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The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead: Post-Emancipation Transitions of an African American Family in Central Texas Vol. 2

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**THE RANSOM AND SARAH WILLIAMS FARMSTEAD:
POST-EMANCIPATION TRANSITIONS OF AN
AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILY IN CENTRAL TEXAS**

VOLUME II

by

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Aaron R. Norment
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and
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Principal Investigators: Douglas K. Boyd and Aaron R. Norment

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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the direct descendants of Ransom and Sarah Williams and to the many other African Americans in the greater descendant community who participated and contributed to this project. We hope the contributions of the Williams family and all the black freedmen pioneers in Texas will long be remembered.

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- CHAPTER 2: History of Investigations at Site 41TV1051
- CHAPTER 3: Work Accomplished and Methods of Investigation
- CHAPTER 4: Allen's Prairie, Mountain City, and Antioch Colony: African American Pioneers in Slavery and Freedom
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NARRATIVES OF BLACK HOUSEHOLD LIFE IN RURAL CENTRAL TEXAS, CA. 1920s–1950s

Maria Franklin

12

This chapter focuses on the oral history research associated with the Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead Archeological project. To explore the history of the Williams family within the broader context of rural black experiences in this region, we conducted interviews primarily (but not exclusively) with African Americans who grew up near the site, in communities that were then still rural and mainly agrarian-based.

There are two major objectives of this chapter. The first is to summarize the oral history project with regard to objectives, methodology, and a demographic profile of the interviewees. The second, which constitutes the majority of this chapter, is to begin the process of interpreting the oral histories. I chose to focus on the nature of African American households, including inter-household relationships, and the role of gender in household social and economic relations. Since these topics relate to the broader goals of the Williams Farmstead Archeological Project, it is more fitting to discuss the oral history research within the context of the project first.

We developed several overlapping project goals associated with conducting oral history interviews with the African American descendant community. The first was to use the oral history project as a vehicle for engaging with the local African American community. The second was to collect, archive, and make publicly accessible the oral testimonies of individuals who have firsthand knowledge of what life was like for black families and communities living in rural central Texas. A third objective was to use these oral histories to help in constructing the historical context for the Ransom and Sarah Williams farmstead site and to provide another

line of evidence for interpreting data recovered from the site. Finally, we interviewed descendants in the attempt to both discover information about the Williams family and to identify living descendants of the Williams family. Each of these goals deserves further explanation.

Doug Boyd, the project's principal investigator, envisioned that the investigation of the site would serve as an ideal vehicle for community outreach with African Americans. The oral history project was a significant factor in these outreach efforts since it helped to open up lines of communication between researchers and the community. A growing number of archeologists are involving descendants in their research at various levels of engagement as commitment to deal responsibly with the profession's racial politics spreads (Epperson 2004; Franklin and Paynter 2010; LaRoche and Blakey 1997; Leone 2005; Leone et al. 2005; McDavid 2002; McGuire 2008; Mullins 2007, 2008; Orser 1998; Palus et al. 2006; Potter 1991, 1994; Scham 2001; Singleton 1999 ed.; Young 2004). With evidence that the Williams family had ties to Antioch Colony, it was felt that Antioch descendants might wish to be involved with a project concerning their history. We also contacted African Americans who grew up in Manchaca, the town closest to the Williams farmstead site that was known to have an established black presence both during and after the occupation of the site. The process of collecting oral histories, which led to many informal conversations, allowed us to elicit feedback on how researchers might reciprocate by "giving back" to the community and interviewees.

The second goal of collecting oral histories concerned the preservation of life histories relat-

ed to an understudied, and thus obscured, segment of central Texas history: African Americans living in Hays and Travis Counties during the era of Jim Crow (one exception is Mears 2009). Most of those interviewed were 70+ years old at the time of their interviews, and it was crucial that we recorded their memories. Regretfully, three of the individuals I interviewed, Moses Harper, Anthy Lee Revada Walker, and Essie May Owens Sorrells, have since passed away.¹²⁸ Of course, we were not the only ones who recognized the significance of these oral memoirs. Descendants lamented the passing of elderly relatives who had a wealth of personal and historical knowledge that is now lost. The opportunity to have their biographies recorded and archived for the benefit of their descendants was one of the main reasons why individuals agreed to be interviewed. They also wanted to honor their ancestors.

The third goal of this project concerned the interpretation of the Williams farmstead site. While the archival research has already proved indispensable in this respect, there are few primary source materials besides the WPA ex-slave narratives that provide insight into early African American experiences in Texas from their perspectives (for excellent summaries of these sources, see Mears 2009; Sitton and Conrad 2005). Thus, the interview questions included those that might assist in understanding what life was like for the Williams family. These questions ranged from those emphasizing the material and spatial dimensions of daily household activities to ones regarding social relationships within families and between black communities and the dominant society.

Finally, we attempted to identify direct descendants of the Williams family through both archival research and the oral history project with the hopes that they might be willing to participate in the project. At the very least, we felt obligated to share the results of this research with them. Everyone we contacted was asked if they knew of the Williams family or their children. That process led us to three people who are related to Emma Bunton, a cousin to Mary Williams Davis (a daughter of Sarah and Ransom Williams). Moreover, project historian Terri Myers was able to track down

¹²⁸As of March 2012 when the oral history volumes were published (Franklin 2012).

the great-grandchildren of Sarah and Ransom Williams, who currently reside in East Austin (see Chapter 5).

METHODS

The author and Nedra Lee interviewed 19 individuals, 17 of them African Americans.¹²⁹ Interviewees provided recollections of growing up in Buda (n = 10), Austin (n = 1), or Manchaca (n = 8; Figure 12.1). Some spoke about their experiences of living in multiple locales such as Manchaca and Austin as families and individuals relocated over time. Differences in age, race, gender, and class among interviewees certainly played a role in the diversity of experiences remembered, yet there were commonalities that cut across these differences as well.

I conducted three of the interviews by phone since these interviewees lived 150 miles or more from Austin. The rest took place at interviewees' residences to ensure that people were comfortable with the setting. The interviews were semi-structured using a set of prepared questions organized around major themes based upon the oral history project goals (see "Oral History Themes" below). The prepared questions ensured that we'd be able to do some comparative analysis of life histories, and to construct a narrative of rural African American experiences during Jim Crow drawing from multiple oral histories. Rather than rigidly stick to the interview questions, however, we followed the lead of interviewees when they decided what topics they were most at ease discussing. Prior phone conversations and face-to-face meetings provided opportunities to learn more about what an interviewee might potentially have knowledge of and was interested in discussing, and what topics they were unfamiliar with. This facilitated the process of editing questionnaires prior to interviews to suit individual interviewees.

We used two slightly different sets of questions to interview descendants of Antioch versus Manchaca, and there were a couple of reasons for this. Unlike the African American

¹²⁹The oral history project ended up with interviews with 27 people (see Franklin 2012), but many of those interviews were completed after this chapter was written. The original audiotapes and transcript files for all these oral history interviews were sent for permanent curation to the Briscoe Center for American History at the University of Texas at Austin.

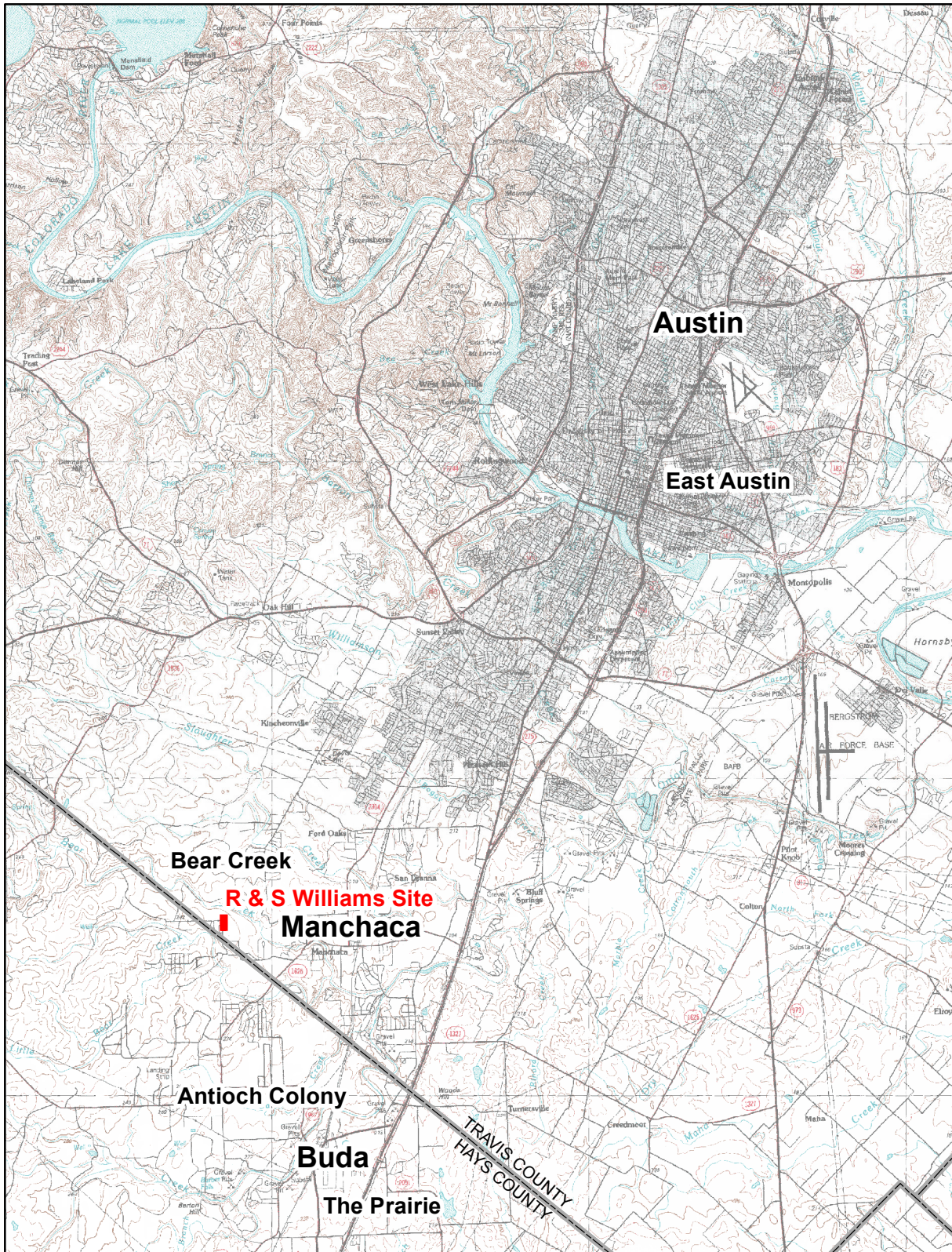


Figure 12.1. Mapped locations of Manchaca (including the Ransom and Sarah Williams farmstead site), Buda (including Antioch Colony and the Prairie), and Austin. Base map is the US Geological Survey 1896 Austin, Tex. 15-minute quadrangle.

interviewees from Manchaca, most of those from Antioch had “returned” to their ancestral home. Thus, questions were posed to them regarding why they returned, what their perceptions were of how the community had changed, and what they saw in Antioch’s future. Also Antioch, unlike Manchaca, was established as a black settlement and until recently remained one. We needed to devise additional questions were needed for interviewees from Manchaca that dealt with the racial and ethnic composition of their neighbors. Still, there were very similar experiences among interviewees that are captured in the interview themes, including “the material and spatial world,” “social roles and relationships,” and “supporting the family.” Altogether, the oral history questions and diversity of participants generated a historical narrative that both reflects the varied perspectives and experiences of the individuals interviewed and underscores the shared lifeways of African Americans raised in rural communities.

Although we set out to conduct a series of sessions totaling four hours of recording time for each interview, the strategy more often shifted to shorter, more focused interviews. Individuals varied in their knowledge of the communities they were raised in and in their memories of their childhood, family, and lineage. Thus interview lengths range approximately from one to four hours. We were only able to conduct a single one-hour interview with Ruth Fears despite our goal to conduct a follow-up since she unexpectedly had to have surgery and undergo long-term recovery. Altogether, the 19 interviews total 39 hours and 23 minutes of recording.¹³⁰ We digitally recorded each interview on a Marantz PMD660 using external microphones for both the interviewee and interviewer. The interviews were recorded as uncompressed 16-bit linear Pulse Code Modulation (PCM) .wav files at a sampling rate of 44.1kHz at 1412 kbps.

Once completed, I forwarded the digital recordings to Afterwords Transcription Service in Austin for transcription. I checked the transcripts against the recordings for accuracy. These were then sent to interviewees, who

were requested to read their transcripts. This provided them with the opportunity to make corrections (e.g., on dates or names) and to ensure that they were pleased with the content of their interviews. All requested revisions to the transcripts were marked with brackets to indicate where changes were made. The final edited transcripts were published in a two-volume set in May 2012 (Franklin 2012).

ORAL HISTORY PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

We identified a number of African Americans who collectively will be referred to as the “descendant community.” The term is conceptualized broadly here to include individuals who have ties to historic African American communities in Manchaca, Buda, and the Prairie, all within 10 miles of the Ransom Williams site. It is highly probable that the Williams family participated in the cultural and social institutions of one or both of these communities and established relationships with other blacks residing in these enclaves. All of the descendants interviewed for this project expressed an abiding interest in this research and feel historically connected to it. The descendant community thus far includes: (1) descendants of the freedmen who settled Antioch Colony and the Prairie, many of whom now live in Buda on their ancestral lands or in Austin, and (2) descendants of black families who settled in Manchaca in the vicinity of the Williams farmstead site (see Figure 12.1). Although all of the former African American residents of Manchaca interviewed for this project moved away years ago, visitations and use of their family cemeteries (Brown and Chatham-Perry Cemeteries) in Manchaca continue. We also interviewed two white women who grew up in Manchaca who were very interested in the project. Both are descendants of early settlers in Manchaca and have lived most (Lillie Moreland) or all (Joanne Deane) of their lives in their hometown.

At the time of their interviews (between March and October 2009), interviewees ranged in age from 52 to 93 years old (Table 12.1). All but five interviewees were 70 years or older. Thus, most of the recollections of childhood and adolescence refer roughly to the years between the 1920s to the 1950s. In terms of gender, 12 interviewees are women (two of Euro-American

¹³⁰The oral history project ultimately obtained just over 46 hours of interviews with 27 people, as presented in the comprehensive report by Franklin (2012). At the time this chapter was written, however, only 39 hours of interviews with 19 individuals were available for analysis.

Table 12.1. Interviewees by gender, race, year of birth and death, and childhood residence

Interviewee	Gender	Race	Birth–Death	Residence
Jewel (Williams) Andrews	F	B	November 24, 1938	Austin
Annie (Dotson) Axel	F	B	November 2, 1924	Manchaca
Estella “Estelle” (Hargis) Black	F	B	January 14, 1917	Manchaca
Earlee Bunton	M	B	September 5, 1915	Manchaca
LeeDell Bunton, Sr.	M	B	September 19, 1946	Antioch Colony
Lee Wildon Dawson	M	B	September 3, 1948	Austin
Joanne Deane	F	W	July 3, 1936	Manchaca
Cedel (Sorrells) Evans	F	B	July 3, 1956	Manchaca; Austin
Ruth Roberta (Harper) Fears	F	B	May 4, 1931	Antioch Colony
Lillie Grant	F	B	October 18, 1923	The Prairie
Moses Ollie Joe Harper, Sr.	M	B	July 26, 1943–December 18, 2009	Antioch Colony
Samuel Leslie “Les” Harper, Sr.	M	B	June 10, 1945	Antioch Colony
Corrine (Williams) Harris	F	B	July 19, 1928	Austin
Earselean (Sorrells) Hollins	F	B	March 24, 1946	Manchaca; Austin
Lourice (Williams) Johnson	F	B	October 18, 1932	Austin
Joan Nell (Revada) Limuel	F	B	March 24, 1934	Antioch Colony
Lillie (Meredith) Moreland	F	W	May 29, 1924	Manchaca
Winnie Martha (Harper) Moyer	F	B	July 29, 1937	Antioch Colony
Minnie Mary (Harper) Nelson	F	B	July 29, 1937	Antioch Colony
Robbie Freddie Mae (Dotson) Overton	F	B	May 14, 1935	Manchaca; Austin
Marcus Leon Pickard, Jr.	M	B	January 1, 1933	Manchaca
Rene Leon Pickard	M	B	November 19, 1957	Manchaca
Kay (Hollins) Randall	F	B	April 10, 1962	Manchaca; Austin
Floris Lean Sorrells	F	B	May 10, 1939	Manchaca; The Prairie
Essie Mae (Owens) Sorrells	F	B	June 18, 1924–January 17, 2012	Manchaca; Austin
Anthy Lee (Revada) Walker	F	B	September 14, 1915–May 10, 2010	Antioch Colony
Marian Missouri (Harper) Washington	F	B	January 18, 1925	Antioch Colony

descent) and seven are men. There was little class differentiation among most of the interviewees’ childhood families if education, wealth, and occupation are used as measures (save for the Pickards, and perhaps Deane’s family; see discussion further below). Over half of the interviewees grew up in working-class households and described their neighbors as “mostly

farmers” or working class. Interviewees largely refrained from using the term “poor” to describe themselves or others. This may have been partly due to the fact that there was little class distinction made apparent between blacks in rural areas where most families farmed for a living. Further, no one mentioned going without food, clothing, or shelter. All of the interviewees and

their siblings attended school, and their parents were literate. There were few middle-class blacks in Buda and Manchaca, and the only ones mentioned were educators. Black undertakers, who were also considered middle class, worked out of Austin (e.g., King-Tears Mortuary) and performed services for blacks living in surrounding rural areas. Generally speaking, black families in Buda and Manchaca had little contact with whites unless it involved work; selling a bull, hay, or produce to whites; store purchases; and the occasional visit from a white doctor.

Most of the interviewees were raised in households where agricultural work was the main source of income, at least for a portion of the household's lifespan. Yet here there were distinctions since there were land-owning farmers, tenant farmers, and farmers who did seasonal work on the land of others. Lillie Grant recalled that her family's 17 acres and livestock provided enough means for the household to live comfortably. In contrast, a number of individuals, men and women, remembered working on other people's farms around Buda and Manchaca, or as far away as West Texas and Mexico. Some families were landowners that also farmed for others. The exception to working-class status was the Pickard family, whose paternal lineage includes highly educated professionals who were notable teachers. Marcus Pickard's father, Marcus Pickard, Sr. (who was also Rene Pickard's grandfather; Figure 12.2), was the head of the science department at Anderson High School in Austin. If black schoolchildren wished to continue their education after the 7th grade, Anderson High was their only option in the area. Yet Pickard, Sr., and his sons and grandson afterward, still owned land and farmed in Manchaca. As Marcus Pickard informed me, his father chose to farm although the income was not needed.

With regard to relatives of the Williams family, we interviewed three Antioch descendants who are related to Emma Bunton (Figure 12.3). LeeDell Bunton is Emma's great-nephew. Lillie Grant is Emma's granddaughter and the closest living descendant of hers that we interviewed so far. Grant's niece, Wanda Williams Washington, Emma's great-granddaughter, accompanied Grant during the interview. (Despite her maiden name, Washington is not related to the Williamses.) Lee Wildon Dawson is Emma's great-grandson through his mother's side (he is Grant's nephew). Although he was the only Antioch descendant that we interviewed



Figure 12.2. Marcus Leon Pickard, Sr., father of Marcus Leon Pickard, Jr. Pickard Sr. was the head of the science department at Anderson High School in Austin. Photo courtesy of Marcus Leon Pickard, Jr.

who was not raised in Buda (he grew up in Austin), it was important to include him in this project. We also had the opportunity to interview the direct descendants of the Williamses, whom Myers recently found living in Austin.

Buda and Manchaca

Since the project historian Terri Myers has conducted extensive archival research of both Bear Creek and Antioch Colony (see Chapters 4 and 5), the historical synopsis presented here is merely meant to provide some context of the areas that interviewees grew up in.

Established by freedmen in 1870–1871 (and likely earlier, according to Myers), Antioch Colony was still a vibrant community well into the 1930s. Falling agricultural prices coupled with reduced job opportunities due to racism led many to seek better opportunities elsewhere. By the 1950s, few residents were left. Beginning in the 1970s, the colony experienced a revival with the return of members of the Harper family who are descended from its earliest settlers. Others who returned include the grandchildren of Daniel Revada (whose father, Francisco, was from Mexico, and whose mother, Tennessee, was an ex-slave) and Hattie Sneed. The Revadas settled in Antioch sometime prior to 1900 (Francisco and household appear in the 1900 census of Antioch Colony, but not before), and siblings Velma Revada, Jr., and Joan Nell Revada Limuel returned to live in the colony in the 1980s on land purchased by Daniel in the 1930s from one of the Kavanaughs.

There was another black community in Buda situated east of Onion Creek. It was known as the “Prairie” (pronounced “prayer”), and despite the boundary defined by the waterway, it had very close ties to Antioch (Figure 12.4). The Prairie, like Antioch, was settled



Figure 12.3. Emma Bunton (b. 1868, d. January 4, 1941) of Antioch Colony, photographed in Texas, date unknown. Photo courtesy of Lillie Grant.

sometime prior to 1870; there were 12 families enumerated in the 1870 census living east of Onion Creek (Schwartz 1986:354). It had its own church, and folks would rotate church services with Antioch. Prairie children attended school in Antioch, and families buried their deceased at Antioch Cemetery. The families of both communities were closely related through kinship and marriage. As a case in point, interviewees Lillie Grant and her nephew Lee Wildon Dawson



Figure 12.4. Lonnie B. Grant (b. January 23, 1885, d. July 4, 1956), father of interviewee Lillie Grant. Grant posed next to the second house he built for his family in the Prairie, Buda, Texas. Date unknown. Photo courtesy of Lillie Grant.

are the daughter and grandson of Ola Bunton. Ola Bunton (Emma Bunton's daughter) was raised in Antioch and was also the great-aunt of LeeDell Bunton of Antioch.

The "descendant community" also includes another group of individuals who lived in Manchaca, founded in 1881. The Bear Creek community, which included the Williams family, was already in existence just west of Manchaca. Although Bear Creek possessed no formal infrastructure (e.g., post office, church, store, etc.), its residents were listed in the Manchaca rural directories in the 1890s, and locals continued to make a distinction between the two communities (Lillie Moreland and Joanne Deane, personal communication 2009). Bear Creek was primarily an all-white community from the time of its founding, with the exception of the Williams and Hughes families (Myers and Boyd 2008). In contrast, Manchaca was racially mixed, although most African Americans interviewed for this project recalled that their neighbors were mainly other blacks. This suggests that Manchaca probably had some exclusively African American pockets, a suggestion given weight by the presence of what people referred to as "Black Colony." Black Colony once lay south of what is now FM 1626 off of Bethel Church Road near the former location

of the historically black Bethel Methodist church. Although we did not interview any former residents of Black Colony, which may have begun as a freedmen settlement, both black and white interviewees remembered the area. Some locals recalled the surnames of those who lived there: McArthur, Dodson, Picket, Polk, Hargis, Hall, and Alexander (Siebert 1990).

African American interviewees who were raised in Manchaca hail from the Pickard, Dotson, Hargis, and Bunton families, all of whom can trace their lineages back to the late-nineteenth or early-twentieth centuries in Manchaca and/or Buda. Through marriage and kinship patterns over time, these individuals are variously related to each other as well as to the Sorrells,

Perrys, Alexanders, Kincheons, and other early African American settlers in Manchaca. For example, Marcus Pickard is the first cousin once removed to Estelle Hargis Black (both are descended from Chatham Perry, Sr., and Anne Moss of Manchaca). There are also ties between the Buda and Manchaca interviewees. Marcus and Rene Pickard are, respectively, the son and grandson of Opal Kavanaugh, who was raised in Antioch Colony and directly descended from one of its original settlers. Thus, interviewee LeeDell Bunton of Antioch and Marcus Pickard are third cousins once removed. Robbie Dotson Overton's aunt (and sister to Earlee Bunton), Luvenia Bunton, married the uncle of Joan Nell Revada Limuel of Antioch (Oddies Revada). There are more such relationships, particularly through marriage ties, that exist between interviewees. Antioch descendants are also related to other Manchaca and Austin families not represented in our oral history project. The name of Bunton is also of interest here. Three Manchaca Buntons were interviewed: Robbie Dotson Overton (her mother was Carrie Bunton), Robbie's first cousin Annie Dotson Axel (her mother was Inez "I.K." Bunton), and their uncle, Earlee Bunton. However, from the evidence gathered by genealogist LeeDell Bunton, Sr., the Manchaca and Antioch Colony Buntons are not kin-related.

Still, the former, as is the case with the latter, are undoubtedly descended from one of the enslaved families once owned by the Buntons of Mountain City.

That these connections exist among and between the families of Manchaca and Buda is not coincidental, and they reflect the fact that early African American communities were in regular contact with one another, and individuals commonly married between them. As Myers and Boyd (2008) noted in a previous interim report on this project, it is an important observation to keep in mind as we interpret the Williams farmstead site that this family, though seemingly isolated within a nearly all-white community, likely had ample and meaningful ties to black communities nearby.

In addition to the 17 African Americans interviewed, we interviewed Lillie Meredith Moreland and Joanne Deane, Euro-Americans who were both born and raised in Manchaca. As lifelong residents of the area with family ties to Bear Creek and Manchaca, both possessed a wealth of knowledge of the area's history. Deanne and Moreland's family histories are representative of the ethnic diversity that was present among Manchaca's and Bear Creek's white residents. This fact is underscored by Myers' research on Bear Creek, which revealed that foreign immigration following the Civil War had a significant impact on the area's ethnic composition. Moreland's ancestors, the Merediths, were enumerated in the 1910 census as living on Bear Creek Road, as were Deane's ancestors, the Boyles (Myers and Boyd 2008). Deane and Moreland are also related to the Stricklands and Fritzes, respectively. Both surnames appear on a plat recently discovered by Myers that probably dates to the 1920s. Deane and Moreland's recollections were very helpful in comprehending how Euro-American families fared in Manchaca, giving us a broader perspective of the social history of Manchaca and Bear Creek.

ORAL HISTORY THEMES

Our questions were prepared with the oral history project goals provided at the beginning of this chapter as a guide. Thus, some of the questions asked people to provide their perspective on the importance of knowing their family's and community's history, and what they hoped others might learn from their interviews. Their

responses were intended to serve as a guide for the project's future public education efforts, and to determine how the Williams Farmstead Archeological Project researchers might otherwise serve the descendant community.

Other questions focused on genealogy and the social relationships between and among local African American communities. Our purpose was not only was to try to identify any possible kinship connections to the Williams family; we were also interested in strengthening our interpretation that the Williamses likely had family or other social ties to surrounding black communities. Indeed we have managed to collect ample evidence regarding the social ties between African American families across different communities from at least the early twentieth century, especially through their churches. The regularity with which interviewees remarked on knowing or being related to other interviewees suggests a pattern of ties with historical depth that the Williamses were undoubtedly participants in.

The majority of our questions emphasized the interrelated goals of collecting and preserving oral testimonies regarding African American lifeways during segregation in this region, and using these to contextualize and interpret the Ransom and Sarah Williams site. This approach to archeological interpretation has precedence in archeology (e.g., Beck and Somerville 2005; Carlson 1990; Costello 2000; Friesen 2002; Moser et al. 2002; Praetzellis et al. 2007; Purser 1992; Scott 2003; Stahl 2004; Zedeño 1997). There are a number of topics of archeological interest that the oral memoirs speak to, including the roles of the church and school in black communities, household economy, household organization and kinship structure, domestic architecture and the use of space, the socialization of children and teens, and race relations.

In the second part of this chapter, I attempt an interpretation of the role of gender in rural African American household organization, relations, and practice during segregation. In doing so, I necessarily had to focus on specific interviews, and within them, particular kinds of information relevant to my objective. While I attempted to draw upon as many interviews as I could, a comprehensive analysis and interpretation of all of them is beyond the scope of this chapter and report. It is my hope that by making the oral histories publicly accessible in the near

future, others will take the opportunity to learn from them as I did.

THE ROLE OF GENDER IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS

Defining “Family” and “Household”

Most people around the world are socially organized variously as families or households. Social scientists argue that these are two of the basic units of social organization. This doesn't mean, of course, that people don't participate in other kinds of social groups like their neighborhoods and communities, churches, and schools. But many individuals are raised in what we refer to as “families,” however they may be defined (Peletz 1995), and those relationships figure prominently in how we are socialized as individuals and members of larger society. With respect to the African Americans who were interviewed for this project, family and household dynamics were an integral part of the memories they related. Each commented on familial bonds and the way in which households pulled together to ensure the well being of the group. To understand how African Americans socially organized themselves following emancipation, and why, analysis of family and household is needed. The process cannot begin, however, without first considering what each concept means.

To start, what is the difference between “family” and “household”? The two terms are often used interchangeably, and it's no surprise, therefore, that people tend to think they mean the same thing. This is not the case, however. Moreover, even a term like “family” actually means different things to different people. Scholars who have studied social organization have historically defined the family as a group of individuals who are related through kinship either by shared descent, marriage, or via fictive kinship. Yet these views are changing, according to research that highlights competing, alternative perspectives on family that includes, for example, those based on domestic partnerships and not biological descent (Peletz 1995:364). In the United States, the meaning of family is also complicated by the fact that family structure has changed over time. For example, in the United States, people tend to define “family” using the

nuclear family as the norm: mother, father, and their offspring. Yet according to U.S. Census Bureau data, more than one in four children under the age of 18 were being raised in single-parent families in 2000. Moreover, there are other legitimate forms of family, including married couples without kids, extended families with grandparents, and so on.

So if a “family” is often, but not exclusively, defined as a group of kin-related individuals, how does this differ from a “household”? As with “family,” there really is no single definition of “household” (Barile and Brandon 2004; Hammel and Laslett 1974; Yanagisako 1979). Studies of households across space and time reveal a remarkable array of household organization and purpose. In attempting to pull together some of the common characteristics, and at the risk of overgeneralizing, many scholars have defined households as the primary form of social organization in which members participate in economic (work within and outside of the home; Hendon 2006), consumption (consuming goods either produced by the household, bartered, or purchased), reproduction (procreation, childrearing and socialization), and other practices central to the household's livelihood and organization (Allison 1999; Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Beaudry 1989; Blanton 1994; Deetz 1982; Franklin 2004; Hagstrum 2001; Holtzman 2001; Kunstadter 1984; Lawrence 1999; Manzanilla and Barba 1990; Mrozowski et al. 2008; Pappas 2004; Robin 2003; Seifert et al. 2000; Selby 1991; Starbuck 1984; Wilk and Netting 1984; Wilk and Rathje 1982). Household members are not necessarily kin-related (which can distinguish them from “family”) or co-residential (that is, living under the same roof). Household members might work together to provide for one another's welfare through subsistence activities like farming. They might also help to raise children and to look after the elderly in their household. Their wages or labor might be pooled or exchanged with other household members. Households may also play an important role in socializing its members. In some societies, households play an important role in local politics (Bowser and Patton 2004). While it may sound like households are made up of folks who work for the greater good of the group, this doesn't mean that conflicts don't arise and that everyone in a household is on equal footing (Blanton 1995; Glazer-Malbin 1976; Stewart-Abernathy 2004; Troccoli 1992).

Today in the United States, most households are actually made up of families that are co-resident, so it can be difficult to sort out the differences between the two. A parent, parents, or guardians are expected to provide for the young under their care, individuals variously pitch in to help around the house, most of the wages earned are used for the household, and so on. But how was it for African Americans in Texas following emancipation and through the first half of the twentieth century?

African American Social Organization (ca. 1920s–1960s)

A number of those interviewed for this project were asked how they defined “family” or talked without prompting about family, and without exception, kinship—through shared descent, adoption, or marriage—was what defined it for them. For example, Winnie Harper Moyer stated, “Your close, close-knit families like your grandparents, Daddy and Mamma, stuff like that. So that’s family, those the ones that got together on weekends, came over—aunties from Austin and my mother’s sisters, my daddy’s brother—would come out on Sundays” (Franklin 2012:250). This notion of family is pretty common in the United States across race and class lines, though how families were constituted among interviewees during the 1920s–1960s indicate some degree of variability in family organization. The 17 African Americans interviewed represent 11 different families (seven interviewees were raised in one family). Of those, two consisted of extended families, one was a single-parent extended family, one was a single-parent family, and seven were nuclear families.

The extended families were formed when they took in children to raise. The Harpers brought up their grandson, LeeDell Bunton, along with their own children. Likewise, Joan Nell Revada Limuel’s paternal grandparents raised her and her siblings after the death of their mother. Robbie Dotson Davis Overton’s mother was the head of her household after her husband died just after Overton’s birth. After a number of the older children left home, Mrs. Dotson also raised her nephew. What is important to point out is that extended families were not considered anomalies among African Americans, and still aren’t. Moreover, flexibility in social organization has a long history

among African Americans, extending back into the era of slavery. The practice carried on after emancipation, when labor demands, parental deaths, or other personal circumstances necessitated alternative family arrangements. Census records for Antioch Colony (Myers 2009; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Hays County, 1870a, 1880a, 1900a, 1910a, 1920a, and 1930a) attest to the commonality of extended families among its black residents (see Chapter 4). For each decade, there were households enumerated which included grandchildren and in-laws. Even today, Winnie Harper Moyer informed me that she had raised seven of her grandnieces and grandnephews; three were still living with her in Antioch during the time of her interview. Her sister, Ruth Harper Fears, adopted her daughter when she was seven months old, and also raised two nieces and one nephew.

One other characteristic of some of the families represented in this study is worth pointing out: their size. Others have noted the relationship between the labor demands of farming and family size (e.g., Sitton and Utley 1997). There were eight black families that drew much of their earnings from farming at some point in the family’s history. Anthy Lee Revada Walker’s parents reared four children. Estelle Hargis Black’s family included six children. Earlee Bunton was raised in a family with 10 children. The Harpers raised 11 children and one nephew. Robbie Dotson Overton’s mother birthed and raised 12 children. And Lillie Grant’s parents reared 16 kids, including two sets of twins. The smallest farming families were those of Rene Pickard (parents with three sons) and his uncle, Marcus Pickard (parents with two sons). It is tempting to argue that since the Pickards were middle class and ran a prosperous farming operation, there was no need for a large household labor force. Yet Stewart Tolnay’s (1999) study of fertility among Southern black farming families indicates that simply reducing the choice of farmers to have large families to labor demands would be an error.

Tolnay’s (1999:76) analysis did indicate that in 1910, “the average black farm woman in the South” birthed nine children, with almost half having more than ten children. This average of nine was three more children than nonfarming black women had in the South, and four more than black women birthed on average in the North. However, he also suggests that in addi-

tion to parents who welcomed more children who could work the land, there were those who feared that the economic returns would be insufficient to feed a large family, and others who desired more control in planning families yet didn't have knowledge of birth control. By 1940, Tolnay (1999:79) estimates that the average black farming household had five children. Tolnay argues that there were likely multiple factors at work that led to this transformation in family size, including the Great Depression, mechanized farming, and educational opportunities, all of which curtailed the potential for children to contribute economically to the household. Yet he also adds increased knowledge of birth control and a broader societal acceptance of family planning as rationales, noting that family size was influenced by structural (e.g., the economy) as well as cultural/ideological factors (Tolnay 1999:80–95).

For the most part, the childhood families of interviewees also operated as households. That is, their households were composed of social relations that mainly drew upon kinship in defining themselves as a group (see Franklin 2012:Appendixes A and B for each interviewee's relations and household members). In drawing from their interviews and other relevant scholarship (e.g., Nash 1995; Sharpless 1999; Sitton and Conrad 2005; Sitton and Utley 1997), for the purposes of this research the household is defined as the basic social unit tasked with childrearing and socialization (i.e., reproduction), production, and consumption practices (Moore 1988). Household members were co-residential, and the responsibilities taken on by each generally contributed to the household's welfare. Moreover, these households also played important roles beyond the domestic sphere. Individual households produced goods to sell to African Americans living in Austin, whites who lived in the vicinity of their communities, and local businesses in the region. Households strengthened the black communities that they created and maintained through reciprocal obligations, shared social institutions, and marriage, which helped to buffer these communities against the oppression of Jim Crow. Thus, daily household practices and the values and worldviews generated by households articulated with broader social, political, and economic processes (e.g., Brumfiel 1991; Davidson 2004a; Spencer-Wood 1999).

Households are dynamic, shifting in organization and purpose as members pass away, are

born, leave home upon reaching maturity, and so on. While it is not the intent of this study to map the entirety of each household lifecycle, I did want to draw attention to the fact that the households discussed below are only being captured at specific moments in time in their much longer histories (e.g., Boivin 2000; LeeDecker 1994; Meskell 2000). This also applies to each individual whose life histories are cited here, as they recalled specific episodes that ranged from the time they were young children to adulthood. Thus, the household, with its changing composition over time, and with household members whose roles, status, and relations with others are likewise changing as they age, are never static (e.g. Boivin 2000; Hammel and Laslett 1974; LeeDecker 1994; Mrozowski 1984; Mrozowski et al. 2008). Moreover, household members can act with intention and flexibility on a daily basis by challenging social norms, instigating change, and negotiating their roles and identities (Spencer-Wood 1999). This has implications for interpreting the household economy discussed below, especially with regard to the gendered division of labor. What I discovered was that ideal gender norms and roles did exist among black households, but they were variously adhered to.

Gender Ideology and Gendered Roles

Having established a working definition of "household," I now move on to discussing the importance of gender in social relations, which is what households are composed of: a set of relationships between people that take into consideration relative status, roles, and the kinds of activities that their households organize around. Various forms of identity, including gender, age, class, and race constitute and are constituted by household social relations. Gender is a social construct, meaning that it is not strictly a biological or "fixed" identity but one that involves a process of assuming a particular gendered identity (Conkey and Spector 1984; Gilchrist 1999; Joyce 2000, 2008; Meskell 1999; Voss 2006; Wilkie 2003). In the United States, we place emphasis on and generally favor "woman" and "man" as the major gender categories assuming that one's biological sex (female and male, respectively) determines gender. Yet there are other forms of gender that have operated in the past and pres-

ent throughout the world (Gilchrist 1999; Joyce 2008; Stockett 2005). For example, some Native American groups acknowledged and accepted individuals who are referred to as Two-Spirit, a third gender that was neither a woman nor a man (Voss 2006). The hijra of contemporary India likewise consider themselves as a third gender. Moreover, a person's gender can certainly change over their lifetime, by effecting changes to their mannerisms and appearance or via more permanent transformations.

But why is this discussion of gender important here? Gender, as with race, class, sexuality, age, and various other forms of identity, shapes much of how we behave in the world, how we are perceived by and relate to others. It is a central factor in constituting the roles we inhabit, or are expected to take on, in our families, households, and in larger society. We all harbor different, and often competing, ideas about the kinds of roles men and women should fulfill. Despite laws against gender discrimination, dominant American values tend to favor men in leadership positions, women still face barriers in the workplace and in getting equal pay, and individuals identifying as transgender have historically been marginalized as well. There are also norms regarding gender roles in families and households: women are expected to be the primary caretakers of children, and men are expected to hold a job and provide for their families. Yet these expectations have been challenged in our own society both now and in the past, leading to conflict between men and women (Hart 1992; Hartmann 1981), the defying of gender norms (for example, when a father stays home to take care of the kids), and the transformation of gender norms (for example, it is now common for both parents to work full time outside of the home; Oriel 2004). Moreover, since many American families are headed by single parents, what we think of as the ideal model for how a household should operate in terms of adult gender roles is often simply not practical, even if it is desired. Thus, households not only redefine themselves over time, but often do so situationally.

Interviewee Households

In conducting our interviews, many of the questions we asked focused on what life was like for people during their childhood and

adolescence. Thus, interviewee responses must be viewed within the context of their former dependent status as members of households, in these cases, headed by parents or grandparents. Since seven of our 19 interviewees grew up as members of the same household, altogether there are 13 households represented by our oral history project (Table 12.2; see Franklin 2012:Appendixes A and B). Table 12.2 lists the primary location of the homes of each household, which indicates where interviewees spent most of their youth (for the majority, this included the years from birth to ages 16–18). The time spans listed in Table 12.2 indicate the years in which interviewees were members of households residing in Buda, Austin, or Manchaca (save for Robbie Overton whose family lived in two locations during her youth). Thus, these date ranges do not represent household lifespans. Instead, they bracket the pre-adult years for most interviewees and also represent segments of time within each household's life cycle. Overall, the time spans and locations in Table 12.2 help to temporally and spatially contextualize most of the oral history data but not all of it (e.g., people also discussed their adulthood experiences).

There are a number of important comparisons and contrasts between these households that I would like to remark upon that relate to class, race, and their relevance for analyzing African American households. As previously mentioned, households are a part of their societies and we need to view them in terms of how the two are related. Since segregation defined the era most represented by the oral histories, we need to view the oral histories within the context of vastly limited opportunities for African Americans. Although most of the interviewees remarked that racial oppression was not a part of their daily lives and that, generally speaking, they were on civil terms with neighboring whites, they did attend segregated schools (Figure 12.5) and frequented businesses that mainly catered to black clientele. It is no wonder that the majority of black interviewees were raised in households where farming and wage labor constituted the main sources of income. Of course, the same could be said of many white households in the same region. I only interviewed two white individuals, Lillie Moreland and Joanne Deane, but both agreed that most families, regardless of race, were just getting by. Still, incidents of racial violence, memories of

Table 12.2. Former households represented by the Williams Farmstead Oral History Project participants*

Household No. and Surname	Interviewees	Primary Location of Family Home	Major Source of Income Cited	Time Span
1 Harper	LeeDell Bunton, Sr. Winnie Moyer Minnie Nelson Ruth Fears Samuel Harper Moses Harper Marian Washington	Antioch Colony, Buda	Tenant farmers	1946–1955 1937–1956 1937–1956 1931–1948 1945–1955 1943–1955 1924–1946
2 Revada	Joan Nell Revada Limuel	Antioch Colony, Buda	Farm labor	1938–1947
3 Revada	Anthy Lee Revada Walker	Antioch Colony, Buda	Tenant farmers	1915–1931
4 Grant	Lillie Grant	The Prairie, Buda	Farmers/ landowner	1923–1940
5 Dawson	Lee Wildon Dawson	Austin	Wage labor	1948–1967
6 Bunton	Earlee Bunton	Manchaca	Tenant farmers	1915–1936
7 Dotson	Annie Dotson Axel	Manchaca	Railroad section hand	1924–1946
8 Dotson	Robbie Overton	Manchaca Austin	Farm labor	1935–1945 1945–1954
9 Pickard	Marcus Pickard, Jr.	Manchaca	Educator; farmer/ landowner	1937–1955
10 Pickard	Rene Pickard	Manchaca	Farmers/ landowner	1957–1976
11 Hargis	Estelle Hargis Black	Manchaca	Farmers/ landowner	1917–1935
12 Deane	Joanne Deane**	Manchaca	Entrepreneur	1936–present
13 Meredith	Lillie Meredith Moreland**	Manchaca	Farmers/ landowner	1924–1941

* Complete information on the interviewee households is found in Franklin (2012:Appendix B).

**Deane and Moreland are of Euro-American descent.

back-door policies for blacks, and recollections of restricted socioeconomic mobility did arise in the interviews. More comparative data is needed on working-class households across racial lines for this region and time period to be able to address how racial disparities differentially influenced rural household experiences.

The majority of the families lived in rural areas (save for that of Lee Wildon Dawson, Household 5) and heavily relied on agricultural work and/or wage labor to support their

households. Most of the interviewees who were asked about their family’s class status or otherwise gave indication of it specified “working class” (I would include here Households 1–8, 11, and 13). Of these households, seven (Households 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 11, and 13) owned land, but only two farmed their property: the Hargis family (Household 11) and the Grants (Household 4). While never prevalent, Southern black farmers who owned their land during the first half of the twentieth century were not uncommon. One

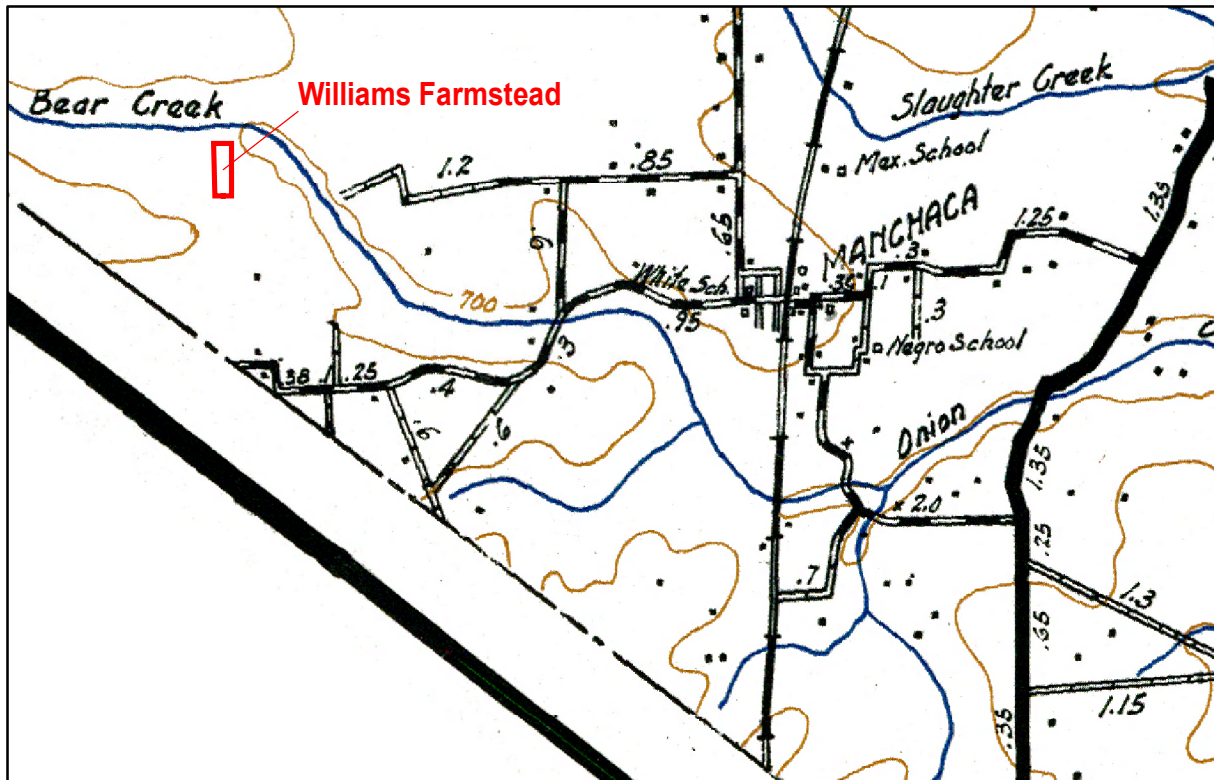


Figure 12.5. A 1932 Travis County road map showing segregated schools near Manchaca, Texas. The map was created by the Travis County Engineer Department (1932) and depicts a “Mex. School,” a “White Sch.,” and a “Negro School.”

historian observed that nearly one in four black farmers in 1910 owned land (Ayers 2007:209), while another claimed that black landownership never rose above 20 percent from 1900–1940 (Tolnay 1999:13). Still, for 20 to 25 percent of Southern black farmers to have owned land was a significant achievement considering the odds. Farming one’s own land brought greater returns than sharecropping or working on picking crews, although Estelle Hargis Black’s father and brothers also worked during the harvest season on other farms for pay. Lillie Grant’s father was a blacksmith who used his skill to supplement the household’s income. Thus, households with relatively small farmsteads (in these cases, 17–20 acres) also relied on additional means for earning income (see also Sitton and Conrad 2005:140–155). Importantly, however, the land owned by the households mentioned above passed down to family members, which did provide them with some measure of security as they started families of their own.

There did not appear to be great distinctions between the landowning and property-less households mentioned above with regard to household production and consumption, and there were a lot of similarities in the kinds of household roles and activities that each performed, regardless of race. The two exceptions were the Pickard households (9 and 10). Marcus Pickard, Jr., indicated that farming was a choice for their household, not a necessity, and the 80 acres that the family owned allowed for a larger farming operation than those of the other property owners mentioned above. Pickard Sr.’s sons and grandsons were able to leave home at maturity to attend college, and they eventually inherited their parents’ land and continued farming. Marcus Pickard’s interview indicates a standard of living that relied less on household production than others interviewed, and the household largely provisioned itself with store-bought goods.

Since the focus of this chapter is on rural African American households, the interviews

were culled for recollections of the kinds of social relations, activities, and roles that household members participated in. More specifically, I attempted to interpret the role of gender in defining the household division of labor and the practices associated with socialization. Much of the information gathered pertained to these two topics. Since the majority of the interviewees grew up in rural areas where raising one's own food was common for working-class blacks and whites, most commented on household production, especially subsistence activities. These included acquiring and producing food, food preparation and storage, and obtaining fresh water, since most of their homes lacked indoor plumbing and wells. Interviewees also recalled producing products that were sold to earn extra income. Other household-related tasks that emerged from the interviews ranged from sewing and quilting to laundering and rearing children. Another central aspect of households revolved around their roles in community formation. Households were not by any means isolated social units, but together they formed larger communities that came together to worship, celebrate major holidays, and help one another out. The ethos of self-supporting households was balanced with a strong commitment of cooperation between households.

To end here, my intention is not to suggest that our interviews are representative of rural black Texans in general. I will attempt to contextualize the interview responses more broadly within the existing scholarship on black families and households in rural Texas, though only a handful of such works exist. This will help to give the reader a better sense of how the experiences and lifeways of black households in Buda and Manchaca compared with those in other areas of the state. Four sources, in particular, proved helpful in this regard, and all four relied to various degrees on oral histories as evidence. The first source is Sitton and Utley's (1997) *From Can See to Can't: Texas Cotton Farmers on the Southern Prairies*. The authors' detailed study of the rhythms of daily life on farmsteads where families struggled to make ends meet provided good comparative materials. Yet their research was an attempt to demonstrate the "universality of cotton culture across the South" by synthesizing evidence from white (Anglo-, German-, and Czech-Americans) and black families living in the 1920s (Sitton and

Utley 1997:5). In contrast, this study has a more narrow focus on African Americans in Buda and Manchaca. While not assuming that black households and communities were completely distinct from their white counterparts, racism and black racial formation most certainly led to differential experiences between blacks and whites during segregation (e.g., Sharpless 1999; Sitton and Conrad 2005). Still, Sitton and Utley's (1997) study pointed to a number of similarities across racial and ethnic lines regarding farming and household practices that were useful. Sitton and Conrad's (2005) book *Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow* focused on freedmen settlements, which is more in line with the subject of this research. Although the households represented in this chapter included both those that were once part of a freedmen community (Antioch Colony and the Prairie in Buda) and those that were not (Manchaca), *Freedom Colonies* was nevertheless a highly relevant source for its interpretations of black household activities and roles, domestic and public labor regimes, black community formation, and race relations in Texas. I found Rebecca Sharpless's *Fertile Ground, Narrow Choices: Women on Texas Cotton Farms, 1900–1940* especially helpful. Based on research of women involved in cotton farming in the Texas Blackland Prairie, Sharpless' analysis of gender, race, and class assisted in my interpretations of the oral histories. Finally, oral histories collected in conjunction with an archeological investigation of the Ned Peterson Farmstead (41BZ115) in Wellborn, Brazos County, Texas (Nash 1995), resonate with those gathered for this project. Peterson, who was likely born into slavery (Nash 1995:63), purchased his 150-acre farmstead in 1893 and lived there with his children until his death in 1913. Although Peterson's wife passed away right after the birth of their fourth child and Peterson never remarried, the interviews with his descendants, who also farmed for a living, assisted in broadening the context and supplementing the details of household life for this study of African American households.

GENDER AND AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD PRACTICES

There were seven men and ten women among the African Americans interviewed,

and each commented on some aspect of gender roles and expectations (i.e., gender ideology) within their households and communities. The female head of the household was mainly responsible for raising children and keeping house. When asked about her mother's responsibilities, Lillie Grant replied, "Cooking, and washing, and just fixing our meals on time." Housewifery, which was common for women across race and class lines, was a full-time job that allowed the male household heads to put in a full day's work elsewhere. Of the households represented by this study, there was quite a variety of ways in which men supported their households. The majority ran their farms, farmed for others, or did other kinds of manual labor for wages (worked in lumber yards, on the railroad, etc.). Yet agricultural work was not restricted to men or adults, and interviewees were quick to point out that women and children worked alongside men in the fields. As will be discussed further below, women and children also labored in other ways that contributed to their household economies. Samuel Harper remembered, "Dad did all the providing. She [Harper's mother] mainly cook and wash and sew and took care of the kids, but she, when it come down, when we had to go to work some place, she went. She chopped. She done everything" (Franklin 2012:171).

Others echoed Harper's statement, providing reason enough to reconsider the meaning of "housewife" among African Americans. The dominant gender ideology which prevailed during the first half of the twentieth century was also raced and classed. Most white women were not expected to work in the fields; they were expected to maintain their homes and raise children. Sharpless indicates that many white women among farming families in Texas labored in the fields, underscoring the role of class in shaping gender ideologies. Yet her analysis demonstrates that black women did so in greater numbers than white and Mexican women (Sharpless 1999:163–167). Thus, generally speaking, the black female heads of farming households referred to in our interviews met greater challenges than their white and Mexican counterparts in balancing their domestic and farming responsibilities.

Interviewees related that their households played a major role in socializing its members starting from the time they were born. Children

were raised surrounded by role models who socialized them through speech, disciplinary action, performance, and affection. Children learned by watching and doing what their elders did, and the daily repetition of household activities, both in and out of the home, served to indoctrinate them into their roles as household members. In the section that follows, I discuss the means by which children and youth were socialized within black households. While I will focus on household production, interviewees also talked about other aspects of socialization (for example, religious instruction) that help to provide a broader perspective of the influences on African American identity formation in these small Texas communities.

Social Reproduction and Gender Identity Formation

The oral histories strongly suggest that raising children was one of the primary roles of the female head of the household. When asked what the particular burdens of being a woman in Antioch were, Marian Harper Washington replied, "Having to raise the children mostly by yourself is one of them. They had husbands, but they did most of the teaching and stuff like that" (Franklin 2012:391). Socialization did involve "teaching" when enculturating household members into the social and cultural norms not only of the household but of the wider society as well. Because of the gendered division of labor that placed the responsibility of childrearing on women, they spent far more time with children than their male counterparts. In what follows, I will focus on how children and youth were socialized into gendered identities, expectations, and roles. I acknowledge that socialization is not simply a matter of imposing rules and norms onto individuals who obligingly accept them; the process involves negotiation and active participation by those being socialized (Moore 1994). Rather than a given, identity formation and socialization can be fraught with tensions. Indeed, individuals recalled resisting to the conformity and obedience expected of them as youths, even full knowing that their defiance would not go unanswered.

From birth, children were socialized into gendered norms through naming, clothing, and grooming practices. First names are generally gender-specific in the United States, and most

of our interviewees were given names that left no ambiguity as to their gender designation. While some interviewees weren't certain where their names came from, others mentioned that they were named after relatives (e.g., LeeDell Bunton) or that their parents simply picked names that they favored. The Harper siblings were each given names from the Bible, which not only served to ascribe gender differences but to demonstrate the parents' commitment to raising their children as good Christians. Nicknames were commonly designated as well, and these, too, were mostly gender specific: Sister, Les, Winnie, Minnie, etc.

Clothing was another vehicle through which children were socialized into gender identities starting at a very young age (Figure 12.6). The women of the household were responsible for clothing the family, and though they occasionally purchased clothes from shops in Austin or from catalogs, they produced most of it. When discussing sewing practices, female

interviewees specifically mentioned the dresses that their mothers and grandmothers made for them. *Anthy Lee Revada Walker* remembered that upon being told that she would have to take care of the one-year-old girl she adopted, *Walker* and her mother made the child an outfit:

This baby, I remember my mother said, "Well, you have to take care of her now. That's going to be your responsibility." "Oh, all right." So the first time we went out, she didn't have any shoes. I made her some out of blue velvet, and put a little pasteable sole in it. And then she, my mother, she was a good seamstress...A lady had to give her a blue dress, great big blue dress with dots in it, you know, little blue dots, and she take it and made a little slip. Oh, she just felt so proud of that, you know. (*Franklin 2012:476*)



Figure 12.6. Interviewee Joan Nell Revada Limuel at age 4, Montague Ranch, Odessa, Texas, 1938. Photo courtesy of Joan Nell Revada Limuel.

Hair care practices also served to differentiate boys from girls, and to instill in the latter a sense of femininity (Figure 12.7). Black women's beauty culture has historically played a significant role in gendered identity formation (Banks 2000; Gill 2010). Minnie Harper Nelson talked about her mother and sisters using a pressing or hot comb to tame and style curly hair. Their store-bought hair products included Royal Crown, pomade, and a scalp treatment called Excellento. Hair care practices started at an early age, and they were a bonding experience for the women of the household. Nelson reflected that, "They always started out really young, and my mother did my hair, plus my older sisters, they'd wash my hair and then did it. Dressed our hair until we got old enough" (Franklin 2012:301). Her sister, Ruth Harper Fears, had the following to say:

They'd wash it and plat it in little plats. We'd have little plats, some-

thing like what you got on your head [Chuckles]. And some of us would have long ones and others they would have three plats. She would have one here, two back here. Of course, mine was always in little bitty plats... We'd put a little [cooking lard] on there and then she'd press it out a little bit so it wouldn't be so nappy. (Franklin 2012:121-122)

While dress, adornment, and hair styling rituals served to inscribe one's body to conform to gendered norms, toys provided a medium through which children were socialized via role playing. Women mentioned playing with dolls as children, which is an activity that works to indoctrinate young girls into their future roles as mothers and caretakers. Annie Dotson Axel recalled that, "Now I had an auntie...and she'd always buy me every year dolls... So I'd play with my dolls and make clothes, try to sew and



Figure 12.7. Students of Antioch Colony school, Buda, Texas, 1921. Note the carefully groomed hairstyles of the girls. Photo courtesy of LeeDell Bunton, Sr.

make clothes for them. I always worked on trying to do hair. I always worked on somebody's hair because I loved to do that" (Franklin 2012:601). The selective distribution of dolls to girls and not boys is telling. Ruth Harper Fears related that, "And then we had dolls, us girls. The boys they would get little cars and stuff like that that boys played with... We were taught boys don't play with girls' toys and girls don't play with boys" (Franklin 2012:126). While interviewees remembered that toys such as marbles were not gender-specific, and that boys and girls often played together, especially when they were young, it seemed that there were prohibitions against swapping certain kinds of toys that were particular to socializing kids into gendered behaviors, roles, and identities.

Parents and grandparents instilled values, beliefs, and practices into youth by example and verbal communication. Anthy Lee Revada Walker referred to her parents' lessons on life when she mentioned that, "Well, they taught me not to lie, and not to steal, and all of that stuff, you know. They told me all of that, and I'd say, 'Yeah. Well, I'm listening.' You know what I mean? I did. I listened to them" (Franklin 2012:481). Elders also used the Bible as a guide for teaching children to be respectful, honest, modest, and obedient. They provided religious instruction at home through prayer and by reading from the Bible. All of the interviewees attended weekly services growing up, underscoring the role of households in supporting their churches and ensuring that a strong Christian foundation took hold at an early age.

Despite their various efforts, parents often relied on corporal punishment when children failed to follow the rules. Ruth Harper Fears remembered it well:

He would line us all up out there and get that switch and that lamp. When he got off from work, it'd be dead dark, and he'd start whooping, all the way down the line. The person would get his licks and pass the light back to the next one, and get all twelve of us. So we'd never tell on one another, so he'd get everybody. You know he'd done got you. But he didn't whoop us too often, either. They mostly talked to us and tried to teach us what was right and wrong without a whole lot

of whooping. But you would get it [laughter]. (Franklin 2012:125)

Her sister, Marian Harper Washington concurred:

To be obedient and do like they tell you! That's what they expected. Listen and mind, and you get whooped. The Bible says don't spare the rod. They didn't spare it. They done hit you with it. [Laughs] Mama, she was a good runner. She tried to catch me one day though, and she couldn't catch me. I forgot what I'd done. Really, I don't know what I'd done. But whatever it was, it was enough for a whooping. And she got after me, and she was right on my heels. I was running as fast as I could run, up in the fields where Daddy was plowing. I thought he was going to take up for me! [laughs]. (Franklin 2012:392–393)

Estelle Hargis Black and her sister were punished for clumsiness in the kitchen, which led to the family's flour supply going to waste. She remembered her sister's attempt to soften the blows:

We call ourselves cooking a lot of times ourselves. And I never will forget, Mama and them come to town and Bertha and I stayed there, and we decided we were going to cook. And we turned a bucket of water over in that flour barrel. I'll never forget the whooping. And Bertha had padded herself. [Laughs] Every time Papa would hit her, clothes would fall out. [Laughter] And I was standing back there, and I said, "Papa," I said, "Bertha was padded." I said, "I'm not padded. Don't hit me so hard!" Lord, I'm telling you. (Franklin 2012:621)

Interviewees often remembered their parents and grandparents as being strict, and one of their main concerns was that of preserving the chastity of the girls in their families. This was evident based on the responses to questions we often heard regarding the expectations that elders had of girls. Mothers and grandmothers

frequently reminded them to practice modest comportment as Anthy Lee Revada Walker remembered, “Don’t sit with your leg crossed. Sit this way. Pull your dress down like this” (Franklin 2012:483). Winnie Harper Moyer had a similar memory: “‘And always sit with your legs closed.’ [Chuckles] You don’t got on pants, you got on a dress—they were constantly reminding us of that. [Laughter]” (Franklin 2012:272). Walker’s mother intoned her daughters not to chase after men, and girls were closely guarded from mixing too much with non-kin related boys as they grew into teenagers. In their teen years, boys and girls were treated differently, with the latter’s mobility beyond the homestead more circumscribed. Ruth Harper Fears related that, “No, the boys got to go a little more than the girls did. They got to go places when they got bigger. They could even come in a little later than us girls. I don’t know why the boys get all the breaks. They can get in just as much trouble as the girls could” (Franklin 2012:127). Girls were also surveilled more closely. Moses Harper reflected back on the time when he was tasked with watching after his sisters, who were eventually able to slip past him:

My daddy had me watching my sister mostly, trying to keep boys away from her, you know. Because he didn’t want no boys messing with them girls, because that was his help, and he didn’t want nothing, nobody messing them girls. And if they go somewhere he would have me to follow. He would have me to tag along so I can tell what they doing. I did for a while, but they got smart on me. (Franklin 2012:160)

While Harper recognized his father’s dependence on his sisters for household labor, there was also the concern, of course, that a daughter could get pregnant. Women mentioned that being an unwed mother carried the burden of being socially stigmatized. Robbie Dotson Overton informed me of the following:

They kind of, when you have children out of wedlock, then they kind of shame you and kind of wouldn’t say too much to you. Kind of, ‘You better be careful, because she had that child out of wedlock, so you shouldn’t talk

to her very much.’ Kind of watch yourself. They would do that. They would look down on a person that had a child out of wedlock. And most people did not have children. They went on and married, a lot of girls that had children went on and married. They went on and married early. (Franklin 2012:551)

Given these attitudes, it was hardly surprising to learn that girls were not allowed to date until they reached a certain level of responsibility and maturity. Ruth Harper Fears indicated that she and her sisters weren’t allowed to start dating until they were 18 years old, and only then under strict supervision, as she recalled of her father:

And he’d let your boyfriend come out and they would sit on the porch, we would usually sit on this porch. But he’d come out. He had him a chair he had there. He’d be sitting there with the paper. Or, he’d be sitting there reading his Bible... when it be getting close to time they need to be getting out of there, he’d cough you know. We’d know to tell them that you’d better get going. We’d sit out there and hold hands. That’s about all you could do [laughter]. (Franklin 2012:127)

Joan Nell Revada Limuel agreed: “Because when I was growing up, if the grownups saw you hugged up with a boy, they’d say, ‘That ain’t no way to—Take your hand off of that girl!’ Mm-hmm [Yes]” (Franklin 2012:447).

Limuel’s recollection also emphasizes the role that adults outside of one’s family and household played in childrearing. These small black communities were close-knit, and the adults kept a close watch on the behavior of all children and youth. More than one interviewee remarked that they received disciplinary measures from neighbors. As LeeDell Bunton mentioned:

We was coming up in a time when, if I wasn’t doing what I was supposed to do, or if I was down the road someplace, I was one of the young ones so I didn’t have no problems, but if some of

my uncles was down the road and one of the neighbors seen them acting in a manner that was not respectable or something, someway that they should not, they'd get a whipping, and then they'd be taken home and my grandfather would whip them again... That's just the way it was growing up, and there was none of that stuff, the, "You put your hands on my child so I'm going to have you arrested." (Franklin 2012:86)

Regardless of the fact that they were not household members, close kin to a family were even more central in bearing part of the responsibility of socializing their younger kin. Winnie Harper Moyer described her paternal grandmother, Ella Harper, as "the greatest thing in life to me" (Franklin 2012:227). Since Ella Harper lived close to her grandchildren in Antioch, they were frequently together. Moyer's memory of her grandmother below reveals the close ties between mothers and daughters, and the way in which life lessons were passed down through the maternal line:

But she would always tell us how she loved her mom, and she trained her like my mom trained my sister and I how to work, you know, and tell them how the white people would treat you, and what to be aware of, and stuff like that, and don't get mad. She said, "You be a Christian. You Christian, you don't get mad. Things they going to say to hurt your feelings, but you don't get mad, don't mouth back." So she said, "You girls got to learn that..." (Franklin 2012:272)

What Moyer's recollection also points to is another aspect of socialization that dealt with how to negotiate the dangerous terrain of race relations during Jim Crow. As residents of Antioch, Moyer and other children had few interactions with whites, yet elders knew that the time would come when it would be unavoidable. Preparing them for what to expect when dealing with whites, and how to react in a situation that could turn ugly, was crucial knowledge that could not afford to be learned on the spot. For those we interviewed, the bulk of contact

between blacks and whites occurred in the arena of labor, a subject which I now turn to.

Social Reproduction and Household Labor

An important aspect of reproduction was that of engendering household members into the labor regimes of the household and that of the broader socioeconomic world. That is, the reproduction of laborers is not merely about making more of them. It involves socializing specific kinds of laborers (Moore 1994). In Texas during the early part of the twentieth century, gender, race, and class were central to labor socialization. For example, racism circumscribed the kinds of work that African Americans could expect to perform within the labor market, ensuring that they were largely shut out from class mobility. Due to patriarchal gender ideology, the limited choices that African Americans had for jobs were almost all (save for agricultural work) strictly divided along gender lines. For lower-class blacks, women were usually confined to domestic work, while black men could find employment in jobs involving other forms of manual labor including at ranches, lumberyards, and on railroads. They also worked for themselves as carpenters, well diggers, stonemasons, and blacksmiths. Moreover, society's gender ideology certainly influenced the gendered division of labor on rural black homesteads. Since men could enter the workforce with more opportunities (albeit still limited in comparison to white men) than women, women were charged with childcare and domestic chores. Lastly, class largely determined the extent to which black women were tasked with subsistence-related chores, producing commodities that could be sold to earn extra money, and agricultural work.

While I will not go into a lengthy discussion of the household economy, which is covered in more detail in the next section, I want to make a few observations about gender ideology, which includes when and how children were brought into the labor force, that will help to contextualize the subsequent section. It is important to note that gender crosscut with age as the expectations of the young to more fully participate in the work cycles of the household and the wider economy grew and changed as they reached adulthood. And in contrast to

the wider economic sphere, black household members had more control in determining to what extent gender ideology would play in the socialization of children within their home space. Thus, even with the relatively small sample of households represented by this study, there were variations in what interviewees experienced, suggesting that households were flexible in their regard of some gender and labor norms, and acted situationally in confronting the challenges of staying afloat.

On the home front, most household members were expected to help with household-related tasks, and there was a wide range of them in rural areas. Minnie Harper Nelson's recollection of being raised on a rented farm in Antioch resonates with what other interviewees had to say:

Having parents, having strict parents. [Laughs] They were strict. I had a good life. I had a good life. Important thing really was learning to do the tradition that the family had, like milking cows and slopping hogs. Oh, I didn't like that. And learn how to shuck corn. Do the things of a farm, you know. (Franklin 2012:321)

Interviewees recalled that, like it or not, household members were expected to work in some fashion. From what I gathered from their interviews, women played a major role in socially reproducing the household labor pool. The female household head taught children, especially daughters, how to take care of younger siblings and carry out tasks such as cooking, sewing, making butter, laundering, and housecleaning. This resonates with what Bertha Peterson Steen, the granddaughter of the Petersons of Wellborn, remembered:

My mother was well prepared by her own mother to run a household and take care of a family. My mother sewed beautiful clothes for us and made lovely quilts from scraps. My mother taught all of us girls how to cook, sew, quilt, and a lot of other things, too. Parents used to spend time teaching their children how to do things for themselves. The boys learned how to work. And the girls learned how to work. (Nash 1995:79)

Likewise, Anthy Lee Revada Walker spoke about her mother as a role model:

Oh, yeah. I always wanted to do what she did. I learned how to cook. I was 11 years old and my first biscuits I made, and I thought I was doing real good. And then when I was going to school, I would go to work in the morning, and come home and go to work in the afternoon after I got home. And I'd go up there and wash the people's dishes, and they'd pay me a dollar and a half a week. (Franklin 2012:474)

A significant point revealed in Walker's passage is that the gendered tasks that youngsters were taught and expected to perform served not only the household, but prepared them for entering the workforce. As I mentioned previously, working-class black women were often employed in domestic work outside of the home: cooking, cleaning, laundering and ironing, sewing, and raising children for white families. Matriarchs also taught boys how to sew and cook to some extent, but they were never expected to one day get paid to do either, nor to be responsible for such duties once married. The household reproduction of male laborers consisted mainly of placing them under the tutelage of their fathers, especially as they reached their teens. Interviewees related that older boys and men were responsible for cutting wood, slaughtering hogs and cows, and making repairs around the house and farm. In landowning and tenant farming families, the patriarch also oversaw the farming operation, bringing their sons and grandsons along with them to learn the ropes of the trade. As with girls, boys were socialized to prepare them for the kinds of jobs that most could anticipate acquiring in a segregated and patriarchal society.

Although most children were expected to provide some form of household labor, the age at which they began, and the degree to which they worked differed across the households in this study. Two pertinent factors in this were landownership and economic status, which were closely related. Marcus Pickard's household, for example, did not heavily rely upon raising their own food and supplementing household earnings via the production and sale of cordwood, butter, etc., as did most other rural black farmers. Thus,

Pickard and his brother were spared from much of the labor socialization that was typical for less well-off children. In other cases, large household size preempted young children from having to regularly work at home. Robbie Dotson Overton and LeeDell Bunton, who were the youngest of 12 dependents in their households, both remembered having to do little save for relatively easy tasks. Overton indicated that her mother and elder siblings spoiled her, while Bunton (who was raised by his grandparents) had this to say:

Most of my time was spent just playing and hanging out with my grandfather. You know, another thing that I remember is my uncle, Ollie Joe, which his name is Moses, he and I had lots of conflicts, and my Aunt Minnie, she was quite a bit older... but we had conflicts because I think sometimes they were jealous. They thought that their dad showed me too much favor. (Franklin 2012:105)

Most children, however, were recruited into the daily routine of household tasks as early as age five or so, when they helped collect eggs, picked fruits and vegetables from the kitchen garden, and fed chickens (Holt 2000:7). As one grew older, the tasks became more challenging. Joan Nell Revada Limuel explained that, "I know sometime between six and eight years old, or maybe ten, I don't remember, I had to milk the cow. And we had to go out in the pasture and get wood for the cooks' stove, and get water from the creek" (Franklin 2012:403). Annie Dotson Axel made reference to the various tasks that she and her siblings were responsible for, "Oh Lord, yeah. My mother would come to Austin back on Saturdays and she would have us to scrub the floors. During them days we would scrub, scrub... We had to cook because my mother made us learn how to cook real early... And wash" (Franklin 2012:594). The gendered division of labor became more apparent as one aged, as older boys were expected to spend most of their working hours farming or engaging in other paid labor. Marian Harper Washington explained that her father, a tenant farmer, brought her eldest brother along to work beside him for Heep's farm in Buda. In doing so, Harper not only introduced him into the broader labor economy, but also trained him to be efficient at his job:

Well, we still had cattle to take care of, and the chickens and stuff, that kind of work. But that was like, your home, whatnot, but my daddy and my oldest brother worked on the Heep's farm. They fixed fence and dig holes, stuff like that. That's what they did... So the man told daddy, my brother worked right along with him, and he told him he did as good a job working with him and he would pay him the same as he paid my daddy, like a dollar a day or whatever at that time, a dollar a day, 50 cents... They call it a dollar a day because you worked eight hours you got eight dollars. That was the way they paid in them days. (Franklin 2012:345)

What Washington's memory also alludes to is that their household still had to undertake the chores necessary on their farmstead, even in the absence of the patriarch and eldest son. Women and girls often filled in for the males who were elsewhere working. Thus, females were commonly double burdened with "domestic" chores such as cooking, sewing, and tending to farm animals, and agricultural work (Sharpless 1999; Tolnay 1999:49; see also White 1985). This was especially so for landless farm families whether they sharecropped or not.

In rural Texas, agricultural work was the main source of income for lower-class families, regardless of race (white, black, and Mexican). While men and women across racial lines worked in the fields, and as mentioned previously, black women engaged in farm labor at a higher rate than their white and Mexican counterparts (Sharpless 1999). Since women were responsible for childrearing and a good portion of household production, including subsistence activities, they usually worked in the fields three to six months out of the year, especially when cotton required picking and chopping (Sharpless 1999:164). In families with relatively small lots of land, women and girls farmed alongside males. For example, Lillie Grant explained, "There were more girls than there were boys, so we had to work in the field, too, like they did." More than likely, the ratio of boys to girls in Grant's family probably had little to do with the reality that she and her sisters worked in the field since black females were rarely spared the task. Grant also

related that, “I liked staying in the house and cooking and helping my mother. But, I didn’t like chopping cotton and pulling corn and stuff like that” (Franklin 2012:504). Again, unlike boys, girls were socialized into both housework and fieldwork.

Although the dominant gender ideology influenced social reproduction in black households, it did not dictate it. It was not unheard of for a young female to perform a task normally given to a male. Sometimes the gender composition of a household made a rigid gender division of labor impractical. At other times competency was a more prominent factor than gender in designating who would undertake a specific chore. Finally, household members negotiated their roles on a daily basis, choosing whether or not to adhere to others’ expectations of them. Examples of all of the above are evident in the oral histories (see “Household Economy” below). The point is that while people held beliefs about what were appropriate household roles for men and women, these beliefs were structured but not overdetermined by gender ideology.

The Household Economy: Domestic Labor

In general, black householders in rural Texas strived for self-sufficiency rather than dependence on the local markets for purchasing food and clothing (see also Sitton and Conrad 2005:43–79). Thus, one of the main characteristics of these households was that of pooling resources in both wages and labor. Most individuals contributed in some way to the sustenance of their household, whether working in and around the homestead doing chores, farming, and/or working for pay away from home. Whether for payment or not, these acts collectively represented the household economy. Household production was a central component of the household economy in that domestic labor resulted in products such as food, clothing, and home maintenance that ensured a family’s well being (e.g., Glazer-Malbin 1976; Hagstrum 2001; Hendon 2006; Troccoli 1992; Wilk and Netting 1984).

A good deal of what interviewees related spoke to household production. The focus of this section is on different household tasks and who was responsible for them. Since most interviewees grew up in households where at least some

subsistence practices were a necessity, most of the discussion will cover this topic. I do want to note that it was difficult to draw the line between domestic and income-producing labor. As will be discussed later, some forms of household production allowed consumption of products right at home as well as the local sale of surplus products to supplement the household income.

Household Subsistence Activities

Nine of the 11 African American households represented in this study were involved with at least one of the household activities discussed below. The exceptions were the households of Lee Wildon Dawson, who grew up in Austin, and Annie Dotson Axel, whose family lived in Manchaca. Since Axel’s father worked for the railroad, the family was provisioned with a section house. The company likely prohibited the subsistence activities discussed below, such as gardening and raising livestock, on their property. Thus, most of the evidence cited below was drawn from interviews related to the following African American households: Harper, Grant, Hargis, Dotson (Robbie Overton’s household), Bunton, both Pickard households, and both Revada households (see Franklin 2012:Appendix B).

In her study of Austin freedmen communities, Michelle Mears (2009:91–92) suggested that those in rural areas were likely better fed than their counterparts in the city since they were able to raise most of their food. This observation has merit with respect to this study as interviewees spoke of selling fresh vegetables, eggs, butter, etc., which were essentially the surplus foods produced by their households, to blacks in urbanized Austin. Few households relied on store-bought food, as Estelle Hargis Black’s response to my question of how much they purchased suggests:

It was very little, really and truly. Well, you’d have to buy your meal and your flour. Now sometimes we would grind the meal, the corn and make cornmeal. You want to talk about some good cornbread. That would make the best cornbread you ever put in your mouth. They don’t do that no more. But you’d have to buy the flour and the baking powder and your

salt—all your basic stuff like that.
(Franklin 2012:620)

One of the main ways that households produced their own food was by keeping a garden (Sitton and Conrad 2005:46–51; Figure 12.8). It was an activity pursued across race, gender, and class lines, and younger household members pitched in as well. Rene Pickard, one of our youngest interviewees, grew up in a middle-class household in Manchaca, where they had a prosperous farming operation. Still, from the time he was three to four years old, he remembered tagging along to help in the garden where his family grew, “Peppers, onions, cucumbers and all kinds of squash, watermelon. We always had plenty of corn, stuff like that, potatoes. It wasn’t a big garden, but it was big enough. An acre or so” (Franklin 2012:702). The Harper household also had an extensive garden, as LeeDell Bunton related, “We grew all kinds of vegetables: carrots, tomatoes, string beans, greens, squash, okra, cucumbers, just to name a few. Those are the ones that I can remember; I would bet my grandfather grew more because he loved gardening” (Franklin 2012:72). Bunton’s aunt, Winnie Harper Moyer,

was raised in the same household and added that her father also grew ice potatoes, sweet potatoes, and turnips. Estelle Hargis Black remarked, “We didn’t have to buy our vegetables. She grew beets, cabbage, mustard greens, turnip greens, squash, onions, and so forth, potatoes. She even grew sweet potatoes... And cucumbers, radishes, and carrots, she planted all of those” (Franklin 2012:606). Black’s father helped with the gardening, and grew watermelons that he would store under his bed. Even the Axels, who couldn’t keep a substantial garden on the property provided by the railroad company, regularly received fresh produce from “Auntie’s garden” (Rison-Isom 2004). Starchy vegetables, greens, and beans provided a fairly nutritious and diverse diet when added to the variety of fruits collected from gardens.

Some households also had orchards (see also Nash 1995:91), but Sharpless (1999) explained that landowners were far more apt than tenants to plant fruit trees since the former knew they’d be around for a few years or more when the trees finally bore fruit. Orchards were apparently common in Antioch Colony, where freedmen had owned land since the 1870s, and then passed their property down to their heirs.



Figure 12.8. Joan Nell Revada Limuel still keeps an extensive vegetable garden and raises chickens in Antioch Colony, as did her grandparents before her on this same property. Photo taken in 2009 by the author.

Although the Harper household rented land from a relative, that land was in Antioch, and Winnie Harper Moyer recalled that the place had an orchard with apple, pear, and peach trees.

In addition to gardening, most of the households also raised hogs, cows, turkeys, guinea hens, and chickens. As with gardening, there did not appear to have been a strict gendered division of labor when it came to taking care of farm animals. Earlee Bunton remembered, “We had cows where we would milk them. I used to milk them every morning, God send” (Franklin 2012:573). While household tasks such as milking were delegated, there were times when individuals best suited to the job would take it on. Estelle Hargis Black related, “Couldn’t nobody milk them but Papa. Nobody. I know I tried. I wasn’t getting nothing” (Franklin 2012:621). Joan Nell Limuel pointed out that foot dragging could get one out of a task in her household:

But I milked the cow because my brother didn’t want to learn how to milk a cow. He tried, he just pretended like, he just didn’t know nothing about it. But I was always, I always wanted to learn how to do everything. You ever heard that saying, the less you know the less you have to do? My brother was like that. (Franklin 2012:407)

People milked their cows first thing in the morning, but the work didn’t stop there, as Samuel Harper remembered:

Cows got to be fed and milked and stuff. My father might get up before day by daybreak and been out and done that, and we’d still be asleep or something... we worked and fed and fed the animals and slopped hogs and milked cows and shucked corn and baled hay—everything that belonged to a farm, you know, that’s what we done. (Franklin 2012:189, 192)

Women and girls were mainly responsible for transforming milk into other forms of dairy products. Estelle Black stated, “And we had our own milk cows, and my father would milk the cows, and my mother would put it in a churn, and when the cream would form on top, which would

be clabber at the bottom, then she would take the cream off and churn the clabber milk and make buttermilk” (Franklin 2012:606). Likewise, Robbie Dotson Overton stated the following:

And my brothers would milk the cows, and we would use that milk, and my mother would strain the milk. And then my sister loved to make butter, and we’d take the milk and make butter, and she’d be churning, they’d be churning, my mother, “Get in there and make some butter!” And we’d be churning, churning, churning, churning, and making butter. And we would just drink the milk from the cows. (Franklin 2012:533)

Despite Overton’s sister’s enthusiasm for the task, churning butter was a labor-intensive, monotonous, and time-consuming process. Minnie Harper Nelson said simply, “Churning that milk, I hated that” (Franklin 2012:321). Yet producing butter was a necessary and regular household activity, especially for larger families such as Earlee Bunton’s: “My mother would churn. Almost every week she would churn and make I guess two and three pounds of butter” (Franklin 2012:573).

Nearly all of the interviewees raised in the country mentioned owning hogs, which were crucial to a household’s diet. Households butchered hogs at the onset of the winter season (Ayers 2007:188) to ensure a steady meat supply, and little was wasted. The suite of activities associated with keeping hogs such as raising, slaughtering, and butchering them, and then curing, processing, and preparing the meat is a good example of how household members were variously involved with production (Nash 1995:93). It was mainly the boys who took care of slopping hogs. Households kept their table leavings to slop the hogs with. However, the male head of the household was responsible for slaughtering and butchering. The meat was then hung in smokehouses to cure. Women took over in processing and cooking the meat. Earlee Bunton explained, “We had a smokehouse where we’d kill the hogs, and then put them in the smokehouse. And my momma, she would smoke the meat and everything. Yeah, we made sausage. We’d have ham mostly every morning” (Franklin 2012:566). Every conceivable part of

a pig would be prepared and consumed (Nash 1995:78). Marian Harper Washington pointed out, “Oh, we’d eat chitlins, so like I said the feet, and so they didn’t even leave nothing. I had a cousin that liked the rooter [pig snout]” (Franklin 2012:347). Pig intestines, also referred to as “chitlins” or “chitterlings,” are a traditional African American fare. Estelle Hargis Black explained, “And when he would kill a hog, you know, the chitlins, Mama would clean the chitlins, I never did hardly eat them. But she would clean the chitlins and cook the chitlins, and papa and all the rest of family would eat them” (Franklin 2012:607). Not even the skin was wasted, as Washington remembered, “They kill hogs, they’d used that pot to make cracklings, boil cracklings in there after they cooked the fat all out from them” (Franklin 2012:360). Black’s mother, as did others, also prepared pork sausages: “And she would make sausage. The lean meat, she would take it and grind it. She had one of these here meat grinders that you grind your own meat, and then she would season it with sage and black pepper and red pepper. And they would be so good” (Franklin 2012:607).

