

KINSHIP AND LAND TENURE IN PIEDMONT COUNTY

A diachronic study of a heterogenous community in the South

Catherine Hawes Coleman Seaman
Faber, Virginia

B.S., University of Virginia, 1965
M.A., University of Virginia, 1967

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Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Virginia

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W. Watson
E. F. Fickel

PREFACE
AND
METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

This dissertation is written from field material which was collected from 1966-1969 in Piedmont County. The area of concentrated research was Pine Forks, a small community of 300 or so white and black persons who live on or near an old turnpike in the Piedmont Plateau of the southeastern United States. This area includes parts of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. In addition to the small community, Piedmont County itself was studied as was the state and region in a more general way. The data was collected in two ways:

- (1) by participant observation and intensive interviews of a loosely structured nature;
- (2) by a search of public records and statistics, and public and private documents pertaining to the region, county, and community.

While a large amount of material accumulated which concerned a number of institutions, the emphasis in the study is concentrated on the material that deals with economy, kinship and land patterns among both white and

black persons of Pine Forks as well as between these two groups. The main hypothesis of the study is that kinship and land have stabilized a community for the past 200 years even though drastic changes occurred in the economy.

This kind of study is not new and has been used over and over again. Social anthropologists who study non-Western society have particularly used this method to study small scale societies. The comprehensive modern study of community life in this fashion undoubtedly originated with the work of Charles Booth who took up quarters where he could pass as a homeless stranger for his work on the poor of London which he published during the last decade of the 19th century.¹ A number of sociologists and anthropologists have studied the complex society of the United States in a similar way. Robert Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd made studies of Muncie, Indiana (Middletown), which are thought by some to still be among the best of all the studies that followed.²

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Pauline Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939) pp. 1-17.

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Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929); Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937); Bernard Rosenberg classifies these studies as among the best in Analyses of Contemporary Society, ed. Bernard Rosenberg, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co.) pp. 193-194.

The personal interviews were minimally structured. Informants were told that I was particularly interested in information on the following:

- (1) how the land passes on from one generation to the next or changes hands in the same generation;
- (2) who the members of their families were and are and what has become of each of them today, and whether or not any interaction occurs with them;
- (3) how all the members of the family make a living;
- (4) the history of the community in general as well as their own life history in particular.

The informants talked along the lines that they chose. They usually began with the weather, their health, and local happenings. Then they would begin their genealogies which often took a good bit of time as the history of the community and the ways of making a living in the past would all be told simultaneously. The land exchanges were slower, and at times this was a sensitive area. It was clear that the persons who remained in the community had gotten access to the land and sometimes were still involved with unresolved rights in the local land.

The older members of the community were the best informants for two reasons: they had the time and enjoyed talking about their lives and the lives of their kin; and

they were in a structural position to have a diachronic view of the positions or statuses in the community and county. For example one of the older informants, Jeff Davis, was born in 1881; his father was born in 1811 and died in 1897, and Jeff's grandfather was born in 1767 and died in 1859. Therefore three generations spanned the years from before the Revolutionary War to the present, a period of 202 years. Jeff Davis remembered his father well and he remembered his father and his father's siblings talking about his grandfather.

Interwoven among the genealogies, the history, and the life story, the exchange of land and the movement of the people in relation to economy, land, and kinship would emerge. Old conflicts and stories of alliances would be used to illustrate the story of their lives and the history of the community. The interviews varied in time from two hours to 80 or so hours per individual. As genealogies were written, other notes were easily taken. When possible, informants showed me their own and other graveyards in the community and related what they knew of the history of the graveyard and of the persons who had been buried there. The graveyards revealed much about the economy, the kin, and the land: who were old families, who were

slaveholders, who owned the land of and around the graveyard.

On occasion the informant would ask me to take him or accompany him to the house of a relative as the family Bible would be there, or he would think they knew more about the history than he. These conversations between brother and sister or other sibling, and between parent and child were particularly illuminating. There were nearly always conversations which passed judgement on the behavior of kin and weighed the economic position that kin under discussion were presently in and apt to be in permanently if certain behavior persisted.

The last year of the research interviews were recorded on a tape recorder and at times the recorder would be left with the informant for several days. When family or friend called on the informant, they would often turn on the tape recorder and talk about old times for 'the history'. Material on how a living was made, the movement of people within Pine Forks and between Pine Forks and the greater community of region and nation were discussed as was the way kin and neighbor treated persons in the past. The past was discussed freely among friends and kin, but the present was more carefully guarded.

In conjunction with these personal interviews and

community participation, statistics were compiled and records were investigated. A complete census of the community was made early in the study. In order to do this, boundaries of the community had to be located. It was recognized that this was an heuristic device and in no way circumscribed the social relations of the individuals in the community. The boundaries were located by reference to the Pine Forks Turnpike which ran the length of the community and was an old reference point that represented the near center of the community. The land holdings of the present residents of Pine Forks formed the boundaries. I also took into consideration when I was able, the original holdings of the ancestors of the dominant white kin group in the community, the Davis family. This family had taken up land in Pine Forks early in the 18th century and their descendants remain in Pine Forks to the present day.

While intensive study was proceeding on this local level, research was also occurring at another level: that of public documents and statistics. I found it useful to interweave these two techniques for two reasons: a good utilization of time, and as an immediate check on information.

At times interviewing was not possible because of informants' plans. Other times I sensed that the occasion was not exactly right to go on with a certain line of inquiry. How the informant felt, the weather, the presence of others, the news, and a multitude of other things influenced the interviews. These were always in the homes of the informants except on a few occasions when visitors would be interviewed, and utmost care was taken not to intrude or to be unwelcome. Even when informants invited the interview, a delicate balance was important. Therefore when conditions were not as favorable for interviewing as I thought necessary, I would turn to research of public documents and statistics, and look for information on another level.

This information too offered a check on the memories of the informants concerning past land changes, dates, and members of families. This information was sometimes found among the land records, wills and deeds of the county. These records were located in the county courthouse, and research began in fact, with an investigation of land records of the early 1800s. I was not sure just what course to take in the field, so I began with records and statistics.

When continuous research began in June of 1966, I had already done intermittent work on the community and

county. A study had been completed on the clergymen of the county and some genealogies had been started. I had read a number of studies on kinship, land tenure and community. In addition, I had studied theories of kinship in industrial society, especially that of Talcott Parsons, and empirical research which seemed to refute or uphold this theory.

I began the study with the feeling that the lack of extensive kinship connection in contemporary industrial societies was an assumption and not a fact. In addition to the empirical studies found in the literature, I based this belief on observations I had made I made in Pine Fords and elsewhere in the South tha I had lived. There appeared to be extensive kinship connections being operated in daily life by the people I observed. However I entered into the study with no firm assumptions but determined to ascertain the facts of kinship particularly in view of the connections that landholding and economy may have with it. I was not certain at first as to what would be the most fruitful way to conduct the study, nor exactly how to define the limits of the investigation, nor in fact, exactly how to proceed at all. My initial certainty was that I would examine social relations within the core community

of Pine Forks, by participant observation, and after an initial exploration, then determine how to proceed, both in the definition of the area to be studied, and the further methods to be used. I began the continuous study with an investigation of landholding in the community in a diachronic manner. The approach to the research then, was in the following ways:

- (1) as a microscopic diachronic study of a small heterogeneous community of black and white persons;
- (2) as a macroscopic study of the community, county, and region through public documents and statistics as well as through works of Southern historians.

Specifically this study investigates the pervasive influence of family, kinship and land against the background of historical, economic and racial processes. These influences are illuminated by the way white and black persons interact today: by the way they act in awareness of others and adjust their responses to the ways others respond to them especially in regard to land, kin and economy. These influences are further revealed by the past in which interaction is revealed by the accounts of the people themselves as well as by

record and documents.

Certain factors were in my favor for research. I was accepted as a member of the community and had been since 1947. Any disruption to the community by my presence had long since been stabilized. All of the members of the community knew that I was interested in how the land was passed on from one generation to the next, how people made a living, who their kin were and the history of the area. On the other hand, this very strength created difficulties. While I was able to gather data with a fair amount of ease, it was almost impossible for me to write certain parts of the study owing to what I felt to be a nearly immoral invasion of the privacy of friends and neighbors. Although my informants knew that I was writing about them and the community, and although I took care to protect their anonymity, I was deeply concerned nevertheless. I was able to write certain parts of the study only after being forced past this blockage with the help of the supervising professor.

Other problems to be reckoned with were those of objectivity: I was describing a part of my own social milieu; I was not trying to identify with the natives, I was a native. In addition, although I had spent re-

cent years here, I was also born a Southerner and had been reared in a town on the Virginia, West Virginia border. There were dangers of lingering ethnocentrism or over-compensation in fear of this. These several factors were constantly before me.

The hypotheses were examined in several ways. First, records revealed that a kinship group, the Davises, had held land on or near the Pine Forks Turnpike for over two hundred years. Genealogies supported this finding and indicated that persons married both their kinsmen in the community as well as persons who moved into the community and were landholders, the same race, and the same social standing. There was stability of at least two things: continued landholding and continued kinship. What a person's social standing was, was determined by whether the Davis family thought he was 'not good enough to marry', 'about like ourselves', or 'had done a little better than the rest of us'. Both of the latter were marriageable and family members were always marriageable. In numbers the dominant group of Davis kin, affines, and in of affines numbered about half of the people in the community. As the genealogies indicate, the kinsmen existed in numbers outside the conjugal family.

The black group had also been in the community as early

as the late 18th century, although they were involved in relations of land and kin for which I could find a record only since the Civil War. The blacks themselves did not have records or information before this time. Today a group of 100 black people live in Pine Forks related to one another by kinship and affinity.

As the work proceeded, several hypotheses emerged among others as the primary orientation of the study:

- (1) the hypothesis that a substratum of recognized kin outside the nuclear family exists in Piedmont County and Pine Forks and extends past the local boundaries to include other kin;
- (2) the hypothesis that property holdings such as land intensifies or perpetuates kinship and in addition may lead to kinship;
- (3) the hypothesis that this relationship of kinship and land have stabilized a community for the past 200 years in the face of immense economic changes;
- (4) the hypothesis that changes of industrialization and urbanization may be mediated through the existing and ancient institutions of family and kinship as Durkheim points out:

Thus the new elements that we have introduced into domestic law, property law, and morality since the beginning of our history are relatively few and unimportant compared with those which the past has bequeathed to us. Therefore changes and innovations which occur cannot be understood if one does not first study these more fundamental phenomena which are at their roots.¹

To record the pervasive influence of land, kinship and economy in Pine Forks against the background of historical, economic and racial processes, the paper is organized in the following way:

- (1)chapter one introduces work in the literature that deals with the presence of the kin in industrial society; it emphasizes a study of Yugoslav land and kinship in a changing economy;
- (2)chapter two examines the origin of the Pine Forks community from both a kin-based subsistence Grossbauer economy and the economy of the Tidewater plantation transplanted to the Piedmont; it compares and contrasts this community with Arensberg's view of the Southern community;
- (3)chapter three examines the process of development of a kinship community from the time the dominant white family of Pine Forks, the

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E. Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Methodology,
ed. George Catlin (New York: The Free Press, 1938)
p. 113

(3)continued:

Davises, came to Piedmont County in the 18th century; it investigates the movement of their kin and friends in response to landholding and economy and contrasts the group of the Grossbauer farmers who immigrated into the area from the Shenandoah valley with the Tidewater planters that immigrated into the area from the east and southeast;

(4)chapter four examines the economic and political forces from the larger community and their influence upon the smaller community of Piedmont County and Pine Forks;

(5)chapter five investigates the present residential patterns of the community and attempts to illuminate the relation to kinship and change in land usage patterns;

(6)chapter six examines the kinship groups of the community from the view of the concept of deme: the localized residential groups of bilateral kin; chapter seven examines the groups of the community from the concept of family: the legal parents or parents and children; in addition chapter seven includes the concept

(6)continued:

of domestic group in its examination of Pine Forks;
this definition is best read in context of the
chapter;

(7)chapters eight and nine describe land holding and
kinship in Pine Forks today and attempt to ill-
uminate the community by describing the complex
relations which arise from both;

(8)chapter ten concludes the study with a re-examination
of the hypothesis and a weighing of the evidence to
support or reject each.

The names of places and persons in the study are
not the original names. They have all been altered
to protect the privacy of individuals and their fam-
ilies. Piedmont County and Pine Forks exist, but
under names which differ from those of the study.
All persons too, have names which are not their own,
although each false name is attached to a real per-
son who lives or lived in Pine Forks and Piedmont
County.



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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

One of the most striking features of social life in the South today, as in the past, is the pervasive influence of family and kin.¹ Nowhere is this more evident than in Virginia, where ever since the time of the earliest settlements of

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Contemporary kinship ties reported in the South in Allison Davis, Burleigh Gardner, Mary Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1941) for white upper-class recognition of three different types of kinship, p. 84; for extended relations of rural blacks, p. 241; for middle-class parent and child kin relations, p. 104, 106; for kin help in white lower-class, p. 116, Mississippi. Bert N. Adams, Kinship in a Urban Setting (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1968) for Greensboro, North Carolina study; Harry M. Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberland (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962) p. 84, 85 for Kentucky area; Francis Butler Steppkins, A History of the South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967) p. 389 for value of kinship in general; Mary Lee Settle, C Beulah Land, (1956), Know Nothing (195), Eight Night on a Sweet Saturday (1964) all books: (New York: Pallantine Books) for family and kinship story in West Virginia over the years; Elmore Messer Matthews, Neighbor and Kin (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1965) for Tenn.

English-speaking people, kinship has played a significant part in the development of its economic political and social institutions.¹ This influence has been modified by increased industrialization and urbanization particularly in this century but despite these immense changes in the economic and social structure of the country as a whole, kinship still has a central role in the lives of many people of both races in the South.

Contemporary theory on family and kinship relations in industrial society takes two disparate views. On one hand there is the hypothesis that kinship outside the nuclear family is drastically reduced if not altogether absent, while on the other, there is empirical evidence that families in urban, industrial societies are engaged in considerable interaction with a network of family and kin. The first view is held by Wirth in

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Bernard Bailyn, 'Politics and Social Structure in Virginia' in 17th Century America, ed., James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), pp. 90-119 describes the unpruned branches of family trees growing, meeting, and inter-twining in one great tangle of cousinry; Clement Eaton, The Growth of Southern Civilization 1790-1860 (New York: Harper and Row, 1961) p. 185 describes how Virginia families made much of kinship and ancestors.

his study of the city.¹ In addition, this view is held by Zimmerman² and Parsons³. Parsons's work has been both the most influential and the most provocative of empirical research, starting with his article in 1943, 'The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States'.⁴ He presents here an analysis of kinship which stresses the isolation of the urban middle-class family. Parsons's analysis considers several elements. The first concerns the structural isolation of the nuclear family which he considers the most distinctive feature of the American system

¹ Louis Wirth, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', AJS, 1938, 44, 1-24, the city is presented here as a place where individuals are free of the kinship group characteristic of the country.

² Carle C. Zimmerman, Family and Civilization (New York: Harper and Row, 1947), the American family is called atomistic with a minimum influence over the individual; He exempts however highland clans of Appalachian and Ozark Mountains. See Robert F. Winch and Rae Lesser Blumberg, 'Societal Complexity and Familial Organization', in Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family, eds., Robert Winch and Louis Goodman (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), pp. 70-92 for a comparative analysis of these views and antithetical ones.

^{3,4} Talcott Parsons, 'The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States' American Anthropologist, 45 pp. 22-38, reprinted in Parsons's Essays in Sociological Theory, revised edition (New York: The Free Press, 1954) pp. 177-197

and the one which underlies most of its functional and dynamic problems. From this structural isolation arises the keystone of the kinship system: the marriage bond. Closely related to this is the choice of the marriage partner in which there is no preferential mating on a kinship basis. The structural isolation tends to free the affective inclinations of the couple from a whole series of hampering restrictions. This results in a process of emancipation through marriage from family ties both to parents and to siblings, a process more marked than in most kinship systems.

Parsons held that emancipation from family solidarity includes all members of the family into which a person is born, so that relatively little continuity remains after marriage with any kinship ties established by birth. Parsons relates technology and social organization in a functional way, demonstrating an interdependence between industrialization, urbanization, the techno-economic system and the small nuclear family as the unit of social organization. However, Parsons restricts his analysis to the white urban middle-class; he exempts families from other social classes. Specifically he exempts (1) rural

families, (2) lower-class families, whether rural or urban or black or white; and (3) upper-class families particularly those bound up with family property and an ancestral home and with continuity of status in a particular local community.

Parsons maintains in effect, first, that the urban middle-class family is isolated and second, that isolation includes any economic bonds between the nuclear family and other kinsmen and third, that this isolation is functional in mobile industrial society. A number of empirical studies refute Parsons's claim that the urban middle-class family is isolated and economically independent, and a number refute the notion that industrialization and the small nuclear family are interdependent. Greenfield reports that both industrialization and urbanization can occur without the small nuclear family,¹ while Litwak finds that extended kin does function among middle class urban families even where distance is a factor.² Sussman and

¹ Sidney M. Greenfield, 'Industrialization and the Family in Sociological Theory', American Journal of Sociology, 67, (November, 1961) 312-322

² Eugene Litwak, 'Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion' American Sociological Review, 25, (February, 1960); 'Geographical Mobility and Family Cohesion', American Sociological Review, 25 (June, 1960)

Burchinal report that the major activities linking the network of kin among industrial families are mutual aid and social activities which take place among related families.¹ Mutual aid takes many forms such as service exchange, gifts, advice and financial assistance, especially between parents and children, among siblings, and less frequently among more distant relations.

Winch, Greer and Blumberg in a sample drawn from an upper-middle-class Chicago suburb found ethnicity and religion to be the strongest predictors of the existence of extended families, especially among Jewish people who had more kin, interacted with more of their kin more frequently, exchanged more goods and services than did either Catholics or Protestants.² A probability sample in Wisconsin indicates that while socio-economic status was very weak (when used to predict the presence of extended familism) ethnicity, as

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Marvin B. Sussman and Lee G. Burchinal, 'Kin Family Network: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualizations of Family Functioning', Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 24, (August, 1962) pp. 231-240

2

Robert F. Winch, Scott Greer, and Rae Blumberg, 'Ethnicity and Extended Familism in an Upper-Middle-Class Suburb' in American Sociological Review, 1967, 32, pp. 265-272

well as rural residence were predictive of an increase of extended familism.¹

Nimkoff and Middle in an analysis of cross-cultural data assembled by Murdock² found that the degree of extended familism was lower among the geographically mobile, that property in the form of land was associated with extended familism, and that family as a unit of labor correlated with extended familism.³ This latter would include urban and rural family businesses.

In Britain, Young and Willmott report that the London borough of Bethnal Green contains families in which the past and the family of socialization was combined with the present and the family of marriage. No sharp division existed between the two.⁴ Firth and Djamour too found evidence of familism present in urban society.⁵

¹ Robert Winch and Scott Greer, 'Urbanism, Ethnicity, and Extended Familism', Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1969, 30 pp. 40-45

² George Peter Murdock, 'World Ethnographic Sample' American Anthropologist, 1957, 59, pp. 664-687

³ E. F. Nimkoff and Russell Middleton, 'Types of Family and Types of Economy', in AJS, 1960, 66, pp. 215-225

⁴ Michael Young and Peter Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1957), p. 12

⁵ Raymond Firth and Judith Djamour, 'Kinship in South Borough', in Raymond Firth ed., Two Studies of Kinship in London (London: Athlone Press, 1956)

Townsend found evidence of familism in acts of filial and kin responsibility toward the old in East London.¹ In another London study Bott found interaction with kin in a closed network, influenced the rules of husband and wife.²

Baric writes of levels of change in Yugoslav kinship and takes for granted that there exists a substratum of recognized kin outside the nuclear family in every society, upon which different types of structural change may occur over time.³ The web of kin persists, including the nuclear family and sets of kin outside it. Additional groupings of certain categories of kin and friends can be seen as superstructures in a temporal sequence upon it. Industrialization, urbanization and economic growth as factors of change are mediated through the provision by kinship and friendship of individual choice patterns. Kinship in Yugoslavia may be analyzed as a network

¹ Peter Townsend, The Family Life of Old People (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957)

² Elizabeth Bott, Family and Social Network (London: Tavistock Publication, 1957)

³ Lorraine Baric, 'Levels of Change in Yugoslav Kinship' in Social Organization. Essays Presented to Raymond Firth, ed., Maurice Freedman, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967) pp. 1-25

which is the basis of other diffuse relationships such as friendship. Those factors that led to the disintegration of kin on the corporate level left a web of kinship that was no less important. The disappearance of kinship on one level due to rapid urbanization and industrialization, reaffirmed kinship in a different form at another level. Kinship moved from the zadruga level, a patrilineal kin core with an agricultural basis, to a more permissive level of kin networks within the urban environment. Urban dwellers keep up relations with rural kinsmen partly because of the traditional rights and duties of kinship which they accept, and also because landed property in the country is the focus of family unity and any kinsman will preserve his right in this property even though he may not expect to inherit.

Baric's documentation of kinship change in Yugoslavis upholds to a degree Goode's theory that trends toward modernization, industrialization and urbanization converge with a modification of traditional familial forms on the conjugal family; characteristics of this conjugal family include the disappearance of corporate kin structures, the rarity of extended

family patterns, free choice of spouses, independent households, disappearance of dowry and bride-price, decrease in marriage between kin, diminution of authority in families, both that of parent over child and husband over wife, greater equality between sexes and greater incidence of equal inheritance legally among siblings.¹ Goode does not propose that conjugal family equals the concept of Parsons's nuclear family. Goode's concept increases the focus on the nuclear family, but not to the exclusion of kinship ties and kin dependencies. Winch and Blumberg develop Goode's thesis further by advancing the hypothesis that three types of family are present in the United States although these tend to blur into each other. First, there is the nuclear family embedded in a network of extended kin, an example of which is the suburban Jew who interacts and exchanges goods and services with kin. Second, there

¹ William J. Goode, World Revolution and Family Patterns (New York: The Free Press, 1963); see also Goode's 'The Role of the Family in Industrialization' vol. vii, United States Papers Prepared for the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, no date) p. 32

is an isolated nuclear family which is exemplified by suburban white Protestants and finally there is a mother-child nuclear family sometimes with matrilineal extensions which appears most widely among poor urban blacks.¹ The dimensions of analysis used by Winch and Blumberg were first, completeness versus incompleteness of the nuclear family and second, isolation of the nuclear family versus extended familism.² The material from the United States is drawn primarily from studies in northern areas.

In a study of southern, urban kinship ties in Greensboro, North Carolina, Adams found married white couples with white-collar occupations consider parents as objects of concern and contact, and siblings as objects of continuing interest and comparison, but consider secondary kin as objects of little concern and incidental contact.³ He reports a sex difference in kinship interaction, with the women interacting more with kin than men.

¹ Robert Winch and Rae Lesser Blumberg, 'Societal Complexity and Familial Organization' in Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family, third edition, ed., Robert Winch and Louis Goodman (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968) p. 91

² Ibid.

³ Bert N. Adams, Kinship in An Urban Setting (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968) p. 178

Kinship ties in a small southern city of Mississippi were reported among white and black persons of three classes: upper-class, middle-class and lower-class.¹ The small numbers of upper-class 'blue-vein colored' were bound by kinship ties in rural areas.² Emigration however had greatly reduced numbers of this class but the less mobile rural blacks had extensive kinship bonds.³ Kinship ties exist too in a large southern city, New Orleans, among blacks in the middle-class and lower-class.^{4,5}

Kinship ties in rural southern areas are well documented by Matthews in her description of a Tennessee deme;⁶ by Brown, Schwartzweller and Mangalam, research into the Kentucky stem family,⁷ and by Caudill's description of kinship and feud in the Cumberland.⁸

¹ Davis, Gardner, Gardner, Deep South

² Ibid, p. 215

³ Ibid, p. 241 ff

^{4,5} The Eighth Generation Grows Up, eds., John Rohrer and Munro S. Edmonson (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964) 100, 120, 121, 144
Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1940) p. 45, 47

⁶ Matthews, Neighbor and Kin

⁷ James Brown, Harry Schwartzweller, and Joseph Mangalam, 'Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem Family: An American Variation on a Theme by Le Play,' in Rural Sociology, 28, (March, 1963) pp. 48-69; reprinted in The Family, eds., Bell and Vogel (New York: The Free Press)

⁸ Caudill, Night Comes to The Cumberland, p. 84-85

Empirical research has therefore demonstrated kinship ties in the north and in the south, among the blacks and among the whites of all social classes, urban and rural. The highly mobile appear to detach themselves temporarily from bonds of kinship but once stability allows, the bonds appear to be called back into use.

The intention of this study is to add to the information about extended familism, or as it is called in this dissertation, kinship ties of consanguinity and affinity in the community. It contrasts with the studies above except those of Matthews and Baric in that it is an intensive, participant observation study of kinship and land and only indirectly an investigation of urban kinship. It is indirectly a study because the people of Pine Forks do have kin and affines in many urban areas, therefore the social network thus formed exists for both urban members as well as for the members in the countryside. This study also contrasts with the above in its emphasis upon kinship and landholding, for one of the hypotheses states that property, i.e. land, both increases, and leads to ties of kinship. (see Preface above) The study is also a diachronic one, and attempts to illustrate the effect of the time factor upon kinship and

land. It is a depth study of kinship in a community of blacks and whites and attempts to demonstrate the relationship of kinship to land as a diachronic process. Other elements enter into the process, the primary of which is the relationship of the economy to the social changes in the greater community, and Pine Fork's response to these.

When Baric investigated the levels of change in kinship in Yugoslavia, he found that the disappearance of corporate groups left a substructure of kin which he believed to be present in societies everywhere. Pine Forks has never had corporate groups, nor has it had the unilineality that was present in the Zadruga, however it has had a patrilineal bias that is evident from the fact that the name 'Davis' which was on the land two hundred years ago is still on the land today. In addition Pine Forks has a recognized set of kin outside the nuclear family both in the local community and extended to kin of the cities and communities elsewhere in the nation. An examination of Pine Forks over time reveals that as historical forces and cultural traditions impacted on the community, adjustments to change were made and stability preserved by the flexibility of the kinship ties. Legally, the kin groups of Yugoslavia must give

material support to all lineal ascendants and descendants in need, as well as to brothers and sisters. The close kinsman is first petitioned for help, and these kin are defined by law. Claims may then be made on more and more distant kinsmen.

Legal codes of Virginia require no such extensive support, but note is made of certain relations. For example, it is the duty of all persons 17 years and over to provide, or assist in providing, for the support of aging and infirm parents, after reasonably providing for his own immediate family.¹ The emphasis is upon immediate family, but there is a lineal extension of responsibility to lineal kin one generation ascending. A dependent child is eligible for aid if he lives with his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, uncle or aunt in their home.² Here kinship is extended two ascending generations, and laterally in the first ascending generation as well as ego's own generation. The federal government defines relationship for dependency in terms of income, amount of support furnished and degree of relationship. The relationship is spelled out speci-

¹ Public Welfare Laws of Virginia, (Richmond: Department of Welfare and Institutions, 1964) p. 78-A

² Ibid, p. 29.

fically to be child, stepchild, mother, father, grandparents, brother, sister, grandchild, stepbrother, step-sister, stepmother, stepfather, mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law and the following if related by blood: uncle, aunt, nephew, niece.¹ The classificatory terms include grandparents of whom there are generally four; uncle which may be mother's brother or father's brother; aunt which may be father's sister or mother's sister; and nephew and niece who may be brother's child or sister's child. All together 28 relatives are classified by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue as the relationship close enough for tax exemptions. The United States recognizes kin relations beyond the nuclear family for purposes of tax exemptions, and the state recognizes kin beyond the nuclear family for purposes of support.

Research in Pine Forks supports the findings for interaction of kin beyond the limits of the nuclear family. The kin in the countryside were large in numbers and comprised most of the community, although there were three groups that tended to form geographical marriage isolates, that is areas within which persons were most

¹ Federal Income Tax Instructions for Form 1040, 1968, p. 4

likely to marry. The kin and affine of the community maintained contact with numerous kin throughout the country and the nation. Contact occurred among both lower-class and middle-class and among black as well as white. The land was a part of the increased familism and closely bound with the nature of the kinship relations. There was some indication that residence on the land increased somewhat the intensity of the ties both to land and to kin. ✓

The mother-child structure which was found by Winch and Blumberg among poor urban blacks was found as well among middle-class whites in the present study. These structures, like the single occupant residence or the trailer-home of an aging male or female, were all part of the larger network of kin that concentrated in the local area but was not confined to it. The extensions of these kinship networks over state and region arose from the spatial mobility which became an important factor in emptying the countryside and spreading the kin into cities of the east, and over many states of the nation.

The land and kin acted as a buffer in times of trouble in a manner similar to Le Play's stem family.^{1✓}

1

Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle L. Frampton, 'Theories of Frederic Le Play' in Kinship and Family Organization ed., Bernard Farber (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966) pp. 14-23)

At times the rights and duties associated with the land acted alone as a substitute for actual persons in a family structure. Kinsmen would return to the land when no living members of the immediate family was present. Networks of kin interaction over long periods of time and ownership of land acted in the family's place. Cousinship and similar social prestige and socio-economic standing preserved the close bonds between persons and groups whether in the community or in extended social networks. ✓

Changes in the family appear to have reflected the decreasing family size, rather than decreasing interaction. As Baris points out, long-term change may reduce the number of recognizable kin while the system preserves the same form. The structure is recognizable even while numbers have decreased as a result of reduced fertility. ✓

The study of kinship and land reported here is a diachronic one which attempts to understand the nature of the contemporary community and kinship structure in the light of events in time, the processes which relate to the exchange of property and the interactions of kin. In addition, this study attempts to analyze the processes within the local community, on the actual land held by

the kin, in terms of processes within the larger community. Industrialization, urbanization, legislation, wars and post war developments in the region in general are examined from the point of view of men and women occupying a particular small area of the state of Virginia.

In addition, the land and kin are examined in light of several conceptual tools that have been used by anthropologists in attempts to analyze groups. Particular emphasis is placed upon bilateral kinship groups especially as these relate to a fixed land area over which the population moves in a daily or weekly labor cycle. Pine Forks is considered as a deme, or more precisely, as three demes; it is investigated for the presence of corporate descent groups whose membership is restricted by certain choices, and inter-relationships are examined in the light of domestic groups. The primary emphasis is on how a group of bilateral kinsmen has held approximately the same geographical land boundaries over two hundred years in a system of equal inheritance for all children. Contemporary threats to the continuance of this ancient system are also considered.

CHAPTER TWO

The Community

The Pine Forks community in the 18th century was the junction of two distinct cultures: that of the plantation culture rooted in the eastern shore, and that of individual dispersed subsistence family farms, the German Grossbauer culture brought to the south through the Shenandoah Valley by immigrants of Dutch and German ancestry from Pennsylvania. The first patents of land in the area were granted to land speculators and plantation owners, but small farmers from the Valley moved into the area at almost the same time. Communities were formed which contained elements of both cultures. Arensburg¹ states that community in the old South

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Conrad M. Arensburg, 'American Communities,' in American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, No. 6 (1955) pp. 1143-1160; reprinted in Culture and Community, Conrad Arensburg and Solon Kimball eds., (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965) pp. 97-117. For a report of his findings on the Southern County and Crossroads Hamlets.

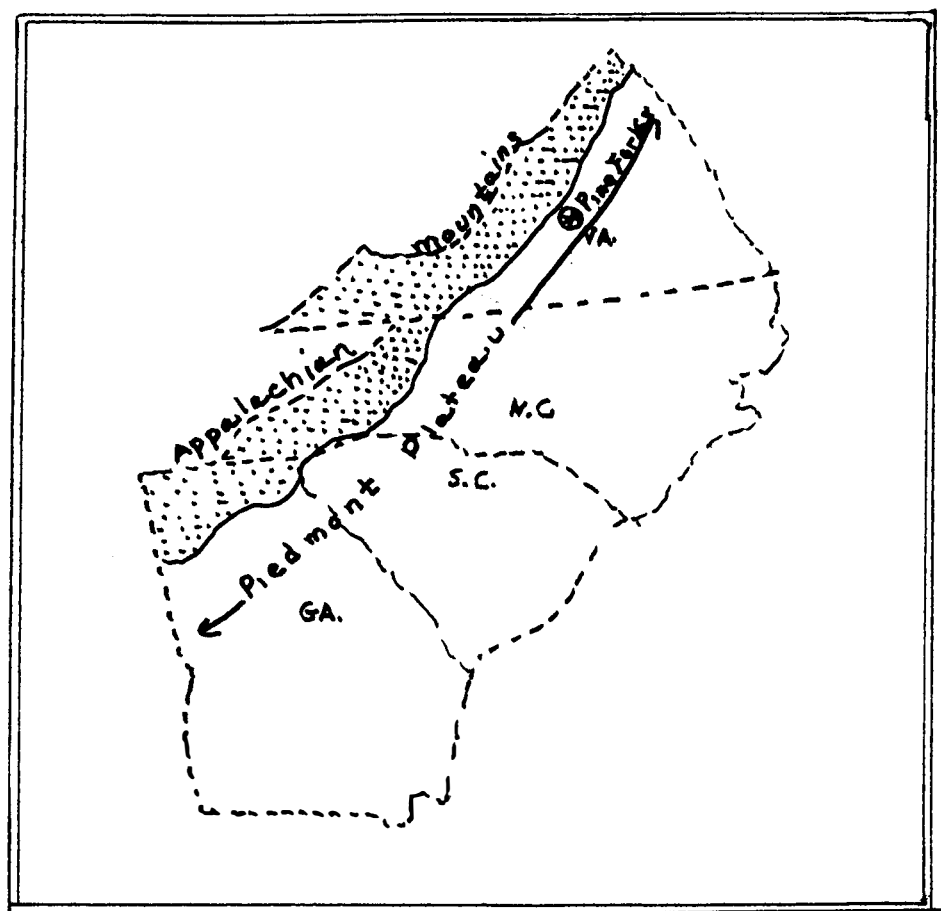
cannot be found apart from the county and the county seat. However, this study locates 'community' in an old settlement of a county. Still it is probable that communities farther to the South of Pine Forks and Piedmont County do indeed have a convergence of both county and community. It may have been the double influence of the two cultures mentioned above which made for 'community' both on the county level, and community on the hamlet level as well. Arensberg describes the county in the South as a single unit of dispersal and assemblage; a two-class community of large landowners and peons, with estates taking up the good land while smaller men, who are now clients and now runaways are forced to take up the poor land left over. Owsley disagrees with this assumption of a two class community and documents the presence of a large rural middle-class who belonged to neither the plantation economy nor to the destitute poor-white class.¹ Arensberg identifies the county courthouse as the American community form of the Baroque Age with American accents of Methodism, Baptism, White Suprem-

¹ Frank L. Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South (Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1965) see forward p. vi and vii and p. 90 ff.

acy, Plantation, Poor White, Bourbonism, and Fundamentalism which are generically based on Old World counterparts of English law and Protestantism. While New England received some of these elements, notably English Law and Protestantism, Arensberg notes that the emergent form in the South differed from that of the north in land use, dispersal and assemblage, and in time use.

Arensberg contrasts both the Southern County and the New England community with a third culture which gave rise to the Middle Atlantic communities. In this culture, the comparative use of persons, space, time and function differ from both Southern plantation and New England. This Middle Atlantic community is a rural network of relationships running across countrysides and cantons, with occasional centers of assemblage at cross haulets. He asserts that this community form is found in Spain, from Berber country north through West Britain to Scandinavia. It is composed of kin-based subsistence farms which have become egalitarian through isolation and codes of personal honor.

The Pine Forks community contains elements of both the southern Plantation and the Middle Atlantic



The Piedmont Plateau

MAP 1

community. This arose from a mingling of the Tidewater planters from the East with the Grossbauer farmer from the north. Kin-based subsistence farming was the post-bellum way of life through the Reconstruction period until World War II. Although isolated in a physical sense, it was not egalitarian except among persons of similar social standing. A large black minority stratified the community by color, and family differentials among both whites and blacks stratified it by reason of social prestige if not by socio-economic status. Codes of personal honor were expressed in the past in duels and feuds while today honor is expressed in payment of debt and truthfulness, although feuds continue in subtle almost undetectable ways. The love of the land differentiates this area from that of Southern Spain described by Pitt-Rivers,¹ and the people relate to their land in an intimate way even when they cease to farm it.

Pine Forks is a community because its people and groups form a structure of roles and relationships

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J. A. Pitt-Rivers, The People of the Sierra (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1961)

which has endured for two hundred years and become physically affixed to a territorial unit. Individuals live from their births to their deaths within the confines of Pine Forks and learn its ways, as well as the ways of the larger community.

People build their homes, farm their land if time and labor permit, and move to and from their town jobs in a characteristic pattern of movement. Movement has been in one direction: the young laborers tend to go and return in a time pattern of years rather than hours, if they return at all. They leave in their youth for the town and some of them return to the land in old age.

Pine Forks is a residential group of kin and neighbors and a land-using economic unit. It also may be regarded as a population, a heterogeneous grouping of persons of both races who are divided by social characteristics into several breeding units, each separated from the others by barriers of class and race. The temporal pattern of social relationships reaches back into a remote past when the state was a colony of the United Kingdom. The roles and relationships of the people have been formed through decades of internal interaction and through the impact

of a changing external world. Thus, Pine Forks is at one and the same time a unique settlement with its own particular customs and values and yet a microcosm of the larger enveloping society.

The Pine Forks settlement extends over hundreds of acres of land in Piedmont County in the countryside of the central Piedmont plateau; its geographical boundaries are difficult to draw as they are related to the landholdings of the people who live in the settlement. The people themselves identify the area by orientation to an old road known historically as the Pine Forks Turnpike. This Turnpike came through the settlement early in its history and connected the Shenandoah Valley on the north with the Rannock River on the south. The name of the settlement came from a distinctive tree which stood at a fork in the river, and which was used as a landmark in the days before the road came through.

Farms with an entrance to the Turnpike are considered to be 'within' the Pine Forks settlement; other people whose farms do not have an entrance to this road are considered to live 'near' Pine Forks or 'down the road' or 'in the vicinity'. In other words, the road forms the spine of the community, and access to this road is considered the identifying

symbol of membership of the community. of course, those farms with an entrance to the Turnpike actually have boundaries that reach across to other roads and encompass hundreds of acres of land. The usefulness of Pine Forks as a name for identification of the area physically, lies in the persistence of the name for so many years. It is actually older than the name of Piedmont County itself. This name was significant in the past and remains so today, for it is used as a referent by the core of people whose kin first occupied the land and founded the community. They have formed multiplex inter-individual relationships over many decades and the name serves as a symbol for this.

Sprott reports that pioneer sociologists who looked for the basic units in the open country asked people by what name their neighborhood was called. Sociologists made the assumption that people who give the same name to an area in which they live would by that fact show that they felt some sense of unity as co-inhabitants.¹

In appearance, Pine Forks presents a picture of a traditional agricultural society. On either side

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W. J. H. Sprott, Human Groups (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1958) p. 75

of the Turnpike there are fields in crops or pasture. Herds of cattle dot the landscape, and orchards and farm buildings cluster around the dwellings. All combine to form a typically rustic scene. Like other communities in the county, Pine Forks has a low population density. Residences are dispersed except at cross-roads or where a kin group has formed a residential unit on a restricted plot of ground. The houses cling to the Turnpike and the area behind the buildings stretches out to empty fields and undulating wooded hillsides. Here and there buildings from an earlier age sit among shade trees on top of a hill overlooking their pasture, orchard, or crop. The entire area is encompassed by forested hills and mountains which grow more pronounced to the northwest where they terminate in the high ranges of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Pine Forks typifies the smallest rural community of Piedmont County. The county has no cities whatsoever within its boundaries; even the county seat is a village of little more than 500 inhabitants. Outside the county seat, the open country shows a settlement pattern of linear development. The houses of each settlement cling to the highway, especially if they

have been built within the last thirty years. The process of urbanization has not reached the county. Industry is sparse and small in size. A soapstone quarry once had some importance in the 1920s and supported a bustling mining town. This has declined greatly as has the entire community around it. There is a plant for processing titanium oxide, a garment factory, and sawmills here and there along the roads. None of these employ over 500 persons; the saw mills and the garment factory each employs only a few dozen people. The railroads which traverse Piedmont County once supported villages near their freight and passenger depots, but most of these are now out of use and many have been dismantled. Even one of the two lines of track has been removed and villages which depended upon the railroad industry have declined. Trains are still important locally to transport timber to paper-processing mills in towns outside the county. A typical sight is a pile of logs lying by the track waiting to be loaded on the freight cars.

The greatest activity now takes place on the highways which crisscross the county in a network which is constantly being made larger and more dense. The importance of this appears when the road situation

today is compared with that in 1925 when there were only 47 miles of hard-surfaced road and 50 miles of improved dirt roads in the county's whole area of 476 square miles. Piedmont County's only access to the world outside was by slow horse powered transportation. Today's highways constitute geographical features which influence social organization as effectively as did the mountains, rivers, and trails of the past. They not only create physical barriers between properties once contiguous, they also furnish means of transportation for workers who move daily between their homes and the industries of neighboring county towns. For in addition to the agricultural produce that is taken to the urban markets, the roads provide an easy means for men and women to transport themselves to the industrial marketplace to sell their labor. Some people are drawn away forever, for a good number of the working-age population of the county has left to take up residence in the towns where they found paid employment.

The Pine Forks community thus represents rather faithfully the many small communities in Piedmont County. It is not so large as the smallest village but it is an old settlement and signs of the history

of the county are present in its area; the social structure of the county is reflected in the social relations of the people. Most of the social classes present in the county are represented in the population of the settlement. In the past, agriculture was the way of livelihood throughout the county and throughout the life span of its people. Today however, appearances to the contrary, the basis of the economy is no longer agriculture, either in the settlement or in the county. Most men of less than 65 years and some women as well, leave their homes in the morning to go to what the settlement calls 'public work'. That is, the individual's income is derived from his labor directly in public life rather than from the fruits of his labor performed in the privacy of his own or his neighbor's farm. Economically then, the settlement people and the county people fall into several groups which move through a set of actions or changes in a special order.

