for piedmont agrarian archaeology and site type frequency comparisons. The archaeological potential of some of these important plantation and farmstead sites is addressed in light of their ability to address broader anthropological questions. There are rich comparative plantation and farmstead sites, but their data recovery to date has not always been framed within a broader research agenda. These past survey and testing projects can still be mined for comparative information. A long-

term research plan can be enacted in conjunction with acquired survey and planning data and historical research on local settlement patterns and landscape changes. There is, for example, very little extant archaeological information collected on African-American piedmont sites. The presence of enslaved and free African-Americans in the archaeological record has to be teased out from the documents, the artifacts, the assemblage patterns, and the settlement patterns within the landscape.

Farmstead and plantation researchers have to educate fellow archaeologists and students as to the value of agrarian archaeological sites due to their potential to answer critical questions in our discipline, such as: (1) processes of acculturation, assimilation and resistance; (2) the change from subsistence to cash-based farming; and (3) the transformation from a mercantile-based economy to a capitalistic one, and its effect on the family plantation or farm. Questions can also include: (1) the formation, maintenance, and disintegration of community; (2) human-directed landscape metamorphosis over time; and (3) the negotiation of asymmetrical social relations within a household and between households within a community as expressed through material culture. As more and more archaeologists working in the piedmont read relevant background literature (e.g., Adams 1990; Beck 1989; Delle and Heaton 2003; Groover 2004, 2008; Jorgenson and Brown 2009; Joseph 1997; Joseph et al. 2004; Phillips 2011; Robinson 2009, Stewart-Abernathy 1986; Stine 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 2011; Stine and Stine 1996), piedmont agrarian interpretations will become more diverse and rich, reflecting the complexity of these important colonial through postbellum landscapes.

NOTES

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APPENDIX 20-A

**Regional NRHP and Study List Properties Derived from
OSA files for Ten Eastern Piedmont Counties**

County	Count	Property Description	On the NRHP or Study List Date
Alamance	n/a		
Caswell	n/a		
Chatham	1	Newkirk Site Prehistoric (31CH366)	NR 1983
”	1	Alston-Degraffenreid Plantation (31CH719**) (31CH657**)	NR 1993
”	1	Lockville Dam, Canal and Powerhouse (31CH360)	NR 1984
”	1	New Hope Rural Historical Archaeological District	NR 1985
Durham	1	Orange Factory archaeological remains (31DH625**)	DOE 1982 SL 1979
”	1	Little Creek Site <u>Prehistoric</u> (31DH351)	NR 1985
”	1	Bennehan-Cameron Plantation District (31DH191**-192**)	
”	1	Rolling View Archaeological District mixed prehistoric and historic	SL?
Guilford	1	David Caldwell Log College (and farmstead) (31GF196**)	NR 1982
”	1	McCulloch's Gold Mill (31GF191**)	NR 1979
Orange	1	Alexander Hogan Plantation (31OR296**)	NR 1996
”	1	Hillsborough Historic District Amendment: Fredricks Site (31OR231)	NR 1984
”	1	Hillsborough Historic District Amendment: Wall Site (31OR11)	NR 1979
”	1	St. Mary's Road Corridor	SL 2001
”	1	Fews Ford Community, Eno River State Park	SL 1984

County	Count	Property Description	On the NRHP or Study List Date
Person	n/a		
Randolph	1	Thayer Farm (31RD10) prehistoric	NR 1986
”	1	Mt. Shepherd Pottery (31RD28**)	NR 1980
”	1	William Dennis Pottery Kiln and House Site (31RD981**)	SL 2009
Rockingham	1	Lower Sauratown late prehistoric (31RK1)	NR 1984
”	1	Troublesome Creek Ironworks, mill, plantation and cabin site complex (31RK135**)	NR 1972
”	1	Industrial, Dan River Navigation System complex (31RK54**, 31RD59**, 31RK136–140**)	NR 1984
Wake	1	Sandling Site mixed prehistoric, antebellum historic farmstead w/graves	SL 1984 DOE 1983
”	1	Rolling View mainly prehistoric with historic farmsteads	SL?
Total	23		