Households also kept chickens. According to Sharpless (1999:131–133), even poor farmers could afford to raise chickens since they were “small, inexpensive, easy to feed, and portable.” They provided both meat and eggs year round, and the relative ease in raising them meant that even children could perform the job. Interviewees remembered that as children they’d collect eggs. LeeDell Bunton recalled, “I did gather eggs. I can remember gathering eggs and me being too short to see in the nest. I put my hand in to get the eggs, and I grabbed hold of a chicken snake” (Franklin 2012:75).

The rural black households represented in this study depended far more on domesticated plants and animals for their subsistence than on wild game or plants. Some did, however, supplement their diet by hunting and fishing to varying degrees, depending on the household in question. Since the majority of interviewees lived in the country surrounded by wooded acreage, game was plentiful. Moreover, neighbors had grown up around one another, and it was never an issue to cross property boundaries to hunt on someone else’s land. Among our interviewees, it was mainly the men and boys who did the hunting (see also Sitton and Conrad 2005:57–58; Sitton and Utley 1997:128–130). Marcus Pickard’s

grandfather, John Walter Kavanaugh of Antioch, taught him how to use a rifle when he was 12 or 13 years old. Pickard mentioned that the men in his community were skilled hunters: “Now they were great hunters, all of them. Lewis White, my grandfather, all of the guys who grew up in the country, you know, they knew it” (Franklin 2012:663). For sport, Pickard himself hunted white-tailed deer occasionally and wild turkey. Earlee Bunton, who grew up in a sharecropping family, remembered that, “We used to hunt rabbits, you know, but that would be in the daytime...It’d be at night when we would hunt possums and armadillos—well, anything we could catch at night. We used to pull armadillos out. They go in a hole, and we’d pull them out of the hole at night” (Franklin 2012:572, 573).

A number of individuals who grew up in the Harper household spoke of hunting as well. Marian Harper Washington remembered of the men in Antioch, “They’d hunt for rabbits, squirrels. Squirrels and rabbits. And when it’s deer season they’d hunt for them, too. And quails, birds, doves” (Franklin 2012:347). LeeDell Bunton indicated how important dogs were to the hunt, “Yes, we had dogs that they used to hunt with. Sometimes our dogs would take off, and they would be out and they’d come across the pasture and through the bushes, and they would run up a rabbit and they would catch that rabbit” (Franklin 2012:76). Yet there were other methods for hunting rabbits. Winnie Harper Moyer saw her father shoot plenty of rabbits. “He would blind them with the headlights of a spotlight. He always had a spotlight on his vehicle, and he would shine a spotlight on that rabbit, and he couldn’t see which way to go, and he’d follow the light, then when he got close enough he’d shoot it. Jackrabbits and cottontails” (Franklin 2012:266–267). Moyer’s brother, Moses Harper, indicated that his father also used a more direct method:

Yeah, he’d do it with his truck wheel, yeah. Yeah! That’s how he did it! [Laughter] He knew just how to do it. Boy, he would turn that wheel just a little bit and there goes a rabbit! And he’d stop and get him and put him in there, and we’d take them home. He’d clean them, hang them on the fence, and we’d have fried rabbit that night. Man, we ate every day, every day

we ate rabbit more than any other meat in the world, because my dad sure would know how to kill a rabbit. (Franklin 2012:148)

Sitton and Utley (1997) wrote that African Americans consumed more rabbit than their white counterparts. According to Moyer, they certainly knew a variety of ways to prepare it: “We had rabbit stew, boiled rabbit, fried rabbit, baked rabbit—you name it, we ate it [laughs]” (Franklin 2012:267).

Despite the number of references to hunting, it was not as crucial for providing a household’s meat protein as were hogs and chickens. In fact, interviewees remarked that household matriarchs would draw the line on cooking and consuming some wild animals. *Anthy Lee Revada Walker* stated as much in the following:

My daddy was a good hunter. He’d bring quails, and that’s what he liked to shoot is the quails and doves, you know. He’d bring them in, you know. Clean them. He’d have them cooked and then split them down the back, split him wide open like that. My mother would cook them, but she never cooked no rabbit. She’d always have a headache when a rabbit come in, and when you cook the rabbit, he said, “Mama don’t feel too well. I’m going to cook a rabbit.” (Franklin 2012:486)

Joan Nell Revada Limuel’s grandmother was far more direct in putting her foot down. *Limuel* remembered that her grandfather hunted, “...but my grandmother was very funny. She would cook a squirrel and maybe a rabbit, but not a coon, not a possum, not nothing like that. She wouldn’t. ‘Don’t bring that thing in here!’ She liked doves, you know, and quails, and she’d cook a squirrel, maybe sometime a rabbit, but no possum or coons. ‘Don’t bring it in here! I’m not, that’s not coming in the kitchen!’” (Franklin 2012:408).

Although interviewees, both men and women, typically associated hunting with males, the fact that hunting was often done in groups meant that girls and women might have participated more than was widely acknowledged. *Moyer* and her sister accompanied her brother

when he went hunting for wild turkey, which they did “all the time.” When I asked how it was done, she replied, “Daddy bought him a .22, and he’d take the gun and go down there and shoot the turkey and me and *Mary* would pack them back.” *Moyer* and her sister would distract the turkey: “Sneak up behind them. We’d stay behind the trees. When they would hear you, they would look around and we’d hide behind the trees and stay there, and he’d say, ‘I think I can get this one.’ So he’d go on that side, and when you’d make noise, they’d turn their head, then he’d shoot them through the neck” (Franklin 2012:274).

Anthy Lee Revada Walker was the only woman we interviewed who hunted with a gun; her brothers taught her how to shoot a rifle at the age of eight. She asserted that her mother was also a good shot with a rifle. *Walker*, however, mainly hunted for animal pelts, and explained, “I’d set a trap and it would catch the skunk. I’d shoot him in the eyes, you know, to keep from ruining his skin, you know” (Franklin 2012:486).

A few individuals also fished, and fishing with a hook and line was an activity pursued across gender and age lines. *Joan Limuel* lived in *Antioch* only a stone’s throw from *Onion Creek*, which she remembered once ran with “bass, catfish, perch” (Franklin 2012:409). Her paternal grandfather taught her how to fish. Worms and minnows were used as bait as *Limuel* further explained:

Sometimes we’d catch minnows, which is little fish about that long. And you just put it on there, and the bigger fish eat it. So my grandfather would always catch him, catch some minnows. And we had a trap, you just put some bread in there and the minnows go in there. He’d catch big bass, like that, you know. And I never will forget. We’d come home and my grandmother would, she always cooked biscuits, biscuits, biscuits. She’d have a big pan of biscuits, maybe she’d fry some potatoes or something. She’d fry that fish and it would be so good. (Franklin 2012:409)

Limuel’s neighbors, the *Harpers*, fished as well. *Marian Harper Washington*, her mom,

and sisters did this regularly, as she recalled, “And we’d go fishing all the time. Whenever the weather rained so we couldn’t work in the field we’d go fishing and catch a lot of fish, all around here. That creek going there called Onion Creek, it went all the way around and went up that way” (Franklin 2012:346). Marcus Pickard’s household never went fishing, but he remembered that his mother, Opal Kavanaugh Pickard (an Antioch Colony descendant), and her siblings did when they were children: “...when the weather was foul weather, it was wet, too wet for them to work in the fields, they’d go fishing” (Franklin 2012:663). They fished in Onion Creek like other Antioch Colony residents. Pickard’s maternal grandparents, the Kavanaughs, eventually moved onto property inherited by his grandmother in Manchaca. His grandfather continued to fish, according to Pickard: “Bear Creek had sizeable fish in it. Slaughter Creek more or less had perch. They’d come out the Elm Water Hole” (Franklin 2012:663).

There were two methods of fishing mentioned (see also Sitton and Conrad 2005:59–60), as Earlee Bunton explained:

You’d use a pole in the daytime. And me and brothers would set out trotlines at night, you know. They would like put them in the creek, and hook it on this side of the creek, and hook it on that side of the creek. They’d have some stabs there down in the ground. And then we’d go down the next morning. They call it trotline, what you set out at night. (Franklin 2012:573)

Winnie Harper Moyer told me that before they started purchasing fishing poles, folks would make them:

They had what they called Georgia Canes at the time. I don’t think they started buying fishing poles until they got grown, but they would use those Georgia Canes. You’d cut them out of the creek, the side of the creek. Some of them grow in the creek, some grow down the side of the creek. So they’d go down there and cut them off from the length that they wanted. Then they’d buy the fishing line and the hooks and put it on there. (Franklin 2012:266)

Household production not only involved raising and procuring food, but storing, preserving, processing, and transforming it into meals as well. Every individual that we interviewed claimed that the women of the household dominated in the kitchen, regardless of class. Marcus Pickard said of his mother, “Oh, she was a good housekeeper. She was a very good cook” (Franklin 2012:636). Earlee Bunton emphasized that, “My mother, she didn’t do nothing but cook. She cooked all our meals. Yeah. And she would have a good dinner for us when we come out of the field, and go to the house, and eat dinner from twelve to one” (Franklin 2012:582). In this role, household matriarchs also trained young girls how to prepare and cook food. Marian Washington stated, “Mamma learned me how to cook early” (Franklin 2012:396). Women and girls cooked food using a wood stove for baking, frying, and boiling (Figure 12.9). They used iron pots set in the yard over a fire to prepare hominy, as Minnie Nelson remembered, “...we also had an area where they had a pot where they boiled corn to make hominy” (Franklin 2012:296). In terms of household production, women were largely defined by their role in and aptitude for food preparation. Interviewees were positively nostalgic about the home-cooked meals prepared by their mothers and grandmothers, and food figured prominently in what folks remembered fondly about growing up in their households and communities. Estelle Black’s following recollection is a case in point:

Well, those good old days when we were out there, and Mama would make all these good old pies, egg custard pies. I tried to make one and I cannot make it. I got the recipe, but I cannot do it. Cakes, sweet potato pies, fried chicken, and make them big old fat biscuits and this white milk gravy. That’s what I call the good old days and the good time days that you don’t get now. You have to buy your ice cream. Sometimes you enjoy it and sometimes you don’t. You don’t hardly ever make homemade biscuits no more; you buy the canned biscuits. And all of that today doesn’t taste like the food did back in those days, you know. (Franklin 2012:619)



Figure 12.9. The cast-iron, wood-burning stove used by Sophie Peters Revada, Joan Limuel’s grandmother, now sits in the yard near the house that Limuel grew up in. Antioch Colony, Buda, Texas, 2009. Photo by the author.

Women also had to ensure that the household’s food supply was kept as fresh as possible and ample enough to feed everyone in preparation for the lean months. Thus, fruits and vegetables would be canned for winter consumption. Sitton and Conrad (2005:130) explained that canning “helped families improve their diet and stay out of debt to the mercantile store.” Ned Peterson’s granddaughter, Bertha Peterson Steen, confirmed that, “Nobody went hungry around that place with all the preserving and canning and drying that went on. All the girls were taught how to stretch the garden by canning and preserving” (Nash 1995:83). Estelle Black, whose family owned 20 acres in Manchaca, remembered:

We had peach trees and plum trees. The best plums and the best tasting peaches and pears, she would can that, make preserves. She would just have a shelf of preserves just lined it up all kinds. And she would pickle. I don’t know how she would pickle her pears and those peaches. But she

would pickle them, and they would be so good. And my father would, like we’d have a calf, and when it would get a certain age he would kill the calf, and he would pickle—I don’t know how he did it, put it in a barrel. Wonder we didn’t die [laughter]. (Franklin 2012:606)

Marian Harper Washington remembered the care that went into safeguarding food from spoilage, a task that most of us take for granted these days:

They called it an icebox. They’d get fifty pounds of ice, and put it in that box. That was one of those old-fashioned ones... They didn’t have electricity and stuff like that then. And they put that fifty pounds of ice in there, and they set stuff around it, you know, and it would keep it cool enough that it wouldn’t spoil. And the milk, they put it out the window on a shelf, but it’s screened all in, and they

set it out there on the shelf, and let the window down like air come in from the back because it's all screened in, like an air conditioner in the window or something, they'd let the window down. (Franklin 2012:376)

Lillie Grant recalled that, "We had a big pantry with food in it like potatoes and things like that and onions. It was cool. You know, the houses were built up off the ground and it made the vegetables cool; we put our potatoes underneath there" (Franklin 2012:498). The Peterson's granddaughter-in-law, Robbie Clark (b. 1918), was raised by her grandparents in Wellborn. She informed her interviewer of the following (Nash 1995:93), "My grandfather dug a little cellar near the back door of the kitchen to store white potatoes, yams and onions. Onions were sometimes hung on the fence to dry before my grandfather placed them in the cellar."

Other Forms of Household Production

Sewing and Quilting

The women of a household were also adept at sewing everything from clothing to curtains. Some interviewees remembered that their parents purchased winter coats, shoes, and Sunday dresses from catalogs or Austin shops. For the most part, however, women recycled flour sacks and other materials and made a lot of the garments worn by household members. Minnie Harper Nelson noted of her mother that, "She made all of our clothes. So we didn't have to worry about shopping in town for clothing except underclothes" (Franklin 2012:298). Joan Nell Limuel, who was raised by her grandmother, confirmed that, "Oh yes, my grandmother, she made all our dresses and underpants, our panties, our slips, our dresses. She made every, everybody would sew. And she had one of these machines that you do like that, a pedal... She made coats, she made our winter coats. She would take a big coat, you know, old coat, and cut another coat out of it, you understand?" (Franklin 2012:407). Sewing machines were considered a luxury and were valued by women. Young girls learned from their mothers how to sew by the time they were teens, as Lillie Grant did: "Well, she would tell me how to dress, and she taught me how to

sew, I learned how to sew under her" (Franklin 2012:503). Yet Samuel Harper remembered his mother's concern that her boys would need the skills to get by should they be single or married to a woman less inclined than her to darn their socks. She used to tell him: "Okay, now stop playing so much, boy. You all need to sit down here and watch me sew these clothes and cook and stuff" (Franklin 2012:209).

Winnie Harper Moyer remembered that their clothes and shoes were meticulously cared for and repaired rather than thrown out:

...Daddy wore overalls all the time, and when they would wear out on the knees, where he got on the knees all the time, she would take an old, old pair that was faded and she would cut patches out of them, and wherever there was a hole in your pants she'd sew it over. And she darned socks. You know, she didn't throw away any socks because they had a hole in it. She'd sew them up. And he'd have a shoe, or like a shoe stand made out of metal. I've got one in my room. And if you had a shoe that had a hole in it, he'd get a piece of leather and he'd put it over top of it and glue it and tack it, cover the hole in the bottom of the shoe. Didn't buy any shoes. (Franklin 2012:229)

Women also produced a number of items for the home, recruiting younger household members to help. Marian Harper Washington recalled her household's frugality as they worked to create rugs:

Then she would have us get the sacks from the hog feed, shorts, what you would feed the hogs, then she'd have us to take that, wash them and clean them good. Then the people that give her things, you know, and they gave her a lot of stockings. And she would have us to sit on the floor, especially when we can't go out to play and it's raining, we were in the house, and she'd have us sitting around the fireplace and taking those stockings and threading them through the sacks from the hog feed to make rugs to go on the floor. (Franklin 228–229)

Both Washington and her sister, Minnie Harper Nelson, emphasized with pride their mother's ability to recycle even the most mundane materials for creating items that were both functional and decorative. Washington stated, "...flour was made in a print sack, and she'd make pillowcases and make sheets out of them. It'd take about six, seven longwise, and about eight crosswise, and she'd make sheet, bed sheets" (Franklin 2012:371). Nelson added, "She made the curtains for the house, she made the bedspread and she made the curtains and bedspreads match" (Franklin 2012:298).

Women also made quilts, and passed the knowledge down to their daughters. When asked what she remembered most about her mother, Lillie Grant replied that, "Well, helping me, teaching me how to sew, and—and I just think about her a lot. I learned how to make Dutch-doll quilts and tops. I didn't ever quilt them for anybody, but I would make them and give them to my sisters" (Franklin 2012:504). Grant's grandmother recycled clothing to make quilts for her grandchildren, as Grant remembered fondly, "There were about four or five of us who slept in this big bed, and my grandmother made

britches quilts [Mrs. Grant laughs], heavy quilts. And we'd all sleep in the bed. But the quilt was so heavy, we would say turn and everybody would turn" (Franklin 2012:501). Quilting also provided the opportunity for women to gather and socialize (Sitton and Utley 1997:100). Marian Harper Washington explained that, "They have a club that made quilts, and if your parents helped them with the quilt, you got a quilt" (Franklin 2012:371).

Laundering

Another important household task involved laundering, which women performed outside. Interviewees remembered the large iron number 3 pot (Figure 12.10) that was used for washing clothes in. Women produced their own lye soap and used a scrub board for washing. Whites were boiled and then bleached using a bluing agent. Marian Harper Washington remembered the process clearly:

They had three tubs: a tub you rub in, big tub that you rub in, and you could mix some warm water with it if you



Figure 12.10. The large cast-iron pot that Lillie Grant's mother, Ola Bunton Grant (b. February 12, 1885, d. January 25, 1955), used for laundering now sits in her backyard in Austin. Photo taken in 2009 by the author.

wanted to and wash; then they had two for rinsing, a big rinsing tub and a smaller one. And the smaller one they would put bluing in it. (Franklin 2012:361)

She and her sisters would help keep the fire stoked, rinse clothes, and hang the clean clothes on a line to dry.

For Washington's nephew, LeeDell Bunton, the image of his grandmother's efforts stuck in his mind:

Those white sheets would be so white; they were as white as the clouds in the sky. That's another memory that stayed in my memory bank. She had to wash on a rub board, and she used the big number three tubs, and she used that iron kettle out there with boiling water in it. (Franklin 2012:72)

Similarly, Estelle Hargis Black remembered of her mother that:

She'd do the laundry. You know, back in those days they would boil the white clothes. She'd do them separate from the colored clothes, and she would wash the colored things on a rub board, but the white things she would put them in the tub with fire under it, and she would just chug them. Back in those days they made lye soap. (Franklin 2012:618)

Laundry was a labor-intensive and time-consuming chore that was usually reserved for one day of the week. Washington's mother eventually owned a mechanical washing machine that also wrung the clothes dry, but laundering by hand was typical for most women.

As Washington indicated, it was common for women to gather to help each other with laundry (see also Sharpless 1999). Household tasks performed communally provided women with an intimate space within which to share knowledge and information. Alandrus Alexander Peterson, Jr. (b. 12/3/1919), the great-grandson of Elizabeth and Ned Peterson, recalled the significance of these gatherings:

I believe valuable information passed

between the generations during those weekly sessions. When I was a boy, laundry day was still going on. Some of us boys used to hide in the bushes within earshot and eavesdrop on the females, trying to find out what they talked about, trying to learn some female mysteries or secrets...These women had knowledge about life. I don't know where it came from. This knowledge, they passed on to the next generation right there at the pond when they were washing clothes and fishing for dinner. (Nash 1995:88)

Hauling Water

Most Americans take fresh water and indoor plumbing for granted these days, but our interviewees grew up during an era when privies, or outhouses, were common, and getting fresh water was a chore in itself (Sharpless 1999). Sitton and Utley (1997:75) explained: "Getting sufficient and good-tasting water for household and barn use could be another problem for farm families. Farmers were almost water-obsessed, and the ones lucky enough to have a good spring or well often bragged about how tasty, abundant, cool and ever-flowing it was." The oral histories tell of various means that households obtained their water supply. Some Manchaca households did have wells, as Robbie Dotson Overton recalled her mother sending the kids out to haul buckets of water back to the house. Marcus Pickard explained that his father forbade his sons from drinking out of a creek: "Basically because that's the time when tuberculosis tore up our people and all of those diseases were really running rough shod out in rural areas during that time. And, we never drank creek water. We always had well water or either we drank city water. My daddy saw to that" (Franklin 2012:638). Estelle Hargis Black's family was fortunate in that well water was piped into their house:

...see, Mama's house was just right down from where the homestead where she was born, and it was a well. I don't know how it come to be a well, but it supplied running water. They hooked onto it—I don't know how they did it—and we had running

water inside the house... And oh, Mama was so proud of that. (Franklin 2012:616, 617)

It was more common for households to depend upon cisterns (Figure 12.11) to catch rainwater, as Lillie Moreland and LeeDell Bunton's (the Meredith and Harper households, respectively) did (see also Nash 1995:98). Likewise, Lillie Grant recalled, "Well, on the house we had, it was called a cistern. A well with a concrete bottom and sides, and then we had to run a water pipe to the cistern, and that was our drinking water. And we had another well out in the field where the cattle drink from and all" (Franklin 2012:495).

Yet many people living in the rural areas of Manchaca and Antioch Colony relied on hauled water. Joanne Deane revealed that her grandfather had a well in Manchaca from which he supplied neighbors, "My granddad, Will Cruze. And a lot of people got water from him. But you know, there wasn't a lot of water. Most people hauled their water. In fact, Daddy hauled water for a long time for us" (Franklin 2012:819). The Harper patriarch also helped his Antioch neighbors by bringing them water, as Winnie Harper Moyer

remembered, "He was down in the creek, loading the water up, he had take his team of mules with barrels in the back of the wagon, and he would haul to all the neighbors around here that didn't have a well" (Franklin 2012:262). Yet most households had to do this for themselves, as Earlee Bunton informed me: "We had about three or four barrels, big ole barrels. I guess they'd hold about maybe 100 gallons, you know. You seen these big ole tall wooden barrels? Yeah. Now we had quite a few of those. We would hook up the mules to the wagon, and go to Onion Creek, and dip the water up, and put it in the barrels. [Chuckles] Yeah. I remember that" (Franklin 2012:565–566). Joan Nell Limuel lived uphill from Onion Creek, where her household drew water from: "We had little—I guess a gallon, you had two of them. Everybody had two buckets. When my grandmother got ready to wash, do you know how many times we had to go up and down that hill to get water?" (Franklin 2012:403).

Anthy Lee Revada Walker's family sharecropped and had to rely on whatever water supply was available on the property owner's land:

They'd bring it home in one barrel emptied out and that was drinking



Figure 12.11. An old limestone cistern located adjacent to the remains of Elias and Clarisa Bunton's house in Antioch Colony. The Buntons were among the original settlers. Photo taken in 2009 by the author.

water, and then you covered that barrel, kept it covered with a ducking on top to keep it cool, you know, in the coolest spot you can get for your water. But in the end that's all we had, you know. Then had those galvanized tanks that you use on the side. You had a spigot in it, you know, to let your water out. That was for washing your hands and taking a bath. That was on the place, that was Crews' place. But on John Howe's place we had a hydrant. It wasn't in the house, but it was right out in the front, you know. (Franklin 2012:484)

People also paid for their fresh water. In Manchaca, Joanne Deane remembered going with her father to haul water from Blackwell's gin, as many others did. There were also individuals who went around selling water. In Antioch Colony, LeeDell Bunton mentioned one such individual, "We haven't talked much about Barry Burnham. But they named that hill after Barry Burnham. He was one of the people who brought water to all of the, most of the people in that community. He sold it for twenty-five cents a barrel" (Franklin 2012:117).

Remarks

To summarize thus far, the gendered division of domestic labor among black farming households was certainly influenced by the patriarchal gender ideology that characterized Southern culture during that era. Yet in practice, black households demonstrated more flexibility in organizing labor, confounding what was considered "normal" for women's roles, in particular. For example, when I asked Winnie Harper Moyer whether the 11 boys and girls in her household performed different tasks, she replied:

Yes. The girls had to get the eggs out of the nest from the chickens and the turkeys, and the ducks that we had that laid eggs, and guineas. And the boys packed the wood in for the fireplace and the cook stove. And then we had to make sure all the chickens was in the evening, and fasten the gate to the chicken pen. And then the boys slopped the hogs, and the girls milked

the cows and took the milk in for the afternoon. And then we had to feed the dogs and the cats that we had, and make sure the house was clean. That was our chores for the girls. (Franklin 2012:264)

When I commented that a girl could slop hogs as well as a boy, Moyer responded, "Yeah. We had to do it after they left home [laughs]" (Franklin 2012:264). Her brother, Moses Harper, confirmed that his twin sisters Winnie and Minnie labored as hard as the males in their family, so much so that their father was wary of losing their labor contributions should they ever leave the household:

Yeah, yeah they was growing up and he didn't want no boys messing with them, because he needed them two girls to work. They worked. Them twins, they was something else. They worked like men, boy. And during the—like when he bailed hay or something, them twins worked together. One on one side, she's threading the wire, and the one on the other side is tying it. Yeah they worked together. Them twins. (Franklin 2012:160)

Within the sphere of rural black household space, children were socialized by instilling in them the importance and virtue of being able to make it on their own. This sentiment was captured in the following statement by Robbie Clark:

We all knew how to take care of ourselves. We didn't have to think about stealing anything from anyone. Everyone knew how to grow something to eat and cook it—boys and girls. We all knew a little something about sewing—boys and girls. And if you wanted something you couldn't buy, then you made it. There was no one sitting around waiting for a hand-out. (Nash 1995:92)

More rigid lines were drawn between genders when it came to certain household-related tasks. For example, housecleaning and cooking were the domains of women and girls. Others pointed out that tasks that required physical

strength or that were especially messy were delegated to the boys in their household.

What is worth noting is that women's household production was vital to the household's economy in saving money that might otherwise be spent on food and clothing. Their efforts in preserving food decreased the chance that they might have to buy food on credit. Their aptitude in recycling materials such as old scraps of clothing and flour sacks to produce functional items for the home not only made life more comfortable, it also made a difference in a household's ability to save money.

In the following section, I consider the additional means by which black householders earned a living. I say "additional" since the forms of household production covered in the above sections played a role beyond meeting household consumption needs.

The Household Economy Beyond the Domestic Sphere

I've previously mentioned that the African Americans we interviewed, in general, recalled that their families were socially organized around patriarchal ideas of gender roles and behaviors. That is, when asked about the main responsibilities of the male and female heads of households, individuals usually responded that the former (if present) made most of the major family and household decisions and earned the majority of the household's income, and the latter were typically housewives who cooked, cleaned, and raised the children. Yet other responses brought into question the degree to which women exercised power in making important decisions, and the extent to which women and children contributed to the household economy. Indisputably, there were some households (including Marcus Pickard's and that of Annie Dotson Axel) where the male heads were the main income earners. Still, in 10 out of the 11 black households (see Table 12.2; the exception is Dawson's family which lived in the city of Austin) under consideration for this study, women and/or children helped with farming, whether it was on their own land, in sharecropping situations, and/or as farm laborers for pay. On top of this, women and children contributed substantially to household production, the products of which were sold in both the formal and informal

economies. Finally, in addition to agricultural work, women and children, as with men, pursued wage-paying jobs to supplement their household's earnings.

African Americans of both genders, starting at a young age, performed most of the agricultural work during slavery, and following emancipation, they were heavily employed to work in the fields (Ayers 2007:187–204; Figure 12.12). In his book on the South during Reconstruction, Ayers (2007:204–205) writes:

Even for rural black women within male-head families (as nearly nine in ten were), the distinction between men's work and women's work was not as marked as in white households. White landlords, and many black husbands, expected black women to work regularly in the fields as well as to perform whatever domestic labor they had time left for; black women did "a man's share in the field, and a woman's part at home..." In 1900 over half of all black households in the Cotton Belt had at least one daughter sixteen or younger working in the fields as a laborer.

Most of our interviewees were in their youth from the 1920s to the 1940s, not too far a distance in time from the era Ayers wrote about. Moreover, Sitton and Conrad (2005:51) confirmed that, "Family cotton and corn farming required child labor, and it began early." Although their research focused on Texas freedmen settlements, our interviews indicate that their observation can be more broadly applied (see also Tolnay 1999:39–41). As a case in point, Estelle Hargis Black, whose family owned 20 acres in Manchaca, revealed that her father worked the land "all by himself, and with the children that were there at home" (Franklin 2012:607). Interviewees indicated that elders socialized their children to anticipate a lifetime of work. LeeDell Bunton recalled the work ethic instilled in him by his grandparents, who firmly told him, "If you don't work, you steal." Bunton explained, "And that was something that they were not going to have. You ain't coming up in here stealing and you going to learn to work for what you get. And that's what we had to do" (Franklin 2012:109–110).



Figure 12.12. Bert Williams with a crew of cotton pickers, date unknown, Texas. Williams owned the truck and was likely paid a fee by those he transported to work on various cotton farms. Photo courtesy of Lillie Grant.

Sitton and Conrad (2005:140, 144–145) also made the following observation, which I found applicable to the households represented in this study, “By 1920, many younger sons and daughters at Texas freedmen’s settlements had been forced to turn to part-time or full-time employment outside the community” (see also Tolnay 1999:33). Winnie Harper Moyer recollected her household’s tremendous efforts to earn money to ensure that they would make it through lean times without having to buy food on credit (Holt 2000:25–35). The Harpers traveled as far as Mexico as farm laborers, returning home to Antioch Colony a week before Christmas. As a result, the Harpers of school age usually missed the first half of school. Moyer refers to her father, a tenant farmer, who would help his kids with school since they missed so much of it:

He would help us. He didn’t like that. He wanted to get the work done so make the money to last us, because once January came in, we had some winters then, sometimes the icicles would last and would freeze over the ground, and all the trees would be frozen, so we had to have money to last us through the winter. And if it played out before the winter played out, then he would get food on credit at the stores in Buda—Ms. Stacy and Mr. Clark, they owned the two grocery stores. (Franklin 2012:281)

The Harper patriarch used the household’s earnings to buy a bigger truck, which allowed him to serve as a middleman, recruiting pickers to bring them to farms all over Texas, who paid

him money enough to cover gas and the Harpers' rent on these farms.

Our interviews indicate that seeking at least part-time employment on picking crews applied not only to those living in the freedmen settlement of Antioch Colony, but to Manchaca as well. For example, Earlee Bunton, who was raised in a sharecropping family, recalled the long days that he and his siblings put in farming their rented land. He was about 10 to 12 years old when he began working in earnest:

Cotton and corn. We picked and chopped cotton, picked cotton. Yeah, that's what we raised...It was on halv-ers, yeah—the owner would get half and we would get half... That's what they called it in those days, from can't to can't. That means you can't see like early in the morning. We would go to the field early in the morning, you know, while it was cool, and then we'd stay out there 'til almost sundown, you know, at night, in the evening rather. (Franklin 2012:564, 566–567)

After working the field that they sharecropped, Earlee Bunton's family would travel further out to work: "We'd go out West and pick cotton. And then we'd go down South. We'd go to Robstown, Corpus Christi, and Taft and pick cotton" (Franklin 2012:575). Even women and children who were members of households where agricultural work was not their predominant means of earning income worked on picking crews. Although Annie Dotson Axel's father held a full-time job with the Missouri Pacific Railroad, Axel, her grandmother, mother, and siblings spent summers picking cotton. She remembered that:

Well, we didn't like it. [Chuckles] You know. It would take us all day...It was just something to do, just an add-in. Even we'd go down to south Texas to pick cotton... My mother just never did like to work, and she would carry us sometimes down to south Texas. My grandmother and them would all go to the field in the morning. (Franklin 2012:596)

Likewise, Axel's niece, Robbie Dotson Overton, recalled that even after her family

relocated to Austin from Manchaca, she would go with her mother and grandmother to pick cotton during the summers. The women and youth of African American households, therefore, were vital to the household economy. The dichotomy between male/public and female/domestic simply didn't apply across the board since women and children of both genders worked alongside men in farming. Further, women and teenage girls sought other outside employment to earn extra money as well.

It was common for lower-class black women to take jobs with white families keeping house or looking after children in addition to meeting their responsibilities at home (e.g., Nash 1995:100; Tolnay 1999:35–39). Robbie Dotson Overton's mother, who was a single parent, was fortunate in that her eldest kids regularly gave her part of their wages. Yet she still took in ironing from white families in Manchaca. Other women had no choice but to combine their own childrearing duties with the necessity of working for others. Winnie Harper Moyer recalled that her mother brought her and her siblings along when she worked as a domestic, and the indignities of having to deal with segregation once she crossed the boundary of Antioch Colony:

I think she worked for most of all the white folks around in the neighborhood in Buda. And she would do the ironing and washing most of the time, and cleaning. But, they would have to go through the back door; they didn't come through the front door. And then she had to carry us with her—she didn't have nobody to watch us. We'd go and play in the backyard or sit in the backyard until mother got through. (Franklin 2012:283)

Employment began at a young age for many of our interviewees. As previously mentioned, Anthy Lee Revada Walker washed dishes before and after school. Likewise, when Annie Dotson Axel was just 12 or 13 years old, she cooked for a white family who owned a store in Manchaca. These were not anomalies but common occurrences, underscoring the fact that women and children contributed to the household economy in important ways.

I will now turn back to household production as a means of income generation. One

author (Holt 2000:1–24) referred to household production as the “escape clause” of recently freed tenant farmers, noting that even their routine household work was crucial to the family’s survival and their potential for eventually purchasing property. While this study deals with a more recent time period, and with a number of landowning households, household production was nonetheless a significant factor in a household’s ability to sustain itself beyond subsistence needs. Thus, household production was not simply a domestic affair.

Rural black households produced goods for sale on a regular basis, with men, women, and children variously contributing (see also Holt 2000:21; Sitton and Conrad 2005:146–147). The interviewees related sales of poultry, fresh vegetables and fruits, dairy products, and other goods. Most of the products involved the labor of women and/or children, once more emphasizing the contributions that they made to the household economy.

The Harper household sold a range of products to supplement the household’s savings. LeeDell Bunton’s grandfather, George Harper, sold vegetables, butter, and eggs to black families living on the outskirts of Austin on Montpelier Road. Marian Harper Washington related that her father even sold to her roommates when she moved to Austin, “And then my daddy would sell rabbits and syrup and eggs and milk and all that stuff over in town, and he was selling to my people I was living with” (Franklin 2012:370). Her brother, Samuel Harper, recalled the importance of egg and milk money, which could be used to pay off store credit, “You know, my father perhaps he went there [the store] and got some stuff and didn’t have to pay at the moment, but he’d pay it when he sells milk and eggs and stuff like that (Franklin 2012:167). Marian Harper Washington remembered that her father eventually purchased a separator to separate milk from cream. She mentioned that her sisters, Mary and Martha (also known by Minnie and Winnie) were responsible for using the separator and her father would sell the cream to a cheese factory in Turnerville.

The Harpers also had a mill to produce cane syrup (see Sitton and Conrad 2005:68–69 for more on this topic). Everyone helped with cutting the cane, including the kids. Mr. Harper, his cousins, and the boys of the household processed the cane. Winnie Harper Moyer recalled that

her father would then sell half- and full-gallon buckets of cane syrup in Austin, starting on Montopolis Road and working his way through the neighborhood. Her sister, Minnie Harper Nelson, remembered the few times that whites would enter Antioch to purchase goods from her father and to use the opportunity to hire him:

They always came back because my daddy always sold—they come by to buy hay, or corn, they would come by and get syrup. They made syrup, him and his cousins. Called him Ted Kavanaugh, but Sylvester Kavanaugh, our cousin, he built a shed out there for making cane. We grew cane about where I’m living at right now. So they made syrup out of cane and they would come over and buy syrup. That’s why they were in here. They’d come over telling about some work that needed to be—they would like for him to do. Things like that. (Franklin 2012:320)

The Harper patriarch also felled trees for whites, and would then turn around and sell the wood. Winnie Harper Moyer had the following recollection:

He’d haul rick wood.¹³¹ We went to the pastures of the white people and cut down trees, and we ricked wood up and put it in the truck after we sawed it up and brought it back here. We had a saw out there in the lot, and we’d saw the wood so far, you know, all sizes, the little ones on up to the big stumps for people in Austin that had stoves, that had to burn wood. And he’d sell the wood, and eggs, and butter, milk. He would take it to town, and vegetables, and sell it on Saturday. (Franklin 2012:238)

Other households also regularly produced butter for sale. Estelle Hargis Black told me about her mother’s side business:

¹³¹A “rick” or “rack” refers to a 4x8-ft stack of firewood that is the width of an individual log of firewood. A rick is approximately one-half of a cord.

And then she would wrap it in—she had some thin like paper, like wax paper but it wasn't wax paper, it was special paper made to wrap butter in, and she would wrap this butter. And we had so much of it, then they would come over to Austin, Texas, and sell this butter. She had regular customers, just her regular customers, and she would do this on weekends, on Saturdays. (Franklin 2012:606)

Marcus Pickard's mother and grandmother also produced butter for sale, indicating that even well-to-do families supplemented their income via household production.

For some households livestock was especially central to the household economy. Anthy Lee Revada Walker grew up in a tenant farming family, and mentioned that, "Yeah, they was always doing something on the outside to make extra money, you know." The family owned 500 chickens and 40 cows. Walker stated that her mother mainly sold eggs and her Rhode Island Red chickens. Like the Harpers, her mother also sold cream: "You know, they had a cheese factory there in Buda... they would buy the cream, you know, to make the cheese and cottage cheese" (Franklin 2012:487). Walker and her mother also had other means of earning money. Walker herself was adept at trapping and skinning skunks and remembered, "My daddy would take them to Buda, and he got \$185 for my hides, you know. And I got 50¢" (Franklin 2012:462). She also mentioned that she helped her mother to make quilts for sale:

I tell you, she did a lot of quilting, and she would do that and people would bring her big old sacks of remnants, they called it, and she would make quilts. She sold them for \$5. And I mean they was, wasn't just plain, she'd make them real neat. And that's one thing I could help her with was to hold the thing back so she could roll it tight, you know, and then sit there and sew. (Franklin 2012:487)

Remarks

If we are to reach a better understanding of what life was like for black families in central

Texas prior to the end of Jim Crow, the concept of gender dynamics must be considered. With respect to the African American families and households that are the focus of this chapter, gender often came into play when individuals related their life histories. Many experiences at home and at work were clearly influenced by one's gender, including the expectations that others had of their behavior and roles, how they negotiated their relationships from childhood to adulthood, and what employment opportunities were open to them. There were cases in which women, in particular, challenged what was expected of them and others in which gender norms were adhered to and considered central to maintaining strong social networks, and necessary to participating in the labor economy. What is important to note is the extent to which women's roles in the household were considered by all to be crucial to the household's economy. Their labor in cooking, sewing, raising gardens, producing butter, and other tasks certainly elevated their household's life chances and well-being, but some of what we typically call "household labor" also brought in earnings when products were sold.

MAINTAINING COMMUNITY

As previously mentioned, households are embedded in political, social, and economic contexts that extend beyond the homestead. Every household mentioned in this chapter contributed their labor, skills, knowledge, and resources to maintaining their local and regional economies as producers and consumers. Yet during segregation, black households were constrained from participation in wider society on equal terms with whites (see also Sitton and Conrad 2005:154–171). In rural areas, this meant that most African Americans were mainly relegated to agricultural work and other forms of manual labor, and domestic service (for the women). In small towns such as Buda and Manchaca, there were very few businesses, and black interviewees remembered that they could patronize the white-owned stores. This stood in contrast to the much larger city of Austin where blacks were restricted to patronizing only certain businesses, most congregated along Sixth Street, especially on weekends. Although a number of our interviewees remembered that relations were civil with whites, they were usually referring to those

whom they were acquainted with (e.g., store owners, neighbors, the woman who delivered the mail). Moreover, most mentioned that their neighbors were predominantly black and that they had few interactions with whites outside of work. Marian Harper Washington remembered:

I don't know, it was just a lot different now than it was in them days, because see, me and my mama, I went to work with her when she went to work. She worked for about everybody in Buda. Lots of them were real nice to her and they liked her, but lots of them were still slavery type, they didn't want you to eat in their house. (Franklin 2012:360)

Others recalled incidents of racism as well, as blacks were forced to negotiate land mines whenever they ventured outside of their communities. Thus, the households that formed black communities relied upon one another for various forms of support, in essence serving as a safety net, especially in times of need. By providing skilled services to one another, lending a helping hand when needed, and distributing food, these black households practiced a measure of reciprocal obligation. This enabled black households to sustain themselves while also maintaining the integrity of their communities. By extension, decreased dependence on the outside world meant that African Americans could circumvent some of the racism that characterized segregationist Texas.

Yet community solidarity wasn't simply a response to racism. Within the contexts of black spaces, people developed a sense of black racial consciousness not solely through its opposition to whiteness, but via cultural production and a sense of shared history and tradition. While they attended segregated schools and churches, a number of interviewees remarked upon the positive aspects of black social institutions in addition to, or instead of, the racism that in large part necessitated their existence (Figure 12.13). In what follows, interview excerpts reveal the extent to which relations between black households played a central role in generating community cohesiveness.

Samuel Harper aptly summarized the community ethic of mutual support of Antioch, "Everybody out here back in that day, they

helped each other. They'd look out for one another. If you didn't have some, they'd give it to you or help see that you, see that you could make it. That's how that went" (Franklin 2012:172). Perhaps one of the most oft-mentioned aspects of sharing between households involved food. Robbie Dotson Overton remembered that, "We raised a lot of food. At the time people would exchange like groceries and, you know, when people raise greens or something, they would bring her some in exchange and she would give them something else. Exchange food. We kind of had a little, a garden in the back" (Franklin 2012:527). Households regularly distributed meat from livestock to others during the crucial winter months (see also Nash 1995:90). LeeDell Bunton informed me of the following:

And you know, I can remember when during the winter months with my grandfather, if he killed a hog, if he butchered a hog, lots of people got some of the meat. It wasn't just for us. And people came from town and the neighbors got a piece. The same when they did things. Everybody shared with it. So it was a community that worked well together. I think that's how it was meant to be. And you talk about being neighborly—there's a lot of communities today you don't know your neighbor. (Franklin 2012:86)

Robbie Clark's childhood community of Wellborn was very similar to that of Antioch Colony. She spoke about the assistance that neighbors were quick to lend:

The families around Wellborn all knew each other and were very close friends. In hard times, and there were many, we all tried to help one another out. If somebody had a hardship, a fire or something, there was nowhere to turn but each other. No public programs. No government services. Just us. (Nash 1995:90)

Food also figured largely in social events, when people would gather to reinforce their communal ties. On major holidays such as Juneteenth, households gathered together to celebrate, and interviewees most often remarked

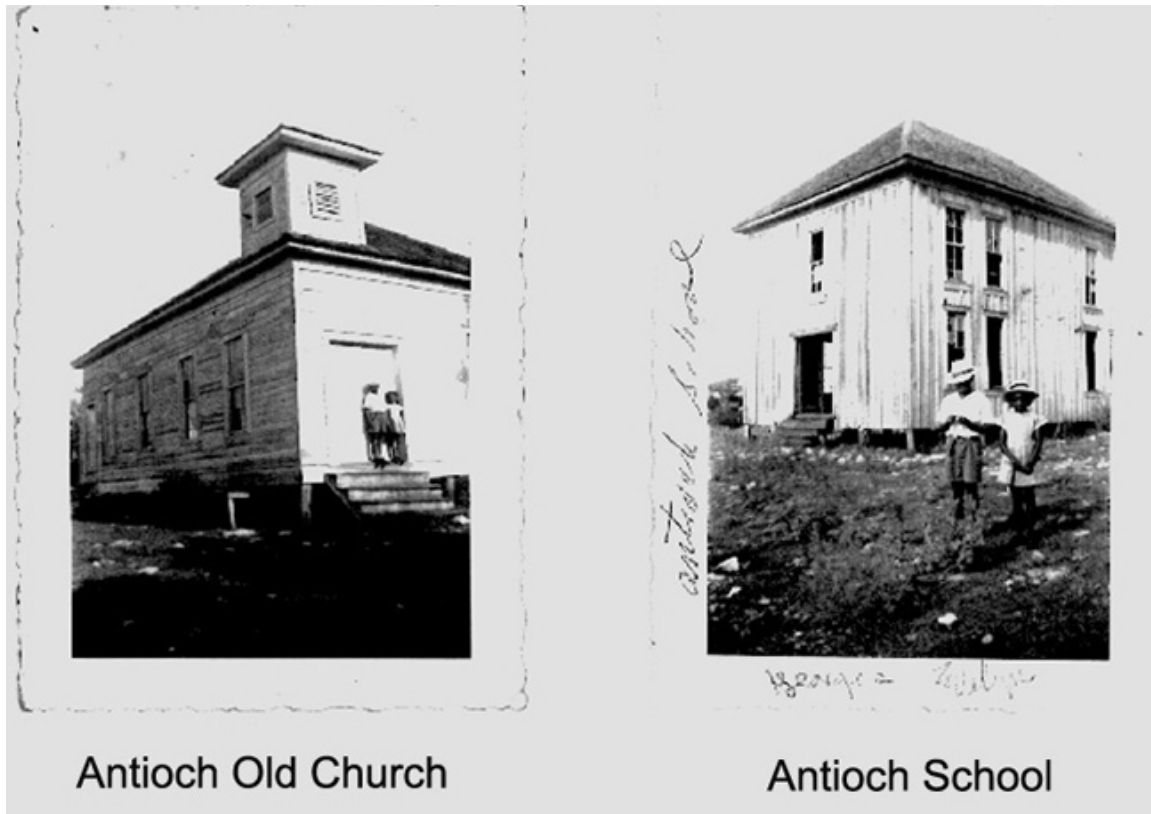


Figure 12.13. The original Methodist church (left) and school (right) built in the 1870s by the early settlers of Antioch Colony. Children from both the Prairie and Antioch attended the school. Photos courtesy of LeeDell Bunton, Sr.

upon the feasting (see also Nash 1995:87–88). Everyone participated in food preparation. Joan Limuel remembered that the men would gather early in the morning on Juneteenth. A slaughtered cow or pig would be set to barbeque on a grate set over a large hole in the ground that served as a fire pit. The women would bring a wide assortment of food: corn-on-the-cob, potato salads, biscuits, cakes, and so forth.

Every member of the community belonged to a church which served not only to bring people together in worship. Interviewees recalled that services would rotate from church to church, extending the network of black community. Friendships and marriages were established as a result of the socializing that took place within the context of the church, and religion instilled a shared sense of Christian identity and duty among the African Americans who belonged to them. Thus, people were active in supporting this crucial social institution. Winnie Harper

Moyer recalled one popular means in which they raised funds to support the church:

They had box suppers to raise money. Had a shoebox and they'd fill it full of food, different types, you know, cake and chicken, and whatever they had in their boxes, meatloaf, and vegetables to go with it. And that was a way they raised money for the church, you know, to take care of the church and pastor. (Franklin 2012:229)

Since Sunday services were all-day affairs, they allowed the congregation to spend ample time together, especially during the breaks for meals. Estelle Hargis Black remembered Sundays at Manchaca's St. Eli Baptist Church:

But I remember they would, on Sundays when they have church, the fam-

ilies would bring baskets of dinner. And they would spread—Like they have morning service, in between the morning service and the evening service they would spread dinner. They had a long table, and each family would bring their dinner. And they'd all spread out there together, and everybody would eat. And I thought that was something that showed a lot of love, you know, to different families. (Franklin 2012:611)

Coming together for church and holidays helped to create a sense of community that worked to engender an ethic of cooperation between households in a community. When I asked interviewees what they thought was the most central and positive aspect of the communities they grew up in, sharing and caring were often mentioned. For example, Joan Limuel summed it up as follows:

Share. I think that was the greatest strength was just sharing everything, you know. If you had a mule and a wagon and you could haul me some water, you know, and maybe I could give you some of this or that, you know trade out, a couple of chickens or a turkey or you know, stuff like that. (Franklin 2013:443)

LeeDell Bunton agreed, remembering that:

Well usually it had something to do with the, like if you had a cow that was getting ready to deliver, someone would come down and give a hand or if they, if he was going to kill a hog or something like that, they came down and helped. If he was trying to get the hay in the barn before a storm, they went out and gathered the hay and he was trying to get it in the barn, and he didn't have enough help, people helped. (Franklin 2012:97)

According to Bunton, his grandmother, Emma Bunton, despite having a house full of kids to raise, still managed to help neighbors out in times of need. Others raised in the Harper household concurred. Winnie Harper Moyer

described the lengths to which her mother went when she knew someone was in crisis:

And I really think it's beautiful because in our neighborhood everybody cared about you and your family, and my family cared about other people's family. If they was hurting or somebody was sick in they family, they went down and seen about them. You know, my mom used to walk across them dirt clogging fields many a day to go see about the neighbor that was sick, and she would carry her cleaning stuff with her, you know, change their sheets, deodorizers for the house. The room wherever the lady was sick at, she'd go there and wash down everything with Lysol and clean it up, you know. And then we would have to go out and pull them broom weeds and tie them together and sweep, me and my twin sister did that. (Franklin 2012:245–246)

Earlee Bunton recalled that people would share rides in their cars. When I asked how uncommon car ownership was, he replied:

Well, there wasn't too many cars in those days. You could count the people that had cars. You done most walking, and then you had a wagon, you know. They'd hook up the mules. I've been to church a lot of times in the wagon, yeah, because you could count the people that had cars out there at Manchaca. (Franklin 2012:574)

Giving someone a lift was no small thing. It allowed folks with otherwise limited mobility to get to church or into Austin. As a case in point, Marcus Pickard's father gave daily rides to Austin to black children in Manchaca, including one of our interviewees, Annie Dotson Axel. This allowed them to continue their education at the only black high school in the area.

The values associated with pulling together as a household, therefore, were also practiced at the level of the community. Robbie Dotson Overton's mother raised 12 children on her own when her husband passed away; the eldest was 15–16 years old, and the youngest, Overton, was

still an infant. The Dotson household was living on Heep's Farm at the time, where her father was employed as a foreman. Yet the family was told to leave upon his death, whereupon Overton's mother managed to scrape together \$1800 to purchase an acre of land with a house in Manchaca. The ability to raise food on that one acre, and the fact that everyone in the household who was old enough to work quit school and did so, meant that the family would get by. Overton also remembered that a number of neighbors regularly came by to make sure that her mother and the children were doing well.

Overton's story was the saddest one I can recall about how tragic and difficult life could be for rural black households during segregation. Yet it also reveals how households and communities pulled together to meet problems head on. I wondered about the extent to which class may have divided the community despite the many memories recounted of solidarity. LeeDell Bunton remembered that there were well-to-do blacks living in Antioch, but emphasized that social ties were created between the various classes through marriage. He explained that class did not divide the community and that relations were good:

No, I think that it was very good, because at the same time they were blood-related to a lot of the people that was in the community. Although the Taylor daughters were educated and they were professional ranked like teachers and stuff like that, when you look at the people that they married, they married into the Buntons and a lot of, some of them I think married Grants. I'd have to go look at my chart to see all of who they married. But they married people that were right from that community, you know, and they didn't always have the same level of education as the Taylor girls. But they all got along because then they all became family, not necessarily by blood but through marriage. And so to me, the Antioch community, in my estimation of what happened, turned out to be one big, happy family. (Franklin 2012:94)

Interhousehold relationships were vital to maintaining black communities. Kinship and marriage certainly wrought connections between households, and by extension, a sense of obligation to help one another out. Still, they fail to explain most acts of neighborly kindness related by interviewees. By all accounts, the black rural communities of Antioch and Manchaca were tight-knit ones, where everyone knew one another, and could depend upon neighbors in times of need. They kept an eye on one another's children, worshipped together, and sent their kids to the same schools. This closeness both in terms of proximity and a shared racial and cultural identity helped fuel the formation and reproduction of community over time.

IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERPRETING THE RANSOM AND SARAH WILLIAMS FARMSTEAD

Taken together, the archival, oral history, and archeological evidence paint a picture of black lifeways in Travis and Hays Counties from Reconstruction through the Jim Crow era. The theme that ties all of the project's research together, "Post-Emancipation Transitions in the African Diaspora," attempts to address the significant changes that African Americans experienced during these crucial decades. The oral histories can play a key role in this analysis since interviewees spoke of both the "continuities" and transformations that took place in their communities over time. As the preceding discussion of African American households suggests, the interviews can help to interpret many of the artifacts related to the household economy and social reproduction recovered from the Williams farmstead site. Some of our interviewees were born to parents who would have been younger contemporaries of Sarah and Ransom Williams, and a number of the household practices they remembered would have been familiar to the Williamses. On the other hand, interviewees also related the important local and regional transformations that occurred after 1905, the year the Williamses left their home, which certainly influenced the nature and dynamics of rural households and communities in central Texas. For example, in the initial project research design (Myers and Boyd 2008), one of the research goals

was to investigate changes in technology and their impacts on rural Texas society. Interviewees recalled the transitions in farming technology and the emergence of the automobile, both of which irrevocably transformed the agricultural economy that most rural black families were a part of. Transport by truck and auto allowed black farm laborers to work much farther away from home than in the previous generation (see Figure 12.12). While this increased mobility helped to sustain the racist agricultural economy through greater access to black labor, it also assisted black families by providing them with more opportunities to supplement their income. Mechanized farming, on the other hand, decreased the need for their labor by the 1950s. Only those farmers who could afford a tractor were able to continue farming successfully. The fact that few of our interviewees (in fact, only the Pickards) followed in the footsteps of their parents by farming does suggest that mechanized farming, combined with the long-term effects of the Depression on the economy (Tolnay 1999:32–35), may have driven many, if not most, rural African Americans into seeking other means of making a living. Other processes of change included increased access to education (Tolnay 1999:42–47) and the growth of consumer culture (Mullins 1999a, 1999b, 2001), both of which likely influenced the rural African American household economy over time. These transformations were not specific to Manchaca and Buda. Robbie Clark (b. 1918) of Brazos County remembered with pride the self-sufficiency of her household and community and the ethic of mutual support. Yet she also spoke of how much had changed with the younger generation:

But as time passed, we got away from that kind of living. Everybody started leaving the country. Cities looked good off at a distance to the young people. So they left the country to go get jobs, work for someone else, and go to the store and buy things we used to make for ourselves or buy from each other. Instead of raising their own children, women got jobs raising other people's children. And now, all of the children are running wild, don't know anything about anything. They can't grow or make anything legal to sell. (Nash 1995:92)

As our investigations proceed, and we gain a better comprehension of the site-specific and broader historical contexts of both the Williams farmstead and our oral history evidence, we can begin to construct a narrative that attends to issues surrounding both the reproduction and change in African American communities over time.

In this final section of the chapter, I present some comments on how the oral history evidence can be used to address the Williamses' household practices. The secondary sources (e.g., Holt 2000; Sharpless 1999; Sitton and Conrad 2005; Sitton and Utley 1997) indicate that social organization, the built environment, subsistence activities, nonmechanized farming practices, and additional activities discussed previously (e.g., quilting and sewing, laundering, and hauling water) had longevity in rural areas of the South. Some of these practices date back to the era of plantation slavery. Further research is needed to arrive at an adequate interpretation as to why African Americans in this area chose to maintain a range of activities that their ancestors also participated in and passed down through social transmission. This was not simply a matter of replicating norms and customs, since African Americans encountered different historical conditions between ca. 1870 and 1950. Thus, while the oral histories can be used to derive analogies for interpreting the archeological evidence, our interpretations must be historically contextualized or we run the risk of trivializing black experiences by suggesting that black rural life remained largely static despite the shifting contours of history. If household organization and activities took the same form over time, this does not necessarily mean that they have the same meaning or rationale for those practicing them. This is a question that needs to be investigated.

The oral histories provide ample evidence of black household production and reproduction and social relations of black communities in Buda and Manchaca during the years between the 1920s and 1950s. In terms of comparability, the Williams household was similar in its structure—a nuclear family with children of both genders—to most of the households of our interviewees. The majority of interviewees quoted in this chapter were raised in rural areas from within 2 to 5 miles of the Williams farmstead site. Most of them or members of their household farmed. The most obvious contrast is

that Williams settled in a predominantly white community, that of Bear Creek. While Manchaca was racially mixed, our interviewees indicated that they lived in closer proximity to other blacks, including relatives. Antioch Colony was exclusively black. The degree to which living in Bear Creek versus close to other blacks may have affected the Williamses' household strategies, socialization, and communal identity is a topic that warrants additional research.

Table 12.3 compares a range of tasks mentioned by interviewees and the archeological data related to each. Research of the oral histories suggests that we cannot assume a strict gendered division of labor for all household practices. Thus, rather than categorize tasks (and by extension, artifacts) by specific gender attributes, I have largely left the fields open to allow for more flexibility in interpretation. Still, the secondary sources and interviewees' recollections do point to some household activities that were more consistently paired with either men and boys or women and girls. I add youth and children to the equation for two reasons: (1) as with women, archeologists tend to ignore their contributions to the household economy (Kamp 2001; Hendon 1996), and (2) since social reproduction involved socializing younger household members into various labor roles, household tasks served as an important vehicle through which this was performed. The adult heads of households may have assumed responsibility for different activities, but they typically had help from children and teens. In terms of which activities were more consistently gender specific, for females this would have been food preparation (including the production of dairy products), preservation, and storage. I would also add food serving, housecleaning, laundry, sewing, and quilting. Men and boys were more likely to maintain the house and outbuildings, fences, and livestock pens around a home site and to make repairs as needed. They also took responsibility for felling trees, cutting firewood, and butchering livestock.

In comparing the oral histories with the archeological data, there are a number of correlations between the two with respect to household production, consumption, and reproduction. What we know about the Williamses up to this point comes mainly from the archival research (see Chapter 6), but Ransom Williams features more prominently in the archival records than

the rest of his household. The oral histories and archeological evidence can help us construct a more complete picture of the Williamses' daily lives, household organization, and social relations that is more inclusive of Sarah and the Williams children. In what follows, I offer a preliminary interpretation of the Williams household to demonstrate the power that our multidisciplinary research has for constructing a more holistic portrayal of the site. This narrative is necessarily brief and additional interpretations of the archival, oral history, and archeological data are offered in Chapter 14.

As discussed in several previous chapters, the archival and archeological evidence indicate that Ransom Williams was a horse trainer and trader. This may have been a skill that he learned during his years of enslavement, and it could also explain how he raised the money to eventually purchase property. As farmers, the Williamses raised cash crops, probably cotton and corn, on their 45 acres. As the male head of the household, Ransom spearheaded his farming operations. Sarah and the children, however, were certainly central to their household economy, as their labor contributed not only to "domestic" tasks: Ransom would not have been able to farm his property on his own. The Williamses were like many rural families who owned small plots of land in that their cash crops and Ransom's additional earnings from horse trading were not their only means of providing for the family. The faunal remains indicate that the Williamses raised cows, hogs, and chickens, and I suspect that Sarah and the kids were tasked with much of their keep. In addition to their livestock and chickens, the Williamses consumed wild species, including rabbits and fish. They kept a garden, and the evidence for canning indicates that they preserved vegetables and fruit to tide them over during the winters. Since the Williamses owned their land and resided there for 30 years, they probably also had an orchard. The artifact assemblage includes ample evidence that Sarah and her daughters sewed and probably quilted as well. Thus, household production served to alleviate the need for the Williamses to rely on store-bought goods. It also underscores the labor demands placed on Sarah, who would have been responsible for producing meals, rearing the children, keeping house, and working in the fields when needed.

Table 12.3. Correlations between the activities referred to in the oral histories and archeological evidence from the Williams farmstead site

Activity Described in Oral Histories	Corresponding Archeological Remains
Social reproduction, education	Ceramic doll fragments, toy guns, ceramic and glass marbles, writing utensils (slate fragments, slate pencils, wooden pencil leads and erasers).
Food processing, preservation, and storage	Glass fruit jar bottles (large mouth, screw-top jars), lid liners for fruit jars, many stoneware vessels, corn sheller, subfloor “potato cellar”/storage pit, metal cans for commercial foods.
Food cooking and serving	Rock fireplace (hearth), cast-iron stove parts, iron pots, dutch oven fragments, whiteware dishes (serving platter, plates, bowls, cups and saucers), drinking glasses and goblets, metal “alphabet” plate, metal serving utensil handles, metal eating utensils (knives, forks, spoons).
Production of dairy products (milk, cream, butter)	Glass bottle neck that may be from a cream separator.
Sewing	Needles, safety pins, thimble, scissors, abundance and diversity of buttons.
Crop raising and gardening	Plow clevis and clevis pin, drive chain section from mechanical planter, cotton beam scale parts (hinge and counter weight), hoe blade, pruning shears, corn sheller, domestic plant remains (peach pit, charred corn, and sweet potato).*
Hunting	Wide variety of firearms artifacts (gun parts, repair tools, and ammunition) representing shotguns, rifles, and pistols. Faunal remains from wild animals (rabbit, squirrel, turkey and other birds, opossum, turtle, deer).
Fishing	Metal fish hooks, fish scales (recovered in flotation samples)
Hauling and storing water	Wagon parts, abundance of large iron barrel hoops, metal bucket and pail handles and fragments.
Construction and carpentry	Draw knife blade, hammer head, axe head, pick mattock, auger bits, chisel, tapered file, bastard file, saw blade fragments, parts of a grinding stone mechanism.
Raising livestock	Use of rock walls to form livestock corral, barbed-wire fencing (usually associated with rock walls), construction of stock pond, abundance of horse tack (including bridle bits, buckles, harness parts), horse and mule shoes, wagon parts.
Butchering livestock	Bones of domestic animals—pigs, cows, and chickens.

*In addition, two artifacts were identified as cotton bale ties just as the final version of this report was being prepared.

Some activities involved more than one strategy and multiple household members across gender and age lines. Obtaining water for various purposes is a good example. If the Williams household hauled water from a nearby creek, Ransom and one of his sons may have done the heavy work of filling the barrels and driving their cart back to the farm and unloading them. Yet the household probably also maintained a barrel(s) to capture rainwater. Household members likely shared the task of retrieving water to do laundry, take a bath, or wash dishes. Another important household task involved collecting wood for the hearth, to

heat water for baths and laundry outdoors, and for the wood-burning stove. The axe head found at the site thus served multiple functions in carpentry and wood cutting. While Ransom and his older son(s) may have felled trees and chopped the trunks into firewood, one of our interviewees mentioned that younger boys and girls collected kindling and wood chips. Mundane tasks such as these were nonetheless crucial ones. While it is difficult for archeologists to refrain from imposing categories (which are necessary for analytical purposes), such categories can obscure the variability in household participation across gender and age

unless we consciously attempt to be inclusive in our interpretations of household practices.

As the oral histories revealed, socializing children into gender identities and roles began in the home. Nearly all of the artifacts listed in Table 12.3 were used to socialize children into labor roles, including gendered ones, yet the toys deserve special attention. Adults provided children with gender-specific toys as one material means through which gender ideologies were taught through play. The doll parts and toy guns suggest that the Williamses ascribed to a patriarchal gender ideology in which girls were primed to marry and have children, while boys were socialized into assuming a masculinized gender identity. The Williams boys would eventually replace their toy guns with firearms, and Ransom likely trained them to hunt at a fairly young age. Evidence for target practice or hunting at the site includes a variety of different shotgun, rifle, and pistol cartridge cases and gun parts. The artifacts related to adornment and grooming also aid us in interpreting the relationship between material culture and social reproduction.

One important area in which the Williamses did not distinguish between their boys and girls, however, was in education. While neither Sarah nor Ransom were literate, all of their children could read and write. Since there wasn't a black school in Bear Creek, and it is clear that they went to a good deal of trouble to ensure that their children received an education. The various writing implements and slate fragments found at the site (see Table 12.3) indicate that the children were encouraged to study at home. Archeologists also recovered a metal plate decorated with the alphabet. It is a poignant reminder of the challenges that freedmen faced in striving to make a better life for their children than they had.

Taken together, our three lines of evidence (archival, oral history, and archeological) indicate, thus far, that the Williamses' household economy relied on a diverse set of strategies that involved active participation from every household member. While the household probably purchased staples like sugar and flour from a grocer, their efforts produced most of the goods they consumed. Nor can we rule out the possibility that Sarah and the Williams children produced goods for sale through their household-related tasks, and that the Williamses labored for wages on neighboring farms. Moreover, social reproduction and the household economy were

intertwined. Gender ideology was mapped onto the socialization of household members to varying degrees, and the material world played an important role in this process. The extent to which gender norms were resisted and negotiated by members of the Williams household is a line of inquiry that should be pursued.

With respect to the issue of community, whether or not the Williamses and their mostly white neighbors supported one another in ways indicated by the oral histories (e.g., watching out for each others' children, food sharing) is an intriguing question. Interviewees revealed that this network of mutual support was largely expected. Yet the Williamses were unlikely welcome at the white community's church and school, two of the social institutions that served to bind the households in a community together. Did it also follow that they were ostracized in other ways? For example, the closest source of water to their farm was on a neighbor's property. If this is where the Williamses hauled their water from, and where they fished? Perhaps the family at least had civil relations with whites bordering their home that were lacking more community wide. Since households do not exist in isolation, we have to consider the ways in which the Williams household was embedded in the Bear Creek community and wider society as well.

It is recommended that future investigations of the Williams farmstead data consider the following questions:

- Households are embedded in larger-scale economic, social, and political processes. In what ways did the Williams household negotiate hegemonic gender, race, and class ideologies through their household practices?
- How did the gendered and nongendered labor investments at the household level articulate with the broader regional economy?
- These questions also relate to the issue of social and economic mobility. It is suggested here that the Williamses initiated much of their tactics for social and economic gain through household production, reproduction, and consumption practices. As African Americans, what strategies were they able

to pursue that contested the constraints of racism and classism?

Any analysis and interpretation of the household economy must include the contributions of Sarah and the children. The archival and archeological evidence suggest that the Williams family may have done relatively well over their 30-year occupation of the site. After Ransom's death, Sarah and the children held on to the property for nearly 30 years, indicating that they had the income to pay taxes on it (it is unknown whether they rented the land). What strategies did they employ as a household that helps to explain their relatively long-term success? Ransom's occupation as a horse trainer and the family's cash crop earnings may have been their main means of support, but likely not their only ones. A focus on the household rather than on the male household head provides a more inclusive and less androcentric interpretation of rural African American farming families.

The concept of "transitions" captured in the project's theme underscores the dynamic nature of social groups and their lifeways. The interviews collected for this project demonstrate that African Americans experienced a plethora of changes that caution against collapsing the history of the nineteenth century with that of the twentieth. Yet they also highlight the reproduction of a range of household and communal activities and roles over time, implicating tradition and memory in the constitution of black experiences. As the historical narrative of African Americans in Hays and Travis Counties unfolds, we are likely to discover that they were complicit in, and subject to, a number of broader historical transformations. Likewise, their ties to ancestral places, identity and heritage, and their common struggles, whether engaged in as individuals or as a collective, served to root them to a shared past that they re-ritualized through household and community practices.

LATE-NINETEENTH-CENTURY AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE IN CENTRAL TEXAS AS SEEN THROUGH CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

13

Nedra Lee

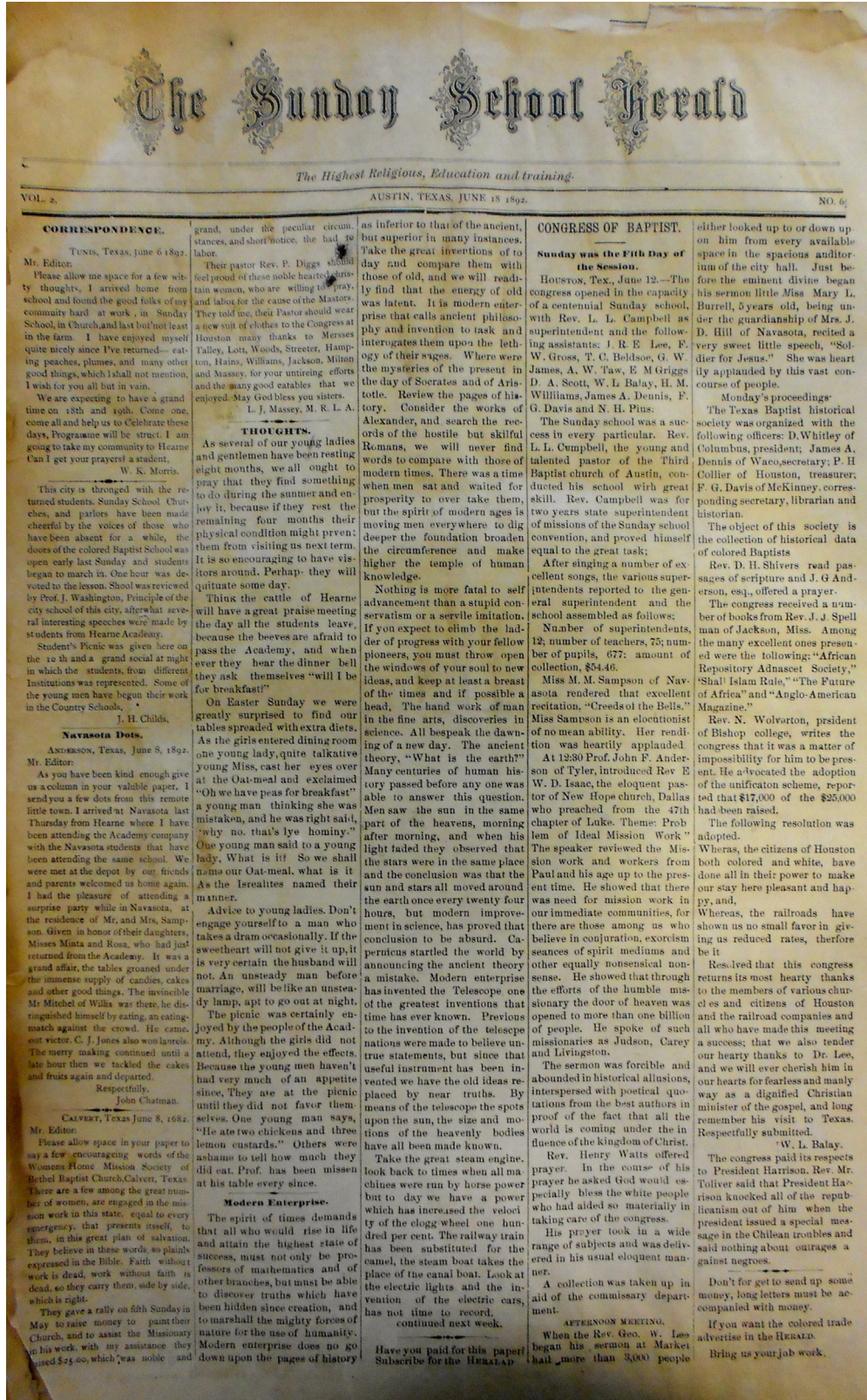
To develop a picture of black life in Travis County and central Texas during the time the Williams family occupied their historic farmstead, five black newspapers, ranging in date from 1868 to 1907, were examined. Their contents reveal an image of black life that was largely urban and concerned with education, moral instruction, racial progress, and equality. My research supports previous studies (Frazier 1957; Grose 1972; Higginbotham 1993; O’Kelly 1982; Suggs 1983; Wolseley 1971) that acknowledge the significance of the black press in shaping black thought and political and racial ideology. However, this study built upon these previous studies by highlighting the importance of the religious press in providing black Texans news, spiritual guidance, and political direction. It also found that from 1871 to 1904, the black press was particularly instrumental in efforts to construct an archetype of black identity. During this time, black newspapers hence served as both a communication and didactic tool for reconstructing, reaffirming, and recuperating black identity from the negativity of slavery.

RESEARCH METHODS

Beginning in November 2011 and continuing through February 2012, I surveyed five black newspapers that ranged in date from 1868 to 1907. This project was partially spurred by the discovery of several Morley Brothers patent medicine bottles at the Williams farmstead (see Chapter 8). Although Morley Brothers was a national enterprise, they ran a local drugstore in Austin, and it seemed likely that the Williams family acquired these medicines from there, whether directly or indirectly. This brought up

questions regarding where post-emancipation blacks were acquiring goods and services, and which local businesses were advertising to attract black consumers. As a result, a review of these historic black newspapers was undertaken to provide greater historical context to examine the site’s material culture and to gain a deeper understanding of the consumption practices of the Williams family. This study also served to complement the archival research by Myers (see Chapters 4 and 5) and the oral history research by Franklin focusing on local black community life and social interactions in rural Travis County (see Chapter 12).

The newspapers selected for this study were identified from the holdings of the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History and the Austin History Center, and the sample pool was limited to the surviving issues in these archives. Only papers that fell within the approximate occupation dates of the Ransom and Sarah Williams farmstead (ca. 1871 to ca. 1905) were reviewed, and an emphasis was placed on black publications printed in Austin or the greater Travis County area. Five papers were chosen: *Free Man’s Press* (published only in 1868); *Gold Dollar* (published from 1876 to 1878 or 1880); *Sunday School Herald* (published only in 1892); *Herald: Baptist Convention Newspaper* (published from 1893 to 1917); and the *Austin Searchlight* (unknown publication dates; minimally 1896 and 1917). Both the *Sunday School Herald* and the *Herald* were given the highest priority because they were in circulation the longest and had the greatest number of existing copies stored in the archives (Figures 13.1 and 13.2). As the first known black newspaper in Texas (Grose 1972:iv), the *Free Man’s Press*



The Sunday School Herald

The Highest Religious, Education and Training

VOL. 2.

AUSTIN, TEXAS, JUNE 18 1892.

NO. 6

CORRESPONDENCE.

UNION, TEXAS, June 6 1892.

Mr. Editor: Please allow me space for a few witty thoughts, I arrived home from school and found the good folks of my community hard at work in Sunday School, in Church, and last but not least in the farm. I have enjoyed myself quite nicely since I've returned— eating peaches, plumes, and many other good things which I shall not mention, I wish for you all but in vain.

We are expecting to have a grand time on 18th and 19th. Come one, come all and help us to Celebrate these days, Programme will be strict. I am going to take my community to Hearne Can I get your prayers a student, W. K. Morris.

This city is thronged with the returned students, Sunday School Churches, and patrons have been made cheerful by the voices of those who have been absent for a while, the doors of the colored Baptist School was open early last Sunday and students began to march in. One hour was devoted to the lesson. School was reviewed by Prof. J. Washington, Principle of the city school of this city, afterward several interesting speeches were made by students from Hearne Academy.

Student's Picnic was given here on the 10th and a grand social at night in which the students, from different Institutions was represented. Some of the young men have begun their work in the Country Schools.

J. H. Childs.

NAVASOTA DOTS.

ANNEXATION, TEXAS, June 5, 1892.

Mr. Editor: As you have been kind enough give us a column in your valuable paper, I send you a few dots from this remote little town. I arrived at Navasota last Thursday from Hearne where I have been attending the Academy company with the Navasota students that have been attending the same school. We were met at the depot by our friends and parents welcomed us home again. I had the pleasure of attending a surprise party while in Navasota, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Sampson given in honor of their daughters, Misses Minta and Rosa, who had just returned from the Academy. It was a grand affair, the tables groined under the immense supply of candies, cakes and other good things. The invincible Mr. Mitchell of Willis was there, he distinguished himself by eating an eating match against the crowd. He came out victor. C. J. Jones also won laurels. The merry making continued until a late hour then we tackled the cakes and fruits again and departed.

Respectfully, John Chatman.

CAULVERT, TEXAS June 8, 1892.

Mr. Editor: Please allow space in your paper to say a few encouraging words of the Women's Home Mission Society of Bethel Baptist Church, Caulvert, Texas. There are a few among the great number of women, are engaged in the mission work in this state, equal to every emergency, that presents itself, to them, in this great plan of salvation. They believe in these words, so plainly expressed in the Bible. Faith without work is dead, work without faith is dead, so they carry them, side by side, which is right.

They gave a rally on fifth Sunday in May to raise money to paint their Church, and to assist the Missionary in his work with my assistance they raised \$25.00, which was noble and

as inferior to that of the ancient, but superior in many instances. Take the great inventions of today and compare them with those of old, and we will readily find that the energy of old was latent. It is modern enterprise and invention to task and interrogates them upon the lethargy of their sages. Where were the mysteries of the present in the day of Socrates and Aristotle. Review the pages of history. Consider the works of Alexander, and search the records of the hostile but skillful Romans, we will never find words to compare with those of modern times. There was a time when men sat and waited for prosperity to over take them, but the spirit of modern ages is moving men everywhere to dig deeper the foundation broaden the circumference and make higher the temple of human knowledge.

Nothing is more fatal to self advancement than a stupid conservatism or a servile imitation. If you expect to climb the ladder of progress with your fellow pioneers, you must throw open the windows of your soul to new ideas, and keep at least a breast of the times and if possible a head. The hand work of man in the fine arts, discoveries in science. All bespeak the dawning of a new day. The ancient theory, "What is the earth?" Many centuries of human history passed before any one was able to answer this question. Men saw the sun in the same part of the heavens, morning after morning, and when his light faded they observed that the stars were in the same place and the conclusion was that the sun and stars all moved around the earth once every twenty four hours, but modern improvement in science, has proved that conclusion to be absurd. Copernicus startled the world by announcing the ancient theory a mistake. Modern enterprise has invented the Telescope one of the greatest inventions that time has ever known. Previous to the invention of the telescope nations were made to believe untrue statements, but since that useful instrument has been invented we have the old ideas replaced by new truths. By means of the telescope the spots upon the sun, the size and motions of the heavenly bodies have all been made known.

Take the great steam engine, look back to times when all machines were run by horse power but to day we have a power which has increased the velocity of the clog wheel, one hundred per cent. The railway train has been substituted for the camel, the steam boat takes the place of the canal boat. Look at the electric lights and the invention of the electric cars, has not time to record.

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CONGRESS OF BAPTIST.

Sunday was the Fifth Day of the Session.

HOUSTON, Tex., June 12.—The congress opened in the capacity of a centennial Sunday school, with Rev. L. L. Campbell as superintendent and the following assistants: J. R. E. Lee, F. W. Gross, T. C. Beldsoe, G. W. James, A. W. Taw, E. M. Griggs D. A. Scott, W. L. Balay, H. M. Williams, James A. Dennis, F. G. Davis and N. H. Pius.

The Sunday school was a success in every particular. Rev. L. L. Campbell, the young and talented pastor of the Third Baptist church of Austin, conducted his school with great skill. Rev. Campbell was for two years state superintendent of missions of the Sunday school convention, and proved himself equal to the great task.

After singing a number of excellent songs, the various superintendents reported to the general superintendent and the school assembled as follows: Number of superintendents, 12; number of teachers, 75; number of pupils, 677; amount of collection, \$54.46.

Miss M. M. Sampson of Navasota rendered that excellent recitation, "Creeds of the Bells." Miss Sampson is an eloquentist of no mean ability. Her rendition was heartily applauded.

At 12:30 Prof. John F. Anderson of Tyler, introduced Rev. E. W. D. Isaac, the eloquent pastor of New Hope church, Dallas who preached from the 47th chapter of Luke. Theme: Problem of Ideal Mission Work. The speaker reviewed the Mission work and workers from Paul and his age up to the present time. He showed that there was need for mission work in our immediate communities, for there are those among us who believe in conjuration, exorcism, seances of spirit mediums and other equally nonsensical nonsense. He showed that through the efforts of the humble missionary the hour of heathenism was opened to more than one billion of people. He spoke of such missionaries as Judson, Carey and Livingston.

The sermon was forcible and abounded in historical allusions, interspersed with poetical quotations from the best authors in proof of the fact that all the world is coming under the influence of the kingdom of Christ.

Rev. Henry Watts offered prayer. In the course of his prayer he asked God would especially bless the white people who had aided so materially in taking care of the congress.

His prayer took in a wide range of subjects and was delivered in his usual eloquent manner.

A collection was taken up in aid of the commissary department.

AFTERNOON MEETING.

When the Rev. Geo. W. Lee began his sermon at Market hall more than 3,000 people

either looked up to or down upon him from every available space in the spacious auditorium of the city hall. Just before the eminent divine began his sermon little Miss Mary L. Barrell, 5 years old, being under the guardianship of Mrs. J. D. Hill of Navasota, recited a very sweet little speech, "Soldier for Jesus." She was heartily applauded by this vast concourse of people.

Monday's proceedings—The Texas Baptist historical society was organized with the following officers: D. Whitley of Columbus, president; James A. Dennis of Waco, secretary; P. H. Collier of Houston, treasurer; F. G. Davis of McKinney, corresponding secretary, librarian and historian.

The object of this society is the collection of historical data of colored Baptists.

Rev. D. H. Shivers read passages of scripture and J. G. Anderson, esq., offered a prayer.

The congress received a number of books from Rev. J. J. Spellman of Jackson, Miss. Among the many excellent ones presented were the following: "African Repository Adnasnet Society," "Shall Islam Rule," "The Future of Africa" and "Anglo-American Magazine."

Rev. N. Wolverton, president of Bishop college, writes the congress that it was a matter of impossibility for him to be present. He advocated the adoption of the unification scheme, reported that \$17,000 of the \$25,000 had been raised.

The following resolution was adopted.

Whereas, the citizens of Houston both colored and white, have done all in their power to make our stay here pleasant and happy, and, Whereas, the railroads have shown us no small favor in giving us reduced rates, therefore be it

Resolved that this congress returns its most hearty thanks to the members of various churches and citizens of Houston and the railroad companies and all who have made this meeting a success; that we also tender our hearty thanks to Dr. Lee, and we will ever cherish him in our hearts for fearless and manly way as a dignified Christian minister of the gospel, and long remember his visit to Texas. Respectfully submitted.

W. L. Balay.

The congress paid its respects to President Harrison. Rev. Mr. Toliver said that President Harrison knocked all of the republicanism out of him when the president issued a special message in the Chilean troubles and said nothing about outrages against negroes.

Don't forget to send up some money, long letters must be accompanied with money.

If you want the colored trade advertise in the Herald.

Bring us your job work.

Figure 13.1. Water-stained front page of the June 8, 1892 issue of the Sunday School Herald, housed at the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin. The front page was typically devoted to religious news and articles.

was ranked third in importance for this study. The paper operated three years after the Civil War and was believed to offer a glimpse of black life immediately following slavery. Moreover, its overtly political tone was believed to offer the greatest perspective on race relations during that time. Although fragmentary and representing the smallest number of newspapers in our sample, the *Gold Dollar* and *Austin Searchlight* added chronological diversity. I thought a review of the *Gold Dollar* was important since it was reportedly Austin's first black newspaper (Grose 1972:62). The *Austin Searchlight* was unique because it had a greater focus on national politics than the other papers as well as a large number of product advertisements. One additional newspaper, *Weekly Bulletin*, was discovered during a preliminary survey. Although it fit within our specified date range, it was not reviewed because of time constraints.

A total of 220 issues from the five newspapers were available in the archives, but only 135 issues were reviewed for this study (Table 13.1). The examined issues are from the following years:

Year	No. of Issues	Percent of Sample
1868	3	2.22%
1876	1	0.74%
1892	20	14.81%
1893	46	34.07%
1894	53	39.26%
1895	10	7.41%
1896	1	0.74%
1907	1	0.74%

Consequently, the sample of papers is biased toward the 1890s, with 96 percent of the examined issues dating from 1892 to 1895. It is difficult to ascertain whether the collected sample of articles and advertisements is representative of black newspapers at that time. Although the seven years represented in the database cover roughly 20 percent of the Williams family's farmstead occupation period, the 1880s were not represented in our sample, and many of the journals reviewed did not have full publication runs. Much of this can be attributed to black newspapers scanty representation in archives and libraries as well as the precarious nature of establishing and maintaining a black news publication following emancipation (Suggs 1983:ix). Many black

newspapers quickly met their demise because of high rates of black illiteracy, widespread economic impoverishment, and high operation costs (Grose 1972; Suggs 1983:ix).