These groups in Pine Forks are interacting in a rather small geographical area of about four square miles while the people of the county interact in about 400 square miles. But the social relations of the people who live in these comparatively small geographical

areas far exceed these boundaries both spatially and temporally. They reach across continents and oceans as well as backward in time to past relationships and forward in time to expectations of relationships.

Temporally, several factors are important in understanding the way in which the people of Pine Forks organize themselves today. In the first place, members of the white and black races were brought together long ago in an economic relationship centered upon the land. In this relationship the black man was and remains still, in an inferior position economically and socially. In the second place, the county was on the edge of two streams of immigration early in its settlement, a white stream from the north-west, and a white and black stream from the east. Each of these streams brought with them a different social heritage. Moreover, the area has been the point of departure for numerous emigrants who went at first to the empty land of the west and south, and later to the cities of the nation. Thirdly, the county is a part of the South, a region which was defeated in a war that took place for the most part in the South and which left one part of the people

prostrate amid the ruins of their plantation economy while another part was set free from slavery with no place to go. After eighty years of comparative isolation and poverty, and after three external wars in which the settlement provided many men for the nation, the South in general, as well as this county and settlement in particular, are being drawn into an industrial economy very different from their old accustomed rural way of life. This way of life, the social heritage of Pine Forks, can be fully understood only in the light of its history, and that of the county and region of which it forms a part.

CHAPTER THREE

The Process of Development

Pine Forks was founded by members of the Davis family, the ancestors of the dominant kinship group in the community today. They were a group of British immigrants who had settled in Tidewater Virginia in the early 17th century. The Davis family was in the forefront of that movement to acquire new agricultural lands that caused the planters of the Tidewater to push into the frontier lands of the Piedmont in the early 18th century, over a hundred years after the founding of Jamestown. The area that is now Piedmont County, although long unsettled, was a point of interest from the first. In the spring of 1607 Captain Christopher Newport made the first voyage to rivers which drained the area. He wished to march upstream but was dissuaded by his Indian guide.

It was a daye and a halfe journey
to Monacah; and, if we went to
Quirauck (the Blue Ridge) we should
get no vittailles, and be tyred; and
sought by all meanes to dissuade¹ our
Captayne from going any further.

The Monacan, or Tuscarora, Indians controlled the frontier from the falls on the James to the range of the Blue Ridge some ninety miles away. One of the last Monacan trails east of the Blue Ridge crossed the mountains near Piedmont County. The hostile presence of Indians in this area of the 'old West' delayed its settlement until the first part of the 18th century.

The 'old West' included all the land between the fall line and the eastern rim of the Appalachian Mountains, an enticement to many: the land speculator, the hunter and the trapper, the wealthy planter of the Tidewater in search of fresh tobacco land, and the small farmer in quest of virgin soil. All of these immigrants left their social and physical mark on the community of Pine Forks.

It was the hunter and trapper who ventured first into the wilderness and the names of streams and mountains in Piedmont county attest to their early passing.

¹

Alexander Brown, The Cabells and their Kin (Garrett and Massie, 1895) pp. 72-73

There were doubtless others who left no mark of their passing. However, the large amount of contact between the Indians of the Piedmont and the whites is pointed up by the fact that when the frontier reached the Piedmont about 1675, the Indians of that region had already abandoned much of their indigenous culture and had adopted European clothing, weapons, and customs; they largely disappeared from the Piedmont after 1725.¹ The hunter and trapper were soon followed by the settler; in the third quarter of the 17th century, the English settlers had advanced across the coastal plains of Tidewater Virginia to the fall line at the edge of the hilly and forested plateau in which lie Piedmont county and Pine Forks. Explorers such as Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam advanced as far as the New River in what is now southwest Virginia, thus probing to a headwater of the Mississippi.² These moves were made possible by the signing of an Indian treaty in 1722 which prescribed that no member of the Five Nations

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A Horn book of Virginia History (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1965) p. 7

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Clement Eaton, A History of the Old South, second edition, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966) p. 36

was to come south of the Potomac River or pass eastward of the Blue Ridge Mountains.¹ Shortly after this treaty, large blocks of land in the general area that came to be Piedmont County was patented by land speculators and others seeking to enlarge their tobacco plantations. Some people however, came to establish small farms. The conditions of settlement were not easy. By a law enacted in 1701, a company could patent at one time as many as 30,000 acres of land if it would keep a specified number of men there for the defense of the frontier.² Essentially, an individual who wished a portion of unappropriated land already cleared on Indian title, was to locate the land and have it surveyed by a public officer appointed for that purpose, and to improve the land in a certain manner within a given time. The land was considered to be seated when the owner built a house on it and kept stock there for one continuous year.³

¹ Douglas Southall Freeman, Young Washington (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966) p. 13

² Ibid, p. 9

³ S. W. Henning, Statutes at Large (of Virginia) vol. 2 p. 244; see Freeman, *ibid*, p. 7 for description

The land was planted when one acre was cleared, tended and given a crop. An act of 1705 provided that a 'house' be built on patented land at least 12 by 12 feet.¹

Thus the seating and planting of a grant was not beyond the reach of most men provided the acreage to be developed was not beyond his supply of labor; labor was in short supply rather than land. Early estates were little more than a block of wilderness land. To finance the labor needed to develop the estates was more than a poor man could do, for slaves did not come cheaply and their maintenance and supervision was a considerable item. William Fitzhugh remarked in 1680 that the opening of a new plantation cost almost 30,000 pounds of tobacco.² Therefore, while the land was readily available, the accumulation of large developed estates by the average person did not necessarily follow.

In 1736 a company petitioned for 30,000 acres in the old West in the area that was eventually to become Piedmont County. A good part of this land

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Hening, Statutes, vol. 3, p. 307

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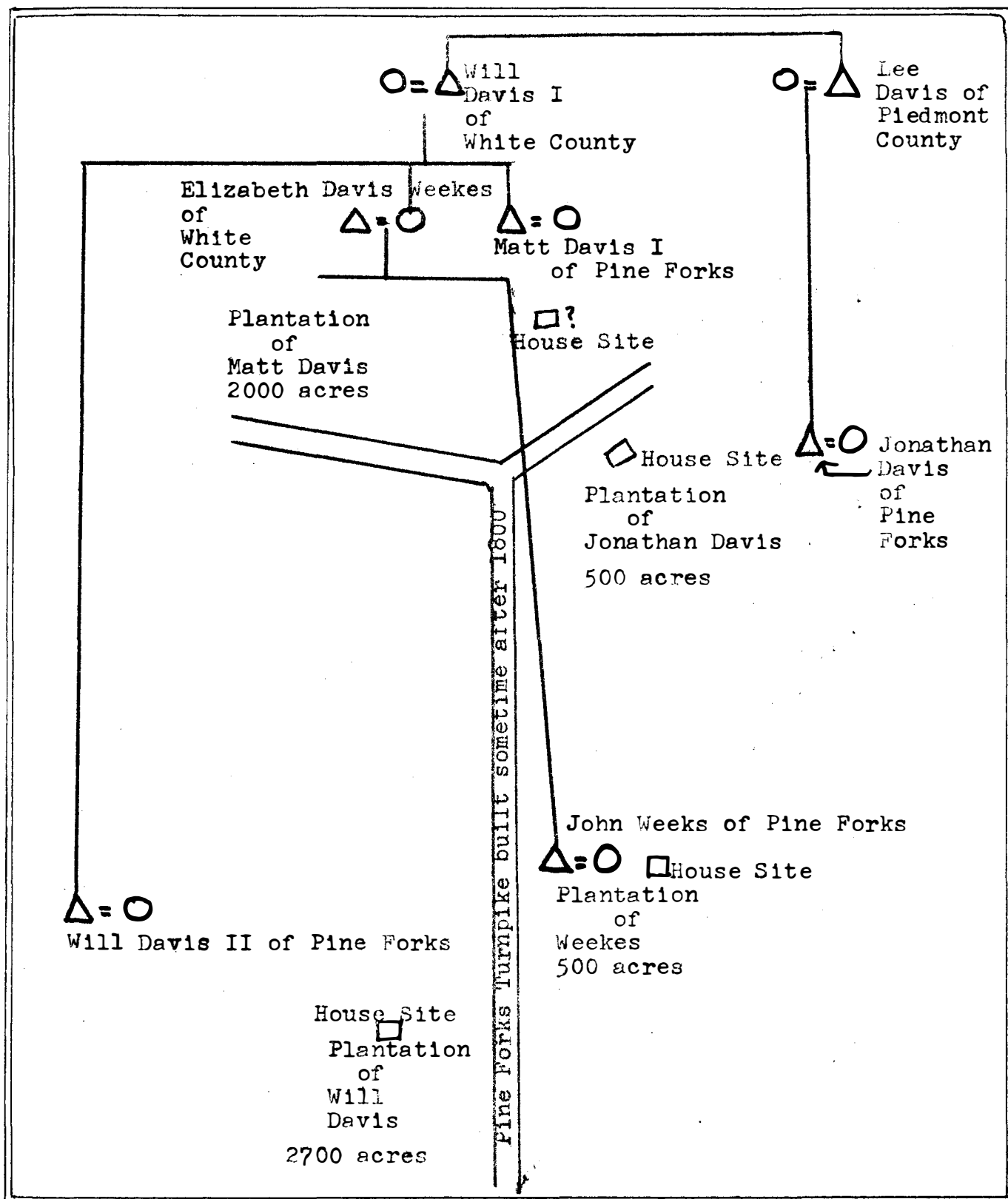
Freeman, Young Washington, p. 11

fell on the north and south sides of the Rannock River, and early settlers, including the Davises, bought portions of this grant to form or add onto their own plantations in Pine Forks. Brisk land exchanges were soon recorded all over this area. By 1761 11,140 acres of land that had been granted to a John Chiswell in 1739 at Williamsburg had changed hands.¹ By 1810 when Piedmont County was formed from the mother county, the landholders of Pine Forks already had established plantations as large as 3000 acres; some of the large estates had in fact, already gone through fragmentation by inheritance into holdings of 500 acres.

The movement of the Davises into Pine Forks was typical of the movement of Tidewater families into the old West. Progression into the frontier occurred by generation. Will Davis had moved from York County on the coast to take up land in White County. His brother Lee Davis had moved further west about 25 miles to settle in the Pine Forks area. Shortly

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Records in the courthouses of White County, and its daughter county to the west. County formation progressed from the original eight shires of 1634 to counties which were further subdivided when size of population warranted it. See the Hornback, p. 12 ff.



Map 2

PINE FORKS

Residences
and
Plantations
1800 A.D.

thereafter each brother began to rear large families. Lee Davis was then joined by his brother's sons Will Jr. and Matt, and by their sister's son John Weekes. Hence the movement westward for land spread a net of kinship over the entire area. Numerous sisters and brothers left behind in the Tidewater were themselves establishing large families and an extensive network of cousinry in the east. Matt and Will Davis and their nephew John Weekes also produced large families and added onto the connected kinship-group and kin land in Piedmont and White County.

The group of four kinsmen in Pine Forks owned about 6000 acres at the close of the 18th century. Marriages into other families in the Pine Forks neighborhood further increased the holdings of the kin group and related families. For example, the Davises married into another settler group who had taken up 5000 acres of land in an adjacent valley and Will Jr.'s daughter's brother-in-law, a Governor of Virginia, owned 28,000 acres in the nearby Blue Ridge Mountains. It was common for a number of brothers in a family to marry a number of sisters in another family. This spread of family ties throughout the entire area was facilitated by changes

in the inheritance patterns between England and the new world. England established a single-heir system while the New World tended not to. Habakkuk states that the single-heir system tends to retard population growth while an equal division system tends to promote it.¹ Specifically, Habakkuk relates mobility of a population and its capacity to increase and argues that a peasant community in which the single-heir system prevails, is likely (with the proviso of other things being equal) to be mobile but unprolific in comparison with one in which division prevails. Still, in industrial societies the single-heir system indirectly increases population in towns but retards it in the countryside.² The equal division present in Virginia according to this theory, was in part responsible for the large families; equally the empty lands facilitated mobility and equally facilitated equal division of land without fragmenting the original family estate. Early in its history Virginia established an inheritance system different from that of England.

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H. J. Habakkuk, 'Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth-Century Europe' in The Journal of Economic History, XV, No. 1 (1955) 1-12; reprinted in The Family, revised ed., eds., Norman Bell and Ezra Vogel, (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 140-149

The English family of the 18th century, especially that of the aristocracy, was a compound of descent, name and estate, with the estate being the most important of the three. The estate was a potent factor in securing continuity through identification. Primogeniture and entails preserved the family psychologically and fixed its position through successive generations.¹ The heir at marriage received the estate as a life tenant, entailing its descent to his unborn eldest son and specifying the limitations of the encumbrances upon the land that might be made in behalf of his daughters and younger sons. A good part of the land in England was bound in this manner and provided continuity over generations for the landed aristocracy at the cost of sacrificing the younger sons. A single stem of the family retained its superiority and controlled the material basis.

The economic necessity of strict land settlement which led to aristocratic governance in England was never present in Virginia due to the cheapness and easy availability of land. In fact, it was dis-

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Lewis B. Namier, England in the Age of the American Revolution (London: 1930) pp. 22-23

astrous to a tobacco economy to confine the family's fortune to a single plot of land which would be rapidly exhausted. It was far better to acquire new land. Geographical mobility, not stability, was the key to prosperity; younger sons together with their sisters received landed inheritances. The new trend was clear by the late 17th century when the leading gentry subdivided their great holdings among their families who in turn added onto their estates as soon as possible. The net amount of land held by leading families continued to rise.

Primogeniture did not prevail in Virginia at the end of the 17th century nor thereafter. The most common form of bequest was a grant to the eldest son to the undivided home plantation and gifts of other tracts outside the home county to the younger sons and daughters.¹ However, the procedure was reversed on occasion and the settlers of Pine Forks often left the home plantation to the youngest son as the older brothers had already acquired their

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Freeman, Young Washington, p. 31 describes the will of Lawrence Washington who died at 38 years of age leaving his home tract to his eldest son, and other lands to his younger son and daughter.

plantations farther west. The age of the father at marriage and the sex and age of his offspring seems to have influenced this decision.

Entail was no more popular than primogeniture and only a small minority of estates was ever entailed even in the Tidewater area. The Piedmont showed an even smaller proportion of entailment. A mobile labor force and a rapid turnover of lands were prerequisites of family prosperity.¹ By the end of the 18th century the laws of inheritance concerning such matters as primogeniture and entail, which had been in force during the monarchy, had been revised by Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton. Thereafter all children had equal rights in land and moveable property.

To change the rules of descent, so as that the lands of any person dying intestate shall be divisible equally among all his children, or other representatives, in equal degree. To make slaves distributable among the next of kin, as other moveables.²

Democratic principles of property division did not extend to human beings who were still held as property.

1

Bernard Bailyn 'Politics and Social Structure in Virginia' in 17th Century America, ed. James Smith (University of North Carolina Press, 1959)

2

Thomas Jefferson, 'Notes on Virginia' eds., Koch and Pecen, (New York: Random House, 1944) p. 255

The inheritance system of Virginia therefore encouraged the development of a social system based upon land and property including slaves, in a different direction from that of the mother country. In addition, the abundance of land enabled individuals and groups to acquire land by petition or sale in areas cleared of Indian title. The Davises took advantage of both methods and received land by grant and sale.

The exact boundaries of these early estates are difficult to establish today with any exactness from early deeds, as many of the markers include trees common to the heavily forested Piedmont area. However, certain landmarks remain to the present, such as rivers, creeks, mountains and some roads. The best references are to the lines which form common boundaries between these early estates. It is clear from the land records that the kinsmen's plantations touched one another at Pine Forks and that they often called upon one another to witness wills and deeds and to act as surety in marriage bonds and in other legal transactions.

The pattern of settlement was that of dispersion. The land grant system encouraged the taking

up of as large a section as a man could see, and the plantation economy encouraged the separation of the residences of the landowners from one another.

In Pine Forks there was a general orientation toward Hannonck River which could serve as a pathway of transport, and often the first house, which was a simple construction, was closer to the river than it was to another kinsman. When the second or permanent house was built, it tended to be larger and to be located closer to another kinsman in the area, as well as closer to the roads that were beginning to appear.

At the opening of the 19th century Pine Forks had several large Georgian-type houses that tended to stand on the edge of an estate that bordered both a kinsman and a road. Around these houses were a multitude of outbuildings such as the office, the smokehouse where meat was cured, the corn house, the stable, the barn, icehouse, and kitchen. There were also cabins for the slaves, although some of the house servants slept inside the house, often on the floor. Scattered all over the plantation were the cabins of the field hands, although some plantations had a row of slave quarters near the main house. Some of the dispersed cabins were so sturdily built that they

were standing in 1946. One chimney was so elegantly constructed of field stones that it was bought by a building contractor, lettered, and moved to be reconstructed at another site. In large families of the post-Civil War generation, sons would take their wives to live in a cabin until a house could be built. Some remained in the cabins, and later remodelled over the logs. The cabin construction often consisted of a chimney which stood in the middle of the cabin and served the families that lived in a room on either side of it; often lofts or small-sized attics were built over the lower rooms.

All of the houses, outbuildings, and cabins in Pine Forks were built of wood. Heart pine was usually used in the flooring, mantels and doors. Oak framed the house walls and joists; the ceilings were high and the lower part of the inside wall was paneled with wainscoting constructed of a single board three feet or so wide. Above this were wooden lathes covered with plaster into which animal hair was mixed. Downstairs the height of the ceilings varied from 10 to 12 feet in the main rooms, to lower, eight feet or so, in wings; the ceilings and the windows usually became smaller on the second or third stories, progressively. Foundations

and chimneys were of brick in the better houses and of stone in the lesser ones. Some of the kinsmen outside Pine Forks built houses of brick and one in Rannock Valley built his house of wood with brick between the studding of the framework; the inside was finished in plaster and paneling.

The furniture inside the houses included Windsor chairs, feather beds, desks, secretaries, clocks and well-stocked bookcases. The tables were set with silverware and silver goblets, while silver punch ladles suggest that entertainment was deemed important in the way of life.¹

Families were large; the will of Will Davis names six daughters and two sons. His older brother fathered 15 children all of whom survived to maturity and married, except for one daughter. Weekes had at least eleven children who lived to maturity and Jonathan Davis had nine, as did his father. Some of these children emigrated to the South and West. Virginia paid the men who fought in the Revolutionary War with land warrants entitling the holder to locate his grant in western lands, and individuals and families moved in terms of land.

¹

Wills and deeds recorded in Piedmont, White and other adjacent counties.

The heads of the four original families of Pine Forks named above began to die shortly after the turn of the 19th century. Matt Davis was the first to die in 1805 and his brother Will died in 1811. Weekes died in the 1830s and the longest-lived, Jonathan Davis, died in 1858 at the age of 93; his own father had died in 1792 at the age of 67.

The Davises therefore represented on a moderate scale that culture of eastern Virginia which was brought to full flower in the great planter tradition. Tidewater society in the 18th century possessed great wealth, valued education, maintained close contacts with Europe and attempted to reproduce in the New World what they considered most refined and sophisticated in the Old. They were sociable and cultivated; they followed the latest fashions in dress and manners from Europe, danced the minuet and the Virginia reel. The wealthiest of them traveled in coaches decorated with coats of arms; they encouraged field sports, cockfighting and horse-racing. They also imitated the fashionable European vices of gambling and carousing.

Their prosperity came from the cash provided by the tobacco crop. However, this very prosperity

stripped the soil of its fertility, for they abused cleared land by overcultivation rather than expend the cost of labor for clearing new land. Eventually, of course, new land became essential and hence the need to push further west in search of it.

Not everyone in the Tidewater or Piedmont lived in this grand state. The great plantation owners formed an aristocracy, at least in as far as the word implies political dominance, but there were lesser citizens too. Freeman identifies no less than eight strata in Tidewater society; the uppermost were the great proprietors and the lowest were the black slaves.¹ Between these were the small farmers, merchants, sailors, frontier folk, servants and convicts, each constituting a distinct class at a given time. In terms of landowning, about 40 percent of the 5066 known farms in the older Tidewater counties in 1704 contained 200 acres or less; 250 was the average size, only 448 farms had an acreage of between 1000 and 5000 acres.² The Davises were able to hold plantations of this size until the early 1800s. The small farmer in the Tidewater

¹ Freeman, Young Washington, p. 79

² Ibid, p. p. 81

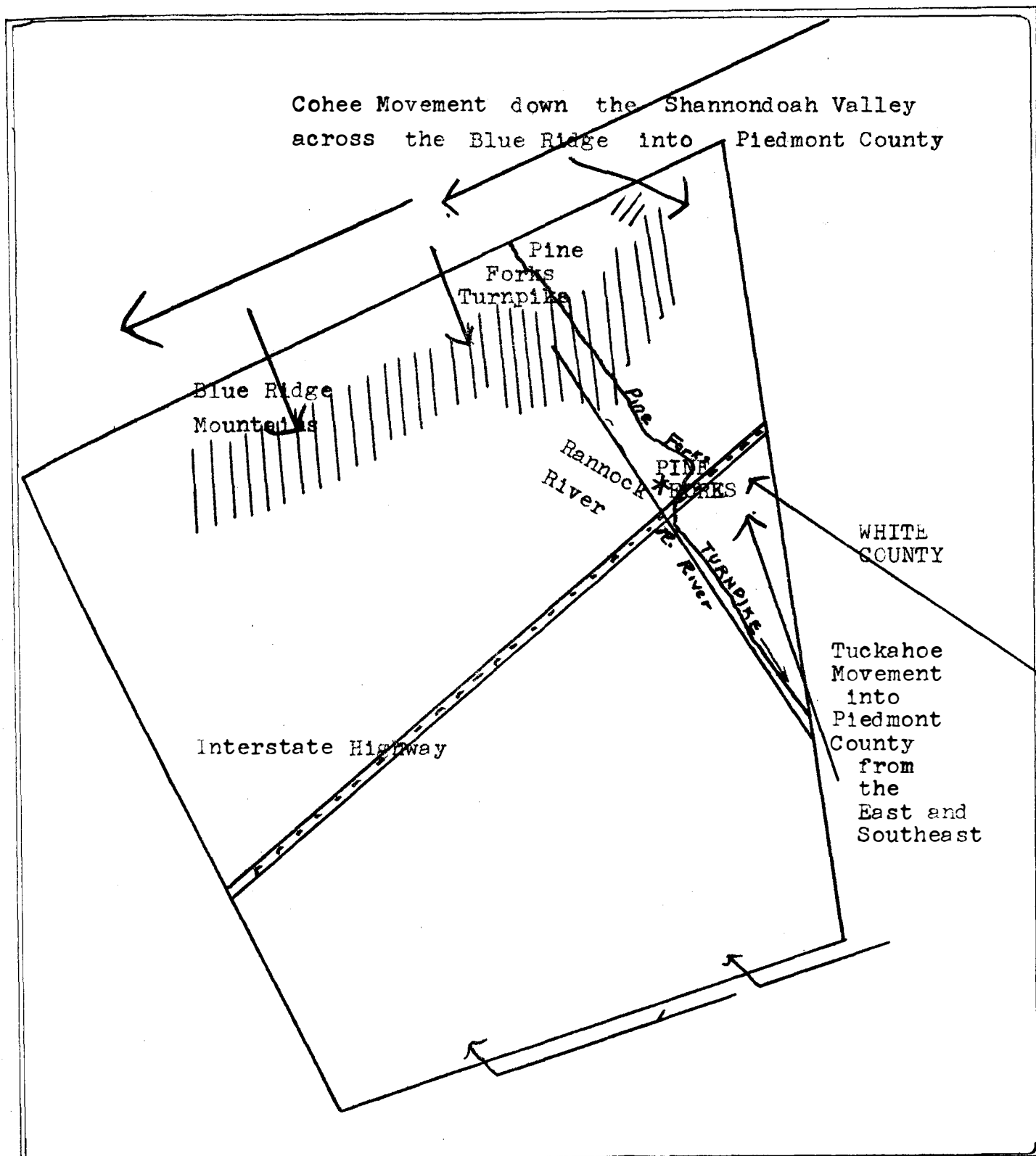
did not resent the large farmer, for the possibility of upward social mobility caused many in Tidewater to identify with the great planters. Conflict was based more on section than on class.

The epitome of all that was best in the Tidewater culture found expression in Thomas Jefferson. He worked for great reforms and succeeded in having the law of entail abolished and the law of primogeniture repealed. The two most basic reforms he advocated were gradual emancipation and colonization of the slaves, and a system of free public education; both of these were rejected.¹ He was a product of the Enlightenment and Virginian plantation influences; in so describing him Eaton believes that he was not unique, that many of the plantation gentry were like him, differing principally in degree rather than quality.² The Davises were related to Jefferson by marriage as well as to many other notable Virginia families of the period. Their life in Pine Forks represented certain aspiration and value common to their class.

¹ Eaton, A History of the Old South, p. 151

² Ibid, p. 157

The Davises and their counterparts from the Tidewater were not the only immigrants who took up land in what was to become Piedmont County. Settlers arrived in the area from other directions, many of them from the Shenandoah Valley. This stream of immigration from the north entered the area over the Blue Ridge and occupied counties on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge, as the main body of immigration pushed southward into North Carolina and Kentucky. The settlers represented quite a different culture from the planters in the East. They differed in ethnic composition, in religion, education, and perhaps more importantly, in their use of the land and in their farming practices. They were Scots, Scotch-Irish and Germans whose farming economies were those of the small, diversified and self-sustaining farm. The Germans in particular were careful intensive farmers and preserved the soil by a number of practices such as crop rotation, meadowland development, woodland preservation and use of animal manures, all of which were a part of the diversified subsistence agriculture, the Grossbauer system they had brought from Europe. A number of factors combined to encourage them in subsistence farming: the location of farms



PIEDMONT COUNTY
Map 3

in the uplands which were unsuitable to growth of staples, the lack of capital, the distant location far from tobacco markets, and their imported farming tradition of large families who supplied all of the labor necessary for small farming. All of these things combined to resist absorption into a tobacco economy and to facilitate the diversified crops of corn, rye, barley, oats, wheat and some livestock.

These two different cultural orientations came into conflict from the very beginning, and elements of the conflict remain in Pine Forks today. The people of the back country resented the pretensions of superiority which they accused the Tidewater gentry of assuming. Moreover, their mode of farming and their use of their own families and kin groups in the fields obviated the need for slaves and their religious convictions also opposed slave-holding. These differences were summed up on the terms 'Tuckahoe' and 'Cohee'. A visitor to the area noted in 1815:

The people of whom I am now writing call those east of the mountain 'Tuckahoe' and their country old Virginia. They themselves are the 'Cohees' and their country New Virginia.¹

¹

J. K. Paulding, Letters from the South, I, p. 112 quoted in Ulrich B. Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1929) p. 354, footnote 3

In a word, the small farmers hated the Tuckahoes and resented their slaveholding, their manners, and most of all their political domination of the state. The Tuckahoes in turn looked down upon the farmers as ignorant and uncouth. A Piedmont County Tuckahoe who built his home in a cove of the Blue Ridge where he was surrounded by Cohees, wrote to his brother in 1838:

If I could waive the sense of self respect that requires reciprocity in visiting, I should still feel difficulty in going to the houses of those whose time is so engrossed as to make it unpleasant to give up any part of it. In truth, social intercourse in this part of the country is actually forbidden by the habits of the people.¹

The hostility between these two groups with their completely differing economic practices and social outlook culminated at last in the formation of the state of West Virginia by the Cohees during the Civil War. The differences between the two groups were therefore deep and bitter.

Although these two contrasting social groups were so clearly divided from one another, other settlers from the east who lacked capital and sought land for subsistence farming did not necessarily feel the same degree of bitterness as did the Appalachian Cohees. Religious and political association of rich and poor

¹

Phillips, Life and Labor, p. 355

in church and school along with frequent ties of kinship, developed a sense of unity among all social groups, and there developed an admiration for the planter class and a desire to emulate it rather than a class consciousness in the Marxist sense.¹

The partial fusion of elements of the Tuckahoe and Cohee groups was assisted by changes in the agricultural system of Pine Forks, and indeed of Virginia, during the first half of the 19th century. The tobacco crop which occupied every Virginian plantation owner in the Tidewater and Piedmont, reached a nadir during the war of 1812; wheat on the other hand experienced a great rise in conjunction with the Napoleonic wars.² The combination of the two ushered in a period of agricultural reform in Virginia led by a shift to wheat cultivation. McCormick developed his reaper in 1834 near Piedmont County and its use was known early in Pine Forks. Livestock too was present in diverse kinds as testified by the wills of the kinsmen of Pine Forks. The ownership of a mill by Will Davis signified that tobacco was not the sole crop. Indeed the whole county was well infiltrated by the Cohees

1

Frank Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South (Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1965) p. 133

2

Eaton, History, p. 217

of the Valley of Virginia, experts at crop diversification. In addition the influence of Virginians like Edmund Ruffin tended to turn the plantations economy toward wheat and clover crops. Personal supervision by the owner in lieu of overseers led to the organization of an upper class of professional agriculturists who were interested in scientific farming. This was not foreign to the ideal of their grandfathers to live the life of the country gentlemen of England. The Pine Forks women often managed the plantations, like many Southern women, when their husbands attended to county offices such as justice and sheriff, or while the man of the household traveled about on business or politics. Although the improvement of soil renewed interest in tobacco as the main cash crop, diversified agriculture continued and wheat prices remained fairly high in the ante-bellum days, reaching a high of \$1.40 a bushel.¹

The fortunes of Pine Forks like the rest of the South, were thrown into turmoil by the Civil War and its aftermath. The four original kinsmen who founded the settlement had grandchildren living on the farms

¹
Eaton, History, p. 227

that lay within the boundaries of the original plantations. A number of the holdings had decreased in size and some had fragmented. Others had managed to add to the acreage left to them. Demographically, the family of Will Davis II had but a single member in Pine Forks, his unmarried grandson likewise named Will. The early death of his father, mother and sister had left him and his sister alone in their adolescence except for the secondary kin. Their mother's father acted as guardian and gave his consent for the marriage of his fifteen-year-old granddaughter to his son's son from Kentucky. Young Will attended the University of Virginia and returned home to spend the rest of his days alone in his grandfather's house.

Matt Davis's grandson too lived in Pine Forks on his grandfather's land. Jonathan Davis's daughter had inherited his homeplace and lived there with her husband and sons; other of Jonathan's sons lived nearby or in other parts of the county. The Weekes estate had fallen out of the Weekes name and belonged to the Able family who had married a Weekes woman. A good number of the Davis cousins were scattered throughout the county, state, and the South in general. Many wrote of their kinsmen in Pine Forks, and their letters overflowed the attics.

The decline in tobacco farming, the increase in the size of families and the consequent decrease in the size of landholdings, had all produced a settlement in Pine Forks that was based on a smaller farm than in their grandfathers' time. In addition, the grand style of life of the previous century was replaced by a far more modest way of living, although something of the ideals and aspirations of the educated planter class remained. The balanced economy of these farms became a source of strength during the Civil War; and during the Reconstruction period their vitality and power of survival provided tolerable subsistence when the plantation systems farther south lay in ruin from the war and the loss of slave labor.

During the Civil War some of the kinsmen opposed secession, but once Virginia actually left the Union they participated fully in support of the Confederacy. Those too old to fight brought Confederate bonds (many of these still stored in attic trunks) some sent slaves to help with the breastworks at Richmond. Most of the small farmers in the area participated as fully in the war as did the large landowners. The few who did support the north were scorned by their neighbors and

people still know which person's ancestors fought for the North.

The men and women of the Davis kin group had four years of intensive training during the war for the deprivation they were to suffer afterwards. In addition, their sound knowledge of diversified farming laid the basis for subsistence agriculture as a way of life for eighty years or so after the war. During these years the area was to become almost alienated from a money economy and was to exist almost in isolation from the nation as a whole. Some authorities have suggested that in fact the South could be considered a colonial state from the time of the Civil War.¹

Fifteen years have gone over the South and she still sits crushed, wretched, busy displaying and bemoaning her wounds...tried by Northern standards there are only a few cities between the Potomac and the Rio Grande that can be said to be growing and prospering ...(Mobile) dilapidated and hopeless...(and Norfolk) asleep by her magnificent harbor.²

Throughout the countryside grim poverty and dilapidation were reflected in the poor condition of the roads, the lack of bridges across rivers, and the abandoned and ruined homes.

1

C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South (Louisiana State University Press, 1951) especially Chapter XI 'The Colonial Economy', p. 291-321

2

New York Tribune, October 3, 1879 quoted in Woodward *ibid.*, p. 107

Everywhere the people show by their dress and manner of living that they are poor. Even the owners of large plantations wear coarse clothing, live on plainer fare than ordinary mechanics in the North, and are oppressed with debts...¹

In the cities the businessmen sought to re-build a new South and took as a model the industrial Northeast. They hoped that Southerners would direct their own industries and control their own revival. A more realistic view was expressed by the Southern Development Association whose stated purpose was to promote 'colonization and improvement' of the South; colonization and improvement did not seem to be contradictory to the leaders of the association in New York.²

¹ Woodward, p. 108

² Ibid., p. 291

CHAPTER FOUR

Forces From The Greater Community

As the 19th century drew to a close, new influences appeared and affected the Pine Forks settlement. At that time the social system of the community reflected a viability and cohesiveness that arose from the economic, political, racial and demographic influences of the past. A new generation was born with no direct memory of the Civil War, and external economic and social developments began to change the economic basis of the community. Many of the living members of the present older generation in Pine Forks in the 1960s were born during the 1890s. They recall that many men left the area and entire families were lost to Pine Forks. The Weekes family name disappeared entirely except where married women included it in the names of their children. People had always left the settlement in the past to take up new land, but this was no longer

so easy. Some people left the settlement temporarily to work on the northern-owned railroads or industries situated miles from Pine Forks in an attempt to save some money with which to return home and marry, and continue subsistence farming. Such cash as there was came from tobacco sales or from the sale of timber and wood products or from the sale of fruit.

Economically, the community continued as subsistence farmers, but some white men were now renters or tenants on the land of the Davis group, replacing the lost slaves. The Davis kin group controlled the community because they owned most of the land.

Politically, the area was dominated by the north but in 1913 the election of Woodrow Wilson began a trend that marked the end of the political, geographical, and industrial isolation of the South in general.

Socially, Pine Forks contained a large black community with whom there was the closest daily interaction but with full recognition of the lines drawn between the two races. The Virginia blacks had alternately been encouraged and cast down since the Civil War. They were hopeful and confident in 1870 following the enactment of the Underwood Constitution of 1869,

but soon became disillusioned with the Republican party.¹ From 1879-1883 the Readjusters under the leadership of Mahone again raised black hopes and accorded them the most reform to that date. However after 1883 blacks were shunted aside and in 1902 disfranchised.²

Demographically, the community reached its densest and most stable population. This was true of the county too; in the period from 1880 until 1940 the county population varied slightly about the figure of 17,000. This figure represented a doubling of the population of the early 1800s when Piedmont County was formed. The 1810 census reported a population of 9684. For the two decades following 1810, the population increased by about 1,000 persons every ten years. Following this, the increases fell off in spite of the natural increase in population. This was doubtless due to the movement of the population to the west. This movement had been going on since the early years of the 19th century and was of such proportions that it has been called 'the great migration'.³ In the 1830s emigration was particularly active in all Atlantic seaboard states.

¹ Charles E. Wynes, Race Relations in Virginia 1870-1902 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1961) p. 5

² Ibid

³ Eaton, History, p. 194

Eaton postulates that this last emigration was due to an increase in the plantation and numbers of slaves, which precipitated a movement of non-slaveholders, tenants, and unsuccessful farmers further west.¹ There is some indication from Pine Forks that there may be other explanations. Sons and daughters of plantation owners, slave-holders, and successful farmers, leapfrogged over land that was already taken up and acquired estates and plantations in the unsettled lands farther west. These were often of the same size as those of their fathers. Like the Boers of South Africa,² certain Virginians helped preserve the solidarity of the original estate by means of institutionalized emigration.

From 1860 to 1870 the population of the county began to rise again increasing from 13,015 to 13,898 but in the decade from 1870 to 1880 it bounded forward nearly 3,000 to 16,536. This gain in post-bellum numbers may reflect a general slowing down of the movement of Southern people due to post-war apathy

¹

Ibid, pp. 401-402

²

Macmillan, Bantu, Boer, and Briton

and anomie; natural increase was doubtless augmented too by large Victorian families. Thereafter, the population remained fairly stable until 1940 when a decline in population began that was to continue until the present.

Immigration into the county and the South in general was greatly decreased in the 19th century for several reasons. First the principal shipping lines from Europe terminated in Northern ports where industrial opportunities were also greater. In addition, people who wished to establish a rural life found that western lands were better advertised and more accessible. Also the techniques of cultivating Southern crops were unfamiliar to most European immigrants. The small number who did in fact choose to come South, (one for every eight who settled in the North), flocked to the cities and most often to port cities. In 1860 New Orleans had some 40 percent of its population registered as foreign-born as compared to 23 percent in Richmond, Virginia.¹ This high percentage of foreign-born in the cities of the South is associated with

¹
Eaton, p. 412-414

the small percentage of the Southern population as a whole that was urban, for in 1860 only 7.8 percent lived in towns of over 4,000 inhabitants.

The apparent stability of the population in Piedmont county at 17,000 persons from 1880 ended in 1940 and a process of decline began. From 1940 to 1950 the population of the county fell from 16,241 to 14,042, and the decline continued over the next decade and a half until the present number of 12,272 was reported.¹ Black migration accounted for a good part of the decline; traditionally the black was the first to migrate.² Virginia's black population declined from 35.7 per cent in 1900 to 22.1 in 1950 with some 83 per cent of the black population being Virginia-born.³ A number of blacks immigrated into Virginia from the deep South, and a number emigrated from Virginia to the north and northeast. Between 1940 and 1950 white population gained about 16 percent in the South while that of blacks rose only 0.5 percent.⁴

¹ Bureau of Population and Economic Research at the University of Virginia, 1968

² John Ezell, The South Since 1865 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963) p. 458-459

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

The decline in Piedmont too in a sense exemplifies the trend towards the depopulation of the countryside and the concurrent growth of urban centers which has marked the recent history not only of the state, but of the United States in general.¹

Between 1940 and 1944, the war years, five million people of working age deserted the farms of the United States for other work, the great majority for civilian work rather than military service. The average annual net migration from farms is estimated at 4.4 percent in the 1940s, 5.5 percent in the 1950s, and in the three years since 1960 the rate appears to have risen to 6.3 per cent annually. That this drain on the rural economy did not cause a disaster is due to a number of factors concerning the development of agriculture, such as mechanization, better management and advances in the use of chemicals, all of which raise productivity and lower the demand for human labor. In addition, the high operating level of the industrial economy and easier access to urban areas attracted people away from the country to the city where they sought an urban style of life they believed to be better.

1

Calvin L. Beale, 'Rural Depopulation in the United States: Some Demographic Consequences of Agricultural Adjustments' Demography, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1964), pp. 264-272

Halpern calls such migrations 'peasantization' of the city with a concurrent urbanization of the village.¹ That rural life had its disadvantages was clear in Pine Forks. Piedmont County was without electricity in general until construction on power lines was begun in 1923. Some homes acquired their own power plants operated by batteries, but most relied on kerosene, not only for lamps but also to fuel the motors of washing machines, refrigerators and other appliances for which electricity is currently used.

As late as 1946 most homes in Pine Forks continued to use kerosene lamps for lighting. The Rural Electrification Association had short lines into the area along the Turnpike, but families whose homes were located well inside their private farm land had to pay for the poles to carry the cable to their houses. Telephones too were rare; there were no phones at all in the community, and the nearest line was a mile or two south of the settlement. Plumbing concentrated primarily upon getting water into the house, and hydraulic rams were the energy system of those not fortunate

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Joel M. Halpern, 'Farming as a Way of Life: Yugoslav Peasant Attitudes' in Soviet and East European Agriculture, ed. Jerry F. Karcz, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967) pp. 356-381

enough to have water run into the house by gravity.¹ A number of people however, continued to carry water from nearby springs by hand. Most houses had outdoor toilets in 1946 and bathing facilities were not much different from those of their grandfathers in the 18th century.

Pine Forks had not changed in some ways for a hundred years or more. However, one or two farms had tractors and the people kept up with the world by battery-operated radio and literature. The main determinant of the community way of life was poverty. Like the rest of the South, the area was poverty-stricken when compared with the money economy of the North. In 1900 the per capita wealth of the United States was \$1165 while that of the South was \$509.² The income tax of 1913 under the new Federal law indicated that while the South contained 28 percent of the population, it had only 11 percent of the taxable incomes. In addition the figure of per capita wealth was misleading in that it included valuations of railroads, mines, etc. owned by outside interests. In 1919 the per capita

¹ The operation of a ram was an art, and an entire system of social networks grew up around the community rams, which disappeared when the electric pump became ubiquitous.

² Woodward, Origins, p. 318-319

income in the Southern states was about 40 per cent lower than national levels.¹ As late as 1950, Piedmont County had a per capita income of only \$775, although the state of Virginia as a whole had a per capita income of \$2066. Over 80.7 per cent of the families in Piedmont County had an income of less than \$3000 per year in 1950; by 1960 however, there was a large decline in the numbers of these low income families but 48.8 per cent remained in this low income bracket even while the numbers of families which earned \$10,000 and more increased moderately.² Piedmont County was designated a poverty area by the federal government in the middle of the 1960s, a decade when the United States as a whole was experiencing the highest standard of living the world had ever known. The decline in the numbers of families in the low income bracket from 1950 to 1960 may reflect the almost complete change from farming as a way of life to wage-earning. Certain things should be kept in mind when considering the low incomes of subsistence farmers. First, the farmer's

¹ Woodward, *ibid.*

² Bureau of Population and Economic Research at the University of Virginia

income reported is often his net earnings taken from his income tax returns. It is true that some farmers may not make enough to report, the minimum being \$600 for federal income tax purposes, and \$1000 for state income tax purposes. However, a number report incomes which net \$400 for social security benefits. The farmer in Piedmont county is a property owner, few are tenants. This means that the farmer's rent and often a good portion of his food bill in the form of home-raised meat and vegetables, is paid before his tax is calculated. Therefore, compared with the renter in town who is a wage earner, the renter must first pay tax which is withheld from his wages in advance, then he must pay rent and buy food for his family. The actual amount of money which passes through the wage earners hands is greater, and therefore his range of choice in disposing of money may be greater, but in terms of food and housing, the subsistence farmer may have some advantage. Therefore, residents of Pine Forks consider the implications of both economies when they choose to live on the farm and work in the town.