Nonetheless, each of the issues in the sample was carefully examined, and each article and advertisement was entered into a spreadsheet to create a searchable database. Each entry includes the paper's name, publication date (year, month, and day), and the volume and issue number, along with the entry title (such as the title of an article or the product being sold in an advertisement). Additional notes and observations were included, along with terms to identify the subject matter. Once all of the data were entered, it was clear that the subject identifiers were quite variable and needed more standardization, so more data columns were added to accomplish this. The final classification scheme consisted of the entry class (article or advertisement), entry type (four categories for the articles and six for the advertisements), a primary subject heading for each entry (34 topics), and a secondary subject heading (many topics and less standardized). Thus, the classification outline is as follows:

ARTICLE

Announcement Community interest announcements in the form of articles (as opposed to short advertisements)

Article Wide range of general topics

Event Discussion of events that have happened, such as stories on Juneteenth celebrations and church meetings

Letter Letters to the editor

ADVERTISEMENT

Announcement Announcements of products or services, usually an alternate form of advertising

Event Notice of an upcoming event such as church meetings

Product Includes a wide range of local products and merchants such as food and grocery stores, medicines

"August Flower"

Miss C. C. McClave, School Teacher, 783 Park Place, Hiram, N. Y. "This Spring while away from my teaching my first term in a country school I was perfectly wretched with that horrid agony called dyspepsia. After dieting for two weeks and getting no better, a friend wrote me suggesting that I take August Flower. The very next day I purchased a bottle. I am delighted to say that August Flower helped me so that I have quite recovered from my indisposition."

SICK HEADACHE

CARTER'S
LITTLE LIVER PILLS

CARTER MEDICINE CO., NEW YORK.
Small Pill, Small Dose, Small Price.

CHILD BIRTH

MADE EASY!
All-purposed Lactant, easy to use, of recognized value and in constant use by the medical profession. These ingredients are combined in a motherly and safe manner.

"MOTHERS' FRIEND"

WILL DO ALL THAT IS DEMAND FOR LANS MORE (It Shortens Labor, Eases Pain, Diminishes Danger to Life of Mother and Child, Reduces to "Morass" a Prolonged Confinement, and Guarantees a Healthy Infant.)

Tower's Improved SLICKER

is Guaranteed to Will not Peel or Leak Soft Woolen Sack Out Collar.

DR. HARTLEY'S WILD CHERRY BITTERS

RELIEVES ALL Stomach Disorders, REMOVES Stomach Acidity, REVIVES Stomach Energy, RESTORES Normal Condition, and Purifies the Blood.

DR. BIGGER'S HUCKLEBERRY CORDIA

CURES ALL Stomach and Bowel Troubles, SOOTHES ALL PAIN, AND RESTORES THE SYSTEM TO HEALTH.

VICTOR HAY PRESS

FOR THE FARMER'S USE. It is the best and most reliable press ever made. It is made of the best material and is of the most improved design.

"A BORDER WAR"

Western Kansas was the scene of many battles between the Indians and white men in the early days of the settlement. The worst of these and the most famous was the battle of the plains was fought at Arickara creek, a tributary to the Republican river.

The first three days' travel no sign was found of the Indians, but on the fourth day they struck a large trail. Following this trail, dark without seeing Indians or any fresh traces of them, the party prepared to encamp for the night in the timber along the Arickara creek. Heavy guards were posted and the pack mules, attached to a grain near the mouth of a small ravine.

The night passed without alarm, but just as day was breaking a clatter of hoofs and shouts from the guards aroused the men in time to see nearly all the mules going up the valley on a steep and narrow trail.

Orders were given to mount and pursue at once. Just as the men swung into their saddles wild shouts and a heavy tramping were heard, and the yelling savages were seen, along with mounted Indians coming down like a cloudburst.

The Indians charged furiously, trying to ride down the little party, but the savages were fired and held them in check. The men dug their rifles into the sand, keeping it cool with their hands. Behind these frail shields they held back the onrushing Indians, and kept up a steady fire until all the horses and mules were killed.

Nearly half the crowd were killed or disabled and all seemed lost when several of the best shots concentrated their fire on the chief. He thought the battle was over and rode within a hundred feet of the savages, waving his rifle and urging on his warriors. A moment later he fell heavily to the ground, and his men, unable to stand the stream of lead poured into their ranks, drew off to a safer retreat, led by the chief's son and other chiefs.

Now the savages had time to help the wounded and equip the dead. The sand of the little bar was red with blood, and dead men and horses lay about in confusion. The brave leader, Col. Forsythe, was shot through both legs and slain. Another was shot through the arm of the back.

slung his death song and all, unheeding the foe that moved down their ranks like the grain. Again and again the desperate charges were hurled back by the brave until at last they reached the bank of the river, and they crossed the bar of their shot and were a way. Hardly had their original number reached the bar, and before the bar the bodies lay in piles as if hurled there by some great explosion.

The first day's fight was ended by the taking of the Indian camp. The night fell still and dark and passed without alarm. The dead were buried in shallow graves dug in the sand, and the wounded were made as comfortable as possible. About midnight the Indians began to move, and they broke into their camp about dawn, and they were on their way to the west.

With the first gray light of day the savages saw a large band of mounted Indians coming down to take up the trail of the party's fugitives. The man laid low in his little rifle pit, and when the savages rode within a hundred feet of the bar each man jumped out on horse and fired. Many Indians fell, and a band of post-horn riders, scattered back to the hills. After this the Indians grew more cautious and kept up a range of long range.

No men were killed after the first day, but the wounded suffered much for food and care. One man dug a shallow well in the sand and got plenty of water, and was well cared for, but a blessing for all that.

They cut off the Indians of the Kansas and killed some of the best in a small jar. The animals had laid for two days, and the men and the men were severely taxed. Only by practicing it with plenty of powder could he be used at all.

When night came again two men tried to get through the line, but were driven back. On the third day a steady sign was kept up, with many occasions for firing. That night two men got away.

On the fourth day Mr. Moore died. He had received a heavy rifle shot in the head and had lain unconscious since the first day. After the fifth day no Indians were seen, but the savages could not venture to move for fear of the rifle fire, which was disabled. All were suffering from lack of food and prokly peas were gathered to help out the hunger. The peas were so full of tiny needles that they only added to the suffering of the starving men.

For four days they waited, watching the hills for the return of the camp. On the morning of the sixth day the general raised the cry of "Indians!" The men were worn and weary with watching and fasting, the ammunition was almost gone and all felt that the end had come.

For over 25 Years
Blackwell's Bull Durham
Smoking Tobacco

has been recognized as the standard of tobacco perfection. This is why we have remained, during this long period, the largest manufacturer of Smoking Tobacco in the world. It has a fragrance and flavor of peculiar excellence. Give it a trial.

BLACKWELL'S DURHAM TOBACCO CO. DURHAM, N. C.

CLAIRETTE SOAP!

There's banks of violets. Banks of moss. And banks where migners grope; And banks that handle golden coin. But FAIRBANK makes THE BEST SOAP. EVERY ONE USES CLAIRETTE SOAP. NK FAIRBANK & CO. ST. LOUIS.

W. L. DOUGLAS \$3 SHOE FOR GENTLEMEN

THE BEST SHOE IN THE WORLD FOR THE MONEY.

ASK FOR W. L. DOUGLAS' SHOES. If not for sale in your neighborhood apply to Factory, 271 Broadway, New York, or write to the nearest branch where I have a representative in Chicago, W. L. Douglas, Franklin, Ill.

LOVELL DIAMOND CYCLES \$85

For Ladies' Use, 20 or 22 inches. Lovell's Diamond Cycle is the best made in the world. It is made of the best material and is of the most improved design.

OUR OLD RELIABLE EYE WATER

THE BEST DRY GOODS. The Best Dry Goods. The Best Dry Goods.

IN THE NICK

For the cure of the NICK. The NICK is a common ailment, but it can be cured by using the NICK Ointment.

WELL SUPPLIES

For the well supplies. The well supplies are of the best quality and are of the most improved design.

Figure 13.2. Page 3 of the June 25, 1892, issue of the Sunday School Herald. This page contains articles and advertisements for local businesses and national products and services.

Table 13.1. African American newspapers published in the Austin area between 1868 and 1907, the issues available in Austin archives, and the issues analyzed for this study

Newspaper Name	Publisher and Location	Repository	Years of Publication	Years in Austin Archival Collections (up thru 1907)	No. Issues in Austin Archival Collections (up thru 1907)	No. Issues Examined (up thru 1907)	No. Issues Not Examined (up thru 1907)
Austin Searchlight	William P. Mabson, Austin	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	Unknown, but minimum of 1896–1907	1896, 1907	2	2	0
Free Man's Press	Free Man's Press Publishing Company, Austin	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	1868	1868	3	3	0
Gold Dollar	Jacob Fontaine, Austin	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	1876–1878 or 1880	1876	1	1	0
The Sunday School Herald	L. L. Campbell, Austin	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	1889–1892	1892	20	20	0
The Herald	Baptist Convention, Austin	Austin History Center; Dolph Briscoe Center for American History; George Washington Carver Museum and Cultural Center	1893–1917	1893–1897; 1900	194	109 (all 1893 and 1894 issues; only 10 issues from 1895)	85 (1895–1897; 1900)
Total no. of issues					220	135	85
Percentage of issues in Austin archives						61.4%	38.6%

and drugstores, and clothing and clothing stores. Also includes many types of mass-produced products such as particular medicines and appliances for home or farming

Service Includes a wide range of local, area, and national services such as transportation (by wagon or railroad), livery, boarding houses, doctors, and medical treatments

Job Includes help-wanted ads for local, area, and national employment

Job Training Education for specific trades and jobs

PRIMARY SUBJECT HEADINGS:

Agriculture
Alcohol
Apparel
Arts (and Entertainment)
Beauty and Hygiene
Black Issues
Business
Disaster
Education
Family
Financial
Firearms
Food
General (General Interest)
Government
Health
Home
Humor
Legal
Leisure
Local News
National News
Obituary
Politics
Religion
Restaurant
Room and Board
Science
State News
Tobacco
Transportation
Unknown
Violence
Women's Issues

SECONDARY SUBJECT HEADINGS:

Ad Sales
Addiction Treatment
Anti-Jim Crow
Anti-Smoking
Apparel
Appliance
Austin Public Schools
Baptist College
Barber
Blacksmith
Book
Bookstore
Boots and Shoes
Candidate Endorsement
Clothing
Clothing Store
College
Dentist
Diet Belt
Doctor
Drugstore
Election
Fraternal Lodge Meetings
Fundraising
Furnishings
General Merchandise
Groceries
Grocery Store
Hackman
Hair Care
Hardware
Harness Hardware
Jewelry
Juneteenth
Livery
Livestock Medicine
Lost Relative Search
Lumber
Machinery
Medicine
Music
Negro Progress
Newspaper
Newspaper Subscription
Patents
Poem
Printing Services
Racial (equality, pride, progress, violence)
Railroad
Restaurant
Secondhand Store

Sewing (goods, machine, supplies)
 Shoes
 Smoking
 Social progress
 Souvenir
 Tailor
 Typewriter
 Undertaker
 Undertaking
 Wagon
 Well (equipment, supplies)
 Wood and Coal (for fuel)

The data entered into the spreadsheet can be sorted to view entries by class, type, and subjects, making it easier to grasp the nature of the newspaper topics despite the fact that there are over 9,000 entries. For example, one can easily sort out all the “ads” for “products” and focus in on “health” issues to look specifically at the “medicine” products being advertised. Similarly, one can easily separate the articles that relate to black issues, women’s issues, or racial violence. But it is worth noting that there are many cases in which the subjects in a single entry overlap, and one article sometimes covered multiple topics.

Appendix F provides all of the detailed data compiled for this study. It contains three data tables with summary information on the newspaper sample (Table F.1), detailed publication information for each of the 135 issues analyzed (Table F.2), and a listing of all the issues available in the Austin archives that were not analyzed (Table F.3). The final one is a comprehensive table of all data entries from all 135 examined issues (Table F.4; in electronic format only). It consists of 9,166 entry lines, with each line representing an individual article, advertisement, letter to the editor, event notice, etc.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE NEWSPAPERS

The five newspapers in the analysis sample were printed between 1868 and 1917. Only one of these papers, the *Herald*, enjoyed the longest publication time, spanning from 1893 to 1917 based on what was represented in the archives. The newspapers were printed weekly and followed the standard four-page format of other journals published during this time. A description of the newspapers used in this study is presented below.

Free Man’s Press

The *Free Man’s Press* is reportedly the first black newspaper printed in Texas (Grose 1972:iv). A white man named James Newcomb, who was a journalist and politician, founded the paper with a group of blacks and whites in Austin (Grose 1972:56; Suggs 1983:14). The press was under the editorial direction of a medical doctor named Dr. Melville C. Keith. The paper was short-lived and was only printed for one year (Suggs 1983:14). Although Grose identified eight surviving issues in his study of black Texas newspapers, I was only able to locate three issues at the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, and only one was complete.

The *Free Man’s Press* strived to “nurture a political awareness in black people” (Grose 1972:56). The newspaper was identified as Radical Republican and provided extensive coverage of the state’s 1868–1869 Constitutional Convention and its Republican Party leaders. Writers listed the names of the Freedmen’s Bureau agents throughout the state and provided biographical information on black and white Republican delegates in a section called “Sketches of the Convention.” The newspaper supported black suffrage and racial uplift and even showed its commitment to black economic and social progress by training three black men in the printing trade (*Free Man’s Press*, August 1, 1868:2–3).

Gold Dollar

The *Gold Dollar* was published by Reverend Jacob Fontaine, a former slave who was born in Arkansas and later became a Baptist minister, business owner, and advocate for the establishment of a state university in Austin. Prior to emancipation, Fontaine led black congregants to separate from the (white) First Baptist Church in Austin (Fontaine and Burd 1983:12). This resulted in the founding of the black First Baptist Church in the city in 1867 (Fontaine and Burd 1983:16). Fontaine later established five more black Baptist churches in Travis County and was instrumental in the creation of the St. John Regular Baptist Association—a network of 12 churches in Travis County (Fontaine and Burd 1983:25).

Fontaine’s *Gold Dollar* is said to be the first black newspaper published in Austin and

the greater Travis County region (Fontaine and Burd 1983:53; Grose 1972:62). In the inaugural issue, he wrote that he started the paper by investing a gold dollar that his sister Nellie gave him upon their reuniting after being separated by slavery for 20 years (*Gold Dollar*, August 1876:1). Fontaine lived at 24th and San Gabriel Streets in the Wheatsville community and worked odd jobs as a day laborer, laundryman and shopkeeper (Fontaine and Burd 1983:5–6). Local archives only had one issue of the *Gold Dollar* despite reports that he printed this paper until 1878 perhaps as late as 1880 (Grose 1972:64). Although the newspaper contained little written text, it emphasized education, hard work, thrift, and moral living. It also contained an ad that offered to help blacks search for relatives lost during slavery.

Austin Searchlight

Austin Searchlight was edited and published by W. P. Mabson, a former Reconstruction period legislator in the North Carolina House of Representatives who later relocated to Austin. With only two issues of the *Austin Searchlight* stored in local archives, very little is known about this newspaper. No start or end date is known, and the only years available for examination in local archives were 1896 and 1907.

The byline of Mabson's paper read "With Malice Toward None, With Charity For All"—a quote from Abraham Lincoln—and it appears that the editor targeted readers with a concern for truthful reporting. Mabson reiterated this to his readers with declarations such as, "Friends, you shall know the truth and if what we say be not based upon facts, then call us fools" (*Austin Searchlight*, October 24, 1896:1). His newspaper was supposed to be published every Saturday, and similar to the *Free Man's Press*, it had strong political overtones. Mabson's paper supported the Republican Party as well as race loyalty and social uplift. Morality and religious instruction were not dominant themes in the extant issues. In the 1896 issue of his paper, he highlighted the national presidential ticket as well as local elections. In fact, Mabson taunted a candidate for the office of government post-*age*, saying, "...don't expect to be elected...does Brother Brush know he will have to get the signature of Honorable J. T. Harris? Well, well, well, he will be left again, just like he was at the

national convention. Better stop—make friends with our candidate... Well, it's best to keep you back for four years. Until you learn to support your nominees and stop fixing plans to defeat the poor, innocent Negro. You are worse than the Democrats" (*Austin Searchlight*, October 24, 1896:2). Mabson also highlighted racial violence and local happenings in Travis County. A notable shift was observed in the content and layout of the 1907 issue of the *Austin Searchlight*. By this time, the paper mostly included advertisements for local vendors and mass-manufactured services, perhaps suggesting its need for financial support to continue operations.

Sunday School Herald and Herald

Reverend L. L. Campbell, minister of the Third Baptist (now Ebenezer) Church in Austin, Texas, published both of these newspapers. Campbell was born in Milam County and went on to attend Bishop College (a black Baptist institution in Marshall, Texas) and the University of Chicago (Monsho 2012). He became the pastor of the Third Baptist Church in 1892, where he remained in leadership for 35 years (Monsho 2012). Although Campbell is believed to have founded the *Sunday School Herald* during Christmas of 1889 (Monsho 2012), the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History only has extant issues for 1892. The newspaper had a religious mission; correspondents highlighted the activities of the denomination's Sunday schools as well as its network of church associations. Education and racial uplift were also central themes in the journal. News from the Baptist denomination's three black higher learning academies were regularly included as well as a hodgepodge of anecdotes and stories that offered entertainment, instruction in etiquette, or general cultural knowledge. A review of a scrapbook kept by Reverend Campbell (n.d.) and housed at the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History revealed an interest in Booker T. Washington and his ideology of black racial advancement through property ownership, entrepreneurship, thrift, and racial loyalty (Reverend L.L. Campbell papers; Painter 1987:217). This was a repeated theme found throughout the black print media, and Campbell continued to promote it in his second publication, the *Herald*, which was printed from 1893 to 1917.

There was little difference in the content between the *Sunday School Herald* and *Herald*. Both of the newspapers were published weekly and had the same mission of providing its readers with the “highest religion, education and training.” In the *Herald*, Campbell continued his focus on religious instruction by regularly including a sermon from Reverend Thomas DeWitt Talmage, a white New York minister, as well as a Sunday school lesson for readers. Churches also wrote the editor with news of their Sunday school, home, and African missions, or with questions about proper church rules and regulations. Similar to the *Austin Searchlight*, Campbell’s newspapers included numerous advertisements from local and national business vendors. In comparison to the other reviewed black newspapers, the *Herald* had the greatest coverage of local black Austin and Travis County news. Despite the newspaper’s religious affiliation, the content contained strong political overtones. This revealed itself in its reflection of Booker T. Washington’s blueprint for racial advancement as well as its coverage of the 1894 Convention Movement, which was spurred by black Baptists’ desire to wrest control of their religious and educational institutions from white religious leaders. The *Sunday School Herald* and the *Herald* perhaps enjoyed more success than their contemporaries because they received support from the larger black Baptist denomination (Monsho 2012).

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF BLACK NEWSPAPERS

General Description and Characteristics of the Black Press in Texas

The *Handbook of Texas Online* provided a general description of the early press, noting that newspapers contained “foreign news, reprints from other papers, literary features, official notices and little local news (Allen et al. 2012). The *Handbook* further described the writing in these newspapers as “subjective, diffuse, semi-humorous and often vilifying” with “editorials [that] were political, civic or personal in nature” (Allen et al. 2012). The *Handbook* also stated that publishers and editors were often well educated or respected and placed

an emphasis in their newspapers on morality, honesty, and social welfare and improvement (Allen et al. 2012).

All of the newspapers examined in our sample contained these characteristics. As noted by the *Handbook of Texas Online*, the editors of the sampled newspapers were esteemed men of relative affluence. The bylines of their papers stated a commitment to moral and religious instruction or political consciousness. This was evidenced in the black newspapers’ staunch support of the Republican Party and great concern for race unity, pride, and advancement (Grose 1972:45). The newspapers carried both foreign and state news along with reprinted anecdotes from well-established papers both within and outside Texas. The newspapers in our sample indicated that black editors sometimes modeled their content and layout styles after white weeklies. For example, Reverend L. L. Campbell reprinted stories from black newspapers outside of the state of Texas, such as Chicago’s *Weekly Inter Ocean*, as well as from white print journals like the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Cosmopolitan*, and Austin’s *Statesman*. However, contrary to the characteristics listed by the *Handbook*, the sampled black newspapers did feature extensive coverage of local black news.

All of the papers in our sample targeted a black audience and claimed to offer a truthful accounting of stories and issues relevant to black people. All of the editors stood out in their communities because of their work as ministers and political leaders and commanded respect from both blacks and whites because of their education, hard work, or upright standing in civil society. Their status as editors and members of a black professional class inserted them into a network of other elite blacks and white patrons that allowed them to stand at the forefront of black leadership and political agitation (Suggs 1983:ix). For example, the editors frequently used their newspapers to show support for the Republican Party as well as to speak against racial injustice and violent outrages.

While none of the examined newspapers had female editors, black women were not excluded from participating in the black press. Although black women remained at the periphery of the print media, my review of the newspapers in our sample showed that they served as stockholders and correspondents and were often the subjects of articles. This could primarily be seen

in the religious newspapers the *Sunday School Herald* and the *Herald*. To be specific, Reverend Campbell had at least one female stockholder serving on the board of his newspaper in 1892. Women also wrote to the paper about their mission societies' activities, and their addresses at public rallies and church conventions were occasionally reprinted in the paper. Black women were the topic of debates surrounding their participation and representation in church leadership, and both the *Austin Searchlight* and the *Herald* printed articles that noted instances of whites' violent attacks on black women. For example, the *Austin Searchlight* printed an article entitled "Travesty Upon Justice," which recalled the murder of a black woman over 25 cents (*Austin Searchlight* October 24, 1896:2). This was interesting because reports of racial violence mostly highlighted the public lynching of black men for allegedly raping white women (Carrigan 2004; Litwack 1998). While the focus on men sometimes precluded black women from being seen as victims of mob violence (Davis 1981), the coverage of the lynching of black women in the black press was a reminder that no one was exempt from the violent displays of white supremacy. All incidences of violence are summarized in Table 13.2, which distinguishes the cases in which racial violence was the issue.

Table 13.2 shows that the Austin newspapers were focusing on the events that occurred in Texas but also covered events in many other states. Racial violence was especially prevalent in Georgia Arkansas, Georgia, and Tennessee, and some of the crimes there were particularly heinous. The black press covered 18 cases of nonracial violence and 61 cases of racial violence (77 percent). The 61 cases of racial violence are summarized by state as follows:

Texas	19
Florida	1
Tennessee	5
Virginia	1
Georgia	8
Alabama	1
Arkansas	6
Oklahoma	1
Oklahoma and Texas	1
Alabama and Texas	1
Mississippi	1
West Virginia	1
Not specific	15

The presence of black women as correspondents or subjects of articles highlights the significant role that black women played in their churches and communities as teachers and mission leaders. It is safe to assume that black women appeared often in newspapers affiliated with religious denominations because of their active participation in the church (Higginbotham 1993:14). Studies of the black press have typically focused on women like Ida B. Wells, whose journalistic talents and outspokenness on lynching garnered national attention (BlackPast.org 2012; Penn 1891; Suggs 1983; Wolseley 1971:28). The exceptional work of women like Wells makes a valuable intervention in current historical understandings of the black press. But black women's lives and experiences were covered in smaller state and religious newspapers as well, indicating that although black men predominated as editors, their newspaper content was not male-focused. Our sample of religious newspapers shows that black women contributed to the black press and were not always an afterthought in the minds of male editors. Instead, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (1993:11) notes that black men and women could together rely on their press to create a "black civic vision." As correspondents on issues like church missions and social etiquette, black women could help black men articulate a political and social agenda for churches and other community institutions as well as highlight their own gendered interests and activities.

Significance of the Black Religious Press

The inclusion of black women and their church activities in religious newspapers sheds light on the importance of these types of news journals in covering the everyday life and concerns of the black community. The longevity of the *Sunday School Herald* and the *Herald* supports Roland E. Wolseley's assessment that newspapers affiliated with religious denominations often enjoyed greater success than independent black papers (Wolseley 1971:155). Religious papers could often rely on financial support from church congregations and districts (Wolseley 1971:155), and the inclusion of black churches in state and regional networks facilitated a wide circulation of the newspapers

Table 13.2. Articles pertaining to racial violence in Austin's African American newspapers from 1868 to 1896 (in chronological order)

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No.*
<i>Free Man's Press</i>	1868	7	25	-	-	2 (?)	The Millican Massacre	Texas	yes	Condemns the blatant racial violence that occurred in Millican, Texas, in mid-1868	The incident in Millican is described by Crouch (1984:222). A black man was murdered, and George E. Brooks (a prominent local politician and minister) protested because the white suspect was released. As a result of the protests, the KKK became alarmed, and several more blacks were killed, including Brooks.	153
<i>Free Man's Press</i>	1868	7	25	-	-	2 (?)	A Committee to Investigate the Millican Affair	Texas	yes	Relates to an effort to make sure the violence in Millican, Texas, in mid-1868 was investigated	See Entry No. 153, July 25, 1868	159
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	6	18	2	6	4	They Say That	Oklahoma	yes	Mentions "race troubles" in Oklahoma		569
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	7	2	2	8	4	Negro Murderer Hanged	Arkansas	no	Relates to the lynching of Henry Black for the murder of Georgia Smith (both black) in Pine Bluff, Arkansas		687
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	7	2	2	8	4	Warned to Leave	Oklahoma and Texas	yes	Mentions the blacks in Norman, Oklahoma, who were forced to leave by whites. Also mentions relocation of a black prisoner in Greenville, Texas, to avoid a mob lynching.		710

Table 13.2, continued

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No.*
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	8	13	2	14	1	A Grave Question	n/a	yes	Reprinted article from <i>Denver Statesman</i> in response to racial violence. Article states "We Want Peace" and advocates violence only in instances of self-defense.		1012
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	11	5	2	26	4	A Public School Teacher Injured: Mr. Stephens Struck on the Head With a Beer Bottle	Texas	yes	Stephens (a black teacher) went into a bar (location unknown). After an argument, the white bar owner (William Clark) hit Stephens over the head with a beer bottle.		1305
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	1	7	2	33	3	Texas: A Sheriff Led the Mob—A Hundred Germans Made to Witness...	Texas	yes	Discusses the lynching of William Sullivan in Plantersville, Grimes County, Texas	William Sullivan was a black man lynched in Plantersville, Texas, on September 23, 1892 (Autopsis.org 2012; Christine's Genealogy Website 2012).	1596
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	3	4	2	40	3	Denounced by the Press: Comments From the Leading White Papers of the Country on the TX Lynching	Texas	yes	Reprinted comments from several white newspapers about a lynching in Paris, Texas	This article is about Henry Smith, a black man who was publicly lynched and mutilated in Paris, Texas, on January 31, 1893 (Autopsis.org 2012; Christine's Genealogy Website 2012). Davis and Fortier (2010) state, "The February 1, 1893 murder of Henry Smith in Paris, Texas was the first blatantly public, actively promoted lynching of a southern black by a large crowd of southern whites."	1973

Table 13.2, continued

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No. *
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	3	11	2	41	3	News and Views Here & There	Arkansas	yes	Mentions burning of a black Baptist female college in Little Rock, Arkansas		2099
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	3	25	2	43	3	Stockholders' Convention	Texas	yes	Recap of <i>The Herald's</i> stockholder meeting. Main agenda item was to make a request to the Texas legislature to take a stand against mob violence.		2285
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	4	1	2	44	3	Colored Stockholders: Resume of the Proceedings of the Convention	Texas	yes	Continued call to get Texas legislature to take a stand against mob violence. Mentions an adjournment of the Texas legislature to beat a black man.		2321
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	4	22	2	46	3	News and Views From All Parts	Texas	yes	Mentions adjourning the Texas legislature to beat a black man		2427
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	5	20	2	50	1	Was Going There	n/a	yes	A joke about vigilante justice (hanging without trial)		2735
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	5	27	2	51	3	Correspondence: Southern Outrages	n/a	yes	Reprint from the <i>Republican and Colorado Statesman</i> . Condemns "Southern Outrages" and lynching. Article says "The Negro Must Do Something."		2756
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	5	27	2	51	3	Shooting Near Brenham	Texas	no	A crime in Brenham, Texas		2813
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	5	27	2	51	3	Two Negroes Lynched	Georgia	yes	Eph Merchell and another black man were lynched in Georgia after engaging in a quarrel over labor wages	"Ephrim Muchlea" and "1 unidentified black man" were lynched in Hazelhurst, Georgia, on May 23, 1893 (Autopsis.org 2012).	2834

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Table 13.2, continued

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No.*
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	7	22	3	7	2	Untitled	Virginia	yes	Refers to a lynching in Virginia	Not linked to a specific incident, but several blacks were lynched in Virginia in the first half of 1893 (Autopsis.org 2012).	3464
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	7	22	3	7	3	Will Be Lynched If Caught: Young Negro Is Hunted by a 1,000 Armed Men in Mississippi	Mississippi	yes	Mentions that Jim Sellers, a black schoolteacher, killed Walter Davis in a quarrel		3467
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	7	29	3	8	1	Second Sight Shooting: An Old Marksman's Sad Shot at a Fleeing Convict	n/a	no	Story of an old prison guard who killed an inmate who turned out to be his own son		3531
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	8	19	3	10	3	A Negro Murdered	n/a	yes	Short blurb about a black murder		3707
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	12	2	3	25	2	Correspondence	Texas	yes	Notice to Rev. L.L. Campbell (editor of <i>The Herald</i>) from Ed Nichols asking him to come to his sentencing	This is the first of five articles about the trial and execution of Ed Nichols, a black man, for raping a white girl near Austin, Texas. See Entry No. 5268, January 20, 1894.	4931
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	12	23	3	28	2	Correspondence: A Letter From Gov. Hogg	Texas	yes	Governor Hogg temporarily suspends execution of Ed Nichols	See Entry No. 5268, January 20, 1894	5202
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	1	13	2	31	3	Will Hang on Friday: Gov. Hogg Refuse to Further Interfere in the Nichols Case	Texas	yes	Ed Nichols scheduled to hang for murder of a white girl	See Entry No. 5268, January 20, 1894	5628

Table 13.2, continued

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No.*
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	1	20	2	32	3	Ed Nichols Hanged (article continued)	Texas	yes		See Entry No. 5268, January 20, 1894	5657
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	1	20	2	32	2	Ed Nichols Hanged. Protesting to the Last Moment His Innocence of the Charge for Which He Died	Texas	yes	Ed Nichols hanged on January 12, 1894, for raping a white girl on March 30, 1893	Ed Nichols was accused of raping a white girl near Austin on March 30, 1893. He was convicted and hanged for the crime on January 12, 1894, at 19 years of age, but he maintained his innocence to the end (<i>Dallas Morning News</i> article, January 13, 1894, in <i>Genealogy Trails</i> 2012).	5658
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	3	10	3	38	2	Among Our Exchanges [sic]: Lynching on the Increase	n/a	yes	General article on lynching		6103
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	3	10	3	38	1	Shot Down By a Mob: Arkansas Murderers Fall Victims to Popular Anger	Arkansas	yes	Describes mob violence in Arkansas		6147
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	3	24	3	40	3	Shot His Son	n/a	no	Methodist preacher murders his son for speaking "rash" words to his mother		6254
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	3	24	3	40	1	Woman Lynched	Arkansas	yes	Black woman lynched in Little Rock, Arkansas	This probably refers to the March 6, 1894, lynching of "1 unidentified black woman" in Marche, Arkansas (near Little Rock) (<i>Autopsis.org</i> 2012).	6268

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Table 13.2, continued

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No.*
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	4	21	3	44	4	Items of Interest	Alabama and Texas	yes	Mentions a labor strike in Alabama where black workers were used instead. Also mentions a lynching in Corsicana, Texas.		6494
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	4	28	3	45	2	Baileyville	Texas	yes	Mentions possible racial violence in Baileyville, Texas		6529
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	4	3	45	2	Mob Law and the Race Question (reprinted from the <i>Statesman</i>)	n/a	yes	Reprint of <i>Statesman</i> (Austin) article on mob violence and the law		6612
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	12	3	45	2	Bastrop	Texas	no	Refers to the murder of Charles Williams by Hue Okerler in Bastrop, Texas. Not a racial issue.		6644
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	19	3	47	2	A Colored Man Roasted: A Horrible Crime in Arkansas	Arkansas	yes	Describes violent mob lynching in Arkansas	This is not linked to a specific incident, but William Brooks, a black man, was lynched in Palestine, Arkansas, on May 23, 1894 (Autopsis.org 2012; Christine's Genealogy Website 2012).	6701
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	19	3	47	1	A New Way to Get Rid of Mother-in-Laws	Texas	no	A white Austin man fatally strikes his mother-in-law		6703
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	19	3	47	1	A White Man's Crime	n/a	no	Describes rape and possible murder of a white woman by a white man		6705
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	19	3	47	1	Another Colored Girl Assaulted	n/a	yes	Whites assaulted a black girl		6707
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	19	3	47	1	Nine Lynched	n/a	yes			6741

Table 13.2, continued

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No.*
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	19	3	47	1	No Negro This Time (Charleston, W. VA)	West Virginia	yes	Rape of a woman by a white man, the accused was removed to prevent mob lynching. Article contrasts the treatment of white and black suspects.		6742
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	6	9	4	1	2	A Self-Evident Lie: A Colored Preacher Lynched and Other Persons in Danger	n/a	yes	Black preacher lynched		6891
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	6	9	4	1	2	Lynch Law	n/a	yes	A condemnation of mob violence by the <i>Omaha Christian Advocate</i>		6917
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	6	9	4	1	2	Two Negroes Lynched	Georgia	yes			6945
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	6	23	4	3	1	Stockholder's Meeting a Success	n/a	yes	Stockholders of <i>The Herald</i> mention racial violence issue at meeting		7059
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	6	23	4	3	2	Young Girl Outraged: This Time It Is Not a Negro (Bonham, TX)	Texas	yes	Discusses treatment of blacks accused of rape in contrast to treatment of whites		7072
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	7	4	5	2	Think He Is Sane: Doctors Agree That Prendergast Knows Right from Wrong	n/a	no	Discusses sanity of criminal suspect	See Entry No. 7318, July 21, 1894	7192
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	14	4	6	1	A Child's Violent Death (Cleburne, TX)	Texas	no			7203
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	14	4	6	2	Life Term for Murder (Bastrop, TX)	Texas	no			7236

Table 13.2, continued

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No.*
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	14	4	6	1	School Teacher Arrested (Harrisonville, MO)	Missouri	no	Schoolteacher/farmer arrested for raping a prominent woman.		7255
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	14	4	6	4	Wild Riot of Fire: Desperate Strikers Put the Torch to Railroad Property	Illinois	no	Discusses a labor riot on railroad property in Illinois.	This refers to the "Pullman Strike" a wide-spread strike of railroad workers that began on June 26, 1894, and lasted through August 2, 1894 (Burns et al. 1894; Plumbe 1895b).	7269
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	21	4	7	3	A Bold Rape Fiend (Beowyn, TX)	Texas	no			7274
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	21	4	7	2	Among Our Exchanges: Mob Law Condemned	n/a	yes	General article on mob law. Mentions Ida B. Wells.		7279
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	21	4	7	3	Killed Over Politics	n/a	no	Fatal dispute between Democrats and Populists		7305
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	21	4	7	2	Lynched and Burned—Charged with Murder (Nashville, TN)	Tennessee	yes	Mentions lynching and burning of black man in Nashville, Tennessee	This probably refers to the lynching of James Ball in Charlotte, Tennessee (outside Nashville) on July 7, 1894 (Autopsis.org 2012).	7308
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	21	4	7	2	Pendergast Executed: The Murder of Mayor Harrison Finally Avenged (Chicago, IL)	Illinois	no	White murderer of Chicago mayor executed		7318
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	28	4	8	2	Bloody Riot: Strikers Attack Negroes Who Were Taking Their Places in the Mines (AL)	Alabama	yes	Striking white mine workers attack the black strikebreaker miners who took their places.	This incident was part of a nationwide strike of coal miners in 1894 (Illinois State Bureau of Labor Statistics 1895; Plumbe 1895a).	7355

Table 13.2, continued

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No.*
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	8	4	4	9	2	Ida Wells: She Returns to New York and Address a Large Public Gathering	n/a	yes	Ida B. Wells speaks at the Bethel M.E. Church about lynching in the South.	Ida B. Wells was the owner of the <i>Memphis Free Speech</i> , a newspaper destroyed by white racists in 1892. She became an outspoken advocate against racial violence and lynching (Blackpast.org 2012)	7447
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	9	8	4	14	1	Shot Down Like Dogs: Six Negroes Wantonly Murdered in Tennessee	Tennessee	yes	Blacks shot in Tennessee	See Entry No. 7809, September 15, 1894	7757
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	9	15	4	15	2	Plot Is Laid Bare: Details of the Memphis Lynching Horror Exposed	Tennessee	yes	Lynching in Memphis, Tennessee	This probably refers to an incident in Millington, Tennessee (just outside Memphis) in which "6 unidentified black men" were lynched on September 1, 1894 (Autopsis.org 2012).	7809
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	9	15	4	15	1	What Negroes Think: Colored Leaders Discuss the Tennessee Lynching Horror	Tennessee	yes	Discusses what prominent black leaders like Frederick Douglass, Thomas Fortune, and Blanche Bruce think about the racial violence in Tennessee.	This probably refers to the incident in which "6 unidentified black men" were lynched in Millington, Tennessee, on September 1, 1894 (Autopsis.org 2012). See Entry No. 7809, September 15, 1894.	7835
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	10	20	4	20	3	Bloodless Battle (Bastrop, TX)	Texas	no	Shooting over crop dispute in Bastrop, Texas		8092

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Table 13.2, continued

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No.*
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	10	20	4	20	4	Lynching at Little Rock	Arkansas	yes	Reprinted from another newspaper	This probably refers to the lynching of three unidentified black men in McGhee, Arkansas (south of Little Rock) on September 22, 1894 (Autopsis.org 2012).	8123
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	10	20	4	20	4	Mastery of the Law Upheld: Negro Assassin in Texas Twice Narrowly Escapes Lynching	Texas	yes	Black suspect avoided lynching		8125
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	10	20	4	20	1	Murdered His Wife (Baileyville, TX)	Texas	no	Incident of domestic abuse		8129
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	10	20	4	20	3	Shot His Own Head Off (Tioga, TX)	Texas	no	A suicide in Tioga, Texas. A man shot himself because his wife could not help him pick cotton.		8142
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	10	27	4	21	4	Lynching at Little Rock	Arkansas	yes	Update on lynching near Little Rock, Arkansas	See Entry No. 8123, October 20, 1894	8192
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	8	4	28	1	On Negro Ravishers	n/a	yes	Commentary regarding the memorialization of Congress on mob violence		8493
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	22	4	30	1	Shoot Every Negro Between the two Oceans—Wipe the Negro from the Face of the Earth	Texas	yes	Reprint of an editorial in the <i>Waco News</i> (Waco, Texas) calling for violence toward blacks.		8613
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	22	4	30	2	Untitled	Tennessee	yes	Article on various topics mentions a lynching in Tennessee		8624

Table 13.2, continued

Newspaper	Year	Month	Day	Vol. No.	Issue No.	Page No.	Article Title	State	Racial Issue?	Subject And Description	Historical Reference	Entry No.*
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	29	4	31	4	Tale of Crime: Another Account of Georgia Lawlessness	Georgia	yes	Describes the murder and attack of blacks by whites in Brooks County, Georgia	This refers to the lynching of seven unidentified black men in Brooks County, Georgia, on December 23, 1894 (Autopsis.org 2012).	8791
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	29	4	31	4	Tale of Crime: Another Account of Georgia Lawlessness	Georgia	yes	Murder and attack of blacks by whites in Brooks County, Georgia	See Entry No. 8791, December 29, 1931	8792
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	29	4	31	4	The Georgia Race War	Georgia	yes	Escalating violence in Brooks County, Georgia	See Entry No. 8791, December 29, 1931	8793
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	29	4	31	4	Trouble in GA	Georgia	yes	Georgia Governor Atkinson calls for militia to quell violence in Brooks County	See Entry No. 8791, December 29, 1931	8800
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	29	4	31	4	Trouble in GA	Georgia	yes	Georgia Governor Atkinson calls for militia to quell violence in Brooks County	See Entry No. 8791, December 29, 1931	8801
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	29	4	31	1	Twelve Men on One Preacher: They Fire Eight Shots at the Man of God, But to No Affect	Texas	yes	Refers to an incident in Houston, Texas in which a black preacher was violently attacked but survived	See Entry No. 8804, December 29, 1894	8805
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	5	25	5	1	3	Our Weekly Budget	Florida	yes	Report on racial violence in Florida and the Colored League clubs		9093
<i>Austin Searchlight</i>	1896	10	24	2	40	2	Travesty Upon Justice	n/a	yes	Racial violence toward black unchecked by legal authority		19

*See Appendix F.

across states and cities. This was important since “there were no black newspapers with massive national distribution” (Higginbotham 1993:11). Higginbotham noted that the “church was a major site of print production in the black community and took the lead in the publication of general magazines in the post-Reconstruction era” (Bullock 1981; Higginbotham 1993:11). Black churches’ use of the press to advance their views has been cited as one of six reasons for the upsurge of black newspapers after the Civil War (Wolseley 1971:27). In a study of black newspapers cited by Wolseley, 575 black newspapers were established by 1897 (Wolseley 1971:25). While predominantly white Catholic and Protestant denominations often sponsored black periodicals, autonomous black religious organizations like the National Baptist Convention, African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church all published their own print media and perhaps encouraged the development of smaller weeklies and news journals. The black Baptist church especially published prolifically; Higginbotham (1993:11) states that black Baptists at the local and national level published 43 newspapers, most of which were in the South.

Reverend Campbell founded his first weekly in 1892 toward the end of a five-year time span that saw the establishment of several religious newspapers in Texas, mostly in Dallas (Smallwood 1983:360). Although Campbell’s efforts were centered in Austin, his newspapers were the official paper of the (black) General Baptist Convention in Texas. His list of stockholders suggests a wide distribution of readers and subscribers throughout the state. Both the *Sunday School Herald* and the *Herald* had stockholders in cities such as Calvert, Seguin, Bryan, Galveston, and Mexia, and readers were encouraged to show their “race pride” by advertising their trades in the newspaper and finding more subscribers.

If one simply considers how long a paper was in existence, it becomes clear that the newspapers unaffiliated with a religious denomination struggled. The scant representation of secular newspapers in the local archives perhaps illustrates how quickly black newspapers came to their demise or their inability to consistently print issues. For example, the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History only contained one copy of the *Gold Dollar*

despite reports that Reverend Jacob Fontaine printed this paper for several years after its inception in 1876. Fontaine’s efforts to print a regular newspaper were probably constrained by financial issues and limited infrastructure. At that time, one would have to consider the staff to write, procure, and print the news stories as well as the need to purchase ink, paper, and other equipment to get the journal printed. The success of black newspapers was perhaps further hindered by high illiteracy rates and blacks’ limited training in the printing trade. Black editors also may have been inhibited by an inability to dedicate their time solely to their craft. Reverend Fontaine worked as a janitor as well as managed other business ventures like a grocery store and laundry service while printing his newspaper (Burd 1983:5–6).

A newspaper’s content may have also influenced how long it would exist. Black-run enterprises faced a lot of hostility from whites, and their print shops were probably vulnerable to violence and destruction because they often challenged white racism (Suggs 1983:ix). For example, the *Free Man’s Press*, with its overtly political concerns, called for readers to subscribe to the paper in secrecy, and Jacob Fontaine’s home and printing press were once burned down. While the 1896 issue of the *Austin Searchlight* included articles about local and national issues impacting the black community, by 1907 Mabson had to sacrifice his paper’s content and fill his columns with advertisements probably just to keep the journal up and running.

Support of the Black Press

Black newspapers received support from black community members, businesses, educational institutions, and religious congregations. However, there were instances where whites supported the black print media. While this can be inferred through whites’ indirect support of black newspapers through advertisements, Wolseley noted in his study of the black press that the Catholic and Protestant churches sometimes provided financial assistance and staffed black newspapers affiliated with their denominations (Wolseley 1971:154). The *Free Man’s Press* particularly highlights a rare instance in which blacks and whites collaborated to operate a newspaper. As mentioned previously, the paper was founded and edited by whites. As

white affluent and liberal men, James Newcomb (proprietor) and Dr. Melville C. Keith (editor) of the *Free Man's Press* were able to access monetary resources and political networks that were mostly unavailable to black editors because of their race and impoverished backgrounds as former slaves. But the paper targeted black readers, employed them as printers, and discussed issues relevant to their political lives and experiences. Correspondents of the *Free Man's Press* boldly challenged policies that sought to hinder the enfranchisement, civil rights, and progress of blacks. This could be seen in the editor's condemnation of the white printers of the *Austin Republican* who refused to work with a young man because he was black. He later showed his support for racial equality by hiring three young black men to work as printers at the *Free Man's Press*. The editor was also dismayed at the state Constitutional Convention's adoption of the "three year rule" which required representatives to be a resident and citizen of the state for three years before holding any executive offices (*Free Man's Press*, August 1, 1868:2). In the latter instance, the writer of this article outright proclaimed, "We do not suppose this was intended as a drive at the 'niggers' and 'Carpetbaggers', but it squints strongly that way" (*Free Man's Press*, August 1, 1868:2).

In my survey of the three extant issues of the *Free Man's Press*, I found no advertisements in the newspaper. The lack of advertisements raised questions about the financial backing and security of the paper, especially considering its political nature. Throughout the extant papers, Dr. Keith warned potential subscribers to send money to the press through a named agent or via mail without including the name of the newspaper on the envelope. The newspaper's pro-black and Republican stance probably made it and its operators susceptible to backlash and hostility, thus requiring caution to sustain operation. However, the surviving issues demonstrate that correspondents were still able to provide consistent coverage of the Constitutional Convention and other Reconstruction initiatives. This suggests that the newspaper benefited from a close relationship with black and white Republican delegates and Freedman's Bureau agents, who were possibly the paper's primary subscribers. While this was certainly a small group of readers, their political connections and affluence probably allowed the paper to operate

underground without advertising support for one year. In his study of black Texas newspapers, Grose notes that the *Free Man's Press* financially struggled but received offers of assistance from Texas Governor Edmund J. Davis and the state Republican Party (Grose 1972:61). The *Free Man's Press* stopped operating after Dr. Keith returned to his medical practice and James Newcomb failed to find a new editor (Grose 1972:61). However, the brief circulation of the newspaper reiterates the important role that the black press played in fostering political awareness and advocacy as well as sheds light on the rare instance but value of interracial collaboration in starting and maintaining a black printing press.

The Political Efficacy of the Black Press

Although black newspapers were dedicated to moral and religious instruction, they were inherently political because they were created in direct response to white prejudice and exclusion (Suggs 1983; Wolseley 1971). Historians have traced the origins of black newspapers' political overtones to the first black paper printed in the United States, the *Freedom's Journal*. John B. Russwurm and Samuel E. Cornish established this newspaper in 1827. It was an abolitionist newspaper that also aimed to counter the negative representations of blacks in white print media (PBS.org 2012; Wolseley 1971:17–18). After slavery, black newspapers continued this political tradition by focusing on civil rights, the importance of black racial pride and religion, and the need for educational development (Grose 1972:45). These concerns were expressed in the examined newspapers in our sample; however, editors also demanded an end to violent anti-black racism as well as encouraged their readers to buy land, support black businesses, and learn a trade.

Scholars have debated the political agenda of black newspapers by arguing that their content rarely reflected the concerns and needs of non-elite black people (Frazier 1957; Grose 1972; O'Kelly 1982). In 1957, sociologist E. Franklin Frazier specifically called the black press a communication tool for the black bourgeoisie (O'Kelly 1982:14). He critiqued the black print media for its middle-class aspirations that reflected the journalists' desire for higher status

(Grose 1972:8). However, Charlotte G. O’Kelly examined black newspapers from 1827 to 1945 and contextualized them within a long trajectory of protest. She noted that the political tones and demands of the black press varied during the antebellum period, Civil War, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow eras, and in World Wars I and II (O’Kelly 1982).

O’Kelly particularly called black Texas newspapers radical because they were strong supporters of civil rights, equality, and integration (O’Kelly 1982:7). Although my examination of black Texas newspapers supports her assessment, Frazier’s assessment of the black print media appeared valid at first glance. For example, all of the reviewed newspapers were published in Austin and mostly highlighted the lives and social activities of the city’s elite black residents. These individuals were often entrepreneurs, educators, and ministers—members of a professional class that was literate and able to submit advertisements and writeups for publication in newspapers. Therefore, the sampled newspapers coincidentally reflected the lives and aspirations of these individuals since they were the ones who could most afford and support the newspapers as readers, correspondents, printers, and patrons. There appeared to be a minimal interest in the daily happenings that comprised rural peoples’ work and lives, and in instances when they were discussed, it was mostly in reference to large baptisms at successful church revivals. As a result, my analysis of five historic black newspapers initially revealed a depiction of black life in Travis County that was largely urban, fairly educated, morally upright, and culturally refined.

However, a close examination of the *Sunday School Herald* and the *Herald* offers a different perspective. While much of the news coming from the rural towns of Travis County highlighted religious activities, correspondents from Sprinkle, Manor, Taylor, and Bluff Springs also noted the founding of new black businesses in addition to information about the founding of new churches, upcoming meetings, Revivals, and Baptisms. Reverend Campbell’s newspapers also contained news from other central Texas farming towns like Marlin, Brazoria, and Caldwell (Table 13.3). Unlike some of the other rural centers, Marlin community members rarely discussed religious activities but shared news from their black schools, local businesses, and

political organizations. From these writeups, one can deduce that black newspapers did not solely target middle-class readers or subscribers. As seen with the *Sunday School Herald* and the *Herald*, it appears that residents of rural towns and settlements frequently corresponded with the local black press, thus making their social lives newsworthy. Furthermore, the inclusion of news from rural and remote places suggests the important role that the black print media played in connecting people and places from rural and urban locales geographically and socially. O’Kelly stated that, “The black press had a wide circulation and influence among blacks. Black newspapers penetrated even the most rural and isolated areas. They were of such value and interest to blacks that they were passed on to others and reread until they were in shreds. It was common for newspapers to be read aloud among groups of blacks so that even illiterates came under the influence of the press” (O’Kelly 1982:6).

I would argue that all of the newspapers in our sample were political and had a wide-ranging impact in both urban and rural areas. As stated previously, all of the reviewed newspapers had an agenda of racial equality and uplift. Furthermore, as seen with the religious papers, the black print media was also part of a large network that was able to reach out to and mobilize a heterogeneous body of black people. With its emphasis on racial equality, social inclusion, and economic self-sufficiency, black newspapers helped determine and disseminate a political agenda for the postbellum black community. In addition, its commitment to religious and moral instruction highlights the significance of the black press to efforts to construct a black identity that countered stereotypes of black inferiority.

BLACK NEWSPAPERS AND IDENTITY

Black newspapers helped counter the negative portrayals of blackness that stemmed from slavery by emphasizing religious and moral instruction. All of the sampled journals espoused the Christian faith and its significance to black social uplift. Editors printed religious maxims, anecdotes, scriptures, lessons, and other notes on the Bible. The newspapers depicted the church as the center of black life. To be specific, the church was shown as more than a place of

Table 13.3. Texas cities, towns, and communities mentioned in newspaper articles and advertisements

NAME	COUNTY
Acona	Guadalupe
Antioch (freedmen community)	Hays
Baileyville	Milam
Bastrop	Bastrop
Beeville	Bee
Belton	Bell
Bluff Springs	Travis
Bonney	Brazoria
Branchville	Milam
Brazoria	Brazoria
Breckinridge	Dallas
Brenham	Washington
Brownwood	Brown
Bryan	Brazos
Buda	Hays
Buffalo	Leon
Burton	Washington
Caldwell	Burleson
Calvert	Robertson
Cameron	Milam
Caney	Matagorda
Carl	Travis
Carmona	Polk
Chappel Hill (also Chappell)	Washington
Chenango	Brazoria
Clarkson	Milam
Clarksville (freedmen community in Austin)	Travis
Cleburne	Johnson
Columbia (now East and West Columbia)	Brazoria
Conroe	Montgomery
Cooks Point	Burleson
Corsicana	Navarro
Cottonwood	Kaufman
Cuero	DeWitt

NAME	COUNTY
Dabney Hill	Burleson
Dallas	Dallas
Denison	Grayson
Eagle Lake	Colorado
Edna	Jackson
Elgin	Bastrop
Elliott	Matagorda
Elm Grove	Hays
Fiskville	Travis
Flatonia	Fayette
Fort Worth	Tarrant
Foster	Fort Bend
Franklin	Robertson
Fulcher	unknown
Fulshear	Fort Bend
Galveston	Galveston
Garfield	Travis
Giddings	Lee
Gonzales	Gonzales
Greenville	Hunt
Groveton	Trinity
Hearne	Robertson
Hempstead	Waller
High Prairie	Hays
Hillsboro	Hill
Houston	Harris
Huntsville	Walker
Jewett	Leon
Jones Prairie	Milam
Karnes	Karnes
Kendleton (freedmen community)	Fort Bend
Kosse	Limestone
Kyle	Hays
Lampasas	Lampasas
Lexington	Lee
Littig (freedmen community)	Travis
Lockhart	Caldwell
Luling	Caldwell

Table 13.3, continued

NAME	COUNTY
Lytton Springs	Caldwell
Mackiesville	Caldwell
Madisonville	Madison
Manor	Travis
Marlin	Falls
Marshall	Harrison
Masontown (freedmen community in Austin)	Travis
Maynard	San Jacinto
Maysfield	Milam
McKinney	Collin
Meridian	Bosque
Midway	Madison
Milano Junction	Milam
Mumford	Robertson
Navasota	Grimes
New Ulm	Austin
Oyster Creek	Brazoria or Fort Bend
Palestine	Anderson
Paris	Lamar
Richmond	Fort Bend
Rockdale	Milam
San Angelo	Tom Green
San Antonio	Bexar
San Marcos	Hays
Sandy Point	Brazoria
Sayersville	Bastrop
Sealy	Austin
Seguin	Gonzales
Six Mile	Milam

NAME	COUNTY
Slaydon	Gonzales
Spanish Camp	Wharton
Speegleville	McLennan
Stafford	Fort Bend and Harris
Stone City	Brazos
Stoneham	Grimes
Sugar Land	Fort Bend
Taylor	Williamson
Tioga	Grayson
Trinity	Trinity
Tunis	Burleson
Velasco	Brazoria
Victoria	Victoria
Viesca (became Cedar Springs)	Falls
Waco	McLennan
Walnut Creek	Travis
Waverly	Walker
Webberville	Travis
Weldon	Houston
Wharton	Wharton
Wheatsville (freedmen community in Austin)	Travis
Wilderville	Falls
Williamsburgh (later Williamsburg)	Lavaca
Williamson Creek	Travis
Willis	Montgomery
Woodville	Tyler
Yoakum	Lavaca - DeWitt

worship. It was the hub of black social, political, and educational activity.

The black press helped impart dominant social mores and decorum. For example, in an editorial in the *Herald*, Reverend Campbell expressed his displeasure at children’s behavior at a Juneteenth celebration. In a reprinted story from the *Denver Statesman*, Campbell later encouraged “colored people to stay away

from balls and their feelings will not be so badly hurt by the girls who believe in acting like colts” (*Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 44, April 1, 1893:3). Editors also encouraged parents to bathe their children in preparation for the Sabbath and to teach them how to pray. Reverend Fontaine further warned, “But, train him up when he is hung [sic—young?] when he is old hiel [sic] not be Hung” (*Gold Dollar*, August 1876). Moral instruction thus

went in tandem with educational training, an example of which can be seen with the first and only issue of Reverend Fontaine's paper, which contained the alphabet in upper and lower case letters as well as various Biblical tidbits.

The articles from the examined newspapers also demonstrated that church members frequently worshipped together and used their revivals and convention meetings to discuss the convergence of religious and secular matters. The black print media provided a voice of critical thought or arbitration by the community leaders. Subscribers viewed newspaper editors and printers as "a highly intelligent class of men, a liberal minded class... generally to be found in the front rank of progress and freedom" (*Free Man's Press*, August 1, 1868:2). Correspondents frequently wrote to the editor of the *Herald* about proper religious practices or debated issues such as the role of black women in the church.

The black print media also worked to counter white journalists' representations of blackness in the white press since white newspapers either refused to cover black life in their news journals or printed erroneous and racially biased stories about blacks (Higginbotham 1993:11). Black editors countered this void with articles, correspondence, and commentaries that extensively covered their communities' social activities as well as their central needs and concerns. For example, the local news sections of the *Austin Searchlight* and the *Herald* highlighted high-society weddings, church and lodge meetings, literary society proceedings, accidents, and the business enterprises of community members. Reverend Campbell often reprinted verbatim the addresses and speeches of ministers and mission group leaders from Baptist Conventions and other church meetings. Correspondents also offered extensive coverage of commencements and other community events. These articles and writeups portrayed blacks in a positive light and featured them as leaders, scholars, educators, and business owners despite stereotypes that sought to depict blacks as intellectually and culturally inferior.

The black press sought to debunk the myth of black men as rapists. Black newspapers included stories about mob violence and aimed to present the facts behind white hostilities. Newspapers did not limit its reports of racial violence to Texas; the editors reprinted stories from Oklahoma, Georgia, South Carolina, and Tennessee (see

Table 13.2). They also countered allegations that lynched black men had raped or assaulted white women. Correspondents often revealed that the true possible motives behind lynching were disputes over labor or money. As lynching escalated, black editors boldly condemned mob violence, challenged other black newspapers to agitate against lynching, and demanded that suspects get a fair trial. For example, in 1893 Reverend Campbell mobilized his stockholders to petition the Texas legislature on securing government intervention on mob violence (*Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 43, March 25, 1893:3).

Black newspapers also helped reaffirm black identity by legitimating the black family, emphasizing racial equality, and encouraging race pride through the patronage of black business ventures. Editors understood the importance of family to their black readers and subscribers, and family search announcements were found in the *Gold Dollar*, *Free Man's Press*, and the *Herald*. In these notices, people announced their search for relatives from whom they were separated during slavery. The correspondents often looked for parents and siblings, and their searches listed the names of kin as well as their former slaveowners. In the *Gold Dollar* (August 1876:1), Reverend Fontaine offered to help subscribers locate missing kin for 10 cents. It can be assumed that these searches were particularly important to Reverend Fontaine, who began his newspaper with a gold dollar that his sister gave him when they were reunited after a 20-year separation.

While O'Kelly notes that black editors desired interracial harmony, an editorial from the *Herald* suggests that some editors felt that this should be achieved through political and economic equality with the maintenance of some social distance. For example, in a writeup from the *Herald*, a writer chastised Frederick Douglass for marrying a white woman and hence urged black people to avoid the dangers of intimate relations with whites (*Herald*, Vol. 4, Issue 40, March 2, 1895:2). When local politicians turned to the black press to court favors with black voters, editors courageously assessed their political records and engagements with the black community. Although the *Herald* claimed to be nonpartisan, there was no doubt that it was pro-Republican and unafraid to critique white politicians who stood in the way of black progress as well as black leaders who

were afraid to stand for it. Finally, the demand for racial equality was supported with essays on the progress of the Negro. Reverend Campbell printed writeups by black scholars and leaders that highlighted black achievement from slavery to freedom and justified demands for racial and political equality.

Similar to the white print media, the black press relied heavily on advertising fees to sustain their operations. In many papers, entire pages were often dedicated to promoting jobs, marketing products and services. Grose (1972:33) argues that white businesses largely ignored black newspapers and used them only to advertise items specifically targeted to black consumers. However, this study reveals that this was not always the case. White newspapers often carried advertisements for the same products and services promoted in the black print media. For example, the white undertaker, Monroe Miller, serviced the black and white Austin communities and advertised his services in both of their newspapers.¹³² The local drugstores John H. Chiles & Co. and Morley Brothers marketed health and beauty items in the *Austin Searchlight*, *Herald*, and the *Austin Daily Statesman*. Ads for Royal Baking Powder and Clairette Laundry Soap could also be found in the reviewed black and white newspapers.

However, the newspapers in our sample sought to rally the support of black readers by emphasizing the importance of black patronage to continue their operations. Supporting black newspapers was evidence of race pride, and blacks were encouraged to advertise their own trades and services in these news journals. Editors praised local entrepreneurs for starting new businesses, and the advertisements highlighted the skilled labor of blacks in Austin. Subscribers promoted the following skilled trades:

- Barbers
- Blacksmiths
- Caterers
- Doctors
- Dentists

¹³²Monroe Miller's service to the black and white communities in Austin is interesting because blacks were even segregated in death. Segregation necessitated separate undertakers and cemeteries.

- Druggists
- Grocers
- Hackmen (driver of a commercial hack or carriage)
- Liverymen (worker at a livery stable)
- Milliners (person who makes women's hats)
- Shoemakers
- Tailors
- Undertakers

Most of the advertised black businesses and services were located in East Austin along streets such as Sixth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Congress, and Lavaca. The location of these enterprises reinforced much of what is known about black settlement patterns in Austin during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Blacks resided in the eastern edge of the city long before the 1928 City Plan,¹³³ which formalized their segregation to this area (Manaster 1986; Mears 2009). During my survey, I did not find any advertisements for agricultural labor, and this can probably be attributed to the perception that farmwork was largely confined to farms and plantations owned by whites, who would not read or advertise for work in the black press.

The advertisements further hint at the gendered division of labor in black communities. While black males and females worked together in agricultural fields (see Chapter 12), men mostly comprised the skilled trades and services. Women's skilled work appeared to fall within the realm of hair care, clothing, and food management and preparation. They

¹³³In 1928, the consulting engineers Koch and Fowler published "A City Plan for Austin, Texas." This study was commissioned by the city, and the plan stated: "It is our recommendation that the nearest approach to the solution of the race segregation problem will be the recommendation of this district as a negro district; and that all the facilities and conveniences be provided the negroes in this district, as an incentive to draw the negro population to this area. This will eliminate the duplication of white and black schools, white and black parks, and other duplicate facilities for this area" (Koch and Fowler 1928:57). The recommended district was "the area just east of East Avenue [now Interstate Highway 35] and just south of the City Cemetery," an area of east Austin that was already predominantly populated by African Americans. By concentrating all the Negro facilities in one area, it would essentially force the blacks living in other areas of the city to move to East Austin.

occasionally advertised their services as beauticians, restaurant owners, and managers of boarding houses in the black print media, but these were not represented in large numbers in our sample. This could be seen in the *Herald* with Mrs. Alexander's boardinghouse, Mrs. J. Snyder's millinery and dry goods, and Mrs. Dora Johnson's beauty care and hair products.

The advertisement of mass-manufactured products in black newspapers highlighted how economics often superseded strict racial boundaries. Newspaper advertisements offered blacks an opportunity to participate in the market economy and to patronize white businesses. This study found that black Texas newspapers of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries contained many advertisements for food, clothing, household items, medicine, legal advice, literary and newspaper subscriptions, and educational institutions. Patent medicines claiming to treat consumption, catarrh, blood diseases, and various female "complaints" represented a large percentage of the mass-manufactured items advertised in the black newspapers (Table 13.4). Agricultural items were limited to plant seeds, well-drilling equipment, livestock rivets, and harnesses.

As largely urban enterprises, newspaper editors perhaps concentrated on products that reflected the lifestyles and experiences of their city readers. However, editors also adhered to their agendas to impart educational and moral instruction to their subscribers with the selection of advertisers. Reverend Campbell's *Sunday School Herald* and the *Herald* promoted only two tobacco products, Blackwell's Bull Durham Smoking Tobacco and the Natural Leaf Tobacco of Meriwether and Company. His newspapers advertised no alcohol except for the inadvertent ads for patent medicines that contained this product. With a primarily secular agenda, the *Austin Searchlight*, on the other hand, contained some ads for saloons that offered fine liquors and cigars (such as alcohol and tobacco wholesaler Page McDannell, the County Seat Saloon in Bastrop, and Schneider's Saloon on Pecan Street, now Sixth Street).

Another interesting group of advertisements in the black newspapers was for drugstores, doctors, and dentists. As detailed in Table 13.5, black residents in Austin had access to at least six drugstores, but only one is known to have been a black-owned business. Five medical

doctors and one dentist also advertised regularly in the 1890s newspapers. Of these, four were definitely black and the other two were probably black. In her study of freedmen communities in Austin, Mears (2009:94) notes that the first two black doctors in Austin were Dr. J. H. Stevens and Dr. E. W. D. Abner in the 1890s. Dr. Stevens and Abner regularly advertised their services in the sampled black newspapers, along with Dr. John McKinley. All three highlighted their specialties as physicians and surgeons. While many white medicine makers and drugstores courted black customers, it appears that white doctors and dentists did not.

Paul Mullins's (1999a) groundbreaking study of black consumer patterns in Annapolis, Maryland, reveals how marketing and consumption both influenced and reproduced racial ideology. Mullins argues that blacks often used their consumerism to integrate themselves into American society and citizenship. However, the black print media's call to their readers to show their race loyalty by patronizing black businesses complicates Mullins' argument. To be specific, the examined newspapers reflect a larger concern for civil rights, political enfranchisement, and economic self-sufficiency. Blacks were encouraged to become economically self-sufficient by obtaining land, becoming self-employed, or owning a small business (Painter 1987:217; Wilson and Ferris 1989). Black editors like Rev. L. L. Campbell advocated this ideology in their newspapers and chastised black subscribers and patrons for not showing their racial and economic solidarity by supporting black business ventures. This clearly demonstrates that black consumption was not solely tied to mainstream notions of citizenship and national belonging.

WHITE NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF BLACK ISSUES

In conjunction with this study of black newspapers, a quick examination was made of contemporary white Austin newspapers to look at differences in attitudes about black issues between the black and white presses. I reviewed the *Austin Daily Statesman* and the *Austin Weekly Statesman* to compare and contrast their coverage with that of the five weeklies printed by the black press. An emphasis was placed on the *Austin Daily Statesman* since it was published longer than the *Austin Weekly Statesman* and

Table 13.4. National medicinal products and services advertised in African American newspapers from 1868 to 1896

Ad Group	Medicine Name (and alternative names)	Medicine Type or Treatment (unspecified left blank)	Other Notations in Advertisement and Comments
Medicines			
Medicine	5 Drops Cure		
Medicine	African Kola Plant	Asthma treatment	Kola Importing Co.
Medicine	August Flower	Advertised as a treatment for rheumatism, dyspepsia, and digestion	
Medicine	Ayer's Cherry Pectoral	Treatment for throat and lung diseases, cough and cold	
Medicine	Ayer's Sarsaparilla		
Medicine	Beecham's Pills	Treatment for headache, weak stomach, impaired digestion, constipation, disordered liver	
Medicine	Bile Beans (also Bile Beans Small)		J. F. Smith & Company (see Smith's Bile Beans)
Medicine	Black Draught	Liver medicine	Chattanooga Medicine Co., Tennessee.
Medicine	Boschee's German Syrup		(see German Syrup)
Medicine	Bradfield Female Regulator. "Mother's Friend" (also Bradfield Regulator Co.)		
Medicine	Bradycrotine	Headache treatment	
Medicine	Brown's Bronchial Troches	Cough, cold, or sore throat treatment	
Medicine	Brown's Iron Bitters	Treatment for dyspepsia, malaria, and digestion. Also a tonic for weak and debilitated people.	
Medicine	Bull's Cough Syrup		
Medicine	Capisicum Vaseline	Personal grooming	
Medicine	Carter's Little Liver Pills		
Medicine	Castoria		
Medicine	Centaur Linaments	Pain relief	
Medicine	Chicago Medicator	Treats catarrh, restores lost taste and smell and sweetens bad breath	
Medicine	Cook Remedy Co.	Treats blood diseases	
Medicine	Creole Female Tonic	Cures all "forms of female weakness" and cases of prolapsus uteri and suppression	
Medicine	Crescent Antiseptic	Sores and inflammation (for use on fowls also)	
Medicine	Doan's Kidney Pills		

Table 13.4, continued

Ad Group	Medicine Name (and alternative names)	Medicine Type or Treatment (unspecified left blank)	Other Notations in Advertisement and Comments
Medicine	Doctor Pierce's Pleasant Pellets		
Medicine	Dr. Amick's Discovery: Isolation of Consumption is Causing Widespread Consternation		
Medicine	Dr. Belden Proprietary Co.	Croup remedy	
Medicine	Dr. Bigger's Huckleberry Cordial	Treatment for upset bowels	
Medicine	Dr. Bo San Ko's Pile Remedy		
Medicine	Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup	Croup treatment	
Medicine	Dr. Crook's Wine of Tar	Dyspepsia, cough, and dyspepsia treatment	
Medicine	Dr. Geer		
Medicine	Dr. H. H. Green & Sons	Cure for dropsy	
Medicine	Dr. H. Pankey's Medicine*		Available from 1211 Angeline Street, Austin, Texas. The 1897–1898 Austin City Directory lists: "Pankey Henry (c), shoemkr, f. 1211 Angelina." He may have sold his own patent medicine.
Medicine	Dr. Hall's Cough Syrup		
Medicine	Dr. Harter's Little Liver Pills		
Medicine	Dr. Harter's Medicine Co.	Iron tonic	
Medicine	Dr. Harter's Medicine Co. (also Dr. Harter's Wild Cherry Bitters)	Wild cherry bitters	
Medicine	Dr. Hathaway & Co, Specialists (also Dr. Hathaway & Co. – The Specialists)		
Medicine	Dr. Hunter, Specialist in throat, lungs, heart, catarrh, deafness	Treatment for throat, lungs, heart, catarrh, deafness	(see Dr. J. A. Hunter)
Medicine	Dr. J. Kramer's German Eye Salve		
Medicine	Dr. J. A. Hunter, Specialist		(see Dr. Hunter)
Medicine	Dr. Kline's Great Nerve Restorer	Fits cure	
Medicine	Dr. Miles' Nervine		
Medicine	Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription (also Dr. Pierce's Favorite Medical Prescription)	Female complaints. "The way out of woman's troubles..."	
Medicine	Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery	Blood purifier	
Medicine	Dr. Pierce's Pleasant Pellets	"Derangements of the liver, stomach and bowels"	

Table 13.4, continued

Ad Group	Medicine Name (and alternative names)	Medicine Type or Treatment (unspecified left blank)	Other Notations in Advertisement and Comments
Medicine	Dr. Sage's Catarrh Cure (also Dr. Sage's Catarrh Remedy)		
Medicine	Dr. Shoop's Restorative Nerve Pills		
Medicine	Dr. William's Pink Pills. "A Detroit Miracle: A Great Triumph for Medical Science" (also Dr. William's Pink Pills)		
Medicine	E. N. Searles	Treatment for neuralgia and rheumatism	
Medicine	Electric Anderson Cures		Available at 4th and Congress, Austin, Texas
Medicine	Electro Medicate Jar		Available at Raymond's Drugstore at 409 E. 6th Street, Austin, Texas
Medicine	Ely's Cream Balm (also Ely's Cream Balm for Catarrh)	Treatment for catarrh and hay fever	
Medicine	Eye Water		Company name illegible
Medicine	Fat Folks Reduced	Diet and weight loss	O.W.F. Snyder, M.D. Chicago, Illinois.
Medicine	Female Weakness Positive Cure		Dr. J.S. Marchisi. Utica, New York.
Medicine	Ford's Prize Pills		The Ford Pill Company
Medicine	Garfield Tea	Cures constipation and a headache treatment	
Medicine	German Syrup		(Probably a variation of Boschee's German Syrup)
Medicine	Hall's Catarrh Cure (also Hall's Catarrh)		F.J. Cheney & Co. Toledo, Ohio.
Medicine	Hanson's Magic Corn Salve		
Medicine	Hofstetter's Stomach Bitters		
Medicine	Hood's Sarsaparilla Cures (also Hood's Sarsaparilla)	Treatment for blood impurities	
Medicine	Hooper's Tetter Cure	Treatment for skin	
Medicine	Hostetter's Stomach Bitters		
Medicine	Hunt's Lightening Oil		
Medicine	Jno. B. Harris Cancers Permanently Cured		
Medicine	Jno. R. Dickey Drug Co., Meyer Bros. Eye-water		
Medicine	Karl's Clover Root	Blood purifier	
Medicine	Kemp's Balsam (also Kemp Balsam)	Cough cure; cough and consumption prevention; and cough and cold treatment	

Table 13.4, continued

Ad Group	Medicine Name (and alternative names)	Medicine Type or Treatment (unspecified left blank)	Other Notations in Advertisement and Comments
Medicine	Kennedy's Medical Discovery		
Medicine	Lane's Medicine	Laxative/bowel movement; herbal drink for digestion	
Medicine	Magic Cyphilene "Blood poison: A speciality"	Remedy for blood poison	Manufactured by the Cook Remedy Co., Chicago, Illinois
Medicine	Magnetic Mineral Water "Mud That Is More Valuable Than Gold"		Indiana Mineral Springs
Medicine	Marsden's Pectorial Balm	Cough and cold treatment	
Medicine	McElree's Wine of Cardui	For female diseases; tonic for women	Chattanooga Medicine Co. (Tennessee)
Medicine	Mexican Mustang Linament	"A cure for the ailments of man and beast"	
Medicine	Meyer's Catarrh Treatment		
Medicine	Morley Brothers (Blood Purifier)		Morley Bros., Austin, TX
Medicine	Morley Brothers (Catarrh and General Debility Cure)		Morley Bros., Austin, TX
Medicine	Morley Brothers (tonic)		Morley Bros., Austin, TX
Medicine	Morley's Universal Blackberry Balsam		Morley Bros., Austin, TX
Medicine	Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup for Children Teething (also Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup)	Soothes children's teething	
Medicine	Opium	Unspecified	
Medicine	P. Harold Hayes, M.D. (New York)	Hay fever or asthma treatment	
Medicine	Peck's Invisible Ear Cushions	Cure for deafness and head noises	
Medicine	Perry Davis' Pain Killer	Treatment of "summer complaints"	
Medicine	Pe-ru-na Drug Manufacturing Co.	Catarrh treatment	Columbus, Ohio
Medicine	Pe-ru-nu, catarrh treatment. "A Host of Witnesses: A Catarrh Cure That Rests on the Unsolicited Testimony of Thousands"		
Medicine	Piso's Cure for Consumption		Dallas, Texas
Medicine	Piso's Remedy for Catarrh		
Medicine	Preston's Hed Ake		
Medicine	R.E. Elliott's Antiseptic Toilet Cream		
Medicine	Root, Bark & Blossom (also Root, Bark, and Blossom)	"The Best Stomach, Liver, Kidney and Blood Remedy"	

Table 13.4, continued

Ad Group	Medicine Name (and alternative names)	Medicine Type or Treatment (unspecified left blank)	Other Notations in Advertisement and Comments
Medicine	S.S.S.	Malaria treatment	Swift's Specific Co., Atlanta, Georgia
Medicine	Sakst Medical Co.		Syphillis treatment
Medicine	Salvation Oil		
Medicine	Schiffmann's Asthma Cure		
Medicine	Scott's Emulsion of Cod Liver Oil (also Scott's Emulsion)	Cod liver oil	Treatment of Consumption, bronchitis and other similar illnesses
Medicine	Shiloh's Consumption Cure (also Shiloh's Cure)	Cures consumption, coughs, croup, sore throat	
Medicine	Sloan's Liniment	Pain, nerve soother, sleep inducer	
Medicine	Smith's Bile Beans (also Smith's Bile Beans Small and Smith's Small Bile Beans)	Bilious attacks, headache, constipation	
Medicine	St. Jacob's Oil	Pain relief	
Medicine	Step's Sarsaparilla		
Medicine	Stewart's Headache Powders		
Medicine	Syrup of Figs (also California Fig Syrup or Elixir of Senna)	California Fig Syrup, Co.	
Medicine	Taylor's Cherokee Remedy of Sweet Gum & Mullein	Cures coughs, colds, consumption and lung troubles	
Medicine	Thompson's Eye Water		
Other Medical Products			
Pesticide	Dutcher's Dead Shot	Bed bug treatment	
Pesticide	Dutcher's Fly Killer	Insect exterminator	Sold by Fredk. Dutcher Drug, St. Albans, Vermont
Addiction treatment	Opium and morphine habit cured in 10 to 20 days	Treatment by Dr. J. Stephens (Ohio)	
Addiction treatment	Opium and morphine habits	Treatment by the National Health Co.	
Addiction treatment	Opium and whiskey habits treatment	Treatment by B. M. Woolley, MD (Atlanta, Georgia)	
Medical appliance	Dr. C. B. Judd's Electric Belt	Diet and weight loss	
Medical appliance	Knickerbocker Shoulder Brace and Suspender Combined	Knickerbocker Brace Co.	
Medical appliance	Axion Elastic Truss		
Medical appliance	L. B. Seeley's Hard Rubber Trusses		

Table 13.4, continued

Ad Group	Medicine Name (and alternative names)	Medicine Type or Treatment (unspecified left blank)	Other Notations in Advertisement and Comments
Medical appliance	Seeley's Hard Rubber Trusses	Cures rupture	
Medical book	Dr. Pierce's Common Sense Medical Adviser	Medical book	
Medical book	St. Jacob's Oil Family Almanac and Book of Health and Humor	Medical book	

*May have been produced and sold locally in Austin by a black shoemaker, Henry Pankey.

had more extant issues at the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History and the Austin History Center. Since the study sample of black newspapers consists primarily of issues printed in 1893 and 1894, this cursory review also examined issues that fell within these years. Many issues were scanned quickly for articles that covered incidents of racial violence and other topics pertinent to the black community, but a more rigorous approach was used to look at the advertisements in the white newspapers. The April 13, 1893, issue of the *Austin Daily Statesman* and the January 4, 1894, issue of the *Austin Weekly Statesman* were carefully examined, and all of the advertisements in these issues (n = 159) were recorded. Although the sample of white newspaper ads is very small compared with the sample of black newspaper ads, the data allowed for some interesting comparisons of the advertising strategies used by national companies and local firms.

Peyton Brown and A. L. Teagarden printed both the *Austin Daily Statesman* and the *Austin Weekly Statesman*. The Library of Congress (2012a, 2012b, and 2012c) listed the publication dates for the *Austin Daily Statesman* as 1891–1902, which became the *Austin Statesman*, 1902–1915. The *Austin Weekly Statesman*, 1883–1898, became the *Austin Weekly Statesman and Diversified Farmer*, 1898–1906. All of these newspapers were early predecessors to the current *Austin American-Statesman*.

Brown and Teagarden's *Austin Daily Statesman* was an eight-page newspaper that was sold to subscribers at 5 cents per issue. The editors included city, state, and international news; short anecdotes; and advertisements from national product manufacturers and local merchants. The editors of the newspaper broke

pressing news stories quickly and included articles that catered to numerous interests. Feature stories in the newspaper included the trial of Lizzie Borden (a Massachusetts woman on trial for the brutal axe murders of her father and stepmother), the Haymarket Square Riot, and civil unrest in Armenia and Spain. Correspondents also covered the massive labor strikes of 1893 and 1894 in Alabama, Colorado, Pennsylvania, Texas, and West Virginia.

The international news stories frequently recounted the experiences of missionaries and travelers to Hawaii or countries in Africa, current events, and odd cultural facts. The city news column noted upcoming visits, store openings, marriages, and occasional gossip, but unlike in the black papers, there was little correspondence or written exchange between the subscribers and editors. Unlike the *Herald*, the *Austin Daily Statesman* did not emphasize religious instruction. Church news was kept to a minimum, and the editors either listed the meeting times of local places of worship or provided a recap of the celebrations of big religious holidays. While the reviewed black newspapers were all staunch supporters of the Republican Party, the editors of the *Austin Daily Statesman* endorsed the Democratic Party and largely supported their candidates.¹³⁴

In the reviewed issues of the *Austin Daily Statesman*, white editors regularly noted instances of racial violence. The examined issues of the *Austin Daily Statesman* contained articles that highlighted the lynching of black men and women, whites' forceful expulsion of blacks from

¹³⁴Notably, the predecessors to the *Austin Daily Statesman* and the *Austin Weekly Statesman* in the 1870s were called the *Democratic Statesman* and the *Weekly Democratic Statesman* (Library of Congress 2012d).

Table 13.5. Local drugstores, doctors, and dentists advertised in African American newspapers in the early 1890s

Name	Ethnicity	Location, Identification, and Comments
Drugstores		
Colored Drug Store	Black-owned	424 E. 6th Street. Dr. J. H. Stevens, a black man, was one of the owners of the Colored Drug Store (Sage 2012), and he advertised separately in newspapers as a “Surgeon and Physician” (see below). The Colored Drug Store was also called J. J. Jennings & Co., and this firm is listed in the 1897–1898 Austin City Directory as: “Jennings J. J. & Co. (c), (Joseph J. Jennings, Charles A. Grimes, John H. Stevens), druggists, 424 E. 6th” (Rice 2012). Mears (2009:94) also notes that the Jennings drugstore was located at 424 East 6th Street.
East Austin Drug Store	White-owned	Owned by Joseph A. Hofstetter, a Swiss American. He is listed in the 1897–1898 Austin City Directory as “Hofstetter Joseph A., propr East Austin drug store, 1111 E. 11th cor Attoyac. phone 253, r. 1308 Chincapin” (Rice 2012).
Jno. H. Chiles & Co., Prescription Druggist	White-owned	219 E. Pecan Street. J. H. Chiles was a white man (Sage 2012). He is listed in the 1897–1898 Austin City Directory as: “CHILES JOHN H. DRUGGIST, 524,526 Congress ave, cor W. 6th, phone 26; prest and genl mgr A. D.& S. Ry Co., bds Driskill Hotel, rms 208 E. 4th” (Rice 2012).
Morley Brothers, Wholesale and Retail Druggist (also called Morley Brothers Drugstore)	White-owned	This was a white-owned business at 206 E. 6th Street. The firm is listed in the 1897–1898 Austin City Directory as: “MORLEY BROS. (Stephen K. and William J.) Wholesale and retail druggists, 206 E. 6th, phone 94” (Rice 2012).
Mr. Frank H. Raymond, Druggist	White-owned	409 E. 6th Street. Frank H. Raymond is listed as a white man living at 604 W. 7th Street in the 1892 Voter Registration list (Sage 2012). He is listed in the 1897–1898 Austin City Directory as having a residence at 604 W. 7th Street and being a “notary public” for John H. Raymond, a banker, real estate broker, and insurance agent (Rice 2012).
The Bell Drug Store (Bell & Merrick)	Unknown	6th Street. It is not known if this store was black- or white-owned. None of the names were identified in the 1892 Voter Registration list (Sage 2012) or the 1897–1898 Austin City Directory (Rice 2012).
Doctors and Dentists		
Dr. J. H. Stevens, Physician and Negro	Black	424 East 6th Street. The 1897–1898 Austin City Directory lists “Stevens John H. (c). (J. J. Jennings & Co.), physician, surgeon, office over 424 E. 6th. rms same” (Rice 2012).
Dr. J. F. McKinley	Black	Located over Peterson & Hornberger’s Grocery Store at 201 E. 6th Street. The 1897–1898 Austin City Directory lists “McKinley John F. (c), oculist, aurist, office over 201 E. 6th, r.1409 Comal” (Rice 2012).
Dr. E. W. D. Abner, Physician and Surgeon (also Reverend E. W. D. Abner)	Black	At the corner of E. 6th and Trinity Street. The 1897–1898 Austin City Directory lists “Abner Edward W. D. (c), physician, office over 306 E. 6th, phone 345, r. 1603 E. 11th, or Chincapin” (Rice 2012).
Dr. D. F. Barlow, Colored Dentist	Black	424 E. 6th Street in Austin. The 1897–1898 Austin City Directory confirms that Barlow was a black dentist. The listing is: “Barlow B. Frederick (c), dentist, office over 424 E. 6th, rms same” (Rice 2012).