The poverty of the southern farmer was mitigated somewhat by a number of acts that were passed in the

1900s. Federal legislation at this time also directly influenced the economic potential of the landholders of Pine Forks. The Federal Farm Loan Act made long-term loans available to farmers on security of land and improvement.¹ The Smith-Lever Acts of 1914 provided grants-in-aid for county agricultural extension agents; The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 provided federal aid to vocational education in secondary schools in Piedmont County.

The last two acts directly influenced the Davis family, for some families educated their sons to teach vocational agriculture in the local high school, one of the better teaching positions, as counties received money from both the state and federal government for this position. Such jobs achieved two desirable goals for the families of Pine Forks: first they held sons within the county, and second they furnished cash with which the land could be improved or added to.

The Bankhead-Shackelford Federal Highways Act of 1916 provided federal funds for highway construction in states with responsible highway departments. This led to a rapidly expanding and improved highway network

¹ George B. Tindall, The Emergence of the New South 1913-1945, (Louisiana State University Press, 1967) 14-20 for federal acts that follow.

in Virginia.¹ By the 1920s this highway system pierced through the land holdings of the Davis family and altered both the physical lay of the farm lands and the social organization of the settlement. By 1929 Virginia had nearly 5000 miles of surfaced roads;² a fact that substantially changed the mobility of the Pine Forks community. That is, the people could now be both sedentary on their own land and mobile occupationally if they so chose.

The Mapp Act introduced state-wide prohibition to Virginia in 1916 and tempted subsistence farmers in isolated coves and hollows to raise money illegally through the manufacture and sale of apple brandy, peach brandy and corn liquor. Thus parcels of land hitherto useful only for forests became important sources of illicit industry. This manufacture could operate only through the co-operation of the densest network of kin and friends, and needed a secret base. An additional safeguard was the placement of kin within law enforcement agencies when possible. A number

¹ Charles L. Dearing, Federal Highway Policy, (Washington D.C., 1941) pp. 78-86; 262-265

² Eckenrode, 'Virginia Since 1865' U.S. Bureau of the Census Statistical Abstracts of the U.S., 1931, pp. 396-398

of the community had always owned and operated still-houses as well as public saloons along the Turnpike, and they regarded the new law both as an infraction of an old freedom and an opportunity to supplement their meager cash income. This happened everywhere in the South: 70 per cent of illegal liquor plants seized in 1925 were Southern. A similar use of land and resources, both material and kin, is said to have existed down to the 1960s. However, other informers state that the manufacture of illegal liquor has been replaced in most of the county by illegal re-sale of liquor that is more an affair of the individual, in particular the individual in a public business.

Wars and war time activity have always affected Pine Forks. A number of the Davis family were soldiers in the Revolutionary War, Civil War, Spanish-American War as well as World War I and II and the Korean and Viet Nam conflicts. World War I drew nearly a million Southerners away from their local areas into an intermingling of troops from all states.¹ Those who did not go into the army participated in many war-time activities. Some of the Davis family went to work in

¹ Tindall, The Emergence, p. 53

the Shipbuilding and Drydock Company in Newport News, which built everything up to large battleships, although the South's peculiar contribution to ship building was the wooden ship. By the war's end shipyards from Virginia to Texas were launching wooden, steel, and concrete ships.¹ This utilization of Southern pine greatly expanded the wood industry. The return of peace and the end of war-time prosperity returned a number of landholders back to Pine Forks. However the soldier's pensions that were granted to army veterans contributed to the independence of this group, who reached retirement age in the 1960s. World War I also influenced the use of land in the settlement through the increased demand for tobacco. Domestic blends for cigarettes had increased the consumption of cigarettes from 166 per capita in 1914 to 426 in 1919.¹ Tobacco hit a peak of 22.8¢ in 1922 and remained fairly high for the rest of the decade.² Men with a large number of sons in the family used their modest land holdings to grow tobacco and worked their sons from dusk to dawn. Tobacco needs a great deal of attention and labor on even the smallest

¹ Tindall, p. 54-55

² Ibid, p. 112

acreage. At this time many small farmers in the community and nearby to it, increased their land holdings and exercised as much political influence in some cases, as the old families had hitherto. Some of the Davis women married these men who were previously considered to be Cohees and of a somewhat lower class than the old landholders.

In the 1920s the expansion of the wood and timber industry in the South continued to affect the Pine Forks landholders. One major benefit to the wood industry was the introduction from Germany of the sulphate process for making brown kraft wrapping-papers and bags from both resinous and nonresinous woods. Until then, resinous woods such as the predominant Southern pine could not be used in paper manufacture. By 1920, nine Southern plants were using the new process for mass production, and by 1930, 17 kraft mills were strung across the pine belt from Virginia to Texas.¹ Saw mills sprang up in and near the settlement and the landholders began to sell pines for pulp that a few years before were cut and burned to make way for corn crops which further eroded the marginal lands.

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Olin Terrell Mouzon, 'The Social and Economic Implications of Recent Developments within the Wood and Paper industry in the South' (Phd dissertation: University of North Carolina, 1940) p. 142 quoted in Tindall, op. cit.

Pine stands renew themselves within twenty years if the land is not put to other uses. On mountain land the pattern of usage began to alter. Each generation could be assured of at least one cutting of pine, and these fast growing trees furnished a crop that could be harvested in twenty year cycles. Time perception of this crop land thus altered expectations of mountain land and timber. In the 1940s, women would point to the mountains and remark that in the trees lay their children's college money. Plans were laid for the new generation in the new time-cycle of the pine tree crop.

Plants which processed wood products for paper or furniture began to buy land in Piedmont County and near Pine Forks. The man who owns a saw-mill in Pine Forks is also one of the largest land owners in Piedmont County; he is neither a resident of Pine Forks nor of Piedmont County. While his particular interest is hickory wood, the wood industry in general, in association with other factors, is changing the nature of the county's landowner. The wood and timber business received another boost in 1932 when a process was developed for the manufacture of newsprint from young

slash pine.¹ The advent of the 'Paper Age' was to be felt throughout the South and particularly in its pine forests. As the trucks full of pulp wood raised clouds of dust over Pine Forks, residents used to remark uneasily that everything bigger than a switch was being cut out of the mountains.

The process by which timber is removed from the mountain tracts is rather dangerous and requires special equipment and experience. The sawmill owners often employed blacks and the poorer white to get out the timber, as did some landowning families, although a number of farmers worked side by side with one another and black or white laborers to get out logs. Timber could be sold in a number of ways, and an experienced woodsman could manage a big profit from the inexperienced. Even when the landowners themselves got timber out, there was tension between them and the dealers over fair prices. Today timberland is recognized as valuable property and the timber complex has taken on a new meaning for landholders.

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Mouzon, op. cit.

While these innovations influenced the meaning and value of land in the settlement and the county at large, the single item which most affected the traditional relation of man to his land was the introduction of rayon factories which used celledose as a raw material. This began in Virginia in 1917 when the Roanoke American Viscose Corporation went into production.¹ By 1929, the du Pont Company began to build rayon plants in Virginia, and the United States Rubber Plant built factories to manufacture rayon cord for automobile tires.

These plants did not affect Pine Forks to any great extent in the 1930s, in fact 67.9 percent of the South remained rural during these years.² Industry began to impact seriously only with the advent of World War II. The young were the first to feel the effects. The young men left their fields to join the armed services, one young woman of the Davis family went into the Army Nurse Corps. Women too went to work in the industrial plants in nearby counties. Some boarded in the towns where they worked and thus lived away from home for the first time. Others found jobs not connected with the farm.

¹
Tindall, p. 87

²
Ibid, p. 111

Middle-aged women and army rejects were employable. Thus after eighty poverty-stricken years, relieved only momentarily by the first World War, money began to flow in Piedmont County and the South, and Pine Forks shared in this new prosperity. New patterns of consumption developed in the booming war years and new income horizons appeared; these helped to alter the views that people had formerly taken of the land. One observable consequence was the transfer of land. Poor whites were able to purchase three lots of land from the Davis family, or from persons who had bought from the Davis family. Money to pay for this land came from two sources: regular army allotments from sons in service or insurance money collected on the death of a son in service, and wage earnings from industry.

While war-time prosperity and its aftermath, the development of industry in nearby towns, were eventually to bring drastic changes to Pine Forks, such changes were not immediate. In 1946, the settlement was primarily agricultural, and most of the households were occupied with farming. Of the 58 residences, 37 were the homes of working farmers and their families. The remainder participated to some degree in farming

either by having a cow or two and a hog, or by raising a garden. Money could be made from the sale of wheat, corn and tobacco and fruit, however this income was not dependable. Wheat, corn and fruit require substantial acreages to be profitable, and are subject to fluctuations in price; tobacco can be raised on smaller plots, but requires intensive labor. In contrast, subsistence farming provides a living, and sometimes even cash. When men and women gathered, the talk was of crops, orchards, cattle, and weather. The milking herd, straggling in line to the barn with bells clanking, was a familiar evening sight and sound. The milk cow was the key to successful subsistence farm activities, and a number of cows raised the owner from one of subsistence to participation in a cash economy, for cream had a steady market in the towns. Hence the farmer milked as many cows as he could feed and tend. Despite the lack of electricity, he could separate the cream by means of a hand-operated machine. The cream was stored in large aluminum cans and set out on the public highway to be picked up each Tuesday and Thursday by trucks from the city dairy. The cans had the owner's name, and a number assigned by the dairy, written in black paint on the side. Whether

for this reason or some other, there was never a theft of these cream cans either when full of cream or when they contained the check from the dairy. It is true that most of these cans set along the Pine Fork Turnpike, a dirt road which discouraged strangers from entering, and one over which few other than the kin group regularly traveled, but others set along a federal inter-state highway. It may have been the spot that the cans were set, along the owner's mailbox which was protected by federal law, that lay within the aura of federal protection. However, neither local people nor strangers passing through the land interfered with the cream transaction.

The farmer spent some of the check from his cream on dairy feed for the cows; most of the time the remainder paid store bills. The skim milk left after separating the cream was fed to hogs and poultry, together with corn from the farmer's crop. Hogs provided meat for the farmer's own family, and occasionally a hog might be sold for cash. The chickens provided eggs for barter with the store-keeper as well as food for home consumption. Surplus chickens were used as food or sold. The milk cow also produced a calf each year which was usually sold for veal at six weeks in order not to interfere with

the farmer's access to the cow's milk supply. The veal calves dropped in the fall were often the source of cash for children's school supplies and clothes. The small farmer who had no truck to transport the veal calves to town either sold them at the farm to cattle dealers whom they trusted (but not too much), or they hired the dealer to haul the calves to town and took what the market there would bring. When communications were slow and transportation bad, cattle dealers could make money by keeping up with the market and developing a judgment of cattle weight. However, networks of social relations grew up between farmers and certain cattle dealers, usually not kinsmen, over the sale of cattle. These relations are similar to those of today between the people and local car dealers. The roads to the farmer's house were private roads for the most part, and impassable in rainy weather; in the 1930s cash was so short that the farmer would sometimes walk his calf out to the highway for the cattle dealer's truck to pick up. The money was used to buy books for his children to start school. A Davis man of 1930 standing in the rain to await a cattle truck was an exact picture of the change in social structure

between himself and his grandfather. This same man's son-in-law in the 1960s was a lawyer in a nearby city. When questioned about the depression years of the early 20th century, many old informants gave a lot of credit to the milk cow:

When times are hard, just hold on
to the old cow's tail, and she'll
pull you out of the hole.

Thus in the early years of the 20th century the farmers in Pine Forks were engaged primarily in a subsistence economy with the milk cow as the keystone in the triad of dairy produce, pork and poultry. Large vegetable gardens provided most of the summer's food, and the housewife canned the surplus. This together with cured pork furnished the staple of the winter's diet. Crops of hay and corn were raised to feed cattle, hogs, and poultry. They also fed the horse or mule needed to work the plow, harrow, planter, mower and rake. The sale of cream, some hogs and veal calves and eggs, brought in small amounts of cash; the sale of wheat, corn, and tobacco brought in larger sums on favorable occasions. Money could be made from orchards too, but this was a risky enterprise in Pine Forks owing to late frosts.

In an economy of this kind, when cash is scarce,

any dependable cash income however small, at once puts a person in a much more secure position. Such incomes exist in Pine Forks from government sources. Army veterans with small pensions, from the Spanish-American War or the two World Wars, who had returned to farm in the community were in a position superior to that of their neighbors. Free hospitalization alone provided for all disabled veterans in face released money that could be used for the development of the land.

The real plums, however, were federal government jobs; mail carrier or postmaster were major ones. Those families whose father or husband held such a job were able to become better off than their neighbors, who depended upon farm income alone. In addition, a few county jobs brought in small incomes, and these were jealously guarded by families that had access to them. In 1946, the only sources of income from the above in Pine Forks were the veterans' pension and disability benefits.

Although the changes that were to occur because of war-time industrial development were not yet fully apparent, some small indications of what was to come could be discerned; for instance, three or four men and women on the fringe of Pine Forks continued

to work at some of the new plants. However, most of the more mature men were too involved in the farm economy to make the drastic change that wage-work required, therefore it was the women and the smaller farmers, or tenant farmers who took jobs on the assembly lines.

In 1946 a number of the young men had returned from the war and were at home with army pay in their pockets. A few had married, but most were still single and had not made a final decision about their futures. They had a clear choice under post-war conditions: either to stay and farm or go to industry in the cities. Decisions were influenced by a number of new factors: farm classes, supported by federal funds, were opened to veterans in the local high school. A veteran who qualified by operating a proper sized farm could go to the farm classes once a week and be paid an income of \$100 a month by the government. Extra allowance was given to married veterans. Some took advantage of this, all of them white, so that by the 1950s a number of veterans had chosen to remain and farm in the settlement. Black veterans did not take much advantage of this opportunity, although they were qualified. Indeed, not one single black

veteran enrolled among the fifty who entered the classes. This perhaps reflected the reality of segregation between the races in the South at this time, however, there is also the fact that blacks preferred to seek opportunities in towns as migration figures revealed.

By the 1950s, a number of men had chosen to remain on the land and attended these classes. Others decided to seek work in the cities. In both choices, they had kin ties available to them for aid and assistance. Every family in Pine Forks had a large number of kin in urban areas, particularly in the east, but also scattered throughout the United States. Some of these maintained ownership of land in Pine Forks; others had sold off their rights, particularly married women. Nevertheless, few of the relatives were 'lost' to the knowledge of the kin groups in the settlement, and in many cases strong ties still existed. Choices between country and town therefore, involved kinship ties in either case.

In 1946 there was a total population of about 192 persons in the heart of Pine Forks; about 109 were adults, and about 81 were children. Of these, approximately 22 adults and 26 children were black. Eight or nine of the black landowners had houses on their

land, but their condition in general was poor. However, their houses were not drastically worse than the homes of many whites. The black land holdings varied in size from 100 acres of mountain land to a simple lot on which a house stood at the crossroads. Most of the blacks who remained were landowners. The white residents who remained formed two distinct categories: first those old landowners who had inherited their land over the last 200 years, and second, landowners who had bought land in the settlement since 1900. In addition there were three white families who were renters or sharecroppers. The land boundaries of the Davises had shrunk and the size of the individual holdings had decreased as well, while individual holdings by numbers had increased.

The forces of industrialization and urbanization that were selecting migrants from Pine Forks and the South in general were supported by other factors in government which contributed to a new relation of the farmer to his land. Southern agriculture had begun to be geared to the marketplace in spite of advice to diversify and live at home.¹ The Agricultural

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Tindall, op. cit. p. 391

Adjustment Act of 1933 was designed for farm relief in purchasing power. At its center lay voluntary acreage reduction for which farmers would get benefit payment designed to restore them to the purchasing power of the 1919-1929 tobacco dollar. Southern agrarians pushed for more and more governmental intervention in the 1930s. In 1933 tobacco growers signed up for acreage limitations, the Kerr-Smith Tobacco Control Act of 1934 supplemented voluntary acreage allotments with marketing quotas.¹ This plan was repealed in 1935 but supplanted by the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act which provided benefit payments for soil conservation practices such as: withdrawing land from soil-depleting crops such as tobacco, putting in soil building grasses and legumes, contour plowing. More to the point, crop limitation occurred under the name of soil conservation. The Pine Forks landowners participated to a considerable degree in the Soil Conservation practices. In return, they received cash. Money became available for other land uses too, including ponds, drainage, and terracing the slopes. The county agent came from one of the old county families

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U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Report of Administration of Agricultural Adjustment Act May 1933-February 1934, (Washington, 1934) 4.11

and knew many of the Pine Forks farmers and encouraged them to sign up for programs. Certain elements in the contract favored the farmer who already had some means. For instance, a farmer often had to complete a project before being paid. As a result, farmers without the money to participate were usually those who most needed the service. Despite this, a good number of farmers both black and white, took advantage of the service. Results soon appeared. The farmers ceased to cultivate their worse land, and used their better land more intensively. Conservation thus succeeded in restoring some farm land but failed to limit production.

In fact, the county agent promoted contests for corn raising. Each year a committee should be appointed to measure the corn on an acre of land which belonged to a neighbor in a contest. The aim was to reach or exceed 100 bushels to an acre; there would be an annual meeting and the corn king of Piedmont County would be crowned. The farmers in this way got to know and interact with the farmers on opposite ends of the county. Pride was taken in good corn yields as these were announced in the papers of the surrounding towns. On the death of this county agent, social activity such as this ceased.

His death in a way stood for the decline of the farm and farming in general in Piedmont County; only the older age group of men continued in farming in spite of changes in the world around them.

Supplementary Farming

The changes first brought on by World War II gradually eroded the old subsistence economy, and in the 1960s Pine Forks, despite its rural and agricultural semblance, is no longer totally dependent on agriculture. Agriculture has in fact become a supplementary activity. The main economic activity is wage-earning in the increasingly industrialized towns of Virginia to which access is easy via the elaborate network of surfaced highways and the ubiquity of the automobile.

Nothing more clearly demonstrates the change in the economic basis of Pine Forks than the dethronement of the milk cow from her previous dominating position. The beef cow has taken her place. Raising cattle for beef is less arduous and time-consuming than raising dairy cattle. A part-time farmer can easily manage a small herd of beef cattle even when he is employed in a full time factory. Milk cows must be housed properly

and milked twice a day; the management of veal calves takes time and skill, both at milking and weaning. Beef cattle can be kept in a well-fenced pasture and left alone, more or less, during the grazing season from spring to fall. In the winter, beef cattle need be fed only twice a day, and require a minimum of shelter and care. Beef cows can drop their calves and nurse them with little attention from the farmer, and they wean the calves themselves. Finally, beef cattle can be bought in the spring and sold in the fall should the owner not be able, or not care to feed the stock through the winter. This in turn eliminates the need either to make hay during the summer or purchase it.

Pine Forks reflects the changes taking place within the whole of Piedmont County. In March 1963, the total population of the county was 12, 140; the work force was 3310.¹ Of these a minority of 720 persons were engaged in agriculture, a reduction of more than 50 percent in ten years. All of the rest were engaged in wage and salary employment. The

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Source: Virginia Employment Commission

majority of 950 persons were engaged in non-manufacturing employment, about half of these in government; 70 in federal jobs, and 350 in local and state jobs.

While the work force in the county has declined in general from 4170 in 1950 to 3310 in 1963, the number of government employees has risen from 370 to 420. Every other work category has shown a decline except construction, which added 20 workers, and trade, which also added 20 workers. Government employment increased more than both of these together.

The government employees include 100 teachers in the school system, which operates one of the biggest businesses in the county. Those employed in county administration include the County Treasurer, Clerk, Commissioner of Revenue, Sheriff and Deputy Sheriffs the numbers of which have increased as the population declines, County Judge, Supervisors, Welfare Department and others. The state pays a part of the foregoing salaries, in some cases as much as 60 percent, and in addition, State Representatives to the federal government recommend persons for such jobs as federally employed postmasters, assistant postmaster, and rural route mail carriers. The federal government also has others in its employ such as Soil Conservation Commission

employees. The Federal Rural Electrification Administration moreover has headquarters in Piedmont County and employs a number of county people on maintenance and clerical jobs. Most of the well educated persons in the county are government employees, full-time or part-time. One of the lawyers is Commonwealth Attorney and the private doctors conduct the State Health Clinics.

Land usage in the county indicates that the numbers of farms is decreasing; from 748 in 1959 to 693 in 1964¹. However the size of the farms is increasing. In 1959 the average size of farm was 173.4 acres while in 1964 this size had increased to 201.7 acres. Hence there has been an increase in the amount of land that is being farmed, about 47 percent of the total land area is farm land according to the census definition of a farm in 1964.² only 18 percent of the farm land is actually under cultivation or in pasture, as the greater part is forest land with a good bit of rugged topography. However, large areas of abandoned cropland in this county, as else where in the humid eastern states, would be cultivated intensively in other countries of

¹ U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1964, p. 275-286

² The definition includes that the farm be over 10 acres or if less than 10 acres, to have sales of agricultural products which amounted to at least \$250. See p. 2

the world but are not cultivated here due to prevailing economic conditions.¹ Of the 693 farms in Piedmont County, over 50 percent are part-time or retirement farms.² This is higher than in the state and nation, which have 42 percent and 31 percent respectively.³ The high figure in Piedmont County reflects both the large number of elderly in the county population and trend away from the farm as a sole economic source. Conversely, it indicates that the farm is valued by the retired and by a number of people in full time work. It appears that farming in Piedmont County is, for the most part, an occupation of persons born in the first two decades of the 20th century. The average age of the farmer is 56.5 years.⁴ Indeed one half of the 2280 persons in farm-operator households are over the age of 44, and nearly two-fifths of these 1017 persons, 363, are over the age of 65.⁵ The large numbers of persons in the older age group of farmers reflects the population structure in general.

The elderly in Piedmont County form a high percentage of the population for several reasons, First,

¹ U. S. Census of Agriculture, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1964, pp. 302-334

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

the county has been losing population by emigration of the working-age population; second, the birth rate as well as the death rate has been decreasing; and third, larger properties tend to be concentrated in the hands of older persons, particularly farming properties.

An examination of the census figures for 1964 reveals that most of the farm operators in Piedmont County are white, 2000 of the 2280 persons who live in farm-operated households are white; 626 of the 693 operators are white; and 592 of the 650 part or full owners are white. Of the 67 non-white operators, 58 are full or part owners of their farms and only 12 are tenants. While these non-whites operate 10 percent of the farms, their farms do not compose 10 percent of the land in farms. The non-white farmers operate 6686 acres and the white farmers operate 133, 117 acres.¹ These figures should be used with some caution, however, for no complete farm census has ever been carried out in the United States.² Piedmont County appears to rely upon census returns left in the mailboxes of farmers. Hence, the poorly educated and non-verbal farmers, as well as those who

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Ibid. pp. 303-311

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Ibid, p. 2

do not get a form or do not return one, any not be included in farm figures in general. However, it is safe to conclude that farmers and their families make up no less than 16 percent of the county population, and that no less than 10 percent of the farmers are black.

While black persons constitute one third of the total population, they have limited access to the power structure. There are no elected or appointed black officials in the county, and except in the school system no black professional persons, excepting one minister, in residence.

The three general practitioners are all white as are the three lawyers, and one dentist. So too are the postmasters and assistants, the mail carriers, welfare workers, public health workers, county agent and soil conservation workers, school board members, superintendent, supervisors and all other elected and appointed officers of the county.

Some persons appeared to forget that any black person ever lived in Piedmont County at all:

Citizenship: Most of the residents of Piedmont County are of English descent and are of the purest Anglo-Saxon type, which makes of them sturdy, thrifty, and most desirable citizens.¹

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From a handbook on Piedmont County published in 1925

Today the black man is very much on the scene, owing partly to the struggle taking place in the cities of the nation, and partly to the revolutionary changes in the public school population brought about by the laws which compelled racial integration. Piedmont County completely integrated the high school and junior high school in the fall of 1968 without incident. Plans are currently in hand to integrate all schools in the county in the term which begins in the alll of 1969. Before this, freedom of choice determined school attendance and during this time all of the whites, and a minority of blacks, chose to send their children to schools segregated by race. School integration has generated the expression of some uneasiness among the older generation of both races, although black people seem to welcome the change however cautiously they admit their approval. White people express less direct approval and appear watchful. They instruct their children to avoid school situations that may result in incidents. However, the majority do not care to resist a federal law actively, and further federal monies in the form of veteran's pensions, social security, welfare assistance, insurance, salary and wage checks, as well as direct assistance to the schools

and farms have all tempered resistance in this federally-designated poverty area. Hevertheless, George Wallace received wide support in the Presidential election of 1968, and active supporters included persons in the upper-class and middle-class as well as a number of blue-collar workers.

In summary, certain political and economic forces were acting upon the landholders of Pine Forks. Many of these changed the relationship that the landholder had with his land. These forces were apparent in the South, in Virginia and in Piedmont County as well. First the election of a Southern president in 1913 began to move the South out of its post-bellum isolation from the rest of the nation. Second, certain acts of the legislature had a direct impact upon the land of Pine Forks. For example, the Highways Act of 1916, the 18th Amendment, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1935 and the Rural Electrification Authority of 1936. Third, the introduction of new processes to utilize timber and the construction of rayon plants accessible to Piedmont County furnished the landholders with an alternative way of making a living so that subsistence farming or tobacco cropping became supplementary. The interaction of all these forces in

conjunction with other social and cultural changes impacted directly upon the landholders of Pine Forks, and caused them to change their previous relationship with the soil.

In spite of all these changes, Pine Forks is still the home of the same families that began there 240 odd years ago. The community land for the most part remains primarily in the hands of the Davis family, descendants of the original group. Little remains of the antebellum dwellings. Some have burned down, some have decayed and only two continue to stand, those built by Jonathan Davis and Will Davis. Jonathan's house is owned and occupied by a couple whose kin purchased the dwelling from the Davis family in the early 20th century; they are not kin to the Davis group although the present generation has now married into the Davis family. Will Davis's house is now occupied by his great, great, great, great grandchildren. Matt Davis's house burned and another built by his grandchildren stands deserted, however a number of his descendants remain. Other houses have sprung up on the land and arranged themselves in a changed pattern which reflects the changed social system.

The kin group has endured now for 200 years and has adapted to many changes and vicissitudes. The boundaries of the original properties have expanded and then shrunk; holdings have been fragmented and then consolidated. The sons of the early 19th century plantation owners and their slaves migrated to the new lands of Kentucky and the west, while retaining some connection with Pine Forks. In the late 19th century, the sons and daughters of the community and their former slaves migrated to the expanding urban areas of the nation. Those who remained at home or returned there formed a new pattern of residence, building their homes closer and closer to the edge of the Turnpike. Their black neighbors, now free, moved from the white master's land onto land of their own, and live there in groups of related kin. They too sent off sons and daughters to the urban areas, and they too keep in close contact with them. Outsiders moved into Pine Forks and eventually married into the dominant kin group; if they did not achieve these ties, they moved out again.

The economy changed, the last change being from a subsistence farming economy to participation in the new industrial economy of Virginia, established in nearby urban centers. While this changeover from

subsistence to wage-earning and salaries must have profound long-range effects on the community, and has already reduced farming to a supplementary activity, and somewhat changed the face of the land, Pine Forks remains on the surface a rural valley still. This appearance belies the facts.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Residential Groups of Pine Forks

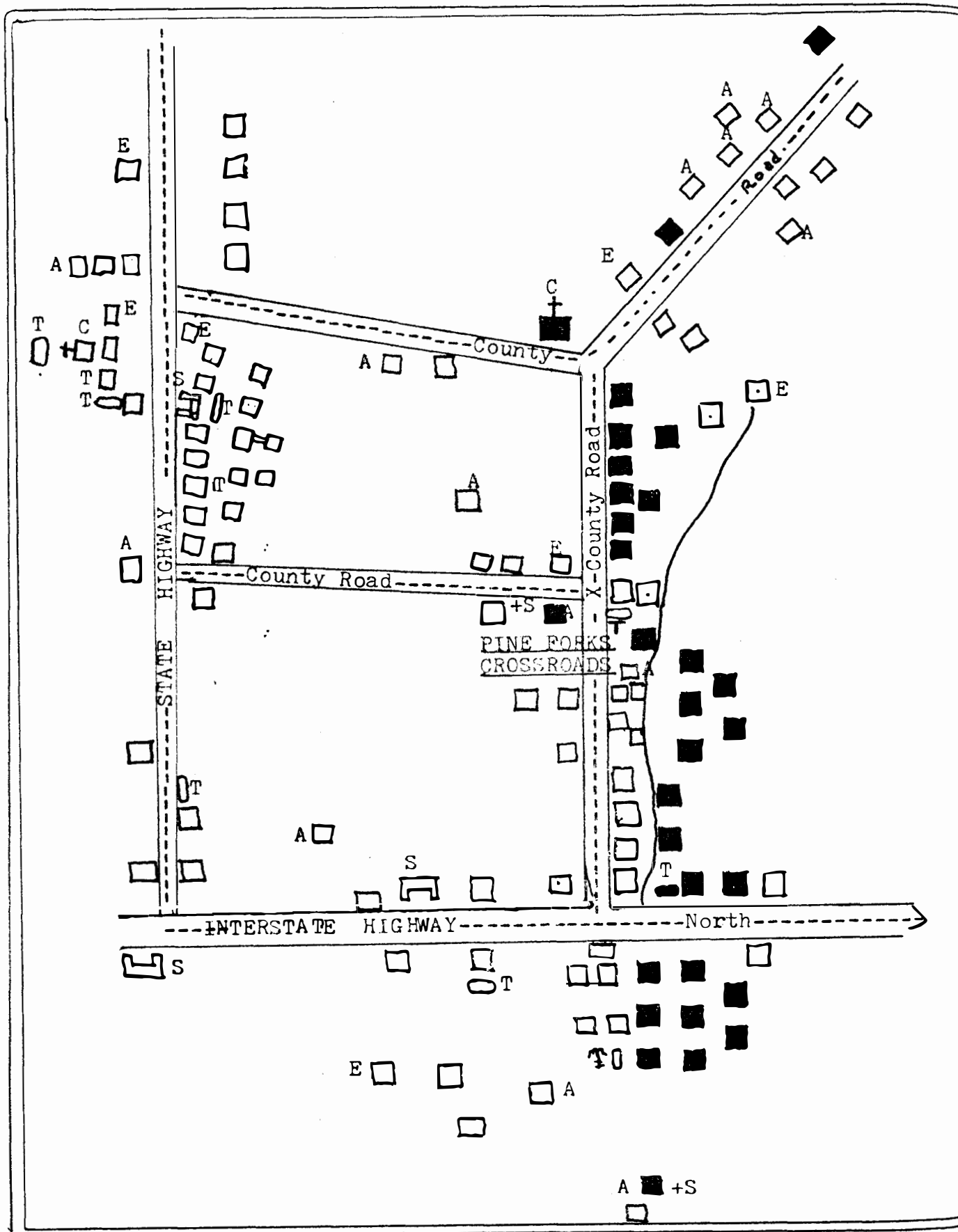
A number of persons and groups own land in Pine Forks or have rights and duties associated with a piece of land. They are united by the propinquity of their land holdings and their common residence and attachment to the community. They are divided by social distinctions, first by racial differences and further by kinship affiliation, socio-economic class and social prestige. The bonds that unite various individuals and groups and the disparate economic and social statuses that divide them are components of the social structure within which operate those social processes which characterize the social system of Pine Forks.

The first major division is that of race, and the community may be regarded broadly as comprising two distinct racial groups, white and black. They are now however, totally segregated from one another either spatially or socially. They are tied together by many common interests within specific social situations. For

example, the welfare of the community in general, the condition of the roads, and peaceable environment in which to live concerns every member equally. In addition to these social ties there is a measure of physical integration in the location of residencies. The blacks do not form a totally segregated, enclosed group; they do not live in an apparent 'colony' of contiguous houses nor do their land holdings form a completely circumscribed area. Instead their plots of land and their homes are scattered in a broad crescent towards the north end of the community so that their individual land holdings are separated from one another by the fields and hills that are owned by white people. In effect, their plots may be seen as islands in a lake of white land holdings. Thus socially they interact with members of the white group whose land or residence is adjacent to their own; in addition they interact with white people on other social levels. However, most of the social interaction of blacks is with other blacks and likewise whites interact with one another more than they interact with blacks.

In fact white houses are more often next to other white houses than black houses, and similarly black houses tend to be next door to a black house. This is not easy to discern until the residences are placed upon

MAP 4
(over)



SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF BLACK AND WHITE RESIDENCES IN PINE FORKS

■ Black □ white □ white business
 T-trailer C-church A-abandoned E-empty

a schematic map (see Map No. 4) as the larger land holdings of the white people tend to push the groups of black houses far apart. The intervention of hill, valley and stream further obscures the placement of the houses in relation to one another. Roads too form barriers far more real than first appears, for a dual-lane highway virtually isolates the houses that face one another across the road. The smaller county roads are not a barrier in the same way nor to the same degree; however, even these have tended to divide groups geographically and socially. Families on one side of the road tend to control the land more on that same side than they do across the road. Social relations also follow to a certain degree such breaks in the contiguity of the property.

It is evident that the white and black races have built their residences in terms of the old turnpike that runs through the heart of Pine Forks. In fact, only one black house appears on the south side of the Pine Forks Turnpike.

In the past black slaves lived dispersed over the land of white owners; as free men today they tend to live on their own land. As Woodward points out,¹

¹C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, second revised edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966) p. 12

segregation would have been an inconvenience and an obstruction to the functioning of the system, as the mere policing of slaves required that they be kept under more or less constant scrutiny. Furthermore, the many contacts between slaves and masters encouraged a degree of intimacy unequalled and at times distasteful in other parts of the country. Intimacy reached a peak in the relations between the household servants and their masters.

With house servants the old type of intimacy was further enhanced. 'Before and directly after the (Civil) war,' W.E.B. Du Bois has written (with some exaggeration, to be sure), 'when all the best of the Negroes were domestic servants in the best of the white families, there were bonds of intimacy, affection, and sometimes blood relationship, between the races. They lived in the same home, shared in the family life, often attended the same church, and talked and conversed with each other.'¹

Most of the slaves however, were scattered over the land of the white owners in Pine Forks, although some families had a slave row where the blacks were concentrated in cabins for ease of administration. The slave status of the black produced no need for physical segregation, unlike the situation where in the north,

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Woodward, *ibid*, p. 12

the freedom of the black produced the birth of a Jim Crow system which by 1860 permeated black life in the free states. Legal and extra-legal codes sanctioned segregation in virtually every phase of existence. Urban centers had black ghettos for which southern towns had no counterpart.¹ It appears that as the status of the black man was less clearly defined vis-a-vis the white man, other factors came into play which produced segregation.

After the Civil War the former slave in Pine Forks often continued to live in his cabin and pay for his quarters in labor. There was little other place for him to go immediately after the War; although the immediate response to the collapse of slavery was often a simultaneous withdrawal of both races.² A number of compromises was effected:

One day...a few niggers was sticking sticks in the ground when the massa come up. 'What you niggers doing?' he asked. 'We is staking off the land Massa. The Yankees say half of it is ourn.' The massa never got mad. He just look calm-like. 'Listen, niggers,' he says, 'what's mine is mine, and what's yours is yours. You are just as free as I and the missus, but don't go fooling around my land. ...Now if you wants to stay, you are welcome to work for me. I'll pay you one-third the crops you raise. But if you

¹ Ibid, pp. 13-21

² Ibid, pp. 22-29

wants to go, you sees the gate.' The massa never have no more trouble. Them niggers just stays right there and works. Sometimes they loaned the massa money...most of 'em died on the old grounds.¹

As time went on, some blacks would buy the cabin, and a small plot of land from the whites with whom they maintained cordial relations. Physical contiguity existed and was reflected in the closeness of social bonds, but the kind and degree of closeness was clearly defined by the superior position of the white man economically and politically. Over the years, however, the white people gradually moved the black people to the north of the settlement and the residential closeness declined somewhat. This was not a deliberate explicit plan, but here and there an acre or two of land that belonged to a black 'Uncle' or 'Aunt' was bought when opportunity arose. At the same time, land was sold to the blacks on the north side of the settlement to keep potential labor nearby.

The one residence that lies on the south side of the Pine Forks' Turnpike has been the object of current interest to a number of white persons with nearby land holdings. Now and then an attempt is made to purchase

¹

Lav My Burden Down. A Folk History of Slavery, ed. by B. A. Botkin, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945) pp. 229-230

this property, but these are never successful. The owner of the house and small lot is a black woman who lives in a city some 100 miles distant and until 12 years or so ago the house was occupied by either her or her kin. At that time the last couple moved out and the house remained vacant until it began to fall down from neglect. House and land finally became over-run with honeysuckle and bushes.

The location of this property on the south side of the road is the recognition of an illegitimate black daughter by her white father. Years ago the father, a member of the Davis family, left the community as a young man to work in another state and never returned. He made arrangements with a cousin to give the land to the black daughter. She has never parted with it although she lives far away and is the only black person who has not sold the property that lies to the south of the Forks.

Altogether there are 125 houses and trailers in the community; 104 of these are occupied by families or by single persons of both races. Of these, 94 are houses and 10 are trailers of varying kinds. Of the 21 houses which are not occupied, 14 are abandoned and in more or less advanced degrees of dilapidation. The remaining seven residences are empty although for the most part in a liveable condition. Some of the owners do not want to

rent as the financial return is not worth the trouble; some of the residences are not sought after in spite of the housing shortage in the county as they lack modern conveniences and are difficult to reach.

Black families or individuals occupy 28 houses and one trailer while white persons occupy 64 houses and nine trailers. There are two white stores in the community, both small and limited in the stock they carry; one store is a combination residence and business. There is also a combination filling station and apartment house, and a sawmill which processes hickory timber. All the businesses are owned by white residents of Pine Forks except the sawmill, which is owned and operated by white persons who live outside the county and state. A black Baptist church stands squarely within the community at the second fork of the Pine Forks' road. The white Baptist church is located on the fringe of the community and is shared with an adjacent white community which in fact takes its name from the church.

The Negro Baptist Church was and is the focal point of the black people's religious and social life. The original church was built sometime in the latter half of the 19th century; no one in the black community is sure just when. The land was obtained from the Davis

family when the blacks voluntarily withdrew from the white-dominated church.¹ The first black church burned down in 1913, but was rebuilt very soon thereafter.

One informant, an elderly white woman who was born and raised in Pine Forks recalled how she watched the black people going to church on Sunday morning as a child.

They all lived over in what we called 'Africa' and on Sunday morning a stream of them two abreast and strung out a long ways would come walking out of Africa heading for their church. They all sang as they walked along.

This use of the term 'Africa' to denote a group segregated both geographically and socially is no longer in public use (if it ever was). Members of the Davis family deny that they had ever heard or use the term.

We would never have used any term like that; maybe some of the people who moved in here to work the land called the place Africa, but no other white people did; in fact none of us would have thought of such a thing.

The use of the term 'Africa' to denote a segregated group and the denial of its use reflect a difference in the white social structure. The white families

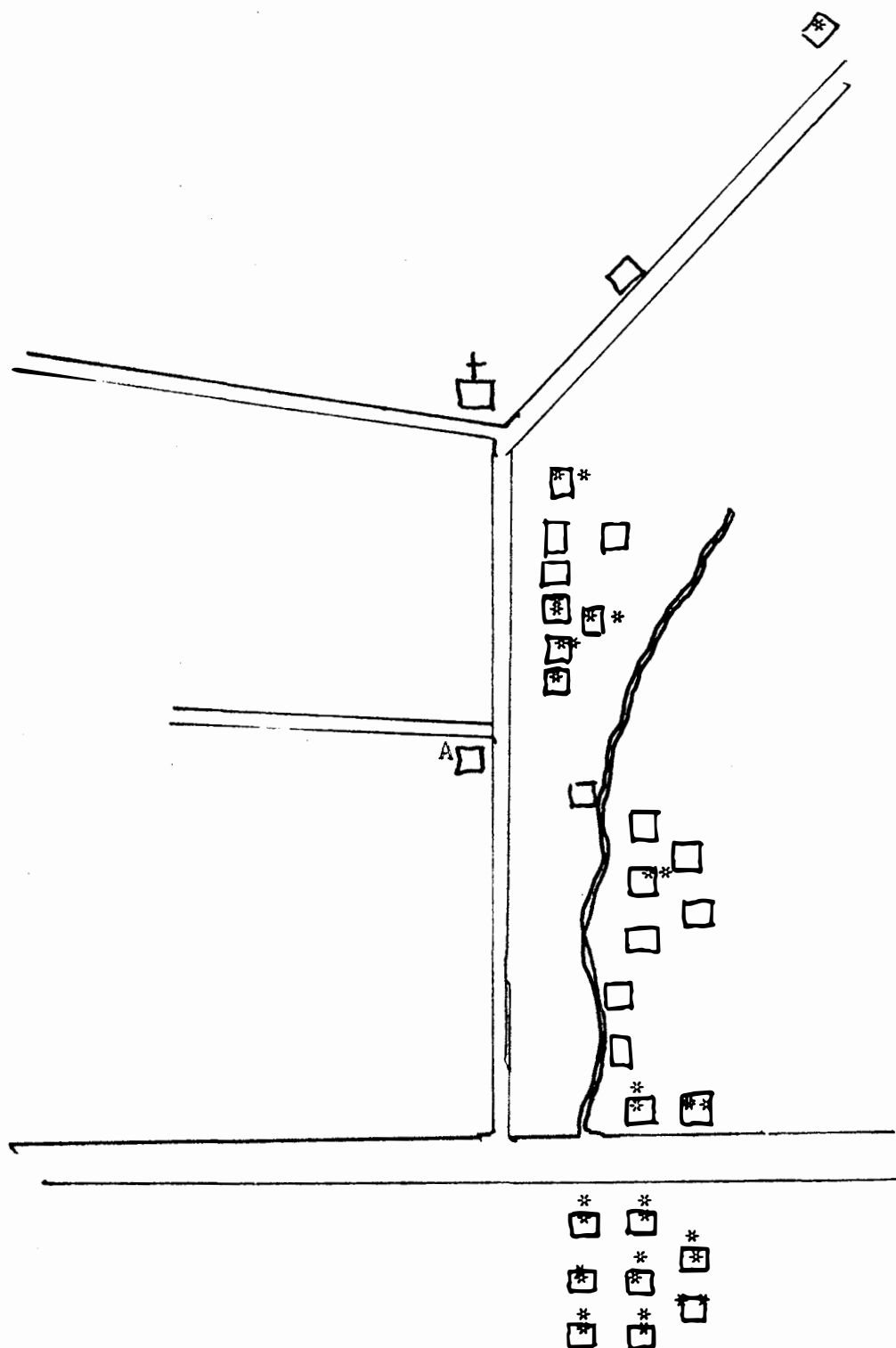
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Segregation was not entirely by race. The whites too were segregated by sex. The white church still has two side doors and the balcony where the black men and women entered church and worshipped. The black men went through a side door around the corner from the men's entrance, and the black women through a side door around the corner from the door which the white women entered.

that moved into the community recently, that is in the last fifty years or so, take a different view of blacks than do the Davises who have interacted with blacks for generations. The late comers are viewed by the blacks too in a different way, and there is more of a tendency to keep a distance with this group than there is with the Davis group. The disappearance of this usage from the contemporary community reflects certain changes in the social structure which arises from changes in the black and white economic relations. For example, there have been a large number of new houses built in the community in the last 20 years. A stranger to the community could not say which house belonged to a Davis, which house belonged to a black, and which house belonged to a Hogan, Sims, or any one of the new white landowners. There are new brick homes that belong to blacks and whites, there are likewise shanties that belong to poor blacks and poor whites. The oldest homes belong exclusively to the Davis family as do most of the Victorian homes, but the Davises own a number of new homes that are indistinguishable from the houses of the blacks and heretofore poor whites. None of the Davises live in the poorest type of housing, but one or two live in marginal houses.