Table 13.5, continued

Name	Ethnicity	Location, Identification, and Comments
Dr. J. R. Moore, Physician and Surgeon	Probably black	At the corner of Comal and 7th Street (near historically black Huston-Tillotson University). Not found in the 1897–1898 Austin City Directory (Rice 2012) or the 1892 Voter Registration (Sage 2012). But Moore is presumed to be a black man based on the location near Tillotson.
Dr. J. B. Banks	Probably black	Located in office at the corner of R. Dukes Grocery. Banks is not positively identified, but he is presumed to have been a black man because Richard Dukes was black (as stated in the 1892 Voter Registration (Sage 2012). Also, another black man (William Golden) was listed as living on East 6th in the “Rear of R Dukes store” (Sage 2012). Dukes is listed in the 1897–1898 Austin City Directory as: “Dukes Richard (c), expressman, r. nw cor Curve, Juniper” (Rice 2012). J. B. Banks does not appear in this city directory but a white man named James A. Banks (living at 205 East 7th Street) does appear (Rice 2012).

towns, or the pending threat of violent retribution from either black or white communities because of an actual or alleged attack or murder. The prevalence of news stories about racial and sexual violence suggests that the white press had a significant role in perpetuating the myth of the black “rape fiend.” Typical headlines read, Kansas City (Kansas) “Don’t Like Negro Ravishers” (*Austin Daily Statesman*, April 13, 1893), Eufaula (Alabama) “Shot and Burned a Murderer” (*Austin Daily Statesman*, April 15, 1893), and Columbus (South Carolina) “Will Hang for Rape” (*Austin Daily Statesman*, April 15, 1893). Correspondents assumed a neutral tone that offered little sympathy for those accused, rarely assessed the validity of the evidence presented, omitted crucial facts pertinent to the story, and refrained from expressing any disgust or disdain for whites’ disregard for justice.

For example, in the *Austin Daily Statesman*’s account of the trial and hanging of Ed Nichols (Austin, Texas), the correspondent briefly noted that Reverend L. L. Campbell baptized and ministered to the accused (*Austin Daily Statesman*, January 11, 1894; *Austin Daily Statesman*, January 12, 1894; *Austin Daily Statesman*, January 13, 1894). In several articles covering the trial of Ed Nichols, the reporter presented his readers with numerous details about the case and proceedings. He provided an account of Nichols’ alleged rape of a 10-year-old girl named Anna Strake, letters from the accused to his family and friends, and a detailed description of the execution (*Austin*

Daily Statesman, April 3, 1893; *Austin Daily Statesman*, January 11, 1894; *Austin Daily Statesman*, January 13, 1894). However, the *Austin Daily Statesman* correspondent failed to disclose that Reverend L. L. Campbell worked closely with Nichols to advocate for his fair treatment under the law and to help proclaim the accused’s innocence. Campbell’s lobbying efforts on behalf of Nichols were amply covered in the *Herald* and offered concerned readers a different view of the Nichols’ case (see *Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 25, December 2, 1893; *Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 18, December 23, 1893; *Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 31, January 13, 1894; *Herald*, Vol. 3, Issue 32, January 20, 1894). The *Herald* was the only paper to mention that Texas Governor James Stephen “Big Jim” Hogg had temporarily suspended the execution of Nichols (*Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 18, December 23, 1893). Hogg had condemned the flagrant disregard of the law in the lynching of black handyman Henry Smith in Paris, Texas, and wanted a legal and orderly measure of justice in the Nichols case. The *Statesman* mentioned Hogg’s condemnation of the extralegal execution of Smith in previous issues but did not acknowledge how this affected the Nichols trial.

It is clear that the coverage of racial issues in the *Austin Daily Statesman* was biased in many ways. The outright omission of any mention of Reverend Campbell’s activism is notable, and the distorted viewpoints were expressed in articles on racial violence, lynchings, and black civil rights. The *Statesman* did report on the

lynching of whites and Mexicans, but these cases were used by the editors as evidence to help them argue that lynching was not disproportionately used by whites as a tool to punish and intimidate blacks. Even when correspondents noted the existence of circumstantial evidence or showed some disdain for the frenzied spectacle of violence that frequently occurred during lynching, the white print media often appears to show silent approval of the use of mob violence in Southern society. This can perhaps be seen in an article in the October 15, 1894, issue of the *Austin Daily Statesman*, which stated: "This is the eighth lynching in central Kentucky in six months and the people have determined to put a stop to murder if they have to take the law into their hands every time a man is killed." In some ways, these words seem to oddly rationalize this behavior.

Furthermore, a review of articles on racial violence in the *Austin Daily Statesman* in 1893 and 1894 further suggests that the white press could not always be relied upon for full and accurate reporting on pertinent black issues. As stated previously, correspondents often omitted essential details and adopted a tone of neutrality that did little to mask their partiality toward issues of racial justice and equality. The *Austin Daily Statesman* printed stories that noted blacks' participation in the capture of persons accused of crimes as if this somehow made mob violence justifiable (see *Austin Daily Statesman*, February 2, 1893; *Austin Daily Statesman*, April 15, 1893). These stories ignored the possibility that the blacks involved may have been coerced into locating, identifying, or harming suspects. These stories also ignored that black leaders and community members were significantly opposed to lynching and other forms of extralegal violence and used their own print media to loudly proclaim their disdain for its deployment in Southern society.

In the story about the capture of Henry Smith in Paris, Texas, the reporter included a quote from a black man who participated in the search for Smith (*Austin Daily Statesman*, February 3, 1893). The black man was quoted as feeling "great pleasure in the part I took in his capture, because, in common with the people of my color I wish to show that we are in true sympathy with the people in bringing his kind to justice" (*Austin Daily Statesman*, February 3, 1893). This event is considered

one of the more infamous public lynchings¹³⁵ in American history, and Davis and Fortier (2010) note that: "The February 1, 1893 murder of Henry Smith in Paris, Texas was the first blatantly public, actively promoted lynching of a southern black by a large crowd of southern whites." The details of Smith's brutal torture and being burned alive are horrible enough, but the fact that a crowd of many thousands of cheering onlookers witnessed it is even more disturbing. Perhaps the *Statesman* editors felt that because a black man took part in Smith's capture, it would somehow vindicate the actions of the white vigilante mob. However, black leaders refused to view the lynching of Smith as an act of justice or to excuse white participants' malicious and noninterventionist behavior. Ida B. Wells, a black anti-lynching crusader, frequently condemned the lynching of Henry Smith in national speeches. In her *Red Record* (a compilation of statistics on lynching), Wells expressed her outrage over this event by stating that, "Never in the history of civilization has any Christian people stooped to such shocking brutality and indescribable barbarism as that which characterized the people of Paris, Texas" (Wells 2012). The *Herald* even compiled articles and editorials from several white newspapers throughout the United States that expressed outrage over the gruesome execution of Smith and the flagrant disregard of the law during his lynching (*Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 40, March 4, 1893:3). Of course, the *Austin Daily Statesman* never mentioned the local or national outrage that both blacks and whites felt about the murder of Smith.

Another story in the *Austin Daily Statesman* used the words of a black political leader to present an alternate perspective on mob violence. Former black congressman John Mercer Langston was quoted as having disdain for the work of the anti-lynching campaigner Ida B. Wells. Langston was reported as having "no sympathy with Ida Wells...intimating that her efforts to arouse the sympathy of the English people for the colored population of the south had less patriotism in it than a desire for notoriety and revenue" (*Austin Daily Statesman*,

¹³⁵The event is called a lynching in the generic sense, meaning that Smith was killed without proper legal action or a trial. But instead of being hanged, Smith was tortured with heated irons and then thrown into a bonfire and burned alive (see Davis and Fortier 2010).

June 4, 1894). This obviously challenged the protests of black anti-lynching campaigners and served to weaken calls of the injustice of extralegal violence by showing the complicity of blacks in its deployment in the South. It is revealing and a bit questionable that the *Austin Daily Statesman* chose to promote the views of one black man who criticized Ida B. Wells while failing to mention that the majority of the black community was in full support of her efforts to condemn mob violence. In contrast to the white Austin newspaper, three articles published in the *Herald* in 1894 mentioned Ida B. Wells¹³⁶ in a positive light. These articles highlighted her efforts to bring national attention to the lynching of blacks in the South, and one write-up even covered a speech she delivered at the Third Baptist Church in Austin (*Herald* July 21, 1894, August 4, 1894, and November 17, 1894; see Appendix F, Entries 7279, 7447, and 8334).

The *Austin Daily Statesman* and the *Herald* often covered the same news issues and stories albeit with different interpretations. This can be seen with the lynching of Henry Smith (*Austin Daily Statesman*, February 3, 1893; *Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 40, March 4, 1893), the trial and hanging of Ed Nichols (*Austin Daily Statesman*, April 3, 1893; *Austin Daily Statesman*, January 11, 1894; *Austin Daily Statesman*, January 12, 1894; *Austin Daily Statesman*, January 13, 1894 and the *Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 25, December 2, 1893; *Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 18, December 23, 1893; *Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 31, January 13, 1894; *Herald*, Vol. 3, Issue 32, January 20, 1894), and the lynchings of seven blacks in Brooks County, Georgia in 1894 (*Austin Daily Statesman*, December 24, 1894; *Herald*, Vol. 4, Issue 31, December 29, 1894).¹³⁷ The two newspapers also contained stories about the burning of a small black women's college in Arkansas (*Austin Daily Statesman*, March 3, 1893; *Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 41, March 11, 1893) as well as the fatal attack on black miners during a labor strike in Alabama

(*Austin Daily Statesman*, July 17, 1894; *Herald*, Vol. 4, Issue 8, July 18, 1894). While the *Austin Daily Statesman* concealed their bias behind a tone of neutrality, the *Herald* not only printed these stories to support a broader political agenda of race equality but openly condemned whites' abuse of blacks.

While racial violence represented the *Austin Daily Statesman's* greatest interest in black news issues, the white editors showed minimal interest in the day-to-day activities of black community life. The editors of the *Statesman* covered several nonviolent black news items that were recorded in the *Herald*. For example, the June 15, 1893, issue of the *Austin Daily Statesman* briefly covered the meeting of the Ancient United Knights and Daughters of Africa (a fraternal organization with both black male and female members) in St. Louis, Missouri. In the March 7, 1894, issue of the *Austin Daily Statesman*, a correspondent noted the recent death and upcoming funeral services of Harriette Carrington of the Third Baptist Church. The *Statesman's* coverage of both of these stories was brief and contained few details about the protagonists. The *Herald*, on the other hand, covered these events in great detail and with considerable respect. For example, Reverend Campbell regularly announced the meeting times of black fraternal organizations as well as covered their events in news stories. When Harriette Carrington died, he printed a lengthy obituary detailing her many contributions to the Third Baptist Church.

While whites probably viewed the black press with some indifference, black readers not only read the white print media in tandem with their own journals but occasionally challenged white editors on their misinterpretations. On September 19, 1892, the *Austin Daily Statesman* printed a letter from a resident of East Austin that shed light on the unsanitary conditions in the freedmen community of Robertson Hill (*Austin Daily Statesman*, Vol. 20, September 19, 1892) (also see Mears 2009:40–43). This opinion challenged an *Austin Daily Statesman* writer's previous lauding of the cleanliness of Austin.

Subscribers to the *Austin Daily Statesman* could sometimes find articles that noted exceptional examples of black political agitation or social organization. The title of the article "To Protect Negro Rape Fiends" did little to mask the writer's contempt for the discussed efforts

¹³⁶Ida B. Wells began her outspoken protests against mob violence after her newspaper, the *Memphis Free Speech*, was destroyed. She continued her civil rights work into the first quarter of the twentieth century (BlackPast.org 2012; Schechter 2001).

¹³⁷Two online sources that provide lists of blacks lynched in America are Autopsis.org (2012) for the period 1865–1965 and Christine's Genealogy website (2012) since 1859.

of the Cincinnati, Ohio Afro-American Council to petition the United States government for an intervention in mob violence, but it did present a thorough description of the group's political demands and legislative agenda (*Austin Daily Statesman*, December 7, 1893). During the massive labor strikes of 1894, the *Austin Daily Statesman* relayed the story of a group of 500 black and Italian miners going on strike in Thurber, Texas (*Austin Daily Statesman*, June 4, 1894). Moreover, in an earlier issue of the *Austin Daily Statesman* (September 16, 1892), the editors reprinted a story about Toussaint L'Ouverture, leader of the 1793 Haitian Revolution who commanded the first successful slave insurrection in the Western Hemisphere.

Local merchants and national manufacturing companies ran similar advertisements in both the reviewed white and black newspapers. Mass-manufactured clothing, food, health and beauty items, and medicines were commonly advertised in both, while ads for financial services and real estate appeared to be more common in the white newspaper. Since the *Austin Daily Statesman* did not have a heavy emphasis on moral or religious instruction, tobacco products seemed to be advertised in greater frequency than what was observed in the *Herald*. The *Austin Daily Statesman* also had several advertisements for medicines to treat sexually transmitted diseases and male reproductive issues. For example, Santal-Midy was marketed as a cure for gonorrhea, and Woods-Phosphodine was said to treat nervousness, impotence, and spermatorrhea (a condition of excessive and involuntary ejaculation). Perhaps it should come as no surprise that no similar products were advertised in the religious-based *Herald* newspaper.

Of the 87 entries for national products in the white newspapers, 33 of those products (38 percent) were also advertised in the black newspapers (Table 13.6). Many of the products that were most frequently advertised in both black and white newspapers are the wide variety of patent medicines, Blackwell's Bull Durham Tobacco, and Clairette Laundry Soap. Large railroad companies such as the MK & T Railway (Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway), Texas and Pacific Railway, and the International Great Northern Railroad Route (IGNRR) also courted black and white patrons. When one looks at the

local businesses, there are fewer crossovers. Relatively few of the local white businesses that advertised in the *Austin Daily Statesman* and the *Austin Weekly Statesman* also advertised in the sampled black newspapers (Table 13.7). Of the 52 entries advertising local businesses, only 9 of the businesses also advertised in the black newspapers. It is especially revealing that while several local white businesses (for example, Douglas Shoes, Scarbrough & Hicks Dry Goods, and Sauter & Hallock's Racket Stores) advertised in the black newspapers, none of the local businesses that advertised in the daily and weekly *Statesman* issues can be definitively identified as black businesses.

Although many local and national companies placed their ads in both white and black newspapers, black consumers did not enjoy economic equity. Edward Ayers stated that "in the countryside and in town, blacks and whites associated with members of their own race except in those situations when interracial association could not be avoided: work, commerce, politics, travel" (Ayers 2007:136). In commerce, mass marketing and consumption were subjected to racial ideologies that structured how products were advertised, accessed, sold and purchased (Kern-Foxworth 1994; Mullins 1999a, 1999b, 2001). For example, companies frequently targeted white consumers with product advertisements that featured stereotypical images of blacks (Kern-Foxworth 1994:29; Mullins 1999a:43-46). These images conjured memories of the Old South, plantation slavery, and black subjugation that sought to quell white anxiety about black demands for freedom and equality (Mullins 1999a:43). For example, Figure 13.3 is an advertisement from the clothing firm of Harrell and Wilcox that was printed in the *Austin Daily Statesman* on January 13, 1894. It depicts a racially derogatory image of a black child along with the slogan "Even The Little Savage Wears A Shirt." This type of advertisement not only appealed to whites who believed in their own racial superiority, but the volume and constant repetition of such images and messages helped reinforce racial stereotypes and white supremacist attitudes (Kern-Foxworth 1994; Mullins 1999a).

Racist ideologies in the marketplace allowed whites to conduct financial business with blacks while further subjecting them to humiliating and disrespectful treatment. Sitton

Table 13.6. National products and services advertised in the *Austin Daily Statesman* (April 13, 1893) and the *Austin Weekly Statesman* (January 4, 1894)

Product or Company Name	Also Advertised in African American Newspapers	Comments
Abbott's East Indian Corn Paint		
African Kola Plant	x	
Angostura Bitters		
Austin & Northwestern Railroad Company		Adverstising for the Granite Mountain Line
Ayer's Cherry Pectoral	x	
B. M. Woolley, M.D.	x	Opium and whiskey habits treatment
Beecham's Pills	x	
Benson's Porous Plaster		Lumbago, rheumatism treatment
Blackwell's Bull Durham Smoking Tobacco	x	
Boeman's Pennyroyal and Tunsy Pills		
Brown's Iron Bitters	x	Dyspepsia treatment
Bucklen's Arnica Salve		Sold by John H. Chiles & Co.'s Drugstore, Austin
C. A. Snow & Co. Patents	x	
Chamberlain's Cough Remedy		Sold by J. J. Tobin, Austin
Chamberlain's Pain Balm		Sold by J. J. Tobin, Austin
Chamberlain's Remedy		Treatment for colic, cholera, diarrhea; sold by J. J. Tobin, Austin
Clairette Laundry Soap	x	
Complete Manhood and How to Attain It		Book published by Erie Medical Co.
Cook's Cotton Root Compound		
Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup	x	Consumption treatment
Dr. Hill, Central Drugstore		
Dr. Miles' Restorative Cure	xx	Sold by Morley Brothers, Austin, and J.J. Tobin, Austin
Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription	x	
Dr. Price's Cream Baking Powder		
Dr. Price's Delicious Flavoring Extracts		
Dr. Prince's Cream Baking Powder		
Dr. Sage's Wisdom	xx	
Dr. Whittier		Nervous disorders treatment. St. Louis, Missouri
Electric Bitters		Sold by John H. Chiles & Co.'s Drugstore, Austin
Encyclopedia Brittanica		Subscribers received a Dime Registering Savings Bank

Table 13.6, continued

Product or Company Name	Also Advertised in African American Newspapers	Comments
Ferry's Seeds	x	Detroit, Michigan
Garland Stoves and Ranges		
Golden Bell Cigars		5 cents cigars
Gouraud's Cream		
Hall's Catarrh Cure	x	
Hawkes Eyeglasses		Sold by Graham & Andrews Drugstore, Austin
Heiskell's Ointment		Treatment for skin diseases
Honey Suckle Cigars		5 cents cigars
Hood's Sarsaparilla	x	
Hostetter's Stomach Bitters	x	
Hotel Salge		
I. Stein & Co.		Ice cream freezers, water coolers and filters
Indapo Hindoo Remedy		Sold by A. Giesen & Co., Austin
International & Great Northern Railway	x	
International Route (I & GNRRC)	x	
John Bremond & Co. Groceries		
Karl's Clover Root	x	Laxative and nerve tonic; sold by John H. Chiles & Co.'s Drugstore, Austin
Kierstead's King of all Pain		Cure for gum ailments and toothaches
Ladies Bazaar (Kansas City, Missouri)		Infallible Safeguard
Loomis & Nyman Tiffin Machine	xx	Equipment for boring wells
Louisiana State Lottery Company		Message from President Paul Conrad
Mexican Palma Cream and Palm Absorbent Powder		
Mirabilia		5 cents cigars
MK & T (Missouri, Kansas & Texas) Railway	x	
Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup	x	
Neely's Great Historical Chart Political and US Map		Sold by the Statesman Publishing Company, Austin
P.P.P.		Scrofula, blood diseases treatment
Palma Tonique		Formerly Samotz Quinine Hair Tonic
Parker's Ginger Tonic		Treatment for female weakness, weak lungs, indigestion
Parker's Hair Balsam		
Pearline Laundry Soap		
Perfect Manhood		Book sold by the Erie Medical Co., Buffalo, New York

Table 13.6, continued

Product or Company Name	Also Advertised in African American Newspapers	Comments
Piles Electroble		
Piso's Cure for Consumption	x	
Pond's Extract		Treatment for rheumatism, female complaints
Queen & Crescent Route Railway		
Radway's Ready Relief for Pain		
Ripans's Tabules		Ripans Chemical Co., New York
Root, Bark and Blossom	x	Stomach, Liver, Kidney and Blood Remedy
Royal Baking Powder	x	
Salvation Oil	x	
Santal-Midy		Gonorrhoea treatment
Sapolio Soap		
Scott's Emulsion	x	Consumption, bronchitis, scrofula treatment; cod liver oil
Shiloh's Cure	x	Sold by John H. Chiles & Co.'s Drugstore, Austin
Shiloh's Vitalizer	xx	Sold by John H. Chiles & Co.'s Drugstore, Austin
Smoke Seal of the West		5 cents cigars
Stiles & Rife Wholesale Fruits and Produce		
Syrup of Figs	x	California Fig Syrup
T. A. Slocum, M.C. Consumption Cure		Consumption treatment
Texas & Pacific Railway	x	
The Rushford Wagon		
Tower's Fish Brand Waterproof Coat	x	
Tutt's Pills		Dyspepsia, headache treatment
W. L. Douglas (\$3 Shoes)	x	Brockton, Massachusetts
Windsor Folding Machine and Sewing Machine		Sold by N.V. Dittlinger, The House Furnisher, Austin
Wood's Phosphodine, The Great English Remedy		Treatment for nervousness, impotence, spermatorrhea; sold by the J. H. Chiles Drugstore, Austin

x = exact product was advertised in African American newspapers

xx = a product by the same company was advertised in African American newspapers

and Conrad note that landowning blacks in independent settlements minimized signs of prosperity on business trips to some Texas towns to avoid the wrath of whites since prosperous blacks were frequently the victims of violent attacks (Sitton and Conrad 2005:60, 157–158).

On some trips to town, black men and women would dress in their field or work clothes and would do their best to observe the implicit racial etiquette that dictated that they yield the sidewalks to white passersby and address white clerks and shoppers as “mister” or “miss”

Table 13.7. Local businesses advertised in the *Austin Daily Statesman* (April 13, 1893) and the *Austin Weekly Statesman* (January 4, 1894)

Local Business Name	Also Advertised in African American Newspapers	Austin Address Listed
A. Giesen & Co.		corner of 6th and Congress Avenue
A. O. Watson, Architect		923 Congress Avenue
Alamo Insurance Company (San Antonio, Texas)		
Austin Gas Light & Coal Company		
Austin Seed House; Arthur Mays, Proprietor		
Austin White Lime Company; A. F. Martin, proprietor		202 West 6th Street
Bargain House Furnishing Company		404, 406 Congress Avenue
Butterine		115 East 6th Street
Capitol Clothing House		521, 523, 525 Congress Avenue
Chautauqua ("Finest Bargains in the Land")		
Dr. Baxter, DDS		816 Congress Avenue
Dr. C. A. Graves, DDS		604 Brazos Street; Driskill Hotel
Dr. C. T. Loving, Dentist		612 Congress Avenue
Dr. M. L. White, DDS		8th Street
Dr. Shackelford, Dentist		618 Congress Avenue
Dr. Smith, DDS		506 Congress Avenue
Dr. Stoddard, Dentist		
Dr. W. R. Simcock, DDS		820 Congress Avenue
Drs. Bragg and Griffith, Homeopaths		2 West 9th Street
E. Mayer & Jno. Schmidt (tailoring and repairing business)		
Eugene von Boeckmann's (society cards)		910 Congress Avenue
Frank Hamilton (Trustee sale for John C. Boak, deceased)		
G. M. Brass, Dealer in real estate		
G. W. Whitis (20 lots available for sale)		
Graham & Andrews Drugstore	x	
Graham & Co.		602 Congress Avenue
H. F. N. Gammel (home furnishings, books, looking glasses)	x	
Henry Ladd (fire insurance and real estate)		808 Congress Avenue

Table 13.7, continued

Local Business Name	Also Advertised in African American Newspapers	Austin Address Listed
Hotel Salge		The 1897–1898 Austin City Directory lists the address as 306 Congress Avenue (Rice 2012)
Hyde Park Pavilion (Lively Chase Musical Comedy)		
I. Malevinsky		Congress Avenue
I.X.L. Grubbers and Hawkeye Stump Pullers; Walter Tips, Agent	x	
Irvin Daniel Fire and Marine Insurance		704 Congress Avenue
J. H. Chiles Drugstore	x	
J. H. Raymond Jr. (loans)		Board of Trade Building
J. J. Tobin		700, 702 Congress Avenue
John H. Chiles & Co.’s Drugstore		
Looke’s English Kitchen		609 Congress Avenue
Morley Brothers	x	
N.V. Dittlinger, The House Furnisher (pianos)		302, 304 East 6th Street
Palace Meat Market		
Peterson Brothers (gasoline and charcoal)		
Sauter & Hallock (“Original Racket Store”)	x	
Scarborough & Hicks (paintings for sale)	x	
Scott Wear’s Stable (horses for sale)		East 6th Street
Smith & Brady (boots and shoes)	x	
State Fireman’s Convention		
Statesman Publishing Company (maps)		
Thos. Goggan & Bros. (pianos)	x	711 Congress Avenue, Austin, Texas
W. A. Glass (wood, coal, charcoal)		800 West 4th Street
W. N. LeSusan, DDS		606 Brazos Street
Wm. A. Burke (plumbing and water connections)		107, 109 East 7th Street


x = exact product was advertised in African American newspapers

xx = a product by the same company was advertised in African American newspapers

(Sitton and Conrad 2005:160–161). Some white stores either excluded or refused to serve blacks. For example, many restaurants would not allow blacks to dine alongside white patrons and would force their black customers to go to the

back of their businesses to purchase food (Sitton and Conrad 2005:159).

During the height of the Jim Crow era, railroads were especially places of racial friction. Black passengers were denied access to first-



**EVEN THE LITTLE SAVAGE
WEARS A SHIRT.**

In our Shirt Department,
which is the largest in the
state, we are showing the
latest and correct styles in
Full Dress, Business and
Neglige Shirts.

Have just received a line
of the latest things in fancy
shirts for business wear.

SHIRTS MADE TO ORDER.

HARRELL AND WILCOX,

Figure 13.3. An 1894 advertisement with a racially derogatory picture and slogan in the *Austin Daily Statesman* (January 13, 1894). This firm was listed in the 1897–1898 Austin City Directory as: “HARRELL & WILCOX (David Harrell, Walter W. Wilcox), men’s clothing, furnishing goods, hats, 608 Congress ave, phone 102” (Rice 2012). Harrell and Wilcox did not advertise in any of the black newspapers that were examined.

class seating and were either expelled or forced to travel in second-class cars despite paying full price for first-class accommodations (Ayers 2007:137). Whites often protested the race and class transgressions that occurred when black

travelers rode in first class, and the racial ambiguity of mixed-race blacks particularly heightened tensions between black and white riders (Ayers 2007:138–140). In 1871, Texas passed a law prohibiting public carriers from making any

distinctions in the carrying of passengers. But this law was repealed in 1889 and replaced with a new law that required railroad companies “to maintain separate coaches for white and colored passengers, equal in comfort.” Racial segregation was further entrenched in Texas’s public transportation (including streetcars) with additional laws in 1891, 1907, and 1909 (JimCrowHistory.org 2012). When blacks challenged the segregation on railroad cars, the *Herald* frequently printed stories about these racial disputes and blacks’ demands for fair access and better treatment during travel (see *Herald*, Vol. 2, Issue 44, April 1, 1893; *Herald*, Vol. 3, Issue 47, April 29, 1893; *Herald*, Vol. 1, Issue 27, December 1, 1894). These articles debated the fairness of “Jim Crow cars” and highlighted the early struggles over the notion of separate but equal. They also shed light on blacks’ courageous efforts to individually defy segregation and to petition the courts for better treatment. Although blacks sued and occasionally won in instances of bad treatment on the railroads (Kelley 2010), a cursory examination of the *Austin Daily Statesman* did not reveal coverage of these stories. Instead, in the October 5, 1893 issue of the *Austin Daily Statesman*, the editors included an article about the passage of a separate car law in St. Louis, Missouri, that coincided with a widespread movement to segregate blacks and whites in the southern United States and perhaps implicitly supported these actions.

A cursory review of the *Austin Daily Statesman* further revealed that white professionals did not advertise in local black newspapers and black professionals did not promote their services in the white press. De jure and de facto practices of segregation rigidly divided blacks and whites into separate residential, social, and professional communities. Whites’ refusal to treat black bodies in health, sickness, or death gave rise to a burgeoning but small black middle class of educators, doctors, dentists, preachers, embalmers, barbers, beauticians, caterers, and other business owners. In a discussion of black doctors in Austin, Mears (2009:94) speculated: “It is possible that white physicians also treated

black patients in nineteenth-century Austin, although it is difficult to determine with certainty.” However, the newspaper data suggest that racial segregation was the rule for medical treatment in Austin. None of the doctors and the dentist who advertised in the 1890s black newspapers were white (see Table 13.5), and none of these black medical professionals advertised in Austin’s white newspapers (see Table 13.7).

Furthermore, job announcements in the *Austin Daily Statesman* advertised servile positions in agriculture or domestic service and sometimes excluded black applicants altogether. In a classified ad posted by Mrs. Brackenridge, potential employers stated a preference for white or in some instances Swedish assistance (*Austin Daily Statesman*, April 13, 1894). In contrast, the *Herald* contained few ads for menial work positions. Black subscribers frequently placed ads for teachers or ministers, perhaps illustrating the class aspirations of black editors and newspaper readers.

CONCLUSION

Current historiography on black life in central Texas remains hindered by out-of-date print materials and incomplete attention to blacks’ lives and experiences in the region (Barkley 1963; Brewer 1940; Frank Brown n.d.). While this work has been enhanced by Michelle Mears’ (2009) study on freedman communities, archeology has shown its potential to make the greatest contribution to enhancing knowledge on this subject with its ability to document historic sites and to ask new questions of archival evidence. This study of black Texas newspapers was spurred by an interest in black material culture and resulted in a reexamination of primary source documents to look at how blacks depicted *their own* lives in their print media in contrast to the white print media. This study reveals that the black press played a significant role in forming a political and racial ideology of the black community as well as subscribers’ individual perceptions of themselves.

POST-EMANCIPATION TRANSITIONS OF THE WILLIAMS FAMILY: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Douglas K. Boyd, Aaron R. Norment, Terri Myers, and Maria Franklin

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“...A home will make the colored man
a free man.”
—*The Free Man’s Press*, Austin
August 1, 1868

In 1868, black community leaders urged all freedmen to buy land and own their own home or farm. Ransom Williams took this advice, worked hard, saved his money, and bought a farm in 1871. For three decades, he and his wife raised their family on the small, hardscrabble farm on the uplands south of the Colorado River. True racial equality would not happen in Ransom and Sarah’s lifetimes, but having their own farm provided them a level of freedom and security known only to those African Americans who owned property.

This chapter summarizes what was learned from the historical and archeological studies of the Williams family and their central Texas farmstead, places our findings into the broader historical context, and presents some conclusions regarding African diaspora research. As is typical of multiyear cultural resources management (CRM) projects, the Williams Farmstead Archeological Project evolved considerably over more than seven years. In 2006, we proposed a set research topics and questions to guide our site investigations and evaluation, and these questions were modified and expanded as the project progressed (see Chapter 2). These general research topics and specific questions were presented in various management documents between 2006 and 2010 (Boyd and Franklin 2009; Myers and Boyd 2006, 2008; Prewitt and Associates, Inc. 2007). In November 2010, the organizing research theme for the final data analysis was defined as “Post-Emancipation

Transitions in the African Diaspora” (Prewitt and Associates, Inc. 2010). This concept is best explained in the editor’s introduction to the *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* (2013), which summarizes the African diaspora as “the historical processes of culture, economics, gender, power, and racialization operating within and upon African descendant communities.” In keeping with this theme, we reorganized our research questions to fit into four main topics with 23 subheadings (Prewitt and Associates, Inc. 2010:8–9):

- A. Socioeconomic Status
 - Living Conditions
 - Adornment and Hygiene
 - Housing
 - Foodways
 - Gender-Based Occupations and Activities
 - Children’s Activities
 - Cultural Identity (folk beliefs and practices)
 - Dominance and Resistance
 - Landownership vs. Tenancy
- B. Consumer Behavior
 - Use of Mass-Manufactured Products in Pre-Railroad Period
 - Use of Mass-Manufactured Products in Post-Railroad Period
 - Modification and Reuse of Mass-Manufactured Goods
 - Use of Mass-Manufactured Products vs. Homemade Products
 - Use of Manufactured Foods vs. Homegrown Foods

- C. Technology, Modernization, and Industrialization
 - Agriculture in Southern Travis County
 - Subsistence Agriculture vs. Cash Crops
 - Evolution of Agricultural Equipment
 - Rural Community Development
- D. Landscape History
 - Use of Natural Resources
 - Layout of the Farmstead
 - Layout of the House and Yard
 - Water Management Features
 - Livestock Management Features

Throughout this book, we have covered all of the subject matter defined in these general research topics, as well as the specific research questions proposed at various times. Whenever possible, we followed the evidence in new directions and went as far as practical in formulating interpretations. It is customary in CRM reports to present a final summary that follows the standard format of “research question = answer.” In this final chapter, however, we have chosen to deviate from this onerous format and instead present our summary and conclusions in a simple narrative format organized into these 10 topics:

- Overview of African American Archeology in Texas
- Chronology of the Williams Farmstead Artifacts
- Changing Technologies and Consumer Behavior
- Understanding the Farmstead History and Landscape
- Post-Emancipation Agriculture in Central Texas
- Daily Life on the Williams Farmstead
- Cultural Identity, Dominance, and Resistance
- An African American Economic Network in Central Texas
- The Williams Family and the Great Migration
- Why Is the Williams Farmstead Important?

The first nine sections provide background information on African American archeology in

the state and cover a wide range of important African American research topics that place Ransom and Sarah Williams in a broader context—as freedmen farmers in Texas and the Jim Crow South. The final section examines the Williams farmstead from a national perspective, defining why one small freedmen farm in central Texas is important and what it contributes to the African diaspora dialogue in the United States.

While conducting the farmstead investigations, analyses, and interpretations, we relied heavily on the published works, practical and theoretical, of many historical researchers and archeologists. The research themes and topics listed above follow investigative strategies recommended and discussed by several prominent historical archeologists, including: Barile (2004); Barile and Brandon (2004); Beaudry (1989, 2002); Hardesty and Little (2000); Hendon (2006); LeeDecker (1994); Rotman (2009); Saitta (2007); Scott (1990); Spencer-Wood (1987, 1999); Stine (1990); and Wilson (1990). Concepts pertaining to the historic farmsteads as agricultural systems and the importance of agricultural landscapes were derived from: Freeman et al. (2005); Hardesty and Little (2000); Majewski and Gaimster (2009); McClelland et al. (1989); Scott (1990); and Wilson (1990). The research themes and topics most important in African diaspora research were derived from: Chireau (2003); Edwards-Ingram (1997); Epperson (2004); Franklin (1997); Franklin and McKee (2004 ed.); Franklin and McKee (2004); Hyatt (1900–1978); Leone and Fry (1999, 2001); Leone et al. (2005); Matthews (2010); McDavid (2002); McDavid et al. (2012); McGhee (2008); McKee (1998); Mullins (1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2004, 2007); Orser (2001 ed.) Orser (1998, 2001); Russell (1997); Schuyler (1980); Singleton (1988, 1995, 1997, 1999 ed., 2009 ed.); Singleton and Bograd (1995); Stamford (2007); Stine (1990); and Wilkie (1994, 1995, 1997, 2000a, 2000b, 2004). General sources that provided historical information on African Americans in Texas, enslaved and freedmen, are: Barr (1996); Crouch (1984, 1992); Gilbert and Eli (2000); Gillette (1922); Kyriakoudes (1998); McGhee (2000); Mears (2009); Schweninger (1997); Sitton and Conrad (2005); Williams (1997); and Woolfer (1936).

OVERVIEW OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ARCHEOLOGY IN TEXAS

It is important to understand how the Williams Farmstead Archeological Project fits

into the larger picture of African American archeology in Texas. In her recent master's thesis study, Scott (2012) summarized the African American historical archeological sites in Texas using data from the Texas Archeological Sites Atlas maintained by the Texas Historical Commission. She writes that the official atlas contains data on 1,060 sites that relate to African American history, 783 of which are historic sites such as cemeteries, churches, schools, plantations, communities, and other locations with standing structures and features (Scott 2012:30–35, Table 2). The other 277 are archeological sites, which are classified into 17 categories, the most common being homesteads (n = 93), cemeteries (n = 86), plantations (n = 27), communities (n = 25), and military sites (n = 16) (Scott 2012:Table 3).¹³⁸ At face value, 93 archeological homestead sites that relate to African American occupations sounds like a significant number, one that might give the impression that post-emancipation African diaspora archeology has been robust in Texas. A closer look at the data, however, shows that the level of investigations at most of these sites is rather minimal. Scott's (2012) review of African American sites in the statewide database presents some interesting data and research trends, but the results are limited by the nature of the data contained in the atlas. Almost all of the homestead sites in the database are known only through survey-level information compiled for CRM projects. Some of the sites have seen testing or some level of data recovery, but the atlas data rarely contains information about these more intensive investigations. Even if a site was researched using archival records or oral history, the atlas seldom indicates that such work was completed.

¹³⁸Notably, some site types (such as cemeteries and plantations for example) appear as both "historic sites" and "archeological sites" while others appear only as "historic sites." This simply reflects the inconsistencies in how sites get recorded and entered into the state's site atlas, and it is a fact that many historic sites never receive archeological site numbers even though they contain archeological remains. Scott (2012:37) notes some problems in how the archeological sites are recorded. In one case, an entire plantation received a single trinomial site number, while at another plantation nine separate residences of enslaved peoples, which Scott classified as "quarters," were given separate site numbers. For our purposes, however, it is the archeological sites classified as homesteads that are of most interest.

The only way to get up-to-date information on intensively investigated African American sites in Texas is through the published archeological literature. Throughout the course of our project, we were constantly searching for published archeological information on freedmen sites that would be comparable in some way to the Williams farmstead. During this time, another group of researchers was working on a historic context for African American archeology in Texas. The document, compiled by McDavid et al. (2012), provides a summary of African American archeological research across the state. They cite Scott's (2012) summary of sites using the Texas Archeological Sites Atlas, but they also delved into the published literature to identify the more intensively investigated sites. McDavid et al. (2012:47–48) discuss the archeological projects pertaining to freedmen communities and post-emancipation farmsteads (including both owners and tenants). They list Sitton and Conrad's (2005) *Freedom Colonies* as one of the best sources of information on freedmen communities, but they note that very little archeological research has been done on this subject. Historian Michelle Mears (2009:165–169) also notes this in her study of the freedmen communities of Austin.¹³⁹

Eight archeological projects in which rural freedmen communities or freedmen farmsteads were documented or investigated (including six listed by McDavid et al. 2012:47–48) are (in chronological order):

- Navarro County. Archeological investigations at multiple African American farmsteads and tenant sites at Richland Chambers Reservoir, with intensive investigations at three sites (Jurney and Moir 1987; Moir and Jurney 1987)
- Brazos County. Oral history and archeological investigation of the Ned Peterson farmstead (Carlson 1995a; Nash 1995)

¹³⁹One notable recent exception is the archeological field school at Antioch Colony, a freedmen's community in northern Hays County, held by the Department of Anthropology, University of Texas at Austin, in the summers of 2013 and 2014. Directed by Dr. Maria Franklin, this field school investigated the locations of the community's first school and church and several residential sites. No results have been published yet, but the analyses of the archeological data are underway.

- Delta County. Archeological investigations of three African American farmsteads at Cooper Lake (Green et al. 1996)
- Bowie County. Archeological survey and documentation of multiple African American farmsteads on 4,433-acres at the Red River Army Depot and Lone Star Army Ammunition Plant (Gadus and Freeman 1998)
- Travis County. Archival and archeological research at the Rubin Hancock farmstead (Blake and Myers 1999)
- Fort Bend County. Archeological survey and documentation of multiple African American farmsteads on a 1,400-acre residential development site (Iruegas et al. 2007)
- Travis County. Archeological survey (2,856 acres) and documentation of multiple African American homesites and a school associated with a freedmen community at Webberville (Jones et al. 2009)
- Rusk County. Archeological survey and documentation of multiple African American farmsteads on a 6,925-acre lignite coal mine property (Dockall et al. 2010)

Four of these projects involve only survey-level documentation of African American sites, accompanied by minimal archival or oral history research. Because these studies represent only the initial survey stage of CRM compliance, they provide only basic information about the African American occupation sites that were found, with limited historic background on the associated communities. For this reason, the archeological data for these sites are not particularly useful for comprehensive intersite comparisons.

Four of the older projects, on the other hand, involve more intensive archeological excavations and recovery of material culture associated with African American sites. The 1980s archeological work by SMU at the proposed Richland Chambers Reservoir in northeast Texas included extensive archival research, limited oral history interviews, and archeological investigations at 31 farmsteads in Freestone and Navarro Counties (Bruseth et al. 1982; Journey and Moir 1987; Moir and Journey 1987). A few of the investigated farms were owned by African Americans

or occupied by African American tenants. In particular, limited archeological work was done at two black tenant sites (41NV305 and 41NV306), while fairly extensive excavations were completed at the farmstead (41NV267) owned by Mingo and Nancy Burleson (Journey and Moir 1987:multiple chapters; Moir and Journey 1987:133–144). These sites are mentioned later in this chapter, and their artifact assemblages are summarized for general comparisons with the artifacts recovered from the Williams farmstead. Interpretations of these Navarro County farmstead occupations are supported by oral history interviews by Nunley (1987). This study presents topical summaries derived from the oral histories rather than the full interview transcripts.

The archival research and archeological investigations conducted at the Ned Peterson farmstead (41BZ115) are reported by Carlson (1995a), with previous site documentation and historical research reported by Carlson (1993b). The work was done in conjunction with a wastewater treatment plant, and archeological investigations focused on the location of Peterson's log cabin. Site interpretations are augmented by oral history research. Nash (1995) presents an excellent and well-illustrated summary of the family's history and life on their farmstead, along with transcribed parts of interviews with some family members.

The investigations in Delta County by Geo-Marine, Inc., were completed in connection with the planned construction of Cooper Lake, and the work included archival and oral history research on a freedmen community called Friendship (Green et al. 1996). The report contains an excellent historical background and history of the Friendship community, and it describes the archeological excavations of three African American farmsteads with occupations dating between 1889 and 1958. The three sites are each linked with known owner-occupants—John Derrick (41DT192), John Hancock (41DT208), and Wallace Carter (41DT209). While the site investigations were limited, the artifact data from these farmsteads are compared with the Williams farmstead assemblage later in this chapter.

The fourth important study is the investigation of the Rubin and Elizabeth Hancock farmstead located in the rural Duval/Waters Park community of northern Travis County. The original archeological work was done by

the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation (now TxDOT) in 1987 as part of a road development project, but the data analysis and reporting were completed a decade later by Blake and Myers (1999). The work includes archival research on the ethnically mixed community, the Hancock family, and their 83-acre farm, and it describes the archeological investigations, cultural features, and recovered artifacts. Two oral history interviews with Hancock descendants provide additional information used to help interpret the site. Clark (2004:321–328) presents results of extensive archival research and some oral history interviews pertaining to the Duval/Waters Park community, but, unfortunately, none of these interviews were with the African American Hancock descendants. The Hancock family occupation lasted from 1880 to 1916, and the recovered material culture is comparable to the Williams farmstead artifact assemblage in many ways. The one caveat, however, is that the assemblage was mixed with later materials, and the 9,082 artifacts that are described are a sample limited to the “artifacts that potentially could provide information relevant to temporal and/or functional questions” (Blake and Myers 1999:53).

Besides the investigations of rural farmsteads, there have also been several substantial historical and archeological investigations of post-emancipation occupation sites in urban settings in Texas. Rather extensive studies have been done of freedmen communities and urban homesites in Dallas (Davidson 1998, 2004a, 2004b; Peter et al. 2000; Schulte-Scott et al. 2005; Teague and Davidson 2011) and Houston (Feit and Jones 2007, 2008; Foster and Nance 2002; McDavid 2005, 2007; McDavid et al. 2008; Taylor et al. 1998), and to a lesser extent in Austin (Karbula et al. 2000; Parsons and Seibel 2000; Seibel et al. 2000), Denton (Boyd 2005; Douglas 2010), and San Antonio (Fox et al. 1997a, 1997b, 1997c). McDavid et al. (2012:48–50) summarizes many of these urban freedmen site investigations.

Table 14.1 is a listing of selected references to historic and archeological investigations of post-emancipation African American occupation sites in Texas, both rural and urban. All of these sources were reviewed, and some data were used for general comparisons with the Williams farmstead material culture or identification of particular artifacts. The levels of investigation for these projects vary widely, however, as does

the quantity and quality of the historical and archeological data. Consequently, the site data produced by most of these archeological investigations are not entirely comparable to the Williams farmstead archeological data, for a variety of reasons. In some cases, site occupation spans were too lengthy, so it is difficult or impossible to determine what recovered material remains were really associated with the African American occupants. In some cases, the archeological investigations were relatively minimal, and the samples of documented features and recovered material remains are too small for meaningful intersite comparisons. In some cases, inconsistencies or omissions in the reporting of the material culture make it difficult to define complete household assemblages, and this is especially true in cases where materials from multiple households were described together rather than as separate site assemblages. It is also true that most of the archeological investigations at rural African American farmsteads in Texas have focused primarily on the farmhouses and immediate yard areas, without looking at the entire farmstead as an integrated agricultural system.

Some CRM projects that included oral history interviews with African Americans are listed in Table 14.1, but other oral history work has been done independently of any archeological investigations. In addition to the academic literature, the oral history research produced by CRM projects is quite relevant to post-emancipation history and archeology in Texas, including these:

- Bastrop County. Oral histories with former residents of the Camp Swift lands (Freeman 2006; Sitton 2006)
- Bexar County. Oral histories and complementary archival research for the Alamodome project in San Antonio, pertaining to an ethnically mixed twentieth-century neighborhood (Boteler-Mock 1997; Pfeiffer 1997)
- Brazoria County. Oral histories compiled for the Levi Jordan Plantation archeological investigations. Includes white descendants of the plantation owners and black descendants of the enslaved/freedmen community (Hammons 2005a, 2005b; Wright 1994)

Table 14.1. Summary of historic and archeological investigations pertaining to post-emancipation African American occupation sites in Texas*

County	Site No.	Site Name and Type	Approximate Dates	Summary of Investigations	Occupation Type	Reference
Bexar	Multiple sites	CRM investigations at the Alamodome in San Antonio	ca. 1850 to 1950	Archival, oral history, and archeological investigations of an evolving San Antonio neighborhood that included excavations at African American households and a small African American community	Urban	Fox et al. (1997a, 1997b, 1997c)
Bowie	Multiple sites	Archeological survey of portions of U.S. Army installations in Bowie County, northeast Texas	Post-emancipation	Survey of U.S. Army properties discovered several rural black homesteads and a cemetery.	Rural	Gadus and Freeman (1998)
Brazos	41BZ115	Ned Peterson Farmstead	1894 to 1931	Archival and oral history study of African American farming in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Archeological data are limited.	Rural	Carlson (1993b); Carlson (1995a)
Brazos	41BZ152	Archeological investigations of two historic African American school sites	Post-emancipation	Limited archeological investigations of two African American school locations	Rural	Carlson (2006)
Brazoria	41BO165	African American Quarters at the Levi Jordan Plantation	1848 to 1890s	Intensive archeological investigations of the brick cabins that housed the plantation's slave and freedmen community from 1850s through 1890s	Rural	Brown (1994, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2008, 2012); Brown and Cooper (1990); McDavid (1997a, 1997b, 1998)
Culberson	41CU44	Buffalo Soldiers campsite	1870s	Pine Springs Site in the Guadalupe Mountains	Military	King and Dunnivant (2008)
Dallas	41DL393	Dallas Freedmen's community	Post-emancipation	Archival, oral history, and archeological investigations in the North Dallas "Freedmantown"	Urban	Schulte-Scott et al. 2005
Delta	41DT192	John Derrick Farmstead	1902 to 1956?	Archival, oral history, and archeological studies of an African American-owned farmstead in the Friendship freedmen community	Rural	Green et al. (1996)
Delta	41DT208	John Hancock Farmstead	1889 to 1920	Archival, oral history, and archeological studies of an African American-owned farmstead in the Friendship freedmen community	Rural	Green et al. (1996)

Table 14.1, continued

County	Site No.	Site Name and Type	Approximate Dates	Summary of Investigations	Occupation Type	Reference
Delta	41DT209	Wallace Carter Farmstead	1917 to 1958	Archival, oral history, and archeological studies of an African American-owned farmstead in the Friendship freedmen community	Rural	Green et al. (1996)
Denton	41DN481	Historic research, oral history, and archeological investigations of the displaced Quakertown community in Denton	Post-emancipation	Archival and archeological investigation of a brick-lined well in the Quakertown freedmen's community in Denton	Urban	Boyd (2005); Boyd et al. (2005); DeBurgos (1991); Douglas (2010); Glaze (1991)
Fort Bend	Multiple sites	Archeological Survey of the Long Meadow Farms Development	Post-emancipation	Archeological survey of 1,400 acres documented several farmsteads, some of which are probably associated with freedmen tenant farmers or sharecroppers.	Rural	Iruegas et al. (2007)
Guadalupe	41GU4, 41GU5, and 41GU6	Historic and archeological investigations of the Wilson Potteries	Post-emancipation	Three ceramic pottery kiln and production sites run by African Americans	Rural	Blake et al. (1999); Brackner (1981, 1984); Brown (2002); Morgan 2009
Harris	41HR787	Block 12 in Houston	Nineteenth century	Archeological investigations of multiple lots in Block 12 of downtown Houston. One lot was occupied by enslaved and free African American women.	Urban	Taylor et al. (1998)
Harris	41HR866	Allen Parkway Village	Post-emancipation	Archeological investigations of an African American households in the Hardcastle Addition, and investigations of an African American cemetery	Urban	Foster and Nance (2002)
Harris	Multiple sites	Urban households in Houston's 4th Ward Freedman Town	1860s to 1945	Multiple archeological projects in Houston's urban freedmen community, including residential and commercial sites.	Urban	Feit and Jones (2007, 2008); Maxwell (1997);
Harris	41HR980	Yates Community Archeological Project	Post-emancipation	Investigations at the Rutherford B. Yates homestead and Freedman Town in Houston's 4th Ward	Urban	McDavid (2005, 2007); McDavid et al. (2008)
Kinney	41KY68	Investigations at Seminole Village, Fort Clark, Brackettville	Post-emancipation	Investigation of residences for Seminole-Negro U.S. Army scouts and families stationed at Fort Clark	Military	Boetler-Mock and Davis (1997); Boetler-Mock (2010); Warren and Uecker (1994)
Navarro	41NV267	Mingo and Nancy Burleson Homestead	1873 to 1910	Archeological investigation of a freedman-owned farmstead in the Birdston Valley community	Rural	Bruseth et al. (1982); Jurney and Moir (1987); Moir and Jurney (1987)

Table 14.1, continued

County	Site No.	Site Name and Type	Approximate Dates	Summary of Investigations	Occupation Type	Reference
Navarro	41NV305	Unknown tenant	1870s to early 1900s	Archeological investigation of a tenant farm in the Birdston Valley community	Rural	Bruseth et al. (1982); Jurney and Moir (1987); Moir and Jurney (1987)
Navarro	41NV306	Unknown tenant	1870s to 1890s	Archeological investigation of a tenant farm in the Birdston Valley community	Rural	Bruseth et al. (1982); Jurney and Moir (1987); Moir and Jurney (1987)
Navarro	Multiple sites	Various landowner farmsteads and tenant sites	Post 1890 to 1960	Limited archeological investigations of various black landowner sites (41FT156, 41FT225, 41NV101, 41NV102, 41NV103, and 41NV289) and tenant sites (41FT163, 41NV143, 41NV147, 41NV208, 41NV225, 41NV285, and 41NV319) dating after 1890s	Rural	Bruseth et al. (1982); Jurney and Moir (1987); Moir and Jurney (1987)
Rusk	Multiple sites	Archeological survey of portion of Sabine Mine	Antebellum and post-emancipation	Survey and documentation of rural black homesteads and cemeteries	Rural	Dockall et al. (2010)
Sterling	41ST111	Camp Elizabeth	ca. 1874 to 1886	Temporary military outpost (subpost of Fort Concho) that was occupied for a time by Buffalo Soldiers	Military	Brown et al. (1998)
Travis	41TV875	Rubin Hancock Farmstead	1880 to 1916	Detailed archival and archeological study of an African American farmstead associated with post-reconstruction community	Rural	Blake and Myers (1999)
Travis	41TV1051	Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead	ca. 1871 to 1905	Freedman-owned farmstead in the white Bear Creek community	Rural	This report
Travis	41TV1814B	Pennington House in Austin	1868 to 1921	Archeological investigation of an African American homestead in Austin	Urban	Karbula et al. (2000); Parsons and Seibel (2000); Seibel, Feit, and Dial (2000)
Travis	Various	Webberville Community	Post-emancipation	Archival and archeological investigations of homesteads and a school associated with the freedmen community at Webberville. Includes work at a the antebellum homestead of white slaveholder. Sites are the Meeks homestead (41TV2306), the Meeks cemetery (41TV2307), 41TV2309, and 41TV2310	Rural	Jones et al. (2009)

* This table excludes investigations of African American cemeteries and plantations with only antebellum occupations. It also excludes other non-occupation African American sites such as the three Wilson Pottery sites in Guadalupe County.

- Chambers County. Oral histories compiled for the African American community at Wallisville. Includes interviews with African Americans and Euro-Americans (Davison and Shepard 1995; Shepard et al. 1995)
- Denton County. Oral histories with former residents of the Quakertown freedmen community in Denton, Texas (DeBurgos 1991)
- Hays County. Oral history interview with Harriet (Bunton) Smith, who was enslaved on the Bunton's Mountain City Plantation, by John Henry Faulk in 1941 (Smith 1941, 2012)
- Harris County. Oral histories for the Yates Community Archeological Project (McDavid et al. 2008)
- Travis County. Oral history interviews for the Williams Farmstead Archeological Project (Franklin 2012)
- East Texas. Short article summarizing recollections of farming from the WPA slave narratives (Wade 1982, 1984)
- Texas Borderlands. Oral histories of the black Seminole women along the Texas-Mexico border (Boteler-Mock 2010)
- Statewide. Oral history excerpts from the WPA Slave Narratives that pertain to Texas (Tyler and Murphy 1974)

In some ways, it appears that African diaspora research in Texas has lagged behind such research at the national level. There are certainly some notable exceptions, but relatively little serious archeological attention has been paid to African American sites. In 1996, Green et al. (1996:3) stated that “for whatever reasons, the African-American communities of landowners and farmers have been largely ignored.” This statement still holds true more than a decade and a half later. Relative to the large number of freedmen sites that once existed in Texas, we have compiled relatively little historical and archeological evidence for them. In addition, much of the archeological work that has been done is now becoming outdated. Reanalysis of some of the site data from older investigations would certainly be warranted, with a focus on interpretations that are linked to the broader African diaspora research issues considered important today.

Much of the recent African diaspora research done across the United States is directly applicable to investigating freedmen farmstead in Texas. One of the most important concepts to be gleaned from even a cursory review of current African diaspora archeological literature is that public archeology or community-based archeology is vitally important. In the simplest terms, this means structuring archeological investigations so that they are more relevant to the general public and, more specifically, to the descendants of the people whose remains we study. This viewpoint is certainly stressed in the African American historic context developed by McDavid et al. (2012).

In an article titled “Beyond Strategy and Good Intentions: Archaeology, Race, and White Privilege,” McDavid (2007) argues strongly for the need to do public archeology, or community-based archeology. As examples of large community-based projects, she cites the Levi Jordan Plantation archeological work by the University of Houston and the Yates Community Archeological Projects in the Houston's 4th Ward freedmen community. McDavid builds on the concept of Critical Race Theory to argue that public involvement in archeological projects is relevant in today's world and can be one way to “change how people of different races see and understand each other.” She advocates that archeology can, and should, be used “to create alternate visions of the past” (McDavid 2007:81). She also suggests that community-based archeology should be an integrated part of any historic archeological research endeavor if we are to make meaningful contributions to the descendant communities of the people whose remains we are studying. A growing number of archeologists across the country believe it is important to involve the descendant communities and seek their input to interpret archeological findings and examine alternative perspectives (e.g., Babiarz 2011; Barnes 2011:1–17; Epperson 2004; Fennell 2007; Ferguson 1992; LaRoche and Blakey 1997; McDavid 2007; McDavid et al. 2012; McGhee 2007, 2008; Mullins 1999a, 1999b, 2007, 2008; Orser 2001 ed.; Orser 1998, 2001; Singleton 1988; Stine 1990). The team members of the Williams Farmstead Archeological Project agree with this vision, and this was translated into an extensive community outreach component culminating in a two-volume oral history book (Franklin 2012). The general input from

the community and the specific information contained in individual oral history interviews proved to be extremely valuable for informing the interpretations of the archeological findings at the Williams farmstead.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WILLIAMS FARMSTEAD ARTIFACTS

The thousands of artifacts recovered and the many features that comprise the Ransom and Sarah Williams farmstead provide a snapshot of rural life from the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the turn of the century. The artifacts constitute a large and robust set of material culture that can be interpreted from many perspectives (e.g., rural agriculture, household life, socioeconomics), but the entire assemblage reflects the status of American technological innovations at the time, which is characterized by rapid changes being driven by mechanical mass production and consumer behaviors that were heavily influenced by mass marketing. Taken in context with the artifacts and the historical evidence (archival and oral history), the chronology of the site features may be inferred, and a general timeline for the evolution of the farmstead is suggested.

With few exceptions, the recovered artifacts represent the family's occupation of the property from ca. 1871 to ca. 1905 without any confusion from an overlay of material remains post-dating their occupation. Most of the items are typical of rural and urban sites from that time period, and these kinds of mass-produced objects are often found in high numbers, especially items such as nails and fragile objects such as glass bottles and ceramics. Within the assemblage, many artifacts are datable, allowing us to trace the manufacture and acquisition of specific items, as well as to study the spread of technologies and consumer trends through time.

The glass bottles from the farmstead provide useful chronological information because of the rapidly changing technologies in the bottle making industry in the nineteenth century. Glass bottles usually contained consumable products that were used quickly, and bottles were often broken and/or discarded quickly. Bottles are good chronological indicators because they have many attributes that are diagnostic of manufacturing technologies that

changed several times in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Of the 109 identifiable glass containers recovered from the Williams farmstead, 100 specimens were classified into three types representing different periods of manufacture and popularity. These specimens are: 4 hand-blown bottles with applied finishes that were probably made between 1835 and 1885; 93 hand-blown bottles with tooled finishes that were made between 1875 and 1905; and 3 manufactured on automatic bottle machines that date after 1905. The latter three are wine bottles that have markings that date them after 1913 (2 specimens) and 1954 (1 specimen), and they were all found in contexts indicating that the bottles has been used as targets for firearms practice. All of the other bottles are typical for the late-nineteenth-century sites, and the absence of post-1905 machine-made bottles from all other contexts is revealing. Thus, the bottles provide good evidence that the site was essentially abandoned by about 1905.

Within the assemblage, 246 items have some type of diagnostic marking. Of those, 128 are temporally diagnostic specimens for which the beginning date of manufacture has been identified, and the ending dates of manufacture are known for some of these specimens as well.¹⁴⁰ The 128 artifacts with known beginning manufacture dates are summarized in Table 14.2, and chronology of these specimens is depicted graphically in Figure 14.1.¹⁴¹ Several observations and inferences can be made for these data. One is that out of more than 26,000 recovered artifacts, only seven items were manufactured after ca. 1905 when the Williams family moved off the property. As mentioned above, three are wine bottles used as targets for firearms practice, while the others are a Winchester shotgun shell made between 1920 and 1929, a bottle glass base fragment made between 1929 and 1954,

¹⁴⁰The beginning and ending dates may be when a manufacturing company started its business and closed its doors, or when a company started and stopped producing a particular product. In many cases, the dating is based on when a company changed its name, merged with other companies, or changed logos or markings on particular products.

¹⁴¹As this report was being finalized, two of the "Unidentified" artifacts were identified as cotton bale ties that were patented in 1861. These items are described in an addendum section at the end of Chapter 8.

Table 14.2. Summary of 128 temporally diagnostic artifacts with known dates of manufacture (in chronological order)*

Beginning Manufacture Date	Alternate Beginning Date	Ending Manufacture Date	No. of Artifacts	Functional Category	Description of Artifacts and Manufacturer Identification	References
1830	–	1861	7	Activities	Brass rivets made by Hendricks & Brothers, New York. The name was “Hendricks & Brothers” from 1830 to 1861.	American Jewish Historical Society (2010); Berly (1884); Center for Jewish History (2010)
1836	–	1897	1	Activities	Pick mattock; “W. Hunt” brand manufactured by the Douglas Axe Manufacturing Company of E. Douglas, Massachusetts.	Douglas Axe Manufacturing Company (1873); Nelson (1999)
1841	–	1909	1	Personal	Panel bottle glass with “MCC” mark; manufactured by William McCulley & Co.	Whitten (2010)
1841	–	–	1	Activities	Cartridge case, 10-gauge pinfire shotgun shell head with “E.B. LONDON 10” mark. Manufactured by Eley Brothers of London	Cartridgecorner.com (2012b); Eley (2012)
1844	–	–	1	Kitchen-Household	Cast iron dutch oven lid fragment with “[PE]TERSON [N]o 2 1/2” mark. Manufactured by Stuart, Peterson & Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.	Dawson (1872–1873); Stahl (2004)
1854	–	1898	1	Clothing-Adornment	Hard rubber button with “GOODYEAR I.R.C. CO.” mark. Manufactured by the India Rubber Comb Company (1854–1898) using the 1851 Goodyear patent.	Gorski (2009); Scott (1898)
1855	1884	–	2	Clothing-Adornment	Brass button with U.S. General Services eagle and “SCOVILL MFG CO” mark. Manufactured for the U.S. Army by Scovills and Company, Waterbury, Connecticut.	Brinkerhoff (1976:3–5); Kearns et al. (1997:14–17); McGuinn and Bazalone (2001:111)
1855	–	1865 (1870)	1	Clothing-Adornment	Hard rubber button with “NOVELTY RUBBER CO” mark. The Novelty Rubber Company (New Jersey and New York) made rubber buttons using the Goodyear patent from 1855 to 1865 (or 1855 to 1870 according to a different source).	Ridgeway (2012); University of Utah (2001:475)
1855	–	1865 (1870)	1	Clothing-Adornment	Hard rubber button with “GOODYEAR N.R. CO P-T” mark. Manufactured by the Novelty Rubber Company (1855 to 1865 or 1870) using the 1851 Goodyear patent.	Gorski (2009); Ridgeway (2012); University of Utah (2001:475)

Table 14.2, continued

Beginning Manufacture Date	Alternate Beginning Date	Ending Manufacture Date	No. of Artifacts	Functional Category	Description of Artifacts and Manufacturer Identification	References
1857	1862	1898	1	Kitchen-Household	Brass spoon with "ROGERS SMITH & Co" mark. Manufactured by Rogers, Smith & Company, New Haven and Meriden, Connecticut.	Online Encyclopedia of Silver Marks 2010; Woodhead 1991:211
1866	-	-	1	Activities	Cartridge case, .32 caliber with "H" base stamp. Manufactured by Winchester Repeating Arms Company, New Haven, Connecticut.	Barnes 1980:293; White and Munhall 1977:23; Winchester Repeating Arms Company 2012a, 2012b
1867	-	1911	1	Activities	Cartridge case, .44 caliber manufactured by the Union Metallic Cartridge Company	White and Munhall 1977:148
1867	-	1911	1	Activities	Cartridge case, .44 Bulldog manufactured by the Union Metallic Cartridge Company	White and Munhall 1977:148
1867	-	1911	3	Activities	Cartridge case, .38-40 center-fire manufactured by the Union Metallic Cartridge Company	White and Munhall 1977:148
1867	-	-	6	Activities	Cartridge case, .22 caliber rimfire made by the Union Metallic Cartridge Company (1867-1911), Remington Arms-Union Metallic Cartridge Company (1911-1921), or Remington Arms Company (1921-modern).	White and Munhall 1977:31
1867	-	-	1	Personal	Medicine bottle glass with "P[AT] NOV 26 67466" mark. This patent date is identified as the "Improved Medicine," U.S. Patent No. 71,549, issued to Harriet E. Taylor (executrix for Theodore H. Taylor) of Saratoga Springs, New York.	Taylor 1867
1867	-	?	1	Kitchen-Household	Complete clear glass food bottle with the following mark: FORBES DELICIOUS FLAVORING EXTRACTS / MADE BY FORBES BROTHER & CO / ST. LOUIS" Manufactured by Forbes, Brother & Company, St. Louis, Missouri.	Anonymous 1892

Table 14.2, continued

Beginning Manufacture Date	Alternate Beginning Date	Ending Manufacture Date	No. of Artifacts	Functional Category	Description of Artifacts and Manufacturer Identification	References
1867	–	1911	1	Activities	Cartridge case, 12-gauge shotgun shell head with “U.M.C. CO. NO 12 NEW CLUB” mark. Manufactured by the Union Metallic Cartridge Company.	Cartridgecorner.com 2012a; White and Munhall 1977:149
1868	–	–	29	Activities	Cartridge Case, .44 Webley manufactured by the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, New Haven, Connecticut	Barnes 1980:181; Winchester Repeating Arms 2012a, 2012b
1870	–	1910	1	Personal	Amber glass snuff bottle with “PL Co” mark made by Peter Lorillard & Company.	Toulouse 1971:422
1870	–	–	1	Personal	Iron tobacco plug tag with “LORILLARD” mark. Manufactured by the P. Lorillard Company of New York (moved to New Jersey in 1870s)	Lorillard Company 1960:1, 2, 4, 20–24
1870	–	–	1	Kitchen–Household	Iron corn sheller with 1870 patent, made by “GRAY BRO’S” in Louisville, Kentucky	Gray 1870
1871	–	1890	1	Personal	Glass medicine bottle continuing Mexican Mustang Liniment manufactured by the Lyon Manufacturing Company, New York.	Fike 1987:136; Lyon Manufacturing Company 2010; Wilson 1981:55; World Almanac 1872
1872	–	1931	1	Kitchen–Household	Whiteware vessel fragment with “K, T, & K. GRANITE” mark and manufactured by the Knowles, Taylor, and Knowles between 1871 and 1931.	Lehner 1988:238
1872	–	–	1	Activities	Iron letter “R” broken off branding iron. The “RA” mark was registered to Ransom Williams in April 1872.	Travis County Register of Brands and Marks 1872
1872	1874	1888	1	Activities	Iron wagon brake ratchet with the following mark: “HURLBUT MAFG CO PATD MAY 21 1872 / CALDWELL WAGON.” Manufactured for the Caldwell Wagon by the Hurlbut Manufacturing Company of Racine, Wisconsin.	Connelley 1918; Hurlbut 1872
1873	–	1929	1	Personal (medicine)	Glass Container 7. Small (3.5 ounce) medicine bottle with “I.G.Co.” mark. Manufactured by the Illinois Glass Company.	Toulouse 1971, Whitten 2010

Table 14.2, continued

Beginning Manufacture Date	Alternate Beginning Date	Ending Manufacture Date	No. of Artifacts	Functional Category	Description of Artifacts and Manufacturer Identification	References
1874	1873	1911	1	Personal	Amber glass medicine (panel) bottle with mark of the Morley Brothers Drug Company of Austin, Texas.	Anthony and Parsons n.d.; Hall 2010
1874	1873	1911	1	Personal	Glass medicine (panel) bottle fragment with "WONDERFUL EIGHT" mark. Product of the Morley Brothers Drugstore in Austin, Texas (and the Morley Medicine Company of New York and St. Louis, Missouri).	Anthony and Parsons n.d.; Cannon 2013; Druggists Circular 1917; Hall 2010
1874	1873	1911	5	Personal	Medicine (panel) bottles (all fragments) with mark of the Morley Brothers of Austin.	Anthony and Parsons n.d.; Hall 2010
1874	1873	1911	1	Personal (medicine)	Glass Container 10. Medicine (panel) bottle fragments with mark of the Morley Brothers of Austin.	Anthony and Parsons n.d.; Hall 2010
1877	-	-	1	Personal	Coin, Seated Liberty dime with 1877 date	-
1877	-	1881	1	Activities	Cartridge case, 10-gauge shotgun shell head manufactured by the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, New Haven, Connecticut.	Cartridgecorner.com 2012a; Winchester Repeating Arms 2012a, 2012b
1878	-	1890	3	Kitchen-Household	Whiteware vessel base fragments with mark of Thomas Furnival & Sons of Cobridge, Stoke-on-Trent, England.	Cushion 1959:62; Godden 1994:263; The Potteries.org 2011
1879	1882	1982	1	Personal (medicine)	Glass Container 12. Medicine (panel) bottle fragments with "MCELREES [WJ]NE O[F] CARDUIH / [MEDICINE]" mark. Manufactured by the Chattanooga Medicine Company, Tennessee.	Cannon 2010; Fike 1987; Irwin 1998
1880	-	1900	3	Personal	Medicine (panel) bottle fragment with "I G Co." mark. Manufactured by the Illinois Glass Company.	Toulouse 1971:461
1887	-	1893	1	Personal	Glass liquor bottle fragments with "PAUL JONES PURE RYE / LOUISVILLE, KY" mark. Manufactured Paul Jones Company, Louisville, Kentucky.	Pre-Prohibition Collector.com 2012

Table 14.2, continued

Beginning Manufacture Date	Alternate Beginning Date	Ending Manufacture Date	No. of Artifacts	Functional Category	Description of Artifacts and Manufacturer Identification	References
1887	–	1937	1	Activities	Cartridge case, 12-gauge shotgun shell head, manufactured by Peters Cartridge Company of King Mills, Ohio.	Cartridgecorner.com 2012a; White and Munhall 1977:118
1890	–	–	1	Clothing–Adornment	Suspender buckle with “PAT. JULY, 15, 1890” mark. Buckle was by Samuel Baum and V. B. Ulman.	Baum and Ulman 1890
1891	–	1905	2	Unknown	Brown glass bottle fragment with “SB&G[CO]” mark; manufactured by Streater Bottle & Glass Co.	Toulouse 1971:461
1891	–	1897	1	Kitchen–Household	Ceramic Vessel 33. Blue transfer-printed whiteware plate with Kenwood Pattern and “ALFRED MEAKIN / ENGLAND” mark. Manufactured by the Alfred Meakin, Ltd. Pottery of Tunstall, England.	Potteries.org 2010; VanBuskirk (2002:170–194)
1891	–	1897	1	Kitchen–Household	Ceramic Vessel 38. Blue transfer-printed whiteware saucer with Kenwood Pattern and “ALFRED MEAKIN / ENGLAND” mark. Manufactured by the Alfred Meakin, Ltd. Pottery of Tunstall, England.	Potteries.org 2010; VanBuskirk (2002:170–194)
1891	–	1897	1	Kitchen–Household	Ceramic Vessel 31. Blue transfer-printed whiteware cup with Kenwood Pattern and “ALFRED MEAKIN / ENGLAND” mark. Manufactured by the Alfred Meakin, Ltd. Pottery of Tunstall, England.	Potteries.org 2010; VanBuskirk (2002:170–194)
1891	–	1897	1	Kitchen–Household	Ceramic Vessel 30. Blue transfer-printed whiteware cup with Kenwood Pattern and “ALFRED MEAKIN / ENGLAND” mark. Manufactured by the Alfred Meakin, Ltd. Pottery of Tunstall, England.	Potteries.org 2010; VanBuskirk (2002:170–194)
1892	–	?	1	Personal (medicine)	Glass Container 1. Medicine (panel) bottle with the following mark: FEMALE REGULATOR / WOMANS BEST FRIEND / BRADFIELDS / ATLANTA, GA.” Manufactured by the Bradfield Regulator Company, Atlanta, Georgia.	Wilson 1981:136

Table 14.2, continued

Beginning Manufacture Date	Alternate Beginning Date	Ending Manufacture Date	No. of Artifacts	Functional Category	Description of Artifacts and Manufacturer Identification	References
1894	-	1943	1	Activities	Cartridge case, 12-gauge shotgun shell head with "WINCHESTER NO 12 LEADER" mark. Manufactured by Winchester Repeating Arms Company, New Haven, Connecticut.	Cartridgecorner.com 2012a; Winchester Repeating Arms 2012a, 2012b
1896	-	1938	2	Activities	Cartridge case, 12-gauge shotgun shell head with "WINCHESTER NO 12 REPEATER" mark. Manufactured by Winchester Repeating Arms Company, New Haven, Connecticut.	Cartridgecorner.com 2012a; Winchester Repeating Arms 2012a, 2012b
1896	-	1960	1	Activities	Cartridge case, .44 caliber with "PETERS 44-40" mark. Manufactured by Peters Cartridge Company (1896-1934 in Kings Mill, Ohio) or Peters Cartridge Division of Remington Arms Company (1934-1960 in Bridgeport, Connecticut).	Barnes 1980:78, 182; Cartridgecorner.com 2012c
1896	-	1960	14	Activities	Cartridge case, .22 caliber rimfire. Manufactured by Peters Cartridge Company (1896-1934 in Kings Mill, Ohio) or Peters Cartridge Division of Remington Arms Company (1934-1960 in Bridgeport, Connecticut).	Cartridgecorner.com 2012c; White and Munhall 1977:28
1898	-	-	3	Kitchen-Household	Glass Containers 97, 98, and 99. Glass lid for wide-mouth jar with "PATD 1898 / JANY 11TH" mark. This is the U.S. patent for the Shies glass jar lid.	Midwest Antique Fruit Jar and Bottle Club 2009; Schies 1898
1898	-	-	1	Activities	Commemorative spoon with "CAPTAIN SIGSBEE U.S. BATTLESHIP MAINE DESTROYED FEB. 15 1898" in bowl and "STANDARD" on back.	-
1898	-	-	1	Clothing-Adornment	Brass snap button with "PAT JUNE 11 1898" mark for U.S. Patent No. 405,179.	Raymond 1889
1899	-	1913	1	Kitchen-Household	Ceramic Vessel 45. Embossed whiteware plate or bowl with "AURORA / T. W. C. AND CO. / CHINA" mark. Manufactured by the Wick China Company, Kittanning, Pennsylvania.	Lehner (1988:521); Rich (2003)

Table 14.2, continued

Beginning Manufacture Date	Alternate Beginning Date	Ending Manufacture Date	No. of Artifacts	Functional Category	Description of Artifacts and Manufacturer Identification	References
1899	–	2003	1	Personal	Glass Container 3. Small (0.5 ounce) medicine bottle with the “C.L.G. CO” mark. Manufactured by the Carr-Lowrey Glass Company, Baltimore, Maryland.	Toulouse (1971), Whittien (2010)
1911	–	1934	1	Activities	Cartridge case, 12-gauge shotgun shell head with “REM-UMC NO 12 NEW CLUB” mark. Manufactured by Remington Arms-Union Metallic Cartridge Company. Specific mark was used after 1911.	Cartridgecorner.com (2012a); White and Munhall (1977:126, 148)
1913	–	?	2	Personal	Glass Containers 100 and 101. Glass wine bottles (fragmentary) with “WINE / 4/5 QUART” marks. Manufacturer not identified but bottles were made after 1913.	Lindsey (2013b)
1920	–	1929	1	Activities	Cartridge case, 12-gauge shotgun shell head with “WINCHESTER NO 12 NEW RIVAL” mark. The Winchester Repeating Arms Company began in 1866 but made 12-gauge shotgun ammunition with this headstamp from 1920 to 1929.	Cartridgecorner.com (2012a); Winchester Repeating Arms (2012a, 2012b)
1929	–	1954	1	Unknown	Brown bottle glass with letter “I” inside a diamond and circle. Mark used by the Owens Illinois Glass Co.	Toulouse (1971:403)
1941	–	–	1	Personal	Coin, Lincoln wheat penny.	–
1954	–	?	1	Personal	Glass Container 102. Glass wine bottle (fragmentary) with mark of the Owens-Illinois Glass Company of Toledo, Ohio. The distinctive mark was used after 1954.	Toulouse (1971); Whittien (2010)

* Data are extracted from Table B.6. Only specimens with specific beginning or ending manufacture dates are included. This table excludes two cotton bale ties that were patented in 1861. These items were not identified until this report was being finalized.

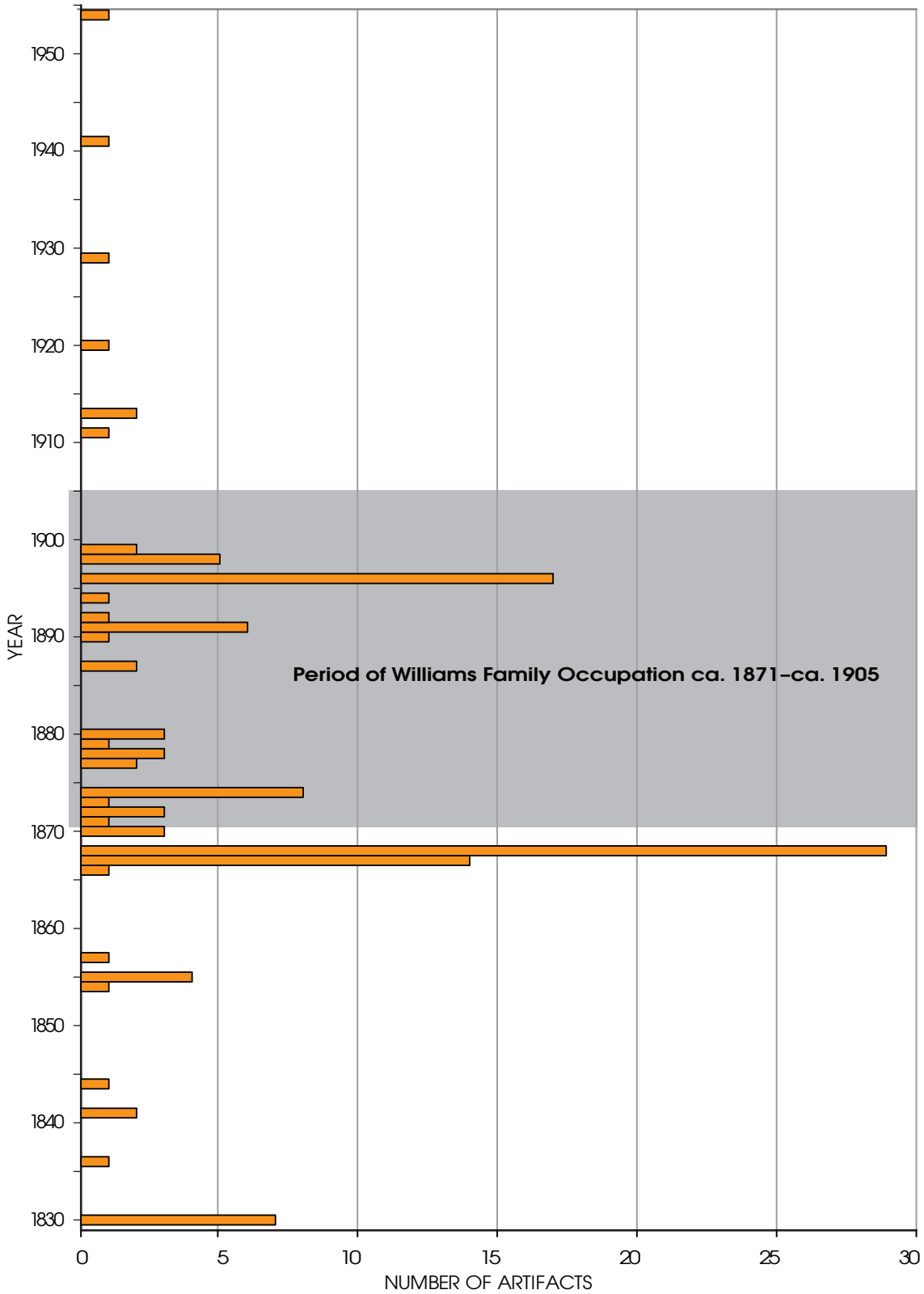


Figure 14.1. Chronological distribution of 128 temporally diagnostic artifacts by beginning date of manufacture. Note that this group excludes two cotton bale ties that were patented in 1861. These were not identified until this report was being finalized.

and a 1941 penny. All of these items represent limited activities by people who visited, owned, or farmed the property after the Williamses had left.

When the beginning and ending dates of manufacture are considered for specific items, it is clear that many of the artifacts listed in Table 14.2 were manufactured for several decades or even half century or longer. In these cases, the ending dates of manufacture are virtually meaningless. As summarized in Table 14.3, however, the assemblage includes 26 artifacts, representing 12 different artifact types, that were manufactured between 1830 and 1905. These specimens are more temporally sensitive because of the ending dates, and the chronology of these diagnostic artifacts is depicted graphically in Figure 14.2. With only two exceptions, these specimens were all manufactured during the time when the Williams family lived on the farm or in the decade immediately preceding their occupation.

The temporally diagnostic artifacts are interesting in terms of what they may reveal about commercialism, the availability of mass-manufactured goods, and consumer behavior.

Before discussing these topics, however, the chronology of the farmstead assemblage must be examined more closely. Ransom acquired his farm property in 1871 and probably moved there about that time. He probably brought some things with him when he arrived, and more materials probably arrived when he married Sarah about 1875 or 1876. As the family grew, they continued to acquire more material items, by purchase or barter, over the next three decades. It is important to understand some of the nuances in the artifact assemblage chronology as depicted in Figures 14.1 and 14.2. For mass-produced items, the beginning year of manufacture provides a *terminus post quem* date, meaning the object had to be made after this date. The ending year of manufacture provides a firm *terminus ante quem* date, meaning that the object must have been made before this date. The use of manufacturing dates to evaluate the chronology of the farmstead artifact assemblage is more complicated because we cannot assume that the manufacture years represent the dates when these items were acquired, used, or discarded. This complicating factor is called the “time lag” effect, and historic archeologist William Hampton Adams (2003:41)

Table 14.3. Artifacts (n = 26) manufactured between 1830 and 1905 (sorted by ending dates)

Beginning Manufacture Date	Ending Manufacture Date	Duration of Manufacture (years)	No. of Artifacts	Description and Manufacturer
1830	1861	31	7	Brass rivets, Hendricks & Brothers
1877	1881	4	1	10-gauge shotgun shell head, Winchester Repeating Arms Company
1872	1888	16	1	Wagon brake ratchet, Caldwell Wagon by the Hurlbut Manufacturing Company
1871	1890	19	1	Medicine bottle, Mexican Mustang Liniment by the Lyon Manufacturing Company
1878	1890	12	3	Whiteware ceramics, Thomas Furnival & Sons
1887	1893	6	1	Whiskey bottle, Paul Jones Company
1836	1897	61	1	Pick mattock, W. Hunt brand of the Douglas Axe Manufacturing Company
1891	1897	6	4	Transfer-printed ceramics, Alfred Meakin Pottery (four vessels: CV-30, CV-31, CV-33, and CV-38)
1854	1898	44	1	Hard rubber button, India Rubber Comb Company
1857	1898	41	1	Brass spoon, Rogers, Smith & Company
1880	1900	20	3	Unknown bottle, Illinois Glass Company
1891	1905	14	2	Unknown bottle, Streator Bottle & Glass Co.

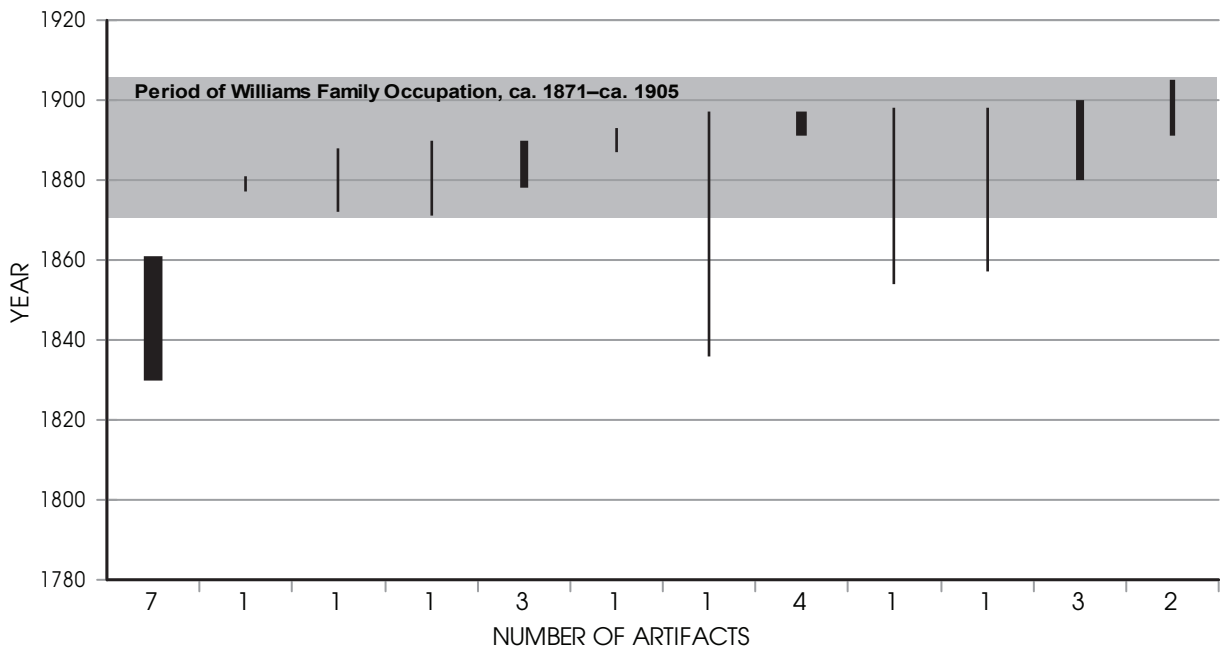


Figure 14.2. Chronological distribution of 26 temporally diagnostic artifacts with known beginning and ending dates of manufacture.

defines this as “the difference between the date of manufacture and the date of deposition.” He also states that “the manufacturing date for an artifact cannot be equated with an artifact’s use date.”

There are two types of time lag that must be considered. One is acquisition time lag, which is the time between an object’s manufacture and its acquisition by a consumer and first use on a site. The other is use-life time lag, which is the length of time an object was used on a site before it was deposited (usually lost, discarded, or broken) and entered the archeological record.

Three scenarios are applicable for understanding acquisition lag time. First, items with only known beginning dates of manufacture could have been made and purchased many years or decades after their initial appearance. Second, items with only known ending dates of manufacture could have been made for many years or decades before the terminal production date. And third, items with known beginning and ending dates of manufacture may have been distributed and sold quickly, perhaps within months of their manufacture, or they could have languished in a retail store for many years before they were sold to consumers.

As a result, there is no way to know precisely when specific items were actually purchased and brought to the farmstead. It was not uncommon for people to obtain items, by purchase, barter, or as gifts many years after they were manufactured. Acquisition time lag becomes even more pronounced when you consider how frequently people may have acquired and used secondhand items—a fact that is seldom considered when dating historic artifact assemblages.

Use-life time lag is the amount of time between an object’s acquisition by a consumer and its final deposition. Some amount of time lag should be expected for all artifact categories, but it can be particularly extensive for some types of artifacts. The average lifespan for many fragile items (such as glass containers and ceramic dishes) may have been only a few years, while the lifespan of many durable items (such as a hammer or an axe) was much longer. Historic sites may even yield heirloom items—treasured personal possessions that were handed down from one generation to the next. Heirlooms were often manufactured many decades before they were deposited and entered into the archeological record.

Archeologists have made estimates of the total time lag for different types of artifacts found in prehistoric and historic sites, and there are many complicated factors that come into play. For historic sites, one study estimated that glass bottles had an average time lag of 4.5 years between manufacture and breakage/deposition, while ceramics had a time lag of up to 20 years (Adams 2003:44). In another study, brass cartridge ammunition had a time lag of 4.4 to 6.5 years between manufacture and deposition (Adams 2003:43). One cannot examine the chronology of an assemblage without taking such factors into account. As Adams (2003:42) writes: “The study of time lag is an important aspect in the study of consumerism and commodity acquisitions.”

So how does time lag effect the interpretation of a historic farmstead assemblage? A farmstead occupied for only one year in 1895, for example, would probably have relatively few items that were made in the 1890s but many items that were made in the 1870s and 1880s. It would probably also contain a few items that were made in the 1850s or earlier. When time lag is factored in for the Williams farmstead, the artifact assemblage chronology based on manufacturing dates becomes much more meaningful. It provides more reliable evidence for understanding when and how mass-produced goods were used on the farm, the consumer behavior of the Williamses, and the spread of technological innovations into rural areas.

The seven specimens in Figure 14.1 that date after the Williams occupation were explained earlier, and only 13.3 percent ($n = 17$) of the specimens were made before 1850. The other 81.3 percent ($n = 104$) of the temporally diagnostic specimens have beginning manufacture dates between 1865 and 1900, which corresponds well with the Williams family occupation if one allows for some time lag. These items are dominated by the 29 brass cartridge cases identified as .44-caliber Webley made after 1868 and the 14 specimens of .22-caliber rimfire Peters cartridge cases made after 1896 (see Table 14.2). These beginning manufacture dates make perfect sense because ammunition generally had a fairly short time lag, most likely being sold and used within a few years of its purchase.

All of the items in Figure 14.2 could have been manufactured during the Williams occupation (ca. 1871–1905), except for the seven brass

rivets made by Hendricks & Brothers between 1830 and 1861. Rivets were typically used to fasten leather, and these were probably associated with some type of horse gear such as a bridle or harness. Horse gear would have been a highly curated item, and the Hendricks & Brothers rivets suggest that Ransom may have owned some type of horse gear that was manufactured before or during the Civil War, unless he obtained some horse gear made with old surplus rivets. Many of the items with pre-Civil War beginning manufacture dates are clothing buttons (see Tables 14.2 and 14.3), and buttons are an artifact type that can have a particularly long use life. Unless they got lost, they were generally used for the entire life of a garment, which can be decades for some clothing articles such as coats.

Collectively, the temporally diagnostic artifacts displayed in Figures 14.1 and 14.2 seem to indicate that the Williams household had a steady stream of mass-manufactured items coming in for several decades. When the many thousands of other artifacts are considered, it is notable that none of them contradict this statement, and they all represent items that could have been manufactured during or just before the Williams occupation.

CHANGING TECHNOLOGIES AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

The United States was going through an unprecedented period of technological modernization while the Williams farmstead was occupied. This was a time when industrialization and mass consumption became firmly entrenched in the American lifestyle in both urban and rural settings. In the late nineteenth century, many rural farming areas were experiencing a shift from production to more consumption, and people had access to a wide variety of goods from every corner of the nation. The traditional way of farm life was slowly being transformed by more modern technologies. The appearance of new items and innovations meant that some activities were replaced by newer ways of doing things, while other activities were simply modified to include a few modern conveniences. This was the era that spawned the birth of American consumer culture—a time when people from all walks of life began to purchase most of the things they wanted or needed rather than produce them.

While their urban contemporaries embraced the changes more readily, rural people, including the Williams family, were caught in this technological revolution. To say that they were fully integrated into the consumer culture of this time would be an oversimplification. The Williams farmstead artifacts depict a blending of traditional producer and modern consumer habits. The material remains indicate that although the Williamses did purchase lots of mass-produced goods, many of their traditional behaviors, especially foodways and farmwork, persisted simultaneously.

Previous researchers have noticed the relationship between stoneware vessels to glass “fruit” jars as an indicator of the adoption of modern foodways (Jurney and Moir 1987:242; Jurney et al. 1988:382). In the early twentieth century, the use of stoneware containers was declining as the use of wide mouth, screw-top glass jars (a.k.a., fruit jars, canning jars, or “Mason” jars) increased. The stoneware vessels represent traditional food storage and preparation while the glass jars represent home canning of foods, a relatively new food storage technology. For the Mountain Creek area of north-central Texas, Jurney et al. (1988:382) notes that stonewares decline in popularity as the use of glass jars for home canning increased. A variety of stoneware vessels were recovered from the Williams farmstead, but we found only one wide mouth glass jar that might have been an early-style home canning jar (GC-15, with a ground rim). This suggests that home canning had not become popular before the Williamses left the farm around 1905.¹⁴²

Remnants of cylindrical and rectangular tin cans were recovered from the farmstead (see Table 8.14; Figure 8.14), and these cans most likely contained processed foods of some type. Their occurrences in relatively low numbers, however, indicate that the Williams family was purchasing only small amounts of mass-produced canned foods.

¹⁴²Home canning in glass jars quickly replaced food storage in stoneware vessels because of its many advantages. Canning of fresh fruits and vegetables involves the use of sanitary glass jars with sealing lids, heating of the jar and its contents, and sometimes the addition of acids (e.g., vinegar). These processes kill microorganisms (bacteria, yeasts, and molds), destroy enzymes, remove the oxygen and prevent microorganism growth, and create an airtight vacuum seal (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2009:1–5).

The stoneware, glass jar, and tin can evidence reveals much about the Williamses as consumers but also reveals the state of food production and storage technologies at the time. The family was still practicing more traditional food storage and preparation techniques involving the use of stoneware containers, and they had not yet transitioned to home canning in jars or purchasing large quantities of processed food in cans. The family also ate their meals on mass-produced ceramics, including a set of matching dinnerware that was obtained after 1891, probably through a mail-order catalog (discussed later in this chapter). Thus, meals at the Williams home consisted of a mix of traditional home-grown and farm-raised foods along with some processed foods, all served on mail-order dishes, a practice familiar to many who grew up on rural farms and ranches in the twentieth century.

The appearance of large numbers of mass-manufactured (but not necessarily fully machine-made) disposable containers in an archeological site is a hallmark of modern consumer culture. Because glass survives well in the archeological record and retains its diagnostic characteristics (as opposed to tin cans, which deteriorate), the identifiable glass bottles and thousands of glass bottle fragments in the farmstead assemblage represent the best physical evidence of the growth of the American disposable consumer culture. The Williamses were purchasing a moderate amount of consumable goods packaged in glass bottles, mostly medicines. While some of the bottles might have been reused for other purposes, they were abundant enough that most of them were probably discarded immediately once their original contents were used up.

The Williams farmstead yielded two other pieces of evidence of consumer behavior related to technological advances. One is the apparent abandonment of the subfloor storage pit toward the end of the Williams occupation. The Williams family may have obtained an icebox around the turn of the century, rendering the subfloor pit obsolete (see Chapter 6). If so, the appearance of this technological innovation means that the Williamses had access to and were regularly purchasing ice.¹⁴³ The other evidence is the

¹⁴³The 1891 *Texas Agricultural Statistical Report* (Hollingsworth 1892:130, 278) shows that there was an ice plant in Hays County (presumably in San Marcos) and one in Travis County (Austin).

cast-iron stove parts, which indicate that the family owned a wood-burning stove. This evidence shows that the Williams family had the financial means to purchase two expensive appliances: an icebox and a wood-burning stove. These purchases, which were luxuries for most farm families, demonstrate that the Williamses were active participants in American consumer culture and were bringing in outside income from the sale of cash crops or livestock, or perhaps from work outside the farm.

Regarding the technology inherent in the farmstead artifacts, one question that arises is: What impact did the appearance of the railroad in the region have on the residents of rural southern Travis County? While Austin was a growing town for decades before the Civil War, it was the arrival of the Houston & Texas Central Railroad in 1871 that transformed the city in many ways (Mears 2009:31), including making all types of goods more accessible and less expensive. This was the same year that Ransom Williams bought his farm, but it was not until ca. 1880, when the International & Great Northern Railroad was built from Austin to San Marcos, that the small communities of Manchaca, Buda, and Kyle began to blossom and thrive (Manchaca Onion Creek Historical Association 2013:78–79; Mears 2009:42; see Chapters 4 and 5). Only 38 of the temporally diagnostic specimens (30 percent) were manufactured after the 1880 appearance of the railroad, but one cannot determine precisely when the other 83 items with beginning manufacture dates between 1830 and 1879 were purchased. Some items would have been bought before 1880, but many of them could have been purchased after 1880 as well. It is interesting that the data graphs do not show a significant spike in the acquisition of material culture that was manufactured after ca. 1880. The most likely explanation for this is probably the simplest one. The sudden appearance of the I&GN Railroad in Manchaca did not make that much of an impact on the local availability of mass-produced items. The railroad probably made items a little less expensive because they could be shipped directly to the local communities, but the H&TC Railroad that came to Austin in 1871 had already turned that booming metropolis into a regional market center. Noting that Manchaca and the Williams farmstead were only 10 to 11 miles from Austin (perhaps 13 to 15 miles by road), it seems likely that the Williamses and other families along

Bear Creek were not all that isolated. The Williamses probably went to Austin on rare occasions, perhaps even taking a wagon there to pick up supplies from time to time (as discussed later, the most common medicines used on the farm were from the Morley Brothers of Austin). The Williams family certainly had access to goods and services through local mercantile stores such as the Townsley Store near Manchaca Springs throughout the 1870s, and these stores would have sold products acquired from the railroad-supplied markets in Austin (see Chapter 5 and Table 5.6). In a 1916 *Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County*, Haney and Wehrwein (1916:57) noted that all farmers came to the city occasionally, and that “Saturday finds the streets of Austin crowded with country people in town doing their trading or selling produce.” The study also revealed that more than 80 percent of the farmers in southeastern Travis County sold their cotton in Austin rather than the smaller but closer communities of Buda, Manchaca, or Bluff Springs.

Many technological advances occurred during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the Williamses were partaking of some of these benefits. But it also appears that the Williamses relied on some older, and likely more familiar, technologies. One good example is firearms technology, which advanced rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century, going from muzzleloading black powder arms to the self-contained smokeless powder cartridges familiar to modern hunters and shooters. The assemblage of gun parts and ammunition represents the many types of firearms that were available at the time, but it also includes some older guns that were no longer made. Evidence of using old firearms technology was recovered in the form of parts from black powder shotguns, the Enfield rifle-musket butt plate, and a brass pinfire shotgun shell head. But the farmstead assemblage also includes evidence of newer firearms, including many spent cartridges of .44 Webley and .22 short, as well as a few .38–40 and .44–40 caliber brass cases. It is notable that mail-order catalogs from Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward near the turn of the century featured a wide variety of cartridge firearms for sale, but only a few old-style black powder arms.

Five artifacts are intriguing because they were obtained near the end of the Williams family occupation. Three specimens are glass

jar lids of the Schies closure type, and one is a distinctive style of brass clothing snap. All four of these items have 1898 patent dates. The fifth artifact is the commemorative spoon honoring Captain Sigsbee and the battleship USS *Maine*, which was attacked and sank in Havana Harbor in 1898. From a chronological perspective, these items demonstrate that the Williams family was purchasing items right up through the end of their occupation of the farm, as would be expected. From a sociological perspective, these items demonstrate that the Williams family was well integrated into the commercial consumer economy around the turn of the century, just before Ransom died (ca. 1901), and Sarah and the kids moved off the farm (ca. 1905).

The sheer abundance of material remains indicates that the Williamses were typical late-nineteenth-century consumers. The list of recovered items that they would have probably purchased is impressive indeed:

ARCHITECTURE

- Nails (cut and wire)
- Wood screws
- Barbed wire
- Fence staples

KITCHEN and HOUSEHOLD

- Glass food containers
- Pressed glass tableware
- Whiteware cooking and serving vessels
- Whiteware, matching transfer-printed dinning set (plates, saucers, and cups)
- Ceramic stoneware storage and serving vessels
- Cast-iron cooking vessels
- Corn sheller
- Cutlery (e.g., knives, forks, spoons, serving utensils)
- Metal food cans
- Cast-iron stove
- Iron bed frame
- Unidentified furniture
- Candle lantern
- Oil lamps
- Pad locks and keys
- Tin bucket or pail

ACTIVITIES

- Wagons and/or carriages (many parts represented)
- Wagon wheel wrench

- Construction hand tools (e.g., hammer, axe, vise, saws, draw knife, files, wedge)
- Grinding wheel, hand-cranked
- Cultivator
- Plow
- Plow clevis pin wrench
- Hand gardening tools (e.g., hoe, pick mattock, pruning shears)
- Balance scale
- Horse and mule bridles and halters
- Horse saddles
- Horse harnesses (for wagons and plows)
- Horseshoes and muleshoes (and shoe nails)
- Spurs
- Branding iron
- General hardware (e.g., nuts and bolts, washers, hinges, chains)
- Wooden barrels
- Children's toys
- Firearms and ammunition
- Fishing hooks
- Musical instruments (harmonicas and Jew's harp)
- Children's toys (marbles, cap gun, rubber ball, doll, tea set)
- Writing slates and slate pencils
- Wooden pencils
- Ink (bottles)
- Dry cell batteries
- Sewing pins
- Sewing thimble
- Safety pins
- Scissors
- Collectible, commemorative spoon

CLOTHING and ADORNMENT

- Fabric (for making dresses, pants, shirts, coats, etc.)
- Corsets
- Belts
- Suspenders
- Shoes and boots
- Overshoes
- Men's clothing accessories (cuff link, collar stud)
- Women's jewelry (e.g., brooch pin, charm)
- Button hooks

PERSONAL

- Cosmetics
- Hair combs
- Hairpins

Straight razor and strop
Medicine syringe
Patent medicines
Smoking pipes (and pipe tobacco)
Snuff tobacco
Plug tobacco
Alcohol (liquor and beer)
Eyeglasses
Pocketknives
Purse
Umbrella
Pocket watch

Comparison of Freedmen Farmstead Sites

As mentioned in the earlier summary of African American archeology, only a few intensive investigations have been conducted at freedmen farmstead sites in Texas. Table 14.4 summarizes the attributes of nine such sites, including the Williams farmstead. These sites represent seven farms owned by African Americans and two occupied by black tenant farmers. All of the occupations date between the 1870s and 1950s, with occupation spans ranging from 20 to 54 years. The archeological excavations range in size from 2 to 200 m² of hand excavations, and the number of recovered artifacts ranges from 919 to 26,685. Three of these sites had log cabins, while the others had wood-frame or unknown (probably wood-frame) houses. The artifact assemblages from eight of the nine sites are summarized in Table 14.5 and depicted graphically in Figure 14.3.¹⁴⁴ The Ned Peterson farmstead is excluded because the artifact classification is not compatible with all the others.

The functional breakdown of artifacts in Figure 14.3 shows that Kitchen and Household artifacts are dominant in all eight sites, followed by the Architectural artifacts. The two tenant sites had the lowest amounts of Architectural artifacts, for reasons that are unclear. The three smaller functional groups vary widely in their representation. The most apparent pattern is

that some of the landowner farms yielded a higher frequency of Activities, Clothing and Adornment, and Personal artifacts than the tenant farms. This pattern must be viewed cautiously, and there could be some unknown methodological or sampling biases that somehow affected the artifact recovery rates or classifications at some sites. One could argue, however, that higher frequencies of Activities, Clothing and Adornment, and Personal artifacts suggest a greater amount of wealth among some of the landowners, and the Williams farmstead is particularly notable in this regard.

The farmsteads of Mingo and Nancy Burleson and Rubin and Elizabeth Hancock produced the largest samples and provide the most compatible artifact data for comparison with the Williams farmstead. The artifact assemblages for the Burleson farmstead and the two tenant sites, all in Navarro County, are summarized in Table 14.6, and the Hancock farmstead artifact assemblage is summarized in Table 14.7. To make the artifact data more directly compatible with the Williams assemblage, some of the artifacts were reassigned to different functional groups.¹⁴⁵

A cursory examination of the artifacts from the Mingo Burleson and Rubin Hancock farmsteads suggests that these assemblages are quite comparable to the Williams farmstead assemblage. All three of these landowning families were consuming large amounts of commercial goods, representing a wide range of products and diverse activities. As discussed in Chapter 9, the faunal remains recovered from the Burleson and Williams farmsteads are equally diverse. These landowners were consuming several domestic and many wild species, while their tenant counterparts consumed only domestic animals but no wild species (see Table 9.6). This could mean that the tenants were not allowed to hunt on the property they farmed, or perhaps that hunting was an activity they could not afford.

From a technological standpoint, the differences in these farmstead assemblages are negligible. They all contain the same types of mass-manufactured goods representing the essential durable items (such as clothing and farm equipment) and consumable products

¹⁴⁴The level of archeological effort generally corresponds with the amount of artifacts that were recovered, and the data for sites with fewer than 2,000 total artifacts must be viewed with caution. The five sites that yielded more than 4,500 total artifacts represent reasonably sized samples and are more compatible.

¹⁴⁵The discrepancies between artifact classifications occurred in the Personal and Activities groups, and the adjustments are obvious in the tables because the original group classifications are shown.

Table 14.4. Comparison of site attributes for nine archeologically investigated African American farmsteads

Site Number	41BZ115	41DT192	41DT208	41DT209	41NV267	41NV305	41NV306	41TV875	41TV1051
Site name	Ned Peterson Farmstead	John Derrick Farmstead	John Hancock Farmstead	Wallace Carter Farmstead	Mingo and Nancy Burtleson Farmstead	Unknown	Unknown	Rubin and Elizabeth Hancock Farmstead	Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead
Dates of occupation	1893 to 1913/1931	1902 to 1956?	1889 to 1920	1917 to 1958	1873 to 1910	1870s to early 1900s	1870s to 1890s	1880 to 1916	ca. 1871 to ca. 1905
Length of occupation	20 (38) years	ca. 54 years	31 years	41 years	37 years	30 to 40 years	20 to 30 years	36 years	34 years
Type of farmstead occupation	Landowner	Landowner	Landowner	Landowner	Landowner	Tenant	Tenant	Landowner	Landowner
Dwelling type	Dog-trot log cabin (according to informants) with a brick and/or sandstone chimney	Wood frame house; burned	Unknown, probably wood frame	Unknown, probably wood frame	Log cabin with mudcat chimney	Unknown, probably wood frame	Unknown, probably wood frame	Wood frame with limestone rock chimney	Probably a log cabin with a limestone rock chimney
House size	Unknown but large	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ca. 10x23-ft	Unknown	Unknown	30x30-ft	ca. 15x16-ft
Swept yard	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes
Size of farmstead	150	50 acres	16 acres (plus 11 rented)	4 acres	250 acres	?	?	99 (83) acres*	45 acres
Associated community	None	Friendship (rural)	Friendship (rural)	Friendship (rural)	Birdston Valley (rural)	Birdston Valley (rural)	Birdston Valley (rural)	Waters Park/Duval	Bear Creek (rural)
No. of backhoe or gradall trenches	5	6	6	3	-	-	-	3	9
No. of shovel tests	-	-	18	0	-	-	-	-	113
No. of 50x50-cm test units	7	20	52	41	321	441	392	-	6
No. of 1x1-m units	-	-	-	-	39	-	1	-	142
No. of 5x5-ft units	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	86	-
No. of 2.5x2.5-ft units	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Table 14.4, continued

Site Number	41BZ115	41DT192	41DT208	41DT209	41NV267	41NV305	41NV306	41TV875	41TV1051
Total area of hand-excavated units	2 m ²	5 m ²	13 m ²	3.5 m ²	150 m ^{2***}	142 m ^{2***}	150 m ^{2***}	200 m ² (2156 ft ²)	143.5 m ²
Features documented or observed	Brick and sandstone rubble pile, brick- and sandstone-lined well	Brick-lined well, two house mounds, bottle dump, corral remnant, brick sorghum oven.***	House mound with brick rubble from chimney and two depressions.****	Brick-lined well, house area, collapsed outbuilding, three stock ponds, possible storm cellar depression	House mound, fence line, swept yard, trash midden zone	None (general refuse scatter)	None (general refuse scatter)	Hand-dug well, drilled well, chimney and house foundation, yard area, garden area, five fence lines, dog burial, two trash dumps, possible outbuilding foundations	Chimney and house foundation, stone and barbed wire fence corral complex, stone boundary fences, tree features, possible outbuilding, rock piles
Total no. of artifacts recovered	1,063	1,171	1,538	919	13,458	5050 (or 5052)	4,821	9,086	26,685
Archeology references	Carlson 1993a, 1993b, 1995	Green et al. 1996	Green et al. 1996	Green et al. 1996	Jurney and Moir 1987; Moir and Jurney 1987	Jurney and Moir 1987; Moir and Jurney 1987	Jurney and Moir 1987; Moir and Jurney 1987	Blake and Myers 1999	this volume
Oral history references	Nash 1995	none	none	none	Nunley 1987	Nunley 1987	Nunley 1987	none	Franklin 2012; this volume

* The Hancock Property was originally 99 acres but they lost 4 acres to the railroad and sold the 12 acres that were isolated.

** Excavated areas as stated do not match the stated total square meters of excavations.

*** Informant data suggests a separate small café and sorghum mill once operated there. Large observed artifacts include a kerosene stove, refrigerator, and a 1920s automobile body.

**** Informant noted that a house (wood frame), hen house, and sorghum press were once at the site.

Table 14.5. Comparison of artifact data by functional groups for nine African American farmsteads

Site Number and Name	41DT192: John Derrick Farmstead	41DT208: John Hancock Farmstead	41DT209: Wallace Carter Farmstead	41NV267: Mingo and Nancy Burleson Farmstead	41NV305: (unknown tenant)	41NV306: (unknown tenant)	41TV875: Rubin Hancock Farmstead	41TV1051: Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead
Dates of Occupation	1902–1956?	1889–1920	1917–1958	1873–1910	1870s to early 1900s	1870s to 1890s	1880 to 1916	ca. 1871 to ca. 1905
Type of Farmstead Occupation	Landowner	Landowner	Landowner	Landowner	Tenant	Tenant	Landowner	Landowner
Reference	Green et al. 1996:Tables 12, 15 and 16	Green et al. 1996:Tables 13, 15 and 16	Green et al. 1996:Tables 14, 15 and 16	Moir and Journey 1987:Tables 7.3 and 7.4	Moir and Journey 1987:Tables 7.3 and 7.4	Moir and Journey 1987:Tables 7.3 and 7.4	Blake and Myers 1999: Table 2	this volume
No. of Artifacts Recovered*								
Activities	38	43	98	337	131	108	187	954
Architectural	122	600	312	3,548	696	240	3,289	4,586
Clothing & Adornment	5	8	2	101	26	14	161	638
Kitchen & Household	218	694	268	8,657	4,153	4,380	4,635	11,965
Personal	8	34	0	19	2	8	21	599
SUBTOTAL OF MAIN FUNCTIONAL GROUPS	391	1,379	680	12,662	5,008	4,750	8,289	18,742
Faunal Remains	–	–	–	655	21	41	421	2,875
Macrobotanical Remains	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	86
Indeterminate or Other	780	159	239	141	21	30	372	4,198
Lithic Artifacts (unassociated)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	784
TOTAL	1,171	1,538	919	13,458	5,050	4,821	9,086	26,685
Percentage of Artifacts Recovered								
Activities	9.7%	3.1%	14.4%	2.7%	2.6%	2.3%	2.3%	5.1%
Architectural	31.2%	43.5%	45.9%	28.0%	13.9%	5.1%	39.6%	24.5%
Clothing & Adornment	1.3%	0.6%	0.3%	0.8%	0.5%	0.3%	1.9%	3.4%
Kitchen & Household	55.8%	50.3%	39.4%	68.4%	82.9%	92.2%	55.9%	63.8%
Personal	2.0%	2.5%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.2%	0.3%	3.2%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Some adjustments were made to the functional classifications of artifacts from the Navarro County sites and the Rubin Hancock farmstead. These changes are evident in Tables 14.6 and 14.7.

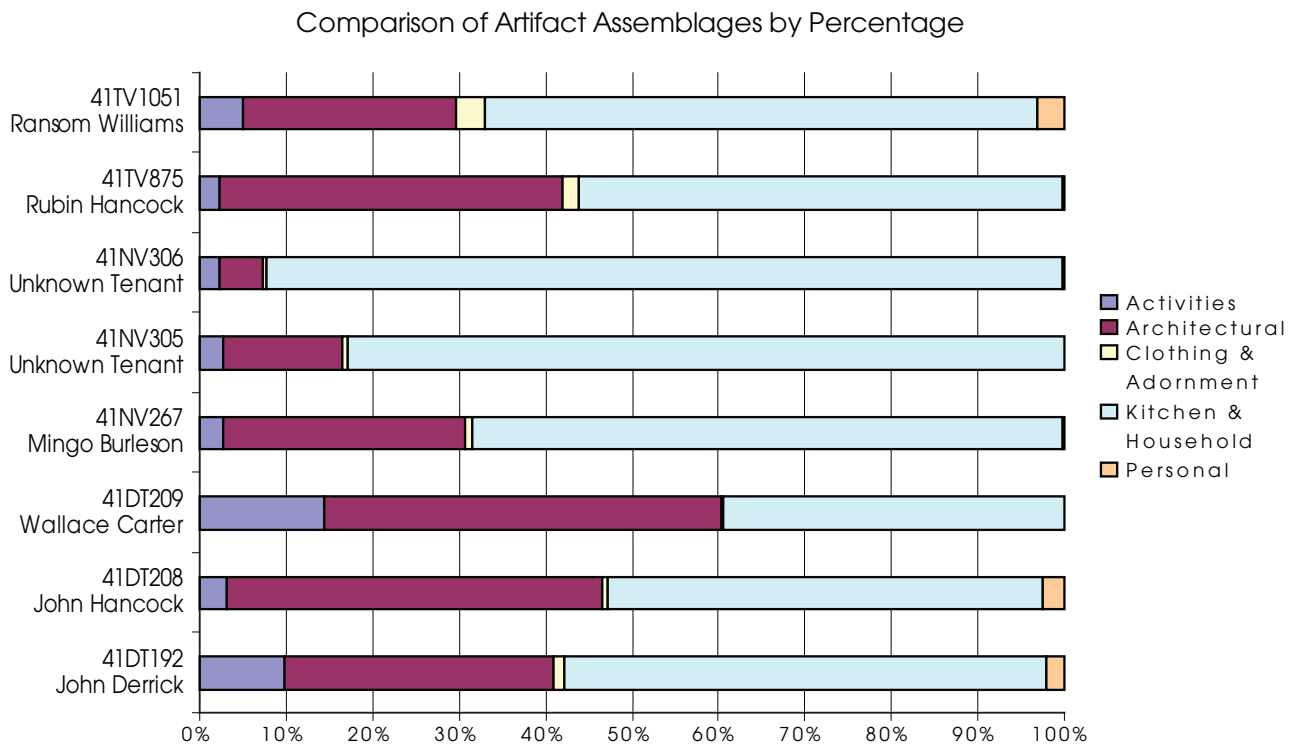
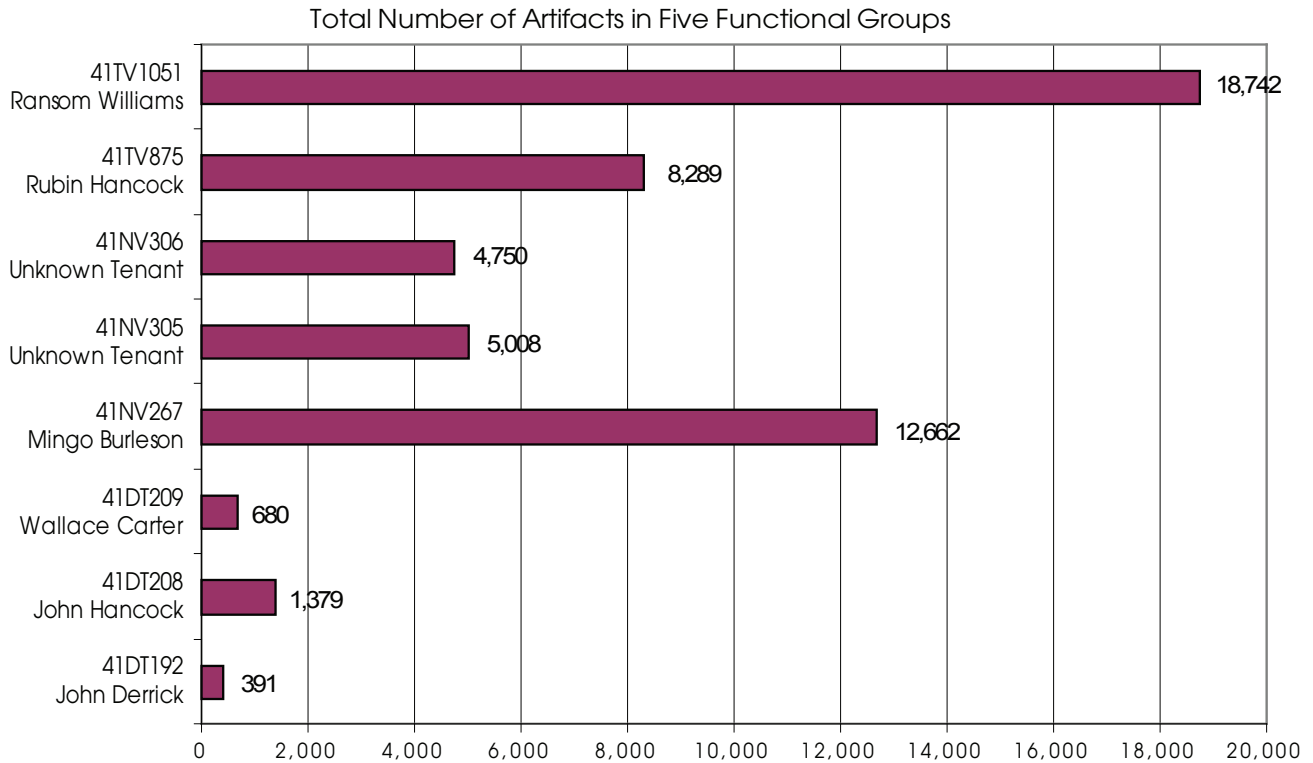


Figure 14.3. Comparisons of artifact assemblages from eight freedmen farmsteads using the total number of artifacts and percentage of artifacts within five functional groups.

Table 14.6. Summary of artifacts recovered from three African American farmsteads in Navarro County. Data are from Moir and Journey (1987:Table 7.3)*

PAI Functional Group	Original Artifact Group and Identification	41NV267: Mingo and Nancy Burleson	41NV305: Unknown Tenant	41NV306: Unknown Tenant
Activities	Ceramics - flower pots	2	2	2
	Personal - slate pencils	2	–	3
	Miscellaneous - tools	31	2	5
	Miscellaneous - heavy iron	218	115	72
	Miscellaneous - horse/stable gear	5	–	7
	Miscellaneous - firearms	50	4	13
	Personal - hamonica plates and reeds	8	–	–
	Personal - doll parts	14	8	2
	Personal - toys	7	–	4
Architecture	Architecture - architectural hardware	54	11	8
	Architecture - cut nails	964	65	49
	Architecture - wire nails	612	42	16
	Architecture - window glass	76	69	9
	Architecture - handmade bricks	1,003	477	69
	Architecture - mortar/cement	27	11	15
	Architecture - other	295	–	4
	Architecture - staples/screws	69	6	8
	Architecture - unidentified nails	448	15	62
Clothing & Adornment	Personal - buckles	12	1	2
	Personal - buttons	30	7	3
	Personal - hooks/fasteners	29	15	8
	Personal - shoe parts	30	3	1
Kitchen & Household	Ceramics - porcelain	69	19	14
	Ceramics - refined earthenware	610	533	725
	Ceramics - stoneware	540	280	474
	Ceramics - yellow ware	13	–	21
	Containers - bottle glass (all colors)	4,328	3,025	2,783
	Containers - bottle/table/lamp	3	14	1
	Containers - lamp glass (all colors)	76	42	42
	Containers - table glass (all colors)	267	87	43
	Miscellaneous - electrical	5	1	4
Miscellaneous - tin cans/fragments	2,746	152	273	
Personal	Personal - other	19	2	8
Faunal	Miscellaneous - fauna	655	21	41
Unidentified or Other	Miscellaneous - other	138	21	30
	Miscellaneous - coal/cinder	3	–	–
Total Number of Artifacts in the Five Main Functional Groups		12,662	5,008	4,750
Total Volume of Hand Excavations (square meters)		150	142	150
Density of Artifacts (No. per square meter)		84	35	32

*Discrepancies were noted between the artifact counts in Moir and Journey's (1987) Table 7.3 and other artifact tables in Journey and Moir (1987). All data in this table are from the former.

(foods) needed by any late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century farm family.

UNDERSTANDING THE FARMSTEAD HISTORY AND LANDSCAPE

The landscape analysis described in Chapter 6 suggests that Ransom Williams was extremely knowledgeable, practical, and efficient in organizing his farmstead to take advantage of

the natural terrain and resources on his 45-acre property. The topography, historic and modern aerial photos, archeological landscape features, and material culture all provide evidence of how he used his land to its full potential. Although his land was an upland tract with thin clayey soils and no source of permanent water, Williams and his family were successful in their farming endeavors for three decades, from the time Ransom purchased the land in 1871 until Sarah and the younger children left the property about

Table 14.7. Summary of artifacts recovered from the Rubin and Elizabeth Hancock Farmstead (41TV685). Data are from Blake and Myers (1999:53–73)

PAI Functional Group (subgroup)	Original Artifact Group and Identification	No. of Artifacts
Activities (farming)	Farmstead artifacts, miscellaneous (spikes, nuts, bolts, horseshoes, horseshoe nails, harness parts)	60
Activites (fishing)	Personal belongings and attire - fishing reel	1
Activites (hunting)	Personal belongings and attire - ammunition	13
Activites (music)	Personal belongings and attire - harmonica fragment	1
Activites (sewing)	Personal belongings and attire - possible sewing machine part	1
	Personal belongings and attire - scissor fragments	10
Activites (sewing)	Personal belongings and attire - straight pin	1
Activites (toys)	Personal belongings and attire - toys (doll parts)	4
	Personal belongings and attire - toys (marbles)	3
Activites (writing)	Personal belongings and attire - writing items (paper clip, slate pencils, paper staples)	6
Activities (ritual)	Faunal - articulated skeleton in dog burial	87
Architectural	Cut nails	1,532
	Wire nails	686
	Window glass	419
	Farmstead artifacts, fence staples	74
	Farmstead artifacts, wire fragments	519
	Miscellaneous architectural - door knob and latch parts	3
	Miscellaneous architectural - lead pipe	1
	Miscellaneous architectural - milled lumber	1
	Miscellaneous architectural - unspecified (roofing tacks and nails, wood screws, mortar fragments)	54
Clothing & Adornment	Personal belongings and attire - buckles and fasteners	49
	Personal belongings and attire - button hook	1
	Personal belongings and attire - buttons, composition	1
	Personal belongings and attire - buttons, glass	5
	Personal belongings and attire - buttons, metal	16
	Personal belongings and attire - buttons, porcelain (includes Prosser)	15
	Personal belongings and attire - buttons, shell	15
	Personal belongings and attire - jewelry (men's)	2
	Personal belongings and attire - jewelry (women's)	2
	Personal belongings and attire - shoe parts (heel plates, leather, eyelets)	55

Table 14.7, continued

PAI Functional Group (subgroup)	Original Artifact Group and Identification	No. of Artifacts
Kitchen & Household	Ceramics - porcelain	82
	Ceramics - stoneware	125
	Ceramics - transfer-printed ware	12
	Ceramics - undecorated whiteware and semiporcelain	141
	Container glass (probable food bottles)	2,058
	Household furnishings - cast-iron skillet fragments	4
	Household furnishings - cast-iron stove parts	15
	Household furnishings - clock parts	4
	Household furnishings - electrical parts (possibly auto)	2
	Household furnishings - furniture latch parts	2
	Household furnishings - furniture casters and socket	3
	Household furnishings - lamp base glass fragments	3
	Household furnishings - lamp chimney glass fragments	25
	Household furnishings - metal washtup fragments	3
	Household furnishings - picture hanger	1
	Household furnishings - trunk lock	1
	Household furnishings - unspecified	10
	Household furnishings - upholstery tacks	10
	Miscellaneous metal - enamel ware coffee pot lid	1
	Miscellaneous metal - enamel ware pan handles	2
	Miscellaneous metal - enamel ware strainer	1
	Miscellaneous metal - enamel ware wash tub	1
	Miscellaneous metal - Goldy seal bottle lid	1
	Miscellaneous metal - Hutchinson bottle stopper	1
	Miscellaneous metal - knife handle	1
	Miscellaneous metal - three-prong forks	2
	Miscellaneous metal - unknown utensil handle	1
	Table glass	54
	Tin cans (fragments)	2,069
Personal (grooming)	Personal belongings and attire - bone tooth brush	1
	Personal belongings and attire - bone comb teeth	2
	Personal belongings and attire - hairpin	1
Personal (health/medicine)	Container glass - medicine bottle necks	2
	Container glass - medicine bottle, complete	1
Personal (tobacco)	Personal belongings and attire - tobacco plug tags	3
Personal (alcohol)	Container glass - liquor bottle necks	2
Personal (accoutrements)	Personal belongings and attire - umbrella ribs	4
Personal (other)	Personal belongings and attire - unspecified	5
Faunal	Faunal (animal bones, unidentified)	421
Unidentified	Miscellaneous metal - unspecified	247
	Unidentified/other	125
Total Artifacts		9,086
Total Volume of Hand Excavations (square meters)		200
Density of Artifacts (No. per square meter)		45.4

1905. It is not known if they farmed it or leased the land to others until they sold off all the property in 1934 (18 acres) and 1941 (27 acres), but there is no evidence that anyone else lived on the property after the Williams family (see Chapter 5).

How Williams Bought His Farm

We do not know exactly how Ransom Williams obtained the first horses he owned or raised enough money to buy his farm, but historical facts offer some possibilities. Some freedmen were successful only by the fruits of their own labors, while others had some advantage or were given a head start by benevolent whites. “Whether motivated by altruism or strapped for cash, a good many whites gave up on postbellum agriculture and broke up their large landholdings into small plots for sale on credit to blacks” (Sitton and Conrad 2005:28). Plantation owners were sometimes willing to help their “ex-slaves get a start by giving them some land, horses, and milk cows” or by making arrangements for them to purchase lands over time through their labor (Sitton and Conrad 2005:19–20). The freedmen who bought land at Antioch Colony were able to do so because of one white man, Joseph Freeborn Rowley. A Virginian who never owned slaves, Rowley was willing to sell the properties that would launch a freedom colony in northern Hays County (see Chapter 4).

Historical documents indicate that Ransom Williams owned several horses or mules in 1869 and 1870, before he bought his 45-acre farm in 1871. He lived in the Mountain City area of northern Hays County in 1866, and he paid taxes on his horses or mules in Hays County from 1870 through 1873 (see Table 5.2). There is no evidence that Ransom Williams had any connection with Charles Word, the white man who subdivided the McGehee League and sold Williams the 45-acre farm. So we must surmise that Williams earned enough money to buy his land by 1871. The question is, how did Ransom Williams come to own so many horses and get enough money to buy his land?

In Chapter 5, we speculated that Ransom Williams had been a slave on the Bunton plantation, where he had learned to work with horses. At emancipation, it is possible that the Buntons gave Williams some horses, or perhaps more likely, arranged to sell him some horses if

he continued to work for them. It seems likely that Williams purchased several horses from the Buntons between 1865 and 1869; he owned 6 horses valued at \$120 in 1870, and by 1871 he owned 9 horses worth \$190. It is likely that Williams was using his labor, and perhaps the labor of his horses he worked and owned, to earn money to buy the farm. He purchased the farm in December 1871 with \$160 in cash and a promissory note for \$20. This means that right before he bought the land, Williams had saved \$160 in cash and owned \$190 worth of horses. This was an impressive amount of wealth for a black man only six years after emancipation!

The tax data for Hays and Travis Counties show that in 1874, Williams went from owning 9 horses to 2 (see Table 5.2). This suggests that he may have sold some of the horses to pay off the promissory note and to finance some improvements on his farm.

Feature Chronology and Farmstead Evolution

When Ransom Williams moved onto the farm, some of the first things he did were to build the stone fence corrals, dig the pond for his livestock, clear the fields of trees for farming, and construct his house. We did not find absolute evidence of when these features were constructed, but logic dictates that the creation of the rock walls, stock pond, and fields were his highest priorities so his farm would become economically productive as quickly as possible. But all of these things would have taken some time. Williams was working the land before he got married, and he probably got some help from friends or relatives. Even so, it is likely that much of the hard labor fell to him. He had to work the land for quite some time, perhaps a few years, before the stone fences, livestock pond, and agricultural fields were operational.

There is little doubt that the massive rock walls of the corral complex were built long ago by Williams. One line of evidence for the antiquity of the rock walls is their association with large trees. Some very large live oak trees were integrated into the larger rock walls in the corral complex, and they were present and already quite large at the time the walls were constructed. Some of these large trees continued to grow and displace sections of the rock wall, while many smaller trees are probably less than

50 to 100 years old and sprouted up through the rock fences since they were built. Unfortunately none of this evidence is precise enough for understanding the chronology and sequence of building events on the farm.

As mentioned above, we must acknowledge the possibility that Williams might have begun working on the farm, and perhaps even lived there, before he bought the land in 1871. His property taxes in Hays County show that he owned 9 horses by the time he registered his horse brand in April 1872, but he was definitely living in Travis County at that time, not Hays. The archival evidence suggests he was probably working the farm before 1871, and livestock management would have been one of his top priorities. He probably began building fences and corrals as soon as he moved onto the land, if not before.

After Williams moved onto his farm, it is difficult to know precisely when he built the house there. Travis County tax records for 1874 suggest that he had not yet built his house (and it is unfortunate that no tax record entries were found for Williams from 1875 to 1877). In addition, the sale of several of his horses between 1873 and 1874 probably indicates that he was raising cash to begin financing the building of his home. Sarah Houston was still single and living in Austin in 1875, but she and Ransom were presumably married before December 1876, when they had their first child. While it cannot be proven, it seems likely that he would have built the house before he married Sarah and their son Will was born. If so, the house was probably constructed sometime between 1873 and 1875.

Based on the mix of square-cut and wire nails recovered from the house block, we surmise that the original structure was most likely a single-pen log home with minimal square nails used in the roof (see Chapter 11). Later additions or repairs would have involved using milled lumber and wire nails (which became popular after 1890), but milled lumber might have been more difficult to obtain and more expensive prior to the coming of the railroad through Manchaca to San Marcos in 1880. Building a log cabin was the norm for many settlers coming to central Texas prior to the Civil War and through the 1870s (see Chapter 4). Many settlers that moved to the uplands in southern Travis and northern Hays Counties built log cabins (McLeod 2009; Roberson 1972:41, 44, 103, 142), and several people who came to the Mountain City area

started out in log cabins (Carpenter 1970:12, 18; Giberson and Younts 2003:197–198; Green 1996). Ransom Williams was no exception, and he followed this familiar pattern by building a log home using the resources on his own land. The limited spatial distribution of nails (heavily concentrated only in the house block), the relative high frequency of cut nails, and the low number of wire nails all suggest that no major structures were built on the farm other than the log cabin.

Addendum: Historical Recollection of the Williams Log Cabin

In July 2014, after the final draft of this report was completed and reviewed, the principal investigator received an email from Marilyn Dunnahoo McLeod, who lives in Manchaca. In this correspondence, McLeod summarized information that confirms that the Williams family did indeed live in a log cabin. Consequently, this section was added here to present this new historical evidence.

This historical information comes in the form of a recollection from Cordelia Dunnahoo Mitchell (1911–2003), who was the granddaughter of Daniel W. Labenski, who lived on the property next door to Ransom William for many decades. Mrs. Mitchell visited the old Labenski place with her niece, Marilyn Dunnahoo McLeod, on April 7, 1996. McLeod (2014) made notes on what her aunt said that day, and recorded the following statement:

Aunt Cordelia said there used to be a log cabin on the property next to theirs which was owned by a black man called Rance. They would ask if they could go to “The Ranch” when they were little when they wanted to visit the cabin.

This tantalizing tidbit is the only direct personal account of the log cabin that once existed on the Williams farmstead. Noting that Cordelia would have been about 9 years old in 1920, this observation suggests that the cabin probably survived intact up into the 1920s.

Layout of the Farmstead

Figures 14.4 and 14.5 depict the Williams farm landscape with and without the farmstead

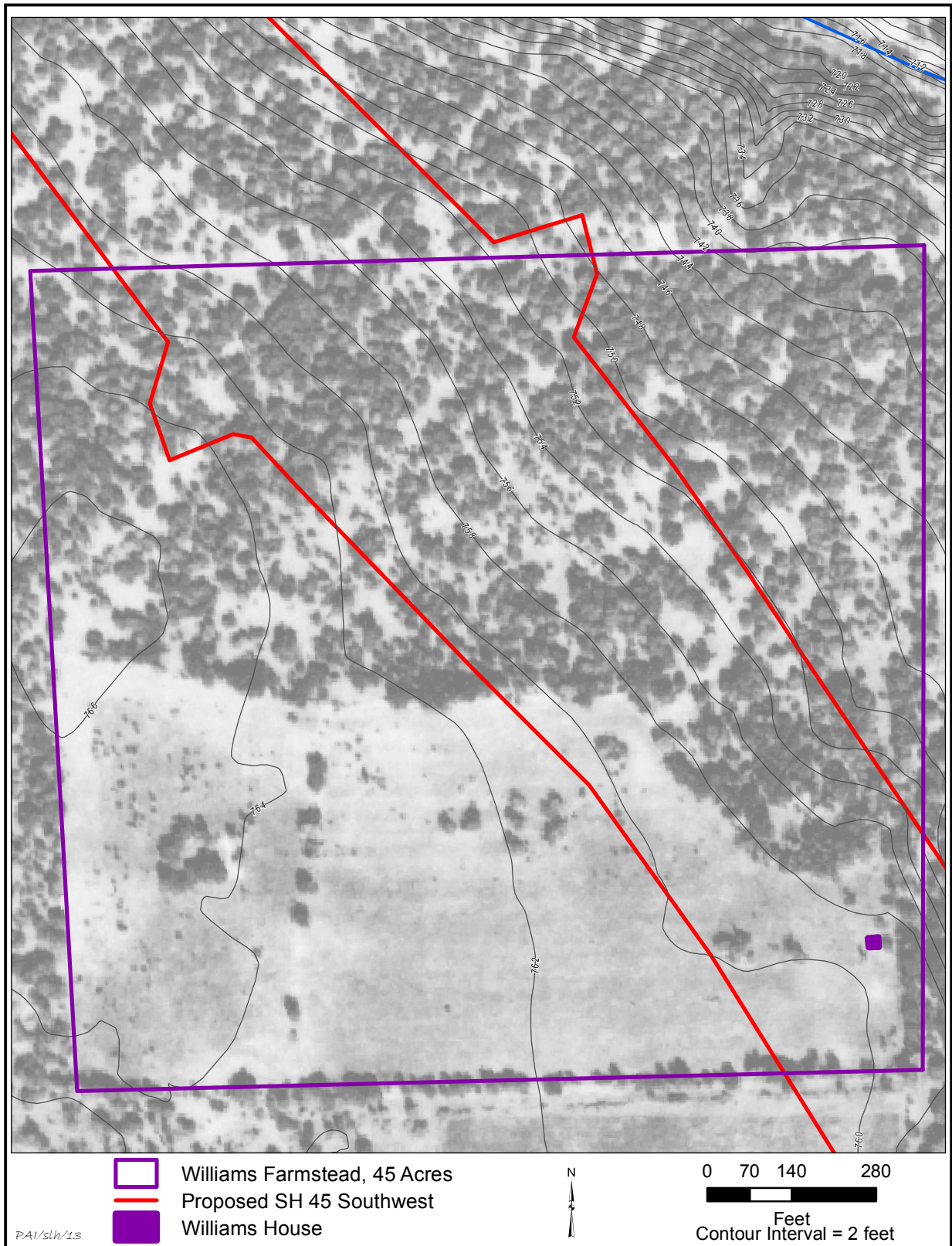


Figure 14.4. The 1937 aerial photograph showing the estimated boundaries of Ransom Williams’s 45-acre farmstead. The property boundaries are based on the vegetation patterns, and locations of road, fields, and other features.

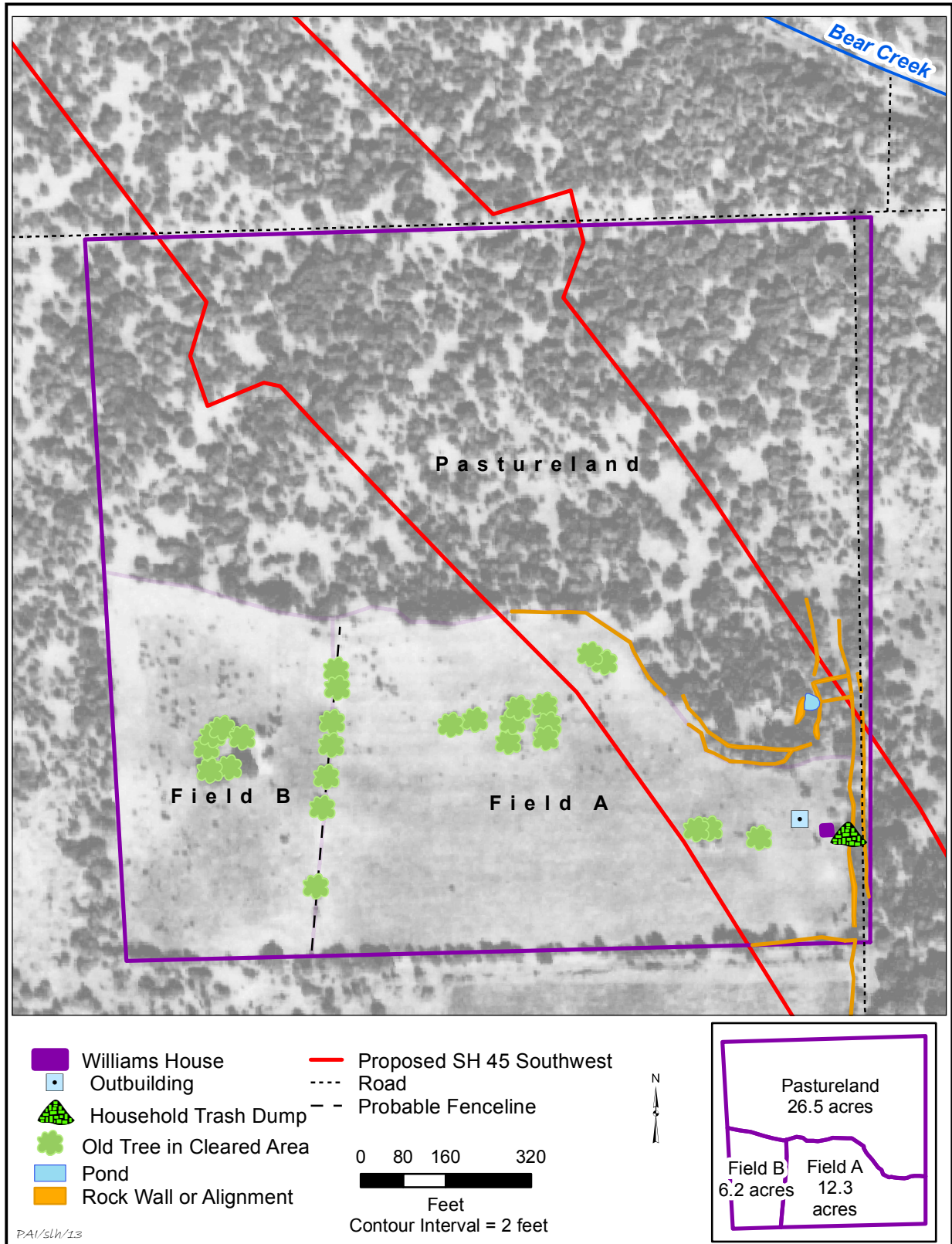


Figure 14.5. Map depicting the nineteenth-century Williams farmstead as reconstructed in the landscape analysis.

features. Figure 14.4 shows the most reasonable estimated boundaries of Williams's 45-acre farmstead based on the locations of cultivated fields, treelines, and roads evident in the 1937 aerial photograph. It is notable that this tract is not a perfect rectangle as one might expect in the modern world, but it does correspond with well-defined vegetation patterns (see the discussion of the farmstead boundaries in Chapter 6 and Figures 6.4 and 6.5).

Figure 14.6 depicts a reconstruction of the William farmstead as it probably looked in the late nineteenth century. The placement of the various improvements reflects an elegant design that represents the most logical use of this small upland parcel for premechanized farming and ranching. Although this map depicts the farmstead layout at the turn of the century, it is probably applicable for most of the Williams family occupation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Even though this farm reconstruction is based heavily on the 1937 aerial photograph, which dates about 32 years after the family left the farm, the historical and physical evidence suggest that the 1937 vegetation patterns were established during the late nineteenth century. Consequently, the hypothesized property boundary is probably an accurate representation of the land that Williams actually farmed and what he considered to be his property.¹⁴⁶ It is notable that this 45-acre tract is trapezoidal rather than a perfect square or rectangle. The estimated property boundaries could easily be off by a small margin of error, but this general shape probably reflects historical reality. It is not unrealistic to suggest that the original surveyors did not lay out a precise square or rectangle during the 1871 property survey in a wooded landscape. Furthermore, it is doubtful that Williams or any of his early neighbors ever questioned the original property corners or land survey boundaries, and it is doubtful that any of them ever bothered to have their land resurveyed.

The geology and topography dictated how Williams needed to divide his 45-acre property to run an efficient farm. He wisely selected the flat upland area across the southern half

of his property, about 18.5 acres, for cultivation. He cleared the land of most of the trees and used some of them to build a log cabin (see Chapter 11). He also divided this cleared section into two separate fields of 12.3 and 6.2 acres as evident by the north-south tree row representing an old fenceline across the southwestern quarter of the property. This division was probably made so that he could plant different crops in the two parcels, allowing him to graze his livestock in one field and keep them out of the other.

Williams was certainly cognizant of the fact that most of his land could not be cultivated and was better suited as unimproved livestock pasture. Because of the significant slope, stepped limestone benches, and abundant outcrops of large cobbles and boulders, Williams had little choice but to leave the tree cover and grasses intact across the northern part of his farm. This 26.5-acre wooded area contains many large live oaks that are easily more than 200 years old (see Chapter 6), so there is little doubt that the area remained wooded during the farmstead occupation.

As Williams cleared and cultivated the land, he piled the limestone boulders and ubiquitous flint cobbles along the north and south edges of his fields, as farmers have always done in areas with thin stony clay soils. The southern boundary of his property is marked, at least in places, by a more substantial rock wall where large limestone boulders were placed. This property boundary corresponds with a prominent treeline and road visible in the 1937 aerial image.

The prominent tree clusters within the cleared fields were intentional as well. These are areas where clumps of trees and vegetation are growing on rocky outcrops that have little or no soil. It would have been impossible to plow these areas, and leaving these tree clusters intact would have served two purposes. First, they would have provided some shady spots for anyone plowing in the hot sun and for livestock to gather under in the summer heat. Second, the tree clusters provided convenient places to drag and dump the limestone rocks and flint cobbles that were constantly being dug up in the fields. It is notable that the three vegetation-covered rock mounds in the State Highway 45 right of way correlate perfectly with the three tree clusters visible on the 1937 aerial photograph (compare Figures 6.6, 14.4, and 14.5).

¹⁴⁶The 1871 Travis County deed record lists Williams's land as being 45 acres, and the Travis County tax records consistently list the property as either 44.5 or 45 acres (see Table 5.2).

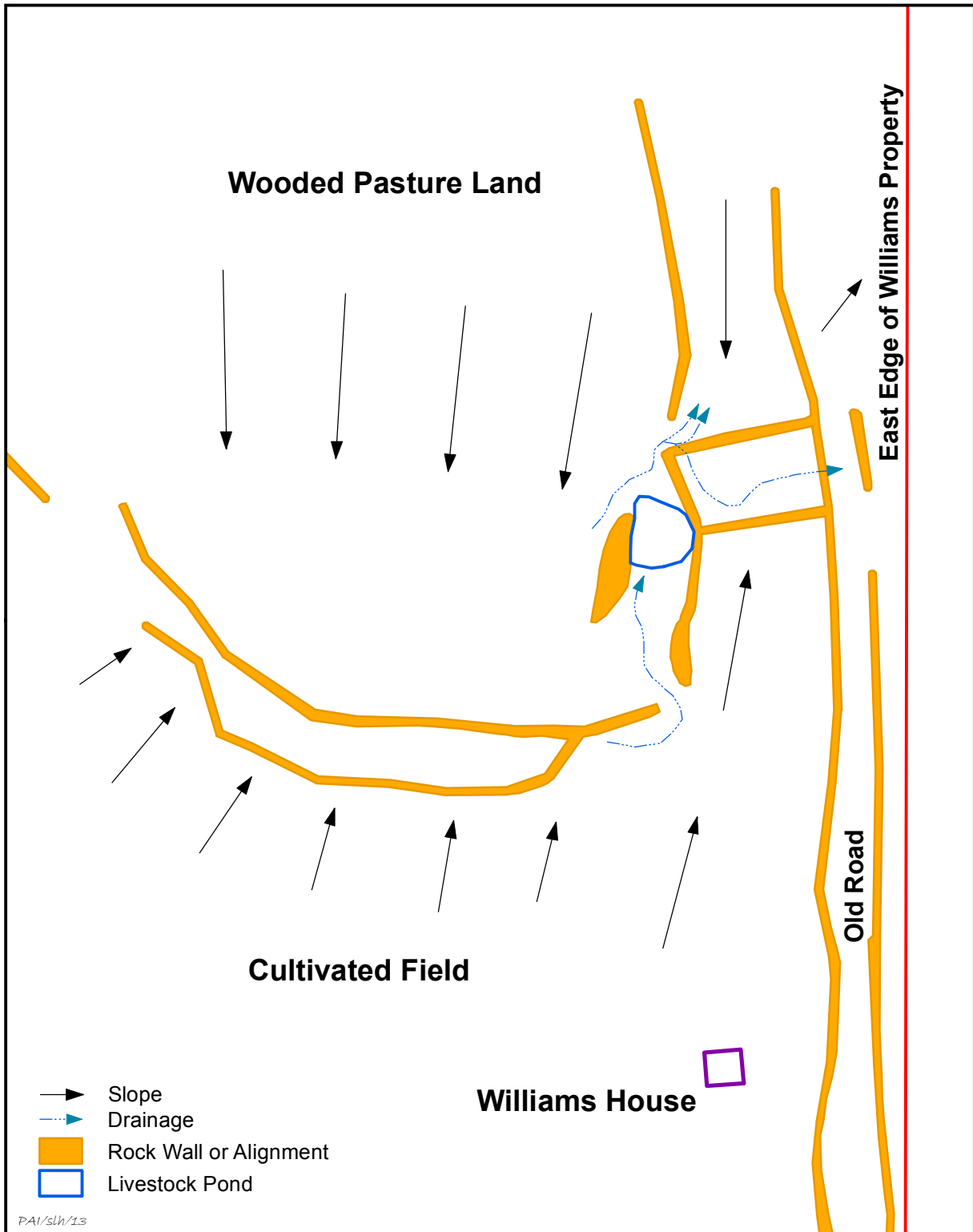


Figure 14.6. Closeup map of the corral complex showing the relationships between the cultivated fields, the wooded pastures, the rock fences in the corral complex, the livestock pond, and the ground slope and drainages.

What Is Missing from the Farm?

While conducting the landscape analysis, we were aware that many important farm components were probably missing. Previous studies have identified many components that characterize a classic or “idealized” central Texas farmstead, including the house, an active yard area, a peripheral yard, a well or cistern, a privy, a smokehouse, a barn or shed, fenced pastures and fields, a pond, and a trash dump (Jurney et al. 1988:Figures 1.3, 1.4, 17.1, and 17.3). The reason we found no well or cistern on the property is simple: they didn’t exist. Digging a well or cistern with hand tools would have been nearly impossible because of the limestone bedrock. We can speculate that some other structures and features once existed on the Williams farmstead but were not found. Large areas of the farmstead could not be investigated due to lack of access beyond the state-owned right of way. Inside the right of way, we found no surface indications or concentrations of metal detector finds to provide hints of possible additional buried features. It was simply not practical or cost-effective to do random subsurface investigations looking for buried evidence that would probably be so ephemeral it was virtually undetectable. Thus, we must conclude that there is a high likelihood that there were other farmstead components that were not discovered. For example, one man-made stock pond was found, but it is quite possible that other small stock ponds were present in the uninvestigated wooded areas, especially in the lowest elevations in the northeast quarter of the property. Archeological evidence indicates that one outbuilding was located near the house and some type of ephemeral structure, such as a pole barn, could have been somewhere in the corral complex (see Chapters 6 and 11). But there were probably other barns and storage sheds onsite as well.

Various lines of circumstantial evidence (historical and archeological) suggest that a few small specialty structures were once present on the farm. These might include a chicken coop, a corncrib, pig pens, a smokehouse, and a cow or horse barn. These types of features were essential on plantations and farms of all sizes, and they are well documented historically but seldom documented archeologically (e.g., Carlson 1995a, 1995b; Jurney and Moir 1987; Moir 1988; Moir and Jurney 1987; Moss 1995). In

her “Plantation Model for Texas,” Moss (1995:73, 81–82) discusses smokehouses, corncribs, barns, and other outbuildings. Oral history interviews are filled with recollections of freedmen families raising corn, cotton, hay, garden vegetables, chickens, pigs, and hogs, as well as mentions of livestock barns, chicken pens, pig pens, hay and corn sheds, and smokehouses (e.g., Franklin 2012; Nash 1995; Nunley 1987, 1988). Once the aboveground structures are gone, these types of features are nearly invisible archeologically.

In the absence of direct physical evidence, however, the Williams farmstead has lots of indirect evidence that hints at the existence of these features. This evidence includes bones of chickens, pigs, and cows (see Chapter 9), a garden hoe (see Figure 8.24), charred corn kernels (see Chapter 10), and a handheld device for shelling corn on the cob (see Figure 8.11). This suggests that the Williams family probably had a smokehouse, a corncrib, and other structures to house animals and store crops. The subfloor storage pit and the recovery of charred sweet potato indicate that the Williamses had a vegetable garden, and a peach pit suggests they could have had a small orchard. Oral histories document apple, peach, and pear orchards on freedmen farmsteads in east Texas (Wade 1984:40) and peach, pecan, fig, plum, and pear trees grown in orchards in Hays and Travis Counties (Franklin 2012:57, 224, 310, 372, 730, 893, 920).

One last feature type that warrants mention is the outhouse. Outhouses are not well documented in antebellum plantation historical accounts (Moss 1995:83), but this may be because it was an impolite subject that was seldom mentioned in people’s memoirs. In contrast, oral histories include such information only when specific questions are asked. The oral history interviews compiled by Franklin (2012) attest to the fact that outhouses were common features near home sites in the early twentieth century. Privies are among the typical farmstead features identified by informants in north-central Texas (Moir 1988). No evidence of privy pits was found on the Williams farmstead, but the family probably used a small wooden outhouse enclosure and probably moved it periodically as privy pits became filled. The most likely location for an outhouse would have been east of the house, downslope and beyond the trash midden, and probably near the eastern edge of the property. This location makes sense given that the

strongest prevailing winds come from the south and southeast. Unfortunately, any excavated privy pits in this area would have been very shallow due to the thin soils and extensive bedrock, and shallow pits on a slope would be difficult or impossible to recognize archeologically, if any evidence survived at all.

Why Rock Fences?

To separate the cultivated fields from the sloping pastures and to contain his livestock, Williams would have needed strong fences. Though wood was free for the taking on his own land, and trees had to be cleared from the fields anyway, the option of using vertical post fences and barbed wire was not a good one for Williams when he was starting out. The task of hand-digging post holes in limestone bedrock would have been difficult indeed. This alone made the use of posts and wire fencing impractical for early settlers who had no mechanical digging equipment. But more important, barbed wire did not become widespread in Texas until several years after Joseph Glidden's 1874 patent made barbed wire commercially successful (McCallum and Owens 2012). Barbed wire was still very expensive in the 1870s and 1880s. Wood posts and barbed-wire fence remnants were found on the farmstead, and some are old enough that the Williamses probably built them. The older fence remnants all appear to have been built on top of the rock walls and rock alignments. Many of the fence posts are embedded into the rock walls, or the barbed-wire strands were attached to live oak trees that were used as fence posts. These older barbed-wire fences postdate the rock walls of the corral complex, indicating that they represent improvements and maintenance of fences rather than original fence-building episodes.

The immediate solution for Williams's fencing problem was simple because he had an abundance of limestone rocks on his property. He built rock fences because they were practical and made good economic sense. Stone fences were very common in the Texas Hill County and are well documented at historic sites because they generally survive longer than many other farmstead features. When rock fences were constructed by specialists, often using slave labor in the antebellum period, the cost of building stone fences was less than half the cost of building a comparable wooden split rail fence (Roberson

1972:106, citing Jordan 1966:163–165). For Ransom Williams, money was probably hard to come by after he bought his land and started his farm operation, but rocks were abundant and free. There was no shortage of tabular boulders exposed along the natural ridges and slopes in his wooded pastures, which is precisely where he wanted to build the livestock fences. Although it was labor-intensive, Williams's decision to build massive rock fences was a necessity rather than a choice. He would have studied the topography, vegetation, geology, and soils carefully before laying out the locations for his livestock pond, the rock fences, the farmhouse, and other improvements he might make in the future.

It is hard to imagine the full extent of the labor that went into building the stone fences. The work involved gathering the boulders and cobbles and using horses or mules to drag the rocks to their destination, probably with ropes and skids. Preparing the rock wall foundation meant digging a shallow wall trench to bedrock and laying down a bottom layer of rocks to form a solid base. Each successive layer of rocks had to be carefully chosen, with the smoothest rock faces being lined up to form relatively flat exterior wall edges. Logic dictates that Williams would have tried to find suitable rocks as close as possible to the walls that he was building. Like any modern landscape architect, he probably calculated the labor needed to move the rocks from the source areas to the walls. Fortunately for him, the source area was adjacent to the corral complex. Archeologists observed a paucity of exposed boulders in the sloping area immediately north of the corral complex (i.e., the area north of Rock Wall F and east of the pond), while many rocks were observed on the slopes farther to the north. It is certain that this was the main source area for the limestone slabs used in the fence building, and the land had far more rocks than Williams would ever need.

Though the southern boundary of the Williams property is well defined by a rock fence and cobble alignment, the northern boundary is not. The 1937 aerial photograph shows a cleared east-west line along the northern border (see Figure 14.4), indicating a property line and a cleared road. Since no evidence of a rock wall was found in this area, it is possible that Williams or his neighbor to the north installed a wire fence or a wooden split rail fence along this shared property boundary. A post-and-wire fence could

have been removed completely, and a split-rail fence would have deteriorated once it was no longer maintained, leaving little or no evidence of its existence. It is even possible that there was never any fence along the north edge of the property. Remembering that the 40-acre tract just north of Williams property was bisected by Bear Creek, the portion south of the creek (about 20 acres) was essentially cut off from the rest of the property. This isolated tract might have been of limited use to the owner if he lived north of Bear Creek, and Ransom Williams could have made some arrangement that allowed him to graze his livestock on this tract.

Good Fences Make Good Neighbors

The landscape analysis was a very important part of this project, and the resulting data support a more robust interpretation of this how this small farmstead functioned. The rock walls in particular help us understand how a complete agricultural system worked. They divided the Williams property into spatial units with different functions, and this concept is discussed by Mather and Hart in their treatise on “Fences and Farms.” They note that “Fences and the types of areas they enclose reveal much about the farm economy” (Mather and Hart 1954:202). The rock walls and alignments certainly reveal much about the way that Ransom Williams organized his farm, but they also provide hints of a bigger story. These large landscape features also reveal a great deal about the rural agricultural community in which Williams lived.

The phrase “good fences make good neighbours” was popularized with the publication of the poem *Mending Walls* by Robert Frost (1914), but the concept was around long before that. The poem relates a discussion between two neighbors in which one of them wonders why they must continually rebuild the rock wall between their properties when neither of them have any cows to keep in or out. But the other neighbor is adamant that the wall must be rebuilt simply because “good fences make good neighbours.” Most people who have lived in a rural area for any length of time have heard this saying, and its common usage indicates the important role that property rights and proper fencing have always had among agriculturists, both past and present. In Texas, good fences were good etiquette, and

maintaining fences was an important part of maintaining relationships.

Beyond simply being good etiquette, good fences were also a matter of legal practicality. Over the years, the State of Texas has enacted a wide range of “Stock and Fence Laws” (indexed for the period 1823 to 1905 by Raines [1906:497–499]) that mandated when and how fences must be constructed. Failure to maintain fences and keep control of one’s livestock might make a neighbor mad, but it could also result in a legal dispute. It seems likely that Ransom Williams would have been cognizant of his obligation to maintain fences and control his livestock. The last thing Williams needed was to make his neighbors angry or have a run-in with the county sheriff.

Old Roads and Water Management

Transportation and water management were critical factors that Ransom Williams would have taken into account when designing the layout of his farm. The location selected for the livestock pond within the 45-acre farm was certainly not random (see Chapter 7). Although the old pond location was filled in with sediment and not particularly obvious when it was first observed, two clues led to its identification. First, the concentration of lag gravels and limestone cobbles on the west side of the pond appeared to be unnatural. And second, the accumulation of sediment up to the top of the west side of Rock Wall E1 looked odd because the entire wall face was exposed on the east side (see Figures 6.27 and 6.28). Once the excavation of a backhoe trench confirmed its existence, the pond became a key feature in understanding the site, and the landscape analysis focused on defining the natural drainage topography in relation to the locations of the rock walls and the pond (see Figure 14.6). The geoarcheological evidence suggests that Williams must have dug this pond at the same time as he built the massive rock walls of the corral complex. Rock Wall E1 essentially forms a dam on the east side of the pond (see Figure 6.27), and the wall had to be completed and patched with dense fine clay to make the pond hold water. The combined evidence indicates that Ransom Williams selected an ideal spot on his property on which to build the pond, and that he utilized the natural slopes

and drainages well when laying out the rock walls of the corral complex. Knowing that his livestock would have to return to this spot for water every day, the location of the corral complex and pond also dictated to some extent where Williams would build his house. He certainly would have wanted his house to be a relatively short distance away from his livestock.

To construct the livestock pond, Williams may have used a horse-drawn plow to break up the rocky soils, but horse-drawn dirt digging and scraping tools (including the famous “Fresno” scraper) were not patented until 1882 to 1885 (Dusy and McCall 1885; Porteous 1882). So he might have broken the ground with a horse-drawn plow and then shoveled the sediments out by hand, perhaps placing the material onto some type of horse-drawn skid to drag it out of the pond area. Any large rocks he encountered might have been set aside for use in a nearby rock wall, but the cobble-filled sediment was dumped along a limestone ridge to form the east side of the pond.

Because Williams had no underground cistern or well, efficient use of precious rainfall would have been very important. While Travis County has an average annual rainfall of 32 to 34 inches according to various sources, drought conditions (defined as 75 percent of annual rainfall) occurred regularly in the past as they do today (Lowery 1959). Whenever dry spells or droughts occurred, Williams would have wanted to capture every drop of moisture that fell on his land. Given the topography and layout of the natural drainage and slope of the upland fields to the south, it is safe to say that the livestock pond would have captured any rainfall runoff from an area of at least 5 to 10 acres, perhaps more (see Figures 14.1, 14.2, and 14.6). It appears that Williams made only minimal modifications to the natural drainages, if any at all, and that he used the rock walls to help channel water into the pond.

Like the location of the corrals and pond, the decision of where to build the house was not a random choice, either. The house is situated on level ground near the eastern edge of the property, close to the rock ledge where the land begins to slope to the north and east. It was also only 150 to 200 ft south of the corral complex. Williams chose a spot for the house that was close enough to the livestock corrals so he could hear animals in distress. The precise placement

of the house may have been dictated in part by the presence of a giant live oak tree. At more than 200 years old today, this would have been a big tree when Williams moved onto the land. It would have provided a large shaded area near the house, and it may have contained a beehive that was a convenient source of honey as well. The other determining factor for the house location is that it was next to the main road in the southeast corner of the Williams property.

The 1937 aerial photograph shows that there was an east-west road along the north side of the property and probably a road along the south side paralleling the rock wall (see Figures 14.4 and 14.5). It also shows a north-south road that came up toward Williams’s property from the south. Although this road appears to end at the southeast corner of the farm, two parallel rock alignments (Rock Walls B1/C1 and B2/C2) and several large trees and tree features with embedded wire provide evidence that this old road continued northward across the east side of the Williams farm. It went just east of the giant oak tree and east of the house, then continued north, following along the edge of the natural ridgeline. The road then ran downslope and along the east side of the corral complex (see Figure 14.6). Remnants of rock alignments that define the old road were observed across the LCRA’s electrical transmission line easement, even though it had been bulldozed and cleared of trees a year or two earlier. Several large trees were observed along these alignments and just past the eastern edge of the easement. Although this old north-south road is evident on the ground, the fact that it can’t be seen on the 1937 aerial photograph suggests that it had already been abandoned for quite some time before then. It is likely that this road continued all the way to the northeast corner of Williams’s property, although this area was outside the State-owned right of way and could not be examined. The 1937 aerial photograph indicates that this north-south road split and went three directions from a point at the northeast corner of the farm. One branch turned and went west along the northern property boundary. One branch went due north and continued approximately 250 ft to Bear Creek. The other branch turned and went due east for about 500 ft, to within 50 ft of Bear Creek. At this point it turned to the southeast and ran parallel to the creek for some distance. These roads would have provided Ransom Williams

with a route for wagon access from his property all the way to Bear Creek, where he would have obtained water.

During the landscape study, numerous barrel hoops and fragments of barrel hoops were found on the surface and using the metal detector (see Figure 6.25). These iron straps were riveted together to form circular bands used to secure the wooden staves of barrels. Every complete hoop or hoop section with rivets was collected for analysis, and the bands were found to be concentrated in the corral complex and around the house. Most of the bands are quite large and came from barrels that held 30 to 50 gallons. Since the farm lacks a spring, well, or underground cistern, it is logical to assume that Ransom Williams used these wooden barrels to store water.

The Williams family probably gathered water in one of three ways: (1) from the stock pond during rainy periods; (2) rainfall runoff collected from the roof of his house and perhaps the roofs of other sheds and barns; and (3) from nearby Bear Creek. Bear Creek was probably the best source for most of the household water, especially during the hot summer months. Most former residents of Antioch Colony and the Manchaca freedmen communities recalled spring or creek water being hauled in barrels and wagons (see Chapter 12; Franklin 2012:26, 46, 117, 166, 262, 269, 295, 436, 484, 565). Winnie (Harper) Moyer remembered that her grandfather used a mule-drawn wagon and barrels to haul water from the creek, and he distributed it among the Antioch Colony residents (Franklin 2012:262, 269). Wells and windmills were rare as late as the 1920s, and few households had underground cisterns, but one informant recalled that barrels were also used to capture rainwater using a gutter system around the house (Franklin 2012:26, 46, 71, 295, 761).

POST-EMANCIPATION AGRICULTURE IN CENTRAL TEXAS

To place the Williams farmstead in its proper historical context, we will look at nineteenth-century agriculture in general and African American agriculture in particular. First, we look at the concepts of farm ownership and farm tenancy across the agricultural South and examine the socioeconomic differences

between landowners and tenants in Texas. Next, we look at how the Williams farm operated with respect to the changing agricultural technologies of the late nineteenth century. Third, we examine the farmers of southern Travis and northern Hays Counties, comparing agricultural data for the freedmen at Antioch Colony with data from the rural Bear Creek community, including the Williams family. The fourth and final topic discussed is the dichotomy between subsistence farming and commercial operations.

Landownership vs. Tenancy

Before emancipation, most African Americans in Texas were enslaved on plantations and served as laborers for agricultural production. After emancipation, most African Americans remained involved in agriculture, and some became landowners. The Williamses were among the fortunate one-third of African American farmers who successfully escaped from a life of tenant farming or sharecropping through landownership (Figure 14.7).

Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation was written by Thomas J. Woofter in 1936. This study, commissioned and published by the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration, defined the various forms of tenancy that evolved across the southern United States in the late nineteenth century. More importantly, Woofter (1936) describes in detail the economic and social implications brought on by an oppressive tenant farming system that prevailed well into the twentieth century. There were many variations in how tenant farmers rented and worked the land owned by others, but the three most common forms of tenancy were described by Woofter (1936:Table 2) as follows:

- **Share-Cropping.** The landlord furnished the land, house or cabin, fuel, tools, work stock, feed for the work stock, seed, and one-half of the fertilizer. The tenant furnished all the labor and one-half of the fertilizer. The landlord and tenant each received one-half of the crop produced.
- **Share Tenants or Share Renting.** The landlord furnished the land, house or cabin, fuel, one-fourth or one-third of the fertilizer. The tenant furnished all the labor, work stock, feed for work stock, tools, seed, and three-

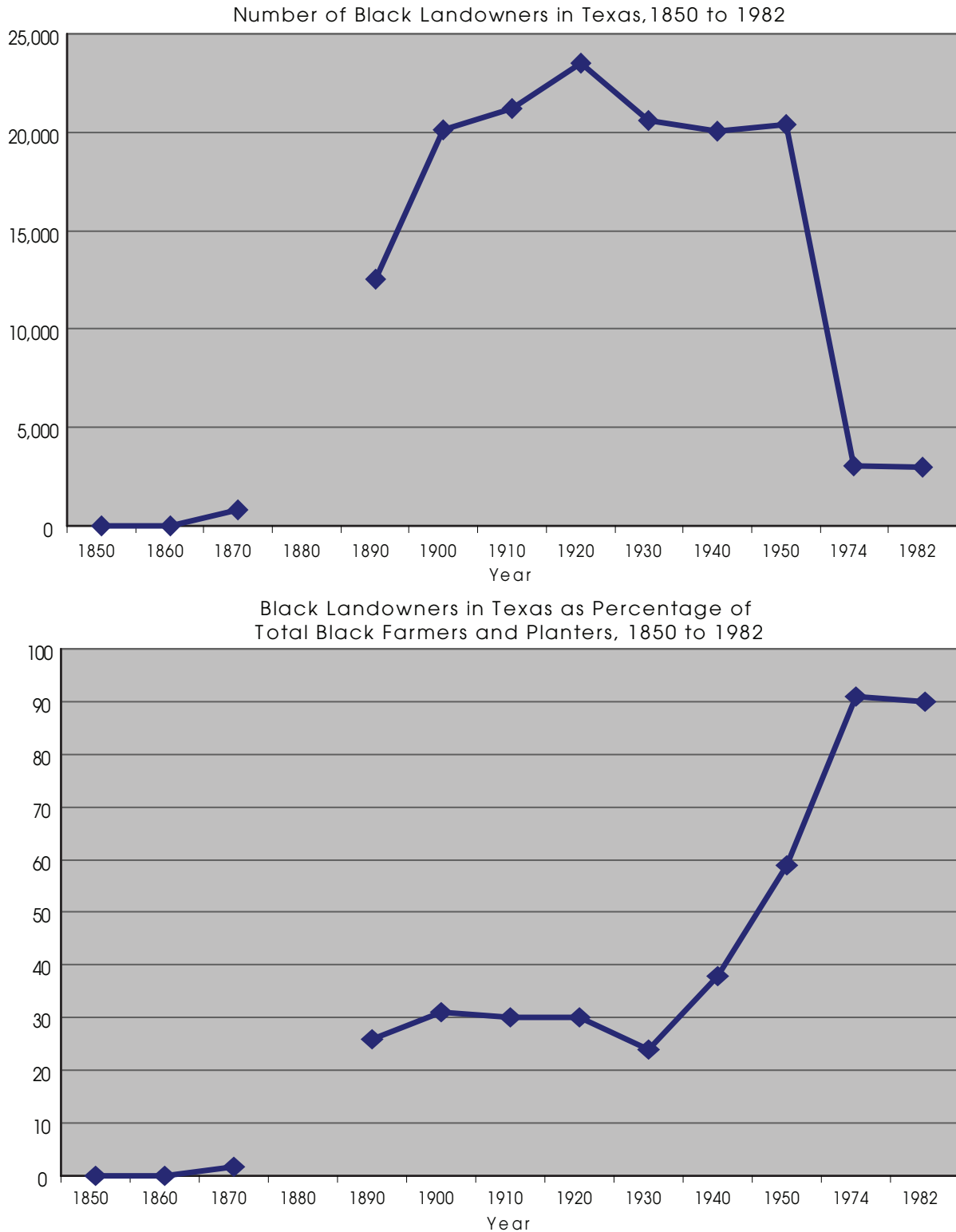


Figure 14.7. Graphs comparing black landownership in Texas from 1850 to 1910. (Top) Graph of total number of black landowners; data are from Schweningen (1997:Table 16). (Bottom) Graph of percentage of black landowners out of the total number of black farmers and planters; data are from Schweningen (1989:Appendix B). No data were available for 1880 in the sources used.

fourths or two-thirds of the fertilizer. The landlord received one-fourth or one-third of the crop produced, while the tenant received the remaining three-fourths to two-thirds of the crop.