MAP 5

(over)



SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF BLACK HOUSES, 1968

*new houses built
last 20 years
**houses built in
last five years

□ A

Among the 28 houses that belong to blacks, 17 have been built in the last 20 years and all but two of these in the last five years. A number of these are 'shell' homes, that is, houses which are built by contract to include varying degrees of completion. It may include only the framework, exterior walls, roof, and exterior windows and doors; inside only the sub-floor may be laid and beyond the framework for the rooms nothing more may be done. The house may be truly a shell and nothing more. However the house may also be completed, including bath, wiring, kitchen cabinets and paint; the home owner then is responsible for the water supply and sewerage. Above all the 'shell' type homes are noted for rapid construction and ease of financing; no down payment is required and the person only needs a building site of his own and a regular job. Certain officials criticize these shell homes as an exploitation of the poor, since interest charges make the final cost high. However, a number of the residents of Pine Forks have built these homes. All except five of the new black homes are this type.

A large number of white houses too have been built in the past 20 years. Of the 64 houses which belong to

white persons, 28 have been built during this time, and three of these are shell homes. Thus the community residents have built nearly half of the occupied houses in the last 20 years. The blacks have built 60 percent of the houses they own during this time period and the whites have built 43 percent of their houses. These new houses tend to be more alike than were the houses of the blacks and whites 50 years ago; there has been a convergence in the general quality of the houses, although the blacks have built more shell homes while the whites have built more of other types. The best houses in the community still belong to whites, and the poorest houses for the most part belong to blacks, but there is a middle range in which the houses are alike in quality. The yards around the houses differ somewhat more, and the white homes in general have better landscaping than do the blacks.

The site of a new house, and the way the residences are grouped, reveals a good bit about the social structure of the community, both between the white and black races and within the black groups and the white groups. In the first place, the races have pulled apart residentially. Whereas in the past the black man was subject to the absolute control of the white

man in the location of his residence because he was a slave, today he may build his house almost where he chooses. However, an initial dependence on the white man for the purchase of property continues to give the white man control of the general place on which the black man could build. Therefore, as the black man became more free, he was moved by degrees from total residential integration based on his owner's land to a roughly segregated residential area based on his own land that the white man allowed him to buy. Control remains firmly in white hands, and as the two races converged in freedom, they diverged in space. There is conflict between them in the struggle for living space therefore, but this struggle becomes dormant as they both struggle together for better roads and services in the community of which they are both a part. A fairly good supply of land in the hands of the black group seems to indicate that conflict over land will not for some time become acute enough to disrupt the social structure as it presently exists. Communication between the white and black groups, has decreased in the past years as the blacks moved away from the whites in terms of land. Moreover, the black men moved off the farm of the white men into industry

where men of both races work together in joint labor, although management is exclusively in the hands of whites. In addition black women moved from white kitchens and nurseries into jobs in the nearby towns. Impersonal relations thereby replace the degree of intimacy that arose from constant daily interaction. Only the children of blacks and whites are in closer contiguity today than in the past; both now ride to integrated schools on integrated buses. The schools integrated completely for the first time in the fall of 1968 at the junior and senior high school level. Total integration will occur in 1969 and attendance will be based upon residence. The most sensitive spot in this new arrangement is the physical closeness of black adolescent boys to white girls; while this aspect is quite new, all other children of both races mingled rather freely in the past.

The changing social relations between the blacks and the whites of Pine Forks may be contrasted with the social relations of other racially mixed groups. While Pine Forks has moved from a position of physical integration of the races with the blacks in a legally inferior position, to a legal position of equality (since the recent Civil Rights Acts) and a complexity of physical

and social proximity, other groups have moved in the opposite direction. For example in the Union of South Africa, the legal position taken by the United States is reversed in the legal policy of apartheid adopted by the South African government..

In spite of official apartheid in South Africa, however, certain bonds are present in the color bar.¹ Cohesion between Zulu and White arises from conflicts within each group. Within the Zulu group, conflict between the chief and king, subject and chief, family and non-inheriting son, women and patriarchy demonstrates weak spots in group solidarity, where cross-linkage with the Whites may appear. Division among the Whites furnish an anchorage for such linkage: the missionaries, the traders and the Boer farmers all regard the Zulu with cross purposes; these lapses in racial and national solidarity lead to bonds across the color bar. Missionaries encourage Zulu and White to worship together; traders create appetites in the Zulu for White goods which the Zulu buy with money from labor in the factories of Whites; Chief and Commissioner work together for peace even as they struggle with one another for authority. However, as the larger social system over-

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Max Gluckman, Custom and Cohesion in Africa, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967; first published 1956 Basil Blackwell, Ltd.)

rides group cohesion and allows for bonds across the color bar, even so the legal system increases and perpetuates the fundamental cleavage. As the bonds dissolve, enmity rises, and there is danger in the unbalanced conflict that amicable relations between whites and blacks will be eliminated.

This presents a sharp contrast to the processes inside Pine Forks today, although certain elements are comparable. The greatest racial solidarity, in contrast to the Zulu, is found in the Pine Forks churches; although bound together by a cohesiveness of denomination, ritual, beliefs and values, the Pine Forks Baptists are clearly and sharply divided on racial lines. In this, they faithfully reflect the pattern common throughout the whole county.

The churches and clergy of Piedmont County are overwhelmingly Protestant. The church buildings are scattered over the countryside and the older churches mark by their location past social and geographical networks. The churches built later were nearly always in the villages or settlements of the county. Only one small Catholic Church exists and this was built in the early part of the century on the estate of a retired millionaire for his northern-born wife. Several families

in the county use it today for worship once or twice a month. They must take their children out of the county, however, for religious instruction. There are no synagogues in the county, and no persons of Jewish faith. The Protestant churches in the county number 61. Of these 40 are Baptist, including all of the 20 black churches. These are sharply segregated from the white churches and have been since at least 1873.¹ Prior to that date, the white and black Baptists worshipped in the same church, although the blacks were segregated in the balconies in some, and the entire congregation was further segregated by sex in some churches. The 20 white and the 20 black Baptist Churches affiliate with different Associations: The Rannock Baptist Association of Virginia for the Negro, and the Piedmont Baptist Association of Piedmont County for the white Baptist. The next largest Protestant denomination is the Methodist who have ten churches in the county. In addition, there are one Mennonite Church, two Holiness Churches, three Episcopalian, two Christian, and two Presbyterian Churches. The Presbyterian Church is declining, and one of these churches was recently forced to close its doors. Most of the members resorted to a Methodist Church five miles away in preference to a Baptist Church close by.

¹
Minutes of the 87th Black Baptist Association

The black churches have only one clergyman who lives in the county. All the others are drawn from the surrounding counties and towns and they often have some other occupation in addition to that of clergyman. The black churches seldom hold a service every Sunday so that black clergymen rarely preach in the same pulpit each week and neither do a good number of white clergy. For the most part black churches have one service a month for which the pastor is paid about \$18. Minutes from the Rannock Association for 1965 report a total of 50 churches in Piedmont and five adjoining counties with a total membership of 6170 persons. The total pastor's salaries combined was given as \$6075 and the total value of church property was listed as \$284,100. The white Baptist Churches on the other hand report 24 churches in Piedmont and adjacent county with a membership of 5771, church property that is valued at \$1,161,610 and a pastor's salary averaging \$4440 as well as a car allowance, a house and a paid pension plan in addition. Gifts raised the salary by \$660. The white church property of the 24 local white Baptist churches is worth four times as much as the fifty black Baptist Churches, and the pastors are paid roughly \$100 a Sunday as compared with the black pastor's pay of \$18 a Sunday. A number of new

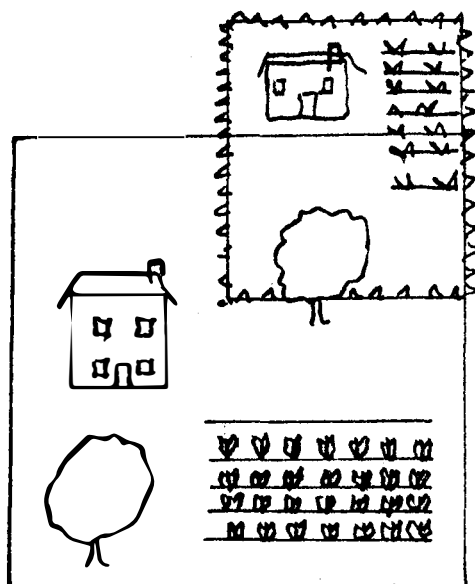
churches have been built in the county in the last decade, and both black and white churches too have re-built or re-modeled recently.

The black church is the center of the religious, political, and prestige system of the black group. All are bound together through membership in one church, although the churches are fragmented in number. A few black Seventh Day Adventist worship in the Baptist Church as they have no church of their own. Moreover, all were reared in the Baptist Church and became Adventists later.

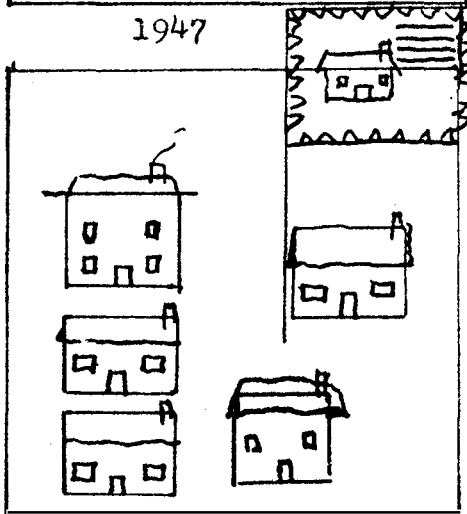
Hence, it is in this division between churches that the blacks are most free; it was their own choice to withdraw from the pseudo-integration of white churches to a gathering of their own that would pass unchallenged. Division between the whites in the ownership of the tools of production makes for a cohestion of a sort among the common laborers; however, it is the white laborer who most fiercely resists him, as socio-economic class levelling becomes a threat to white solidarity. It is the economically deprived white who seeks to 'get me a nigger', and it is the upholding of law and order that creates bonds of solidarity between blacks and whites of the community,

as well as divisions between them. However, it is above all the relationships with the legal structure of the larger society that creates, as well as destroys, bonds between the whites and the blacks. As the young married couples and the middle-aged couples among the blacks push for a place in the white social structure for their children, the whites resist, but so far this has been very contained and quiet in Pine Forks. The friction is mitigated by the bonds of the older group which constantly buffer those not yet established among the young. As the local and joint economic endeavor declines among the younger groups, other avenues must be established for the forging of new bonds to stabilize the changing social structure. These may be found in the integrated schools, although it is too early to be certain. As long as the proportion of blacks to whites remains at the present 30/70 level in the county, it is possible that the adjustments necessary will be made. As an imbalance which favors the blacks occurs, the present rather polite strain may be replaced by a further withdrawal of the groups, first by residence and then by secondary means, such as re-segregation of schools by change of residences. This would almost certainly lead to a destruction of the present community.

MAP 5
(over)



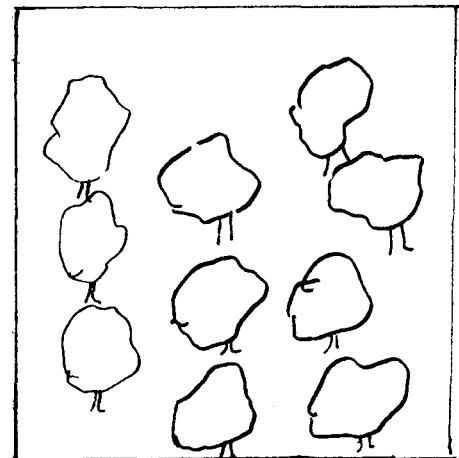
1947



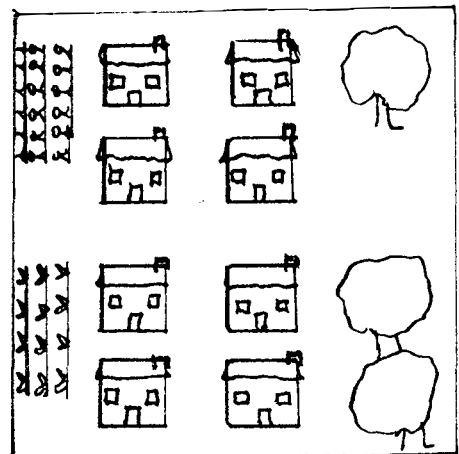
1968

PLOT A

From the white Davis
family to the black
Davis family



1947



1968

PLOT B

From the white Davis
family to the black
Brooks family

Within the black and white groups, other factors lend strength to solidarity founded on bonds of kinship, but these bonds too, establish relations which give rise to potential conflict. For example, potential lines of cleavage are already evident in the distribution of residences on the land and within these points of tension arise from the sibling bond, the parent/child bond, and bond of social class.

In 1946, two plots of land lay at the opposite ends of the community; plot A was owned by a black Davis man and his wife who had purchased five acres adjacent to his wife's brother from one of the white Davis men for whom he worked. A building already stood on the plot of land; it was the first school house built for white children in Pine Forks after the 1902 constitution called for free public education. A white Davis bachelor had bought this building when the school closed, and took up residence in it. Subsequently, he left this building and went to live in his birthplace, a mile or two away, when his siblings had all emigrated from the community. Thereafter the residence had been occupied by sundry persons at various times until a black man, Kinley Davis, bought the house and lot of five acres on which it stood in 1947. When he took up

residence, Kinley and his wife had 10 children at home. Over the years many of these children had gone north to Baltimore and New Jersey. By 1961 Kinley and his wife were living alone. However, some of his married children came to live beside them, for Kinley had given plots of his own land to three of his children and they built houses on them. Another married daughter had bought a plot of land contiguous with Kinley's land from her mother's brother, and she and her husband built a house on it. Between the years 1947 and 1961, therefore, the number of houses present on Plot A multiplied, all of them occupied by members of the same family. This residential unit of primary kin is a cohesive one, but strains developed over the allocation of scarce resources for the new generation of children which is appearing.

Plot B is 50 acres or so located at the east end of the settlement along a federal highway. The land was owned by a Davis woman who had married an outsider, Findley, but had returned to Pine Forks with her children when she parted from her husband in Arkansas. This widow died and left the plot to her children, who had other landholdings as well. These Findlay siblings sold the land in the 1940s to the black Thums family, who

were descended from slaves of the Davis family. This connection had apparently played some part in the decision of the Findlay siblings to sell the plot. The Findlays evidently felt that they continued to have certain rights in the land they had sold, for one day two Findlay sisters went there to pick wild strawberries. They came away empty-handed, however, for the new owner told them that the land no longer belonged to them and neither did the strawberries. The sisters were outraged at this curt treatment, but their male Davis cousins were delighted that they had been treated so. The Davis men deeply resented the sale of family lands, and it gave them satisfaction that females had been shown how the sale of the land completely alienated them from it.

The land remained in Thums hands for some years when he then sold all of that portion on the east side of the highway to his cousin, Maxwell Brooks. Maxwell then sold half of his thirty acres to his brother; it was not long before each of the Brooks sons were asking for a building site for a house. Maxwell and his brother Lee divided the property in half and Lee's two sons built shell homes on their plots of land. Maxwell and Lee also decided to build and also to give their older sister a building lot to repay her for her kindness to them when

they were small. Within a few years, a wooded field atop a hill had been cleared and eight residences established. The residences belonged to Maxwell and two of his sons, to Lee and three of his sons, and to the sister of Lee and Maxwell. All of the houses are shell homes with the exception of one which belongs to one of Lee's sons; he has a brick home build by a private contractor.

Cohesion is evident in the close relations among all the residents of the Brooks kinship settlement. In the first place, the sibling bond that united Maxwell, Lee, and their sister Ottie Weaver has brought them together in close residential propinquity. Further, the bond between father and son has brought together two of Maxwell's sons and three of Lee's sons, who are in turn united by the sibling bond among themselves and by the cousin bond between the families of Lee and Maxwell. Conflict is not so apparent, but exists in the very structure that developed the initial cohesion: viz. the family. In the first place the land was physically divided into three parts because there were three families: Maxwell Brooks, Lee Brooks, and Ottie Brooks Weaver; the Brooks brothers have equally large shares and their sister has a small plot as a gift.

Next, the land was divided again into five small plots, one for each of the Brooks' sons. The sons did not seek larger plots from their fathers, as each plot and house stood as collateral for the cost, and they had no desire to jeopardize more land than was necessary. In addition, the houses themselves are unequal; one of Lee's sons has the largest house in the settlement and the only one built of brick. Further, there are three water supplies: one source supplies Maxwell and his sons, another supplies Lee, two of his sons and his sister; the third supply serves the brick house alone.

In addition to the divisive physical factors, the group is also divided by church membership; each child takes the church of his mother. The sons of Maxwell go to their mother's church in the center of the community; the sons of Lee go to their mother's church on the northeast edge of the community. Lee and his sons in fact, are the chief deacon and deacons of the church. Ottie and her family, which consists of her husband, two daughters and their illegitimate sons, go first to one church and then the other.

The cleavage in the group is also apparent in the selection of baby sitters. All the young men and their wives work to meet expenses of the mortgages, and when

at work their children are left with baby sitters. Lee's wife cares for her own sons' children, while Maxwell's wife's step-mother cares for their sons' children. Ottie's daughter stays home from work and looks after her baby as well as that of her sister's; Ottie works in a nearby town.

In addition to the division in the community on the basis of family and church, there is evidence that a socio-economic cleavage is beginning to appear. Lee's son who owns the brick house also owns his own business, a barber shop, in a town nearby. He is, in other words, in a different socio-economic class from both his brothers and his cousins. This is not so evident in his relationships with his brothers, but his father's sister's children (Ottie's children) have a much more distant relationship with him. In the first place, Ottie's holdings are smaller and her land given to her by her brothers, therefore the Weaver family prestige is decreased in the eyes of their Brooks cousins. In Addition, the Weaver house is the only three-generation home in the settlement, and the only one with illegitimate children. As Ottie's daughter said:

All of them are real nice, over there, and Aunt Bea helps mama all the time with the canning and everything, but I don't get a chance to see the boys' wives, they're so busy you know; they just pop in and out and are always in a hurry.

Thus in this new settlement, elements of both cohesion and conflict are present; these both bring the members of the settlement together and at the same time tend to separate them. The land and the sibling bond promote cohesion, while division of the land, socio-economic class, religious affiliation, and the influence of wives, all produce conflict and potential fission.

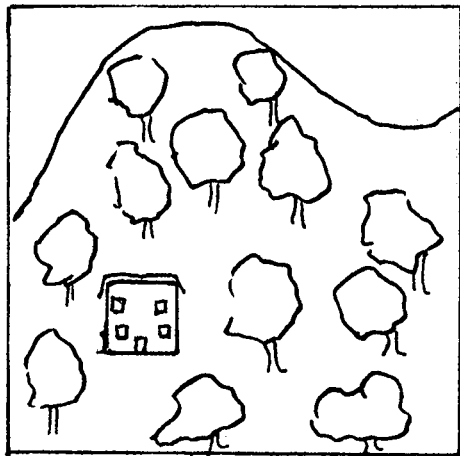
The members of the black kin groups in Pine Forks interact with their kin scattered throughout the Piedmont and form a cohesive unit which stands against the white in certain matters, for instance, within the Baptist faith. However, cross-linkages with the whites through accupation, social class, and friendship create interracial bonds.

The white people too have divisions among themselves as well as measures of solidarity; both of these are reflected in the location of residences. Although almost of the white people are connected by ties of kinship and affinity, including the kin of affines, one group is outstanding in its separation from the other groups, both on the basis of their social standing as well as their economic and kinship connections.

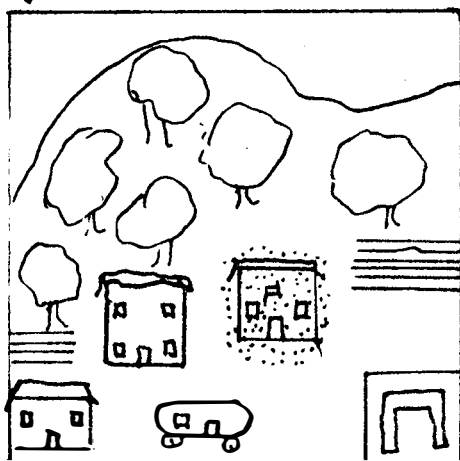
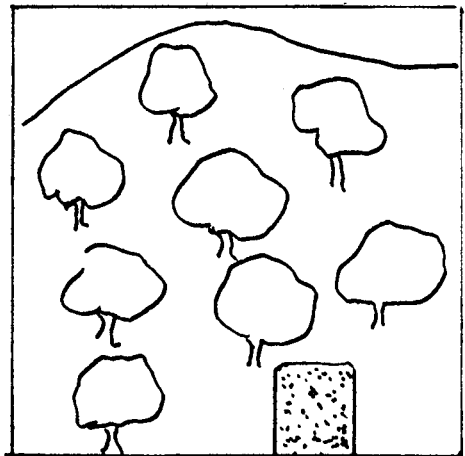
This group of kin and affines acquired land in the 1940s when sons sent home money from the army, or when

MAP 6

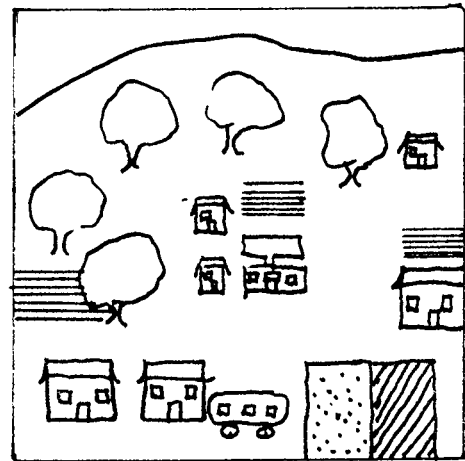
(over)



1940
PROPERTY SOLD BY THE WHITE DAVIS FAMILY



1968
SOWEL PROPERTY



1968
MULLEN PROPERTY

- woodland
- hillside
- property of others
- trailer
- additional property of others

the government insurance paid the parents \$10,000 on the death of their son in service. The first of this group to purchase land in the community was a woman who had been married three times, once widowed and twice divorced, leaving her with four sons and two daughters. By the time Mrs. Mullen was in her early 50s, she had acquired a job in a nearby defense industry and had cut timber in the mountains long enough to accumulate money for a down payment on 50 acres of land formerly belonging to the Davises. Her son in the service then had an allotment sent home, and this helped meet the monthly instalments. She purchased an old house in another part of the county, tore it down with help from her kin, and moved it to her land where she and her sons reconstructed a six-room house.

Not long after this Mr. Sowell, one of her former neighbors, who like herself was a tenant on mountain land, lost a son in the war. With the money he received from his son's insurance, Mr. Sowell bought 40 acres of land that was part of the same Davis tract sold to Mrs. Mullen and moved his wife and six children into a well-built house on the property. In both these cases, capital came into the settlement from governmental sources and helped to change the social structure of the

community; this is an old theme in the poverty-stricken post-bellum South, where cash from outside sources such as governmental pension however small, often altered the life chances of a family.

Mrs. Mullen was outraged that her former neighbor was once again next door to her. Although Mr. Sowell, like herself, had share-cropped mountain land he was considerably inferior socially in her opinion. Nevertheless, common residence necessitates mutual tolerance and in a few years two of Mrs. Mullen's sons had married Sowell girls much to her disgust. As Gluckman notes, common residence calls for a maintenance of the peace, recognition of the demands of law and morality, as well as mutual tolerance, all of which are encouraged by intermarriage.¹ Of Mrs. Mullen's six children, three remained on her land with her: the two sons who married Sowell, and one previously married son, Tom. She allowed her three sons to build houses and her oldest son Tom persuaded his mother to give him a deed to the land his shack was on. He then lost the land when he failed to pay for a second-hand car. His brother Jess acquired a regular job driving a truck, and bought back

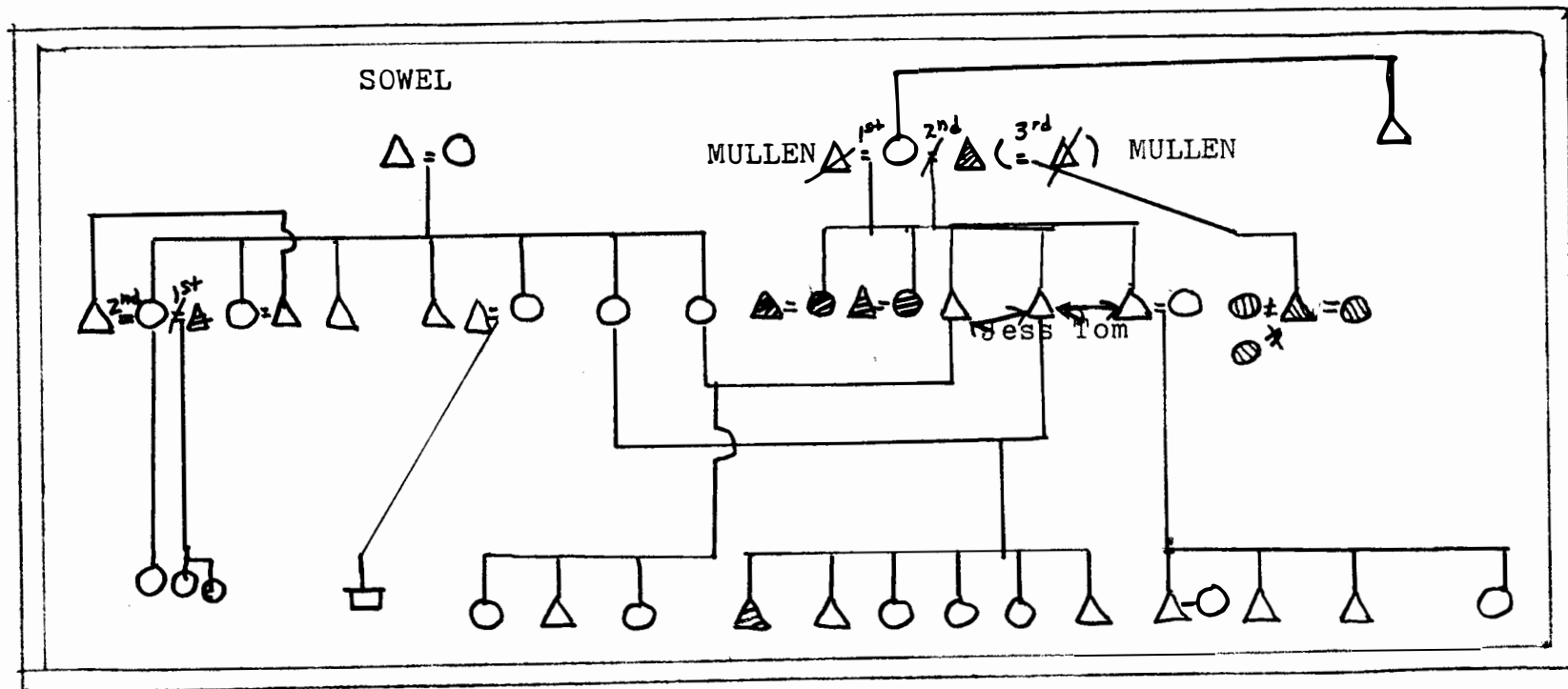
¹

Gluckman, Custom and Conflict in Africa, op. cit. p. 14

FIGURE 1

(over)

Δ - live in community



Tom's property and moved into Tom's shack, which was larger than the one he had built for his family. Several years later, Jess was killed when he jumped from a run-away truck. His widow arranged for her sister's husband to build a new cinder block house with the insurance money, on the site of Tom's shack, which was then torn down.

Tom then petitioned his mother for some more land; Mrs. Mullen deeded four-tenths of an acre of land to Tom after his wife got a regular job washing dishes. At the same time she gave Tom's afflicted son five acres adjoining his father's land. Tom constructed a residence for himself, his wife, and teenaged daughter from the bodies of two old buses which he joined together; each of his grown sons built a small shack beside their father's improvised house; they sleep in these. Their mother continues to cook for them. Tom's fourth child and eldest son moved himself and his common law wife into the old shack that his uncle Jess had first built for his family, before he moved onto Tom's land.

Mrs. Mullen's third son built a house for himself and his Sowell bride next door to Mrs. Mullen. He does not yet have the deed to his property, and Mrs. Mullen must pay taxes on the land where his house sits. He

expressed often his belief that his mother should leave her property to him since he sent his army allotment to her, but as yet Mrs. Mullen has not indicated to whom she will leave her land. She gave her fourth son Woodrow, five acres of land when he expressed a desire for a house site, but he traded it to one of the Davises for a motorcycle which he then wrecked. After two marriages which ended in divorce, he finally married a widow twenty years his senior and moved into her house in another part of the county. Mrs. Mullen then gave her oldest daughter five acres adjoining Woodrow and almost immediately the Davises bought this. Mrs. Mullen vowed Davis would not get another foot of land, and refused to deed anymore away. About the same time Mrs. Mullen's brother retired from a town job and she allowed him to place a trailer by her house.

Meanwhile, Mr. Sowell was settling his children upon his land. He gave his unmarried son one-fifth of an acre of land for a store site, and his daughter and her spouse 4 acres for a house site. The daughter's husband was her cousin. The spouse built himself and his wife a modern brick house, and later built his sister-in-law's house mentioned above. However, a loss

in a business venture caused his house to be seized by the courts; he continues to live in it and hopes to someday buy it back. After this Mr. Sowell was more cautious, and while he allowed his daughter to build a house next to his own, he did not deed her the property, nor did he give his fifth daughter a deed to her trailer site which also adjoins his house tract.

This is a residential location circumscribed from the other residences in the community; on this land live persons who form bonds through residential propinquity, kinship and affinity. In this small area numerous reciprocal ties bind siblings together, and parent to child. At the same time the close proximity encourages conflict, which must be resolved for any measure of peaceful co-existence. Inter-marriage is the simplest way of resolving conflict and has allowed these two groups to unite against the remainder of the community; against the other whites who look down on them socially, and against the blacks, many of whom are economically and educationally superior to them. These people for the most part are avoided by persons of both racial groups, and the governmental agencies which seek out the blacks ignore them altogether. They avoid welfare, the police and authority

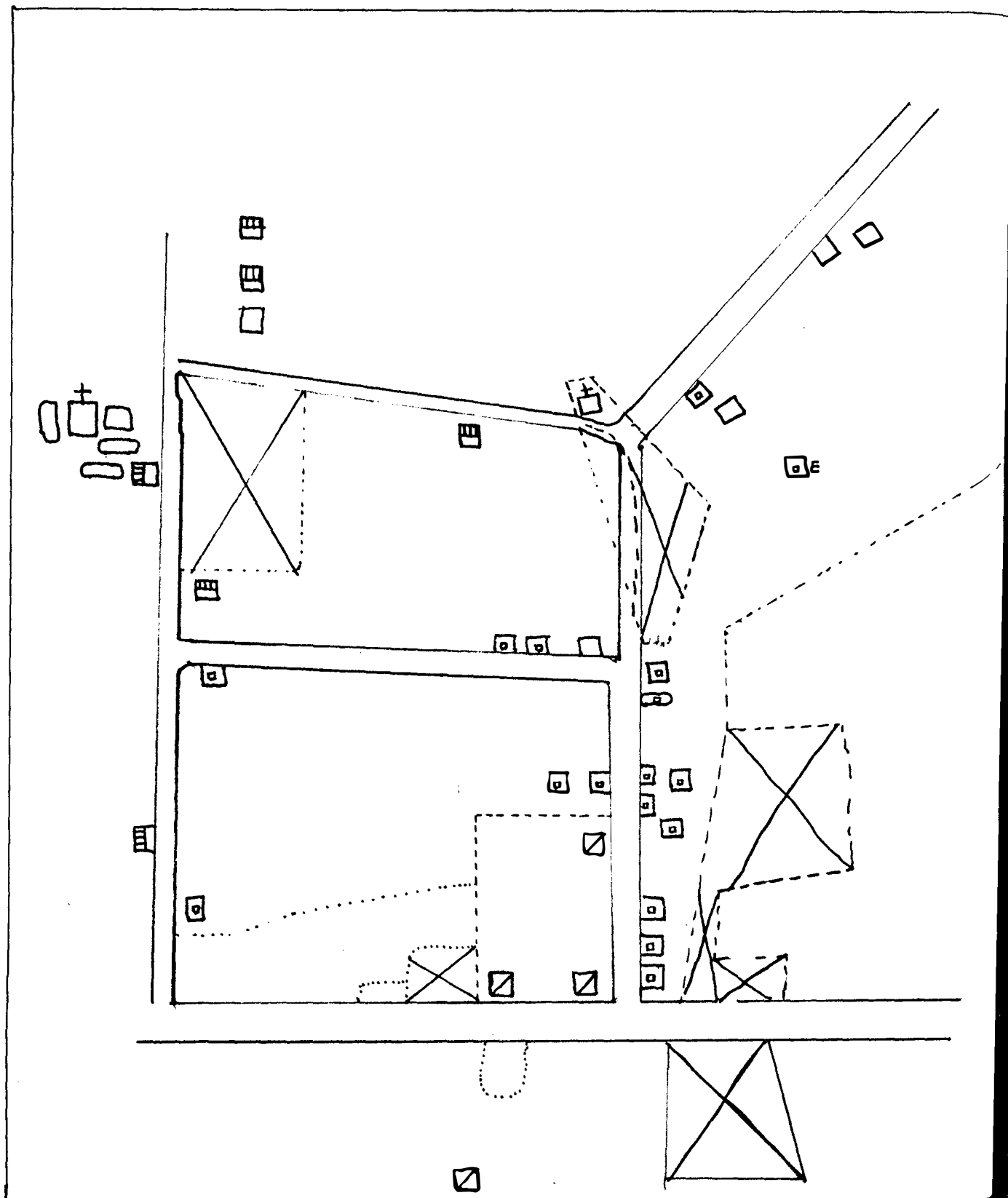
in general, one deserted the army; they drop out of school as soon as the law allows. When the children are small the mothers allow them to go to the local Baptist Church, but when other children in the community invited the Mullens to come to their homes for church socials, the Mullens stopped their children attending church. They claimed that the other people were only trying to show off their homes. So limited is the geographical world of the Mullens and Sowell, that one of the Mullens' children in the fourth grade, when asked where he lived could only answer 'below Tom's house'.¹ The local church sporadically tries to reach the families especially since Mrs. Mullen is janitor but only the Mennonites who hold prayer meetings in the homes of the settlement have reached them. One of the Mennonite preachers is also a contractor and hires the Mullen men.

There are other residential groups of new white land owners in the community but these groups are not as large or as circumscribed as is the group formed by the Mullens and Sowell, nor is their social class or standing the same.

The white Davis group and their kin and affines, and the kin of their affines, live all over the Pine Forks community. However the acquisition of land by

¹ Since this was written, a Sowell man killed himself because he couldn't find a wife.

MAP 7
(over)



☐ Houses occupied by first degree kin

◻ Houses occupied by first degree kin

▣ Houses occupied by first degree kin

⊠ Blocks of land totally outside the Davis kin and affine or kin of affines

the incoming white groups and the old black groups has divided their once continuous land holdings, and equal inheritance has fragmented the once large size. The residential pattern is similar to that seen among the blacks and the other whites; that is, kin tend to live next to or near one another. However, differences are also apparent since the larger land holdings of the Davises spread the houses of the Davis kin group farther apart. (see Map No.7). In addition, a temporal sequence may be seen among the Davis houses. While the houses of the other groups examined above were all built within the last thirty years or less, the Davis residences show the span of time since the foundation of the settlement. Two of the 18th century houses are still used, and also some 19th century houses still stand. However, access to these is now rather difficult, as the roads were not designed for the automobile, being laid out in the days of the horse and buggy.

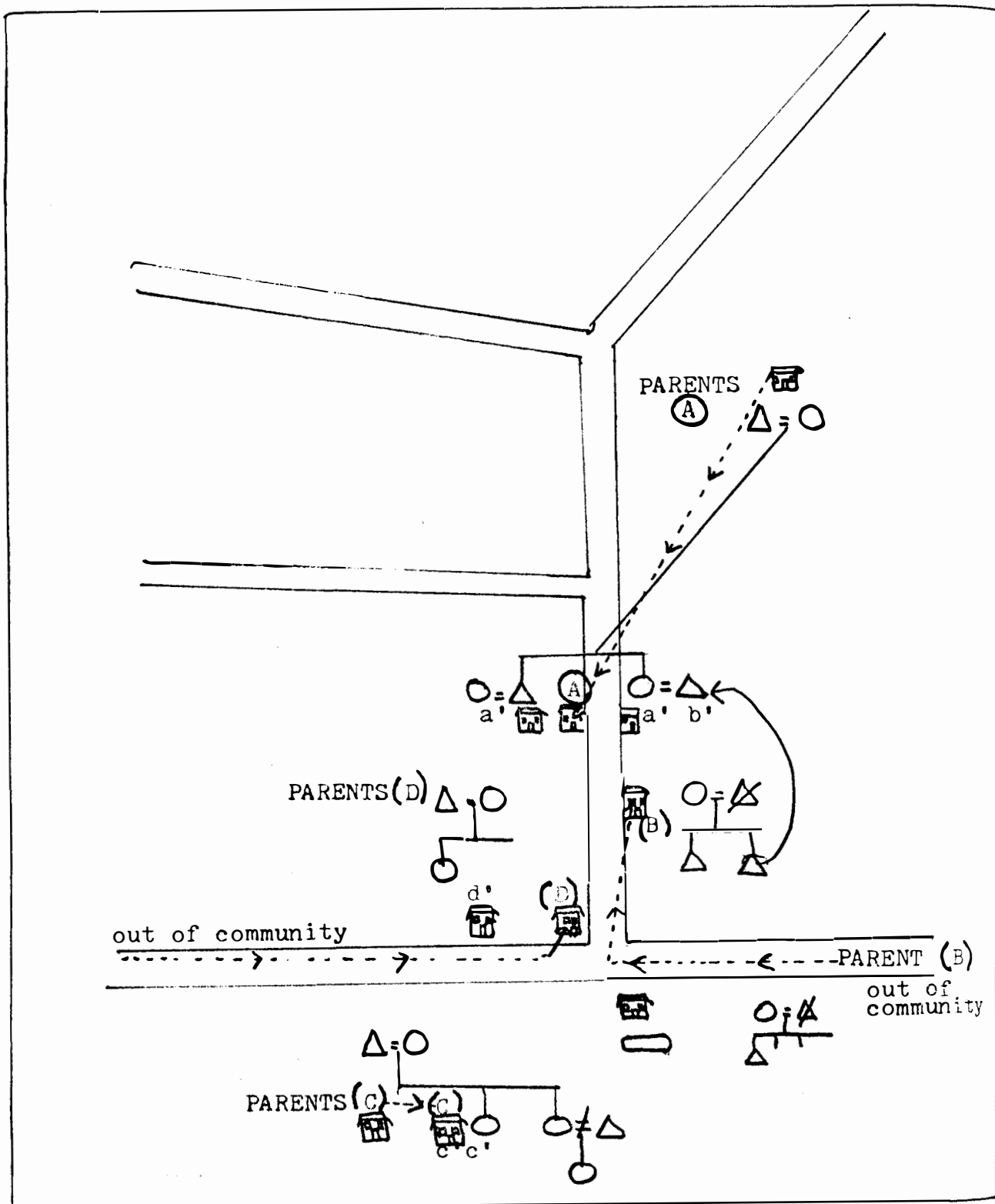
The new residences of the Davis family tend to be small one-story houses of cinderblock or wood, build very close to the turnpike. In contrast to the early 20th century structures these houses have central heating, modern plumbing, picture windows, and internal furniture arrangement for watching television rather than for conversation. Yet another difference reflects changing

family size as well as the changing economy: the new houses do not afford enough space for large numbers to dine. This dining space was mandatory among large 19th century families and among farmers who had to feed several field hands. The many out-buildings that were always present around the earlier houses are also absent. However, nearly every house continues to have a kitchen garden attached to it, and some have at least one out-building.