- **Cash Renting.** The landlord furnished the land, house or cabin, and fuel. The tenant furnished all the labor, work stock, feed for work stock, tools, seed, and fertilizer. The landlord received a fixed amount of cash as rental payment, while the tenant kept the entire crop. The agreement might include a fixed amount of the crop (usually bales of cotton) instead of the cash payment.

The various forms of tenant farming began right after emancipation, and grew in popularity through time. In most areas of the South, sharecropping was the dominant form of tenancy. By 1910, 42.5 percentage of all males engaged in agriculture in seven Southern cotton states were tenant farmers, as summarized in Table 14.8. While Texas was not among the states represented in this data, the numbers are generally representative of farm tenancy situation in Texas. A 1915 report, *Farm Tenancy in Texas*, shows a steady increase through time in the percentage of tenant farmers out of the total number of farmers in the state (Division of Public Welfare 1915:12):

Year	Percent of Tenancy
1880	37.6
1890	41.9
1900	49.7
1910	52.6

Notably, the percentage of farm tenants was higher in Texas in 1910 than the average of the other seven Southern states. Across Texas, the counties with the highest percentages of farm tenancy were generally those that produced the most cotton (Division of Public Welfare 1915:15, 22).

In Texas, the most common type of tenancy was a rent system known as the “third and fourth.” This means that “the landlord furnishes nothing, or very little, in the way of teams or implements or working capital of any kind, and receives for the use of his land, houses and barns one-third of the grain which is grown and one-fourth of the cotton. In case the tenant furnishes

nothing except his labor, and all the capital is furnished by the landowner, the crops produced are divided equally” (Division of Public Welfare 1915:89).

At its best, the farm tenant system was a means for farmers to work hard, get ahead, and become landowners. Even this success depended upon the productivity of the land, the energy and efficiency of the landlord and the tenant, and cooperation of the weather (Woofter 1936:11). At its worst, however, the farm tenant system was a way for large landowners, most of whom were white, to keep poor black and white tenants trapped in a labor system from which they could not escape. Many tenant farmers had to borrow money or purchase necessities on credit to run their farm from year to year, and their landlord was frequently their lender or creditor. Too often, these farmers did not make enough profit each year to get out of dept. Banks and merchants developed a system of chattel mortgage, in which tenant farmers used their personal property as collateral. This often led to constant indebtedness, resulting in large numbers of tenant farmers who no longer owned their own personal property and had no choice but to continue working the same farm (Division of Public Welfare 1915:48–54).

There were success stories among black tenant farmers, as noted by Gilbert and Eli (2000:40–41): “By the 1890s an increasing number of African-Americans in the South had managed to break free of the sharecropping system, and each success story served as an inspiration to other black farmers. In addition

Table 14.8. Percentage of all males engaged in agriculture in seven Southern cotton-producing states in 1915*

Tenure Status	Percent White	Percent Black	Total
Owners	25.1	5.9	31.0
Tenants	19.8	22.7	42.5
Laborers	11.1	15.4	26.5
Total	56.0	44.0	100.0

* Data are from Woofter (1936:Table 3). The total number of males engaged in agriculture was 3,071,000. The Southern states are Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

to hard work, cooperation, perseverance, and faith, these role models played an important part in the gradual acquisition of more and more land by black farmers. Just one prosperous African-American in an agrarian community could simultaneously provoke considerable rage among his white counterparts and profound hope among his black brethren.”

Since Ransom Williams became a landowner by 1871, we can surmise that he was a role model for other black laborers and tenant farmers. His white contemporaries may have viewed Williams’s success as a farm owner, which began only six years after emancipation, with mixed emotions. Some were undoubtedly angry and resentful, but it is possible that many of his neighbors in the Bear Creek area knew and respected the man.

While there were many success stories involving blacks becoming farm owners, they were tempered by the realities of post-emancipation life in the South, especially after the end of the federal Reconstruction effort. The cards were stacked against blacks, and for every tenant farmer who escaped, there were many more who did not. The life of tenant farmers across the South, as compared with landowning farmers, was generally characterized by the following socioeconomic conditions as described by Woofter (1936: xvii–xxxiii, 49–106):

- Tenant farmers were generally poor; they made much less money, carried higher levels of debt, and were charged higher rates of interest than landowning farmers.
- Southern tenant farmers lived in houses that were “among the poorest in the Nation,” and the most common dwellings were “unpainted four-room frame shacks” (p. xxvii).
- Few tenant farmers had their own gardens, and canning of garden produce was rare.
- Only 55 percent of all tenant farmers owned their own cows, so many tenant farm families went without milk and butter.
- The overall diet and nutrition of the average tenant farm family was substandard. Tenant farmers generally had large families, and much of their effort went toward

“products raised for home consumption—a few chickens and eggs, home-killed pork, syrup, corn meal, cow peas, and sweet potatoes” (p. xxvii). The diet varied seasonally.

- Tenant farmers were often forced to borrow money from their landlord or to buy goods from their landlord’s commissary. Even when this was not required, tenants often had no other viable alternative to borrowing the landlord’s money or using the landlord’s commissary.
- Overall health conditions of tenant families were poor. “The effects of low income with attendant poor housing and meager diet are evident when measures of health are applied to the cotton tenant household” (p. 105).
- Mortality rates were high among tenant families. “The high Negro death rate has been attributed largely to ignorance and this is undoubtedly a major factor, but the unhygienic conditions, many of which are dictated to the tenant by the system, must also be assigned a major portion of the blame” (pp. 105–106).
- The education of tenant farm children was substandard for many reasons. The tax base generated in poor rural tenant communities was low, resulting in few and substandard schools and underpaid teachers. Schools for tenant children were often far away, and transportation options were limited. Even more disturbing, many landowners actively discouraged education of their tenants and their children, whether they were black or white.

While some landowners only wanted good tenants regardless of their race, it is interesting that Woofter (1936:123) believed that “most landlords prefer good Negro tenants to white tenants.” In some cases, the black farmers worked harder and were more productive than their white counterparts, and in other cases the black farmers were older and more experienced. But the long-term stability of their tenants was a critical factor. Woofter (1936:xxxviii) observed: “The evidence indicates that Negro tenants are a more stable group with respect to residence than white tenants. This is probably accounted

for, to a large extent, by the fact that there are relatively fewer opportunities for Negroes outside of agriculture and that Negro tenants are more easily satisfied than are white tenants.” To further explain this phenomenon, Woofter (1936:123) noted: “The relative stability of the Negro families may indicate that Negroes are less free to circulate territorially than whites and that their stability is the result of conditions to some extent forced upon them by circumstances. The Negro is certainly in a less favorable bargaining position than the white.”

Compared with the many black tenants in the South, Ransom and Sarah Williams probably had a much better life. In his classic study, *The Souls of Black Folks*, W. E. B. Du Bois (1903:139–140) summarized the deplorable living conditions of Southern black farm laborers and sharecroppers (also see Schweninger 1997:162):

The form and disposition of the laborers' cabins throughout the Black Belt is to-day the same as in slavery days. Some live the self-same cabins, others in cabins rebuilt on the site of the old.... All over the face of the land is the one-room cabin,—now standing in the shadow of the Big House, now staring at the dusty road, now rising dark and sombre [sic] amid the green of the cotton-fields. It is nearly always old and bare, built of rough boards, and neither plastered nor ceiled [sic]. Light and ventilation are supplied by the single door and by the square hole in the wall with its wooden shutter. There is no glass, porch, or ornamentation without. Within is a fireplace, black and smoky, and usually unsteady with age. A bed or two, a table, a wooden chest, and a few chairs compose the furniture; while a stray show-bill or a newspaper makes up the decorations for the walls. Now and then one may find such a cabin kept scrupulously neat, with merry streaming fireplace and hospitable door; but the majority are dirty and dilapidated, smelling of eating and sleeping, poorly ventilated, and anything but homes.... Above all, the cabins are crowded....

One may find families of eight and ten occupying one or two rooms, and for every ten rooms of house accommodation for the Negroes there are twenty-five persons. The worst tenement abominations of New York do not have above twenty-two persons for every ten rooms.

Du Bois (1903:140) goes on to conclude that: “Lastly, among such conditions of life there are few incentives to make the laborer become a better farmer. If he is ambitious, he moves to town or tries other labor; as a tenant-farmer his outlook is most hopeless, and following it as a makeshift, he takes the house that is given to him without protest.”

Agricultural Technology

In many ways, the last half of the nineteenth century was a period of great changes in agricultural technology, with knowledge of scientific agricultural farming expanding exponentially, as did the number of new patents for labor-saving equipment for farming and livestock management. For many small farmers, however, the best innovations and latest equipment were unaffordable and impractical. The Williams farmstead definitely fits into this category.

In looking at the physical evidence for agricultural technology, we must consider what might have happened as the Williams family abandoned the farm and after they left it. It is likely that any large and still functioning farming equipment would probably have been sold and any nonfunctional large equipment might have been removed from the site intact or its pieces scavenged later on. Despite this possibility, there is no evidence that Williams had acquired or used any large mechanized farming equipment. It appears that the operation of the Williams farm at the turn of the century was probably not much different than it had been in the late 1870s. The archeological and historical evidence suggests that the equipment still being used on the farm was limited to horse-drawn wagons and plows, hand-tools, and small hand-cranked equipment (e.g., grinding wheel). Some of the most common types of activities-related artifacts are the horse gear, a wide variety of harness apparatus, and wagon parts. Supporting

this archeological evidence, the Travis County tax records indicate that the Williamses owned horses and wagons continually throughout their occupation (see Table 5.2).

On the farmstead, we see only one piece of evidence that indicates that Ransom Williams made a big change and incorporated new agricultural technology into his small-scale farming operation. In 1901, the year that Williams died, he was taxed on \$10.00 worth of equipment categorized on the tax form as “Steam Engines and Boilers.” In 1902, the Williams estate was taxed on \$5.00 worth of this steam engines and boilers, and this is presumably the same piece of equipment but it was considered less valuable a year later. This evidence proves that Williams had made a relatively major equipment purchase, and it was most likely a small steam engine that he would have used to power some type of belt-driven machinery, perhaps a small gristmill.¹⁴⁷ While steam-engine technology was available throughout the nineteenth century, the Williamses did not use any steam-operated machinery until after the turn of the century.

Rural Communities and Freedmen Farmers in Southern Travis and Northern Hays Counties

Scholars have examined a number of rural agricultural communities across Texas, including many that began in the mid to late nineteenth century and were occupied into the twentieth century. Published information on rural African American communities includes Sitton and Conrad’s (2005) statewide study of freedmen colonies, the Green et al. (1996) study of the Friendship community in Delta County, and Shepard’s (1995) report on the Wallisville community in Chambers County. Published information is available for several white or ethnically mixed rural communities, such as the Mountain Creek in Dallas and Tarrant Counties (Jurney et al. 1988), Onion Creek, Hays County (Robertson 1972), the Richland Creek area of Navarro and Freestone Counties (Bruseth et al. 1982), and the Duval/Waters Park community of northern Travis County (Clark 2004). From a review of these studies, it is clear that each rural

agrarian community has its own character and history. How each community began, who settled there through time, what facilities or services served the community center, and whether the community survived or failed are variables that were dependent on many complex historical circumstances. While these rural communities share many broad similarities, the history of each is unique.

The archival research (see Chapters 4 and 5) gives us a good look at the rural agricultural communities that sprang up in southern Travis and northern Hays Counties and a glimpse of how the Williams family may have fit into the bigger picture. Agriculture has always been tied to nearby rural communities that offered economic services and social and religious opportunities. While most nineteenth-century farms were self-sufficient to some degree, rural farmers also wanted access to churches, schools, and stores, as well as agriculture support services such as gristmills, cotton gins, and blacksmiths. These and many other amenities were found at various times in the communities that emerged south of Austin in last half of the nineteenth century (see Table 5.6). Some rural communities grew into larger towns, some remained small communities but survived until today, while others disappeared within a few decades or even a few years.

Racial segregation was still the rule after emancipation, so African Americans clustered together in settlements that became freedmen communities (such as Antioch Colony) or freedmen neighborhoods within white communities (such as Rose Colony outside Manchaca). For a variety of reasons, some freedmen chose to buy farms that were isolated from the freedmen communities and neighborhoods. Ransom Williams was one of those people, and the 45-acre farm he bought was along Bear Creek in rural Travis County. Williams was one of two black men who lived in the area, the other being John Hughs (who moved there in 1884), and all their closest neighbors were white.

Many of the farms on the south side of Bear Creek and in the McGehee League were settled in the 1870s, and the land was filled with people by 1880. Located a few miles northwest of Manchaca Springs, the farmers in this area were not part of a formal community that had its own amenities. But this cluster of farming families did constitute an “open country” rural

¹⁴⁷Several types of small belt-driven grinding mills were advertised in the 1895 Montgomery Ward and Company catalog (1895:581–582).

community (Gillette 1922:57–62, 69–70). The nearby towns that offered goods and services were important, indeed, but neighbors were much closer. Whether they were white or black, the people living south of Bear Creek probably felt a sense of community because of their close proximity to one another and their common agricultural pursuits. The white society certainly dictated the degree of racial separation that they deemed appropriate, whether by informal and unspoken social rules or by strict rules codified into official state and local laws. But even these informal and formal forms of racism did not prevent black and white neighbors from respecting one another, helping each other out, and being neighborly in a typical rural fashion.

In a 1922 study of rural sociology, Gillette (1922:57) defines an “open-country” rural community as:

...a population of low density inhabiting a wide area, having a consciousness of kind based on common interests and modes of living and working, whose members communicate and cooperate on the basis of one or more interests, which interests are housed in a center or centers, whose chief industry is agricultural extraction, whose social organizations and reactions are relatively few and simple, and are correspondingly modified by spatial separation and mode of production, and whose chief social dependence and resort is the family... We should notice that open-country communities seldom possess definite boundary lines, but shade gradually into each other.

Gillette (1922:58) also notes that “A center of interest is vital to the existence of a rural community. A community of interest is likely to express itself in a cooperative organization and the latter must have a meeting place, a home.” In many cases that center was a rural schoolhouse, or a church, but it could be a store, a blacksmith’s shop, someone’s home, or even a crossroads. All that was needed was a place where community members could meet on occasion “to discuss and promote their common aims” (Gillette 1922:69).

The people who settled in the Bear Creek area of southern Travis County in the 1870s

would have shared many common bonds, and they certainly would have considered themselves members of a rural community in their first decade of relative isolation. Many of the Bear Creek families had children who may have been in school in the 1870s (16 of 18 households had children under 15 years of age in 1880). It is likely that the white children would have gone to school at the Townsley Store school (see Chapter 5). By 1873, the Townsley Store would have served as a community anchor for the white residents of Bear Creek, and they may have attended church service there as well.

The degree to which the Williams family was accepted within the rural Bear Creek community is speculative because we have no firm evidence for how they were treated. Ransom and Sarah might have been allowed to shop at the Townsley Store, or they might have been excluded and had to go to into Austin or some small country store for their occasional shopping needs. The Williamses would have been excluded from attending white church services, so they probably attended church services at Antioch Colony. A certain amount of racial segregation was imposed by society, but beyond this the Williams family might have considered themselves part of the Bear Creek community in some ways. Rural neighbors tend to help each other out, and this would have been especially true in the 1870s when the area was still somewhat isolated. Although the Williamses were the only black family, the rest of the Bear Creek community was not a tight “kinship community” composed of related families within a single ethnic group (Sitton and Utley 1997:180–181). As is discussed later, some of the Bear Creek residents were new European immigrants and young couples just starting out, and they may have had more tolerant attitudes toward freedmen.

The complexion of the Bear Creek community would have changed after 1880 because of the appearance of the railroad and the new town of Manchaca. Because of this proximity, it seems that the formerly isolated Bear Creek community was subsumed as part of Manchaca community, at least in terms of facilities that would have served as a community center. There is no evidence that the Bear Creek area had its own school, church, store, or post office in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

There is little doubt that central Texas was divided along racial and nationality lines in the

late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The results of a *Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County* were published in 1916, including a map showing a dispersed rural community in the southeastern quarter of Travis County (Haney and Wehrwein 1916:Figure VI). The community consisted of 17 Negro, 12 White, and 6 Mexican farm households interspersed in the vicinity of a “Negro School” and a “White School.” In the chapter on “Social Life,” Wehrwein (1916:57–58) concluded that: “...this area is lacking in social life and neighborliness. What are the reasons for this lack of wholesome community life? The most apparent reason of course is the fact that three distinct races live intermingled in the same territory and the barrier of race and color keeps them apart socially.” He also observed that: “Among the whites there are further divisions along the lines of nationality. The native Americans [meaning whites who had been there for a few generations] do not associate a great deal with the Germans and Swedes.” This study suggested that of all the groups, “the negroes were better satisfied” with their social lives and community ties, and the importance of the Juneteenth holiday was noted (Wehrwein 1916:54–55, 60). Churches, schools, and lodges were the primary organizations that sponsored most of the social life, and it is notable that three lodges had both negro and white members—Woodsmen of the World, Masons, and Sons of Herman (Wehrwein 1916:61). The white and negro landowners were much more involved in lodges than were white or negro tenants. One of the most significant conclusions of this early socioeconomic study is that many of the problems faced by all the communities stemmed from the poverty and instability of the tenant farmers, regardless of their race (Haney and Wehrwein 1916:70).

Analysis of 1880 Population and Agricultural Statistics

While no population and agricultural census data exist for Williams and his family, these records are available for many of his long-time neighbors in the Bear Creek settlement and many of his freedmen neighbors in Antioch Colony. Comparative analysis of the agricultural and population census data, augmented by county tax records and other archival data, can provide glimpses into the eastern Bear Creek

region and its development from 1872 to about 1900, the period in which Ransom Williams lived on the family farm. In Chapter 5, we looked at the 1870 census data to understand something about the Williams farming operation. In this section, we look more closely at the 1880 census data to characterize farms in the Bear Creek community and in Antioch Colony, and then compare and contrast the white rural community with the black freedmen colony. The 1880 census data are used because both communities were well established, and the data depict the area’s rural setting just before the International and Great Northern Railroad laid its tracks a short distance to the east, spawning Manchaca, the area’s first real town. These records offer a snapshot of Bear Creek as an entirely rural, first-generation farming community. In the analysis discussed below, the census data reveal details about family composition, farm size and products, and property values for the Bear Creek and Antioch Colony communities. These data also reveal the comparative socioeconomic status of the Ransom Williams family within the rural Bear Creek community.

The 1880 population and agricultural census records are significant because they document the first occupants in the McGehee League, which includes the Ransom Williams farmstead. By that time, most of the lots surrounding the Williams property were occupied by farmers who had worked the land for more than five years. Information about the family composition and the types and amounts of goods produced on the farm are contained in those documents, which make them useful for comparison purposes. The 1880 census is the only one for which both population and agricultural schedules are available for this area; no one lived in the league when the 1870 census was taken, the 1890 census was destroyed by fire, and there are no individual agricultural schedules in census records after 1890. Consequently, the 1880 census is the only one that contains both population and agricultural records for the period when the Williams family lived in southern Travis County, and the agricultural data are well suited for analyzing the farming community that surrounded the Williams farmstead. We may also draw many inferences about the Williams household based on an evaluation of their neighbors’ 1880 data and compare economic, occupational, and educational conditions between black and white

families living in southern Travis County and in close proximity to the Williams farm.

Three sets of data were compiled and used to analyze the 1880 agricultural productivity of the Bear Creek community where Ransom Williams lived. Data Set A contains census and tax information for 33 families living in the McGehee League, including the entire Bear Creek rural community area, and in the neighboring Wilson League to the east (Table 14.9). Data Set B contains census and tax information for 18 families known to have been residents along Bear Creek Road or adjacent properties within the McGehee League in 1880 (Table 14.10). Data Set A represents a large chunk of rural southern Travis County, while Data Set B represents the people who were Ransom Williams's closest neighbors. The latter includes many of the same people as in Data Set A, but Data Set B is not strictly a subset of Data Set A.

Data Set A is a complete listing of every family represented in the last four handwritten pages covering the census district, and the Wilson League encompasses much of the land that would eventually surround the town of Manchaca, which was platted the following year. The information on these pages pertains to 32 households, but Ransom Williams and his family are not among them. They should have appeared in these four pages, but they were not found in either the Hays or Travis County census for 1880.¹⁴⁸ For comparative purposes, information for the Williams family has been added to Data Set A, but it is extrapolated from other sources.

Data Set A contains information on 187 people in 33 households. Twenty-five of the households were white, and these were 23 nuclear families, 1 woman head of household, and 1 single man who was an immigrant from Prussia. One household was a Hispanic family, and seven households were black families. Excluding the Williamses, the other six black families all lived in the Wilson League (four in adjacent households), a few miles east of Ransom Williams and his family. Fifteen years later, some of these same African Americans—including Ransom Williams—appeared in the Travis County rural directories (Schutze 1894–1895,

1898–1899, 1901) listed under the community of “Manchaca.” The information for these black households helps shed some light on the condition of the Ransom Williams household.

When only the seven black families are compared, the Williams household is typical of the group. These seven families ranged in size, the number of children under 15 years of age, and number of children in school, as follows:

Alexander family:	2 adults, 4 children (2 in school)
Coats family:	2 adults, 1 child (not in school)
Phinney family:	2 adults, 6 children (1 in school)
Rector family:	2 adults, 7 children (1 in school)
Wallace family:	2 adults, 2 children (none in school)
Washington family:	2 adults, 3 children
Williams family:	2 adults, 3 children (none in school; all were too young)

All seven of these black households were nuclear families with 1 to 6 children, and none had any outside boarders. Only one of the adults in these households was literate, and this was Richard (Luckett) Washington. He had lived in Austin for the 1870 census, but he moved to the area about the same time as Williams. Washington purchased a 20-acre tract in the Wilson League in 1873, only two years after Williams (Travis County Deed Record, Vol. X:215).¹⁴⁹ All of the wives in the seven black households were housekeepers. Of the seven males who headed the households, four men were farmers and three were laborers. It is notable that of 24 white households headed by men, all were listed as farmers except for the Prussian immigrant, who was listed as a laborer. The two adult men in the one Hispanic household were both listed as laborers.

There were 112 children under the age of 15 living in the 33 households in 1880. While many of them were too young to go to school, 42 white children and 6 black children

¹⁴⁸They also do not appear in the 1900 census, and we speculated in Chapter 5 that the Williams family may have intentionally avoided being counted by these censuses.

¹⁴⁹It is interesting that the 1880 census data shows no real estate value that would indicate that Washington owned land, but the county deed records clearly show that he purchased land in 1873.

Table 14.9. Data Set A containing 1880 population census data for 33 households (25 white, 7 black, and 1 Hispanic) in the McGehee and Wilson Leagues*

Household No. (arbitrary assignment)	Summary of Households													Data Sources Used*				
	Head of Household, Spouse, Other	Total Persons in Dwelling	Adults	Children 15 and Under	Boarders	Race	Literate Adults	Number of Children in School	Value of Real Estate	Occupation	Migrated From	Population Census	Agricultural Census	Land Register	Tax Rolls	Voter Registration		
1	Alexander, Robert	6	2	4	0	B	0	2		Laborer	Kentucky	X						
	Alexander, Melinda									Keeps house	Virginia							
2	Baucon, Marsh	6	2	4	0	W	2	1		Farmer	Alabama	X	X		X			
	Baucon, Susan									Keeps house	Texas							
3	Beakley, William B.	9	5	4	1	W	3	5	\$1,000–3,500	Farmer	Tennessee	X	X					
	Beakley, America									Keeps house	Missouri							
	Beakley, George									Farmer								
	Townsley, John									Farmhand	Texas							
4	Birkner, Gottfried	8	3	5	1	W	2	3	\$100–\$700	Farmer	Bavaria	X	X					
	Birkner, Helena									Keeps house	Bavaria							
	Bunton, Harriet									Servant	Virginia							
5	Bonham, William	5	2	3	1	W	2	1		Farmer	Virginia	X	X	X	X			
	Bonham, Sarah									Keeps house	Illinois							
6	Boyles, John	9	3	6	0	W	2	4	\$45–80	Farmer	Ireland	X	X	X	X			
	Boyles, Martha									Keeps house	Ireland							
	Strickland, James									Farmhand	Ireland							
7	Coats, John	3	2	1	0	B	0	0		Laborer	Texas	X						
	Coats, Catherine									Keeps house	Texas							

Table 14.9, continued

Household No. (arbitrary assignment)	Summary of Households											Data Sources Used*				
	Head of Household, Spouse, Other	Total Persons in Dwelling	Adults	Children 15 and Under	Boarders	Race	Literate Adults	Number of Children in School	Value of Real Estate	Occupation	Migrated From	Population Census	Agricultural Census	Land Register	Tax Rolls	Voter Registration
8	Crawford, Thomas	5	3	2	0	W	2	1		Farmer		X				
	Crawford, Lydia									Keeps house	Missouri					
	Crawford, William									Farm labor						
9	Cunningham, Hugh	6	2	4	0	W	2	2	\$100–500	Farmer	Ireland	X	X	X	X	
	Cunningham, Nancy									Keeps house	Virginia					
10	Duncan, Louis	5	2	3	0	W	2	0	Rented	Farmer	Missouri/Texas	X	X			
	Duncan, Martha									Keeps house						
11	Gagnon, Medard	3	2	1	0	W	2	0	\$600–900	Farmer	Canada	X	X	X	X	
	Gagnon, Mary									Keeps house	Illinois					
12	Hammett, Isaac	3	2	1	0	W	2	0	\$2,500	Farmer	Missouri	X	X			
	Hammett, Annie									Keeps house	Missouri					
13	Hewitt, James	8	3	5	1	W	3	3		Farmer	Arkansas	X				
	Hewitt, Charity									Keeps house	Tennessee					
	Rodriguez, Martha										Mexico					
14	Labenski, Daniel W.	7	2	5	0	W	2	2	\$600–800	Farmer	Texas	X	X	X	X	
	Labenski, Mary									Keeps house	Alabama					
15	Little, William	3	2	1	0	W	2	0		Farmer	Tennessee	X				
	Little, Mary									Keeps house	Tennessee					
16	Maples, John T.	5	2	3	0	W	2	1		Farmer		X				
	Maples, Jane									Keeps house	Texas					

Table 14.9, continued

Household No. (arbitrary assignment)	Summary of Households													Data Sources Used*				
	Head of Household, Spouse, Other	Total Persons in Dwelling	Adults	Children 15 and Under	Boarders	Race	Literate Adults	Number of Children in School	Value of Real Estate	Occupation	Migrated From	Population Census	Agricultural Census	Land Register	Tax Rolls	Voter Registration		
17	McDaniel (or McDonnel), James M.	5	2	3	0	W	2	3	\$900	Farmer	Tennessee	X	X		X			
18	McDaniel, Elizabeth	6	2	4	0	W	2	2	\$500-800	Keeps house Farmer	Tennessee Texas	X	X		X			
19	Nichols, Cornelia	4	3	1	0	W	2	0	\$1,200	Keeps house Farmer	Tennessee Kentucky	X	X					
20	Owens, George W. Owens, Liza Phinney, Daniel Phonney, Eliza	8	2	6	0	B	0	1		Keeps house Farmer Keeps house	Arkansas Arkansas Alabama	X						
21	Pruitt, John T.	7	2	5	0	W	2	3	\$1,240-3,000	Farmer	Alabama/ Missouri	X	X		X			
22	Pruitt, Martha Rector, Robert Rector, Susan	9	2	7	0	B	0	1		Keeps house Laborer Keeps house	Missouri North Carolina North Carolina							
23	Rodriguez, Jesus Rodriguez, Victoriana Garcia, Antonio	11	4	7	1	H	0	0		Laborer Keeps house Laborer	Mexico Mexico Mexico	X						
24	Sanders, Richard Sanders, Cordelia	4	2	2	0	W	2	0	\$500	Farmer Keeps house	Missouri Texas	X	X		X			
25	Schmidt, James Schmidt, Mary	2	2	0	0	W	2	0	Rented	Farmer Keeps house	Texas Texas	X	X		X			

Table 14.9, continued

Household No. (arbitrary assignment)	Summary of Households											Data Sources Used*				
	Head of Household, Spouse, Other	Total Persons in Dwelling	Adults	Children 15 and Under	Boarders	Race	Literate Adults	Number of Children in School	Value of Real Estate	Occupation	Migrated From	Population Census	Agricultural Census	Land Register	Tax Rolls	Voter Registration
26	Seelig, Charles	1	1	0	0	W	1	0		Laborer	Prussia	X				
27	Swanks, Jacob	8	2	6	0	W	2	4	\$1,500–2,000	Farmer	Indiana	X	X	X		
	Swanks, Mary									Keeps house	Texas					
28	Teague, Andrew J.	2	2	0	0	W	2	0	Rented	Farmer	Louisiana	X	X	X		
	Teague, Mattie									Keeps house	Texas					
29	Townsley, Susan	7	2	5	0	W	2	3	\$800–1,200	Keeps house	Alabama	X	X	X		
	Townsley, Mary										Texas					
30	Wallace, Antonio	5	2	3	0	B	0	0		Farmer	Missouri	X				
	Wallace, Lizzie									Keeps house	Texas					
31	Washington, Richard	4	2	2	0	B	1	2		Farmer	Virginia	X				
	Washington, Caroline									Keeps house	Kentucky					
32	Wilkins, John S.	8	2	6	0	W	2	4	\$600–1,000	Farmer	Tennessee	X	X	X		
	Wilkins, Mary									Keeps house	Tennessee					
33	Ransom Williams**	5	2	3	0	B	0	0	\$135	Farmer	Kentucky/Texas		X	X	X	X
	Sarah Williams															
TOTAL OF 32 HOUSEHOLDS		187	75	112	5	–	52	48								
AVERAGE OF 32 HOUSEHOLDS		5.7	2.3	3.4	0.2	–	1.6	1.5								

* Data are compiled primarily from the population and agricultural schedules of the 1880 Census for Hays and Travis Counties, but supplemented or supported by evidence from other sources.

** No 1880 census data are available for Ransom Williams. The household summary is extrapolated from other sources.

Table 14.10. Data Set B containing 1880 population and agricultural census data and Travis County tax data for 18 residents of the Bear Creek community

Head of Household	Population Census Data						Agricultural Census Data			Travis County Tax Rolls Data			Value per Acre	Value per Acre (all property)	Notes and Adjusted Value Per Acre	Other Data Sources Used*
	Total Persons in Dwelling	Adults	Children 15 and Under	Borders	Occupation of Head of Household	Migrated From	Number of Acres Owned	Number of Acres Rented	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Property	Number of Acres	Value of Real Estate				
Beakley, William B.	9	4	4	1	Farmer	Tennessee/Missouri	135	-	\$3,500	\$25.93	115	\$1,000	\$323	\$11.50	-	LR
Birkner, Gottfried	8	2	5	1	Farmer	Bavaria	27	-	\$700	\$25.93	3	\$100	\$142	\$80.67	Aberrant statistic**	
Boyles, John	9	3	6	0	Farmer	Ireland	12	-	\$45	\$3.75	16	\$80	\$65	\$9.06	-	LR
Cunningham, Hugh	6	2	4	0	Farmer	Ireland/Virginia/Massachusetts	40	-	\$500	\$12.50	20	\$100	\$50	\$7.50	-	LR
Duncan, Louis	4	2	2	0	Farmer	Missouri/Texas	-	137	-	-	137	\$500	\$95	\$4.34	-	
Gagnon, Medard	3	2	1	0	Farmer	Canada/Ilinois	36	-	\$900	\$25.00	102.5	\$600	\$200	\$7.80	-	LR
Hammett, Isaac	3	2	1	0	Farmer	Missouri	336	-	\$2,500	\$7.44	-	-	-	-	-	
Labenski, Daniel W.	7	2	5	0	Farmer	Texas/Alabama	120	-	\$800	\$6.67	120	\$600	\$340	\$7.83	-	LR
McDaniel (or McDonnel), James M.	5	2	3	0	Farmer	Tennessee	100	-	\$900	\$9.00	-	-	\$85	-	-	
Nichols, Samuel	6	2	4	0	Farmer	Texas/Tennessee	53	-	\$800	\$15.09	53.5	\$500	\$105	\$11.31	-	
Owens, George W.	4	3	1	0	Farmer	Kentucky/Arkansas	80	-	\$1,200	\$15.00	-	-	-	-	-	
Pruitt, John T.	7	2	5	0	Farmer	Alabama/Missouri	110	-	\$3,000	\$27.27	210	\$1,240	\$515	\$8.36	-	

Table 14.10, continued

Head of Household	Population Census Data						Agricultural Census Data			Value per Acre	Travis County Tax Rolls Data			Notes and Adjusted Value Per Acre	Other Data Sources Used*
	Total Persons in Dwellings	Adults	Children 15 and Under	Boarders	Occupation of Head of Household	Migrated From	Number of Acres Owned	Number of Acres Rented	Value of Real Estate (Owned)		Number of Acres	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Property		
Schmidt, James	2	2	0	0	Farmer	Texas	-	295	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Swanks, Jacob	8	2	6	0	Farmer	Indiana/Texas	220	-	\$2,000	214.6	\$1,500	\$186	\$7.86	-	
Teague, Andrew J.	2	2	0	0	Farmer	Louisiana/Texas	-	160	-	-	-	\$54	-	-	
Townsley, Susan	7	2	5	0	Keeping House	Alabama	146	-	\$1,200	472	\$800	\$165	\$2.04	-	
Wilkins, John S.	8	2	6	0	Farmer	Tennessee	80	-	\$1,000	80	\$600	\$230	\$10.38	-	LR
Williams, Ransom***	(4)	(2)	(2)	(0)	Farmer	Kentucky/Texas	-	-	-	45	\$135	\$40	\$3.89	-	LR, VR
TOTAL	102	40	60	2	-	-	1,540	592	\$19,180.00	1,588.6	\$7,755.00	\$2,595.00	\$172.55	\$91.86	
AVERAGE	5.67	2.2	3.3	0.1	-	-	102.7	197.3	\$1,278.67	122	\$596.54	\$199.62	\$13.27	\$7.07	

NOTE: Highlighted cells are statistics calculated from the original data.

* Data sources are: LR = Land Register; VR = Voter Registration

** The calculated value per acre for Gottfried Birkner's property is aberrant. It may be that the value was written down wrong in the census record (with \$10.00 being more reasonable than \$100). This value is excluded from the calculation to derive the adjusted total and average value per acre.

***Ransom Williams does not appear in the census records. The acreage and value of his farm is from the 1880 Travis County Tax Rolls, and other records revealed the number of people in the household as of 1880.

were attending school. While both black and white families had children in school, none of the Hispanic family's children (7 under age 15) were in school. It is uncertain where the black children went to school in 1880 since the school at Manchaca did not open until 1881 (see Chapter 5). In any case, the black children would have had to travel some distance to attend any of the known rural schools in northern Hays and southern Travis Counties, and they might have gone to school at Antioch Colony or perhaps attended another freedmen school for which we have no information.

Data Set A confirms that the majority of people in the area were born in the South, although there were a number of immigrants: three from Ireland, one from Canada, two from Bavaria, one from Prussia, and three from Mexico. Thirteen adults were native Texans, nine were from Tennessee, seven were from Missouri, five were from Alabama, four were from Virginia, four were from Kentucky, three were from Arkansas, two each were from Mississippi, Illinois and North Carolina, and one each was from Indiana and Louisiana. The 14 black adults were exclusively from the South, most hailing from the Upper South: three were native Texans, two each came from North Carolina, Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, and Virginia, and one came from Arkansas.

Regarding landownership, the "Value of Real Estate" entries indicate that 16 of the 33 households owned their own land, while 3 rented. It is not clear whether the other 14 owned land and the values were not recorded or if these 14 families were renters.

Narrowing in on the Bear Creek community, Data Set B contains information about the 18 households that were the closest neighbors of Ransom Williams, including three men who owned and farmed land next to Williams throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century: John S. Wilkins (purchased 1871), Daniel Labenski (purchased 1872), and Hugh Cunningham (purchased 1873). Because this data set includes Williams's closest neighbors, it most accurately portrays his immediate community comprised of rural farmers who settled along Bear Creek and the Bear Creek Road. Census records for these households show their family composition including the numbers and ages of adults and children, birthplaces, literacy rates, and occupations. Such information is

basic to understanding the social atmosphere in which the Williams family lived. The agricultural census and county tax records for these 18 families, including Williams (tax records only), report economic aspects of their lives such as farm size and value, the number and value of large livestock such as horses and cows, and the value of personal property. Through these records, Williams's economic status can be compared with that of his closest neighbors.

Data Set B shows that of 18 households in the Bear Creek area, the Williamses were the only black family.¹⁵⁰ All of the households were headed by male farmers except for one. Susan Townsley, a widow whose occupation was reported as keeping house, headed a large household that included one adult daughter and four children or grandchildren. Like all of her neighbors, Townsley lived on a farm, and she may have had some hired help who ran the farm. Fourteen of the Bear Creek households were nuclear families with children under the age of 15, while two of the households (the Schmidts and the Teagues) were young married couples with no children. There were a few boarders among the households, along with an aged father and brother. The number of children ranged from 1 to 6, with ten of the families having 4 to 5 children. Although there were four immigrant families (from Bavaria, Canada, and Ireland), the majority of adults were born in the South, with many coming from the Upper South states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas. Most of their children were born in Texas, and their ages indicate that these families had moved to Texas within the last 10 to 15 years. Although it is not listed in the table, census records show that all of the white adults could read and write. In contrast, later census records and the 1867 Hays County voter registration rolls show that Ransom and Sarah Williams were illiterate. Of the 18 families that comprised the community, 15 owned their farms. The three renters were the two young couples and one family of four. The farm sizes varied considerably, with the smallest being John Boyles's 12 acres and the largest being Isaac Hammett's 336 acres. Similarly, farm values ranged between Boyles's small farm, judged to be worth only \$45, to William

¹⁵⁰John Hughs, the only other African American, moved to the Bear Creek area in 1884.

Beakley's 135-acre farm, valued at \$3,500 (using the agricultural schedule data).¹⁵¹

Ransom Williams and his family fit into their surroundings in several ways: He was born in the Upper South state of Kentucky. In 1880, he was a farmer who owned his own land, though his acreage was considerably smaller than that of many others in the settlement. He probably built his own house and outbuildings. He headed a nuclear family with five young children. The Williams family differed from their neighbors in significant ways, however. They were the only black people in their rural settlement along Bear Creek Road (until 1884). Ransom and Sarah were probably slaves in Kentucky and Texas, respectively. Being born into slavery, they would have had virtually no educational opportunities, so it is not surprising that neither could read or write. With all of their neighbors being white and literate, this would have set the Williams family apart and perhaps isolated them from social and other community activities within the community. Many of their white neighbors had come to Texas from other Southern states, and some may have harbored prejudice against blacks.

Williams was a man of more limited means than his neighbors, although they, too, were small farmers. Only four farms in the Bear Creek area were smaller in size than the Williams's 45-acre tract, and only two farms were worth less in the tax roll evaluations than Williams's \$135 assessment.¹⁵² The 1880–1881 tax rolls show that Williams claimed ownership of one horse or mule, one carriage or buggy, and two head of cattle. At the same time, his neighbor to the east, John Wilkins, owned almost twice as much land worth \$600, owned a buggy or carriage, and had 4 horses or mules, 12 head of cattle, and 6 hogs. Wilkins's taxable worth was \$830, while Williams's taxable worth was only \$175. The taxable real estate and personal property of the other neighbors values ranged from \$145 to \$1,755, with most falling between

\$600 and \$1,200. Clearly Ransom Williams was one of the poorer farmers in the area.

The final data set focuses in even closer on the agricultural characteristics of selected farms in 1880. Data Set C lists the 1880 agricultural census information for seven families, among them Williams's closest neighbors Hugh Cunningham and John Wilkins; four other nearby families in the McGehee League (Teague, Townsley, Swanks, and Nichols); and a black farmer (Alexander) who lived in the Wilson League (Table 14.11). This information is more informative as to the number of improved acres per farm, types of farm animals, and the value of their products such as milk and eggs. The data also includes comparable information on the types of field crops being raised, the amount of acreage devoted to each crop, and crop yield per acre. This information gives a more complete picture of the nature of small family farms and farm products once the area was well established. The black farmer in the Wilson League, Robert Alexander, is included for direct comparisons with six white farmers in the McGehee League. Since Ransom Williams does not appear in the 1880 agricultural census, this gives us some idea of how one other freedmen farmer fared in the same area.

The seven farms in Data Set C average about 108 acres in size, but this statistic is misleading since no two of the farms were the same size. They varied from 40 to 220 acres in size and from \$500 to \$2,000 in total value. The per-acre values are more consistent, however, ranging from \$8.22 to \$15.00, with an average value of \$12.13 per acre. Based on the total farm value per acre, the two most efficient farms belonged to Nichols and Alexander, and these were two of the smaller farms. The two least efficient farms, with per acre values well below the average, belonged to Townsley and Swanks, and they were two of the larger farms.

If one looks at the livestock value per acre of wooded land and the farm production value per acre of improved land, it is clear that these farms are highly variable. John Wilkins had the highest value per acre in both of these categories, suggesting that his land was higher quality or that he was somehow more efficient and productive in livestock and crop production than his neighbors. Wilkins also owned more horses and milk cows, and he produced much more butter. The farm production value per acre for Robert

¹⁵¹There are inconsistencies between the real estate values stated in the census records and the values stated in the Travis County tax rolls for 1880–1881. Unfortunately, these inconsistencies did not seem to follow any logical pattern.

¹⁵²The county tax roll data are used in this discussion because they are more compatible for comparison with the Williams farmstead data.

Table 14.11. Data Set C containing 1880 agricultural census data for seven farm owners in the McGehee and Wilson Surveys

Farm Characteristic	John Wilkins	Hugh Cunningham	Andrew Teague	Susan Townsley	Jacob Swanks	Samuel Nichols	Robert Alexander	Low	High	Average	
Land	Acres, improved	20	30	50	30	18	30	18	50	29.7	
	Acres, forest	50	20	130	190	35	30	20	190	78.7	
	Acres, total	80	40	160	220	53	60	40	220	108.4	
Value	Farm value	\$500	\$2,000	\$1,200	\$2,000	\$800	\$900	\$500	\$2,000	\$1,200.00	
	Farm value per acre	\$12.50	\$12.50	\$8.22	\$8.22	\$9.09	\$15.00	\$8.22	\$15.09	\$12.13	
	Machinery value	\$100	\$15	\$60	\$60	\$50	\$150	\$75	\$150	\$72.86	
	Livestock value	\$700	\$125	\$100	\$250	\$200	\$200	\$100	\$700	\$239.29	
	Livestock value per forest acre	\$14.00	\$6.25	\$0.77	\$2.60	\$1.05	\$5.71	\$3.33	\$0.77	\$14.00	\$4.82
	Farm production value	\$500	\$200	\$400	\$450	\$375	\$290	\$500	\$200	\$500	\$387.86
Livestock and Related Produce	Farm production value per improved acre	\$16.67	\$10.00	\$13.33	\$9.00	\$12.50	\$16.11	\$9.00	\$16.67	\$13.47	
	Horses	9	2	4	2	2	6	2	9	3.9	
	Milch cows	14	5	9	4	6	3	3	14	6.3	
	Butter, lbs.	1100	275	700	150	170	125	240	125	394.3	
	Swine	6	0	7	6	5	11	3	0	5.4	
	Poultry	25	20	14	14	20	17	40	14	21.4	
	Eggs, dozen	30	15	18	17	31	21	240	15	53.1	
	Corn, acres	15	10	15	25	18	5	0	0	25	12.6
	Corn, bushels	210	100	185	250	180	70	0	0	250	142.1
	Corn, bushels per improved acre	7.0	5.0	6.2	5.0	6.0	3.9	0.0	0.0	7.0	4.7
Crops	Cotton, acres	2	10	10	25	10	13	2	30	14.3	
	Cotton, bales	1	3	4	6	3	4	1	7	4.0	
	Cotton, bales per improved acre	0.03	0.15	0.13	0.12	0.10	0.22	0.03	0.23	0.14	

NOTE: Highlighted columns and rows are calculated from original census data.
 *Data are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Travis County, 1880, Agricultural Schedule.

Alexander, the only black man in this group, was equal to Wilkins's farm. Alexander owned the least livestock and was the only farmer who grew no corn. He clearly focused his efforts on his cotton crop, supplemented by making butter and raising chickens and eggs.

The three most productive small farms—Wilkins, Nichols, and Alexander—all had the most expensive farm machinery valued at \$100, \$150, and \$75, respectively. In contrast, each of the larger farms that was less productive had less money invested in machinery. This suggests that a farm's overall value, and its farm (crop) productivity were greatly influenced by the type of farm machinery that one used.

Agricultural Productivity and Value of the Williams Farmstead

Information on agricultural productivity of the Bear Creek farmers can be used as proxy data to estimate the agricultural productivity of the Williams farmstead. The agricultural statistics from the 1880 census were compiled for three Bear Creek farms, adjusted to a 40-acre average, as a means of predicting the productivity of 40 acres of the Williams farmstead (Table 14.12). The Cunningham, Wilkins, and Teague farms were selected because the total farm value for each of the 40-acre tracts was the same, at \$500. The total farm value per acre was \$12.50 for each of these farms, which is close to the average value per acre of the seven farms used in Data Set C. The estimates for the Williams farmstead values and productivity were then calculated as the averages for the data from the three farms. The Williams farmstead values and productivity would not have matched these data exactly, of course; some categories would have been higher and some would have been lower. However, the averages in Table 14.12 are likely to be a good approximation for what the Williams farmstead was worth in 1880, and for estimating the livestock and farm products that the land may have produced. All of the estimated livestock and farm products are quite reasonable, and there is archeological and historical evidence to support the assumptions that Ransom Williams owned horses, cattle, pigs, and chickens, and grew corn and cotton.

The data in Table 14.13 compares the farm sizes and land value of Ransom Williams's property in 1880 with the farms owned by 17 of his

white neighbors in the Bear Creek area. Ransom's landholdings were half the size of the average Bear Creek farm, and the per-acre value of his land was only 39 percent of the average per-acre value of the white-owned farms. It should not be surprising that Ransom Williams's land was less valuable than the properties of most of his white neighbors. Historical evidence indicates that: "As a rule, Negroes have been restricted in their opportunity to purchase land to the more undesirable sections" (Woofter 1936:24). Compared with many parts of the South, freedmen in Texas "were able to purchase farmland more easily, but it was often of poor quality or located in remote sections" (Schweninger 1997:162). Some have suggested that:

...black farmers were better off trying to buy marginal, undeveloped land, or unwanted pieces of land, the kind of acreage a white owner would happily sell off. Although there were no guarantees that such property would prove to be fertile, often the property was simply in need of the kind of hard work and attention that a black farmer would be willing to devote to achieve some degree of self-sufficiency. Also, land that was isolated or off the beaten track was less likely to come under the scrutiny of intolerant white landowners or violent white supremacists. Banished to the margins of an agricultural landscape, a black farmer would often be left alone to cultivate his property in peace. (Gilbert and Eli 2000:44–45)

Ransom Williams's small farm definitely fit this model of acquiring marginal land. It was entirely limestone upland with thin stony soils, with no direct access to Bear Creek without crossing someone else's property. It was also well off the beaten path, away from the main Bear Creek Road.

It is not surprising that the Williams farm was smaller and less valuable than the farms of his white neighbors. While there is no precise data for the Williams farmstead occupation period, a 1916 survey of the southeastern quarter of Travis County gives a good indication of the relative sizes and values of white- and black-owned farms (Haney and Wehrwein 1916).

Table 14.12. Estimated farm value and agricultural productivity for the Williams farmstead based on the 1880 agricultural census data for three selected 40-acre tracts in the Bear Creek community*

Farm Characteristic	Hugh Cunningham (40-acre farm)	John Wilkins (40-acre average for an 80-acre farm)	Andrew Teague (40-acre average for a 160-acre farm)	Ransom Williams (estimated productivity for 40 acres)	Ransom Williams (estimated productivity for 45 acres)
Acres, improved	20	15	7.5	14.1	16**
Acres, forested	20	25	32.5	25.8	29**
Farm value	500	500	500	500.0	600.0
Machinery value	15	50	15	26.7	32.0
Livestock value	125	350	25	166.7	200.0
Value of farm production	200	250	100	183.3	220.0
Horses	2	4.5	1	2.5	3.0
Milch cows	5	7	2.25	4.8	5.7
Butter in lbs.	275	550	175	333.3	400
Swine	0	3	1.75	1.6	1.9
Poultry	20	12.5	3.5	12.0	14.4
Eggs, dozen	15	15	4.5	11.5	13.8
Corn, acres	10	7.5	3.75	7.1	8.5
Corn, bushels	100	105	46.25	83.8	100.5
Cotton, acres	10	1	2.5	4.5	5.4
Cotton, bales	3	0.5	1	1.5	1.8

* Data for Cunningham, Wilkins, and Teague are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1880, Travis County Agricultural Schedule. Wilkins and Teague data adjusted to 40 acres (see Table 14.10 for original data). The estimated data for the Ransom Williams farm is an average of the data for 40-acre tracts of Cunningham, Wilkins, and Teague.

** Ransom Williams's actual 45-acre farm consisted of 26.5 acres of wooded pasture and 18.5 acres of cultivated fields. These actual numbers are fairly close to the estimated numbers for his 45-acre property.

Table 14.13. Size and value of Ransom Williams's property compared with 17 other family farms in the Bear Creek area in 1880*

Description	No. of Acres	Value of Real Estate	Value Per Acre	Value of Personal Property
Lowest	3	\$80	\$3.56	\$50
Second lowest	16	\$100	\$5.00	\$54
Ransom Williams*	45	\$135	\$3.00	\$40
Average	91	\$547	\$7.66	\$170
Second highest	198	\$1,000	\$9.35	\$340
Highest	215	\$1,500	\$33.33	\$515

*Data for Ransom Williams are from the 1880 Travis County Tax Rolls. All other data are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Travis County, 1880, Agricultural Schedule.

This survey showed that white-owned farms averaged 128 acres in size, while black-owned farms were 34 percent smaller, averaging only 84 acres. The survey revealed that 130 white farmers owned 32 percent of all the farmland, while 23 negro farmers owned only 4 percent of the farmland. When farm machinery was compared for white and negro landowners, the data indicated that negroes owned less farm implements per farm (9.4 vs. 13.3), and the machinery was less valuable per farm (\$184 vs. \$431) and per acre (\$2.20 vs. \$3.43). The 130 white farm owners in the study area owned 359 vehicles, with an average of 3 vehicles per farm and a per farm value of \$224. In contrast, the 24 negro farm owners owned 56 vehicles, with an average of 0.67 vehicles per farm, and a per farm value of \$86.67. The 415 vehicles were mostly wagons (n = 322), with fewer hacks, buggies, and surreys. Only 29 automobiles were counted in the survey, and they all belonged to white farm owners (Haney and Wehrwein 1916:88, Tables XLIV, LXIV, and LXVI).

While we can compare properties by their size, price, and productivity, the true value of Ransom Williams's farm cannot be measured in acres or dollars and cents. "In the Lower South as a whole, fewer than one out of five Negro farmers boasted landownership a half-century after freedom" (Schweninger 1997:163). Blacks fared somewhat better in Texas, where 31 percent of freedmen owned land by 1900 (Sitton and Conrad 2005:34). The freedmen who did own land, especially a farmstead that was made productive through hard work and perseverance, had something else that was priceless. With the land came a sense of self-worth that must have been unimaginable for people who had once been enslaved.

For all that landownership was worth to Ransom and Sarah Williams, however, it was not without cost. "In Jim Crow times, the more a black man owned, the more he had to worry about" (Sitton and Conrad 2005:178). A simple mistake in social etiquette by a prosperous black farmer might have serious consequences. It could cause whites to brand them as "uppity," and even formerly friendly whites might turn on them. In the worst-case situations, it could lead to a lynching and subsequent loss of the family farm through legal proceedings. The Williamses were well aware that there were advantages to their farm being off the beaten path and generally out of view of white society.

Comparison of Antioch Colony to the Bear Creek Community

Another way of examining the agricultural history of southern Travis and northern Hays Counties is to compare the 1880 agricultural census data for the Antioch Colony freedmen community and the rural white Bear Creek community. Tables 14.14 and 14.15 summarize the agricultural statistics for seven individuals from each of these communities. The individuals were selected because they were prominent people in their respective communities, and historical evidence indicates all of them were well-established farmers by 1880. The summary statistics provided in these tables are considered to be representative of each community, and comparison of the summary statistics for both communities is presented in Table 14.16. In this table, the community averages are used to calculate the ratios for each statistic, which gives an idea of how Antioch Colony compares with Bear Creek in each category. The last column in the table is a brief interpretive statement for each category. Some inconsistencies were noted between the two census districts in how the data were recorded in some categories, but these inconsistencies appear to be negligible.

The data show that the Bear Creek farms were 1.8 times larger than the farms at Antioch Colony, but both communities had similar amounts of cultivated land while Bear Creek had significantly more (2.8 times) unimproved pastureland. Much of this unimproved land was probably rocky slopes that could not be cultivated. The overall farm values were higher in Bear Creek, but the per-acre value of the land was slightly higher in Antioch Colony; this reflects the fact that there was more unimproved land (that was less valuable) in Bear Creek.

The value of farm implements and machinery is 4.2 times higher in Bear Creek than at Antioch Colony, indicating that the white farmers were investing more money back into their farming operations. This strategy appears to have paid off for the Bear Creek community because the livestock value and land production (crop) value were both higher (1.6 and 1.4 times, respectively).

Regarding livestock, Antioch Colony grazed more animals per acre, but Bear Creek had more animals grazing on more acres of wooded pastureland. The Bear Creek farms supported 2.6 times more milk cows and 4 times more

Table 14.14. The Antioch community as represented in the 1880 agricultural census. Data are for seven selected individuals from the 1880 Agricultural Schedules, Hays County

Recorded Attribute	Antioch Colony Resident							Summary Statistics			
	Ransom Buntun	George Kavanaughugh	Peter Beard	William Smith	Elias Buntun	Dave Buntun	George Champ	Total	Low	High	Average
Acres - tilled	9	50	37	26	24	20	14	180	9	50	25.7
Acres - permanent meadow	6	10	13	2	6	0	4	41	2	10	5.9
Acres - wooded and unimproved	14	44	60	60	4	25	6	213	4	60	30.4
Total acreage	29	104	110	88	34	45	24	434	24	110	62.0
Farm value	200	1000	450	800	1400	570	250	4670	200	1400	667.1
Implements and machinery	2	1	15	15	50	10	5	98	1	50	14.0
Livestock value	0	140	300	200	300	30	115	1085	0	300	155.0
Farm production value	0	425	500	212	325	225	100	1787	0	500	255.3
Working oxen	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0.3
Horses	0	5	6	9	5	4	3	32	0	9	4.6
Mules	0	0	0	2	4	1	0	7	0	4	1.0
Milch cows	0	4	3	1	6	3	3	20	0	6	2.9
Other cattle	0	0	3	2	3	4	4	16	0	4	2.3
Calves dropped	0	4	3	2	6	8	5	28	0	8	4.0
Butter lbs.	0	50	50	20	50	20	0	190	0	50	27.1
Molasses gallons	0	0	10	100	0	0	0	110	0	100	15.7
Swine	1	1	7	3	2	2	0	16	1	7	2.3
Poultry	4	84	17	32	21	14	42	214	4	84	30.6
Eggs, doz.	0	10	0	40	30	0	38	118	0	40	16.9
Indian corn, acres	0	20	12	5	10	10	2	59	0	20	8.4
Indian corn, bushels	0	250	170	70	100	30	20	640	0	250	91.4
Oats, acres	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	3	0.4
Oats, bushels	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	30	0	30	4.3
Wheat, acres	0	6	0	5	6	0	0	17	0	6	2.4
Wheat, bushels	0	34	0	12	21	0	0	67	0	34	9.6
Cotton, acres	0	24	22	10	15	4	4	79	0	24	11.3
Cotton, bales	0	6	8	3	5	4	1	27	0	8	3.9

Table 14.15. The Bear Creek community as represented in the 1880 agricultural census. Data are for seven selected individuals from the 1880 Agricultural Schedules, Travis County.

Recorded Attribute	Bear Creek Resident										Summary Statistics			
	John S. Wilkins	Hugh Cunningham	Andrew J. Teague	Susan Townsley	Jacob Swanks	Samuel Nichols	James M. McDaniel	Total	Low	High	Average			
Acres - tilled	30	20	30	50	30	18	22	200	18	50	28.6			
Acres - permanent meadow	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0			
Acres - woodland and unimproved	50	20	130	96	190	35	78	599	20	190	85.6			
Total acreage	80	40	160	146	220	53	100	799	40	220	114.1			
Farm value	1000	500	2000	1200	2000	800	900	8400	200	2000	1200.0			
Implements and machinery	15	15	60	60	50	150	65	415	15	150	59.3			
Livestock value	700	125	100	250	200	200	130	1705	100	700	243.6			
Farm production value	500	200	400	450	375	290	350	2565	200	500	366.4			
Working oxen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0			
Horses	9	2	4	2	2	6	4	29	2	9	4.1			
Mules	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0			
Milch cows	14	5	9	4	6	3	10	51	3	14	7.3			
Other cattle	26	4	17	1	3	9	5	65	1	26	9.3			
Calves dropped	12	2	10	3	1	3	2	33	1	12	4.7			
Butter, lbs.	1100	275	700	150	170	125	900	3420	125	1100	488.6			
Molasses, gals.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0			
Swine	6	0	7	6	5	11	11	46	0	11	6.6			
Poultry	25	20	14	14	20	17	25	135	14	25	19.3			
Eggs, doz.	30	15	18	17	31	21	29	161	15	31	23.0			
Indian corn, acres	15	10	15	25	18	5	10	98	5	25	14.0			
Indian corn, bushels	210	100	185	250	180	70	105	1100	70	250	157.1			
Oats, acres	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	0.7			
Oats, bushels	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	70	0	70	10.0			
Wheat, acres	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	10	0	5	1.4			
Wheat, bushels	0	0	50	0	0	0	40	90	0	50	12.9			
Cotton, acres	2	10	10	25	10	13	5	75	2	25	10.7			
Cotton, bales	1	3	4	6	3	4	2	23	1	6	3.3			

Table 14.16. Comparison of average farm value and productivity for Antioch Colony and Bear Creek community in 1880*

Agricultural Statistic	Antioch Colony (7 black farms)			Bear Creek Community (7 white farms)			Ratios Calculated from Averages (highest ratio is highlighted)			Interpretation of Ratios	
	Total	Low	High	Average	Total	Low	High	Average	Antioch to Bear Creek		Bear Creek to Antioch
	Land and Value										
Acres - tilled	180	9	50	25.7	200	18	50	28.6	90.0	111.1	Similar amounts of cultivated land
Acres - permanent meadow	41	2	10	5.9	0	0	0	0.0	-	-	Difference in this category is probably due to inconsistent data recording
Acres - woodland and unimproved	213	4	60	30.4	599	20	190	85.6	35.6	281.2	BC farms had 2.8 times more unimproved acres; most is probably cattle pasture
Total acreage	434	24	110	62.0	799	40	220	114.1	54.3	184.1	BC farms were 1.8 times larger
Farm value	\$4,670	\$200	\$1,400	\$667	\$6,600	\$200	\$2,000	\$943	70.8	141.3	BC farm value is 1.4 times higher
Farm value per acre	\$10.76	\$8.33	\$12.73	\$10.76	\$8.26	\$5.00	\$9.09	\$8.26	130.3	76.8	AC land cost 1.3 times more per acre
Implements and machinery	\$98	\$1	\$50	\$14	\$415	\$15	\$150	\$59	23.6	423.5	BC implement and machinery value is 4.2 times higher
Livestock value	\$1,085	\$0	\$300	\$155	\$1,705	\$100	\$700	\$244	63.6	157.1	BC livestock value is 1.6 times higher
Farm production value	\$1,787	\$0	\$500	\$255	\$2,565	\$200	\$500	\$366	69.7	143.5	BC farm production value is 1.4 times higher
Farm production value per acre	\$4.12	\$0.00	\$4.55	\$4.12	\$3.21	\$5.00	\$2.27	\$3.21	128.3	78.0	AC land was more productive than BC land

Table 14.16, continued

Agricultural Statistic	Antioch Colony (7 black farms)			Bear Creek Community (7 white farms)			Ratios Calculated from Averages (highest ratio is highlighted)		Interpretation of Ratios		
	Total	Low	High	Average	Total	Low	High	Average		Antioch to Bear Creek	Bear Creek to Antioch
Livestock and Crops											
Working oxen	2	0	2	0.3	0	0	0	0.0	-	-	-
Horses	32	0	9	4.6	29	2	9	4.1	1.1	0.9	AC had a few more horses
Mules	7	0	4	1.0	0	0	0	0.0	-	-	AC had more mules
Milch cows	20	0	6	2.9	51	3	14	7.3	0.4	2.6	BC had 2.6 times more milch cows
Other cattle	16	0	4	2.3	65	1	26	9.3	0.2	4.1	BC had 4 times more cattle
Calves dropped	28	0	8	4.0	33	1	12	4.7	0.8	1.2	BC has only slightly more calves and not as many as would be expected
Total livestock animals per acre	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	1.1	0.9	AC had slightly more animals per acre
Butter, lbs.	190	0	50	27.1	3420	125	1100	488.6	0.1	18.0	BC produced 18 times more butter
Molasses, gals.	110	0	100	15.7	0	0	0	0.0	-	-	AC produced lots more molasses
Swine	16	1	7	2.3	46	0	11	6.6	0.3	2.9	BC had 8 times more pigs
Poultry	214	4	84	30.6	135	14	25	19.3	1.6	0.6	AC had 1.6 times more chickens
Eggs, doz.	118	0	40	16.9	161	15	31	23.0	0.7	1.4	BC produced 1.4 times more eggs
Indian corn, acres	59	0	20	8.4	98	5	25	14.0	0.6	1.7	BC had 1.7 times more acres in corn
Indian corn, bushels	640	0	250	91.4	1100	70	250	157.1	0.6	1.7	BC produced 1.7 times more corn

Table 14.16, continued

Agricultural Statistic	Antioch Colony (7 black farms)				Bear Creek Community (7 white farms)				Ratios Calculated from Averages (highest ratio is highlighted)		Interpretation of Ratios
	Total	Low	High	Average	Total	Low	High	Average	Antioch to Bear Creek	Bear Creek to Antioch	
Indian corn, bushels per acre	10.8	–	12.5	10.8	11.2	14.0	10.0	11.2	1.0	1.0	Corn production per acre is the same
Oats, acres	3	0	3	0.4	5	0	5	0.7	0.6	1.7	BC had 1.7 times more acres of oats
Oats, bushels	30	0	30	4.3	70	0	70	10.0	0.4	2.3	BC produced 2.3 times more oats
Oats, bushels per acre	10.0	–	10.0	10.0	14.0	–	14.0	14.0	0.7	1.4	BC production of oats per acre was 1.4 times higher
Wheat, acres	17	0	6	2.4	10	0	5	1.4	1.7	0.6	AC had more acres in wheat
Wheat, bushels	67	0	34	9.6	90	0	50	12.9	0.7	1.3	BC produced slightly more wheat on less acres
Wheat, bushels per acre	3.9	–	5.7	3.9	9.0	–	10.0	9.0	0.4	2.3	BC produced 2.3 times more wheat per acre; probably better land where wheat was planted
Cotton, acres	79	0	24	11.3	75	2	25	10.7	1.1	0.9	Planted about the same amount of cotton
Cotton, bales	27	0	8	3.9	23	1	6	3.3	1.2	0.9	AC produced only slightly more cotton
Cotton bales per acre	0.3	–	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.3	1.1	0.9	Cotton production per acre is about the same

NOTE: Highlighted rows are statistics calculated from the original agricultural census data.

* Data are from the Agricultural Schedules in the 1880 U.S. Census (Hays and Travis Counties, Texas) as summarized in Tables 14.12 and 14.14.

beef cattle, but Antioch Colony had a few more horses and mules (the absence of mules in the Bear Creek data is due to an inconsistency in recording). With more milk cows, it is not surprising that Bear Creek produced much more butter than did Antioch Colony. The data suggests Bear Creek produced 18 times more butter, but this could be skewed if the Antioch Colony residents used more of the butter that they produced. While Antioch Colony produced lots of molasses (or syrup),¹⁵³ the data suggests that the Bear Creek residents produced none. The latter is highly unlikely, and this probably means that the Bear Creek residents consumed their own molasses and did not produce any surplus for sale. Bear Creek had 8 times more pigs and produced lots more eggs, but Antioch Colony had more chickens. This suggests that the Antioch residents were consuming most of their own eggs.

The crop production statistics include information on corn, oats, wheat, and cotton. Bear Creek farmers had 1.7 times more acres in corn, and they produced 1.7 times more bushels of corn. The production of corn bushels per acre was exactly the same for both communities, however, indicating that the cultivated land was more productive at Antioch Colony (which corresponds with Antioch's higher per acre land value). The Bear Creek farmers had more land devoted to oats, produced more oats overall, and produced more oats per acre. Antioch Colony had more acres of wheat, but Bear Creek produced 2.3 times more wheat per acre. This suggests that the Bear Creek farmers were selecting their best lands for wheat production. The cotton production statistics are very similar for both communities, with the Antioch Colony farmers producing only slightly more cotton per acre than the Bear Creek farmers.

Subsistence vs. Commercial Farming

Freedmen farmers in Texas generally ran their farms as self-sufficient operations as much as possible (e.g., Franklin 2012:40, Gilbert and Eli 2000:44; Nunley 1987:208, 1988:355–356).

Neighbors would help neighbors, and many farm families would grow, raise, or make almost everything they needed to survive. The degree of self-sufficiency seems to have been linked to farm size and the amount of cultivated land devoted to cash crops or surplus livestock. Smaller family farms tended to be more self-sufficient and consume most of the crops they grew and the livestock they raised. They would supplement their income whenever possible, of course, but they tended to buy as few things as possible. Their extra income often went to buying only essentials—things like staple foods for use in the lean winter months, farm tools and equipment, garden and crop seeds, and work animals.

The degree of self-sufficiency among rural farmers evolved over time and was influenced by many factors. For most households, self-sufficiency was born out of economic necessity, especially when families were just establishing their farms and had little or no extra money. As farm-owner households became more financially stable over time, they began to purchase more mass-manufactured goods and luxury items. They were increasingly lured to purchase new technologies that made life easier and gave in to product advertising that appealed to one's sense of social status. Even so, most rural farm families maintained a higher degree of self-sufficiency than their urban contemporaries.

Like most freedmen farms, the Williams farm probably started out as a subsistence-based operation in the 1870s. The Williams farm probably remained that way throughout much of its history, although there is clear evidence that they increased their consumption of mass-produced products and nonessential luxury items through time. For the most part, however, the animals raised by the Williamses and the crops they grew were probably consumed or used on the farm. The family probably planned their annual crops and livestock mix based on their own needs for food and beasts of burden. They certainly would have made some supplemental income from sale of livestock or cash crops at times, but the bulk of their farm operation was geared toward self-sufficiency (see Chapter 5).

An 1890–1891 report from the Texas Agricultural Bureau reveals the cash crops that local farmers were producing and selling. The report lists the following crops and production acres for Hays and Travis Counties (Hollingsworth 1892:129–130, 277–278):

¹⁵³A Texas Agricultural Bureau report for 1890–1891 shows that Hays and Travis County farmers produced molasses from sorghum cane and syrup from sugar cane (Hollingsworth 1892:129–130, 277–278).

Crop	Hays Co.	Travis Co.
Cotton	18,827	535
Corn	9,005	713
Wheat	10	183
Oats	147	114
Barley	0	12
Rye>1	1	
Sweet potatoes	95	18
Irish potatoes	22	62
Peas	1	0
Beans	0	15
Hay, cultivated	936	252
Hay, prairie	1,191	0
Millet	18	24
Sugar cane	5	0
Sorghum cane	20	3

These data show that cotton and corn were the key cash crops for most Travis County farmers, and this evidence suggests that Ransom Williams probably grew cotton and produced surplus corn as his main cash crops.

Raising livestock for commercial sale was certainly an option, but the tax data for the occupation period suggests that there were only a few periods when Williams had a surplus of animals and might have sold some (see Table 5.2). In the early 1870s, he had many horses and mules, but he appears to have sold them by 1874, probably to help finance the building of his house and preparing his household. After this, the number of horses/mules was limited to one or two. Williams paid taxes on a small number of cattle (1 to 3) from 1880 to 1889, but he owned 9 to 12 cows each year between 1890–1893 and 4 to 8 cows in 1895 and each year between 1897 and 1903. During any these years, it is likely that Williams sold some of those animals outside his farm. In addition, the family might have produced surplus milk, butter, and molasses or syrup to sell to his neighbors or in nearby communities.

Unfortunately, the tax data for hogs owned by Williams appears to be inconsistently recorded. Hogs only appear in 6 of 28 years for which data are available (see Table 5.2), a scenario that is rather unlikely given the fact that almost all farmers in central Texas constantly raised hogs. Williams probably had at least a few hogs at any given time, but these animals were probably raised primarily to provide meat for the family. There is little doubt that the Williams family consumed pigs since this

is the best-represented large animal species in the faunal assemblage (see Table 9.3). The importance of raising hogs and processing pork for family subsistence is well documented in the oral histories for small Texas farms (Franklin 2012; Nash 1995; Nunley 1987, 1988). Although Williams could have occasionally raised enough hogs to sell some of them or some of the pork they produced, we have no definite evidence that this occurred.

Because Ransom Williams missed being tallied in any of the national population and agricultural censuses, we have less information about the crops he raised and why he raised them. Because his farmable land was limited to about 18.5 acres out of his 45-acre farm, it is likely that the focus of his crop raising was to provide food for his family and his livestock. This is especially true for the years when he had larger numbers of horses/mules and cattle. In any moderately dry year, he would have been hard-pressed to graze many animals on 26.5 acres of upland wooded pastureland without supplementing their feed. During the drought years of 1891–1893 (Lowery 1959:13), for example, Williams pastured the largest number of animals ever: 12 cows and 2 horses. During this time, it is likely that most of the crops that were grown were used as animal feed. Notably, the number of animals Williams owned dropped considerably in 1894, and this could mean that he sold many of his animals in response to the prolonged drought.

If we look at how the Williams farm compared with his neighbors' farms of similar size, we can speculate that he might have made a little extra money growing cotton. We know he also grew corn and used much of it on the farm, but he probably had some extra to sell at times. Cotton was his most likely cash crop, however, because almost all of the Bear Creek farmers grew a little cotton. In addition, the Williams artifact assemblage includes some parts from a balance scale or steelyard that was typically used to weigh cotton (see Figure 8.25).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴As the final preparation of this report was in progress, two iron artifacts from the farmstead were identified as cotton bale ties, and they match those illustrated in Patent No. 31,252 issued to J. J. McComb (1861). These items provide additional material culture evidence indicating that Ransom Williams occasionally grew cotton.

DAILY LIFE ON THE WILLIAMS FARM

Many aspects of daily life on the Williams farmstead can be inferred based on archival documents, archeological features, and the recovered artifacts and plant and animal remains (described in Chapters 5 through 11). These complementary forms of evidence, supported in large part by the oral history recollections pertaining to freedmen farmers (Franklin 2012; Chapter 12), reveal details of life on a freedmen farm that cannot be found in any other sources.

Housing

We believe that the Williams family lived in single-pen log cabin that measured approximately 15x16 ft (or perhaps 16x16 ft). Between 1876 and 1892 (or 1893), Ransom and Sarah had seven children (see Table 5.4).¹⁵⁵ Their oldest son, Will, did not get married until 1901, which is the same year that Ransom died. This means that between 1892 and 1901, there were probably nine people living in the small log cabin, including four boys (Will, Charley, Henry, and John) and three girls (Mary, Mattie, and Emma). The house would have been quite cramped when everyone was inside, so cooking, eating, and many other daily activities probably took place outside whenever the weather allowed. The total interior floor space was 240 to 256 sq ft, unless the cabin had an upper loft that provided additional sleeping areas for the kids. Judging from the size of the rock pile from the chimney collapse, the rock chimney was probably tall enough for the cabin to have had a loft.

Building and living in a log cabin was common for blacks and whites in central and east Texas during the nineteenth century (e.g., Jordan 1978:Figure 2-3; Jurney and Moir 1987:42–43; Roberson 1972:142; Skinner and Craver 2008; Skinner et al. 2008). Log homes are documented at three African American-owned farms in Texas. Besides the Williamses' log cabin in Travis County, Ned Peterson and his family lived in a dog-trot style log cabin in Brazos County (Carlson 1995a:66; Nash 1995:103), and

Mingo and Nancy Burleson built a single-room log cabin in Navarro County (Moir and Jurney 1987:133–138). In most areas, the first settlers built log cabins while later settlers began to build houses of cut lumber (see Chapter 5). The number of log cabins being built began to dwindle in the late nineteenth century as the population increased, the amount of farmland increased, the amount of live timber decreased, and railroads probably lowered the cost of obtaining commercial cut lumber for house building.

The Williams house had its chimney and fireplace on its east end, and artifact distribution patterns suggest it had a porch along its south side and a single entry door along the south wall. The house probably had one or two windows to let in light, but there is no evidence that they ever had glass window panes. It is likely that the windows were simply shuttered.

The Williams house was originally heated using the rock fireplace, and cooking would have been done inside the hearth during cold or inclement weather. At some point, the Williamses acquired a cast-iron cook stove that they probably used for heating and cooking, but they may have continued to use the fireplace as well.

While there is no definitive evidence that the Williams house had a wooden floor, circumstantial evidence suggests that it did at some point. The house could have had a dirt floor originally, with a wooden plank floor being added later. The large number and variable sizes of artifacts found in the house footprint suggests that lots of household debris was swept under a house floor and small items could have been lost through floorboards. It is unlikely that such a large number of broken items would have accumulated on a dirt floor because it would have been swept regularly (see discussion of swept yard later in this chapter).

Foodways

“No, we didn’t buy nothing from no neighbor. Everybody had their own turkeys and chickens, cows, horses, and ducks, and geese, guineas, dogs and cats” (Franklin 2012:237). This statement was made by Winnie Moyer, who grew up in Antioch Colony, and she also mentioned raising hogs, milking cows, and growing cane, corn, watermelons, tomatoes, and many other foods. Her recollections, and those of many others from Antioch Colony and Manchaca, summarize the

¹⁵⁵Various census records indicate that the Williamses had nine children, but no data was found for two of them. This could mean that two of their children died young.

attitude of self-sufficiency that was prevalent among freedmen and survived into the twentieth century. Oral histories from the Richland Creek area of northeast Texas demonstrate that self-sufficiency was an attitude shared by all rural farmers, white and black. Nunley (1987:208) reported that the rural area had “a strong sense of community and cooperation” but that individual households were “strikingly self-sufficient.”

The oral histories document a few wild plants that were gathered as food: algerita flowers, chaparral (?), dewberries, wild grapes, wild onions, pomegranates, and wild strawberries (Franklin 2012:474, 730–731, 782, 809, 1010). The informants also provided a list of wild animals that were hunted and eaten: armadillos, birds (unspecified), bullfrogs (frog legs), deer (white-tail), dove, polecat, opossum, quail, rabbits (cottontail), raccoons, squirrels, and turkey (Franklin 2012:193, 274, 571, 573, 622, 664–665, 704, 730, 753–754). Some families ate a wide variety of wild animals, while other families refused to cook and eat certain species such as armadillos, “possums,” or “coons” (Joan Nell Limuel in Franklin 2012:408). Of all the wild animals, cottontail rabbits were hunted most frequently, and they were an important food for many families. Moses Harper recalled growing up in Antioch Colony, and he said: “Boy, we had rabbits and gravy, fried rabbit, rabbit stew, boy we some rabbit-eating people” (Franklin 2012:148). Self-sufficiency was not limited to African Americans, of course, and most agricultural folks in Texas were self-sufficient to some degree (Nunley 1987:208, 1988:355; Sitton 2003:13–14).

There is little doubt that many aspects of traditional African foodways came to America and survived, albeit modified, as African American foodways (Ferguson 1992:107). The degree to which distinctive African American foodways will be evidenced in the archeological record is another matter altogether. We can only speculate about possible African American foodways practiced by the Williams family because all of the foods and food preparation and serving technologies evident for the farmstead are typical for the South in general and central Texas in particular. Any of the food and technologies could reflect distinctive African American foodways, but none of what we found would be out of place in a Southern white household.

Food Storage

Inside the house, a subfloor pit was located near the fireplace. It was filled in with debris that was indistinguishable from the materials discarded in the trash midden. This subfloor pit had a storage capacity of at least 17 cu ft below the ground level, and perhaps as much as 23 cu ft below the level of a house floor (see Figure 7.9), and it appears to have been abandoned and backfilled around the turn of the century (see Chapters 7 and 11). The subfloor pit in the Williams house might have started out as a borrow pit to provide the clay for making the mortar used between the limestone slabs of the chimney (Kimmel 1993:102–113), and the pit may have been used for mixing the mortar as well.

Once the Williams house was built, the pit could have been used as a storage compartment for someone’s personal items or as a storage area for concealing valuables or ritual paraphernalia. Its most likely use, however, was as a food storage compartment. The use of subfloor pits for food storage is well documented in the southern United States, where they were typically called a “root cellar” or a “potato cellar” (Gage 2012; Gross et al. 1993; Heath 1994; Kimmel 1993; Jurgelski et al. 1996; Samford 2007).¹⁵⁶ These pits were a practical means of storing bulky root foods such as sweet potatoes and onions in a variable climate. Oral histories document the use of subfloor potato cellars for rural farms in Texas (Franklin 2012:498; Nunley 1987:204). Some people stored sweet potatoes buried in small holes that were around the house (Sitton 2003:41).

Temporally diagnostic artifacts reveal that the Williamses’ potato cellar was backfilled no earlier than 1898, indicating that it might have been in use for more than 25 years. What triggered the final abandonment and backfilling of the storage pit is not known, but it might have been linked to a major event. It is possible that the Williams family purchased an icebox around the turn of the century and no longer needed the old cellar pit. Or it may be that when the family moved out of the house (before 1905), they filled it in with trash to keep animals from living under the house. Since the family continued to

¹⁵⁶The most comprehensive study of subfloor pits in African American dwellings is the book by Samford (2007) called *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia*.

own the property until 1934, it is possible that they filled in the storage pit because they intended to use the abandoned house as a farm shed.

Health and Medicines

A wide variety of patent medicines are represented in the farmstead collection. The glass container assemblage includes 52 bottles that contained medicines (see Table 8.41), and these account for 50 percent of the entire glass container inventory. Specific medicinal products or pharmaceutical companies were identified by the markings on three of the identified glass containers and nine bottles (represented only by glass fragments). The markings are indicative of specific medicines, pharmaceutical manufacturers, and/or retail drug dealers. The identified marks in the farmstead assemblage include four national products/companies, one local product, and one local drugstore:

- Bradfields Female Regulator, made by the Bradfield Regulator Company of Atlanta, Georgia
- McElree's Wine of Cardui, made by the Chattanooga Medicine Company of Tennessee
- Mexican Mustang Liniment, made by the Lyon Manufacturing Company of Brooklyn, New York
- Dr. Kings New Discovery, by H. E. Bucklen & Company, Chicago, Illinois
- Wonderful Eight, made by the Morley Brothers of Austin and St. Louis, Missouri
- Unknown medicine sold by Morley Brothers Drug Store, Austin (minimum of seven bottles)

All of these products would fall into the category of patent medicines, and most of them had trademarked product names, but the medicines themselves were generally not patented. These medicines could be sold without prescriptions, and the manufacturers did not reveal all of the ingredients or have to prove whether they worked as they claimed. The use of these products by members of the Williams family is typical for the late nineteenth century, during the patent medicine craze. Wilson (1981:39) notes that:

The nineteenth century was the heyday for proprietary medicines... a combination of forces resulted in their popularity, not the least of which include limited medical knowledge, empirical advances in chemistry, and the inclination of the nineteenth century mind for innovation....The result led to uninhibited consumption of patent medicine.

In 1905, a series of article called "The Great American Fraud" were published in *Collier's Weekly* to exposed the harsh realities of patent medicine industry. At its best, the industry falsely promoted products that had little or no health benefits. At its worst, some of the products sold as medicine were harmful because of their toxic ingredients, and sometimes the products killed people. These articles, which were reprinted by the American Medical Association (Adams 1906), led to the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906. This was the first significant law in the United States regulating medicinal products.

In the early twentieth century, the American Medical Association Press published two volumes called *Nostrums and Quackery* (Cramp 1912, 1921) that were an even more scathing indictment of the rampant fraud in the advertising of patent medicines, backed up by chemical studies that revealed the exact contents of the products. Both Bradfield's and McElree's products were listed among the "nostrums"—medicines that made false or exaggerated claims but have no demonstrated health benefits. This study revealed the following about the product called *Mother's Friend* (Cramp 1912:531):

This widely advertised nostrum is put out by the Bradfield Regulator Company, Atlanta, Ga. Some of the claims made for it were:

- "Shortens the duration of labor."
- "Will assist in the safe and quick delivery."
- "Prescribed by many of our best physicians."
- "Causes an unusually easy and quick delivery."
- "For relief of the suffering incident to child-birth."

Samples taken from the consignment seized were analyzed by the Bureau of Chemistry of the United States Department of Agriculture and found to consist of:

Oil Soap (small quantity)

The United States judge naturally declared the stuff misbranded.— [Notice of Judgement, No. 203].

The products of the Bradfield Regulator Company were not an isolated case. Not only did most patent medicines have little or no medicinal value, they often contained enough alcohol to make people feel better even though the treatment was bogus. For the product called Wine of Cardui sold by McElree's, the study revealed the following (Cramp 1921:166–167):

“Wine of Cardui” is an alcoholic nostrum sold as the “Woman’s Tonic.” Careful and exhaustive chemical and pharmacologic examinations of this preparation showed that “Wine of Cardui” contained no wine but did contain alcohol as its active and potent ingredient. The alcohol was present to the extent of one-fifth (20 per cent.) of the total volume; in other words, it had about twice the alcoholic strength of champagne. In addition, it was found to contain small amounts of the extractives of blessed thistle (*Carduus benedictus*) and insignificant amounts of the extractives of black haw (*Viburnum prunifolium*). Blessed thistle is a weed that was used as a medicine many years ago but has long since been discarded as worthless. The medicinal value of black haw also is questionable.

Before the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906, companies did not have to prove any of the claims they made or disclose any of the ingredients. Three Wine of Cardui container labels were illustrated in *Nostrums and Quackery* (Cramp 1921:167) to show how the advertising evolved due to changes in the federal laws and rules regarding product labeling. The earliest label claimed: “A CERTAIN CURE FOR

MENSTRUAL DISTURBANCES OF WOMEN.” This was changed to: “A RECOMMENDED CURE FOR MENSTRUAL DISTURBANCES OF WOMEN.” And yet another later label stated: “FOR MENSTRUAL DISTURBANCES OF WOMEN” and acknowledged that product “CONTAINS 20 PER CENT ALCOHOL.” One professor of Pharmacology and Toxicology who studied the McElree’s product flatly declared: “The conclusion reached is that Wine of Cardui produced purely an alcoholic effect, the other constituents being entirely inert. It may be readily used as an intoxicant” (Cramp 1921:171).

Besides Bradfield’s and McElree’s medicines, the other two patent medicines represented by bottles found on the Williams farmstead are *Dr. King’s New Discovery* and *Mexican Mustang Liniment*. *Dr. King’s New Discovery for Consumption* was advertised as the “Only Cure for Consumption” and its effectiveness “strikes terror to the doctors.” But it was actually nothing more than a mixture of “morphin” (morphine) and chloroform. The “chloroform temporarily allays the cough” and the “opium drugs the patient into a deceived cheerfulness.” It was also noted that “The combination is admirably designed to shorten the life of any consumptive who takes it steadily. Of course, there is nothing on the label of the bottle to warn the purchaser” (Adams 1906:45-47).

The fact that so many patent medicine bottles were recovered from the farmstead shows that the Williams family was typical of many nineteenth-century consumers that fell prey to the unregulated advertising rhetoric. The proliferation of patent medicine products and companies, along with the abundance of patent medicine bottles found at nineteenth-century sites all across the country, is demonstrable evidence of the successful advertising of unregulated medicinal products. The Williamses were in good company because millions of American consumers bought into the patent medicine craze, as explained in Young’s (1961) social history of patent medicines. The advertisements and testimonials said these were useful medicines, and the masses of people believed these claims to be true. Unfortunately, very few of the products had any real medicinal value, and people were consuming massive quantities of placebos, liberal amounts of alcohol, and even harmful substances. This went on for many decades until the medical community and consumer advocates

exposed the rampant fraud in the patent medicine industry in the first decades of the twentieth century (Young 1961).

The Williamses probably used a wide variety of home remedies for various ailments, and some of them may have been more effective than many of the commercial products they purchased. Although we found no archeological evidence that might indicate the use of homemade medicines, such evidence would be quite rare indeed. The use of home remedies was born out of necessity during slavery times (Edwards-Ingram 2001), and oral histories show that most of the freedmen families of Antioch and Manchaca used many different homemade medicines. Some were derived from local plants, such as “broom wheat tea,” “sage tea,” and “horehound tea” for various ailments (Franklin 2012:74, 227–228). Other home remedies were concoctions made from a variety of store-bought products such as sugar with drops of turpentine for coughs and colds, a paste for burns made of sulphur, ash, and soot, and mud paste for wasp or bee stings (e.g., Franklin 2012:228, 357, 406, 883). The white farmers in Bell and Coryell Counties recall the use of similar home remedies for various ailments (Sitton 2003:60–69).

Many families used home remedies because they had limited access to or could not afford commercial medicines or doctors, but others preferred them because they believed in their traditional remedies (Mullins 2011:121–122; Wilkie 2000b:234–235). But the use of homemade medicines seems to have declined in the twentieth century as access to medical products and doctors increased. Many of the people who grew up in Antioch Colony or Manchaca in the early twentieth century also remembered purchasing medicines from “The Watkins Man” (see Chapter 5; Franklin 2012:40, 74, 168–169, 883, 929). The Watkins Man was a traveling salesman for the Watkins Company that sold medicines and household goods to rural folks, black and white, all across the country (Sitton 2003:116). But the Watkins Man was simply following a long tradition of traveling salesmen, and many of the most common patent medicines of the nineteenth century were sold in this manner.

Tobacco and Alcohol

Tobacco and alcohol have long been staples of American culture, and archeological remains

are often the only evidence of their consumption by individuals. Use of tobacco products on the Williams farm is evidenced by fragments of 4 clay smoking pipes, fragments of at least 23 snuff bottles, and a chewing tobacco plug tag (see Table 8.42). All three of these tobacco products were popular in the last half of the nineteenth century. There is no evidence of cigar or cigarette use, although such evidence is not likely to have survived in the archeological record (Bradley 2000:130). The tobacco plug tag is the only item with identifying marks, and it was a brand marker of the Peter Lorillard & Company, which is one of the nation’s largest and oldest manufacturers of tobacco products.

The frequency of tobacco-related artifacts suggests that pipe smoking and ingesting snuff were the most popular forms of tobacco consumption on the farm. But this statement is also tempered by the fact that many small iron tobacco plug tags may not have survived or been too deteriorated to be identifiable, so use of plug chewing tobacco may be underrepresented. As discussed later (see Gender Roles and Household Social Relations), we do not know for certain who was consuming the various forms of tobacco on the farm.

The physical evidence for alcohol use at the Williams farmstead is limited to fragments of glass bottles, and the minimum number of containers found on the farmstead based on bottle necks is 13 liquor and 2 beer bottles (see Table 8.43). One additional bottle body fragment has the assemblages’ only maker’s mark for an alcohol product—Paul Jones Pure Rye whiskey made by the Paul Jones Company of Kentucky (see Figure 8.63). These artifacts seem to represent a relatively low frequency of alcohol consumption for an occupation spanning three decades, and it suggests that the overall use of commercial alcohol products was rather limited. A low frequency of alcohol containers is also evident at the Rubin Hancock farmstead in northern Travis County (Blake and Myers 1999:58–60; see Table 14.7), perhaps indicating that rural freedmen farmers had little time for, or extra finances to support, a high level of alcohol consumption.

Four caveats must be made regarding the statement above. First, the actual level of alcohol consumption by the Williams family was greater if one considered the probability that most of the patent medicines they used contained a fair amount of alcohol. Second, significant alcohol

use could have occurred on the farm but would not appear archeologically if alcohol was brought to the farm in perishable containers or vessels that would not be recognized as having held alcohol (e.g., wooden kegs or plain glass jars). Third, significant consumption of alcohol could have occurred away from home, leaving no evidence at the farmstead. Historically, social drinking by men often occurred in public establishments rather than at home (Smith 2008:73). And fourth, home production of alcohol could have occurred, but this too would be hard to detect archeologically. Archeologists have found ethnobotanical evidence that hints at local alcohol production (Franklin 1997:211; Smith 2008:33), but there is no evidence to suggest that the Williamses made any of their own alcohol on the farm. Local production is certainly a possibility, however, and the oral history recollections contain one account of making homemade wine from wild grapes in the Manchaca community (Earselean Hollins in Franklin 2012:730).

Leisure Time

Life on the farm was hard work, and most of the recovered artifacts reflect the common daily activities relating to farming, livestock raising, and preparing and serving meals. But leisure activities were also important for hardworking farm families, and the Williamses participated in a variety of diversions from their daily chores. A significant number of farmstead artifacts relate to various leisure activities, including hunting and fishing, playing music, playing with toys, learning to read and write, and having pets.

Hunting and fishing would have provided additional food for the family, but these were probably also welcomed forms of recreation. The physical evidence of these activities is the variety of firearms-related artifacts (gun parts, gun tools, and munitions) and remains of many wild animals, as well as the recovery of fishhooks and fish scales.

Music must have been important to the Williams family, and two types of instruments are represented in the farmstead artifact assemblage (see Figures 8.38 and 8.39). The remains include a Jew's harp, one intact harmonica, and pieces from at least five other harmonicas. These items may indicate that several family members played music or were learning to play, and the musical instrument may have been important

so that the family could participate in musical activities at social gatherings. Music was especially important at holiday celebrations like Juneteenth (Franklin 2012:516, 611, 755; Nash 1995:77; Shepard 1995:42). Music and singing were also important group activities at weekly church services.

The diversity of toys recovered—dolls, tea set pieces, cap guns, rubber ball, marbles—is reflective of leisure activities and children's games (see Table 8.30 and Figure 8.40), and one wonders how many other mundane items were used. Nineteenth-century children, like kids from all cultures and time periods, were probably good at creating their own games and playing with any items that were used by adults. The large number of clothing buttons found in the backfilled storage pit, for example, could have been reused as children's toys. The items classified as collectibles (see Table 8.33) could represent kids' hobbies such as rock collecting. Remains of at least eight pocketknives (see Table 8.24) not only represent useful tools but were undoubtedly used for leisure activities such as whittling sticks and making wood carvings.

In many ways, the children's toys were much more than items used to while away the hours and keep the kids busy. Play has always been an important means of educating children, whether adults regulated the activities or not. This is true whether children played with homemade or mass-manufactured toys. Interactive play, and the material culture that was incorporated, were teaching children important lessons—cultural norms, appropriate behavior, socialization skills, and gender roles—that would be used throughout their lives.

Practicing reading and writing were important leisure activities for school-age children. A variety of artifacts found at the Williams farmstead relate to this, including an alphabet plate, fragments of writing slates and slate pencils, and wooden pencils with eraser tips (see Figures 8.41 and 8.42). These items indicate that Ransom and Sarah felt that education was important enough to warrant spending some of their extra income on instructional tools. This is not surprising given the emphasis that was placed on education by the African American community (see Chapters 12 and 13).

Most farm families had pets, and dogs were the most common for a variety of reasons. Although no direct evidence of dogs was found on

the Williams farmstead,¹⁵⁷ it is logical to suggest that the family had one or more dogs at most times. For the Richland Chambers oral history, Nunley (1987:203) stated that “Dogs were owned by virtually all informants,” including black and white households. Most of the freedmen families at Antioch Colony and Manchaca also kept dogs, and these animals served many functions. They were pets for the kids, and they were watchdogs to protect one’s property. They also were used as hunting dogs to chase or retrieve game, and some dogs were used to help herd cattle (Franklin 2012:76, 237, 265, 347, 572, 811). The importance of dogs as pets and watchdogs for security was particularly important for isolated farmers (Nunley 1988:356). A dog burial found at the Rubin and Elizabeth Hancock farmstead provides material evidence that pets were important to this freedmen family in northern Travis County.

One leisure activity that was undoubtedly important for the Williams family was storytelling. While not represented archeologically, the importance of storytelling is well documented for African Americans by oral histories (Franklin 2012:97, 262, 272, 299, 625, 690, 744, 784–785; Nash 1995:78). For the black Peterson family in Brazos County, laundry day evolved into a big social event in which all the women and girls in the extended family would get together to swap stories. Nash (1995:78) notes that:

Laundry day, however, was more than an activity. It was treated more like a tribal ritual where valuable knowledge about life, survival, and family history was passed from one generation to the next in the form of stories, legends, beliefs, and lessons...Laundry day was only one method used to pass culture down through the generations.

Gender Roles and Household Social Relations

The relationships between material culture, gender, race, class, and households are discussed at length in Chapter 12, so only a few key concepts are summarized here. First, the household was the primary social structure for governing

all aspects of the Williamses’ daily lives. The structure of households varies from case to case, but for the Williamses it was the nuclear family—mom, dad, and the kids—that governed the farm for almost three decades.¹⁵⁸ There were exceptions, of course: times when friends or extended family members came to visit, or when the Williams kids left home to stay with aunts or uncles for extended periods. Generally speaking, however, the nuclear family was the context within which the daily activities occurred. There would have been many well-defined gender roles that governed who did what, and these gender roles were passed on from parents to children. But the oral history evidence shows us that although gender roles were very real, they were not always as rigid as one might imagine. The reality is that most families shared the responsibilities and tasks of farmwork, production, consumption, childrearing, and socialization on an egalitarian basis.

Another truth about households is that they are not independent constructs but rather subsets within a society. To be fully understood, households must be viewed from the context of the particular society in which they exist. Even though some family farms might have been egalitarian in many ways, the broad outline of gender roles was dictated by sociocultural conventions. Rotman (2009:201–204) notes that gender roles vary between the public and private spheres, and that this separation became increasingly wider in the nineteenth century. She suggests that the public sphere, including the neighborhood and the community, were generally considered to be the male domain, while the private sphere of the household was considered to be the female domain. But Rotman (2009:204) concludes that these social norms were “artificial, cultural constructs” and that “they were in reality porous and negotiable.” The cautionary note for archeologists, Rotman would argue, is that the intersection of social relations and material world is exceedingly complex, and for every gender rule in society, there are usually examples that will contradict it.

¹⁵⁷Some canine bones were recovered, but they may be coyote (see Chapter 9).

¹⁵⁸Because the Williamses do not appear in the 1880 or 1900 population censuses, and the 1890 census data were burned, we have no definitive documentation of household composition at specific points in time. However, there is no reason to believe that the Williams household was anything other than a nuclear family.

With this caution in mind, some broad gender roles probably governed life on the Williams farm. Ransom and the older boys probably did most of the labor-intensive farmwork. This would include plowing the fields, moving heavy rocks, chopping wood, working with the horses, mules, and wagons, and hauling barrels to Bear Creek to get water. Slaughtering and butchering farm animals was probably a male activity, while feeding and watering the farm animals and tending the garden were probably not restricted to a single sex. Children were probably assigned to these various tasks based on their ages, with older children tending to the horses and cattle, milking the cows, and churning butter, while their younger siblings may have slopped the pigs, fed the chickens, and collected eggs. Weeding the garden and picking the various fruits and vegetables were tasks that would vary according to a child's age and abilities.

Hunting and fishing are often thought of as male-oriented activities, but the oral history evidence suggests that it was not uncommon for girls and women in African American communities to hunt and fish (Franklin 2012:408, 486, 571, 730, 753). Earselean Hollins recalled hunting with her brothers and sisters near Manchaca, and said: "We ate lots of wild animals....Everything that could walk or crawl and we could kill it, we would eat it" (Franklin 2012:730). Anthy Lee Walker said that it was not very common for girls to hunt with a rifle, but noted: "My mother could shoot, though, anything" (Franklin 2012:486). Informants also recall hunting small animals without using guns—by trapping them, chasing them down and pulling them out of burrows (armadillos), using dogs to catch them (rabbits and squirrels), or killing them with rocks (e.g., Franklin 2012:486, 753–754).

Sarah would have done most of the jobs related to childrearing, particularly for the babies and toddlers. Females typically did many of the activities in and around the house. Sarah and her daughters would have done most of the food preparation, cooking, and serving of meals, cleaning the house, and washing and mending the clothes. Yard sweeping, a traditional activity discussed later in this chapter, was a task that was usually performed by women, and the knowledge of how and why was passed on from older women to younger girls (Battle-Baptiste 2010:89).

The wide variety of farm and household chores (see Table 12.3) that had to be done daily or on a regular basis were an important training opportunity for Ransom and Sarah. Assigning specific chores to a child was the primary way of teaching them the important lessons of responsibility and a work ethic; "chores strongly tied the family to its homeplace" (Sitton 2003:29). Completing the chores was the primary way in which the children learned gender roles and the social relationships within the household. The chores that each child did would change as they grew and became more responsible.

One can imagine that the gender roles within the Williams household changed through time as the makeup of the family changed. In 1885, the household consisted of Ransom and Sarah, two young boys (9-year-old Will and 7-year-old Charley), and three toddlers (3-year-old Mary, 2-year-old Henry, and 1-year-old Mattie). Within this family composition, the older boys probably had to help Sarah with raising the younger kids and many of the household chores, including helping with the cooking and cleaning. By 1895, the household was quite different, with the various farm and household chores being split up between Ransom and Sarah, four boys ages 19, 17, 12, and 6, and three girls ages 13, 10, and 3. By this time, Sarah and the older girls may have done most of the household cooking and cleaning chores and child raising, while the boys were taking over many of the farming and livestock raising activities. The oral history interviews reported by Franklin (2012) are filled with examples of differential gender roles for chores in different households, as well as examples of shifting gender roles as the family members changed through time.

Some levels of alcohol consumption and tobacco use are evident on most nineteenth-century archeological sites, but questions of who was using these products on the Williams farm are open to debate. Aside from the alcohol unknowingly consumed by using patent medicines, some liquor and beer was consumed on the farm, perhaps by Ransom, Sarah, some of their older children, or any combination thereof. It is also impossible to know the reasons behind the alcohol consumption, which could include social drinking, drinking to alleviate anxiety or boredom, or drinking to relax or for other perceived health benefits (Smith 2008).

Tobacco use has often been attributed primarily to men, but there is considerable evidence that contradicts this general assumption. In the southern United States, pipe smoking and snuff consumption (originally via the nose and later by mouth) were both common in the mid- to late nineteenth century, among both blacks and whites, and many Southern women used both forms (Betts 1993:n.p.). It is quite possible that Sarah Williams or her daughters used some of these tobacco products. Marian Washington, whose grandmother and great-grandmother lived in Antioch Colony, remembered that her aunts and grandmother “dipped snuff” (Franklin 2012:387).

One important fact pertaining to gender roles within households is that the situation was never static. We can surmise that the gender roles may have changed through time as the Williams family grew. When Sarah first moved onto the farm, it is likely that she would have helped with many of the agricultural pursuits during critical times, such as planting and harvesting.

CULTURAL IDENTITY, DOMINANCE, AND RESISTANCE

Ransom and Sarah Williams and their children cannot be lumped into a group represented by a single identity. Rather, like all peoples, their identities varied according to particular social situations. At different times, they would have been Americans, African American freedmen, Texans, central Texas farmers, business entrepreneurs, laborers, or Christians. At many times, the family’s identity would have been defined by a combination of their race and economic class, with their role as African American landowners being the significant criteria that defined their roles within the Bear Creek rural community, and the nearby Antioch and Manchaca freedmen communities. Their identities were also shaped by the larger social structures that were controlled by white-run political entities, including the governments of Travis County, the State of Texas, and the United States.

The material culture owned by individuals and families reflects their multiple identities as a complex package of sociocultural information. For the Williams family, sociocultural identity was expressed by the home in which they lived, by the improvements on the farm and the kinds

of farm equipment they owned, by the tools they used, by the personal items they possessed, and by the clothing and jewelry they wore. The sociocultural information inherent in material remains was easily understood by contemporaries in the same society, but it is more difficult for outsiders to understand. This is especially true when looking back over many decades and from very different cultural contexts. Since we cannot go back in time and see how the Williamses spoke and interacted within and outside the family, the material culture must be interpreted within the contexts provided by our limited historical knowledge of the time and place in which they lived. In the discussions that follow, we examine some probable identities for the Williamses as they are (or may be) expressed in the archeological record.

Within African diaspora history and archeology, the concepts of community and personal identity, dominance of the white social structure, and resistance to that dominance are intimately related (Barnes 2011; Franklin and McKee 2004; Joseph 2004; Matthews 2010; McDavid et al. 2012; McKee 1998; Palmer 2011; Rodriguez 2007). McKee (1998) notes that African American archeology began with a focus on recognizing ethnicity and ethnic markers in material culture, but it has progressed well beyond this in recent decades. He states:

What’s emerged from the last quarter century of archaeological research is a view of African-American life under slavery and freedom which emphasizes active efforts by these people to control their own lives rather than to be controlled. This idea of action rather than passivity can be seen in every category in the archaeological record, revealing subtle and direct transformations of plantation housing, diet, and clothing. Dramatic discoveries of traces of African spirituality from New York City to Annapolis to Tennessee to the Gulf Coast of Texas all point to the ways that African descendents, both enslaved and free, worked to maintain and draw strength from their cultural traditions. These examples from the material record are the solid remnants of what must have been a constant set of defensive and offensive stances

set against the pressures on slaves to submit, conform, and accept their legal status. This emphasis on African-American action rather than passivity is of course the same message that has come out of the last several decades of traditional historical scholarship on slavery and African-American life.... Archaeologists have come to accept "resistance" as the key social mechanism through which African Americans in oppressive situations could achieve some level of autonomy and some level of control over many of the details of their lives. The idea of resistance, that individuals and groups in subordinate positions were seldom if ever going to accept what was dished out to them without struggle, is one of those deceptively simple ideas that gains considerable explanatory power as one begins to explore its implications. (McKee 1998:n.p.)

The fact that African Americans resisted Euro-American dominance, both as enslaved peoples and freedmen, is well established. They did this in many different ways, some obvious and some more subtle.

Education

Post-emancipation blacks were well aware of the fact that education was the key to getting ahead. As enslaved peoples, they were typically denied access to education or at the very least had to hide the fact that they could read, write, or do mathematics. Texas state laws did not forbid the education of slaves, but most plantation owners did not want educated slaves (Campbell 1989:175). When freedom came, most former slaves saw education as the ultimate road to salvation and success. They sought what they had long been denied, if not for themselves, at least for their children. But freedmen were still wary of white attitudes toward educated blacks. Many white Southerners, especially uneducated and illiterate ones, believed blacks were not capable of learning and that attempts to educate them were a waste of time and money. While many believed the "Negro was 'uneducable'" (Hornsby 1973:398), this was contradicted by their underlying fear of the upheaval in white

society that might be caused if large numbers of blacks were educated (Sitton and Conrad 2005:108–112). "Education, many of them reasoned, would make the Negro arrogant, stubborn, and resentful of what they thought his rightful place of social and political inferiority in southern society" (Hornsby 1973:398). Freedmen across the South set out to disprove the Southern myths, and they began working diligently to educate their youth and obtain an equal footing in American society. As slaves, education itself was an act of resistance. As freedmen, education was still an act of resistance.

The black population, aided by the Freedmen's Bureau, was doing all it could to build schools and increase the number of students. A Freedmen's Bureau report for 1866 showed that there were 90 bureau schools for freedmen in Texas, with 4,590 students attending (Hornsby 1973:400). "The intensity of the Negroes' interest in education was evidenced by the fact that some forty schools operated throughout the hot summer months of 1866. An estimated 10,000 blacks had become literate within the year" (Hornsby 1973:404). While this all sounded positive, many whites were resentful of blacks, and the level of violence was slowly escalating (Crouch 1984; 1992:69–101; Hornsby 1973:408). While Texas was praised for its progress in negro education in 1866, the situation had changed by 1868 when a Freedmen's Bureau commissioner wrote: "The freedmen's schools [of Texas] do not compare favorably with those of many other southern States" (Hornsby 1973:407). The number of black schools and students in Texas had dropped, in part due to a statewide yellow fever epidemic, but increasing prejudice and violence were the main causes. Hornsby (1973:408) noted:

Growing violence of the Ku Klux Klan variety occupied the major part of the [Freedmen's Bureau] reports coming from Texas in late 1868 and early 1869. This violence, coupled with intimidation and discrimination, was listed repeatedly as the major factor hampering Negro education. General Reynolds reported in the fall of 1868 that juries in Texas were beginning to exhibit flagrant examples of racial discrimination in their evaluation of testimony and in their verdicts. Ku

Klux Klansmen “practiced barbarous cruelties upon the freedmen,” and Negro morale was at its lowest point since the war. Reynolds said that the Klansmen were “most numerous, bold, and aggressive east of the Trinity River... The murder of negroes is so common as to render it impossible to keep accurate account of them.” (Hornsby 1973:408)

When the Freedmen’s Bureau discontinued its Texas operations in 1870, the state had 66 black schools and 3,248 students (Hornsby 1973:414–416). While the bureau certainly helped freedmen in many ways, it did not live up to its promises or the expectations of the freedmen with regard to promoting education. The Freedmen’s Bureau was disbanded in 1872, but in anticipation of that Texas had organized its statewide public school system in 1871 (Hornsby 1973; Wilson 2013). The Texas Constitution of 1876 established the “community system” of education and granted the power to establish and maintain schools to the local authorities. By 1877, Texas had 678 black schools supported by local communities, but many other schools operated out of churches (Sitton and Conrad 2005:109–110). In 1884, the Colored Teachers Association of Texas was established to promote equality in the public school system and establish black colleges (Wilson 2013). Texas also passed the School Law of 1884, which established permanent “common school districts” run by counties and funded by county taxes, as well as “independent school districts.” The common school districts encompassed the many small rural schools, while the independent school districts tended to be in larger towns and urban areas. The law allocated state funding for schools, but additional monies from communities and local taxes could supplement this. The effect of this law was a significant increase in the number of schools, and by 1905 Texas reported some 10,169 common school districts and 868 independent school districts (Sitton and Conrad 2005:110–111).

Established in 1877, the Rose Colony School near Manchaca was the closest one to the Williams farmstead (see Chapter 5). The oldest Williams child, Will, probably started going to school there sometime after 1882 (when he turned 6 years old), and all his siblings probably

followed him. The youngest child was Emma, who probably started school about 1898 or 1899. Although no historical documents were found that reveal the names of the children who attended the Rose Colony School, we can surmise that the Williams children did go to school there. Thus, one or more of Ransom and Sarah’s children were probably enrolled in a rural school continuously for at least 23 years, until Sarah moved to Austin a few years after Ransom’s death. The black Austin newspapers from the late 1860s to 1890s certainly stressed the importance of education for freedmen (see Chapter 13), and it seems likely that Ransom and Sarah Williams would have been well aware of this prevalent attitude and believed it to be true.

The best physical evidence that the Williams children were getting an education and probably attended school is the diversity of artifacts related to writing and literacy (see Table 8.31). Schoolchildren in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries typically used small slate tablets (a piece of black slate enclosed in a rectangular wooden frame) and slate pencils (made of a soft rock like talc or soapstone) to learn and practice writing. Both types of writing implements were found at the farmstead, along with fragments of several wooden pencils with rubber eraser ends, and a metal alphabet plate (see Figures 8.41 and 8.42). In addition, two carbon rods from dry-cell batteries were resharpened, most likely so that they could be reused as writing implements (see Figure 8.43). This same type of recycling was also seen at the Scott house, an African American household in Louisiana (Wilkie 2000b:Table 23, 215). The salvage of dry-cell battery cores for fashioning writing implements represents a thrifty behavior that was common among rural agriculturists.

The archeological evidence indicates that Ransom and Sarah Williams were actively encouraging their children’s education. They obviously allowed their children to continue their learning at home to reinforce the lessons learned at school. After-hours learning was a way to help the children succeed at school and, in the broader perspective, to succeed in life. The belief that education was the ultimate key to their success was widespread among freedmen, and the steps that individuals and families took to promote education were, in many ways, conscious acts of resistance to white oppression. “The African Americans who

build schools for themselves and their children during Reconstruction were making concrete a previously underground educational institution whose existence had pre-dated emancipation” (Rodriguez 2007:180).

Just before the Williams family moved away from the farm about 1905, several of the Williams children were probably still attending the Rose Colony School. At face value, education for blacks at that time was seemingly on par with education for whites, but the evidence shows that there were still some significant disparities. Table 14.17 is a summary of statistics for rural schools in Texas for the 1904–1905 school year, and it compares the data pertinent to black and white schools and students. Of school-age children who lived in rural areas, 79 percent were white and 21 percent were black. Of all the school-age children who lived in the country, 88 percent of white children were in school, as were 83 percent of black children. But the percentage of school-age children actually enrolled in school was somewhat higher for whites (87.8 percent) than it was for blacks (82.8 percent). The average amount of state money apportioned to the students was very close, at \$5.98 per white student vs. \$6.34 per black student. And the relative numbers of teachers with first through third grade certificates was at about the same ratio, with 75 percent being white to 24 percent being black. Two statistics are somewhat surprising: black schools had a lower average student-to-teacher ratio (39 to 1) than did white schools (50 to 1), and the average number of teachers per schoolhouse was slightly higher for blacks (1.7 to 1) than for whites (1.1 to 1).

While all of these statistics would argue for parity in the educational opportunities for blacks and whites at the turn of the century, other numbers tell a different story. The total number of teachers who held permanent teaching certificates (and could teach beyond third grade) is lopsided, with 87 percent of those teachers being white and only 13 percent being black. This means there were fewer black teachers and black students in the higher grades, probably indicating that black students did not stay in school as long as whites. The salaries of black teachers were lower than that of their white counterparts, with the average annual income being only 86 percent of what a white teacher made. Part of this difference was because black teachers taught fewer days each year, but this accounts for only a small portion of the disparity.

The most revealing statistics for the 1904–1905 school year are those dealing with the educational infrastructure. Whites had more schools, and their schools were larger and nicer. The average number of students per schoolhouse was 53 for whites and 65 for blacks. All black schools were of wood construction, while some white schools were of brick or stone construction. The relative conditions of the schools were documented as well, and 28 percent of all black schools were in bad shape as compared with only 15 percent of white schools. Without doubt, the biggest disparities between black and white education at the turn of the century are seen in the data representing the quality of the schools and the availability of libraries. The average value of a black rural school was \$166, which is 42 percent of the average value of the white schools at \$394. While there were 524 school libraries for rural whites, there were only 8 school libraries for rural blacks!

These last statistics reflect the reality of the Jim Crow South. The allocation of educational resources was not equitable in 1904–1905, and the situation apparently continued to get worse. In a 1932 report on the *Status of Teachers and Principals Employed in the Rural Schools of the United States* (cited by Woofter 1936:134–137), the statistics were alarming. Using data from 17 Southern states, including Texas, the median annual salary of a white teacher in a rural school was \$788, while the colored teacher’s median annual salary was \$388, only 49 percent of what the white teachers made. This prompted the report’s author to ask: “Can we hope to improve the public education provided for the Negro unless we are willing to put more into the making and retention of those charged with the important task of giving instruction?”

Displays of Social Status

There are many ways in which artifact assemblages may be examined to infer sociocultural behaviors. The overall artifact assemblage recovered from the farmstead reveals much about the Williams family, as consumers and as new participants in American society. In this section, we examine parts of the assemblage as a display of social status through material wealth.

Historical archaeology seeks to understand the different meanings of material

Table 14.17. Statistics for independent “country” schools in Texas for the 1904–1905 school year*

Statistic	White	Colored	Total	Percentage of White	Percentage of Colored
Number of children shown by census in country, outside independent districts	444,169	119,811	563,980	78.8%	21.2%
Enrollment of children in the country schools	390,132	99,152	489,284	79.7%	20.3%
Percentage of rural children enrolled in school	87.8%	82.8%	86.8%	–	–
State apportionment to the children in the country, outside independent districts	\$2,331,887	\$629,007	2,960,894	78.8%	21.2%
Average apportionment per enrolled student	\$5.98	\$6.34	\$6.05	–	–
Number of teachers holding first grade certificates	2,822	273	3,095	91.2%	8.8%
Number of teachers holding second grade certificates	4,022	1,815	5,837	68.9%	31.1%
Number of teachers holding third grade certificates	460	399	859	53.6%	46.4%
Number of teachers holding first through third grade certificates	7,304	2,487	9,791	74.6%	25.4%
Number of teachers holding permanent certificates	564	86	650	86.8%	13.2%
Total number of certified teachers	7,868	2,573	10,441	75.4%	24.6%
Student to teacher ratio	50 to 1	39 to 1	47 to 1	–	–
Average number of days teaching	102.9	95.3	198	51.9%	48.1%
Average monthly salary of teachers	\$49.73	\$46.14	\$95.87	51.9%	48.1%
Average yearly salary of teachers	\$255.82	\$219.81	\$475.63	53.8%	46.2%
Number of schoolhouses in country - Wood	7,217	1,531	8,748	82.5%	17.5%
Number of schoolhouses in country - Brick	37	0	37	100.0%	0.0%
Number of schoolhouses in country - Stone	93	0	93	100.0%	0.0%
Total number of schoolhouses in country	7,347	1,531	8,878	82.8%	17.2%
Average number of students per schoolhouse	53.1	64.8	118	–	–
Average number of teachers per schoolhouse	1.1	1.7	2.8	–	–
Condition of schoolhouses in country - Good	2,503	212	2,715	92.2%	7.8%
Condition of schoolhouses in country - Fair	3,720	884	4,604	80.8%	19.2%
Condition of schoolhouses in country - Bad	1,124	435	1,559	72.1%	27.9%
Estimated value of schoolhouses in country (owned)	\$2,894,569	\$253,399	\$3,147,968	92.0%	8.0%
Average value of schoolhouses built in country (owned)	\$394	\$166	\$560	70.4%	29.6%
Number of libraries in country	524	8	532	98.5%	1.5%
Value of libraries in country	\$58,283	\$1,311	\$59,594	97.8%	2.2%
Average daily attendance in country schools	238,304	61,669	299,973	79.4%	20.6%
Total value of schoolhouses and libraries in country	2,952,852	254,710	3,207,562	92.1%	7.9%
Average value of all school property (schoolhouses and libraries) per enrolled student	\$7.57	\$2.57	\$6.56	–	–

* Data are from the *Fifteenth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Cousins 1906:9–10). The data are for independent “country” schools in rural areas that were not part of an organized school district. The columns and rows that are highlighted are not in the original report but were calculated using the other statistics.

objects within the historic contexts of different cultures, and one research goal has been to define the relationships between price and value within artifact assemblages. As Mullins (1999a:30) states, many historic archaeologists in the United States rely on price as the “single most important criteria constraining material symbolism.” The problem with this perspective is that price constantly fluctuates above and below an object’s true value for reasons that we may, or may not, understand. Using price as a means of defining an object assumes that an object’s exchange monetary value is the best way for explaining material symbolism and social relations; this idea is a benchmark of capitalism. Mullins (1999a:30) argues that an object’s exchange value and price are not the same, nor are they always interchangeable. As a result, price cannot be used consistently to describe or explain material symbolism, social status, or wealth (Mullins et al. 2011). Relying on price diminishes artifact values to a single mode of interpretation based on our perceived monetary values, reducing the overall meaning between the object and the consumer. It also places that relationship within a hierarchical socioeconomic system, and this whole approach implies that consumers purchased and owned material objects strictly as a means of outwardly displaying their wealth. In reality, objects within a diverse and elaborate artifact assemblage can represent any number of different scenarios relating to their value as perceived by the owner. Mullins (1999a:30) goes on to list self-determination, overcompensation, resistance, class legitimization, and numerous other factors that can all help explain the meanings behind ownership of abundant and relatively costly items. In short, the price someone paid for something does not necessarily reflect the true symbolic meaning of that particular object.

Therefore, attempting to establish a relative price-based valuation for the materials in the Williams artifact assemblage simplifies and reduces the relationship between the consumers (i.e., the Williams family) and their possessions to something based purely on money, and it completely ignores the realities of material symbolism on the part of the owners. At the same time, this does not imply that there is a specific material meaning inherent in every object. Some objects may not mean anything special at all, while others may possess multiple and complex

symbolic meanings (Mullins 1999a:30). Mullins (1999a, 2011), Orser (2007), and others would argue that the symbolic meaning of material remains and consumer behavior can only be understood within a realistic historical context that takes many variables into account, including race and socioeconomic class.

For the Williams farmstead, we did attempt to examine some kinds of artifacts from a price perspective by looking at the sale prices in period mail-order catalogs, but we quickly determined that there were too many unknown variables. For any given group of artifacts, we could never be certain that the advertised items were exactly the same as the artifacts, or there were too many chronological uncertainties because we could never know the precise dates when items were purchased. We soon concluded that it would be much more meaningful to look at particular artifacts in the farmstead assemblage from the perspective of the symbolic value to the people who owned them. The Williamses were consumers who made conscious choices about the products they purchased, and the durable goods they chose to buy are especially informative when their symbolism is considered within the context of African Americans living in the Jim Crow South.

Ransom and Sarah Williams were typical American consumers in many ways, and the material culture from the farmstead indicates that they spent some of their disposable income on luxury items that were meant to display their economic status. Recognizing material evidence of status display in historic archeological sites is sometimes problematic, but the strength of such interpretations are very much dependent on specific archeological and historical contexts. In *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*, Mullins (2011:40) states that: “Measures of status and the ways in which it is communicated or perceived are very dynamic, and a construction of status and social standing is open to a vast range of socially and historically specific factors...” He cautions against interpreting historic artifacts using “contemporary assumptions about materialism and consumption,” but goes on to state that: “Metaphors like affluence and display are at the heart of status studies, and they always require contextualization to provide the most persuasive interpretation of consumption in different historical moments and among particular social groups (Mullins 2011:41).

Despite the rigorous debates among historic archeologists regarding status and affluence in the archeological record, one cannot ignore two facts. (1) Most late-nineteenth-century Americans were status-conscious consumers. And (2), the nonessential things that people purchased and owned were reflections of their identities, including how they viewed themselves and the world they lived in. Burton (1998:213) notes that the post-emancipation freedmen communities “were marked by complex distinctions of status based on land tenure and occupation.” (Thomas 2001:24) states: “There is considerable evidence indicating that the practice of display was an important tradition among African Americans.” He goes on to note that even when enslaved, African Americans “sought to display personal possessions for a number of reasons, many of them tied to communicating social identity.”

Ceramics are one of the best socioeconomic indicators for looking at status issues and consumer behavior in nineteenth-century archeological sites. We identified a total of 109 ceramic vessels in the farmstead assemblage, and most were utilitarian stonewares and plain whitewares. The assemblage also includes at least 4 reconstructed vessels—two cups, a saucer, and a dinner plate—that are decorated with the same transfer-printed design (vessels CV-30, CV-31, CV-33, and CV-38), plus many sherds with the same pattern that could not be assigned to vessels. The maker’s marks identify these vessels as being decorated with Kenwood Pattern and manufactured after 1891 by the Alfred Meakin Company of Hanley, England (see Figure 8.9). So it appears that Sarah Williams purchased a matching set of dinnerware, including the saucers and cups. Sarah might have ordered these ceramics through a mail-order catalog, or perhaps through one of the stores where they shopped regularly. Several people raised in the Antioch and Manchaca freedmen communities recall their mothers using the Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward catalogs (Franklin 2012:41, 123, 298, 359, 484, 862).

A comparison of the prices of full dinnerware sets in the 1895 Montgomery Ward & Company and 1897 and 1902 Sears, Roebuck & Company catalogs shows that many of these English-made transfer wares, some with a floral pattern and made by the Alfred Meakin

Company, were mid-range in price.¹⁵⁹ They certainly were not the most expensive ones available, but they cost significantly more than the cheapest plainwares. We can speculate that Ransom and Sarah each had their own responsibilities with regard to running the farm and household, including managing their purchasing power as consumers. Ransom’s realm would have been farm operations, such as agricultural needs, livestock, and anything related to the farmstead. Sarah would have been responsible for making decisions affecting the household and the family. While we can never know the exact reasons that prompted the purchase of the floral-pattern English-made ceramics, we can speculate that the Sarah, perhaps influenced by her older daughters, made a conscious decision to purchase a nice set of dinnerware for the family to use. We can also speculate that this purchase had symbolic meaning beyond the mere functional aspects of the ceramics. The act of serving tea in a formal setting and ritualized manner was a symbol of one’s status in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Mullins 2011:27, 55), and owning a matching set of ceramics, especially the tea cups and saucers, was a symbol of material wealth that everyone recognized. Matching sets of ceramics became commonplace in America by the end of the eighteenth century (Deetz 1993:71; Mullins 2011:49), but only the elite could originally afford matching dinnerwares with tea service vessels. As production costs decreased and demand increased because of mass marketing in the nineteenth century, ceramic producers made a wider variety of matching ceramic sets to appeal to people in more socioeconomic

¹⁵⁹Three catalogs offered floral pattern wares made by the Alfred Meakin Company of Tunstall England. The 1895 Montgomery Ward & Company catalog (p. 529) offered the Kent Pattern ware, and one dozen tea cups and saucers sold for \$1.82. The 1897 Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog had the Princess Pattern, but it was sold only in large sets such as the 44-piece tea set for \$6.20. The 1902 Sears, Roebuck & Company catalog (p. 794) sold the Woodland Pattern, and a dozen coffee cups and saucers sold for \$2.09. These individual prices are not as interesting as the fact that in all three cases, these floral pattern Meakin wares were mid-range in price, costing more than twice as much as the plain hotel wares, and little more than many American- and other English-made transfer wares. At the same time, these Meakin wares cost a little less than the fanciest English-made wares and about half of what a very fancy French-made transfer-printed ware cost.

classes. These items retained their symbolic link with elite status and wealth, but they became extremely popular with middle-class consumers as expressions of their social mobility (Mullins 2011:49, 55). Given these historical circumstances, it seems likely that Sarah's purchase of a matching set of dinnerware was a visual display of the family's economic success.

Mail-order catalog sales were important for freedmen of the Friendship community in northeast Texas, and Green et al. (1996:74) notes that: "Prior to the 1890s, farmers began using mail-order companies through the local stores... The mail-order business provided privacy for the African-American farmer in their retail decisions. In some parts of the Lower South, the Euro-American attitude was that African-Americans did not deserve nice things, even if they could afford them (Ayers 1992)." Mail-order catalogs would have provided a degree of privacy for the Williams family if they wanted to acquire certain objects without drawing any unwanted attention.

A few other artifacts in the farmstead assemblage may reflect consumer behavior related to expressing one's social status, although the symbolism of these objects is less certain. Two ceramic wares are quite ornate and may have been valued more for their aesthetics than their function. These are the molded Rockingham-glaze pitcher (CV-4) and the Victorian majolica coffee cup (CV-38) with its brightly colored shell and seaweed design (see Figures 8.7 and 8.8). In addition, a brass sprocket wheel gear is probably from a pocket watch. While some models of pocket watches were modestly priced in the late nineteenth century, this was probably a luxury purchase because owning one was not a necessity for a rural farmer.

Historically speaking, landownership has always been an important factor that carried with it a degree of social status that was widely recognized within any contemporary society. This is true of post-emancipation African Americans, and the distinctions between being a landowner, a sharecropper, or a farm laborer had just as much socioeconomic meaning within a freedmen community as it did within a white community (Burton 1998:235). Stine (1990:38–39) defined an "agricultural ladder" that was a hierarchical scale of social stratification that applied to black and white agriculturalists in the South during the first half of the twentieth century. This ladder identified seven social

classes, from highest to lowest, as: (1) Owner, part-owner no mortgage; (2) Owner, part-owner with mortgage; (3) Share, cash, standing renter; (4) Sharecropper; (5) Day laborer (away from home); (6) Paid laborer, cropper, tenant (family farm); and (7) Unpaid family laborer. The scale might vary slightly by region, and a person's or a family's place on the ladder could "rise or fall with varied circumstances" (Stine 1990:49). But this social hierarchy for Southern agriculturalists undoubtedly came into existence in the years following emancipation, and the scale would be generally applicable to late-nineteenth-century freedmen. Within this agricultural hierarchy and within the black community, Ransom and Sarah Williams were at the top of the social scale for over three decades.

The material culture recovered from the Williams farmstead seems to reflect a degree of economic success, for sure, but it would be impossible to infer that the Williamses were landowners from their material culture alone. Regardless, the fact that the Williamses owned land was significant indeed, and it undoubtedly enhanced their status within the black community. It probably enhanced their status within many segments of white society as well, but this statement is tempered by the fact that successful black landowners were often viewed as a threat to white supremacy. Almost all of the oral history informants for the Antioch and Manchaca communities recalled which of the neighbors owned land and who did not, and they were quite aware of which neighbors had the largest landholding, whether they were black or white (Franklin 2012; see Chapter 12). These peoples' memories reinforce the idea that landownership was an important identifier of social status within these communities. And this concept is clearly evident in many of the newspaper editorials printed in the late-nineteenth-century African American newspapers (see Chapter 13).

Oral history interviews seem to suggest that the landowning and property-less households of the early twentieth century had similar patterns of household production and consumption, as well as nearly identical household roles and activities, regardless of race (Franklin 2012; see Chapter 12). This suggests that it will be difficult to differentiate between the material culture assemblages from landowner-occupied and tenant-occupied sites dating from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth

centuries. The archeological evidence seems to indicate that this is true in some cases, but not in others. As mentioned earlier and summarized in Table 14.5, it is notable that the frequency of Personal (leisure) artifacts was much higher at the Williams farmstead than at any of the other post-emancipation freedmen sites in Texas that we examined. Two other freedmen-owned farmsteads (John Derrick and John Hancock) had only slightly fewer Personal artifacts, while the lowest percentages were at the two tenant farms and three other landowner-occupied farms. Thus, while the artifacts may reveal subtle evidence of relative material wealth of landowners in some cases, there is no absolute correlation between landownership and the types and amounts of materials recovered.

Displays of American Patriotism

Three artifacts from the farmstead incorporate visual symbolism of the United States of America. One of these is the general service button of the U.S. Army, with its brass face stamped with the classic image of an spread-winged eagle with a stars-and-stripes shield on its chest (see Figure 8.55). The style of the eagle indicates that these buttons were manufactured between 1855 and 1884 and may have been from a uniform that was used during the Civil War or sold as surplus after the war. There is no way to know whether Ransom Williams acquired an Army uniform with the button on it, or only acquired the military button. It is reasonable to assume, however, that he would have been aware that this was a U.S. Army button of the exact style worn by the Union soldiers who helped emancipate the enslaved African Americans. He would also have been aware that regiments of African American soldiers, some northern freedmen and some escaped Southern slaves, had fought for the Union. Ransom might have felt that the military button (or perhaps a surplus army jacket) was symbolic of freedom. It might have been an important possession for a former slave who was probably 19 years of age at emancipation.

The second artifact with a patriotic symbol is the swivel cheek plate of a snaffle bit, and it has a distinctive U.S. star-and-shield design (see Figure 8.26e). There is little doubt that Ransom Williams was an accomplished horseman since

he had a registered horse brand and owned and worked with horses for more than 30 years. Like most horsemen, he probably took pride in his horse gear, and the star-and-shield snaffle bit was the most ornate piece of horse tack that was found. He could have obtained a secondhand bit or bridle and been completely oblivious to the symbolism, but this seems unlikely. Rather, it is possible that he purchased this snaffle bit because he liked the patriotic symbol. Perhaps he was proud to have this symbol in prominent view when riding his horse in public.

The third farmstead artifact with U.S. symbolism is most intriguing. It is a USS *Maine* commemorative spoon, manufactured to honor Captain Sigsbee and the battleship USS *Maine*, which that sank in Havana Harbor in February 1898 (see Figure 8.47). The was a critical event in the buildup to the Spanish-American War, and all adult American men would have been aware of this important national news. Ransom Williams certainly would have heard the news about the sinking of the USS *Maine* and probably kept up with all the war news that year. This finding suggests that Ransom Williams made an intentional purchase of the commemorative spoon less than three years before he died. The item may indicate that he kept up with current political affairs and wanted to display his patriotism and show his support for the U.S. war effort. In addition, he was probably well aware that many African American soldiers fought and died in the Spanish-American War (Powell 2013), and this may have been a source of pride as well.¹⁶⁰

African American Freedmen Identity

The material remains recovered from the Williams farmstead undoubtedly played an important role in defining the Williams family as African American freedmen. Period newspapers reveal a great deal of pride among the freedmen community, especially among those who had professional occupations, owned businesses or land, and were leaders in their church and community (see Chapter 13). Ransom and Sarah Williams certainly would have been proud of

¹⁶⁰While *The Herald* newspaper was published in Austin from 1893 to 1917, no issues are in the Austin archives from 1898 (see Table 13.1), so coverage of African American participation in the Spanish-American War was not examined.

their landownership, their successful farming endeavors, and the fact their children were getting educated. They probably attended church regularly and may have had formal roles within their church or community. They probably took pride in being independent landowners and in their ability to negotiate their existence within a rural white farming community. Unfortunately, these possibilities are speculative at best, and material remains do not always express African American identity in obvious ways. Indeed, the expression of such identity may be extremely subtle, and interpretations of ethnic identity often rely on recognizing unusual archeological contexts or symbolism. For the Williams farmstead, four cases are considered here: the dart point in the chimney firebox, the dime found near the hearth, the horseshoes in the house block, and the possible Landrum Cross on a stoneware jar lid (see Chapters 7, 8, and 11). These cases are summarized here because of their potential significance. As a cautionary note, “it is possible to read too much into these things” when interpreting evidence of African American symbolism and spiritual beliefs (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005:295). While we acknowledge this reality, the circumstantial evidence in some of these cases is compelling nonetheless, and the potential symbolic meanings should be considered. There is considerable evidence that a great many African traditions and beliefs survived the transatlantic journey, were incorporated into the lives of the enslaved Africans and African Americans, and survived well into the twentieth century (Leone and Fry 2001:157).

Dart Point in the Chimney Firebox

A nearly complete dart point found in the bottom of the chimney firebox (see Figures 8.46, and 11.25) had clearly been placed in the loose fill at the bottom for a particular purpose. This dart point most likely represents some type of offering that was made when the chimney and house were being constructed. It may have had a relatively simple function such as to bring good luck to the household (similar to a horseshoe hung above a doorway). Or its symbolism may have been deeper, perhaps representing an offering to honor the ancestors who lived on the land before or a charm to keep evil spirits from entering the house through the fireplace. Some

examples of material culture used by African Americans in religious, spiritual, or ritual contexts and documented through oral history or archeological finds include: concentrations of sewing items and shiny objects associated with conjure bags; placement of particular objects into symbolic patterns (e.g., cosmogram); markings on artifacts (engraved cosmogram); coins worn in a shoe; coins (often dimes) with drilled holes worn as necklaces and ankle bracelets; exotic natural stones (crystals and polished rocks), and Native American artifacts (especially projectile points) (e.g., Arnett et al. 2000; Brown 2008, 2011; Brown and Cooper 1990; Edwards-Ingram 2001; Fennell 2000; Lindsey 2000; Puckett 1926; Russell 1997; Wilkie 1995, 1997, 2000a, 2000b; Yakubik and Mendez 1995).

Native American projectile points may have had special meaning among African Americans and are still sold in New Orleans voodoo shops as “good luck charms” (Wilkie 1995:143) and items that are “essential for your mojo bag” (Russell 1997:74). At the Oakley Plantation in Louisiana, there was a “direct correlation between the presence of lithic artifacts [mostly projectile points] and African-American housesites,” and the evidence indicated that “the objects had cultural meaning beyond souvenirs” (Wilkie 1995:143). Wilkie (1997:100) notes that crystals and dart points were “religiously and magically important artifacts” that were found in yard areas and underneath houses at the Riverlake Plantation in Louisiana. Projectile points and other Native American chipped stone tools were also recovered from the Levi Jordan quarters, which housed the enslaved and freedmen community. These artifacts were recovered from contexts that suggested they might have had some ritual functions (Brown 2012:41–45).

At the Hermitage Plantation near Nashville, Tennessee, 15 artifacts found in one of the slave cabins included several projectile point fragments (Russell 1997:Figure 7). Russell (1997:72) states: “The recovery of prehistoric artifacts in African-American contexts at the Hermitage raises the possibility that enslaved African Americans were actively collecting and using them for some purpose.” He also notes that African Americans may have used the projectile points as strike-a-lights for starting fires (Russell 1997:73–74). One ethnographic account suggests an unusual connection between arrowheads, fire-making, and ritual charms:

One old conjure-doctor in Mississippi told me that the Indian arrowheads often found in the locality were not made by man at all, but were fashioned by God out of thunder and lightning. To use one for good luck, strike a spark from it with your knife (if the sparks fly readily you will know that you have a good knife) and let the spark fall upon a piece of powdered punk. Let the punk smoulder into ashes, which are to be wrapped in a piece of newspaper and carried with you always for good luck. (Puckett 1926:315)

This oral testimony suggests a direct connection between projectile points, the creation of fire, and conjuring for bringing good luck, so a link between hearths and projectile would be a logical extension of this spiritual connection. In this case, the flint arrowhead was not the charm. Rather, it was a powerful tool used to make the ashes that were carried as a charm (see Wilkie 1995:143).

The link between hearths and ritual activities is especially strong in African American archeological contexts. At the Ashland-Belle Helene Plantation in Louisiana, for example, archeologists observed that: "The coin, beads, shells, buttons, and smoothed stones were found more frequently near hearths than in other parts of the cabins or in the yards." They suggest that "this may reflect ritual activity centered on the hearth" (Yakubik et al. 1994:12-8). A ritual activity would take place "within the house where it could be hidden" (Yakubik and Mendez 1995:27; also cited in Wilkie 1997:100). Leone and Fry (1999:377-378, 383) note that chimneys/hearth were important locations within African American houses where ritual caches or bundles were frequently placed in dwellings in Virginia and Annapolis, Maryland. Collectively, a great deal of historical and archeological evidence indicates that windows, doors, and chimneys represented openings where spirits could enter or leave a house, and these are the spots where conjuring charms were placed.

A "flint point" and a "quartz point" were among the items found at the Poplar Forest Plantation in Virginia. They were found in the plow zone deposits, and their contexts are somewhat unclear, but they may "have been collected

and curated by the eighteenth and nineteenth century inhabitants of the plantation" (Heath 1994:35). Other researchers have suggested that these points were probably ritual items (Leone and Fry 1999:377, Table 13). One particularly intriguing case is from excavations of two slave cabins at Hilton Head Island in South Carolina. Espenshade (1995:n.p.) stated that "An interesting aspect of the cabin was the recovery of 25 Archaic through Woodland projectile points and a groundstone adze from the hearth area, suggesting the occupants were collecting Native-American items." This statement refers to Structure 2 at the River Club site, 41BU880 (Espenshade et al. 1993:49-54; 91-93, Figure 37).

We will probably never know why Ransom Williams placed this dart point in the center of the firebox when he built his house. The dart point may have been placed there—by itself or with other perishable wrapped in cloth or inside a bundle bag—to serve as some sort of protective charm. Whatever the case, we can now add this example to a growing list of archeological finds where Native American artifacts were placed in probable ritual contexts within African American households.¹⁶¹ This pattern appears to represent a belief system that was common among African Americans, and the special symbolism of Native American items and hearths are subjects that warrants more study.

Dime Found in Hearth Area

An 1877 "Seated Liberty" dime was found near the chimney firebox (see Figure 8.64). This item is mentioned here for two reasons: its context in the hearth area and the fact that dimes were common ritual objects. This specimen was found within 3 ft and directly in front of the firebox (in EU 52). The dime could certainly have been lost and fallen through the floorboards, or it could have been intentionally placed there. In the African American spiritual realm, dimes and other silver coins were

¹⁶¹It is worth mentioning that seven polished hematite stones were recovered from the house block, and three of them were found within one meter of the chimney (but none in the firebox). The function of these items is not clear, and they may have been nothing more than pretty rocks or gaming pieces used by the children. However, polished stones found at a number of African American sites have been interpreted as ritual items that may have been charms for dealing with ancestors and coping with bad luck (Yakubik et al. 1994:10-74).

considered important in many contexts, and this is documented in slave narratives and other oral histories (Tyler and Murphy 1974:81–95; Wilkie 2000a:132–133) as well as archeologically (e.g., Brown 2008, 2011:11; Davidson 2004b, 2010; Fennell 2000:283–287; Leone and Fry 1999:382, 2001:Table 9.2; Puckett 1926:236, 247, 288, 314; Wilkie 1997:89, 92, 100; Wilkie 2000a:133. Wilkie 2000b:189–192; Yakubik et al. 1994:10-73–10-74). Unfortunately, because of its context there is no way to know if the dime found at the Williams farmstead was simply lost or if it was placed near the fireplace as some type of offering.

Horseshoes Found in House Block

The use of horseshoes as protective charms is a widespread tradition found in many parts of the world among many different cultures, and it is well documented among nineteenth-century African Americans (e.g., Leone and Fry 2001:153, Table 9.2; Puckett 1926:291; Wilkie 1994:274, 2000b:194). Anderson (2005:60–61) notes that “one of the strongest protective charms among nineteenth century blacks was the horseshoe. According to Elihu, a South Carolinian slave, a horseshoe hung over the entrance to a home thwarted witches’ attempts to ride sleepers. This practice was a wholesale import from England.” As such, it was a European supernatural belief that was adopted, albeit probably transformed in some ways, by African Americans. The belief was also transferred to Africa; an 1894 ethnography of the Cameroon tribe of west-central Africa mentions that horseshoes were one of the charms placed over doorways to prevent witches from bringing bad luck (Richardson 1894:202, 207). Chireau (2003:87–88) states: “The well-known practice of hanging an inverted horseshoe above the door in some black and white Southern households found justification in the idea that witches would flee on viewing it, reminded that they too could be captured and shod by wary humans.” Archeologically, a horseshoe recovered from the postbellum component of an African American house (Feature 5, the Freeman House) on the Oakley Plantation in Louisiana is interpreted as a apotropaic device (Wilkie 1994:275, 418, 2000b:194).

At the Williams farmstead, six horse and mule shoes were found in the house block, far away from the corral complex where the livestock

would have been kept. For these specimens, it is likely that the last function they served was not as horseshoes. It is more likely that they were reused in some other manner in or around the house. Within the house block, three of the horseshoes were found in the area of the west wall (in EUs 47, 57, and 77), while three were found around the hypothesized doorway on the south wall (in EUs 69, 77, and 89). There are many possibilities for how these horseshoes were used around the house. All six horseshoes could have served as storage hooks that were nailed to the cabin’s outside walls. Any or all of these horseshoes might have been left where the Williams children played with them last. The possibilities are many, and there is no particular reason to believe that any of the horseshoes were used as protective charms. But this possibility cannot be ruled out, either.

Oval-X Mark on Stoneware Vessel Lid

The impressed mark on the stoneware lid of Ceramic Vessel 9 is of particular interest. It was placed in a prominent location on top of the lid, presumably so it would be seen by anyone looking at the top of the jar. The mark appears to be a simple “X” inside an oval, and it has not been identified as the mark of any particular pottery or potter. But it is interesting to note how similar this oval-X mark is to the “Landrum Cross” marks used by many African American potters working in the Edgefield District of South Carolina (Joseph 2011). The Edgefield District was the birthplace of the southern alkaline-glazed stoneware tradition, and some of the African American potters who ended up in Texas came from South Carolina (Koverman 2007, 2009). The African American Wilsons, who were brought to Texas as slaves but founded their own pottery businesses in Guadalupe County after emancipation, are among those who had strong connections to the Edgefield District (Blake et al. 1999; Brackner 1981, 1982, 1984; Brown 2002; Koverman 2009; Morgan 2009). Simple cross marks have been found on many earlier African American-made colonowares (earthenwares) in the southern United States (Ferguson 1992:110–116). One of the Edgefield District’s most famous black potters, Dave Drake (Koverman 1998, 2005), inscribed some of the vessels he produced with

an “X” (Joseph 2011:139, Figure 2e; Koverman 2009:133). The tradition of marking vessels with some variation of an X became widespread, and the circle-and-cross symbol that became known as the Landrum Cross was often stamped into stonewares produced in the Edgefield District and in Georgia. While we cannot conclude that the oval-X mark on CV-9 means that this item was made by African American potters, the mark’s similarity to some of the Edgefield marks illustrated by Joseph (2011:Figure 2c and d) is tantalizing nonetheless. Fennell (2007:69–70) notes that the crossed lines and crosses were engraved by African Americans on early colonoware pottery in South Carolina, and he suggests the tradition can be linked to the Bakongo peoples of west-central Africa.

This African symbol hypothesis would have to be discarded if additional research reveals this oval-X was simply a maker’s mark used by one particular stoneware pottery that had no African American connections. This hypothesis might also be discarded if it can be proven that many of these symbols were simple representations of the Christian cross, as argued by Steen (2011a). We agree with Steen (2011a:171–172) on three points: (1) “Exactly what an individual meant when he or she marked a pot with a cross or X is something that can never be proven;” (2) that the meanings of such marks “may well change over time;” and (3) that these symbols may “have alternate meanings in different contexts.” For now, however, the idea that cross marks on pottery may represent a widely recognized African symbol should be given careful consideration.¹⁶² If the Williams vessel CV-9 was made by a black potter, whether an enslaved worker or a freedman, the oval-X mark could represent the continued use of a cultural identity mark that has deep roots in the South and links to Africa. If

the vessel turns out to have been made in Texas, it could indicate that black stoneware producers transferred this traditional identity marker to Texas in the late 1850s and 1860s.

Maintaining Ties to Freedmen Communities

Even though the Williamses lived on an isolated farmstead, they were never very far from African American friends and family.¹⁶³ In the 1870s, they would have probably gone to church and a general store in Antioch Colony, and after 1880 they probably shifted their focus to the freedmen community at Manchaca. As the Williams children reached school age, beginning about 1882, they probably attended the Rose Colony School at Manchaca. We do not know anything about some of the other services the Williamses would have needed, but these communities probably had blacksmiths, gristmills, and markets for farm products. It is likely that Ransom and Sarah Williams regularly interacted with their white neighbors in the Bear Creek community, perhaps lending a hand as needed and in occasional business transactions (e.g., trading or being paid for labor, bartering crops). Because Sarah had lived in Austin before she married Ransom, it is quite possible that the couple interacted with friends or family there on occasion. There is little doubt, however, that the Williams family was intimately tied to the freedmen communities, both socially and economically (see discussion of the African American economic network below).

Religious Identity

Archeologically, we found no evidence that would link the Williams family to a particular church or Christian denomination, but all historical evidence indicates that religion would have been an important part of their lives. Virtually all of the informants who grew up in the freedmen communities at Manchaca and Antioch Colony attended church and felt their religious education was a key part of their identity (Franklin 2012:24–31). It is not clear what church Ransom and Sarah might have attended in the 1870s, and it may be that occasional

¹⁶²At the Society for Historical Archaeology’s 2011 annual meeting in Austin, I showed the CV-9 jar lid to Jill Koverman, one of the leading experts on the Edgefield pottery. She agreed that the oval-X mark looked much like some of the Landrum Cross marks from South Carolina. The NAA geochemical study included CV-9, and the chemistry of this sample does not match the chemistry of any other stoneware samples, meaning that its source cannot be identified (see Appendix E). Additional work would be needed to determine if CV-9 represents a vessel made by African American potters, including research on the impressed oval-X mark and a more comprehensive NAA study that includes samples from many other pottery manufacturing sites.

¹⁶³There is evidence that the Williamses were related to the Buntons from Antioch Colony (see Chapter 5).

church services were held in a store or school nearby. In the 1880s and 1890s, they probably attended one of several different churches in Manchaca or Antioch Colony (see Chapters 5 and 12; Franklin 2012:38–39, 49, Figures 9 and 26). In these communities, they would have attended a Methodist or a Baptist church, and they might have gone to several different churches because services often rotated between locations due to a lack of ministers (Franklin 2012:77; see Chapter 12). At some point, the Williamses may have gravitated toward the Baptist church. Their son Will and his family later attended the Baptist church in Creedmoor (Lowry 1974), and Ransom and Sarah’s great-granddaughter, Jewel (Williams) Andrews, was raised Baptist by Will and Clara Williams. Jewel remembered that her grandfather (Will Williams) served as deacon in the Baptist church, and said that all her brothers and sisters were baptized in the David Baptist Church in East Austin (Franklin 2012:881–882).

Regardless of which church Ransom and Sarah attended, religion must have been as important to them as it was for the next few generations of their descendants (Franklin 2012:11). Along with schools, churches were an important element that defined every freedmen community (Mears 2009:25), and this certainly was true of the black communities at Manchaca and Antioch Colony (Franklin 2012:19–27, Figures 9 and 26). To attend church at Antioch or Manchaca, the Williams family would have had to make a 6- to 8-mile round trip in their wagon. This weekly excursion would have been an important social connection for an isolated freedmen farm family. One can imagine that the Williamses were excited to go to church and see their friends. As one former Antioch Colony resident recalled: “everybody looked forward to going to church on Sundays, and I mean everybody” (LeeDell Bunton in Franklin 2012:85).

The Southern “Swept Yard” Tradition

Fesler (2010:34) notes that “few African Diaspora archaeological projects have attempted to study yards.” This is unfortunate because the yard is such a critical area at African American sites. Fesler (2010:46) says: “We have come to learn that Anglo Americans and Europeans centered their livelihood inside their homes, whereas Africans and African Americans orbited outside

their houses, sometimes by hundreds of feet, and spent comparatively little time indoors. For archaeologists to concentrate their excavations inside dwelling foundations at a site occupied by people of African descent is another case of letting the core take precedence over the periphery.”

Although it was less intensively investigated than the house footprint or trash midden, the yard area proved to be an important component of the Williams farmstead. After comparing the artifact recovery rates, we discovered that the yard area had an extremely low artifact density and yielded an abundance of small and fragmentary items. To explain this phenomenon, we proposed that the Williams family maintained a swept-earth yard, keeping it devoid of vegetation and regularly sweeping it to remove debris. The swept yard is an important concept for rural sites in the South, and African American rural sites in particular.

Most researchers agree the swept yard tradition has deep roots in the southern United States and that it originated in Africa. One ethnographer who studied African American yards in Georgia stated: “I have no doubt that the swept yard did come from Africa—and then was adopted by white folks... Almost everybody had swept yards, including the plantations, which were swept by slaves or servants” (Richard Westmacott as quoted in Raver 1993:n.p.). Swept yards have also been observed archeologically in many African American domestic sites across the South, such as at the Waverly Plantation in Mississippi (Adams 1980) and at the Hermitage Plantation near Nashville, Tennessee (Battle-Baptiste 2004, 2010). Heath and Bennett (2000:43) summarize many of the important concepts of the swept yard in the following statement:

Today, African, Caribbean, and African-American yards serve as locations for spiritual and artistic expression (Thompson 1984:142–158; Gundaker 1993). Swept yards are common features of West and Central African domestic compounds. There, the practice of sweeping carries spiritual as well as social dimensions (Thompson 1990:164). Among the Bakongo of Central Africa, “sweeping is an ordinary ritual gesture for ridding a place of undesirable spirits” in a landscape

populated by day with the ghosts of witches and others who have not been accepted into the villages of the dead, and by night with the ancestors (MacGaffey 1986:45–56). This African practice of yard sweeping has continued into the 20th century among African Americans from rural Maryland to the hills of Jamaica (Davenport 1961:435–437; Welty 1971:156; McDaniel 1982:158–160, 213; Jones-Jackson 1987:8; Westmacott 1992:76, 80, 99, 111, 126). Sweeping is explained as a way to keep the yard free from insects and provide a comfortable area for social activities (Jones-Jackson 1987:8), but may preserve spiritual meaning as well. Much like swept yards—bottle trees comprised of bottles, containers, and a variety of other spiritually meaningful elements arranged on or imitating trees—serve aesthetic and protective roles. The trees protect houses and yards from evil spirits by “luring them inside the colored bottles, where they cannot get out again” (Welty 1971:156). The presence of these trees in the New World may be traced to the Kongo custom of placing branches capped with bottles or pots around the house, a practice first recorded in the late 18th century. (Thompson 1990:165)

Another author observed that “the swept yard was the most important ‘room’ of the household, the heart of the home” (Raver 1993:n.p.). In his summary of African American archeology in the South, Fesler (2010:33) summarized the swept yard phenomenon as follows:

Sweeping a dirt yard bare around the house is a familiar practice today to most rural American Southerners, both black and white, although swept yards are especially prevalent in rural African-American home sites in the South. In fact, Southern whites likely adopted the practice of yard sweeping from African-Americans as Southern culture was creolized. The functional reasons for keeping a yard swept are numerous, including ridding the yard

of insects, snakes, and other vermin, keeping the grass down to prevent brush fires, and providing a clean, orderly place for socializing out of doors, especially during the hot and humid summer months.

In Texas, there is considerable historical and archeological evidence for the practice of yard sweeping in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Based on the oral histories compiled for the Richland Chambers Reservoir project in northeast Texas, it is clear that people conducted a wide range of outdoor activities around the house, and that the yard was an especially important activity area (Nunley 1987:202–206). With one exception, “All informants reported that yards were swept” (Nunley 1987:205). The archeological investigations at many of the farmstead sites in the project area provide concrete evidence of this behavior. Moir and Journey (1987:178) report that archeological “evidence of yard sweeping was clearly visible in...four sites...and somewhat recognizable on five other sites. The practice however, did not seem to be strongly associated with any specific socioeconomic group or temporal period.” Among the sites where evidence of yard sweeping has been documented is the Mingo and Nancy Burleson farmstead. It was owned and occupied for more than 30 years by Nancy, “an elderly, widowed, Afro-American woman.” The artifact patterning at the site “revealed a highly organized yard with strong evidence of yard sweeping and traditional yard maintenance” (Moir and Journey 1987:138).

Scott (2012:40) reports that site 41FB233 is the home of Henry G. and Annie Boyd Green located within the African American community of Kendelton, Texas. The home was built around 1870 and occupied until the mid-1990s. She states that “the site is particularly interesting and informative because the archaeologists paid close attention to the usage of the yard and the practice of yard sweeping within this African American household” (Scott 2012:40). The site is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Reference No. 96001016), and the National Register narrative from the Texas Historic Sites Atlas states that “Ms. Annie Mae Green, daughter of the original owner, recounted their efforts to maintain the area as a ‘swept yard’ in the early part of the 20th century (the

swept yard was probably original to the house).” The narrative reports that the Office of the State Archeologist, Texas Historical Commission conducted limited excavations there in 1995, and the archeological evidence seemed to indicate that yard sweeping was practiced in the early 1900s. Unfortunately, no archeological report on the investigations at the site has been published (Scott 2012:40).

Oral history interviews demonstrate that the swept yard tradition was alive in central Texas into the 1930s and 1940s. When asked if she ever swept the yard at the home where she grew up in Antioch Colony, Ruth Fears replied: “Oh, yeah. We got out and swept the yard, swept the yard clean.” She went on to say: “I know what we swept with: broom weed. It was broom weed that grew out in the field, and they was a yellowy bush. We’d get them and tie them around at the bottom and sweep the yard up. That’s what we swept the yard with” (Franklin 2012:121, 123).

In a similar vein, researchers have proposed two different theories regarding why yard sweeping was so important to African Americans in antebellum times, and these are summarized by Fesler (2010:445). Some researchers have suggested that yard sweeping was a conscious form of resistance to cultural oppression. It was a subtle way “to strike a blow against a repressive slave system” (Fesler 2010:45). In contrast to this view, other researchers believe the tradition was important to African Americans because it honored their heritage, and the act itself was a form of perseverance. Fesler (2010:445) proposes:

More simply, yard sweeping allowed the residents to establish a semblance of stability and personal satisfaction, to groom their environment in a way that fit their cultural aesthetic. Yard sweeping did not threaten the institution of slavery, but it may have helped people living under unimaginable stress to find comfort. Keeping the yard orderly and clean also had its practical advantages and made daily existence more pleasant. Yard sweeping was, and remains, a remembered way of living, a novel method to persevere, and a mechanism of survival.

There may be some degree of truth in both of these theories, but the swept yard tradition

obviously survived past emancipation and beyond. The swept yard tradition remained strong among African Americans into the twentieth century, but there is evidence to suggest that the original spiritual beliefs and cultural objectives behind the behavior changed slowly through time. The spiritual connections and underlying sentiments became less important or were forgotten over the next several generations. Battle-Baptiste (2010:88) said that yard sweeping was “a task or chore given to her by her grandmother that she never really understood.” It was extremely important to her grandmother, but the symbolic meaning had begun to fade away.

All of the evidence mentioned above is relevant to interpreting the archeological remains at the Williams farmstead. We can say that the Williams family most likely followed the Southern tradition of sweeping the yard around their house, and the archeological evidence suggests that this was done regularly over a long period of time. Why they did this is less certain. Ransom and Sarah were probably aware of the important safety issues involved, and knew that a swept yard was a safer place for young children to play. It was probably also important to them as a cultural tradition because yard sweeping provided a connection with their ancestors. As former slaves, it is likely that Ransom and Sarah were aware of the spiritual connotations of yard sweeping. Since we know nothing of their specific African roots, we can only speculate on the extent to which they believed that they were sweeping away evil spirits. Similarly, we can only speculate on the extent to which they passed such spiritual knowledge on to their children. If the Williamses were trying to teach their children how to adapt to Anglo American social norms, perhaps they made a conscious choice not to pass on the stories of their enslaved lives and the African spiritual beliefs underlying the swept yard tradition. Perhaps they taught their children these things, but the knowledge of the spiritual connections disappeared within another generation or two.

AN AFRICAN AMERICAN ECONOMIC NETWORK IN CENTRAL TEXAS

As the study of Williams farmstead unfolded, two separate lines of evidence emerged that

seemed to hint at the existence of an economic network among freedmen communities. One form of evidence came from the geochemical sourcing study of stonewares using neutron activation analysis (NAA). The second line of evidence was a high degree of correlation between advertisements in Austin's African American newspapers and commercial products represented in the farmstead's artifact assemblage.

Stoneware Sourcing Study Using NAA

The NAA study of stoneware ceramics is described in Appendix E and summarized in Chapter 8. The most significant result of this study is the strong link between the chemistry of four of the Williams farmstead vessels and all 29 of the sherd samples from the three Wilson Pottery sites in Guadalupe County (41GU4, the Wilson Durham, Chandler Pottery; 41GU5, the H. Wilson and Company Pottery; and 41GU6, the Guadalupe Pottery). The principal component analysis defined geochemical Group 1 (see Figure 8.65) as a statistically strong correlation of stoneware sherds that were most likely made in the same geographic location or ceramic production area. While the sample is admittedly small, and more work would be needed to confirm the reality of the Wilson pottery chemical signature, the tentative interpretation is that the Williams family possessed four stoneware vessels made by black potters at one of the Wilson potteries (chemically, it appears that it is impossible to differentiate between the three Wilson potteries). In support of the NAA studies, there are undeniable physical similarities between the Williams CV-2 jar and some vessel forms finished and made at the Wilson potteries.¹⁶⁴ The greenish exterior glaze on the CV-2 pot is virtually identical to the exterior glazes on many of the sherds from the Wilson pottery sites that were included in this NAA study (Figure 14.8). Visual source identifications of stoneware vessels lacking maker's marks are problematic, but serious stoneware collectors

can make accurate visual identifications in some cases. It was the vessels' distinctive form and finish that led Prewitt and Associates archeologists to suspect that CV-2 might be a Wilson pot in the first place.

If our interpretations of the NAA data are correct, it opens up new avenues of research and many new questions. How did the Wilson pots end up on a freedmen farm more than 50 miles away? The Williamses probably did not travel to the Wilson potteries and purchase them directly. It seems more likely that they bought them at a general merchandise store that made wholesale purchases of quantities of stoneware vessels for resale. Although we know very little about their distribution and marketing of their wares, the Wilson potteries operated for many decades, and their pots were widely distributed. So it is reasonable to assume that the Wilson potteries may have regularly transported wagonloads of stoneware pots to retail stores across a large portion of south and central Texas. It is also reasonable to suggest that the owners of the Wilson potteries would have desired to distribute their wares to retail stores in all of the freedmen communities in the region.

The Williamses probably did much of their shopping at a small store in Antioch Colony or the Manchaca freedmen community (see Chapters 4 and 5), and these locations were the middle link in the local stoneware distribution system. Regardless of how they ended up on the Williams farm, the fact that stoneware pots made by an African American enterprise are present on a freedmen farm is not coincidental. This evidence suggests the existence of an economic network in which African Americans in central Texas were consciously seeking out the products of black-owned enterprises.

Targeted Advertisement and Consumption

The second line of evidence for the existence of an independent African American economic network in central Texas is the strong correlation between specific artifacts recovered at the Williams farmstead and certain medicinal products and businesses that advertised in Austin's African American newspapers in the 1890s (see Chapter 13). For this comparison, we looked at all the identifiable farmstead artifacts representing products that might have been

¹⁶⁴Several pots reportedly made by the Wilson potters are similar to the CV-2 jar from the Williams farmstead. One vessel displayed in an exhibit of Wilson pottery at the Bob Bullock Museum in 2013 is remarkably similar, and a black-and-white photograph of "Typical Wilson Pottery" shows a jar of the same approximate size and nearly identical form (Wilson Pottery Foundation n.d.:10).



Figure 14.8. Photograph comparing the exterior salt glaze of the Williams farmstead jar CV-2 with the similar glazes on sherds from waster piles at the three Wilson pottery sites. The Wilson sherds are from 41GU4 (top right), 41GU5 (middle and bottom right), and 41GU6 (top left and bottom left).

advertised in the newspapers, but it turned out that the most informative were medicines. With more than 100 products being advertised regularly (see Table 13.4), medicines were the most frequently advertised products in the sample of African American newspapers. The correlation between the newspaper ads and the glass medicine bottles with identified markings from the farmstead was found to be quite strong.

Of the 246 artifacts that have any type of identifying marks, only 29 are glass bottles or bottle fragments with marks that could be

identified (see Table B.6).¹⁶⁵ These specimens are summarized as follows:

3 wine bottles, made after 1913 (GC-100, GC-101, and GC-102)

2 bottles with identified bottle maker's marks (GC-3 and GC-7; from two different bottle manufacturing companies)

¹⁶⁵Most bottle glass fragments have partial markings consisting of only a few letters or symbols that cannot be identified.

- 6 glass fragments with identified bottle maker's marks (from four different bottle manufacturing companies)
- 3 glass jar lids with patent dates for the Schies closure mechanism (GC-97, GC-98, and GC-99)
- 1 glass fragment from a flavoring extract bottle (GC-2; Forbes Brothers)
- 1 glass fragment from a rye whiskey bottle (Paul Jones Company)
- 1 glass fragment from a snuff bottle (Peter Lorillard & Company)
- 3 medicine bottles with identified product and/or company names (GC-1, GC-10, and GC-12)
- 9 glass fragments with identified medicinal product and/or company names

Of these specimens, the first group of wine bottles is excluded from further consideration because they postdate the Williams occupation. The next three groups are excluded from consideration because the contents of the containers and the manufacturers of the product are unknown. The next three groups have identifiable product and company markings. These were not found among the advertisements, but this is probably due to the fact that there were relatively few ads for these types of products. The last two groups represent 12 medicine bottles with known products and/or companies, and these specimens are summarized in Table 14.18. These include 3 identified glass containers and 9 bottles composed of fragments only (with no diagnostic shoulders and mouths). Of the 12 bottle specimens, 11 are represented among the advertisements that appeared in the African American newspapers. Dr. King's New Discovery is the only one that was not advertised. Table 14.19 lists 95 advertisements that correspond with the medicine bottles in the farmstead assemblages, and these ads represent three national companies and one local drugstore that made and sold medicine.

The product called "Mexican Mustang Liniment" was one of the most widely advertised medicinal products across the country, and additional evidence that this product was specifically marketed to the black community is a 36-page booklet called the *Afro-American Almanac, 1901*.

Printed by the Lyon Manufacturing Company of New York, it was an almanac in the sense that it contained a calendar of events for 1901, including moon phases and times for sunrise and sunset in the southern United States, but its intended function was clearly advertising. The cover stated that the publication was "Compliments of the Proprietors of Mexican Mustang Liniment," and more than half of the pages in this short booklet were devoted to advertisements and personal testimonials for two products: Mexican Mustang Liniment and a hair tonic called Lyon's Kathairon. Clearly these products were being marketed to African American consumers, and the Mexican Mustang Liniment was touted as "The Old Tried & True Liniment for Man and Beast In Use Over 50 Years" (Lyon Manufacturing Company 1900).

The fact that 11 of the 12 identified medicine bottles found at the Williams farmstead represent products or companies that were frequently advertised to the African American community in Austin is significant. This evidence suggests two main conclusions. First, the targeted advertising was indeed successful in enticing African Americans to purchase specific products. And second, despite living in a remote agricultural area outside Austin, the Williams family was greatly influenced by this targeted local advertising. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the patent medicine industry was heavily invested in advertising, and it proved to be wildly successful across the country. Regardless of their race or economic status, many American consumers fell prey to the industry's unrestricted advertising rhetoric.

Hypothesized Economic Network

The geochemical sourcing of stoneware pottery and the comparison of products advertised in Austin's African American newspapers were very different types of investigations, but they provide complementary evidence. It appears that a freedmen farm family in southern Travis County was using stoneware produced at an African American pottery in the region, and they chose to purchase certain medicinal products because they were liberally advertised to freedmen in local newspapers. The implication is that the Williamses, despite being a rural farm family, were part of a larger consumer culture. It is logical to assume that the Williamses were

Table 14.18. Medicine bottles with diagnostic markings and corresponding advertisements in African American newspapers*

Medicinal Product, Manufacturer, or Retail Distributor	Container or Vessel No.	Lot No(s)	Description**	Beginning Date	Ending Date	Advertisements in African American Newspapers
Glass Containers						
Bradfield's Female Regulator. Product made by the Bradfield Regulator Company, Atlanta, Georgia	GC-1	24	Reconstructed Panel bottle	1892	?	Product and similar products by the same company
Unknown product sold by the Morley Brothers Drug Company, Austin	GC-10	307, 327	Partially reconstructed panel bottle	1874 (1873)	1911	Drugstore
McElrees Wine of Cardui. Product made by the Chattanooga Medicine Company, Tennessee	GC-12	185	Round bottle fragment	1879 (1882)	1982	Product
Bottle Fragments						
Unknown product sold by the Morley Brothers Drug Company, Austin	–	219	Panel bottle fragment	1874 (1873)	1911	Drugstore
Mexican Mustang Liniment. Made by the Lyon Manufacturing Company, New York	–	281, 289	–	1871	1890	Product
Unknown product sold by the Morley Brothers Drug Company, Austin	–	316	Panel bottle fragment	1874 (1873)	1911	Drugstore
Unknown product sold by the Morley Brothers Drug Company, Austin	–	316	Panel bottle fragment	1874 (1873)	1911	Drugstore
Dr. King's New Discovery. Product made H.E. Bucklen & Co, Chicago, Illinois	–	316, 325	Panel bottle fragments	–	–	None
Unknown product sold by the Morley Brothers Drug Company, Austin	–	325	Panel bottle fragment	1874 (1873)	1911	Drugstore
Unknown product sold by the Morley Brothers Drug Company, Austin	–	329	Panel bottle fragment	1874 (1873)	1911	Drugstore
Unknown product sold by the Morley Brothers Drug Company, Austin	–	330	Panel bottle fragment	1874 (1873)	1911	Drugstore
Wonderful Eight. Product sold by the Morley Brothers Drug Company, Austin	–	335	Panel bottle fragment	1874 (1873)	1911	Product and Drugstore

*None of these advertisements stated the prices of particular products.

**While the Mexican Mustang Liniment container was a round-bodied bottle, all of the others are from flat-panel or recessed-panel bottles, which were commonly used for “patent” medicines (Fike 1987).