The small size of the new houses forces members of a family who wish to be with one another to build their dwellings in proximity. Aging parents can rarely find space in the new homes of their children for any visit except the most brief one. Therefore, when it is necessary for reasons of health and safety for an elderly couple to be near a member of their family, they must find a house of their own. The advent of social security for farmers of low gross income simplified this matter greatly. Now the parents may stay in separate dwellings and maintain their independence. If they have capital, this may be saved for the next generation, for the greatest dread of the old, to be sick and dependent upon the resources of the next generation, has been alleviated by the advent of Medicare. In addition, to

MAP 8

(over)



- A PARENTS moved to be near a' (son) and a' (daughter)
 B WIDOW AND SON moved to B to be near b' (widow's son)
 C PARENTS moved to C to be near c' and c' (daughters and grand-dau)
 D PARENTS moved to D to be near d' (daughter)

have the old couple in their own dwelling close to a son or daughter is often welcome, for this not only spares the son or daughter worry over their condition, and the expense of trips, but adds another dimension to the socialization of the young.

In five cases, parents have left their old homes and have moved near one of their children (see Map No. 8). Jeff Davis left a completely furnished house several miles distant from the nearest child and moved into a remodeled storehouse between their only son and his sister. Jeff Davis and his wife were in their 70s and 80s respectively before they consented to the move. Their only son Jeff Jr. had married his first cousin once removed, the great-neice of his father; his sister had married an outsider and had bought a building lot from her father's sister-in-law. Mrs. Newall moved from outside the community to be near her son who had married Jeff's daughter.

Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Cole moved into the home shared by their two daughters. One daughter had never married, and the other was divorced with a young child. This was a short move in distance so that the parents in their early 70s might be closer to their daughters for their own sake, as well as for the help it would be to the

daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Bart Cole had moved near their oldest daughter from a town 200 miles away; however, the couple owned considerable property adjoining their daughter; they were able therefore to locate their residence in a place both on their own land and near their daughter.

Mrs. Sims is a widow who moved into a trailer near her son's house when her homeplace burned down. Several years later she bought a new trailer and moved it a bit farther away, across a farm road but still very near her son. Not long after this her brother's wife died and Mrs. Sims was heard to express regret that she didn't have her trailer next to her brother's:

I didn't know that Mary was going to die and of course, I certainly didn't want her to, but if I had known, I would have gone ahead and put my trailer there; not that I don't like it here, it's just that I could have been a help to him down there.

In this case, her son had married a woman out of the kin group, and had bought a small lot a good distance away from his mother's land; consequently the bond which holds his mother to this residence is not as strong as the bond of other parents. In the case of Parents A, the couple was near two children, and the spouse of their son was also a greatniece; in the case of B, the widow brought another son along with her and

in addition purchased land and built a house. In the case of C, the daughters needed a male figure in the house, there were two daughters, and the parent's land joined that of the house into which they moved. Likewise, Parents D had two factors at least involved in their move: first, they owned land and second, they were near a child. Parents therefore move with or near children, but other factors influence their move, and indeed indicate to which child they may move. It could be said that all the above parents moved fili-local; some moved filia-local and some moved filius-local.

There are others who have moved back into the community to be near their blood kin. Three divorced women located their residence near primary or secondary kin when their marriage was disrupted. In one case a daughter returned to her parents' house and brought her own daughter; in a second case a sister moved near a sister; and finally, a woman moved into the house of her father's sister. In all cases, the divorced women moved near or with blood kin into a consangui-local residence.

The total residential pattern of the community leans heavily toward virilocal residence. There are 41 houses that are in virilocal residence; specifically 41 residences

were sited on land from, or near, the groom's family. Since cousins may marry one another and often do, the residence may also be near the bride's family. Accordingly, source or ownership of land was used rather than propinquity to locate the residence more specifically.

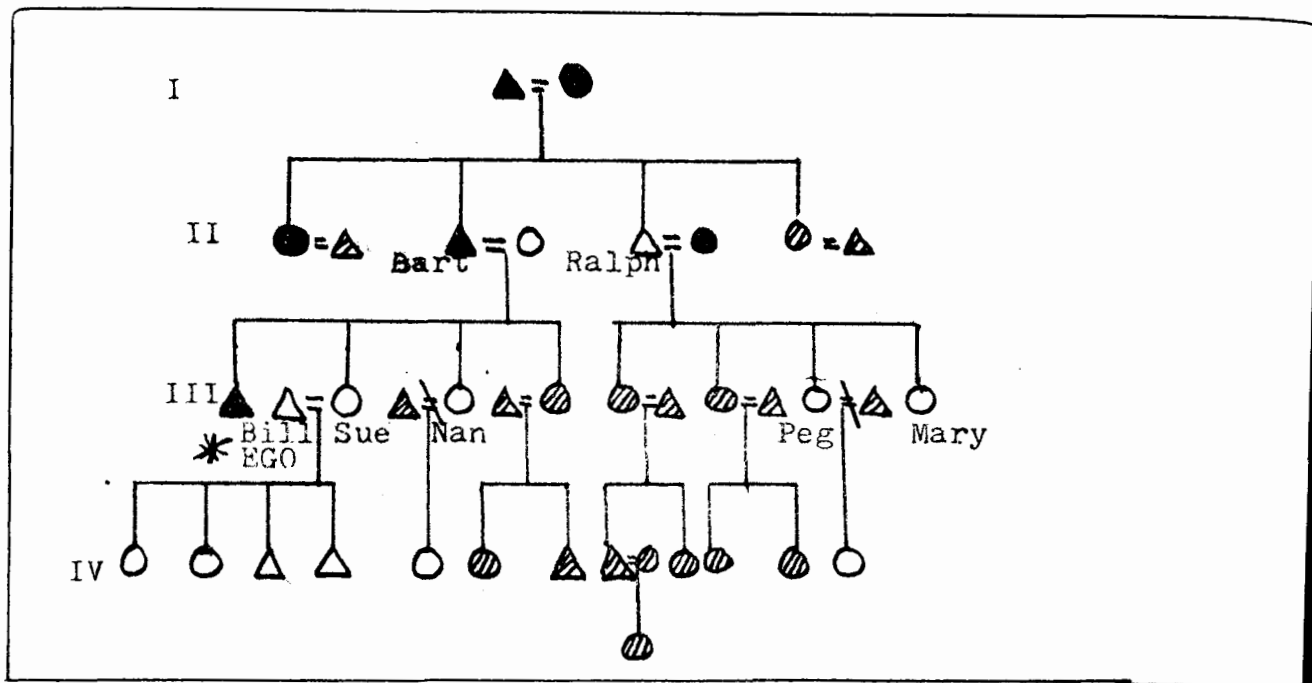
The uxorilocal residences numbered 23; in this case the couple lived on or near the land of the bride's family, or if the couple had bought the land, they bought it from the bride's family. Those in neolocal residences numbered 20, most of these were persons whose family had bought land for the first time in the community, and the history of land-owning was short, although residence in the community in some cases was at least fifty years. This group also contains outsiders who rent houses, and one or two kinsmen who bought land equidistant from both sets of kin. In addition, there were four houses occupied by persons living near their sibling; fratra-local residence where the couple lives near the groom's brother numbered three, and one couple lives near the groom's sister.

There seems no real difference in locality of residence between blacks and whites. Most owned their land and residence and only one black rents; this is a woman who is separated from her husband and lives away

from her mother's house in part to qualify for welfare; another black woman is a widow and lives in a trailer beside her parents, while another widow lives with her mother in a new shell home. The question of residence does not indicate that the family is or is not matri-focal although it contributes to the overall view.

Residence is only one facet of the matri-focal complex; for instance, one 70 year old widow lives in the house to which she came as a bride. Since it was her husband's house and located on her husband's father's land, the woman lived in virilocal residence; division of the property was never completed on the death of her husband's father, therefore she still lives virilocally in terms of land. It is another question of who lives in the house with her; the fact that her two illegitimate grandchildren have lived with her since birth indicates that she has certainly been the final source of authority in a matri-focal family structure, although male figures exist in her sons, and other male kin interact with her grandchildren and furnish them with the male image considered essential for proper socialization.

Figure 2
(over)



● = deceased
 ⊘ = moved away
 ⚭ = divorced

Another pattern emerges in the selection of a place to live, and this is the orientation of a number of residences that locate one man as the dominant male figure. For example, one man, Bill Davis in generation III, is the most important male figure in four residences: his own, his widowed mother-in-law's, his divorced sister-in-law's and his wife's divorced cousin (see Figure No.). Bart and Ralph Davis were born in the 1890s. Their two sisters inherited equally with the brothers in their parents estate. However the sisters left the community on marriage and later sold their land during the depression of the 1930s. Ralph remained on the homeplace and farmed while Bart got a job in a town 200 miles away; however Bart and his wife returned to the homeplace on retirement (couple D above). Bart's daughter Sue and her husband Bill had built a home there and this had an influence on their decision. Ralph Davis's two daughters returned home to live when Peg divorced her husband, and Mary decided not to marry. Bart died at the age of 76 and about the same time Ralph's wife died. Ralph himself nearly died, but recovered and is now 78. Bart's divorced daughter Nan then decided to move from town when her daughter reached adolescence, to avoid the town

gangs. These dysmorphic families live within a mile of one another and interact closely. In fact, it is only with reference to EGO (Bill) that a complete group of family roles is present for all four of these residential groups. Ralph is sick and depends upon Bill to represent the family in the larger community as well as for protection should this be necessary. Both Peg and Nan depend on him to furnish a male figure for their daughters. Bart's wife depends upon him for protection and advice in the care and maintenance of her house; in fact although she stays at home during the day she sleeps in her son-in-law's house at night. Without the male figure of Bill, it is likely that these four residential sub-units would suffer structural strain that would call for major readjustment. As the number of elderly widows rise in the population and as the number of divorced women increase, it is possible that other constellations of residences around a vital male figure will emerge.

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The residential groups of Pine Forks are viewed in several ways by persons who live outside the community and in other ways by those who live within it. Outsiders place the residential group together in a unit whose

nature is contingent upon special relationships between the settlement and the larger Piedmont County or other area groups and personnel. For example, the Piedmont County Clerk views the people as a residential unit of kin and affines who hold most of the 2000 acres of land in Pine Forks:

It shouldn't be too hard to study the land picture of Pine Forks, all of the property down there is owned by the Davises or the Benders; and what they don't own their kin people do.

He ignores the blacks, the Mullens, and the Sowell as well as the more recent landholders in the community. In addition to being oriented toward the land the County Clerk is politically oriented toward his elective office, and knows the key figures in each community that tend to influence community voting.

The public school Superintendent views the residential group as a child-bearing unit whose young must be transported to school, placed in proper classes, and provided with a teacher. He hopes the number of children will rise, as the amount of state financial aid depends upon the number of children in the county in average daily attendance. These numbers also influence the amount of salary which he can hope for. However, numbers have nothing to do with the size of his bureaucratic organization, for his office staff has risen every

year in spite of the fact that the number of school pupils has declined.¹

The Superintendent carefully notes the number of blacks and whites who must now ride together on integrated buses and attend totally integrated schools in 1969, since he feels that numbers of blacks is a crucial element in the acceptance of integration. He also views Pine Forks as a deviant group who refuse to accept his judgment on where its children should attend school. For example, when the plans for desegregation of elementary schools were made, the Superintendent placed all Pine Forks children in the school in their own political subdivision as he did all other areas of the county. The Pine Forks children however, had for 50 years attended the schools in the Court House district much closer to the settlement; in addition, the Court House district schools serve most of the upper-class, vocal families of the county, due to the concentration of the families of lawyers, doctors and county officials in and around the courthouse. Tension exists between the courthouse and the county, and county residents claim the Court House district tends to get preferential

¹ This appears to be an example of Parkinson's law.

treatment. The Pine Forks struggle therefore was a political struggle between two white groups over the determination and implementation of public goals and the differential distribution and use of power within the groups concerned with the goals.¹ The fact that Pine Forks contains the district member of both the board of supervisors and the school board, strengthened the community struggle with the local level political center. In this struggle, the black/white demographic structure of the schools was not a factor, as the preferred school contained nearly 50 percent blacks, while the other school contained less than 30 percent. The race issue therefore apparently does not dominate on the surface. However, a number of parents preferred the courthouse school because it was closer and they could drive their children there. It may be that this was one of the factors which influenced the decision. Possibility of physical contact between races, actual touching, is higher on a bus than in a classroom; moreover the supervision of students is at its lowest level on the school buses.

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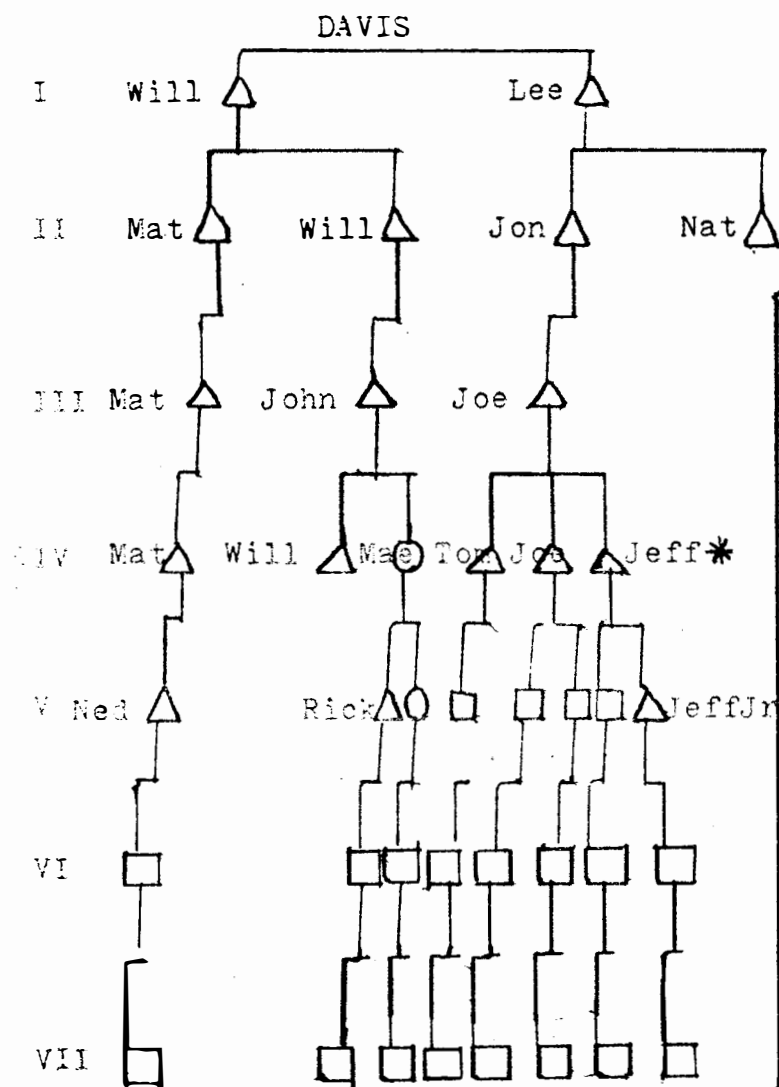
Marc J. Swartz Introduction in Local-Level Politics,
ed. Marc J. Swartz (Aldine Publishing Co. Chicago, 1968)
p. 1

In addition to the way the officials of the political center view the community as a unit, another view is taken by the clergymen of the area. The Baptist clergyman whose white church serves Pine Forks regards the people as a residential unit divided into two groups: a larger group of white families whom he visits, marries, buries, and preaches to; and the few white families whom another Baptist or Methodist minister preaches to. He is aware that black people live in the community and he passes the black Baptist church as he visits his own members, but he may know neither the name of the black pastor nor a single member of the black congregation.

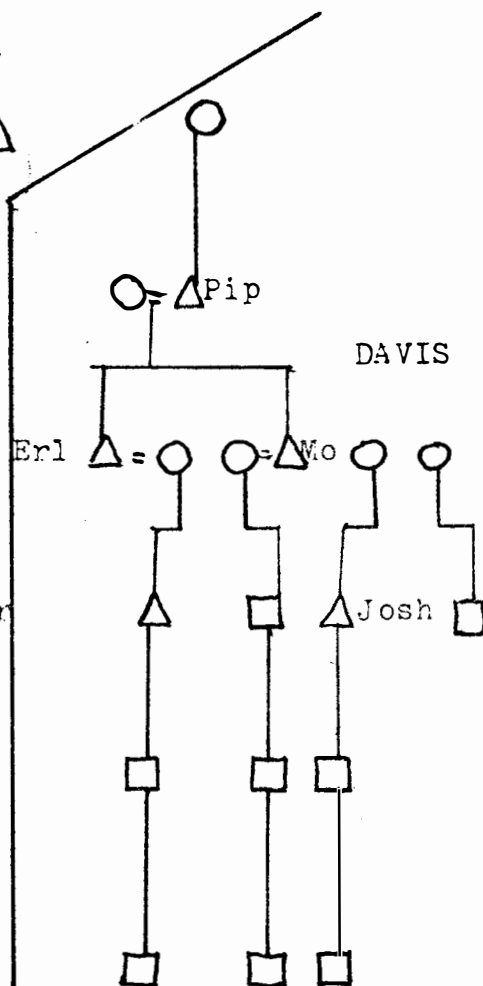
Members of the Pine Forks community view the residential groups in a different manner. They first distinguish groups by race and next by kinship. Within the kinship group, divisions are made between their own kin and the kin of their spouses. The view of their own kin differ too according to the Ego's place in the genealogical record, that is an elderly person has a different view of the kin group than does a younger person.

The view of the community differs too by length of time the kin group has held land in the area. A person in a newly settled family views the community differently from a member of the Davis family. And an old black group

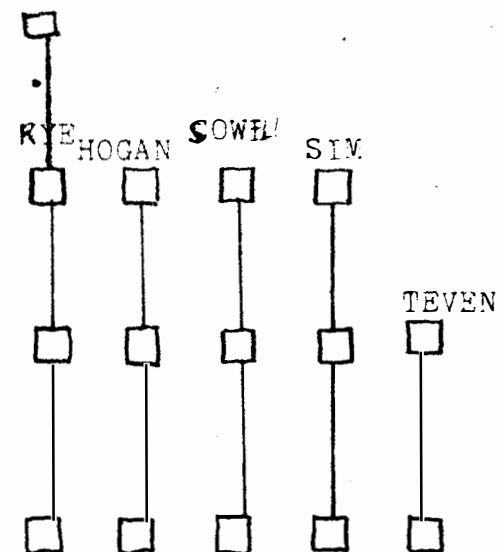
FIGURE 3
(over)



GROUP ONE Dominant White
Kin Group



GROUP TWO Black Group, Old
Residents



GROUP THREE White 'New' Residents

views the community differently from either white group.

If the genealogy of the eldest white member, that of Jeff Davis, is drawn in part, it is clear that his view of the kinship structure is different from the view of his grandchildren in generation VI (see Figure No. 3). The children here may not know the exact kinship relations of all the members of the community, while Jeff is able to do so with ease. He can see the place in the kinship structure in time and genealogy of his parents, half-siblings, and other members of generation II. However, while he can predict the probable structure of the genealogy after generation VII, his life span limits his actually seeing the exact statuses filled. The kin structure is a process that differs by genealogical position and generation.

Group Two on Figure 3 represents in part the genealogy of the black residents of Pine Forks, and Group Three those of the new white residents who have been in the community for two or three generations. The difference of genealogical depth between these two groups and the Davis group favors close relations between the white Davises and the black Davises. However, Group Three considers itself and the Davis group a unit of

racial solidarity which excludes all blacks in the community. This is true in terms of which groups may furnish possible spouses for one another. The Rye family, for example, married into the Davis family when they had been in the community for three generations. During this time there were several moves toward intermarriage but something always happened to abort these attempts. In private, several of the Davises would remark that the Ryes were good people but 'not like us'. Finally a Rye man married a Davis woman because of a pre-marital conception, and thus integrated the two residential groups by kinship. Propinquity tends to lead to kinship by marriage or outside of marriage. For example, members of the black Davis group and members of the white Davis group have ties of kinship formed outside of marriage. On occasion the older men of the community among the blacks and whites discuss these ties. These conversations have certain rules: first they are always initiated by the white men; second discussion is always limited to kinship no closer than the third ascending generation; third, no white woman's name is ever mentioned in this connection. The discussion is conducted with dignity and seriousness on the part of the older black man and some care is taken with

his answers; the older white man too uses a good bit of restraint, but there is not quite the same seriousness about him. Specific degrees of kinship are discusses, and the relationship between the black man and white man are often made explicit. On one occasion a black man discussed the kinship situation with a white woman, but the context was quite different:

Missus, I am calling you up because I need your help; you might not know me but my name is Elajer Davis and you are my people. They have sent my little girl down to school by herself with all the white people, was my wife's doings and I am afraid something might happen to her. Do you think you could get her sent back to her old school or do you think it will be alright for her to go?

There is some indication that conversations like this are becoming a thing of the past, and that the younger groups are drawing apart as their economic positions begin to converge. However, this may be a generational phenomenon, and when the young are middle-aged, they too may have conversations like their fathers.

In spite of certain cohesion between himself and the old white group, Black Group Two recognizes that the internal cohesion of his own residential group is of the greatest strength and views his group as a unit and views Group One as a unit although he clearly recognizes the conflicts and schisms that exist among the segments of Group One whereas Group Three, the new landholders, may not.

Group One, the dominant land holding and residential group together with its affines, views both the settlement and his kin group not altogether as a unit, but from segmented positions that began occurring before Generation I, the oldest generation where Jesse, born 1881 the oldest man in the settlement knew of a member, his grandfather, who was born in 1767 and died in 1858. Therefore, Jesse remembers the name of his grandfather, but not his grandfather's siblings; Jesse knows the name of his father and his father's siblings, none of whom remained in Pine Forks. He knows the names of his own full and half-siblings and knew them all well even though he was the youngest child of 13. Jesse and his two brothers who remained in the settlement regarded themselves and their descendants as a group, although the children of the three brothers in Generation IV see the group as segmented due to the influence of their mothers and the division of the land; a first cousin marriage in Generation IV reunited the group as did a marriage of cousins in Generation V. Other cousin marriages integrated the group although it also intensified the schisms in other parts of the kinship system, where marriage was outside the kin group.

Marriage is restricted within each of these groups,

even though breeding crosses the boundaries on occasion. Groups which are territorially based and within which endogamous marriage may occur are known as a deme. Pine Forks may be considered in the light of this concept.

CHAPTER SIX

The Deme

It is possible to describe the groups that make up the community of Pine Forks as demes, that is, local populations with bilateral descent rules. The use of the word deme for the analysis of kinship groups somewhat distorts its original connotations. The Greeks used the word to describe a territorial and political division.¹ Its purpose was to base citizenship on residence rather than on membership of a gens or phratry. The citizen voted in his deme, he was taxed in his deme, and called to military service from his deme.

Murdock² and Driver³ among others have used the concept to stand for a local group of people within

¹ Lewis Henry Morgan, Ancient Society, Eleanor Burke Leacock ed. (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1963), p. 280 ff. for Morgan's description of a Greek deme.

² George P. Murdock, Social Structure, (New York: Macmillan, 1949), pp. 62-63, 159

³ Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) p. 305

which descent is not through one sex only. Driver describes deme as a territorial and political unit which may be endogamous or exogamous, which is not further segmented by unilineal descent, and which is small enough so that all members are aware of their bilateral genetic relationship to all or almost all othermembers of the group. The political aspect may be weak or there may be political subservience to the larger state.

Murdock emphasizes locality, endogamy, and the absence of unilateral descent in his concept of the deme. Matthews, following Murdock, reports a small endogamous, bilateral Tennessee community or deme which substantially joins kinship, family, residence, and community or deme as one and the same.¹

The Pine Forks community contains two groups within which endogamy occurs: the white group and the black group. Both of these marry within their own local group and they marry within their race outside of the local group. In addition to the racial division, the community contains several kinship groups whose members are aware of bilateral genetic relationships

¹ Elmore Messer Matthews, Neighbor and Kin, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1965) pp.xxiii-xxvii

with one another. Three major groups appear in Pine Forks on the basis of locality, kinship and race. These three demes form a very weak political unit subservient to the larger and stronger county, state and nation.

These demes are composed of:

- (1)members of the white Davis kin group who live in Pine Forks and perpetuate their group by cousin marriages as well as by marriages with others of their race and socio-economic class;
- (2)members of the black group who live in Pine Forks and marry in a similar manner;
- (3)members of the Mullens-Sowell kin group who live in Pine Forks and marry in a similar manner to the above two demes.

The Davis deme consists of persons who are descended from the Davis and Weekes kinsmen who first settled Pine Forks. Many of the descendants scattered over the entire United States. A number maintain ties with their kin in Pine Forks and some have rights in land and houses. However, only those who remained in the community are considered members of the deme.

The black deme contains persons who are descended from the slaves of the white Davis family and other

families of Piedmont County as well as free blacks from the nearby mountains. The oldest members remember their grandparents but seldom further back. The dysmorphic structure of the ante-bellum black families and the mobility forced upon family members by whites before the war resulted in shallow genealogies. In addition post-Civil War emigration scattered their members as it did many whites. The blacks tended to be less literate and until modern communication and transportation systems came into Pine Forks, they found it more difficult to keep in touch with kin there. A number of them did, particularly if they had an interest in the land; a good number who remained in the locality married cousins and nearly all own local land.

The third deme has been in the present location only 28 years. Two separate families emigrated from the mountain farms where they were tenants or renters into Pine Forks when by chance money came into their hands at the same time that land in the community was for sale. Shortly after settlement they intermarried with each other but have not subsequently intermarried with members of the other two demes. The black deme is excluded because of race and the Davis deme are members of a higher social class with whom they have limited

social interaction.

Within the Davis kin group or deme there are four divisions with reference to the four original ancestors. Certain members of the community are descended from all four ancestors while others are descended from only one of these. Four variables appear to influence membership in the groups descended from the four Davis kinsmen: demography, propinquity, counship and social class. Demographic age and sex imbalance force persons to seek mates out of the deme. On the whole men tend to seek spouses their own age or younger while women seek mates their own age or older. Large Victorian families allowed fortuity of age and sex a greater margin, while small families of today have less chance to find the right age and sex among local cousins. Still, a large 19th century family of 15 had problems too: eight remained in the deme and four of these married deme members. One male found a spouse outside of the deme who was from a lower socio-economic class than he was. Three of the family members remained in the deme but never married at all. One of these later killed himself when he reached middle age, and his middle-aged brother died under suspicious circumstances. A third single sibling had a short period of mental illness in middle age when she fancied herself pregnant by a lower-

class bachelor in the community. These events may reflect difficulties in finding a spouse within deme or class.

The second variable, propinquity, exerts an influence on mate selection unless the person next door is of another race or of a much lower socio-economic class outside the deme. In addition movements of persons in and out of the locality first separates possible spouses and then makes them available again. (see Map #9 below).

The third variable, socio-economic class, cuts across deme lines but operates less within the deme than it does between deme members and persons of different social class outside the deme. A person may marry a cousin of lower socio-economic class, while he may risk censure if he marries a person who is neither kin nor a member of his social class.

The fourth variable cousinship, mitigates the influence of social class although as persons draw apart in the genealogy, socio-economic class becomes more an influence on the selection among possible spouses.

Altogether there are 150 Davis kin, Davis affines, and the kin of affines and their spouses in

Pine Forks. Almost every white land owner except the Mullens-Sowell whites are connected by bonds of kinship, bonds of affinity or are relatives of affines. However there are 73 persons who are direct descendants of the four Davis settlers, and 42 of these are direct descendants of Jonathan Davis. Matt Davis has the next largest number of descendants, 40 persons. Will Davis has only 26 descendants, and John Weekes has 22, the least number of all the kinsmen.

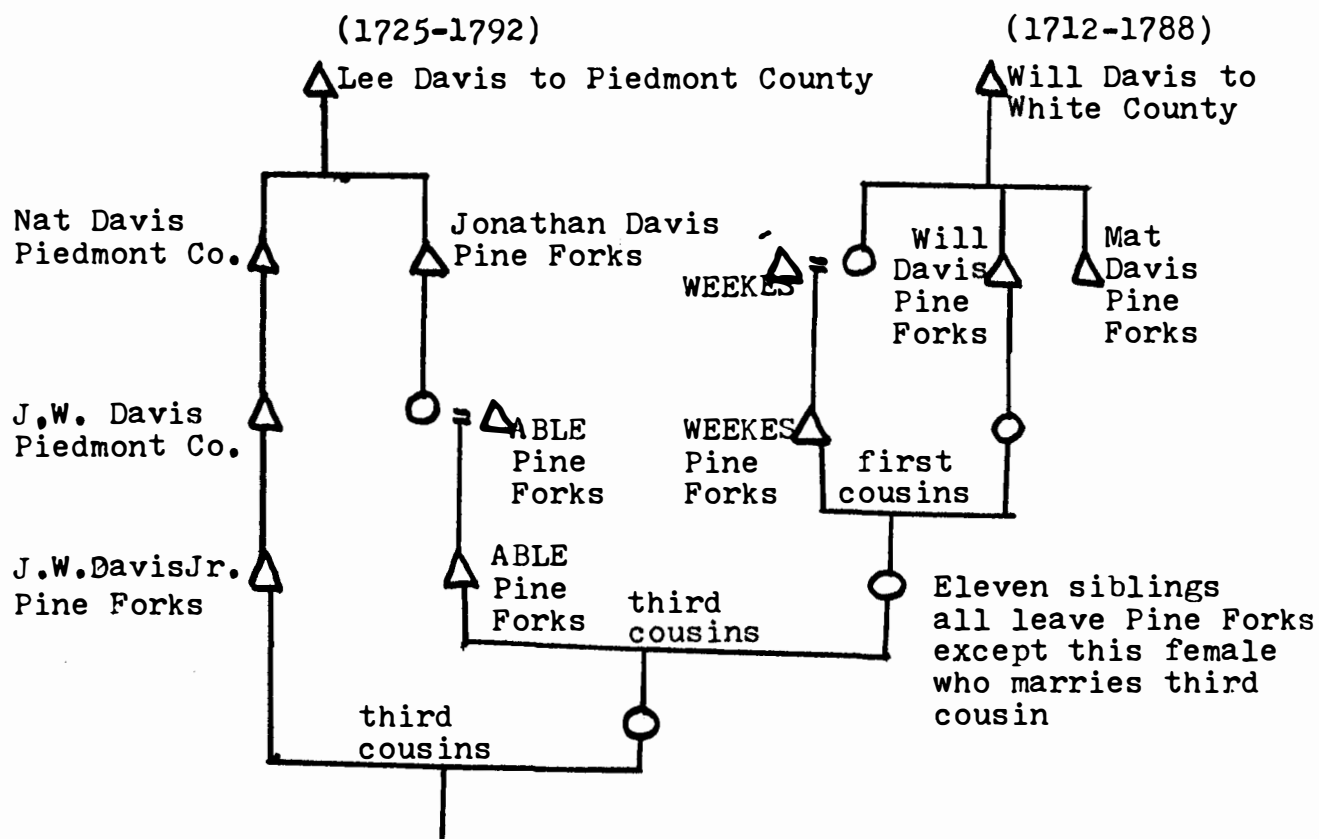
Within each of the above groups are a number of kin who are descended from one of the Davis ancestors only and a number who are descended from more than one. There are eight groups thus formed within the deme of Davis kin in Pine Forks today:

- (A) persons descended from Matt Davis alone, 14;
- (B) those descended from Jonathan alone, 6 persons;
- (C) descendants of Will Davis alone, 12 persons;
- (D) those descended from Matt and Jonathan, 12;
- (E) those descended from Matt and Will, 4 persons;
- (F) descendants of Jonathan and will, 3 persons;
- (G) descendants of Will, Jonathan, and John Weekes, 11;
- (H) descendants of all four men, 11 persons.

The descendants listed above do not have equal parts of blood, for example Group G above forms a unit of descent from Will and Jonathan and John Weekes because of

FIGURE 4

(over)



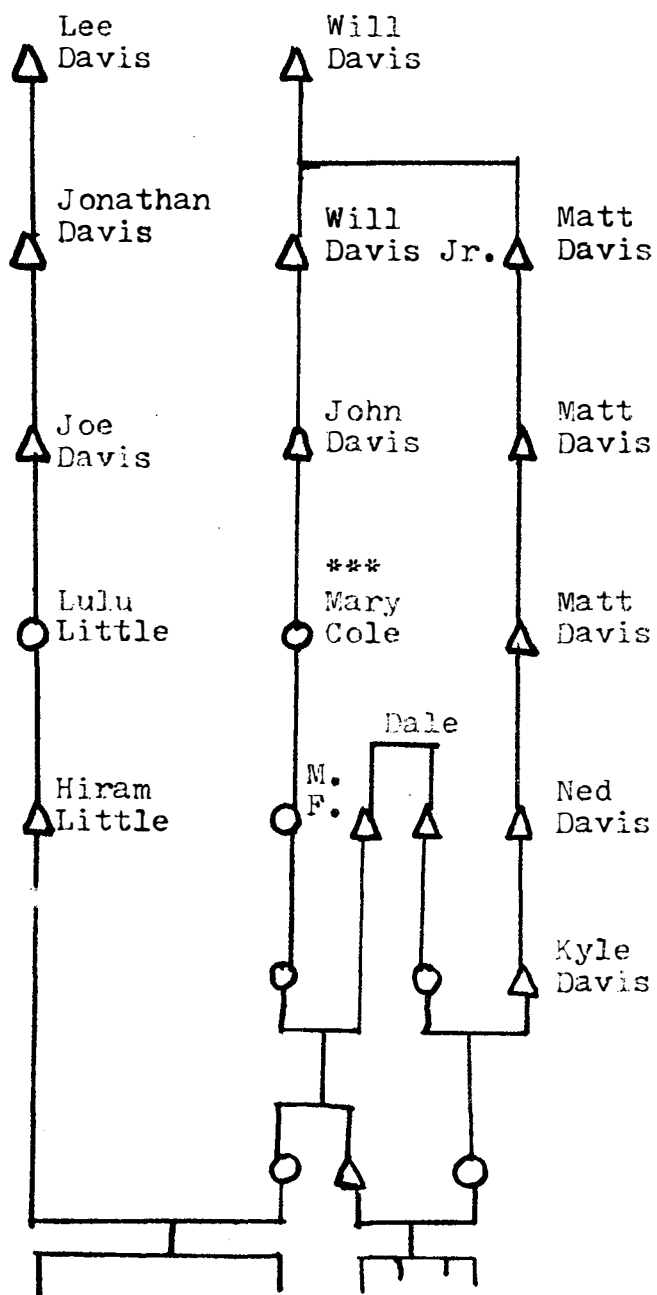
MOVEMENT OF WEEKES NAME FROM PINE FORKS AND ITS REPLACEMENT BY ABLE

one marriage high in the genealogy between a daughter of Will Davis and a son of John Weekes. Although this couple had 11 children, only one daughter who married a Davis cousin stayed in the community and the remaining four sons and six daughters emigrated to other parts of the country. Therefore the Weekes name left Twin Forks with the Weekes men, none of whom ever returned. (See Figure #4). The Weekes name was replaced by the Able name which remains in the deme today represented by an Able brother and sister neither of whom have offspring.

Will Davis, Jonathan Davis and John Weekes therefore were united through only one marriage in generation IV, which left 11 descendants in Pine Forks today. Will Davis's descendants married the descendants of Jonathan Davis only one time, and that took place in the present generation. A male descendant of Jonathan Davis in generation V married a female descendant of Will Davis in generation VII. Two of their sons and one grandson comprise the three descendants of both Jonathan and Will Davis. (See Figure #6). Will Davis, as noted above, has the next smallest number of descendants in Pine Forks. This number represents a process with contrasts with the Weekes picture.

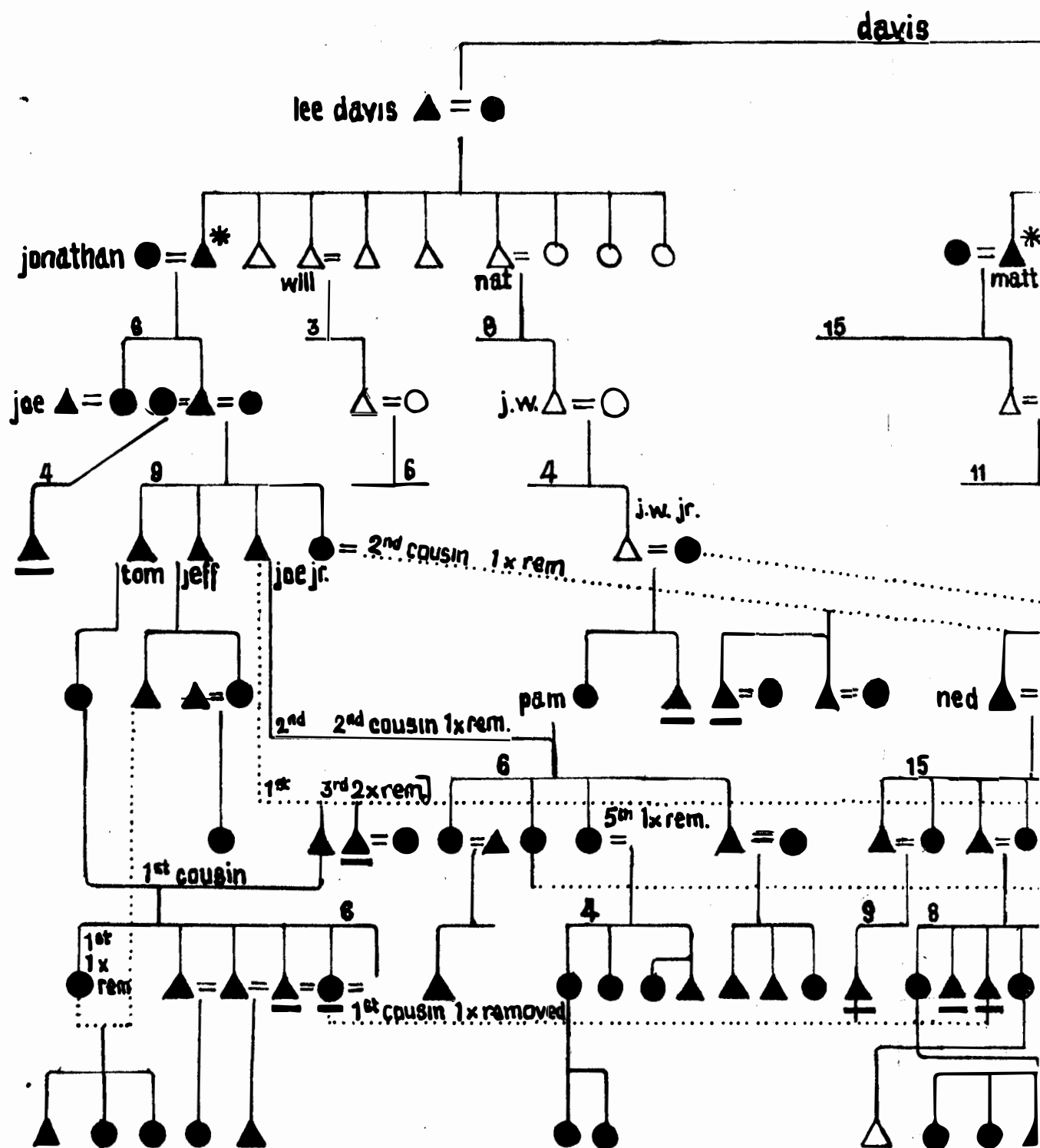
FIGURE 5

(over)



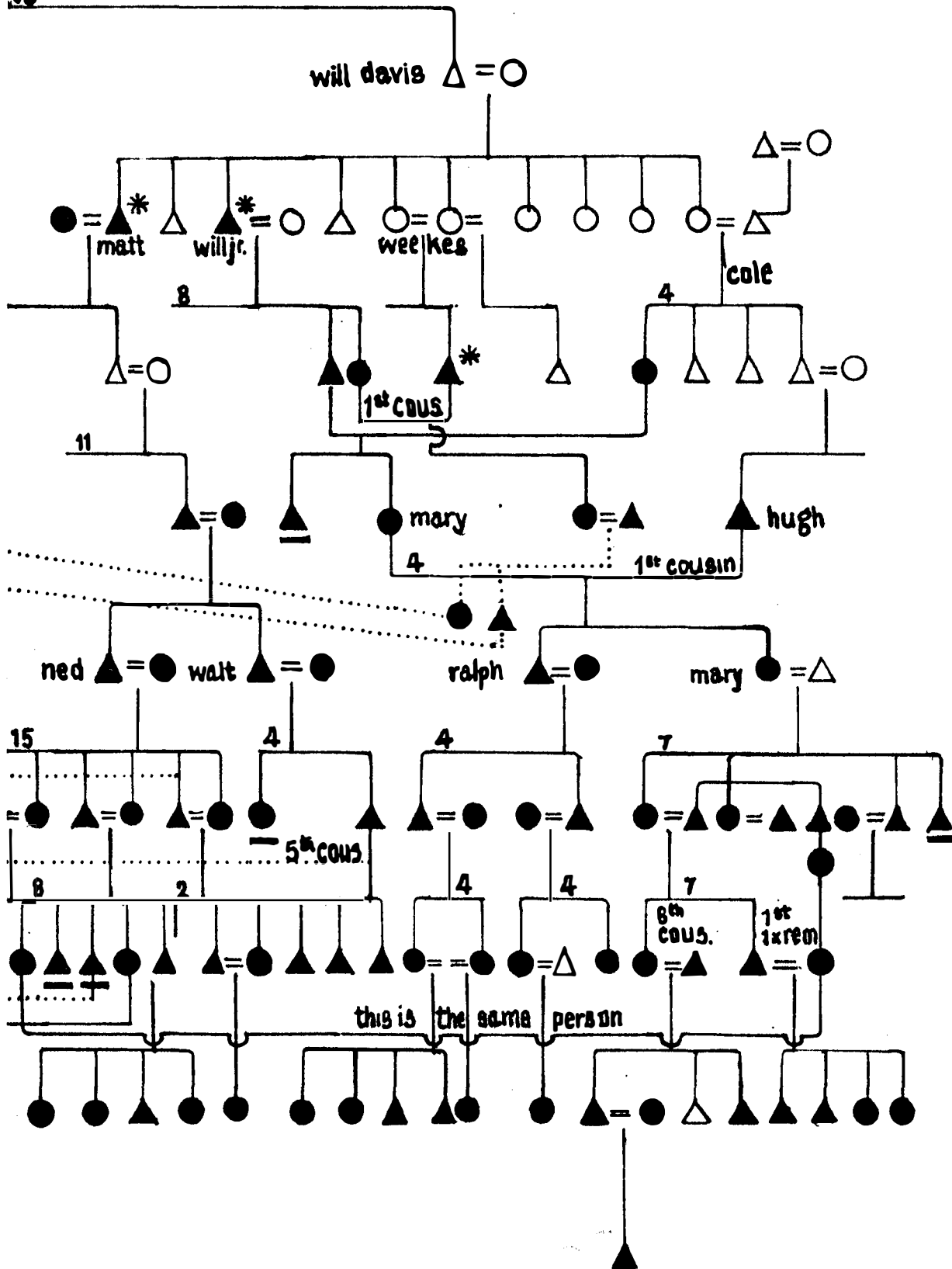
MOVEMENT OF FEMALE DAVIS, MARY DAVIS COLE, OUT OF DEME IN 1836,
 BACK INTO DEME IN 1890

Will Davis Jr. had eight children, two sons and six daughters. Only one son left offspring that remained in the deme. This son married his first cousin, his father's sister's daughter, and the union produced three children of whom one son and one daughter lived to maturity. The parents then died while young. The daughter married her first cousin Hugh Cole, her mother's brother's son, and they emigrated to the west. The one son who remained in the deme never married at all. Therefore on his death a considerable amount of land was left. Certain of his cousins in the deme laid claim to the land, but other cousins supported the claim of the dead man's sister, Mary Cole. She then immigrated back into the deme and her husband and two surviving children came with her. There was therefore a division in the deme between the cousins. The division was in terms of the original settlers, the brothers Will and Matt Davis and their cousin, Jonathan Davis. However, one grandchild of Mary Cole married a descendant of Matt Davis, and another grandchild married a descendant of Jonathan Davis, his great-grandson, Hiram Little. Apart from these two daughters' children, none of Mary Cole's children's children married within the deme, nor did



— remained in Pine Forks

* original settlers



her grandchildren or great-grandchildren descended from her son, although a number stayed in the deme. Not one member of Will Davis's descendants now bears the name Davis, since his only son to remain in the deme had but one son who then died without issue. Therefore, the descendants of Will Davis are something of an out-group within their deme. In this case, while bilateral descent rules prevail, degree of intermarriage within the deme forms groups that are more or less cohesive. The agnates appear to be closer than cognates through females. Jonathan Davis's descendants have intermarried more than Will Davis's descendants, both with descendants of Matt Davis and with each other. It appears that Matt Davis's descendants did not marry Jonathan's (see Figure #6) descendants until generation VI, although Jonathan Davis's grandson Joseph in generation IV married Ann Davis the first time he married and his second cousin once removed the second time he married (see p.p.176). Since then, other marriages have taken place, specifically Tod Davis, great-great-grandson of Matthew, to Nela Davis, great-granddaughter of Jonathan Davis. Offspring from these unions further unite Jonathan's and Matt's group and further isolate Will's

group from the other two. Conflict appears to exist more within the closely tied groups, but cohesion is likewise apparent. Family reunions, gift exchanges, aid during illness, and visiting all occur far more frequently among the families of the descendants of Matt and Jonathan Davis than between them and Will Davis's descendants. Will Davis's descendants form an almost closed group within the deme, opened only where Hiram Little married Mary Cole's great-granddaughter and where Kyle Davis's daughter's marriage united Matt and Will Davis's line once again. (See Figure 5).

This deme contains deep lines of separation that go back to the original settlers but were increased by emigration and immigration. This structural evidence is corroborated by physical evidence. Although Will Davis's property joins that of Jonathan Davis, Jonathan Davis's descendants reach their homes from the Pine Forks Turnpike, as does Matt Davis's descendants. Will Davis's descendants reach their home on an opposite road; the houses are in a sense back to back, rather than side by side. Will Davis's descendants look to the south and the others look to the north.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Family and Domestic Group

Persons in Pine Forks use the term 'family' in a number of ways. Sometimes they refer to a married couple and progeny, a commonly accepted definition of family.¹ Sometimes they mean a sibling group and at other times it is a widow and her children, or a divorced person and his children, or a woman and her illegitimate children that are referred to as a 'family'. In addition, a combination of persons related to one another by consanguineal, conjugal, and affinal bonds is also called a family. There are family graveyards, family reunions, family birthday's for Grandmother, family con-

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Harold T. Christensen, 'Development of the Family Field of Study' in Handbook of Marriage and the Family, Harold T. Christensen, ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1964) p. 3 gives definition of family as 'marriage plus progeny'; this agrees with the definitions found in Notes and Queries (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1951) p. 70; M. F. Nimkoff, Comparative Family Systems (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965) p. 14

ferences on weddings, and a family representative at various functions of the non-family world. 'Andrew's family' is composed of brothers and sisters of an old bachelor who come to see him on Sunday or when he is sick, and Andrew goes to visit his family when he goes to the homes of his brothers and sisters. Likewise 'Clara's family' consists of a black woman who is separated from her husband, and whose five children are a mixture of legitimate and illegitimate. 'Family' too is applied to a divorced white woman and her child, to a widow and her children, and to brothers and sisters who live together.

A common element in the use of the term 'family' is its application to an adult or adults with children, or to a sibling group with at least one parent in common. Specifically, it refers of kinship between persons of the first order:

Most men who live to maturity belong to two elementary families, to one as son and brother, and to the other as husband and father. It is this simple fact that gives a rise to a network of relations connecting any single person with many others. We can get a good idea of this by considering what may be called orders of relationship by kinship and marriage. Relationships of the first order are those within the elementary family, viz. the relation of parent and child, that of husband and wife, and that between siblings. ¹

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A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 'Introduction' in African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, eds., A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (London: Oxford University Press, 1950) p.6

The 'family' in Pine Forks may also include persons beyond the first order of relationship:

Relationships of the second order are those traced through one connecting person such as those with father's father, mother's brother, ~~stepmother~~ (father's wife), sister's husband, brother's son, wife's father, &c. Those of the third order have two connecting links, as mother's brother's son, father's sister's husband, and so on. So we can go on to the fourth, fifth, or nth order. In each order the number of relationships is greater than that in the preceding order. This network of relationships includes both cognatic relationships and relationships resulting from marriage, a person's own marriage, and the marriages of his cognates. The first determining factor of a kinship system is provided by the range over which these relationships are effectively recognized for social purposes of all kinds. The differences between wide-range and narrow-range systems are so important that it would be well to take this matter...as basis for...classification.¹

As Schneider points out, the term 'family' can mean both the unit of husband, wife, and child and it can mean as well the aggregation of all those who are relatives including the unit of husband, wife, and child.² In Pine Forks 'family' means both the minimal family of the narrowest range and the maximal family of the widest range. The minimal family tends to reside locally, but the maximal family may reside locally in part, or it may be dispersed

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Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit.

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David M. Schneider, American Kinship: A Cultural Account (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968) p. 111

over the nation's towns and countryside.

Although nearly everyone in Pine Forks is a part of one maximal family or the other, couples without children do not have a family of their own:

I doubt if Aubrey and Mary will ever have a family of their own, she was too old when she married. And that young couple in May's trailer hasn't started a family yet although each one of them comes from a large family. Guess with these new pills and things you can have a family when you please, or not have one at all, people are so selfish these days.

Pine Forks differentiates between the conjugal minimal family and the maximal family that is conjugal, consanguineal, and affinal especially in regard to residence. Ideally, each conjugal family should have its own separate house, and as soon as a couple can afford to, they rent or build their own. However, at times a number of kinsmen may live under one roof and be considered as one family. Yet residence together does not necessarily mean the persons of the households are a family.¹ There may be an occasional boarder or household help which lives in the residence, yet is distinct from the family. At the same time, it does not appear that the people of Pine Forks consider only those who do live together as constituting a family. Schneider states that this living together is

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For a discussion of the concepts of household, family, co-residence, and domestic functions see Donald R. Bender, 'A Refinement of the Concept of Household: Families, Co-residence, and Domestic Functions' in American Anthropologist, vol. 69, no. 5, Oct. 1967, pp 493-504.

a part of the definition of family in American kinship.¹ But in Pine Forks some men are present in their home for only a day or two a week as they work a good number of miles away and live where they work; in addition college students are away from home most of the year but they are still considered to be family members and dependents. In fact, the income tax regulations allow them to be counted as family members and dependents. Persons do not regard living together as a requirement for family membership, as one informant said:

My wife and I have lived here for some time but the rest of the family lives in different places. Some live in New Jersey and Washington and two of my sons live right in my yard, you might say. They built their homes on a little piece of land I gave them.

Within both the maximal and minimal family, recognition is given to the special bond that is necessary for continuity of the group, the minimal mother-child bond. This bond may be integrated into the structure of members of the maximal family, for example when daughters and their illegitimate children live together with their own parents and siblings, or the bond may stand out more clearly when the mother-child maintain their own house. The divorced woman and her child, the widow and her children, the woman whose spouse has left her and her child or children, the unmarried woman and her offspring may be both a residential

unit and a family united by a minimal bond. While the mother-child bond is present in conjugal families with the father or husband status filled, the mother-child bond which exists apart from the husband-father has been called dysmorphic,¹ rare,² and pathological³.

Simmel recognized the dyad as a structural group albeit a vulnerable one, as the withdrawal of either member collapses the structure.⁴ But both Adams and Fox call the maternal dyad the basic unit and the irreducible unit of human society.⁵ This dyad or minimal bond is found in Pine Forks but in every case it is embedded in the maximal family structure. This larger structure may include several conjugal families, several dysmorphic families, and several families in various stages of family growth and dissolution who may or may not live in the same house. Thus there is

¹ Mervin Susser and William Watson, Sociology and Medicine, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) p. 198

² Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 14

³ The Negro Family, the Case for National Action, (Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, March 1965) p. 29

⁴ The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. and ed., Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950) pp. 122-125

⁵ Robin Fox, Kinship and Marriage (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967) p. 37; Richard Adams 'An Inquiry into the Nature of the Family' in Gertrude E. Dole and Robert L. Carneiro, eds., Essays in the Science of Culture in Honour of Leslie Al White (New York; 1960)

present a minimal family and a larger, maximal family who identify themselves with one another and engage in some minimal form of interaction. The presence of the maximal family is perhaps the factor that differentiates the dyadic family of Pine Forks from the matriarchal structure and the so called 'tangle of pathology' of the Moynihan report:

In essence, the Negro community has been forced into a matriarchal structure which, because it is so out of line with the rest of the American society, seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole...ours is a society which presumes male leadership in private and public... There is much evidence that a considerable number of Negro families have managed to break out of the tangle of pathology...the middle-class Negro family is, if anything, more patriarchal... than the general run of such families.¹

In Pine Forks there are a number of families who if isolated from the maximal family, could be called matriarchal, but are not considered as diseased or pathological by members of Pine Forks. For example, there are three divorced white women, three white widows with children, two unmarried black women with children, one deserted black woman with legitimate and illegitimate children, one grandmother with illegitimate grandchildren, and a married black woman with legitimate and illegitimate children whose hus-

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The Negro Family, Case for National Action, op cit., p. 29

band is sometimes home. All of these women are part of a maximal family and embedded in it, some of them within the same house. Many are economically independent and have male kin for daily interaction with their children. There is nearly always some deference to the authority of a male kinsman. This is at its greatest level when the woman and her children live in the home with the male figure. However, in situations where the major decisions must be made by women, Pine Forks does not regard this as a 'tangle of pathology'; women often headed families in the past for varying lengths of time. Today conjugal families may have the father absent during the week and he is absent during the day for most of the week.

Older children may act as surrogate parental figures on the absence of father or mother. Younger children too are sometimes caught at home to act in the place of absent members. Sons such as Andrew above took their father's place in the house and never freed himself of the role. However, the presence of children mature enough to substitute for a parent depends upon the phase of the family developmental cycle. Watson has identified four phases of the family cycle, that of expansion, dispersion, independence and replacement.¹ This is similar to the

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Susser and Watson, op. cit., p.194

phases of domestic groups described by Radcliffe-Brown¹ but contains the revolutionary phase of independence now possible for western families who contain fertility to the early years of marriage. Watson defines the phases with reference to the presence or absence of the children and the economic activity of the spouses:

- (1)the expansion phase begins when the first child is born and lasts until the first child leaves home;
- (2)the dispersion phase begins when the first child leaves home and ends when the last child leaves home;
- (3)the independence phase begins when all children have left home and the couple is alone again but still not retired from the working world;
- (4)the replacement or retirement phase begins when the couple is forced to retire either by rule or choice; this phase ends with the death of a spouse.

There are 315 persons in Pine Forks, 67 of these are couples. Only forty of these couples have children at home of which there are 128 in the community.

¹

Radcliffe-Brown, 'Introduction' op. cit., p. 5

Married couples number 134 persons in the population of 315; these fall into various stages of the family cycle. (see Figure) While ten of the white couples have no children and probably never will due to the age of the bride, no black couple is without children. Of the 67 couples in Pine Forks, 20 couples or nearly 30 percent are black. The large percentage of couples among blacks who are in the independence stage in no way reflects a true independence of the couple from their children as a number of the children have built houses close to the parents and depend upon them for help with the children.

The ratio of adults to children in Pine Forks is very different from that of non-industrial society where most of the population is under 14 years of age. In Pine Forks, the adults over 21 outnumber the children under 21; 187 persons are adults while 128 are children. Two-thirds of the families are composed of husband, wife, and children while one-third take other forms. However, 98 percent of the people in the community live surrounded by members of the maximal family.

The families have one child more often than they have any other number: nine white and five black families have one child. The next most frequent number is three with seven white families and two black families having

three children each. The largest family is a white family who rents housing from the Davis group for his wife and ten children. There are four illegitimate black children who live with mother and/or mother's parents, or grandmothers and there are another four or five who live with their mothers and step-fathers, or mother alone. There are one or two illegitimate white children who live with their mother's parents.

These people are distributed over the community in 125 houses or trailers; however, to view the community either by residences or by families does not give a complete picture of the way Pine Forks interacts with its kin to form effective domestic groups. The domestic group and the domestic domain offer more precise concepts to illuminate the patterns of behavior in Pine Forks. The domestic group is a householding and housekeeping unit organized to provide the material and cultural resources needed to maintain and bring up its members.¹ The domestic domain is the system of social relations through which the reproductive nucleus is integrated with the environment and with the structure of the total society.² The domestic

¹ Meyer Fortes, 'Introduction' in Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups, Jack Goody, ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) p. 8

² Ibid., p. 9

group and the nuclear family may be the same but at the same time the distinguishing feature is the exclusive right of the conjugal couple to exercise the reproductive function for the group. The concept of domestic group and domestic domain may be used in Pine Forks's social organization if several differences are noted between its developmental cycles and those set forth by Fortes for non-western societies. Fortes distinguishes four phases in a person's life cycle in the context of the domestic group development:

- (1) the first phase is one in which the individual is wholly contained within the matricentral cell, merged with his mother and no more than an appendage to her; this phase may last only a few days and be ritually terminated or merge with the second phase;
- (2) the second phase begins when the child is accepted into the patricentral nuclear family unit and the father assumes responsibility for him and his mother as a unit;
- (3) in the third phase, the child is weaned and can walk, and at this point moves into the domain of the domestic group and is not spatially confined in his mother's quarters; he is now under

the jural and ritual core of the head of the domestic group;

(4) the final phase begins when the individual is admitted to the politico-jural domain; he becomes an adult and may marry and take on rights and duties of full citizenship; this final phase heralds the actual or incipient fission of the natal domestic group.

In Pine Forks the first phase of the domestic group development may be identical with that described by Fortes, except for the fact that the father legally assumes responsibility for children born to his wife at the time of the marriage ceremony and its subsequent consumation. In the case of the illegitimate child, the allocation of responsibility may differ somewhat. In two cases in the community, the grandfather and grandmother assumed responsibility both for their daughter and her illegitimate child. In two cases the grandmother did so.

In the second phase, the child may move into the domain of the domestic group immediately upon returning home from the hospital, or in case of a home delivery, at any time. This is due to the fact that children in western society do not depend upon the breast but may be fed by any member of the domestic group, male or female. In case

the mother seeks to return to full employment outside the home, the second phase may begin when the mother feels able to take up her outside work, but is usually not sooner than several weeks.

In the third phase, the child, the third generation of the domestic group, leaves the domestic group to take up compulsory education in the greater politico-jural domain. He is now under the jural care of the state for a certain part of the day.

The final phase, that of adulthood, may be delayed depending upon the social class of the domestic group. Those who prolong the educational processes of their children may delay the adult status far into the second and third decades of life. In addition, physically adult children may continue on in the domestic group of their parents for reasons of demography. The longevity of women may hold the oldest or youngest son in the household of his dead father; likewise a daughter may be held in. Or divorced children may return to the domestic group from which marriage originally separated them. Finally, single men and women who are the survivors of a completed or dissolved family may integrate themselves to a greater or lesser degree into the domestic groups of their kinsmen and thus be able to continue in the social life of the group. In fact there

are 15 single men and six single women that do just this.

Finally, domestic groups in Pine Forks differ from the domestic groups described by Fortes in that the householding and housekeeping unit may not be the domestic group but be instead the conjugal family within the domestic group. The domestic group may be essentially the unit which provides the cultural resources needed to maintain and bring up its members to a greater or lesser degree. It may provide some of the material resources or the conjugal pair may provide all of them. The domestic group may provide units of land which may or may not be legally held by the conjugal pair although demands of financing is more and more requiring not only ownership of land, but both of the conjugal pair must usually co-own in order that both may be legally responsible for the debt. However, on occasion, the senior person in the domestic group may keep title to the land but allow individual conjugal families space for their own houses and gardens.

There are about 30 domestic groups in Pine Forks. The youngest of these groups emerged three years ago. As previously described, two black brothers Maxwell and Lee Brooks were able to buy land from a kinsmen which they divided after giving their older sister Ottie a building site. The two brothers and sister and five of the brother's sons

built houses upon the land. All of the houses are fairly similar except for one. This is a brick house that belongs to Brooks's son who also differs from the group by owning his own business, a barber shop in town.

The economic structure of this settlement is dependent upon income from industrial sources outside the county. In each of the eight households there is at least two members who go out to work for wages, or one member who has two jobs from which he receives income. The three older members of the group, Lee, Maxwell and their sister Ottie Bender all earn money in different ways. Lee works on the night shift at a food processing plant in a neighboring county. Maxwell owns a dump truck and is self-employed; he works for the most part on the new roads that are being constructed almost constantly in the area. Ottie works for well-to-do people in a nearby town, usually as a cook.

In the households of Lee and Maxwell and their sons only Lee's wife stays in the settlement all of the time. In Ottie's house, only Ottie's daughter Hazel stays in the house all day. All other persons in the settlement are gone from ten to sixteen hours each day. Lee's wife, Nell, baby-sits for her sons and their wives. Nell's two sons who have not married and continue to live at home

go to the local high school during the morning and afternoon and work after school in a town 24 miles north of the settlement. Lee works at multiple jobs. In addition to his factory job, he looks after the orchard of a local fruit grower. At the height of the fruit season he may get only four hours of sleep a day. In addition, Lee raises a garden for himself and his three sons and their families, he raises hogs for himself and two of his sons, and he does occasional self-employed jobs. Lee then is economically engaged in three disparate occupations: he obtains cash wages from town industry, he operates a subsistence economy at home by raising and processing in the summer months nearly all the food he and his sons need for the entire year. In addition, he continues to maintain traditional economic ties with the white farmers in the area. He works in their fruit in the same manner that he has in the past twenty years. Lee exploits every economic niche that he can and thus has a network of economic possibilities as insurance against financial collapse. He could possibly feed his entire family and the families of his if need be from his knowledge of subsistence farming, and his and his wife's combined ability to process food for home use by canning fruit and vegetables and curing pork. He gets the cash that he needs to pay for his home by getting

access to the wage system of a town factory. He built his home by taking advantage of the 'no down payment' policy of the house-building industry. He pays a high rate of interest for the privilege, but thereby saves years of time accumulating enough cash for a down payment on the traditional financing methods. His children and grandchildren may thus be socialized in a new up-to-date house that compares favorably with other homes in the county. Lee obtained his land through purchase from a member of his maximal family. In addition, he maintains his ties with the local white power structure through his traditional orchard job. He thus not only obtains extra money but in addition maintains friendship bonds which offer social insurance in the current uneasy white/black relationships. Lee's sons who stay at home and attend school but work afterwards, contribute to the domestic economy by providing themselves with clothes and spending money. More important they do not drop out of the educational system but provide themselves with the means to further education with which to compete later on. Lee's three married sons all work in the town 24 miles to the north. They too scatter their occupations among available fields rather than concentrating in one area whose collapse would be disastrous for all of them. One son is a meat cutter, one son works in construction,

and one son is self-employed as a barber. In addition, each son's wife works in a county industry closer to the settlement.

Ottie Bender, Lee and Maxwell's sister, has a somewhat different structure in her family, although the economic goals are similar. Ottie's family too attempts to exploit every economic niche available. Her family is confined to one house, and one plot of land. Therefore the total work team is less but only one house must be paid for as compared with four unpaid mortgages among Lee's family and three among Maxwell's. Ottie and her husband Charlie share their home with two adult daughters and the illegitimate child of each. Hazel, the older daughter, stays home with her son and her sister Polly's son. Ottie works as a cook in white homes in the adjoining county. Charlie works in the adjoining county in a gravel quarry but fears he will not be able to keep up the physically strenuous work many more years. Polly works in a hospital in the town to the north. All of them work together in the kitchen garden and Charlie raises hogs for the family. The subsistence economy is not as efficient as that of Lee's because they have no freezer and must preserve their food by canning, a slower process. In addition, there are not as many safeguards but some help comes to the family

from other children of Ottie's who give gifts of clothing to the young children when they are able.

In Maxwell Brook's house and in the homes of his two sons, everyone works. Maxwell has a truck which he hires out as often as possible; his wife has part-time house-work in town and his daughter works for an insurance firm in the same town. One of Maxwell's sons is in the army, and two live beside him and work in town on construction. One drives a school bus in the winter and his wife works in town in industry while the other wife works in a nursing home in the same town. There is only one immature child in this group so far and that child is kept by its step-great-grandmother who lives a half a mile down the highway.

In summary, the eight households that make up the Brooks settlement have a domestic economy that is as flexible as each member can manage, but each must have cash to meet the payments upon their new houses. For this cash they participate for the most part in the business and industry of the nearby towns. Every able-bodied member of the settlement draws cash into the system except for two women who look after the children of the group. A third kinswoman outside the settlement looks after her step-great-grandchild. In addition to the cash which protects the house and lot

efforts are made to meet physical needs outside the money economy by certain cooperative efforts in the production, distribution and consumption of food. In addition at least one member attempts to maintain economic and social ties with the white farmers of the area in order to continue as part of the traditional labor system, with the concomitant protection this offers.

The relation of the domestic economy to the domestic structure is multiplex. Three black domestic groups exist in the settlement: Lee Brooks his wife and sons; Ollie Bender her husband and daughters; and Maxwell Brooks his wife and sons, and wife's stepmother who looks after her step-great-grandchild. In the case of Ollie Bender, the domestic group and the household coincide with the three generation family living together, eating together, and cooperating economically together. Legally the house and land belong to Ollie and her husband subject to the claim of the financing company. But the daughters also have a claim as they stand to inherit from the mother and father. It could be argued that this situation has a matrilinear bias in that the land came from Ollie's brothers, and that her husband is in uxori-local residence with his wife, his daughters and their children. Both daughters were discouraged from marrying the fathers of their children on the grounds

that their father preferred to keep them and one child each, rather than have to keep two further families with an ever-increasing number of children. He considered that his daughters had both involved themselves with worthless men.. However, if Ottie's husband is to be considered as living uxorilocally, with all that this implies, then other factors must be ignored, primarily his legal claim to the land on which the whole family lives, for the property is equally in his name so that he is legally liable for the mortgage on the house. Moreover, all of his economic resources are at the disposal of his family of procreation rather than his own sibling group. However, this domestic group meets in every way Fortes's definition of 'a householding and housekeeping unit organized to provide the material and cultural resources needed to maintain and bring up its members, the system of social relations through which the reproductive nucleus is integrated with the environment and with the structure of the total society'.

The second group that of Lee Brooks and his wife and unmarried children and three married sons, their wives and children, represent a variation of the theme. Here, the housekeeping and householding units are found in four separate residences. That is, the housekeeping and householding unit is that of the conjugal family in each residence

and the primary access to cash is through the conjugal pair who are the head of each housekeeping and householding unit. However, the cultural resources and a good part of the material resources come from outside the nuclear families of the sons. For a good part of the waking hours of the day, the children are to be found in their fathers' parents house. That is, the children who are being socialized into the unit are rarely in the home of their own parents during the day as their parents are working. Thus all four households may be considered as one domestic group. Lee and his wife are in the dispersal stage of the family development cycle, and his sons are all in the expansion phase. Because of this and the residential propinquity they are able to form a domestic group. In this case the residence is clearly virilocal, that is near the family of the male member of the conjugal pair, for the sons of Lee Brooks are in propinquity to the residence of their mother and father. Lee himself is in propinquity to two living members of his own family, that of origin. The key member of Lee's group is Lee's wife who cares for the immature members of the group, both her own and her sons' children.

The composition of Lee's domestic group differs today from its composition ten years earlier. At that time Lee and his wife and immature children lived near the home

of his wife's parents. The family was still in the expansion stage and none of the children had left home. The greatest contrast between that domestic group and the present one is in landowning: Lee never gained title to his wife's father's land on which he built his house. He and his wife on the other hand, gave title to the land to their sons. It is possible that this change arose in response to exterior demands, for as noted above, in order to finance the houses, the sons necessarily had to have title to land. The undivided estate such as Lee's father-in-law insisted upon maintaining was not uncommon in the generation that preceded Lee and his wife, for it offered a protection to the land from debts incurred by that poverty-stricken generation.

The third domestic group is that of Maxwell Brooks and his family and his wife's step-mother. This group diverges most from Fortes's idea of the domestic group as a housekeeping and householding unit, in that the single immature member of the group, Maxwell's grandson, is cared for during the day by Maxwell's wife's step-mother. The grandson is thus cared for by the third ascending generation which is separated from the landholding group by geographical and genealogical distance. The step-mother does not form the focus of the domestic group, but still

she must be considered a part of it, for the socialization of the immature member of the group is entrusted to her for most of the waking day. In this case it might be argued that a baby-sitter who is paid cannot be considered as a part of a domestic group, and that because a cash economy intervenes between the child and his socializing agent, in this case his step-great-grandmother, that this is a corruption of the idea of domestic groups. However, the entire social organization of this settlement can be understood only in terms of the concept of domestic groupings and where this concept appears to be most stretched it may actually represent the extent to which it is useful. Certainly, to think of this settlement as a collection of seven nuclear families who exist inside their own individual and social orbits is far more misleading.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Landholders in Pine Forks Today

In 1800 most of the land in Pine Forks was in the hands of four kinsmen: the three Davises and their kinsman John Weekes. Will Davis held 3000 acres, Matt Davis held over 1000 acres, Jonathan Davis held 500 acres and John Weekes held 500 acres. By 1968 these plantations were divided into nearly 200 parcels of land held by 120 different individuals or groups. The largest of these parcels amounts to about 165 acres and the smallest is a building lot. Individuals or groups may hold one or several of these parcels through inheritance or purchase.

The names too have changed. While the Davises remain the dominant group in numbers and influence, the Weekes name has disappeared and other groups of landholders are now identifiable. The Davis kin group can be identified embedded in a larger group composed of Davis kin and affines and relations of affines. There is in addition a black group and ^a

group of new landowners. All of these either own or have access to some land, but paradoxically enough, hardly any are presently dependent economically upon the land.

Together these groups make up the community of Pine Forks and interact with one another constantly. The mode of this interaction, and the economic and social purposes that this interaction serves, varies with the economic standing of individuals, their kinship connections if any, their religious affiliation and finally with their skin color.

Underlying the interactions of the members of this group is the whole question of their relationship to the land, despite the fact that practically none now gains his or her sole livelihood from it. Nevertheless, the land does have an economic significance, as will be shown, and it also has a symbolic and emotional value in the continued existence of this community. Many persons place high value on the land and love it beyond its monetary value; unlike the people of the Sierra who dwell in towns from which they go to cultivate the earth but do not love it¹

¹ J. A. Pitt-Rivers, The People of the Sierra, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961) pp. 46-47

the people of Pine Forks live on the land and love it but go into the towns to make money. The origins of the community have never been forgotten. Although separated from Colonial Virginia of 200 years ago, the memories of past glories remain, and enough of the old value system has persisted to be apparent to any investigator of their present way of life. Not all groups share in this value of the past. The black group knows little of the black man's history apart from slavery; their pride is in the present. Nearly every house has Martin Luther King's portrait on the wall and they express hope that the black man has a future. Some say his future lies most clearly on the land in the community from whence he can go to the city to work and return at night away from dangers of the ghetto. Others say the city furnishes the best opportunity and the land should be held for emergency residence while awaiting another chance in town.

A second group with little thought of the past is the poorer group of whites. Neither are they overly concerned with the future, but are more oriented to the present. Land may have little meaning for them beyond their home and garden plots which they love.

In all of the groups, however, land and kinship

exert a centripetal force sufficient to overcome the pressures of geographical and social mobility brought about by industrialization and the rise of urbanized communities nearby. Many of the people in Pine Forks say that they have the best of both worlds, the town and the countryside, although it remains a question of how long this compromise can be maintained. Perhaps as MacIver stated in 1917, the widening of their community need not and should not mean the abolition of the small community for the sake of the greater, that the service of the large community is to fulfill and not to destroy the smaller.¹

While the groups in the community live together with a fair degree of common interaction they are still divided among themselves in a number of ways, inter-group as well as intra-group. None of the groups may be considered homogeneous. The white groups are most sharply divided on the basis of old property-holder and new property-holder, a division which appears both in the actual physical boundaries of their residences and on their emphasis on kinship ties of various kinds.

¹

Robert M. MacIver, Community: A Sociological Study, (Great Britain, 1917; The Macmillan Company, USA, 1928) pp. 251-258

Within the kinship networks there are divisive elements which reach back to the very first settlers. Kinship groups struggle over land; within certain gross property boundaries, land changes hands constantly, but more often than not has fallen back into the possession of the Davis group. Outsiders who have gained control of land within the community appear either to marry into the dominant kinship group or move out of the settlement. Property represents both kinship and conflict.

The blacks are stratified with regard to land, although not so strongly, and they too suffer the divisions and tensions common in any kinship system quite apart from the difficulties that arise between black and white that have marked the history of the South. In Virginia as a whole violence between the races is not condoned and white citizens as Key and Wilkinson found, demonstrate a relatively acute sense of responsibility toward the black, an attitude that both felt accounted in part for the fact that race relations in Virginia as a whole are perhaps the most harmonious in the South.¹ This present responsibility

¹

V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949) p. 32; J. Harvie Wilkinson III, Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, 1945-1966, (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1968) p. 11

and harmony are a contrast to attitudes in parts of the state in the past where King reports slaves were bred for sale in a vast breeding program which produced enormous wealth.¹

The harmonious relations between most blacks and whites may be due to the fact that nearly every in the community owns or has access to the land of a kinsman, therefore there is not the exploitation of the lower-classes that labor on land owned by upper classes. The present landholders may be divided into six categories:

- (1) absentee landowners
- (2) members of a group of descendants who have rights and duties in undivided estates
- (3) members of a descent group who have rights and duties in an impartible piece of land used as a graveyard
- (4) members of an association who have certain rights and duties in a common piece of land and property
- (5) renters of land who live on the land
- (6) landowners who live on the land.

¹

Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, The Moyihan Report and the Politics of Controversy, (Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1967, p.405

Individuals may fall into more than one of these categories. For instance, one of the Davis kin who is a divorced woman, earns her living in one of the nearby towns, rents a house and land from her sister, has rights in her recently dead father's undivided estate, and has rights in one of the Davis graveyards.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of the influence of kinship bonds is seen in the relationship between absentee landowners and the residents in the community.

Absentee Landowners

There are seventeen absentee landowners in Pine Forks. Only three of these are not related to members of the Pine Forks kin groups. In the past, there have been many instances of strangers buying land in Pine Forks, but invariably these have either married into the families of the community or else they have subsequently resold their property, most often to resident members of the community. Of the three non-kin absentee landowners, two could be described as buying the land for speculative or profitable purposes. One of these is a man who has bought thousands of acres of timber

land throughout the county, thirty acres of which lie on Davis land in Pine Forks. He had a sawmill built on this land and manufactures hickory wood products. About a dozen men are employed in this enterprise, a number drawn from the black population of Pine Forks. It may be that this purchase is only temporary, for the exploitation of hickory wood in this area has a foreseeably limited future. However, a member of the Davis kin group who has adjoining land has not been able to purchase any of this property as yet.

The other speculator has bought some 500 acres of kin land and advertised it for re-sale by subdivision. So far the land remains as it was at the time of the initial purchase, and none has been sold. There is gossip that the owner is now withdrawing the land from the market and its disposition is presently uncertain. It is perhaps significant that in this case the land was sold out of the kin group by pressure from a widowed sister-in-law for settlement of her dead husband's estate. In the former case the land was sold by an absentee female Davis kinswoman who originally sold it to a distant elderly female Davis kinswoman who sold it out of the kin group after little negotiations with the Pine Forks kin group. She justified her sale on two

grounds. First, the kin group vacillated as more than one was interested and there was a jostling for a favorable position. Further the buyer was a store-keeper with whom she had developed certain close relations in the care of her sick nephew.

The store-keeper then sold the land in four parcels, none which was to Davis kin. Each parcel brought as much or more than the original price. One of these parcels was bought by the saw-mill owner mentioned above; another was bought by the state for the purpose of widening an inter-state highway. The third parcel of land was bought by the brother-in-law of a Davis man and the fourth parcel was bought by a new white landowner in the community although certain of his kin were tenant farmers there forty years ago.

The third non-kin absentee landowner is a man and his sister who resided in the community for some forty years but did not marry into it; the sister was married when she came to the community and the man attempted to marry one of the Davis women but from what informants say, the kin considered him to be unmarriageable due to the low social status of his own kin group; as a group they were classified as 'poor-white' although this particular man was held

in high esteem and was close friends with certain men of the Davis kin group. He had bought the land when the estate of a Davis woman was put up for sale by her sons then living in a western state. After sale to a man who held it briefly, the ninety acres of field and mountain land was bought by the present owner. He then built a house on the land and brought his parents out of their mountain kin group to live with him there. He sold part of the land to his sister, and the family which consisted of parents, adult man and owner, and younger brother lived in one house, and the adult sister and her elderly husband lived nearby. The key to continuity of the group lay with the two adult men; had they married into the Davis group, or had they brought wives from the outside it may have been possible to perpetuate their group. However, they were unable to obtain Davis wives, and the older brother and land-owner would not marry below his personal social standing and socio-economic standing. Therefore, he has no offspring to carry on the group. His younger brother found a wife in another part of the county and moved there. On the death of the old parents and the sister's husband, brother and sister moved to be near their younger brother and his family. The

land is presently available for sale, but the owner neither advertises it, nor appears anxious to sell.

These absentee landowners pose a threat to the solidarity of the Davis group in land and kinship. The biggest threat is the loss of the 500 acre tract into the hands of persons who neither know nor are related to the Davises. The land has no sentimental value and represents purely a business investment. The owner is a member of a family as old as the Davises and far more prominent; his land and interests are distant from Piedmont County and are international in scope. No one knows what his intentions are in regard to the land. It is doubtful if this land will fall back into Davis hands. It will nearly certainly not fall back by inter-marriage and it is doubtful if it will fall back by sale in its entirety, although some part of it may.

The 30 acre tract that is owned by the sawmill and timber operator does not pose a threat in size but in land use. The sawmill is not desirable; it has long since bought all the hickory from the Davises' timber holdings and it does not employ enough men nor offer quality jobs. It is noisy and a threat to the fire safety of the community; it has burned to the ground once and everyone hoped it would not be re-built.

It sets a precedent for a manufacturing concern of a rather ugly nature to intrude among the farms, as the by-products of sawyers clutter the land with saw dust and make it sterile. In addition, since neither owner nor operator live in the county, a question of the disposition of this property remains unclear.

There is somewhat a different picture for the future of the land which belongs to a past community member. However, he has no real ties in Pine Forks as most of the friends of his youth are dead or moved. Therefore while the community has some claim on his consideration in the sale of the land, they have little claim on his final decision. Thus 630 acres of land in the heart of the Pine Forks raises questions which concern the future of the old community.

The remainder of the absentee landowners all have kinship connections within Pine Forks. Ten are white and four are black. Blacks have owned land since the community was young. Even in the days of slavery blacks frequently obtained land or rights in land for their lifetime by will and testament of their white masters. Many were set free and given a small plot of land near the home of the white owner. After the Civil War other land was sold to them, partly to hold

the black laborer within the agricultural system. The relationship between the black worker and his master changed from ascription to contract. Land owning held some in the system, but others left to find better contracts they thought, in the cities. A number kept the land they had bought and attempted to maximize both systems, the safety of the land and the opportunities of the city. The land had value to them beyond an economic one as it represented not only safety but kinship with the white Davis family.

Two of the absentee black land owners claim kinship with the Davises, and it is possible the other two feel similar bonds, but they don't express it as clearly perhaps, because the white man himself did not make the kinship as explicit. As was described earlier, a house and plot of land of less than an acre on the south side of the Pine Forks Turnpike was given to a black woman by her white father in recognition of his paternity. Mona, who was at least half white, then married a man who had a white mother and a black father. Lindsay Waugh's mother and father had married, circumventing the miscegnation laws of that time by a device sometimes used: the white partner cut the black partner's finger and swallowed a little of his blood in order to

swear that 'I have black blood in me'. Mona and Lindsay lived in Pine Forks for a while and Mona took a correspondence course in business. When they left for the city, they rented their house to a kinsman. Mona is in her 70s now but for years kept in touch with her property by visits. In addition, she and a white Davis woman of the same age wrote to one another on occasion. Mona's children visit the property annually although it means a drive of nearly 200 miles. Their stated reason for coming is to harvest the pears from a tree behind the now delapidated house. Other than this no economic use is made of the small plot. When approached by a white neighbor regarding the sale of the plot, they refused and stated that none of them had any intention of selling, that the same blood was in his veins that belonged to the people of the community, white and black, and that some day they might build a summer home there. It seems as though the visits are made as much to re-assert their legal and kinship claims to the plot as for any other reason. The three remaining black absentee landowners all have ties with the black kin group as well as possible ties with the white group. The father of one of the black owners was described by a Davis during a family argument as being

'the best Uncle that I have'. The granddaughter of this black man presently lives on his land with her family although her parents moved to the city ten years ago.

The white absentee landowners all have strong kinship ties with the community and maintain relation through visits and correspondence. One couple who live in Baltimore own a number of parcels of land. Both husband and wife were born and reared in Pine Forks; their grandfathers were brothers and in addition brothers and sisters of the grandparents married other kinsmen. This couple has no children but have expectations of inheritance in the community not far from the land they bought. The land formerly belonged to the kin group, one parcel had been sold to an outsider, therefore their purchase represents a reconsolidation of kin land. It is almost certain that this couple will retire to Pine Forks. Frequent trips are made to the community where the wife's mother, sister, and three brothers currently live and own land.

A second group of absentee landowners is a brother and sister who both live in an urban university center some 150 miles to the northeast. Both are college graduates and the brother is a distinguished physician

and professor. He is a bachelor and provides a home for his sister who is divorced, and his sister's child. They visit the community regularly to attend weddings and funerals and to look over their mountain property. Both say that they have no plans to return, so the future disposition of their land is not clear.

The other white absentee landowners all have strong kinship ties with the community and maintain relations through several communications networks. Some keep in closer touch than others. It is noticeable that the occupations of the absentee landowners range from unskilled worker to upper middle-class professions, yet connection with the community is maintained and in some instances has persisted over generations after leaving the community.

The obligations of kinship and the disputes and alliances that arise between kin emerge very clearly in situations where a landholder dies intestate and the question arises of how the land is to be disposed of. Those holdings which have not been devised by will or deed are termed 'estates'. The estates become the subject of a great deal of debate and manoeuvre, and almost everyone in the deme has ideas about how he considers the estate should be settled. The people of

Pine Forks are somewhat averse to taking disputes over land before the law, although recourse is not unknown and is used as a last resort. While a man may will his property more or less as he pleases provided that he mentions all of his heirs in his will, the general rule is that all children will share equally in the inheritance. In the past, there was an attempt to keep the land in the hands of men by leaving the moveable goods to female heirs and the land to male heirs. Or lands held elsewhere, for instance, outside the state, were left both to women and to some sons in an attempt to avoid fragmentation of the property in Pine Forks. However, when a person dies without leaving a will, or without deeding his property, his children share equally in the estate after the widow is provided for. There are presently five of these landholdings in Pine Forks.

CHAPTER

The Estates: Kinship and Land

Land that is owned by a person, as well as other property and possessions, is referred to as his estate. Land and buildings are real estate; when a person dies, his estate is divided up among those to whom he has left it.¹ As long as the property remains undivided, it is referred to as 'estate of Jonathan Davis' or whoever. Estate in this meaning refers both to land and other tangible properties, and it refers to any possible rights and duties in the land by reason of kinship with the owner. If the owner dies without devising his property, that is giving or leaving the property by will, the kinship status of living relatives determine what rights and duties they have in the property if any. Estates left undivided

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The World Book Encyclopedia Dictionary, (Chicago: Thorndyke-Barnhardt Dictionary published for Field Enterprises, 1966) p. 673; see also Frederick G. Kempin, Jr. Legal History (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959) chapter 8, 'Real Property'.

therefore bring land and kinship together in an illuminating way. Conflicts latent among the kin appear in a clear light; likewise cohesive elements emerge. The existence of estates is a constant source of alliance and division, of gossip and speculation, not only to the family immediately involved but to the whole community. The settlement of the estate is a focus for community solidarity as well as division, and is a factor in the continued existence of the community as a whole.

The land in the estate may include parcels that are put to several different uses: as a homeplace, cultivated field, mountain or timber land. The land may be occupied by various members of the kin group who have lived on the land and perhaps built dwellings with the permission of the owner. The owner may have made certain promises which are not legally enforceable but which present a moral claim.

Furthermore, the land may have an esthetic and emotional value far out of proportion to its economic value:

This rocky glade is the most special place on the earth to me. The big, flat rock by the beech tree is the praying rock. Many is the time I have come with my grandfather along the steep hill to this rock. He would sit down

by it and gaze into the valley without saying a word. I would become impatient and want to go but he would say to let him stay and pray awhile, so I would look for wild flowers or carve my name on the rock or play on the grapevine. Sometimes he really would pray long beautiful prayers I didn't understand. This is a special place for me and I've thought of it often when far away from home; I've longed to sit again where I sat as a child, and see if my name was still on the rock with all the other names scratched there over the years. There is no money that could buy this place from me.

The owner's death often means delicate and prolonged negotiations, sometimes over a long period of years, before the final disposition of the land is agreed upon.

There were five estates in Pine Forks in 1968. All of the descendants of the deceased owners had a right of inheritance in the property but for various reasons had not yet come to an agreement concerning the final disposal. They have a number of alternatives from which to choose. At the most extreme, they could sell the land and divide the money among the heirs. But other solutions are open: one child may keep the land and provide some compensation to his brothers and sisters, or the brothers may buy out their sisters' rights, or each child may take an equal share of the land, or those siblings resident in the community may buy out the absentees. There is generally a good bit of effort to keep the land in the kin group. Even if all heirs sell,

the preferable buyer is a kinsman. There also appears to be an effort to keep the name on the land, a practice reminiscent of rural Ireland.¹ Cousin marriages facilitate this as does the purchase of sisters' rights in the land by their brothers. The sisters however may resist purchase of their rights in the land and desire to pass their land on to their own heirs, especially sons. This becomes more and more a factor to be reckoned with as women outlive their husbands and focus on their own children to the loss of the sibling solidarity. Widows claim that their own children settled on land close to or adjacent to their own land will provide a better security for them in their old age. Brothers may die and leave their wives on the land in their stead, and sisters-in-law are not as close as brothers or children. Further, there is the presence of the brother's children to consider; these may press a claim while their mother is still alive, and ignore the wishes of their father's sister in regard to property use and disposal.

This is a reversal of the 19th century pattern in Pine Forks in which sisters tended to sell their rights

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Conrad M. Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, (Gloucester, Mass., Peter Smith, 1959) p. 79

to their brothers. In some instances they gave small properties to bachelor brothers whom they regarded as a holding unit for land to which their own children would have rights. They would give away ten or fifteen acres, but they or their children would have the possible chance to inherit a hundred or so acres. There was some risk in this as the bachelor might marry, but this seldom happened. The greater risk was that he would leave all his property to a favorite neice or nephew and this often happened. It was up to the next generation to compete for his favor.

Sisters too are reluctant to sell to brothers today if the sisters have married their cousins. In addition, those sisters who live in Pine Forks are more reluctant to sell to brothers than are the sisters who live elsewhere. Residence and cousin marriage both increase the value of the local land. The changing use of property also changes the willingness of siblings to sell. Ten or fifteen acres of farmland have quite a different use than does the same amount of land divided into residential plots. The ease of working in the surrounding industrialized towns while continuing to live in Pine Forks is facilitated today by good roads,

good winter maintenance of all highways, ease of car purchase, and the expanding economy of nearby towns. As wage-earning replaces farming as the basis of domestic economies, the use of land for farming is replaced by the use of land for residential purposes.

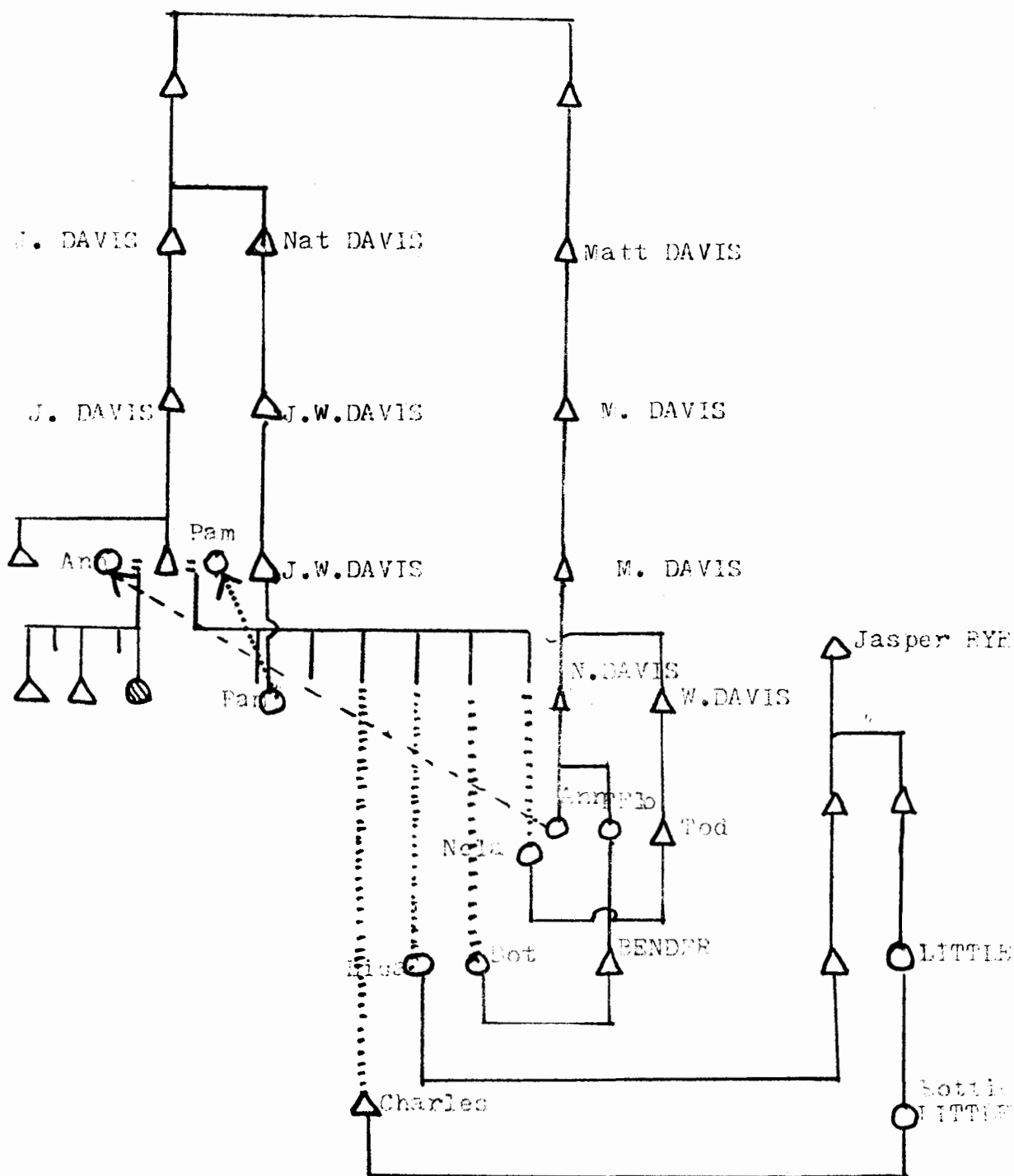
Women today can work in town and be economically independent, and women who are too old to work may live alone and maintain their own residence by using their own or their husband's social security, aided by Medicare and occasional assistance from their children. There is no instance of an old person in Pine Forks without kin or affine nearby, but the dependence upon kin is less than in the past. Separate residency attests to this fact.

Estate of Pam Davis

An example of the struggle of a single son to buy his sisters' rights in land is illustrated by the following case. An estate of 90 acres was left to Pam Davis by her husband Joseph Davis. Pam was a second wife and the mother of six children, five daughters and a son. Four of her children lived in Pine Forks at the time of her death; two of her daughters had married and left the community. Two of her resident daughters, Nela and Dot, had married Davis kin. Nela had married Tod Davis and

FIGURE 7

(over)



Dot had married Angus Bender, the son of Flora Davis Bender. The third daughter Lisa had married Mark Rye, a member of a family who had moved into Pine Forks 40 years ago but had heretofore not married into the Davis family. Informants say that two or three marriages had nearly occurred between the Ryes and the Davises, but something had always happened. Usually the Davis partner had married a cousin instead. Charles, the only son and youngest child, then married Lottie Little whose mother was Hilda Rye Little, first cousin to Mark Rye. Lottie Little Davis and Mark Rye were first cousins once removed. Thus both Charles and his sister had married out of the Davis family into the Rye family and in so doing, had brought the Ryes into the deme.¹ Lisa and Mark had left the settlement when they were first married, but Mark's health became bad and they returned and built a house on an acre of land which Mark's father gave to Mark; they had one child only who was not grown and in the army.

Charles and Lottie went to live with Charles's mother when they were first married, but Lottie was not happy there and when children began to be born, Charles

¹ Outside families generally marry into the deme or more away.

bought 100 acres adjoining his mother's land and built a house on it for his family. He was able to buy this 100 acres as it belonged to his half-sister Ruth Davis, the only daughter of Joseph Davis's first marriage. Ruth had moved out of Pine Forks some years before when she married, but she took a keen interest in the community as she held mortgages there on her kinsmen's land.

Charles therefore wishes very much to join his mother's adjacent estate onto his own. Some of his sisters are reluctant to sell, specifically Nela Davis and Dot Bender who are both widows. No one sister will promise to sell her share unless all agree to sell. Charles states that it was his mother's intention that he should have the land, but it appears that all the sisters really want to keep the land and this can be done only by division of the property which would reduce the holdings to 15 acres per child.

Charles perceives that his best chance is to purchase the shares of his sisters who live out of the community. Both these sisters married out of the Davis group, in addition to having homes elsewhere. Therefore ties of kinship and residence have both been loosened somewhat. The next sister who appears most likely to sell is Lisa. Although she lives in the

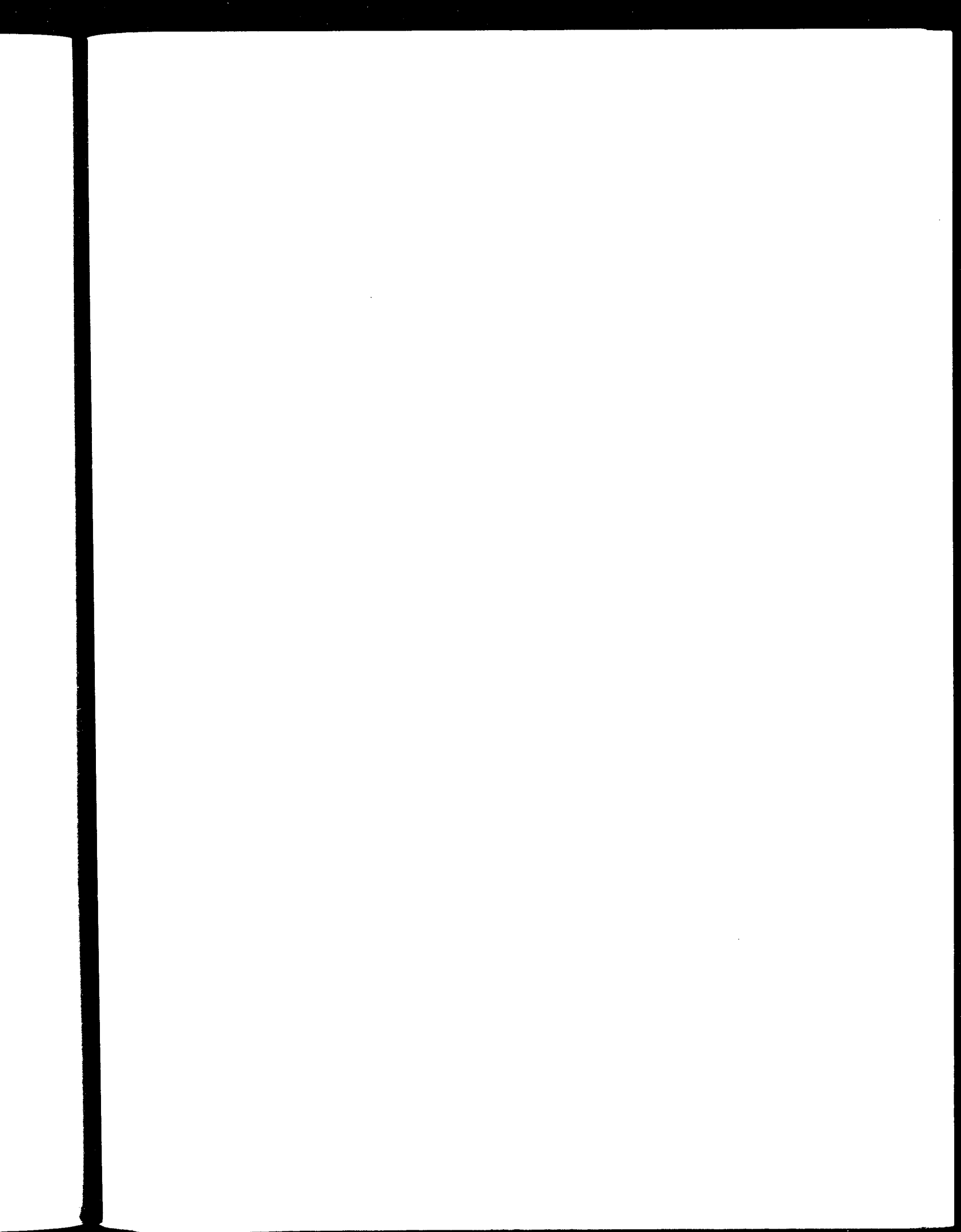
community, she too married out of the Davis kin and the bonds between her and her brother are further strengthened because both of them married members of the Rye family.

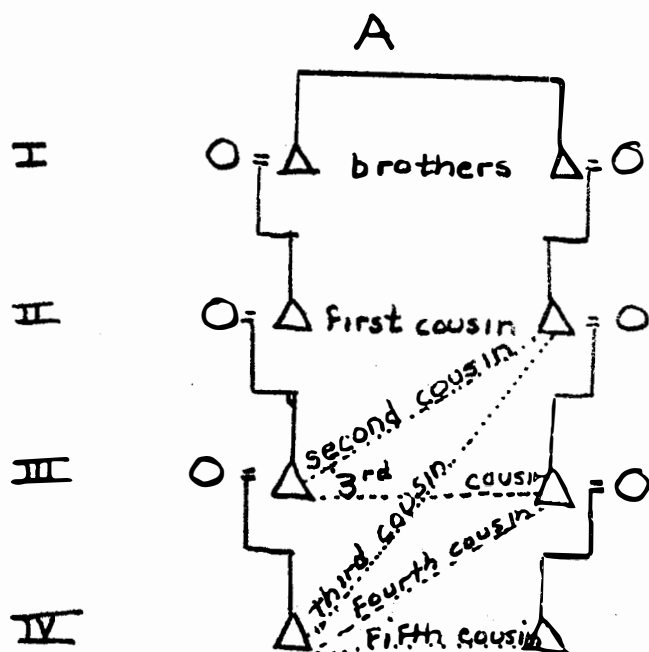
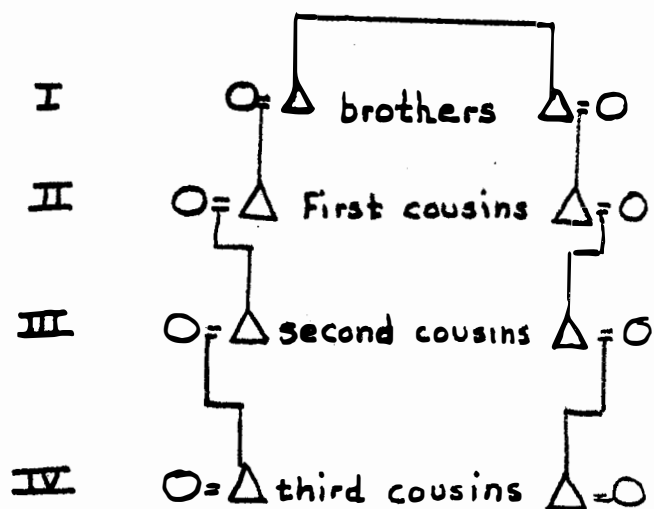
The sisters who refuse to sell are under some pressure from Jeff Davis, their father's brother, the sole surviving member of that generation. The sisters defend themselves by pointing out their their brother does not depend upon the land as his sole source of income. In fact, like most of his generation in Pine Forks, Charles works at a job away from the land and only occasionally has time to raise a crop. His job is almost a hundred miles away and he lives near his work during the week and comes home only at the week-ends. He wants to farm and has bought a tractor and equipment, but his primary income is from his wage-earning, and farming is a luxury for which he cannot afford the time. His wife Lottie and their three children live in Pine Forks and do not follow him to his job. His sons are not old enough to farm, nor do they have the time, as school occupies their time. Charles is not concerned over leaving his wife and children alone, as they are surrounded by kin.

It appears that Pam's estate could be divided in a number of straightforward transactions; either the sisters could sell their shares to their only brother,

or the land could be sold and the money divided, or the land itself would be parcelled out into six shares. However, these simple solutions ignore the complexities of the relationships within the community and actual family history.

The father of this group of siblings, Joseph Davis was married twice; both of his wives were Davises like himself. At the time of their marriage their exact relationship was not known to them. While everyone in the community tends to know well who their first cousins are, degree of kinship beyond this is hazy. A person names the relationship he has with the children of his first cousin as that of 'second cousin'. That is, the members of the generation which is adjacent to his own contains his first cousins' children whom he designates his second cousins. The children of these 'second cousins' are then his third cousins. Therefore cousins tend to push one another away in degree of kinship after first cousins who are readily identifiable. This may be because marriages between persons of adjacent generations, or even alternate generations do occur in Pine Forks. A more likely answer is that the long residence of the deme in Pine Forks and the multille marriages which occur, make it difficult actually to know which





cousin a person is. It is easy to identify first cousins who are father's siblings' children and mother's siblings' children and they are introduced as 'first cousin'. But the rest are lumped together as merely 'cousin'. There is usually one or two persons in the community who can tell the exact relationship of everyone in the community to one another, especially within the same deme. Still the Davis line is difficult to untangle, and the spouses were often descendants of mother's mother, and interwoven in a complex relation of bilateral ties.

At the time of Joseph Davis's first marriage the Jonathan Davis line had not intermarried previously with the Matt Davis line in this deme. Jonathan Davis was more oriented to Piedmont County whence his father had come in the first wave of settlers. Matt Davis was more oriented to White County where his father had obtained a land grant and his brothers had accumulated large estates. Therefore it was the fourth descending generation from Matt Davis before his kin in Pine Forks married into the kin of his Uncle's descendants. When the marriage occurred, it was between the third generation from the Jonathan Davis side and the fifth generation from the Matt Davis side. This was partly due to

age and numbers of children born: Matt Davis's father Will Davis was older than his brother Lee Davis, the father of Jonathan. In addition, Jonathan Davis's son had married twice, and Joseph Davis was born to the second union. Therefore Joseph Davis was pushed down the genealogy age-wise, for he was not much older than his first wife who was in the alternate generation below him. A compound of large families in which the youngest child was sometimes close to the age of the oldest sibling's own child confused the generations, and tended to allow age groups to override generation. Therefore on his first marriage into the Matt Davis line, Joe Davis re-united his great-grandfather's line with that of his great-great-uncle's line.

By this first marriage Joseph Davis had six children after which his wife died. Joseph had accumulated about 900 acres of land during this marriage, including parts of the Weekes tract. He sold some of this to black people who worked his land and he had a number of encounters with the law which cost him more of his land. His kinsmen suggested that he should safeguard his property by deeding it to his children. Therefore Joseph deeded to his children by his first wife the property which he had at that time. Each received nearly 100

acres, except for the youngest son who received 40 acres and the house.

Soon after this Joseph married again. This time his spouse was his grandfather Davis's brother's great-grandchild, ie. his first cousin once removed. He married back into his own Davis line which had split away at a higher generation.¹ It is reported that while still a widower he tried to marry again into the Matt Davis line to a cousin of his first wife. The prospective bride's brother stopped the wedding; the brother maintained that their line was better than the prospective groom's line but other reasons may have been that Joe's property was now legally deeded to his heirs, the children of his first marriage, thereby cutting off any children of a future marriage.

Joe's second marriage to his cousin Pam produced the five sisters and brother presently in competition for Pam's estate. This 90 acre estate was bought by Joe for his second wife; he bought it from his first cousin who left Pine Forks when his father killed a kinsman in a duel and was forced to flee Piedmont County.

After Joe's death, his widow farmed with the help

¹
This split occurred over a debt.

of her bachelor brother who moved into the house with her. Pam was forced to leave Joe's home on the marriage of her step-son who owned the place. Pam moved into a tenant house on the ninety acres that belonged to her. Her daughters married as was noted earlier, two into the Matt Davis line and one into the Rye line. Two others married out of the county and her son then married a Rye who was a kinsmen of his sister's husband. (See Figure)

Since Pam's death, her unmarried brother continues to live in her house alone. He is now elderly and although he has no legal right there, none of his nieces or nephew objects to his continuing in their mother's house. In addition to the affection that they have for him, another reason may be that the elderly uncle has an interest in some land in another part of the county that belonged to his father's estate which has never been completely settled. Moreover, he has accumulated a little money, which he added to substantially with cash from the settlement of a car accident. He is thus financially independent, but does call on his sister's children for help and transportation.

The siblings are not united among themselves. Charles has different relations with various sisters.

The sister he visits most often is married to his wife's second cousin, i.e. the Rye family. His other two sisters are united by their relationship with the Matt Davis family, and their children fuse together the families of Matt and Jonathan Davis as did their father and his first wife in the generation above them. The interest of these two sisters is in keeping the land for their own children, to be consolidated with the land their children will inherit from their father's side of the family. In fact, both of these sisters are embroiled in other land conflicts. Nela Davis is contending for the rights of her dead husband in his sister's estate. Dot Bender is presently concerned with the estate of her dead husband some of which is held in partnership with his brothers. Thus the widowed sisters are acting both in their own and their children's interest by refusing to sell.

Charles's other two sisters live outside of Pine Forks, one in another part of Piedmont County and another in a city of the state. They are not visited so often, and are in less physical contact than are the kin of the community. Yet they keep closely in communication with the happenings in the community and keep their children informed about their kin in Pine Forks. This

gives the children an identification with the community to a degree, reinforced with visits and telephone calls. However because neither of the husbands have any connection with Pine Forks, either by kinship or land, the grasp of these sisters on their mother's estate is somewhat weakened. Still they maintain an active and close interest in the land both for their own interests and for the rights of their children.

It is apparent that these different connections outside the sibling group of five sisters and one brother are most important in forming the actual relationships between the siblings, and hence of help in determining the eventual disposition of the estate. If the brother could persuade his sisters to sell their shares to him, he could then consolidate the contiguous land which he holds already with the estate land, and thereby establish the position of his own children in respect to land within the community. This appears to be another important reason for him to hope to gain that sister's support who, like himself, married a Rye, for his children and her children are doubly kin: they are first cousins because they are siblings' children, but they are in addition, the children of cousins.

Charles is being supported by his uncle Jeff Davis,

his father's youngest brother, because Jeff feels the males more clearly represent the family than do the females. Even though Charles's sisters married into the Davis line, only one has the name Davis, the other does not. Further, the sister who does have the name Davis got it from the Matt Davis side. Therefore, it is Charles and his children who best represent the Jonathan Davis line, the line of Jeff's grandfather. This is an agnatic bias, and it is more than a simple agnatic bias as it is a bias which favors one agnatic line over that of a kinsman's agnatic line. It may be said that a segmentation which occurred at a higher generational level is being continued.

Several patterns emerge from an examination of this estate. First, the presence of a number of estates in Piedmont County are revealed in which the same person has an interest. Pam's brother lived on his sister's estate although he had no legal claim on it but simply a moral one; in addition he had interests in other estates such as that of his father's and one or two dead brothers who died without issue. This multiple interest in plots of land arises from the bilateral nature of the society and the descent of land to all heirs unless willed otherwise. Second, the divisive elements present

among siblings are revealed in the nature of sibling alliances. Third, the agnatic bias of the male elders, at least, is revealed and finally, one of the basic divisions within the community among persons of the same kin is revealed.

The next estate reveals something of the nature of sibling solidarity as well as sibling conflict, as a group of aging siblings struggle over their sister's estate unsuccessfully, and pass the unresolved problem to the next generation thereby binding them together in kinship and conflict centered upon the land.

Estate of Molly Davis

This estate too belonged to a female of the Davis group but this woman was not married and when she died in her seventies, she left an aging group of siblings to decide the settlement of the estate. This consisted of 45 acres of land, a decaying ante-bellum house, several pieces of antique furniture, and some family heirlooms of jewelry, letters and so on. Molly Davis descended from Matt Davis. She lived all her life in Pine Forks, first as a child, then as a surrogate mother to her younger siblings, and finally as a subsistence farmer, alone in her father's house. The only member of her

family to remain in Pine Forks all his life was her brother Tod Davis who was married to Nela Davis.

Molly considered the Matt Davis line and genealogy superior to that of Jonathan Davis and often made reference to the family 'across the road' who was of the same name but not the same quality:

Now the family across the road is not the same as ours even though they have the same name. It is better not to have any dealings with them. How sad my father was when my sister Thelma married one! and Thelma lived to regret it. She said many times to Tod not to ever marry into that bunch, it were better to have a millstone around your neck and be in the bottom of the sea. But then he did of course, he married Nela. And its her fault the cows get out all the time.

Molly had six siblings; four sisters and two brothers and all of these were alive when she died except her oldest sister. Today all of the siblings are dead except for two sisters, and the estate remains unsettled though Molly has been dead for ten years. All of the siblings except Molly married, and all had offspring, so that it is now the next generation who must attempt to settle the estate. During this ten years, bushes have overgrown the land and Molly's kitchen garden which was tilled and fertilized with care, is a tangle of briars and pine trees, as is the rest of the cropland. The size of the estate seems to have little reference to the

intensity of interest which surrounds its disposition. Indeed, the smaller estates may be more difficult to settle than a large estate since fragmentation below a certain level is disastrous to hopes of farming. Nevertheless a number of small estates may be consolidated to form a larger holding. In addition, the changing value of land appears to put an option upon it, not as a means of livelihood, but as a residence site and a retreat for recreation and rest for city dwellers. The age of the holding too gives it increased prestige value to the family in whose hands it has been for nearly two centuries.

Molly was the third oldest daughter and her mother died shortly after the birth of the youngest child. Molly in effect took over her mother's role in the family as the older daughters had both married. She brought up the younger children and cared for her father; when he died she became the head of the household. In spite of the fact that the older daughters had left Molly the responsibility of rearing the younger children and caring for the father, this in no way appeared to lessen the strong family feeling among the siblings. For example, Molly's father's brother made his home with Molly and his brother when he was old and sick. Upon his

death, he left the four younger children and Molly his part of the family land. Molly took her portion of this and gave it to the children of her older sister, Lily, who had died. Molly said that Lily's children lived in a town thirty miles away, and she wanted them to feel part of the family and part of Pine Forks. She did not however, give any of this land to her sister Melba who lived in another part of Piedmont County. Several considerations were no doubt at work here. In the first place, Lily had married a cousin, her father's sister's child, and a close kin marriage in the Matt Davis line although the surname differed. Melba on the other hand, had married a Davis, but one of the 'Davises across the road' a descendant of Jonathan Davis's brother. While he was also a cousin, he was not recognized as such due to a rift higher in the genealogy. Moreover, Molly was aware that a certain amount of social security accompanied good relations with her older siblings' children, themselves the eldest among the next generation's young. In addition they were townsmen and offered a home base in case of the need to conduct business in town, or to enter a hospital. Therefore, Lily's three sons were given 30 acres which adjoined Molly's 45 acres. In addition, the four younger children

MAP 9
(over)

Davis 300 acres

Davis 165 acres

Holdings of
black families 100 acres

Bender
50 acres

Petrie
90 acres

Sowell land

Tod
Davis 27 acres

Belle Davis
26 acres

Beth'
children
30 acre

Lara Davis
26 acres

Rye
100 acres
(old Jonathan
Davis homesite)

Mullens
land

Peyton
Davis
32
acres

Molly Davis
45 acres

Pam
Davis

Belle
2 ac

Tod

Dot Bender 3 ac.

James Tod Jr.

Little

Molly 2 ac

90
acres

Charles Davis
100 acres

40 ac.
Davis

Davis 100 ac.

Todd, Belle, Lara, and Peyton were left 100 acres which they divided by drawing lots when they were grown.¹ (See Map 9). Therefore at least five groups of siblings and siblings' children have land which joins Molly's. Consolidation would greatly increase the value of any holding, and allow better access to the Pine Forks Turnpike.

Throughout Molly's life her siblings maintained an active interest in her by visits and correspondence; however the only one who helped her materially was Bell and her husband. Tod's relations with her were strained because of her attitude towards his wife whom he had married late in life. However, Tod did prevail upon her to give him a five-acre building lot on the Turnpike where he had already built a house twenty years previously.

Belle and her husband lived in a city in the state where he was a successful businessman. They bought a two-acre lot along the Turnpike from Molly and built a house there on the site of a 19th century saloon. Belle and her husband engaged Tod to build the house in the 1930s thereby giving him employment during the

¹

Gossip is that Peyton made out the lots and knew which one to draw for himself.

depression years. As Molly grew old and became less and less able to farm, Belle and her husband persuaded her to move into their house on the Turnpike which was empty. This not only brought Molly closer to the Turnpike and neighbors, it also gave the empty house added fire insurance protection. Molly lived there three or four years then developed cancer of the cervix and was taken by Belle and her husband to their home for the last three or four weeks of her life.

Directly after Molly's death, Melba the oldest living sibling took over her personal effects and held an auction on her furniture. Neighbors were asked to bid, but regardless of how much they bid, the items went to the family. Not long after this Belle's husband tried to buy Molly's land from the siblings. His offer was rejected; he then had his lawyer submit a bill to the estate for the housing and care of Molly during the last years of her life. The bill equalled the amount that he had offered for the land. The siblings engaged a lawyer who suggested that they obtain as much support as possible from the neighbors and cousins of Pine Forks. In this they were totally unsuccessful. A good number were 'the people across the road', others had helped Molly during her life and had been asked to

bid on her furniture only to be ignored. Others were father's brother's children who had been expected to assist Molly in farm activities but who received nothing in return. In short, none of Molly's siblings were residents of the community except Tod who was married to a 'family across the road' member and Belle and her husband. No ties of reciprocity whatsoever had been formed except by Belle's husband, and further, no kin saw anything in it for them except the animosity of whichever side they did not support. Therefore by silence, support was given to Belle's husband. As time came for the suit to appear in court, Belle's husband appeared strong. However, there was an unexpected development: Belle threatened to give her siblings all of her land in Pine Forks unless her husband withdrew his suit. Sibling solidarity triumphed over the conjugal bond which had ostensibly been strengthened during the forty years of city life, away from Pine Forks. The suit was withdrawn and the siblings attempted to settle the estate. Once the threat from the outsider was gone, all the rifts within the sibling group re-appeared and ten years later the estate has not yet been settled and all of the siblings are dead except for two sisters. The conflict over the estate now passes into the hands of

the younger generation, and thus kin are tied closely together in bonds of kinship, conflict, and property.

Cousins separated from one another by half the length of the United States keep in close touch with one another. Action in Pine Forks of a community nature, such as the widening of the turnpike, must include the absentee landholders. Tod and Nela's children all live in Pine Forks and each is building a house on the five acres which belonged to their father. In effect, these children are staking out claims on the land itself, and it will be difficult for the absent heirs of their generation to force a settlement of the land which will disturb their possession.

The above cases are examples of the struggle that occurs when land is passed on from the dead to the living. Most of the time, the conflict is quiet and confined within the family. The ideal is to present a unified front to the outside, and it is usually through affines that information reaches outside the sibling group. The siblings are most unwilling to take matters to court for the ideal family is a loving and harmonious one.

The relationships which arise out of property such as that above, directly refute William's idea that the

American family emphasizes the conjugal bond to the exclusion of the sibling bond, that there is little emphasis upon family tradition and family continuity, and that the nuclear family is isolated from an extended kinship-grouping.¹ It also points up the difficulties of bilateral descent systems, where rules for the movement of property from one generation to the other form groups that are overlapping. At times a choice to be in one group excludes a person from membership in another: Lara, Peyton, Melba, Lily, and to some extent Belle, could not live simultaneously in the city and Pine Forks, and their choices to be in one residential group weakened their claim on the residential group of Pine Forks albeit certain claims on the residential group existed by virtue of land holding and potential residence.

The third example of estate holdings differs from the two above in the length of the holding as an estate and the nature of the group.

The Henry Black Estate

The owner of this estate, Henry Black, was a black

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Robin Williams, American Society, second ed., revised, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960) p.p. 50-59

man who died in 1925. Great-grandchildren and some great-great-grandchildren of the original owner are now alive and the estate has never been settled and there has been no move in the direction of settlement. Instead, more benefit appears to accrue to non-settlement than does to settlement. The estate consists of 80 acres of mostly mountainous land that formerly belonged to the original settler Weekes. When the Weekes name disappeared from the settlement, some of the sentiment that appears to be attached to the land by having the name on the land was weakened. This land was purchased in part by Joseph Davis who used this property for speculative purposes. Primarily, he used the land to settle the black people who worked for him, or with whom he had some dealings. Therefore, a good bit of the Weekes land was bought by black people of the community. Other white kinsmen too sold the old Weekes property to blacks. It was in this way that Rev. Henry Black obtained his 80 acres from the white owners. He and his two sons paid for the land by cutting the timber off it and by buying other timber in the community 'on the stump'. The timber was cut by Black and his sons and hauled by mules out of the mountains to local sawmills or to the railway for shipment to pulp mills of the state.

Rev. Black was a member of a kinship group that had lived in Pine Forks since slavery. He married and had a number of legal offspring as well as some born out of wedlock. When his sons were grown, three of them built houses on their father's property, his two legal sons Irby and Hawes, as well as his illegitimate son Jones.

Irby married in 1915 to a woman who attended the church where his father preached in another part of Piedmont County. Irby and his wife had ten children, all of whom left Pine Forks, nine to go to the cities of Maryland and New Jersey and one elsewhere in the county. In 1935 Irby died soon after his youngest child was born. His widow raised the family with the help of her older children, by farming the land and taking in clothes to wash.

All the time the Lord blessed me and I raised my children; only one time they cried out, and that was during the drought of the 1930s; but even then I had my cow, hogs and chickens to see me through.

The widow married again to a widower who himself had a number of children. Both were past the child-bearing age and therefore had no children of their own; they continued to live in the house that Irby Black had built on his father's property.

Irby's brother Hawes Black also built a house on a part of the estate for his wife and children and while they spent some years in the city working, they returned to live on the estate when Hawes was old and blind. The house that he built burned recently, but black neighbors and kin got together and built a cinder block house for the widow free of charge. Her son has a house on the estate not far from her.

The third son Jones built a house for his family on the estate, and he too is now dead. His widow continues to live there alone, although her daughter and five children rent a house in another part of Pine Forks. This was given use to gossip. Some say her daughter rents a house to make her eligible for welfare, and some say that mother and daughter will not live together because the daughter bore a child by her father when the mother was temporarily in a mental institution. The fact that the estate has not been divided has been of some practical value to the descendants of Henry Black. For example, Jones Davis, Henry's natural son, was able to get credit from the local grocery store because he lived in his own house and did not rent. When the bill for groceries, seed and fertilizer got rather large, the storekeeper threatened to take

Jones to court and get his land. Jones then pointed out that the land was not his, and the storekeeper would have to wait until Jones was able to pay him. The land was thus protected against Jones's debts since he was not a legal child. In addition, the land was protected from easy sale by an expectant heir, for even if an heir should desire to sell out his part, this involved a number of kinsmen and proved too complicated to undertake by the black members who did not understand law, and did not care to get involved with lawyers.

Henry Black's grandchildren were so numerous therefore, that there was no prospect of their all making a living on the mountainous land. Their mothers pushed them instead towards the city. The children took a regular route that was blazed by previous kinsmen to Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, and the cities of New Jersey. The land acted as an emergency station in the way that Le Play's stem family did,¹ for all the heirs resident in town. In addition the widows had a place to live and once in a while some income from

¹Carle C. Zimmerman and Marle E. Franpton, 'Theories of Frederic Le Play' op. cit.

the timber. Further, Jones's death almost eliminated his contention for a place on his father's land, for it is likely that with the death of his widow, all claim from Jones's offspring will cease.

Irby's widow states that it is the very best thing all around for the estate not to be divided. In this way both she and her brother-in-law's widow have a full measure of security, and the children are forced to go out where better opportunities await them. She encouraged her children to go North. Her own brother had done so and had changed his name to Perdetto and passed for white, thereby making his social and economic way much easier. Unlike the views held by some blacks today that it is a betrayal to the black community to pass for white, these people felt it was just another means to ease their way in the dominant white world. They never tried to pass for white among one another and when Perdetto was ready to retire from the urban wage-earning world, he returned to Piedmont County where he had some land. He slipped with ease back into the black community; his children make the decision for themselves whether or not to pass.

Should the children in the city fall into hard times, for example have a child out of wedlock, the

mother stands ready to help. She has raised three illegitimate children for her kin group: two for her daughters and one for a cousin's daughter who became pregnant by the widow's son while visiting the widow. In addition, other kinsmen from both her own and her husband's group move in and out of the small dilapidated cottage as hard times come and go.

At the present time, all children and the widows have rights in some ninety acres of land. Should the estate be divided, the illegitimate offspring would be completely cut off, and the estate would be divided first by halves between the families of Hawes and Irby, and then among the heirs of each. The number of heirs in Irby's group, for example, is at least eleven: his widow and ten children, some of whom themselves have children. Therefore, instead of being partial heir of ninety acres, ownership would be reduced to four or five acres, or in the case of the grandchildren, to simply a house lot or a small bit of money. There is always a possibility that a line will die out or be lost and the property will not be divided so many ways. In the past, there was a strong possibility that the white kin group would have regained control of the land by debt or sale. This possibility becomes more

remote as each black generation arises better educated and financed than the last. It is probable that the estate will in time cease to be a 'falling-back' place for the unfortunates in the group and become the property of the best educated and most prosperous who will see the benefit of a country retreat, and who will be able to buy out the other black heirs.

The remaining three estates have nearly settled themselves through time and the accidents of demography. In one case, a white male of the Davis kin group died and left ninety acres to his second wife and her two children, his only offspring. The estate remained undivided and the children grew to maturity and married. The daughter left the settlement and married in Baltimore, and the son married his second cousin and built a home on a corner of the estate. The sister's husband died and was brought back to Pine Forks and buried in a new graveyard started on the estate. Not long afterwards, the sister too died. Only two heirs remain therefore, the widow and her son, and time will leave the son the sole heir. His wife has rights in the kin land too, for she is the neice of Molly in

Estate Two above and the daughter of Nela in Estate One above.

Another estate, that of a female Davis woman, descended to two children undivided, on their mother's death; both are adult. The daughter is divorced with one daughter, while the son never married. The brother and sister together with the sister's child make their home in an eastern city where the brother is a university professor. They keep in close contact with a number of their kin in Pine Forks. They hold their land for sentimental reasons, and they are not sure of what will be its disposition. Since the brother and sister are both in their late forties, it is doubtful if more than one heir will come out of this line. The daughter does not have the same strong sentiments that her mother and uncle have, as she has neither lived on the land, nor interacted closely with the kin group. It is possible that she may sell the land when it falls into her possession.

The final estate belongs to a number of siblings in their fifties. Originally there were six members of the group but two died without issue. A third son, a bachelor, has retired to the community from the army, and is attempting to buy back all those properties which belonged to his mother's father Ned Davis. His sister-in-law is Dot Bender, the widow mentioned about in

Estate One. He has been able to buy several hundred acres back from a maiden aunt, who then went to a retreat for the elderly. There is no real struggle with his siblings, as the living sisters live outside the county and their children stand to inherit any property the bachelor brother may buy.

The estates may therefore have several different characteristics:

- (1) they may belong to a group whose sibling has died without leaving a will;
- (2) they may belong to a group whose parent has died without a will;
- (3) they may belong to a group whose relative has not left a will and the group contains the descendants or the next of kin.

The size of the estate is not a clear indication of its value, and low economic value is not an indication of the worth of the estate in the eyes of those who may inherit. Among white persons there is an effort to settle estates soon, but final settlement may take as long as a generation. Among blacks, there is some indication that land which cannot be sold or easily divided is useful to members of the group who have rights in the land.

Property appears to bring kin together because of the mutual rights and duties they have in it. Property also increases conflict among those who have a right in the property, but whose rights are not clearly allocated. In Pine Forks, one person may have rights in a number of estates in the community and in the county as well. Persons who live in the community, and who marry kin within the community appear to reinforce their claim on community land. A bilateral society requires, as well as allows for, a number of choices in a number of groups. The choices are made plainer when more than one group coincides: the kin groups may coincide in the case of cousin marriage, the land and kin groups may coincide in case of undivided property, and kinship, land and residence may coincide in the case of cousin-spouses with rights in the same land in the community where they live.

Bilateral descent groups are not present in American society if by bilateral descent group is meant groups to which persons must belong.¹ However, there appears to be certain bilateral groups in Pine Forks which are

¹Robin Fox, Kinship and Marriage, op. cit. p. 146

legally defined:

- (1) the children and children's children, and children's children who have rights in an undivided estate with reference to an ancestor, for example the Black estate above;
- (2) the members who are descended from an ancestor who specifically reserved rights in a burying-ground for his descendants; again, the descendants do not have to be buried in the burying-ground, but the legal right exists that they may.

In the case of the bilateral descent group, descent is not limited by sex, as is the case of unilineal descent groups reported throughout the world. Therefore, a person may be the member of his father's cognatic group as well as his mother's and those of the father and mother, of his parents, and so on. An ancestor looking down the genealogy may see all of his descendants as a group, but each generation that looks up the genealogy sees not one ancestor, but an arithmetic progression of ancestors by generation. Therefore, if all grandparents left a graveyard where their descendants may be buried, their grandchildren would have a choice of four graveyards to be buried in. While the dead must be

buried somewhere or otherwise legally disposed of through cremation or laboratories, the place of burial is left to the will of the individual or his next-of-kin. The choice of the burying spot reveals elements of the social structure. For example, the Mullens and Sowell families described above have lived in Pine Forks for 25 years, yet when they die they are not buried in a family cemetery on their land neither are they buried in the church cemetery nearby which they attend when they attend at all. Instead, each dead person has been returned to the Baptist Church near the mountain farms where they were once tenants and buried in the church graveyard there. They still do not feel a part of the Pine Forks community and church.

The Family Graveyards

Nearly every plantation in this area in the past had its own burying ground. It was usually the small landowners, overseers, and renters who buried their dead in the rural church ground in the early 19th century and before. By the 20th century, the fragmentation of these plantations by inheritance and sale had resulted in a number of family graveyards located on the various family holdings. The presence of these graveyards reveals elements

of the social structure of the community, past and present.

First, the graveyards divide the new landowners from the old landowners; new landowners cannot have old family graveyards on their holdings. Second, the graveyards indicate which families owned plantations and which families were renters or landless, a class differentiation. Third, the graveyards indicate which families had slaves and which did not. Some families buried slaves in the same graveyard as the family, but at opposite ends; others had a separate burying ground for slaves. Finally, the graveyards are indicators of present-day social relations, for the place in which the living bury their dead indicates something of the nature of social relations among the living.

The Weekes Graveyard

The graveyard of the Weekes family has been abandoned for many years. The land is in the hands of the black purchasers and only the older residents even know where the graveyard is located. No one has been buried in the graveyard of the Weekes name in the past fifty years at least. The graveyard reveals that the Weekes name is almost lost to the community. The fact that the graveyard

is still known at all reveals the tenacity with which the kin group keeps the memory of its connections alive. This graveyard is located in the mountains, surrounded by second growth timber, and can be found only with a guide. No stone reveals who is buried there beyond field rocks commonly used to mark all graves until a carved stone could be obtained. Carved stones were exceptions; some graves in the community had stones six feet in length and three feet wide laid on top of the graves. In one case the initials were carved into the field stone to identify the owner. However, the Weekes graveyard, like the old Weekes homesite which is little more than a few foundation stones around a hole in the ground, awaits oblivion unless a kinsman seeks to establish roots in the past and restores the graveyard and rebuilds the house.

The Will Davis Graveyard

The graveyard of Will Davis had a different fate. It is legally reserved, by deed, for the descendants of Will Davis's great-grandson. This reservation was made when the Davis name went off the property as a result of descent to a daughter who did not marry a cousin. Legally this property belongs to members of a bilateral descent group, the descendants of Ralph Davis. In fact

only certain members of the descent group use it and in addition, some spouses who are not Davises are also buried there. This could be called a restricted cognatic lineage¹ except that spouses too are buried there. In some ways, the rights and duties associated with the graveyards are reminiscent of the Gilbertese oo, bwoti, and kainga. All three descent groups are concerned with land, an ancestor who established ownership of the land was the founder of all three. All of his descendants formed an oo while those in actual possession of a share in the land are eligible to membership in a bwoti and those whose parents resided on it form a kainga.² The oo is concerned with rights in land while the bwoti is concerned with possession of a piece of land and the kainga with residence on it.³

Spouses are not always buried beside their mates. For example, several years ago the great-great-great-granddaughter of Will Davis was buried in the graveyard after her husband an in-law and a Cohee told the Davis

¹ Robin Fox, Kinship and Marriage (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967) p. 156

² Ward Goodenough, 'A problem in Malayo-Polynesian Social Organization', American Anthropologist, vo. 57, 1955

³ Fox, *ibid.*, p. 156-159

family that she had requested it. Some time went past and her grave went unmarked. Her mother then marked the daughter's grave and made two requests: (a) that she be buried beside her daughter, and (b) that a fence be put around the graveyard. For the last request she made a donation to her kinsmen who owned the farm on which the graveyard was located. Soon a wooden fence was placed around the graveyard, and the daughter's grave fell directly beside the fence, the last grave in a row that began in 1811. However, the spot beside her was empty and beside the empty spot was her mother's brother's grave, beyond that her mother's mother's grave and so on back through the generations. Several years passed and the daughter's husband died. Again the family was approached by the in-laws, this time to request that their dead brother be buried beside his wife. The family replied that the spot reserved for the mother and suggested that the in-laws ask the mother if she would give up her place to her daughter's husband. The mother was contacted and refused to give up her spot. She pointed out that she wanted to be buried with her kin and she suggested that they do the same. The brothers did not request the family to let their brother be buried elsewhere in the Davis family graveyard, but they felt

that they had a right to request that he be buried beside his wife. The family of the woman took another view. They felt in the first place that the husband had originally requested that his wife be buried in the family graveyard to save the purchase price of a plot in the town where they lived some miles away. In the second place, the kinsmen had erected the gravestone above their daughter's, his wife's grave when he did not. Next they felt the husband had not honored his wife's name as he should have in life therefore they did not care to perpetuate a relationship in death that they did not approve of in life. Finally, they felt that the brothers wishes to bury their brother in the Davis graveyard to save themselves the expense of buying a plot for him. This incident points up several elements in the social structure. In the first place, it points up the schism between in-laws who are not also cousins; it points up rift between the Tuckahoe Davises and the Cohees, the husband's people who had no graveyard of their own and were considered a lower social class by the Davises. It points up a unity of the kinship bond over the conjugal bond. In addition, it points up that the kin did not depend upon kinship along to reserve themselves a burying spot but invested a sum of

money in the upkeep of the graveyard to make their claim more tangible. Therefore the daughter's husband did not lie beside her in the graveyard but on the other hand, her mother was not buried beside her spouse, and her grandmother was not buried be either of her spouses.

While the spouses of females above are not buried beside them, other spouses are buried beside one another. Will Davis and his spouse are both buried in the graveyard; Will's father came from York County on the eastern shore and family tradition is that Will's wife was his cousin from York County. The next known grave beside Will and his wife is that of their granddaughter who died while adolescent. Beside her lies her father John Davis; John's first wife was his first cousin, his father's sister's daughter. She died while young after bearing three children; there is some indication from old records, diaries that she died during a typhoid epidemic. It is not known whether she returned to her own home ten miles northwest during her last sickness or not. However she was buried in her father's graveyard rather than in her husband's. Later generations moved her marble tombstone beside her husband's, but her remains are beside those of her immediate family. Beside

the grave of John Davis is that of his only son, a bachelor. For three generations then lie father and mother (died 1811 and 1822) then young granddaughter (died 1820) then son (died 1828) then grandson (died 1889). In these first three generations there is a patrilineal group with the exception of grandfather's wife who makes it a cognatic group with a patrilateral bias.

The male heir dies unmarried and the land passes to his sister, therefore beside the grandson's grave is that of his sister, Mary Davis Cole and her husband and cousin Hugh Cole (mother's brother's oldest son). Next to Mary Cole and her husband lie their son Ralph Cole and his wife, a non-kinsman from another state. Next to Ralph Cole and his spouse lies Ralph's sister and the sister's bachelor son and then the sister's daughter, and her daughter, the young woman mentioned above, concludes the row. (See Map #). The fence then appears next to three generations of females who are part of the kin group but who do not own the land which surrounds the graveyard.

The new row in the graveyard, which lies to the west of the first row, has a tombstone in either corner. In the farthest corner from the three women stands a tombstone to the memory of Ralph Cole's sister's son.

He is not buried here, and neither is his son, or his wife, whose names appear on the tombstone. The only member of his family who is buried here is an infant daughter; his wife died in childbirth and was buried beside his house on an adjoining farm. After her death the large family was broken up and the father and his son died in an accident in the West. The tombstone over his infant daughter's grave contains the names of his wife, his son, and himself. It was placed there in their memory by his grown children and represents a re-affirmation by the cousins of third descending generation from the mutual ancestor Hugh Cole of their continuing kinship and solidarity. None of his children live in Piedmont Country, and are scattered over the U.S.A., although most live in the cities of the East. Were these offspring to be asked if they interacted with their siblings often, the answer would be 'no, distance does not permit it.' However the basic kinship level is alive, and extends to living kin over four generations.

At the other corner of the graveyard is another memorial tombstone. This marks the empty grave of Hugh Cole's great-grandson who died in a Japanese prison camp in World War II. Beside him is an empty spot reserved for his mother and beside this spot lies his father, the grandson of Mary Davis Cole.

MAP 10
(over)

Wren
Findlay
and Family
John Findlay

John Jr.

Agatha
Cole

Wife of
Ralph Cole

Bart
Cole
son
of
Randolph
Cole

Bart
Cole
Jr.

Will
Davis II
1749 - 1811
his wife
cousin
Elizabeth
1749 - 1822

Eliz.
Davis
dau.
of
John
Davis

John
Davis
son
of
Will
Davis II

Mary
Cole
Davis
wife &
first
cousin
of
John
Davis

Will
Davis
III
son
of
John
Davis

Mary
Davis
Cole dau.
of
John Davis
her cousin
&
spouse
Hugh
Cole

Randolph
Cole son
of
Mary Davis
Cole
&
his wife
Margaret

Mary
Cole
dau.
of
Mary
Davis
Cole
wife
of
Findlay

Ned
Findlay
son
of
Mary
Cole
Findlay

Mary
Findlay
dau
of
Mary
Cole
Findlay
married
Bobbitt

Anne
Bobbitt
dau
of
Mary
Findlay
married
Wright

Beyond the grave is an empty space of ten feet or so beside which lies the grave of a Cole spouse. By generations, the known dead are buried thus:

- (a) generation I. Will Davis and his cousin spouse, died old;
- (b) generation III. Elizabeth Davis, died Young;
- (c) generation II. Son of Will Davis, John Davis, fa. of Eliz. above, died in middle age, inherited 1700 acres from father;
- (d) generation II. Marker for spouse and first cousin of John Davis: Mary Cole Davis who is buried in her father's graveyard, died in middle age;
- (e) generation III. Grave of Will Davis, bachelor son of John and Mary Cole Davis who inherited farm of approximately 1000 acres, died old;
- (f) generation III. Graves of Mary Davis Cole, daughter of John and Mary Cole Davis, and her cousin spouse Hugh Cole, both died old, Mary inherited farm from Will Davis, had previously inherited from father and sold;

- (g) generation IV. Graves of Randolph Cole and his spouse, Martha Cooke, died old, Randolph inherited farm of 400 acres from his mother Mary Davis Cole as well as land in another state from father;
- (h) generation IV. Grave of Mary Cole Findlay, sister to above, inherited 500 acres or so from mother;
- (i) generation V. Grave of Mary Cole Findlay's bachelor son, inherited nearby land from his mother;
- (j) generation V. Grave of Mary Cole Findlay's daughter Mary Findlay Bobbitt, inherited nearby land from mother and brother above;
- (k) generation VI. Grave of Mary Bobbitt's daughter, did not inherit any land in Pine Forks or Piedmont County;

FENCE

NEW ROW OF GRAVES

- (l) generation V and VI. Grave of Mary Cole Findlay's infant granddaughter, marker of Mary Cole Findlay's son, Thomas and his wife parents of infant,

and their son Thomas Jr. Thomas
inherited land from mother;

SPACE OF TEN FEET

- (m) generation V. Wife of Ralph Cole, son of
Randolph Cole, who inherited
farm 100 acres from Randolph Cole;

SPACE OF TEN FEET

- (n) generation V. BaBart Cole, son of Randolph Cole
who inherited 100 acres and home-
place;
- (o) generation VI. Bart Cole Jr. memorial marker,
died a young soldier.

Several patterns are displayed in this grave-
yard. The first three generations, Will Davis, John
Davis, Mary Davis, all married cousins; thereafter, no
one buried in this graveyard married a cousin. The
reason for this was the emigration of Mary Cole and her
husband to the West. They returned on the death of
Mary Cole's brother Will in generation III as Will's
land was inherited by Mary Cole.

The second pattern is that of land inheritance
bilaterally which results in a name change in the grave-
yard when women inherit the land. The Davis name appears
in generations I, II, and III but in generation III there
is a name change when a female inherits. The name Cole
now appears in generations IV, V, and VI; a Davis

patrilateral group holds the land for three generations, then a Cole patrilateral group holds the land for three generations. There is presently a name change in generation VI which does not yet appear in the graveyard. A female Cole inherits in the absence of a male heir, just as her Davis great-grandmother inherited in the absence of an heir. The present female Cole who married a MacGrillis has a son who may inherit and thus change the name in the graveyard again. There appears to be a patrilateral bias in the inheritance of the homelace, but this overturns every third generation to a new patrilateral line, in which the woman is the key. Men appear to fall out more through their exposure to the chances of demography, war, and so on. In spite of the patrilateral bias in descent of both name and name on the land, women still have rights in the graveyard which they exercise, thereby introducing three new names: Findlay, Bobbit, and Wright. However only the consanguinines are buried in the graveyard, and no woman's spouse is buried in the graveyard unless that woman inherited the land thereby putting her husband's name on the land. Further, burial in the graveyard is closely related to land owning. Every adult person buried in the graveyard was a land owner in Pine Forks save one, the Bobbitt who married a Wright, and there is no indication that

any of her offspring will seek to be buried there. In fact, it may have been somewhat an accident that she was buried there, and it is perhaps significant that the fence was placed directly along her grave. It is noted too, that on the gravestone the maiden name of the woman is emphasized over her married name. For example, in generation IV, the tombstone reads Mary Cole and underneath in small letters is: married first, Pindlay. Likewise on the Wright grave the stone reads Nancy Bobbitt, wife of Wright, the latter in small letters.

In summary these facts may be noted:

- (a) property inherited by daughters locates daughter and her spouse in the graveyard on that property;
- (b) females who are buried in the graveyard who do not own the land around it do not have spouses buried with them;
- (c) cousin marriage was common in the 19th century but has not been present in this group since;
- (d) when possible the home place and graveyard descends through males;
- (e) when females are buried apart from their spouses there is an effort to stress the consanguineal name over the conjugal name;
- (f) although legally any member of the bilateral descent group from Hugh Davis may be buried in the graveyard, in most cases only those associated with local property choose to be buried there.

Jonathan Davis Graveyard

The graveyard of the third original settler, Jonathan Davis, was reserved for members of that kin group when the land around it, the original homesite, was sold out of the family by the sons of a female Davis, Jonathan's daughter. The graveyard consists of two acres of land on top of a knoll not far from the house of Jonathan Davis' which was his father's before him. In this graveyard are a large number of graves marked by field stones only. In contrast to the preceding graveyard in which the white members of the family were buried, this graveyard contains the black members of the community who were slaves of the family. However, they are buried on one end of the graveyard and tradition says that Indians are buried there also. In addition to the Davises and the slaves, a third group of persons are buried at this grave site. These are the members of the family who bought the land from the Davis heirs. This burying ground is segregated from the original burying ground by the presence of a fence around the graves. This family moved into Pine Forks about the turn of the 20th century as renters, but when sons began to enter the army before and during World War I enough money was available to buy the Davis estate which

they were renting in part, when the Davis daughter's sons put it up for sale. This family still remains in Pine Forks and in the 1940s married into the Davis family.

There have been no Davis burials in this graveyard for many years. It is doubtful if a Davis has been buried here since the land left the family although the graveyard legally belongs to the descent group. Other choices must have been made for the burial of kin. The most frequent choice was to bury the dead of a family in a new cemetery started on his own land. Reasons given for this are convenience, difficulty of transporting the body over bad roads and so on. However, it is more likely that this is an expression of the importance of land ownership around the cemetery in addition to rights in the cemetery itself. For example, a female who married into the new landowners group in the 1920s requested that she be buried not in the cemetery her husband's family had started near to her house, but in her own family cemetery a few miles away. Her wishes were complied with although her death occurred in the middle of winter and the dirt roads were almost impassable even by horses.

The Matt Davis Graveyards

It appears that the original settler Matt Davis inherited land in White county where his father and two brothers lived. Therefore, he left his land to his children and returned to White County which joins Piedmont. He and his wife were buried on the estate there which has since been lost to the Davis family. The graveyards of this branch of the Davis family, therefore, does not contain graves as old as that of Will Davis. His descendants have established three graveyards since then,

- (1) an old one which belonged to Matt's son Matt;
- (2) an old one that belonged to one of Matt's daughters who later sold it back to a Davis male;
- (3) a new graveyard that has been started in the middle of the 20th century.

The first graveyard is now inaccessible and overgrown, and the land on which it stands is in the hands of a descendant of a Davis woman, Dave Bender. The second one is in use, and the family of Molly Davis, whose estate was discussed above, has buried three of the siblings there; all of them were landowners in Pine Forks. The third graveyard belongs to the Davis man who is sole heir to his father's estate, discussed

above, his only sibling having died. When members of the Bender family died recently, they chose this new graveyard (which belongs to their mother's brother's son) over Graveyard Two which belongs to their mother's father's brother's children. This indicates solidarity of first cousins over second cousins and points up the rift that begins to become evident in family lines by the second descending generation.

Rifts appear even in cases of cousin marriage, with a bias toward the re-inforced lines and a breach along other lines. For example, the marriage of Joseph Davis to his cousin Ann Davis produced several children, as noted in the preceding chapters. A son of this union then married his first cousin, a child of his father's brother. Thus the male line descended from Jonathan was doubled. The bride was descended from the Jonathan Davis line only, while the groom was descended equally from Matt Davis, his mother's line, and Jonathan Davis, his father's line. The solidarity of this family with the Jonathan Davis line and the breach with the Matt Davis line was expressed in small ways of everyday living, but was clearly revealed when a choice of graveyard was made. Young children of the couple who died in childhood were buried in a new

graveyard on Jonathan Davis land which the couple owned. However a new element appeared in the choice of grave sites which illuminated the rift between the two kin groups, and a rift between family and community. Joe Davis III, great-grandson of Jonathan Davis and his spouse and first cousin Kate Davis Davis pulled away from the family graveyards and out of the community solidarity when they decided to begin a new burying ground, not in Pine Forks, but in the commercial cemetery of a town some 25 miles distant. The decision was made by Kate, who bought the grave lots. Shortly afterwards, she had the bodies of her mother and her two young children moved to the town cemetery. This move was the talk of the community, and everyone speculated on why Kate had moved her kin. Kate told a friend in private:

I have never done what I wanted to in life, it seems everything was a disappointment to me; I had such dreams for my sons, and none of them amounted to much. Two of them married women far beneath them, and none got an education. Whiskey and poverty ruined my family just as it ruined so many around here. I will get them out in death if I couldn't in life.

To the community in general Kate made the explanation that she wanted her parents' and children's graves to be cared for and tended when she was gone. She did not want trees to grow from her family's grave as she watched them grow from many

other abandoned graveyards, such as those of the Weekes family. It was for this reason she didn't like family graveyards. Nevertheless, she still did not want her children buried in the church graveyard where the Cohees and small farmers of the area were buried. She wanted some part of the life that a wellkept urban cemetery pictured to her. Ironically, her kinsmen who made it to the city and the educated life which she coveted in vain for her children, are returning to buy up the family land and have their own family graveyards.

In summary there are groups in Twin Poplars that have the potential, legally, to form bilateral descent groups in one endeavor: a family burying ground. While rights may be held in the burying ground, activation of these rights are contingent upon several factors, social and geographical. Once the land is sold out of the family burials are less likely to occur in the graveyard even though the site has been legally reserved and the access to the graveyard legally assured. There also appears to be a pattern of surname change in the graveyards every third generation, either by sale or by movement of the land into the hands of an out-marrying female. When a shift takes a graveyard out of a family, the next owners usually bury their dead outside of the previous families

burying ground denoting a break in the blood line. In some cases the new owners will fence their own graves, while they allow their cattle to sleep on the graves of the previous owners. This is particularly true if a Cohee buys the land of a Tuckahoe whose graves are not fenced. In other cases where the original graveyard is fenced, the new owners may bury their dead outside this fence, and leave their own graves unfenced and open to the stock.

At times too, the tension and fission between the class and family lines is seen in the treatment of a graveyard. For example, a Tuckahoe female married down and by chance the property adjacent to the graveyard fell into her husband's hands. Her husband plowed so close to the graves of her father and mother that her brothers had to threaten legal action to prevent his disturbing the actual grave. It was his intent, the husband said, to throw dirt in his father-in-law's face. He was in conflict with his wife's brothers because his wife's father had left some property to his sons to the exclusion of his marrying-down daughters. When the husband was able to buy the property adjacent to the graveyard, he expressed the schism by disrespect to his wife's ancestors.

The Association of Landholders

The fourth category of landholders are the members of an association who have certain rights and duties in a common piece of land, specifically the Mount Airey Baptist Church of Twin Poplars and the Mount Airey burying ground. This association is formed by a group of Negroes who established a church of their own sometime in the late 19th century. The oldest members do not know when the church was formed and they do not know much of its history. They think there was a church built on land that was given to them by a John William Harris, and they think this church burned and another was built, but they do not know when. A second parcel of land was added to the church holdings in the early 20th century when an acre was purchased from a new landholder who had bought land from the sons of a Harris woman and resold this property to them for the purpose of a black graveyard. The members of the church are drawn from the Twin Poplars community although one of the deacons has lived in Baltimore for years but returning to the community where he owns a parcel of land. The remainder of the deacons are all drawn from one Negro family, the Jackson family, and are cousins or better to one another. In spite of this close family net-

work, the church is legally a landholding unit separate from the individuals who form its membership.

The Renters

The fifth category of landholders are the renters of Twin Poplars. Persons who rent land in the community are in the minority; most people own or have rights in land. Of the six renters in the community, one has rights in her father's land which her mother holds during her lifetime; presently this divorced woman and her daughter rent a house and an acre of land from her sister. Recently the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Federal Government investigated the sister's tax return. The reason for the investigation was the low rent that was being charged on a property that they alleged should have been rented for more. The investigator accepted the explanation that the rent was low because the renter was a sister, an insight into the view of kinship that the government accepts.

Another renter is an elementary school teacher and her husband who is a student at a nearby University. This property was rented when the teacher became acquainted with the owner, the secretary of the local school board; therefore, the relationship between renter and the landlord is not one of strangers. In

addition, the secretary rents a portion of her yard to a school supervisor who has placed a trailer there near her residence during the week; on the week-ends she returns to her home in another county. The relation between these two families is close, and it is rumored that the elderly supervisor intends to leave her landlord some valuable property in her will.

The fourth renter is a man and wife and their ten children who rent a large house in a difficult location from a member of the Harris kin group. This man has kin connections in the community, though not among the Harris group. His two brothers have bought land in the community and have established their families here for a permanent home. It is possible that the children of these families may marry members of the community, as the families are considered to be acceptable.

The fifth renter is a maiden lady of the kin group who rents an apartment in a combination filling station and apartment house owned by a cousin on her mother's side. On her father's side she has a tenuous kinship relation with the dominant kin group of the community, although few are able to spell it out. The sixth renter is a man and his wife who rent the filling station from its owner. They have no kinship connections in the community at all, and their relationship

with it is one of a contractual nature only.

In summary, the renters of the community are few, and most of these are either part of a kinship network or part of a friendship network of Pine Fork. .

Landowners

The final category of landholders the landholders who are landowners and who live on their land in the community. These have been investigated above at some length. In the past the land was the primary source of economic support for all members, but in the last thirty years a drastic shift has been made away from the land as the first economic source to land as a secondary, tertiary, or minimal part of the community economy. Land now takes on a different significance, less fertile areas are allowed to revert to timber, or purposefully replanted in fast growing pines that may be harvested in twenty years. Cultivated land recedes down the hillside although more fertile areas continue to be used as pasture land. Beef cattle which require little attention replace the traditional milk cow. However, a good number of the landowners continue to have the traditional kitchen gardens as do most of the renters.

Attitudes expressed towards the land fall into several different categories:

- (1) those who value the land for farming purposes;
- (2) those who value the land for its ties with the past;
- (3) those who value the land as a refuge for the children of the city;
- (4) those who value the land as a means to hold their children out of the city.

In the first place there are those land owners who feel their future and the futures of their children lie in large amounts of land for raising beef cattle, supplemented by a specialty such as a commercial egg-laying plant. Here the father may combine these activities and encourage his sons to safeguard the monetary basis of the family fortune by working in the industries of the nearby towns immediately upon finishing high school. This system serves several purposes. First, the sons can get vacations during the seasons requiring heavy labor on the farm, such as hay making time while during the year as a whole they may still assist in routine tasks that do not require a great amount of time, such as feeding cattle morning and night. If the son has a shift job, he can do quite a bit on the farm when he is working in industry in the evening or at nights, and still be able to handle a routine industrial job that is more rote than brain. In the second place,

the son rapidly has the means to marry should he so desire. He can get a building spot from his father and put up a house, or to avoid the cost of a home building loan, he can buy a trailer and put it very near the house of his father, for all the convenience of the home water supply and septic tank but far enough away to allow more privacy than is to be found within the father's household. In this way, the son is not pressuring the father for the supremacy of the house and farm, but is there to provide a hand when necessary. The son is financially independent of the father and has not cost the father a cent in educational expenses. This allows the father to put his extra money in more land and equipment which the son may fall heir to. In addition, the women may coordinate their activities, such as canning and gardening or the grandmother may babysit while the wife joins her husband in industry. This system bypasses the means of getting ahead most common to the American way of life, that of going on to higher education, but avoids the risks of not getting into college, of getting in and failing to pass, or falling into bad habits. In addition, it avoids the risk of having the son move away from the farm, perhaps acquire a wife who finds farm life distasteful. Most of all, it

avoids leaving the aging farmer and his wife alone on the farm and unable to cope with the heavy demands of the work without any source of help available. For while the farm must grow to survive and while the farmer supplements his farm income with other activities, there must be labor to meet the demands of the season. And labor that the farmer is able to find to meet his sporadic needs is labor that is hardly worth having.

The second attitude toward the land views farming as a futile way of life on the scale that is available to the average size land owner. This view is particularly held by those who have a family of girls and few boys. Here education is viewed as the only way the family can keep its land, a precious item to many in spite of its changing economic return from farming to building sites, a place of privacy in an increasingly world of little privacy, and a tie with a distant better past. Education too is seen as a way in which more suitable mates may be found than are available in the small local sphere. This family bends every effort to educate its older children and they are expected to aid the younger in as much as they are able. In this case, education is seen as the prime purpose. In addition to affording protection to the

land by not overcropping or overworking it, protection is afforded the prestige of the family by keeping up the educational standards set by the ancestors, for it is primarily the educated ancestors who are best remembered; those who were uneducated or those who slid down the social scale are not entirely forgotten and may be resurrected immediately should their descendants do well, however, it is the educated ancestor or the ancestor who did well that is most often brought to the attention of the children of the family. These ancestors play an important part in the socialization of the children into the values and customs of the family and country.

The third attitude toward the land is that of holding the land for hard times, but otherwise encouraging, even insisting that the children get off the land into the city where better opportunity awaits them. This is specifically expressed by black parents born in the 19th century. As in the case of the two Negro widows who hold the estate described above, this attitude tended to empty the rural areas of its black population although usually when land was involved a guardian of some kind remained with the land, and if necessary received some support from those with wage earnings in the city.

White persons too followed this pattern, but there was more of a tendency for the whites left in the rural areas to attempt to get control of the property rather than to hold it indefinitely for an absentee kin group.

The fourth attitude toward the land is a relatively new one in this community, but rising rapidly among both blacks and whites. This attitude is to stay on the land but not to use it primarily for production. Instead, the land is being used to hold the kin group together in a residential pattern while they seek employment in the cities nearby. This land use may take several forms. In one case, two Negro brothers purchased thirty acres from a cousin who had bought it from an elderly white man with whom he kept close ties. These two brothers then gave a sister a building lot and all three built homes on the land. In addition, as sons desire homes, building lots are given to them and a settlement of kin is springing up in what used to be a plantation cornfield. A similar pattern is repeated nearby but in this case involves a man and his sons and daughters. The father who owns five acres of land along a county road, gives each daughter and son a building lot as they desire it, and a settle-

ment of kin is arising here also. The black men expressed a directly opposite opinion to the Negro female who would force the children into the city for better opportunity; these men feel that trouble, not opportunity, awaits their children who make their home in the city; therefore, the children are to be held on the land, not driven from it but at the same time the opportunities of the city are to be used by making the wage-earning city job the primary source of support while the land becomes the primary source of home and protection from the dangers of the city. The land is not excluded entirely as an economic source, as one or two members will raise large gardens to feed as many of the family for as long as possible.

Thus, in summary, the community has varying attitudes toward the land:

- (1) that which regards the large farm as one with a future, and uses all the resources available including commercialized farming and wage earners held on the farm to secure this; in some cases education is bypassed; in other cases, in other communities education is included as a substitute for immediate wage earnings; the educated son will teach rather than work in industry as a source of cash;

- (2) that view which regards the future of the land as a farm to be dim; here education is seen as the prime tool for the future, with land providing a residential and recreational area;
- (3) in the third case, the view of the land is that of a refuge, a long term security against disaster; the best opportunity lies in getting off the land entirely and gaining a living and a home in the city;
- (4) finally, the land is seen as a means to hold the young out of the city that has now become a danger to them; the city is to be used only for obtaining cash, and the land becomes the home and haven.

CHAPTER TEN

Summary and Conclusions

This dissertation has investigated aspects of kinship and landholding in a community which has persisted on the same site for nearly 250 years. During these years the community social structure and economy was subject to strong external forces summarized as follows:

(1)immigration brought two distinct cultural traditions into the community:

(a)that of the slave-owning, plantation Tuckahoe with extended kinship networks which reached throughout the Tidewater area;

(b)that of the kin-based subsistence Cohee farmer from the Shenandoah Valley whose economy was that of the Grossbauer cultivator;

although there was intermarriage between these two groups,certain discernable differences set

(1)continued

these groups apart to the present day;

(2)emigration at first stabilized the population

which was increasing from a high birth rate and a decreasing death rate; this emigration which was initially into the empty lands of the south and west, and later into industrialized urban areas, together with the declining birth rate later helped empty the countryside although the declining death rates ensured the existence of elderly farmers in the community;

(3)rising wheat prices, competition from the less hilly plantations to the south, declining soil fertility turned the community towards mixed farming as a basis of the economy;

(4)the advent of the Civil War destroyed the slave-based plantation economy and changed the social structure of the community and brought about conditions of poverty which continue in Piedmont County until today;

(5)subsistence farming with occasional forays into the wage-earning areas became the post-bellum way of life for most of Pine Forks until the 1940s;

(6)the Spanish-American War made a direct impact upon

(6)continued

the community by providing veterans with pensions thereby bringing cash into a money-deprived area; World War I and the election of a Southern president began a series of legislative events and developments in the industrial world that were to affect drastically the economy of Pine Forks and the South in general;

(7)World War II and its aftermath brought the full force of industrialization in the greater community to bear on Pine Forks:

(a)population began to decline in the 1940s in response to the pull of industrialized urban centers, and a declining birth rate; this has continued to the present;

(b)agriculture rapidly declined and became an economic source secondary to wage-earning; this was illustrated by a shift from dairy to beef cattle;

(c)women continued a pattern begun by the time of World War II and joined the labor force in increasing numbers; children of working mothers were cared for and socialized by kin.

These economic, social, and legislative changes were

closely interwoven with other elements of the society such as kinship, landholding, and social relations between kin groups. The hypotheses upon which this dissertation is based arise from the fact that social changes tend to take place through existing institutions; when one institution is drastically changed, such as the economic institution after the Civil War and World War II, these changes were mitigated through older and more stable institutions such as the family, kinship, and landholding. Before proceeding with this argument, however, it is necessary to establish the presence of the family and kinship in Pine Forks, Piedmont County and the wider community. To do this those theories were examined and criticized which claimed that the family in the United States was limited to the nuclear family of husband, wife, and children. In Chapter One I quoted empirical research which established the presence of the family beyond the bounds of man, wife, and child in many disparate areas of the geographical United States and in Europe. Beginning with Chapter Two, I traced the presence of a kin group in Pine Forks from the middle of the 18th century to the present day, almost 250 years later. It appears that in the midst of economic and social change certain factors were stable: the Davis kin group had persisted as a landholding group

in Pine Forks in spite of external and internal changes. This stability of kinship and landholding supported the four initial hypotheses:

- (1) a substratum or foundation of recognizable kin outside the nuclear family does exist in Pine Forks and Piedmont County, and this substratum extends beyond the local community to include kin who live elsewhere;
- (2) kinship such as has been described, is intensified, or perpetuated in part by landholdings; in time, the acquisition of land may lead to kinship;
- (3) the relationships of kinship and landholding have persisted in Pine Forks for 200 years or so in the face of several economic changes;
- (4) therefore, as Durkheim pointed out, changes in society may occur through existing social institutions; changes of industrialization and urbanization in Pine Forks may be mediated through the existing and ancient institutions of family, kinship and landholding.

An examination of these hypotheses one by one in light of the evidence accumulated by the research reported here, should lead to an acceptance of the hypotheses, a

rejection or change in the hypotheses.

The first hypothesis stated that a foundation or basis of recognized kin existed outside the nuclear or conjugal family and that this foundation or substratum of kin extended to include members outside the local settlement. Based on evidence from the landholdings of absentee kin, evidence of land rights in estates by absentee legatee and evidence of interaction of a number of these persons with kin in Pine Forks, the significance of kin outside the boundaries of the local community was established. Evidence from the census and from the genealogies revealed the presence of 150 persons related by bonds of kinship and affinity within Pine Forks. This represents about one half of the population of the community and indicates the extension of the family beyond the boundaries of husband, wife and immature children. Evidence from the residential patterns reveals the presence of kin and affines who live close to one another and in fact build their homes and establish their residence in terms of kinship. Evidence from an investigation of the community as three demes reveals these local bilateral kinship groups exist as: the white Davis group of kin and affine; the black Davis group of kin and affine and a third group, part of which acts as a local group based on bilateral kinship and residence.

The investigation of domestic groups too showed kin outside the nuclear family acting as inter-dependent units, particularly for the socialization and care of the young. The study of graveyards, moreover, further offers support. There appears to be enough evidence therefore, to support the hypothesis that a substratum of recognized kin exists outside the nuclear family in Pine Forks and that this kin extends beyond the geographical boundaries of the community to the larger community.

The second hypothesis concerns the relation of land and kinship; landholdings perpetuate or intensify kinship; and may in time lead to kinship. The residential patterns found in Pine Forks indicate that kin are building on land obtained from a mutual ancestor, for example from father to children. Thus land available for residence holds kin in propinquity and increases the opportunity for interaction. This combination of residence, landholding, and kinship is found in every group in the community. Further, the history of the dominant kin group, the Davis family, supports the hypothesis that landholdings perpetuate kinship. Further, documentation of the movement of kin in and out of the local community demonstrated that landholding brought kin back to the community and that they further developed ties through the marriage of cousins,

thus perpetuating and intensifying bonds of landholdings as well.

The relation of land and kinship were also supported by evidence from estate holdings, the deme, and the family and domestic groups cited above. Evidence was given to show too that property, i.e. land, leads to kinship. The marriage of the Rye family into the Davis family and the three marriages of the Little family into the Davis family seemed to be based in part on the fact that the Ryes and the Littles were property-holders who were considered eligible for marriage. The Sowell and Mullens too appeared to establish kinship bonds through the marriage of persons on adjacent landholdings.

The evidence is, however, that race contradicts the hypothesis that landholding leads to kinship, for interracial marriages were unknown and until recently illegal, although common descent of black and white was recognized within the kin groups, but never publicly acknowledged outside the community. It is clear that the relation of white to black before blacks could acquire land in a significant amount, was often one of quasi-kinship, with the white kin group in a paternalistic position. But when the black people did acquire significant landholdings, they were regarded by whites as separated and essentially an independent group. Therefore, the hypothesis is

is disproved in so far as the relations of black and white are concerned: landholding did not lead to kinship. The consequence was a clearer segregation of black and white.

However, the hypothesis holds within the black and white groups, for within each mutual interest in the same land leads to continued and intensified kin relations, and adjacent landholdings lead to marriage and kinship. To the present, there have been no marriages between the Mullen-Sowell and Davis groups, but this group is relatively new to the community and marriage may take place in the future between members of the Mullen-Sowell group who rise in the esteem of the neighborhood, or a Davis who has sunk below the level of the kin-group may seek a spouse here. Furthermore, it is unclear what would happen in the eventuality of pre-marital conception. Therefore, it must be concluded that it is too soon to prove or disprove the hypothesis in this case. It could be pointed out that the Petrie family who never succeeded in marrying into the Davis group, moved away. However, they still own land in the community and thereby place a further doubt as to whether adjacent landowning necessarily leads to kinship.

The third and fourth hypothesis concern the relationships of kinship, land, the changing economy and the

the stability of the social system of Pine Forks. These may be examined together. Historically, Pine Forks and Piedmont County scarcely appear to be a stable society. People were born, grew up and left the system although some stayed, often in terms of the land. The overthrow of the law of primogeniture and entail in the 18th century ended one orderly way for land to descend in a bilateral society. The absence of strong unilaterality in kinship took away that discreteness of kin groups that simplifies and stabilizes relations in a unilineal descent society. The depletion of the soil took away the one-crop system of tobacco cultivation that enabled planters to the south to concentrate on staples to the exclusion of other crops. The Civil War disrupted the overall economic and social structure and left little more than kin and land, and unresolved racial problems in its wake.

Within each group itself conflict and struggle over land rights and other scarce resources were always present, and struggle and conflict between white and black were present as the blacks resisted dominance by whites. The question therefore arises of the relation between conflict and stability. The closer the relationship and the more participants are involved in it, the more reasons there

are for conflict, according to Coser who follows Simmel in this matter.¹ Coser demonstrates throughout this work that conflicts maintain group boundaries and prevent the withdrawal of members from a group. As long as the conflicts do not contradict the basic assumptions upon which the relation is founded, conflict in fact seems to lead to stability. As Coser points out:

The absence of conflict cannot be taken as an index of the strength and stability of a relationship. Stable relationships may be characterized by conflicting behavior. Closeness gives rise to frequent occasions for conflict,...When close relationships are characterized by frequent conflicts rather than by the accumulation of hostile feelings, we may be justified given that such conflicts are not likely to concern basic consensus, in taking these frequent conflicts as an index of the stability of these relationships.²

If this line of reasoning is followed, it may be said that as long as the kin groups believe in private ownership of property, the struggle over land and property merely arises out of the close relations. A change in this basic assumption, however, could well mean disruption for the entire community. Communism is hated and feared in part in Pine Forks because it seems

¹ Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (New York; The Free Press, 1956) p. 72.

² Ibid., p. 85

to threaten the private ownership of their land. A clarification of the function of conflict then leads to an examination of the hypothesis: there is a relationship between kinship, land, changing economy yet stability of the social system in Pine Forks.

Evidence from the research seems to support the hypothesis. When the economic system went through revolutionary changes, the land was there nevertheless as were the relations of kinship. The way the land was used changed, but the rights to use the land were not; nor were the bonds of kinship altered. Kinship was used to increase the hold on the land. Cousin marriages strengthened the rights in land and prevented its fragmentation past a subsistence level. Land held members of both races in Pine Forks while others left for the West or the city. Land and kinship were a measure of security for the urban kinsman who lost his job, for the urban kinswoman with illegitimate children, and for the local illegitimate black man in debt and in need of a home and a piece of land for a garden that the law could not seize. Land and kinship today form a firm basis for the economic venture into the working world by the young married woman with children: her domestic group helps to stabilize the family whose adult members participate

a good part of the day in the workplaces brought into being by recent economic changes.

It was dependence on land and family labor that allowed for the survival of the community after the economic changes which followed the Civil War, and it is land and family today that allow for the complete participation of the young working adults who remain in the community. Attitudes toward landholding in Pine Forks clearly reveal that members of the community utilize the land and kin to provide a measure of stability in a changing economic world. On the other hand, the economic system that emerged after the Civil War provided land for the black kin group. Interaction among all these three institutions clearly exists in Pine Forks, and there appears to be support for the hypotheses that stability of the social system is provided by the institutions of kinship and landholding through which changes may be made to adjust to a new economy.

This study, while furnishing evidence for an examination of the above hypotheses, also provides material for future study. The primary question is whether the community will be able to resist serious inroads into its landholding that has already been made by some strangers from outside the kin group, and which may increase

in the future. Again, the disparate rates of increase between blacks and whites within the community may bring about an imbalance in favor of the blacks which has never occurred before, and so change the pattern of social relations between them that has persisted so long. In this connection, the basic unspoken agreement between the races over marriage and social rights may be affected by events in the enveloping society, and bring about another set of conflicts that will change the present community social system or perhaps destroy it. The economic system of the enveloping society may alter in such a way as to invalidate the present use of community land for residential purposes with agricultural production being supplementary, or what is more likely, if the state becomes more industrialized, residential use of land may destroy the basis of the present social structure of Pine Forks.

There are other questions about the nature and future of the deme; indeed a basic question is whether in fact this concept is a fruitful one for the study of a group involved in such complex networks of social relations. Further investigation should also be made into the nature and future of the domestic group. As the pressure on the ghettos of the cities increases, and as the education of the laborer lags behind the increasingly

sophisticated technology of our society, a re-examination of the solution offered to their children by the black Brooks group should be investigated.

The persistence of extensive kinship ties, and the intensity of emotion expressed about the land, served to give the Pine Forks settlement a flexible mode of adaptation to the exigencies of a changing world for over two centuries. There is no reason to believe that the Pine Forks will not be able to adapt itself in the foreseeable future unless a major change occurs in the social system of the United States itself, or unless one of the possibilities mentioned above destroy the land and kinship system. Certainly there will be some changes, indeed the community has withstood major changes in the past. The most significant change now occurring is perhaps the new status of the black kin groups, which may bring about a new level of social solidarity. However, I believe that present and future research will show that kinship bonds in our industrial society will not readily disappear, but will serve to stabilize social relations as changes in other institutions occur.

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