Table 14.19. Medicinal products and companies that advertised in Austin’s African American newspapers and are represented by glass bottles from the Williams farmstead

Advertised Product and Company	Number of Ads*	Corresponding Artifacts Found at the Williams Farmstead (see Chapter 8)
<i>Bradfield’s Female Regulator</i> , Bradfield Regulator Company, Atlanta, Georgia	5	One broken panel bottle of <i>Bradfield’s Female Regulator</i> . Described as GC-1 (see Figure 8.4).
<i>Bradfield’s Mothers Friend</i> , Bradfield Regulator Company, Atlanta, Georgia	27	
<i>McElree’s Wine of Cardui</i> , Chattanooga Medicine Company, Tennessee (“Tonic For Women”; “...for Female Diseases”; and “Woman’s Relief”)	33	One broken panel bottle of <i>McElree’s Wine of Cardui</i> . Described as GC-12. One glass fragment with portion of company name.
<i>Mexican Mustang Liniment</i> , Lyon Manufacturing Company, New York (“for man or beast”)	1	One broken round bottle with portion of the product and company name.
Morley Brothers, Austin (general drugstore ads)	19	One broken panel bottle with Morley Brothers’ name. Described as GC-10 (see Figure 8.4). Five panel bottle fragments have parts of the Morley name or logo. One panel bottle with the product name: <i>Wonderful Eight</i> .
Morley Brothers, Austin (medicinal alcohol)	3	
Morley Brothers, Austin (sacramental products)	1	
Morley Brothers, Austin (specific medicines)	6	

*These advertisements appeared in *The Sunday School Herald*, *The Herald*, and the *Austin Searchlight* between 1892 and 1907. Only one ad is from 1907; all others are from the 1890s. None of these advertisements listed the prices for specific products.

players in a regional economic network that included wholesale and retail businesses owned and operated by African Americans as well as national and local businesses that catered to the African American community.

We do not know the exact details of where the family bought the durable and consumable goods they used on the farm, but we can speculate that they often bartered with neighbors and shopped in a country general store. In a discussion of shopping in nineteenth-century America, Mullins (2011:87) states that:

In agrarian communities, barter networks of farmers exchanged essential goods and services produced by their neighbors, often alongside their consumption in general stores that dotted America hawking dry goods, groceries, household supplies (e.g., coal), and luxury items (e.g., a clock). The picture of such stores has been romanticized

by a century of popular representations, but even modest country stores installed glass-front display cases and used point-of-sale advertising... When nationally advertised brands began to conquer the market, rural merchants stocked these goods in manufacturers’ packaging and slowly eliminated the iconic barrels that held loose goods in most stores.

Traveling salesman were common in the nineteenth century, and they may have sought out African American customers in central Texas. Many “peddlers roamed the country-side and cities alike selling a vast range of material goods and services...They tended to target social groups who were somehow marginalized; peddlers sold goods to women in their homes, they marketed to African Americans, and they catered to many poor whites” (Mullins 2011:87–88).

Taking all of the historical and archeological evidence into consideration, the conclusions that can be drawn from the preceding discussions are these:

- There is no doubt that Ransom Williams was a successful freedmen farmer in rural Travis County.
- The Williamses were probably very conscious of their own socioeconomic status.
- Landownership put the Williamses above some of their peers in terms of social status, and they were on an equal standing with other contemporary black landowners. While the Williamses may have been financially better off than many poor whites living in the region, their landownership and successful farm operation still would not have given them social parity within the white community.
- The Williamses were relatively self-sufficient farmers, and at times they probably produced and sold some surplus farm products. This gave them the ability to generate a certain amount of disposable income that could be spent on nonessential goods.
- Being consumers of moderate means, the Williamses were probably very frugal with their disposable income. They did, however, purchase items for leisure activities, for themselves and their children, as well as some luxury items that were meant to display their success and economic status.
- The Williamses probably made a conscious choice to do business within the African American community whenever possible. They would have purchased goods and services from local black-owned businesses whenever this was an option, but they also patronized white-owned businesses that were friendly to the black community.
- As consumers, the Williams family was strongly influenced by advertising in African American newspapers (and in other venues, too), especially for medicinal products. We do not know whether the Williamses were influenced because they read the newspapers themselves, or if they simply shopped at black-owned stores where their choice of products was limited

by storeowners who read the newspapers.

- The historical and archeological evidence reveals the existence of an African American economic network that operated in central Texas during the late nineteenth century. Federal reconstruction efforts in Texas were dismantled between 1872 and 1876, at the same time that Ransom Williams was settling on his land and starting his family. For the rest of the nineteenth century, Texas freedmen lived in a segregated world that was tightly controlled by Jim Crow laws meant to keep blacks in their place and maintain the social order. Forming freedmen communities, becoming financially successful, and creating their own independent economies were effective ways for freedmen to resist such oppression. Some researchers would argue that this was a conscious form of social resistance to the dominant white society (Barnes 2011; Joseph 2004; Fesler 2010; Matthews 2010; McKee 1998; Orser 2001 ed.; Orser 2007; Rodriguez 2007; Singleton 1999). Forming strong African American communities tied to an integrated regional economic network was certainly an efficient adaptive strategy of resistance for dealing with the realities of post-emancipation life.

THE WILLIAMS FAMILY AND THE GREAT MIGRATION

The question of why the Williamses left and eventually sold the family farm is an important one, and the answer is rooted in specific and general historical circumstances. Many key events may have factored into the abandonment decisions for African Americans leaving the farms they owned or worked. These events might include: the death of the head of a household; severe or extended droughts; unfavorable local economy; depletion of soil from overgrazing; unfavorable changes in laws, especially the passage of Jim Crow laws that limited the freedoms of blacks in Southern states; unfair or hostile treatment by landlords; and the rise of the KKK and an increased threat of violence. Historical evidence shows many of these factors began to converge in the decades following Reconstruction, and these circumstances led to a widespread migration of African Americans

from rural to urban areas and from the South to the North. Kyriakouides (1998:341) calls this a southern variant of the Great Migration and notes that the urbanization of black Southerners began “as a slow trickle in the 1890s” and grew into a “rising to a torrent during and after World War I.” The great migration is recognized as one of the most significant mass migrations in human history, and Gilbert and Eli (2000:65) summarize its historical context:

From the time of Reconstruction to the mid-twentieth century, blacks in the South were perhaps more keenly aware than blacks in any other part of the country of the failure of America’s promise to provide liberty and justice for all. In the years after the Civil War a systematic attempt to strip African-Americans of the entitlements bestowed upon them in 1865 by the Emancipation Proclamation [in Texas] left many blacks in positions of poverty and servitude that resembled exactly the circumstances they had endured as slaves. For this reason a good many of them fled the South. They left in droves. Despite the fact that the Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery and the Fourteenth Amendment mandated that all persons born in the United States were to enjoy full citizenship and equal rights under the law, many Southern states refused to acknowledge these laws, thereby forcing a number of African-Americans to look elsewhere for a better quality of life.

The migrations, from South to North and from rural to urban, were triggered by several historical events in the late-nineteenth century:

The reckless disregard by whites of the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875, the withdrawal of federal troops from the South in 1877, the various political disfranchisement activities of the early 1890s, and the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896 cumulatively and profoundly affected the lives of black farmers. Each new setback seemed to do more damage than the one before,

and eventually all the setbacks began to feel like a hard, swift, single blow to the heart of every Southern black farmer. (Gilbert and Eli 2000:67)

For a variety of reasons, thousands of black people left their farms and headed north or to the cities in the South. Many historians have speculated on the many reasons this occurred (e.g., Gregory 2005; Kyriakouides 1998; Wilkerson 2010; Woofter 1920), but Schweninger (1997:167) summed it up succinctly when he said: “blacks who lived in towns and cities continued to have better jobs and business opportunities than their counterparts in the countryside.”

The Williamses were simply reacting to their own particular circumstances when they left the family farm, but they were participants in the great migration along with thousands of other African Americans in Texas who made similar choices in similar circumstances. More than 80 percent of all blacks lived in rural areas in 1890, but that number would drop to less than 10 percent over the next century, and the percentage of black landowners out of the total black population began to decline after 1920 (Figure 14.9). It is doubtful that anyone in the Williams family understood the historical significance of the massive migration that was happening all around them. That kind of perspective would not be possible until long after these events had passed.

Many things happened to the Williams family in the first decade of the twentieth century, and these events certainly influenced the family’s decisions for the future. Ransom Williams died about 1901, perhaps at the age of 55,¹⁶⁶ and this certainly changed the family dynamics. Central Texas experienced a severe drought in 1901 (Lowery 1959:14), and the added stress of dealing with this might have contributed to Ransom’s death. The two oldest boys, Will and Charley, were the farmers in the Williams family, and they had purchased 12 acres of land immediately west of the original 45-acre homestead in 1900. But Will got married to Clara Franklin in 1901, and the couple moved to Creedmoor to be near Clara’s family. Charley may have died between 1904 and 1906 (and is

¹⁶⁶Circumstantial evidence suggests that a slave boy who was born about 1846 and owned by John Wheeler Buntun became Ransom Williams (see Table 4.1).

The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead

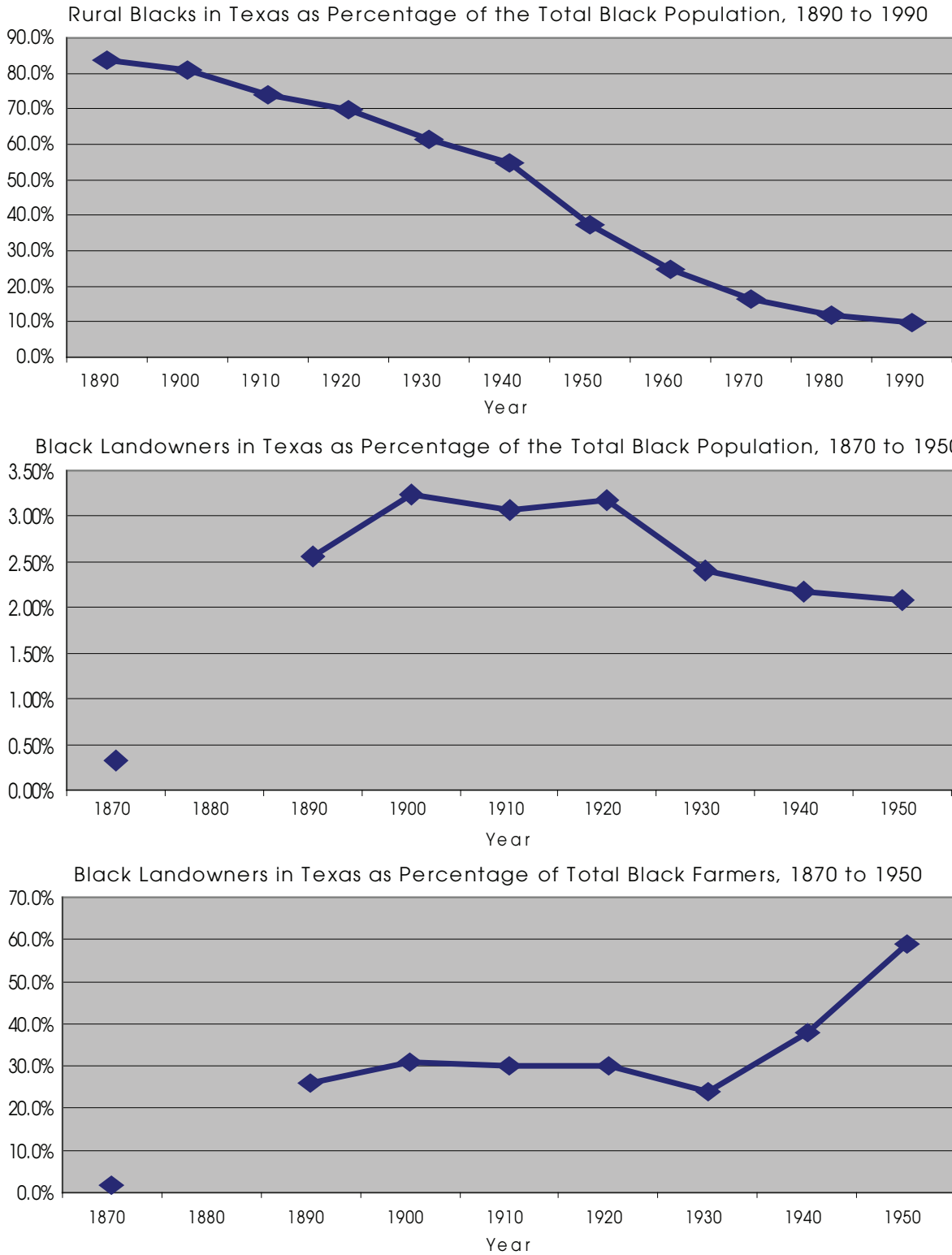


Figure 14.9. Graphs comparing trends in rural black population and black landownership in Texas. (Top) Percentage of rural blacks out of the total black population, 1890 to 1990. (Middle) Black landownership as percentage of the total black population, 1870 to 1950. (Bottom) Black landownership as percentage of total black farmers, 1870 to 1950. Data for top graph are from Reid (2003:Table 1). Data for middle and bottom graphs are from Schweninger (1989:Appendix B), but no data were available for 1880.

absent in all subsequent records). Sarah left the farm by about 1905 and moved to East Austin along with her two youngest children, John (age ca. 16) and Emma (age 13 or 14). All of this is corroborated by the archeological evidence that indicates no one was living at the Williams farmstead after about 1904.

The Williams family continued to own their land for three more decades, but we do not know if they farmed the land themselves or if they leased it to someone else. The family sold the original farmstead property in 1934 and the adjacent property in 1941. Like many thousands of blacks throughout the South, the Williamses had given up the agricultural lifestyle and become urban dwellers.

WHY IS THE WILLIAMS FARMSTEAD IMPORTANT?

In 2007, the archeological testing revealed that site 41TV1051 had a substantial material culture and many recognizable features that hinted at the layout of a relatively intact nineteenth-century farmstead. The archival research revealed that the property was the farm of Ransom and Sarah Williams, African American freedmen who lived on the property in the late nineteenth century. Because the investigations were triggered by a TxDOT road improvement project, the “significance” of the site had to be evaluated relative to the eligibility criteria for designation as a State Antiquities Landmark and for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The question that needed to be answered then was: Why is the Williams farmstead important? The short answer in 2007 was that the site had “potential to yield important information” that could be derived from historical and archeological investigations, so the site was determined to be eligible for listing under National Register Criterion D.¹⁶⁷ This assessment proved to be correct, certainly, but in many ways it is a grossly simplified statement that fails to recognize the site’s true significance.

¹⁶⁷PAI archeologists argued in 2007 that the Williams farmstead was also eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A because it is associated with important historical events and may contribute to understanding broad patterns in history. The Texas Department of Transportation and the Texas Historical Commission only agreed to eligibility under Criteria D (Pletka 2008).

Fast forward to 2013, and we can now look back not at what the Williams farmstead might contribute, but at what important information the site has contributed to the study of the African diaspora in the post-emancipation South. Through archival documents, oral histories, and archeological remains, we have learned a detailed and fascinating story of one African American couple, both former slaves, and their lives as freedmen as they raised their children on a small hardscrabble farm. The importance of what we learned is enhanced by its connections to the modern descendant community—the millions of people whose ancestry includes enslaved African Americans and freedmen all across Texas and the southern United States. The history of the Williams family and the histories of the nearby black freedmen communities are certainly not unique; similar histories probably happened many times in many places. Unfortunately, these types of stories are seldom told, mainly because they do not exist yet. The stories of Ransom and Sarah Williams would not exist had it not been for TxDOT’s proposed State Highway 45 Southwest. If not for this road project, there would have been no historical research or archeological investigation, and the likely fate of the Williams farmstead would have been obliteration under the foundations of a housing subdivision or some other private development within Austin’s urban sprawl. The State Highway 45 Southwest road project will ultimately destroy the site, removing what is left of the farmstead,¹⁶⁸ but the project provided the opportunity to examine the farmstead, learn its secrets, and document a previously unwritten history.

The more important characteristic that makes the Williams farmstead significant is its association with African Americans, along with the fact that African American history is a seriously neglected realm of American history. More history has been written about Billy the Kid, an infamous white criminal, than about all of the post-emancipation freedmen communities that ever existed across all of Texas! Out of the hundreds of freedmen communities that once existed in the state, only a handful of locations have been studied or documented in any way (Sitton and Conrad 2005:1–8).

¹⁶⁸Construction of the State Highway 45 Southwest roadway had not begun as of August 2013.

Historical archeologists have suggested one of the fundamental problems is that the National Register of Historic Places eligibility criteria, which serve as the nation's yardstick for measuring site significance, are not effective for recognizing the real value of sites associated with the African American diaspora. This is especially true for the post-emancipation period, and the result is that many African American sites that are historically and archeologically important get overlooked in the CRM process. In an article titled "Race, the National Register, and Cultural Resources Management: Creating an Historic Context for Postbellum Sites," Barile (2004) argues that the concepts of ethnicity, race, gender, and class variations are not well integrated into the National Register criteria definitions and discussions. She points out some of the fallacies of this oversight, noting that these concepts are essential historic contextual elements for developing meaningful determinations of National Register eligibility. Without belaboring the point, the histories associated with ethnic or racial identity are what make many historic sites unique and worthy of preservation and study. The cautionary note here is that historical archeologists, and all the players in the CRM processes, must recognize this reality and give it due consideration when evaluating sites following the national and state regulations.

David Palmer (2011) argues that in the CRM realm, official National Register evaluations of historic sites may be biased in ways that hinder meaningful investigations of ethnicity and race. Because research on racial topics can be controversial, it is something that is often avoided. Palmer (2011:143) summarizes the situation as follows:

Archaeologists, particularly those working in cultural resources management (as they perform the majority of archaeological work in the United States), are well-intentioned individuals but often make their decisions with these biases (against more recent sites, against controversial sites, against sites with less-than-ideal integrity) as an influence, conscious or not. Although they are likely unaware of it, this failure to explicitly acknowledge racism as a cultural taphonomic factor ignores history and

unwittingly reifies past racism and economic bias. Barile (2004:98) is not writing hyperbolically when she states that if this trend of the vast majority of more recent African American sites not being considered archaeologically significant continues, "the result will be that few late-nineteenth-century African American sites will be federally or locally protected; this era, and those who experienced it and their descendants, will remain 'without history' indefinitely."

Getting back to the question: Why is the Williams farmstead important? The history and material remains left behind by the Williams family are significant because they reveal much about a topic that has received little serious attention in the realm of Texas archeology—African American freedmen farmers in late-nineteenth-century Texas. Judging from recent national literature, the historic archeological community shares the general opinion that all types of African American sites are important specifically because they can reveal facets of history that are poorly documented in historical records and have long been neglected by historians and archeologists.

Many noted historical archeologists who deal with African diaspora research in Americas have articulated the reasons why African American sites are so important and deserve special attention. To cite some recent examples, in 2004 an entire volume of the journal *Historical Archaeology* was devoted to defining why and how African diaspora archeology is relevant to modern peoples. Edited by Franklin and McKee (2004 ed.), this volume was titled *Transcending Boundaries, Transforming the Discipline: African Diaspora Archaeologies in the New Millennium*. It contains articles by 12 scholars that describe a diverse and complex range of relevant historical and archeological research issues. In the introduction to the volume, Franklin and McKee (2004:4–5) make five important points. First, they recognize that African diaspora archeology is a "distinctive sub-field" within historical archeology. Second, they note that discourses involving race, gender, and diaspora are legitimate and important research topics. Third, they acknowledge that racial politics has always played, and will continue to play,

an important role in determining how history is perceived and written. Fourth, no matter how much we may try to avoid it, historical archeologists automatically become players in racial politics when we investigate African American sites and interpret findings for the public. And, fifth and finally, Franklin and McKee note that there are many modern communities—especially descendant communities—that have a legitimate stake in the historical archeology we do, and we must seek to involve those communities. Franklin and McKee (2004:4) also provide a cautionary tale and suggest that archeologists let the communities determine the appropriate roles that they will play in the process rather trying to force those communities into our own preconceived ideas about the roles that they should play.

The Franklin and McKee volume is but one recent example where historians and historical archeologists have advocated doing public archeology and involving local descendant communities in connection with African diaspora archeology. A wide variety of terms have been used to describe a public-oriented approach to archeological research: community archeology; community-based archeology; community partnering; descendant communities; public engagement; emancipatory archeology; public context (as opposed to archeological context); and public African-American archeology (Edwards-Ingram 1997; Feit and Jones 2007; Franklin 1997; Franklin and McKee 2004 ed.; Franklin and McKee 2004; Mack and Blakey 2004; Marshall 2002; McDavid 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2002, 2005, 2007; McDavid et al. 2012; McGhee 2007, 2008; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Saitta 2007; Singleton 1997, 1999 ed., 2009 ed.; Watkins et al. 2000; Wilkie 2000b, 2004). Within the federal Section 106 regulations of the National Historic Preservation Act, most communities are generically lumped into the broad category of “interested persons”¹⁶⁹ (36 CFR 800, Sections 800.1 and 800.2). Regardless of the terms that are used, there is an overwhelming consensus among African diaspora archeologists that it is critically important to involve descen-

dant communities and include African American perspectives in the conduct and interpretation of African diaspora archeology.

In the course of our work on the Williams farmstead project, we discovered that many archeologists have only a vague understanding of the concept of what a descendant community is and why they should be involved in the process. As defined by Nicholas and Hollowell (2007:Footnote 2) and based on work by Saitta (2007:275–276), a descendant community is:

...a non-homogenous self-identified group encompassing those who, regardless of background, identify with a particular past or locale through shared traditions, proximity, or collective memories. This is distinct from a narrower concept of “descendants” as individuals with ancestral or familial links to the archaeological record.

Using this definition, the descendant community for the Ransom Williams farmstead project was not limited to direct lineal descendants, although descendants are certainly among the members of the community. Rather, the descendant community includes any African Americans, both individuals and groups, who feel some type of connection to the property, the Williams family, or late-nineteenth-century African American farmers and freedmen communities. The important point that African diaspora archeologists are making is that involving descendant communities in a public archeology project means more than just inviting people to a scholarly lecture after the project is finished.

Singleton (1995:134–135) states that: “Most discussions concerning the involvement of blacks in African-American archaeology consider blacks only as consumers of this research, rather than as part of the research process. Input from African-Americans should also be considered in generating questions to be investigated and in the interpretation of the results.” Singleton (1995:135) goes even further and advocates the following three steps in the “development of an African-American archaeology that is informed by African-American perspectives”:

- “First, it should expand on the existing African-American resources used in archaeological studies.”

¹⁶⁹Within 36 CFR 800 (Sections 800.1 and 800.2), Native Americans are the only ethnic community specifically mentioned, while interested persons is defined as “those organizations and individuals that are concerned with the effects of an undertaking on historic properties.”

- “Second, it should establish stronger alliances between archaeologists and African-Americanists.”
- “Finally, it should include as part of the project the particular black community in which the research is being undertaken.”

In an issue of *African-American Archaeology*, the online newsletter of the African-American Archaeology Network, McKee (1998:) summarized the current state of thought among African diaspora archeologists rather succinctly:

Those of us studying the African-American past have come to see that there is no such thing as scholarship isolated from the world at large. In fact, this research has undergone what I see as a thorough transformation away from internally-focused issues of method and theory concerning ethnic visibility toward what Michael Blakey has defined as “a new archaeology of public engagement.” Professor Blakey contends that in carrying out excavations at sites associated with African Americans, we are not just gathering new data and adding to our knowledge about the past, we are also engaged in the ongoing social discourse about the relations between European Americans and African Americans in the present. Some seek to avoid such involvement; some of us embrace it willingly and with true enthusiasm; we all need to accept that this is where we stand, and where we should be standing... Continued and expanded public engagement is the one assured element of the future of archaeological research on African-American history. (McKee 1998:n.p.)

In planning and conducting the Williams Farmstead Archeological Project, we tried to embrace the ideals stated in the preceding pages. We wanted to involve the descendant community as much as we possibly could and sought to view the evidence from an African American perspective. As part of this effort, we conducted extensive oral history research with descendant community members, involved them at various stages of the project, and sought their input to identify and create public outreach opportunities to disseminate what we learned. Now transcribed and published, the oral history interviews (Franklin 2012) constitute a robust data set that complements the archival evidence and material culture described in this book. There is no doubt that the interpretations of the farmstead’s history and archeological remains are greatly enhanced by the oral recollections of freedmen descendants. We also conducted an in-depth analysis of nineteenth-century newspapers published by and for the African American community. A somewhat unorthodox approach for a CRM project, this study reveals a contemporary freedmen perspective that complements the oral histories.

As originally conceived by TxDOT and the project team, the Williams Farmstead Archeological Project was a multidisciplinary investigation of a freedman-owned farmstead in central Texas, and the research focused on the post-emancipation transitions of a single farm family. As the project unfolded, it became apparent that our research was not about a single farm or a single family. We began to understand that the Williams family was symbolic of a much larger history, one that is representative of the trials and tribulations of many African American freedmen across Texas and the southern United States. Throughout the project, we tried to live up to some of the high ideals for conducting meaningful African diaspora research, and we hope the descendant community and the general public will ultimately benefit from these efforts.

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**APPENDIX A: Property History for Lands Owned by
the Williams Family and Ownership Maps
for the John G. McGehee Headright
League, Travis County, Texas**

Compiled by Terri Myers

This appendix presents tabular and graphic histories of the property owned by the Williams family and their neighbors in southern Travis County, Texas. Historian Terri Myers compiled these data and figures in 2006.

Table A.1 summarizes all of the real estate transactions involving the John G. McGehee headright league (Survey 8, Abstract 17, in Travis County, Texas) and Lots 11 and 12 in the southeastern quarter of the this league. Lot 11 is a 40-acre tract that was purchased by Ransom Williams in 1871, along with an additional 5 acres

presumed to be a 165-ft-wide strip along the north side of Lot 11. Ransom's sons, William and Charley, purchased a 12-acre section on the east side of Lot 12 (immediately west of Lot 11) in 1900.

Figures A.1 to A.10 are a series of maps that use the 1871 subdivision of the John G. McGehee league as a base and depict the ownership of the tracts in the southeastern quarter of the league from 1871 through 1974. In ca. 2000, the State of Texas purchased a portion of Lot 11 for the proposed State Highway 45 Southwest. The 10 figures are as follows:

Table A.1. Deed transfers for the southeastern quarter of the John G. McGehee headright league Survey 6, Abstract 17, Travis County, Texas

1835	Land grant to John G. McGehee	
1838	Sarah McGehee inherits the land	
1848	Sarah Whipple (née Sarah McGehee) to Charles Lewis McGehee	
1852	John Thomas McGehee inherits the land	
1855	John Thomas McGehee to William Blair McGehee	
1856	William Blair McGehee to James H. Gillespie	
1871	James H. Gillespie to Charle H. & Sarah V. Word. The southeast quarter of the league is subdivided into 28 lots, with 24 being 40 acres and 4 being only 37 acres.	
Deed Transfers for Lot 11*		Deed Transfers for the East End (12 Acres) of Lot 12
1871	Charles and Sarah Word (née Sarah McGehee) to D. A. Word	1871 W. B. McGehee by Sheriff George B. Zimpelman to Susan H. Simpson (Lot 12 was among the land sold at public auction to pay debts)
1871	D. A. Word to Ransom Williams (40 acres of Lot 11 plus 5 additional acres, probably along the north side of Lot 11)	
		1877 S. H. Simpson (deceased) to W. R. Whiteside
1897	Ransom Williams to Travis County (ca. 1/2 acre for a public road right of way)	
		1900 W. R. Whiteside to G. R. Whiteside
		1900 G. R. Whiteside to William Williams and Charley Williams (12 acres of Lot 12)
ca. 1901	Williams children (William, Charles, John, Emma, and Mary) inherit the 45-acre farm after Ransom Williams' death	
		1902 Charley Williams to W. H. Thaxton (6 acres; one half interest in the 12-acre tract)
1904	Charles Williams to W. M. Williams (ca. 22.5 acres; one-half interest in the 44.5-acre farm)	
		1905 William and Clara Williams to D. W. Labenski (6 acres)
		1932 Nannie S. Thaxton to G. W. & Sarah Ann Fritts (6 acres)
1934	W. M and Clara Williams to Daisy Rowell (2/5 interest in 45-acre farm)	1934 George S. Dowell (J. Vernon Turley vs. Wesley Labenski et al.) to Daisy Rowell (6 acres)
		1934 George W. Fritts to Daisy Rowell (6 acres)
		1940 Daisy Rowell (deceased) to Walter Lee Wilkins (6 acres)
1941	John L. and Ethel Lee Williams, Roberta and Elzy Hill, Leola and Shorty Henry Johnson, and Mary Davis to W. L. Wilkins (remaining 3/5 interest in 45-acre farm)	

Table A.1, continued

Deed Transactions for Lots 11 and 12 and others in the McGehee League	
1954	Walter Lee and Lola Wilkins to Chester B. Kitchens and Harold Eitze (via numerous transactions). This transaction included Lots 11 and 12.
1961	Chester B. Kitchens and Harold Eitze to Effie Reeves Kitchens (via numerous transactions)
1974	Effie Reeves Kitchens to Wayne J. Riddell, et al. (via numerous transactions)
1979	Wayne J. Riddell, et al. to SIMBA Development Corporation
1992	SIMBA Development Corporation to Resolution Trust Company (via numerous transactions)
1992	Resolution Trust Company to Jim Henry of Bear Creek Ltd.
1999	Jim Henry to Bear Creek Ltd.
ca. 2000	Bear Creek Ltd. to the State of Texas (Texas Department of Transportation); this transaction included a portion of Lot 11.

* Inconsistencies exist in deed records regarding the size of Lot 11. The deed from Word to Williams referred to a plat filed in Travis County (see Figure A.1), which shows that the southeast quarter of the McGehee League was carved into 40-acre parcels (with four parcels being only 37 acres). The map shows Lot 11 to be one of the 40-acre tracts, but the actual deed from Word to Williams clearly states that the Lot 11 contains 45 acres “more or less.” All tax records from 1873 through 1897 report that Williams owned a total of 45 acres.

The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead

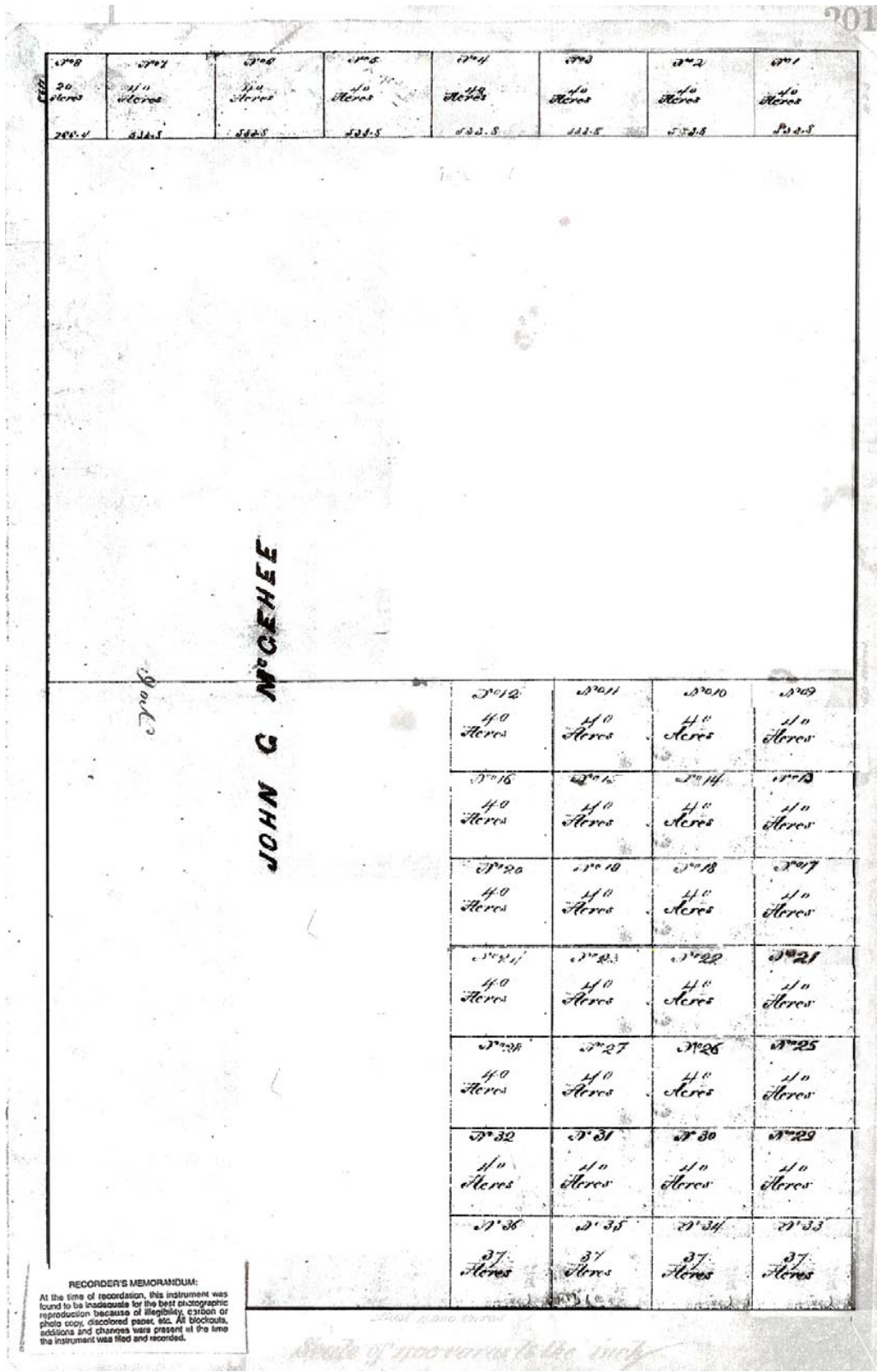


Figure A.1. November 14, 1871, subdivision map of the John G. McGehee League.

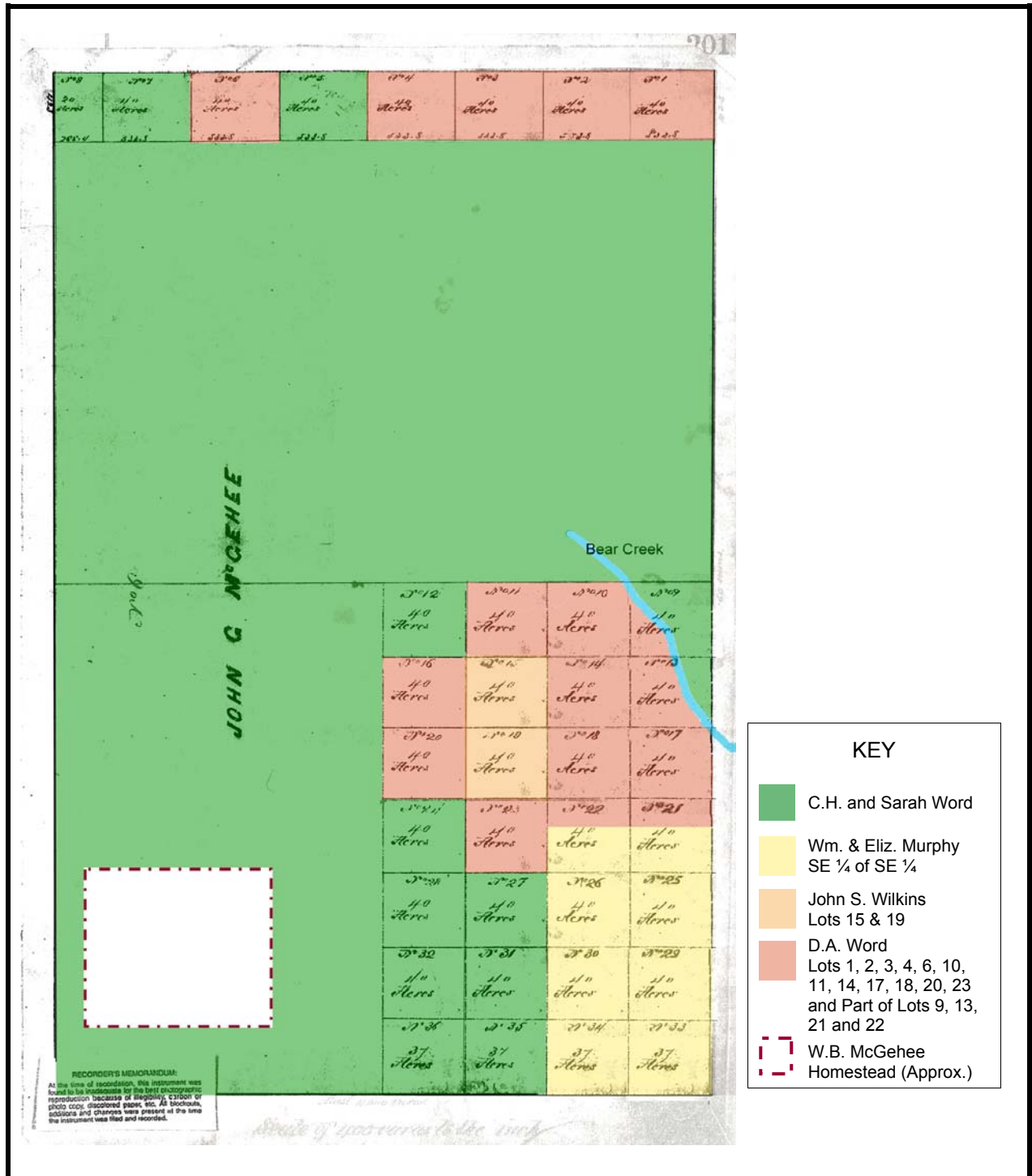


Figure A.2. Property ownership in the southeast quarter of the John G. McGehee League: ownership of lots at the time of the November 14, 1871, subdivision. Based on the 1871 subdivision map of the John G. McGehee League.

The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead

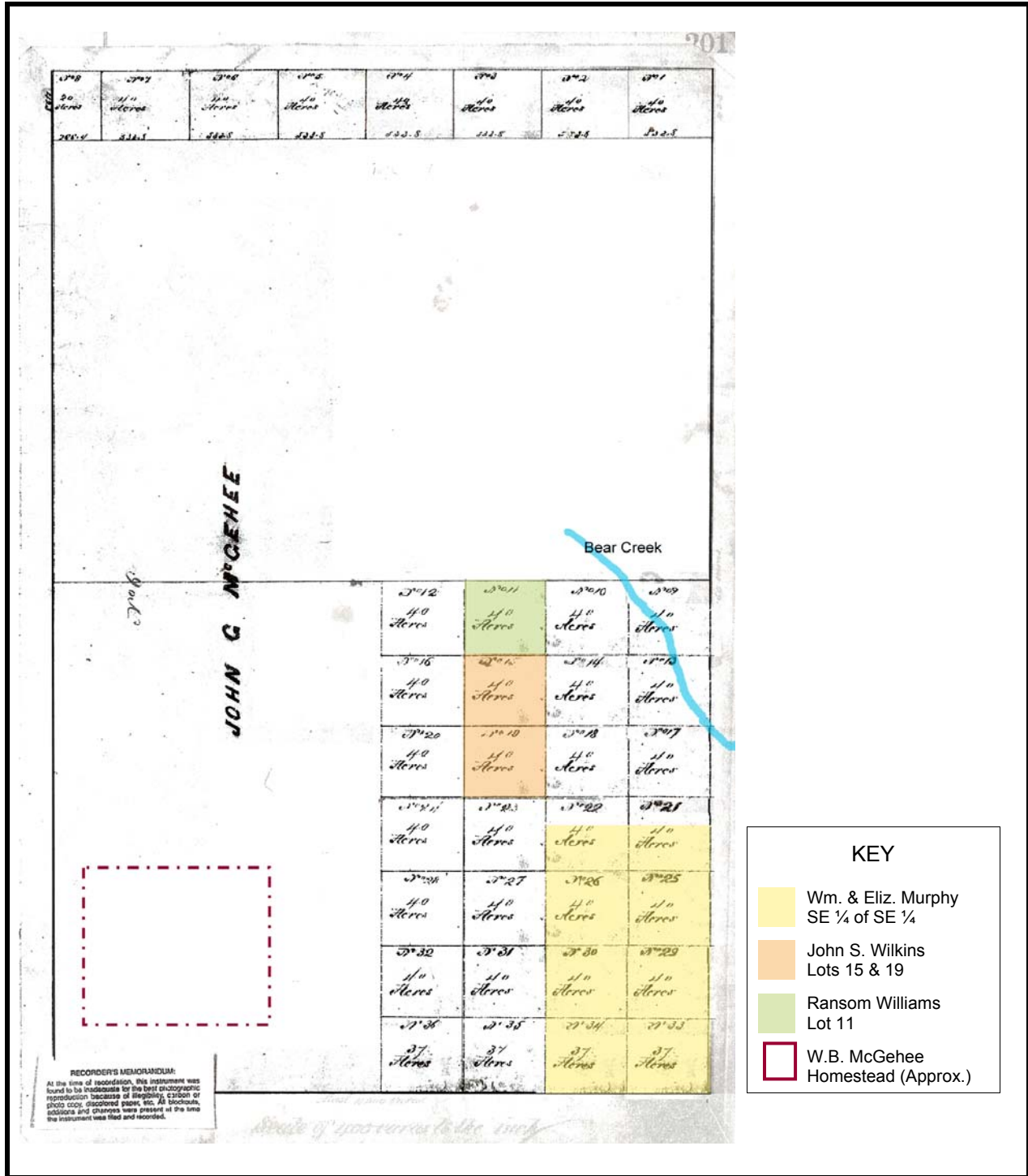


Figure A.3. Property ownership in the southeast quarter of the John G. McGehee League, December 5, 1871. Based on the 1871 subdivision map of the John G. McGehee League.

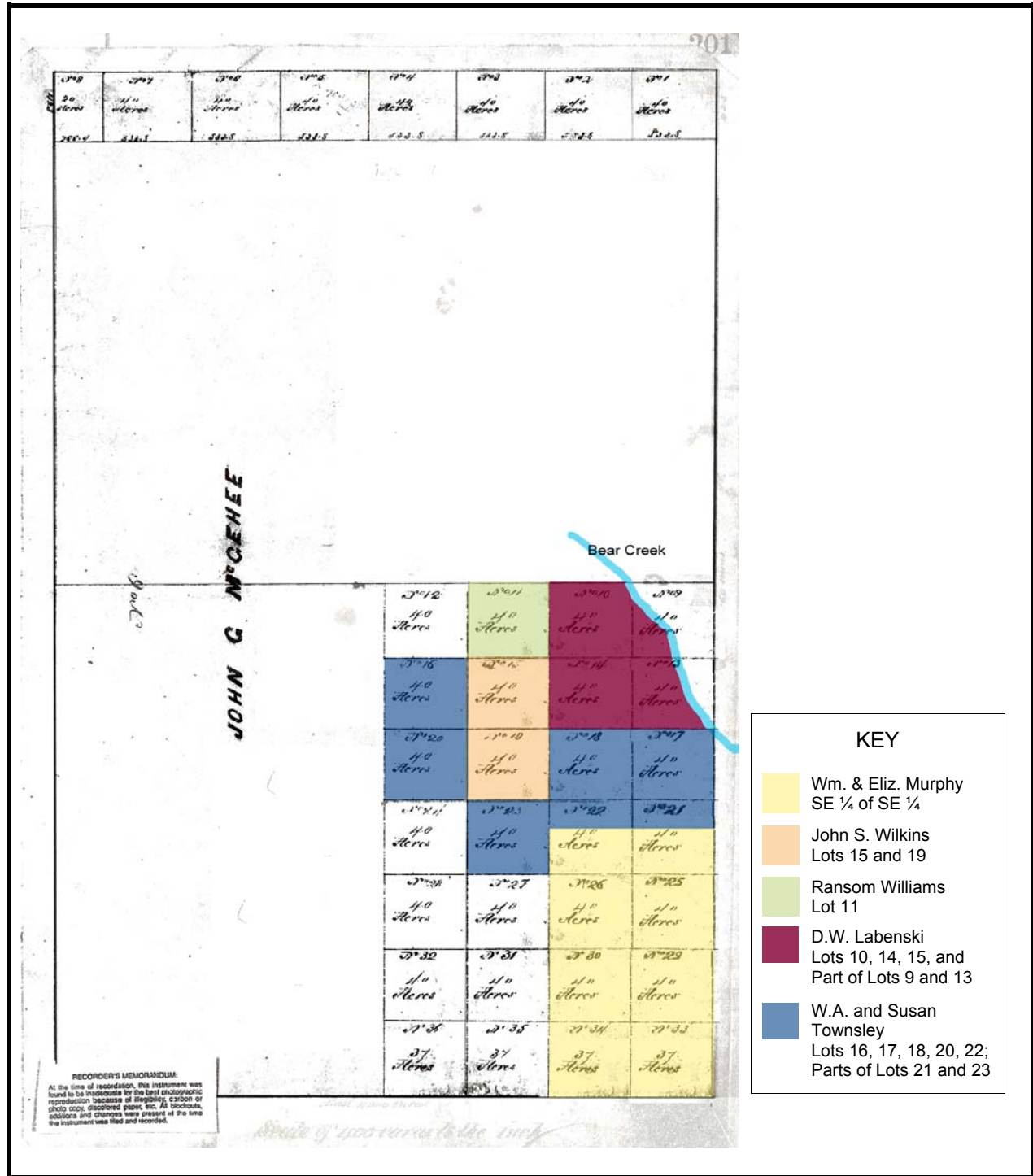


Figure A.4. Property ownership in the southeast quarter of the John G. McGehee League, 1873. Based on the 1871 subdivision map of the John G. McGehee League.

The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead

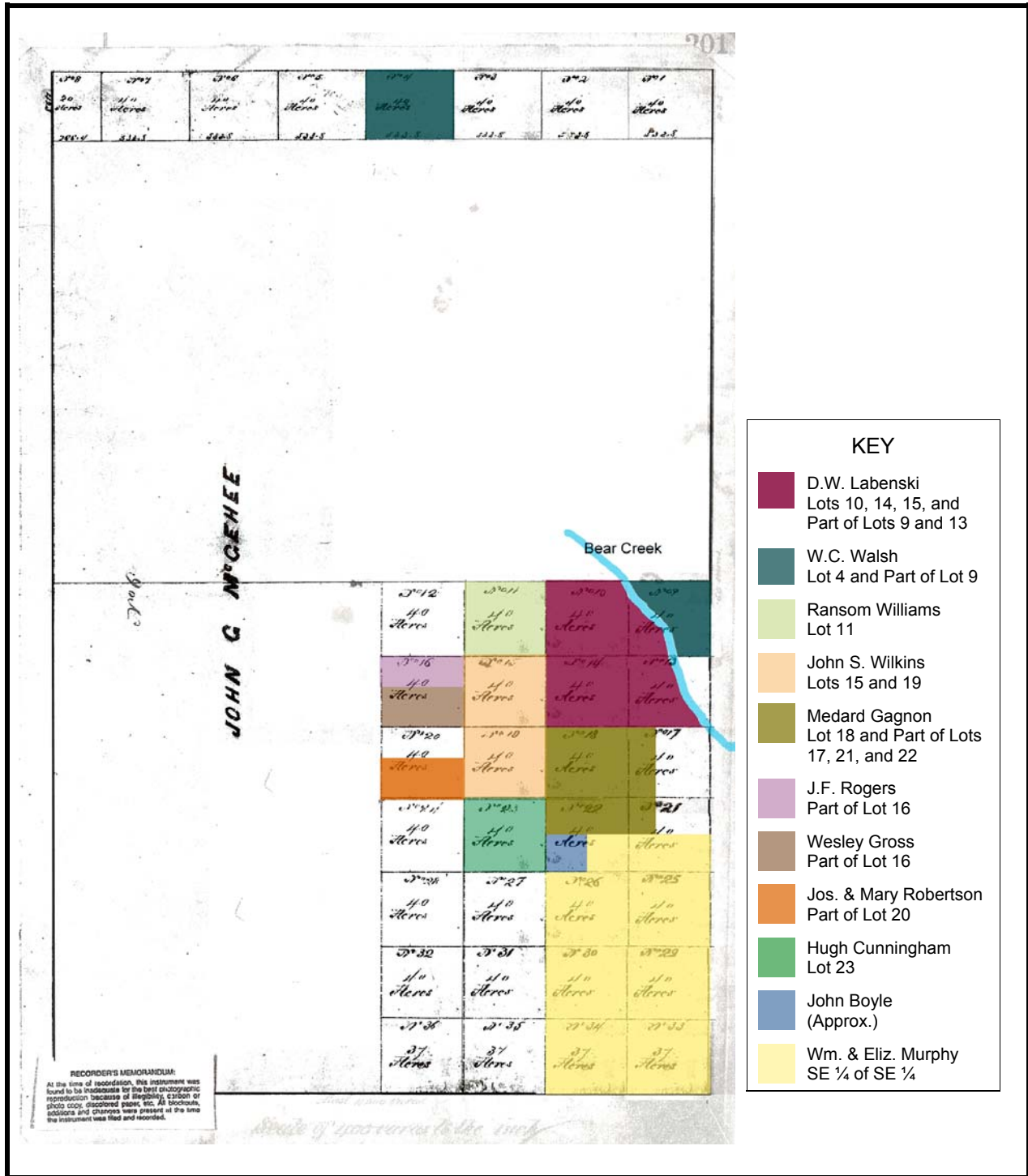


Figure A.5. Property ownership in the southeast quarter of the John G. McGehee League, 1876–1880. Based on the 1871 subdivision map of the John G. McGehee League.

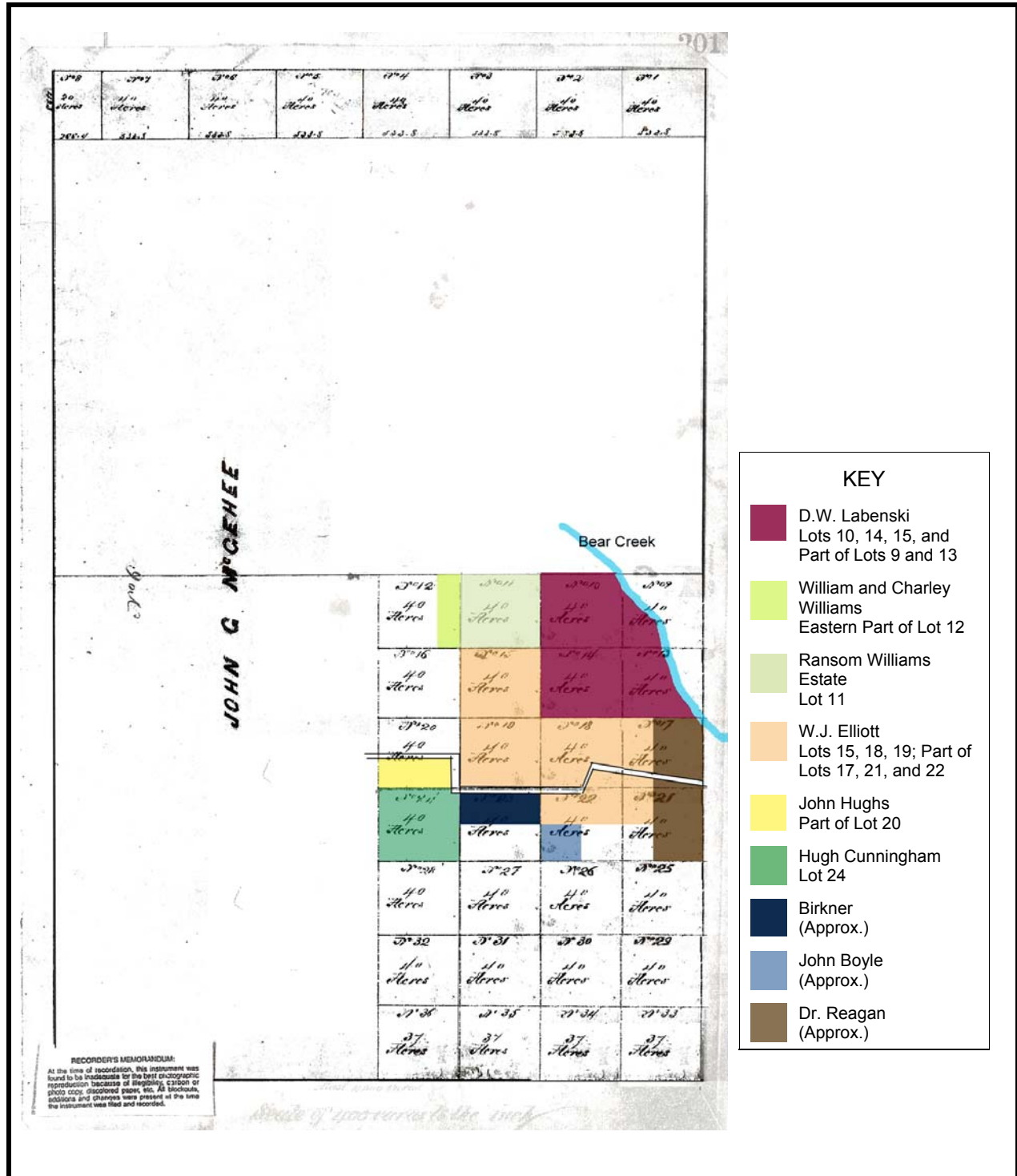


Figure A.6. Property ownership in the southeast quarter of the John G. McGehee League, 1900–1901. Based on the 1871 Subdivision Map of the John G. McGehee League.

The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead

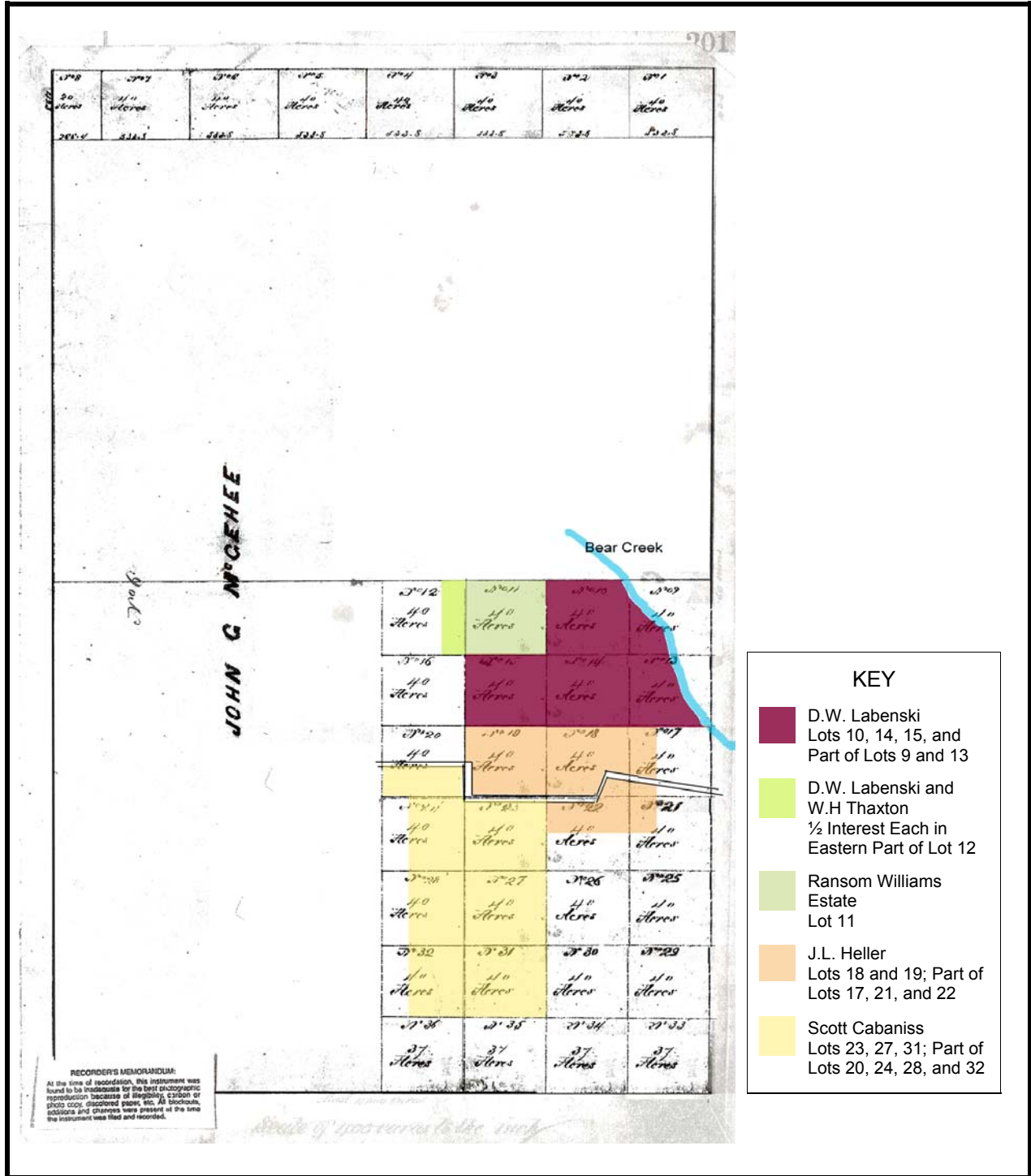


Figure A.7. Property ownership in the southeast quarter of the John G. McGehee League, 1920. Based on the 1871 subdivision map of the John G. McGehee League.

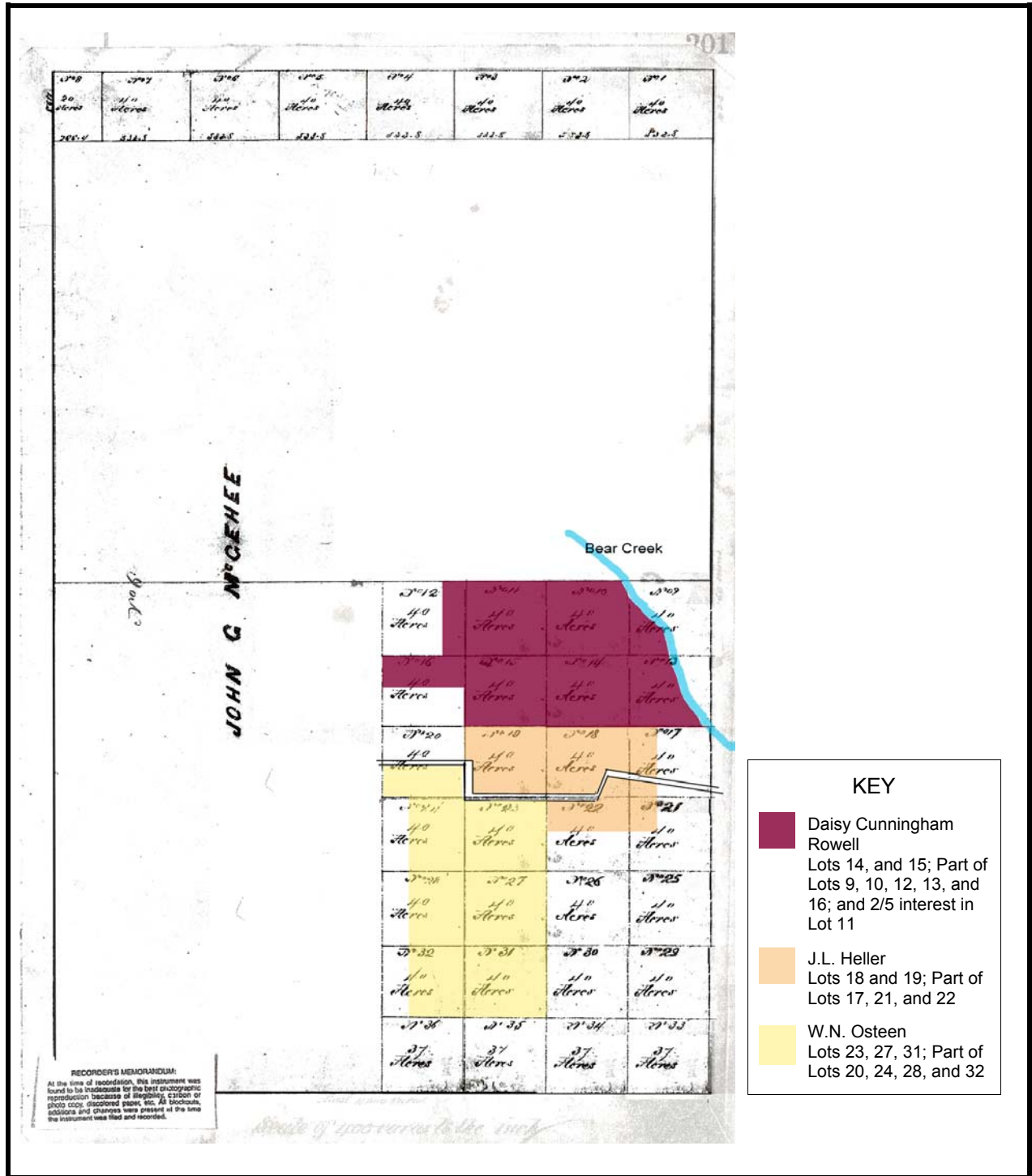


Figure A.8. Property ownership in the southeast quarter of the John G. McGehee League, 1934. Based on the 1871 subdivision map of the John G. McGehee League.

The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead

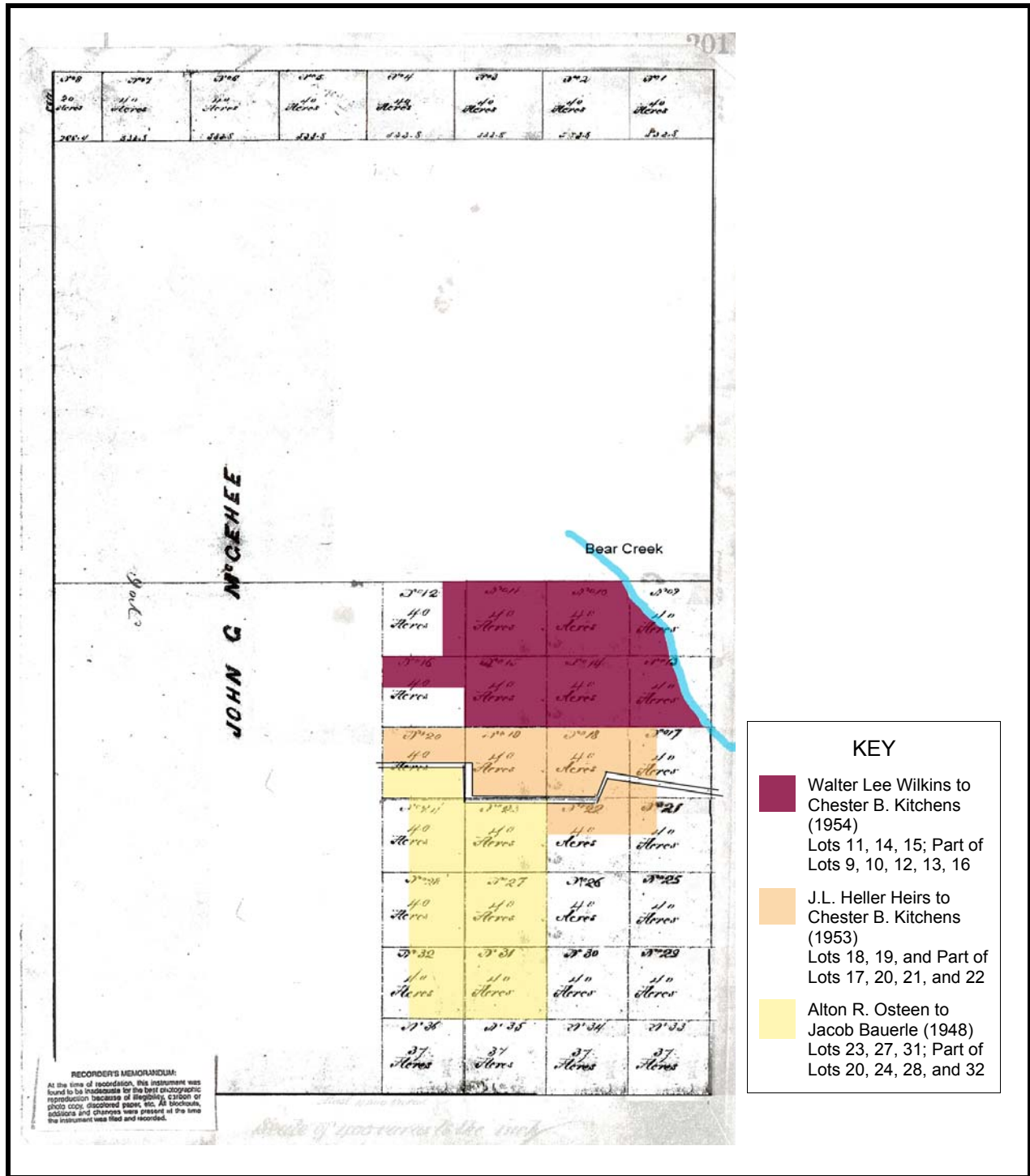


Figure A.9. Property ownership in the southeast quarter of the John G. McGehee League, 1954. Based on the 1871 subdivision map of the John G. McGehee League.

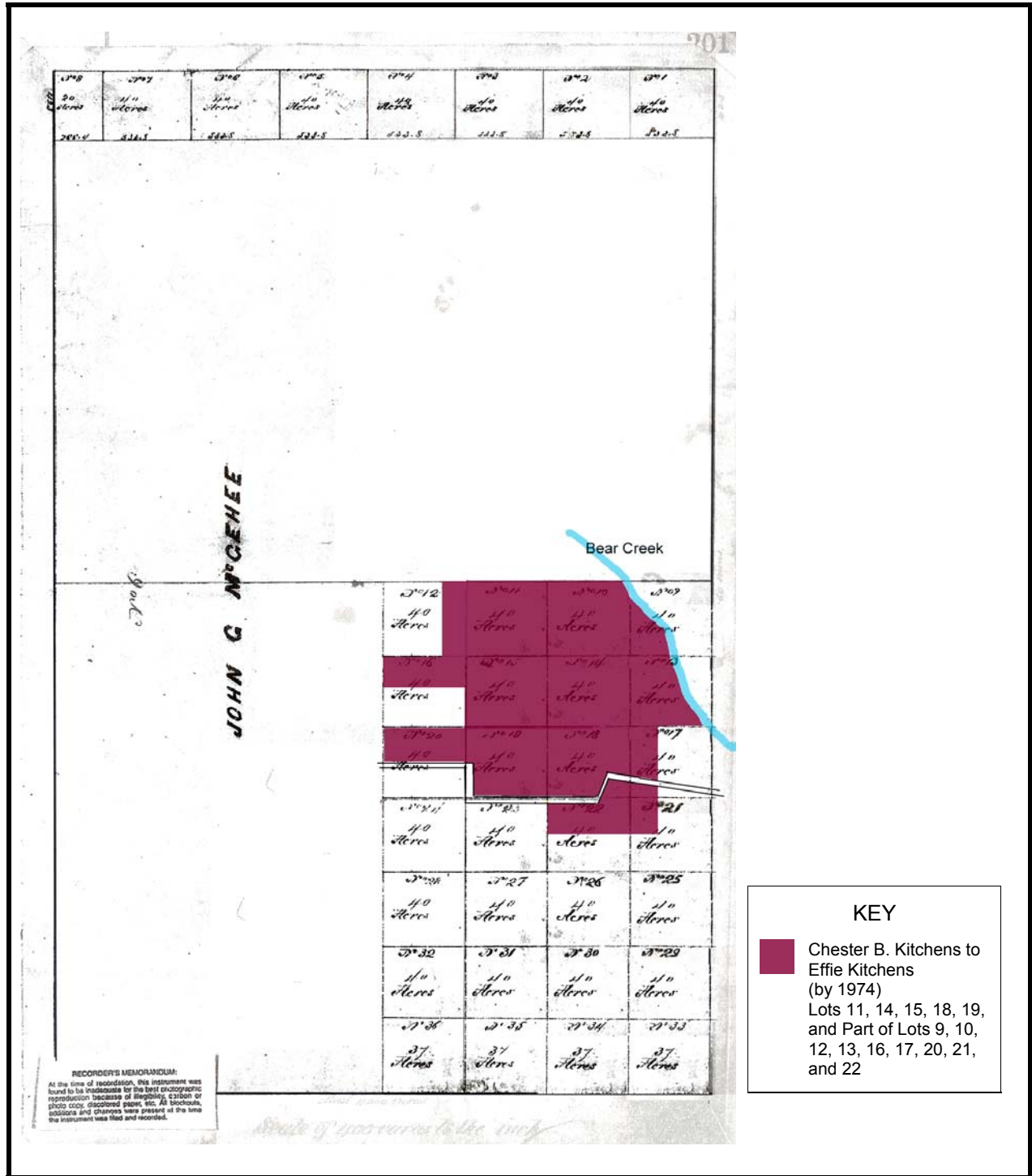


Figure A.10. Property ownership in the southeast quarter of the John G. McGehee League, 1974. Based on the 1871 subdivision map of the John G. McGehee League.

**APPENDIX B: Material Culture Database and
Artifact Tables**

A vast array of artifacts was recovered from the Ransom and Sarah Williams farmstead (41TV1051), and this material culture details many aspects of everyday farm life for the Williams family. This appendix provides tabulated data on all 26, 685 specimens recovered from the Williams farmstead, including those from the 2003 Archeological and Cultural Sciences Group test excavations. The master artifact database and artifact tables are available on CD accompanying this report. The goal of this appendix is to provide researchers with detailed descriptions of the material culture, including identification, dating, and pertinent references.

When it came time to analyze the immense collection, PAI developed an elaborate functional artifact classification scheme in which all of the recovered artifacts could be categorized. The PAI classification is essentially a modified version of South's (1977:95–96) famous material culture classification, with some changes based on reviews of the Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database (Sonoma State University 2008) and classification schemes by Horn (2005), Sprague (1980–1981), Stone (1970), University of Utah (2001), and others. The complete functional classification system used for the Williams farmstead analysis is explained in Chapter 3, and the site's material culture assemblage is described in Chapter 8. The functional classification scheme is repeated here so that it is clear how the individual tables included here relate to the overall assemblage.

FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION

1) Architecture (n = 4,586)

- a) Structural
 - i) Square Nails
 - ii) Wire Nails
 - iii) Screws
 - iv) Spikes
 - v) Bricks
 - vi) Wood Samples
 - vii) Mortar Samples
 - viii) Flat Glass
 - ix) Miscellaneous Hardware (e.g., lightning rod, strap hinge, door plate)
- b) Fencing
 - i) Wire

- ii) Staples

2) Kitchen and Household (n = 11,965)

- a) Food Storage and Preparation
 - i) Stoneware Containers
 - ii) Cast-Iron Vessels
 - iii) Metal Cans
 - iv) Container Glass (various bottles)
 - v) Other
- b) Food Service and Consumption
 - i) Whiteware Dishes
 - ii) Porcelain Dishes
 - iii) Tableware (noncontainer glassware and such as goblets, glasses, dishes)
 - iv) Cutlery
 - (1) Knives
 - (2) Forks
 - (3) Spoons
 - (4) Utensils (fragmentary and unidentifiable)
 - v) Other
- c) Furnishings
 - i) Furniture (e.g., castors, hinges, knobs, and pulls)
 - ii) Lamp Parts (all parts associated with oil-burning lamps)
 - iii) Stove Parts (cast iron)
 - iv) Other
- d) Locks and Keys (except door hardware)
- e) Miscellaneous Hardware
- f) Unidentifiable Glass Fragments

3) Activities (n = 954)¹

- a) Horse Tack and Harness
 - i) Hardware (various nails, buckles, rings, etc.)
- b) Carriage and Wagon
 - i) Hardware (various wagon parts)

¹While the draft report was being edited for final production, two of the artifacts in the "Unknown–Possibly Identifiable" category were identified as cotton bale ties used to secure metal bands around cotton bales. These items would fall into the Activities functional group and Farming subgroup, bringing the total number of Activities artifacts to 956. The cotton bale ties are from Lot 186 (EU 55) and Lot 197 (EU 61) in the house block, and they are described in an addendum to Chapter 8. The master database has been updated to reflect these identifications, and the bale ties have been added to Table B.47, which brings the total number of farming-related artifacts to 21. However, the numbers in tables and graphs that appear elsewhere in this report have not been changed.

- c) Construction
 - i) Hand Tools (e.g., draw knife, auger bits, hammer, axe, chisel)
 - d) Toys (e.g., marbles, tops, doll parts, cap gun)
 - e) Firearms/Hunting
 - i) Munitions
 - ii) Gun Parts
 - iii) Gun Tools
 - f) Fishing (e.g., hooks)
 - g) Miscellaneous Hardware
 - i) Construction Hardware
 - ii) Other Hardware
 - h) Farming
 - i) Hand Implements (e.g., hoe, mattock)
 - ii) Machinery (e.g., plow blade, clevis and pins)
 - i) Sewing (e.g., needles, pins, safety pins, thimble)
 - j) Music (e.g., Jew's harp, harmonicas)
 - k) Water Storage (e.g., barrel hoops)
 - l) Writing (e.g., pencils and slate)
 - m) Collectibles (e.g., commemorative spoon, dart point, geofacts)
- 4) Clothing and Adornment (n = 638)**
- a) Fasteners
 - i) Buttons
 - ii) Cufflinks
 - iii) Buckles
 - iv) Hook and Eye Fasteners
 - v) Grommets/Eyelets
 - vi) Suspender Buckles
 - b) Jewelry
 - i) Brooch
 - c) Accessories
 - d) Other
- 5) Personal (n = 599)**
- a) Grooming
 - i) Combs
 - ii) Toiletries
 - iii) Cosmetics
 - b) Health/Medicine
 - i) Medicine Bottles and Stoppers
 - ii) Syringe
 - c) Accoutrements
 - i) Coins
 - ii) Eyeglass/Monocle
 - iii) Pocket Knives
 - d) Tobacco
 - i) Snuff Bottles
- ii) Smoking Pipes
 - e) Alcohol
 - i) Wine Bottles
 - ii) Liquor Bottles
 - iii) Beer Bottles
- 6) Faunal (n = 2,875)**
- a) Bone
 - b) Shell
- 7) Botanical (n = 86)**
- a) Food
 - i) Peach Pits
 - b) Fuel
 - i) Charcoal Samples
 - c) Other
 - i) Seeds
- 8) Lithics (n = 784)**
- 9) Unknown–Possibly Identifiable (n = 86)²**
- 10) Unknown–Unidentifiable (n = 4,112)**

Following this functional classification scheme, a master database was created to include artifact and provenience identification information. Each artifact was assigned a lot number based on its provenience, so the database serves as the comprehensive archeological specimen inventory. The database was created in Microsoft Access, and it includes two linked data files. One is a data table of provenience information and the other is a data table of artifact attributes, and with the lot number being the key that links the information together.

One database table (Table B.1) was created that contains all of the provenience information pertaining to each lot number. Lot numbers were assigned to every provenience where one or more artifacts were found, and the database contains detailed locational information for every artifact recovered from all phases of fieldwork. The provenience data might be the UTM coordinates of a surface-collected artifact, the excavation unit number and elevation (or depth) for one piece-plotted specimen, or the excavation unit for a large group of artifacts.

In the master artifact database table (Table B.2), 11 attributes were created to record

²See Footnote 170.

artifact information. The assigned lot number and quantity of specimens (i.e., the number of identical specimens within a lot number) were recorded first, followed by the overall functional group, the artifact category, general artifact identification, specific artifact identification, and general comments about the artifact. Each of the first four attributes represents a different level of functional assignment within the classification hierarchy. Whenever possible, additional information was added for specific artifacts, including the diagnostic markings found on a specimen (e.g., an embossed company name, maker's mark, or patent date), any known date or dates of manufacture, and the references pertaining to the identification and/or dating of the artifact.

When the provenience and artifact attribute tables are combined, they form a comprehensive database of all information pertaining to material culture found at the Williams farmstead—what it is and where it was found.

Three additional tables were created to encompass detailed information concerning the individual ceramic vessels (Table B.3), glass containers (Table B.4), and pressed glass objects (Table B.5) recovered from 41TV1051. Although ceramic and glass artifacts generally fall under the Kitchen/Household functional category, this is not always the case, and these separate tables were created to allow for similar descriptive and metric data to be compiled for specific vessels and containers. For example, the attributes recorded for a glass container are similar whether it was a complete bottle that originally contained a food product or 25 glass fragments that were reconstructed into a partially complete medicine bottle. The focus of these tables is to provide data on the ceramic vessels rather than sherds and the glass containers rather than fragments. Consequently, any single item or collection of items that was recognizable as its own unique vessel or container was assigned a ceramic vessel or glass container number. Information for individual ceramic vessels and glass containers was recorded in their corresponding tables, which then serve as documentation of the minimum number of ceramic vessels and glass containers in the Williams farmstead assemblage.

One table (Table B.6) is a compilation of identification and chronological data for all artifacts that have diagnostic markings

regardless of their functional classification. This table includes every artifact that has some type of diagnostic marking, along with the artifact's identification and brief description, chronological information (beginning and ending dates of manufacture), and appropriate references for the identification and dating. A single artifact may include markings that fall into one or more of these categories: U.S. patent date, company name or logo, product identification (including brand name), place of origin or manufacture (country, region, or city), importing firm (for foreign-made ceramics), volume (on ceramic vessels and glass containers), caliber and grains of gunpowder (for firearm cartridges), and event commemoration. The beginning dates of manufacture are particularly informative with respect to the overall dating of the Williams farmstead artifact assemblage. The ending dates are less meaningful because of the long period of production for many items and the effects of lag time (e.g., items still available long after production ended).

To provide the maximum amount of detailed descriptive information for all the artifacts, individual tables were created as necessary for the various subcategories of artifacts. For example, within the functional group of clothing and adornment-related artifacts, the subcategories of buttons, buckles, other fasteners, clothing components, jewelry, and accessories each warrant a separate table for the specific artifact attributes. While the main functional categories all have tables included in this appendix, there are some notable exceptions. No separate tables were created for the faunal remains (see Appendix C) and macrobotanical remains (see Appendix D) because they are discussed in detail in other appendixes. And no separate data tables were created for two large groups of artifacts—the chipped lithic artifacts (tools and unmodified flakes) and the unidentifiable/unrecognizable artifacts. Although these two artifact groups are large, the specimens do not contain much information pertinent to the interpretive goals of the Williams farmstead study. The chipped stone artifacts scattered across the site (on surface and shallowly buried) are low in density and denote an ephemeral prehistoric component. The specimens recovered in the excavations are not particularly relevant to the

study of the Williams family with the exception of a dart point found in the chimney firebox.³ And as commonly seen at many historic farm sites, the amount of unrecognizable historic debris (mostly rusted pieces of iron) scattered across the landscape is considerable, but its research value is minimal. Both the chipped lithic artifacts and the unidentifiable historic debris are listed in the master artifact database, but they are not analyzed as part of the interpretable material culture assemblage from the Williams farmstead.

Tables B.7–B.52 are listed in the order that the artifact categories appear in the functional classification scheme. These tables vary considerably in length and structure depending upon the variability in the types of artifacts within each group and the nature and complexity of their meaningful attributes.

The tables included in this appendix are as follows:

MASTER DATABASE (on the CD)

- Table B.1 Master Provenience Database
- Table B.2 Master Artifact Database

CERAMIC VESSELS, GLASS CONTAINERS, AND PRESSED GLASS OBJECTS

- Table B.3 Ceramic Vessel Inventory
- Table B.4 Glass Container Inventory
- Table B.5 Pressed Glass Object Inventory

DIAGNOSTIC ARTIFACTS

- Table B.6 Inventory of Artifacts with Diagnostic Markings

KITCHEN AND HOUSEHOLD FUNCTIONAL GROUP

- Table B.7 Cast Iron Vessels

- Table B.8 Metal Cans
- Table B.9 Cutlery
- Table B.10 Furnishings
- Table B.11 Lamp Parts
- Table B.12 Stove Parts
- Table B.13 Locks and Keys
- Table B.14 Miscellaneous Household Hardware

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT FUNCTIONAL GROUP

- Table B.15 Buttons
- Table B.16 Buckles
- Table B.17 Other Fasteners
- Table B.18 Miscellaneous Clothing Components
- Table B.19 Jewelry
- Table B.20 Clothing Accessories

ARCHITECTURAL FUNCTIONAL GROUP

- Table B.21 Cut Nails
- Table B.22 Wire Nails
- Table B.23 Screws
- Table B.24 Bricks
- Table B.25 Wire
- Table B.26 Staples

PERSONAL FUNCTIONAL GROUP

- Table B.27 Grooming Utensils
- Table B.28 Personal Items
- Table B.29 Tobacco Items

ACTIVITIES FUNCTIONAL GROUP

- Table B.30 Harness Buckles
- Table B.31 Horseshoes
- Table B.32 Horseshoe Nails
- Table B.33 Other Horse Tack
- Table B.34 Carriage and Wagon Items
- Table B.35 Assorted Construction Tools

³The artifact analysis did include an attempt to search for and identify chipped stone objects that might have been made or used by the Williams family, but none were identified. Only the prehistoric dart point was found in a context indicating it was reused historically.

Table B.36	Auger Bits	Table B.45	Chain Links
Table B.37	Files	Table B.46	Miscellaneous Hardware
Table B.38	Toys	Table B.47	Farming Items
Table B.39	Munitions	Table B.48	Sewing Items
Table B.40	Gun Parts and Tools	Table B.49	Musical Instruments
Table B.41	Bolts	Table B.50	Barrel Bands
Table B.42	Nuts	Table B.51	Writing Utensils
Table B.43	Washers	Table B.52	Collectibles
Table B.44	Hinges		

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**APPENDIX C: Database of Vertebrate Faunal Remains
(electronic format on CD)**

Brian Sawyer Shaffer
Denton, Texas

**APPENDIX D: Database of Macrobotanical Remains
(electronic format on CD)**

Leslie L. Bush
Macrobotanical Analysis
Manchaca, Texas

**APPENDIX E: Neutron Activation Analysis of Historic
Stoneware Ceramics from the Williams
Farmstead and Selected Central Texas
Potteries**

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Michael D. Glascock
Archaeometry Laboratory
Research Reactor Center
University of Missouri, Columbia

INTRODUCTION

This project involves the neutron activation analysis of 46 historic stoneware sherds, 2 natural clay samples, and 2 fired brick samples from Bexar, Guadalupe, and Travis Counties in central Texas (Table E.1). We analyzed 13 stoneware sherds from the Ransom and Sarah Williams farmstead (41TV1051), an African American–owned farm that dates from ca. 1871 to 1905. For comparison purposes, we also analyzed 9 ceramic samples from the Guadalupe Pottery, 10 samples from the H. Wilson and Company Pottery, and 10 samples from the Wilson, Durham, and Chandler Pottery. All three potteries were in Guadalupe County, Texas, and were owned by the African American Wilson family. Also included are raw clay and kiln brick samples from two of the Wilson family-owned potteries and 4 stoneware samples from the Meyer Pottery in Bexar County.

The primary goals of this research were to examine compositional variability among the different ceramic manufacturing facilities and to assess the ceramic procurement pattern at the Williams farmstead. The Wilson family potteries clearly exhibit a consistent compositional signature, and ceramic sherds matching this chemical signature were found at the Williams farmstead. The signature from the Meyer pottery is quite different, and there is possibly some present at the Williams

farmstead. The farmstead assemblage is quite diverse and includes many compositional signatures that are not represented in this small sample from stoneware pottery production sites in central Texas.

SAMPLE PREPARATION

Pottery samples were prepared for INAA using procedures standard at the University of Missouri Research Reactor (MURR). Fragments of about 1 cm² were removed from each sample and abraded using a silicon carbide burr to remove glaze, slip, paint, and adhering soil, thereby reducing the risk of contamination. The samples were washed in deionized water and allowed to dry in the laboratory. Once dry, the individual sherds were ground into powders with an agate mortar and pestle to homogenize the samples. Archival samples were retained from each sherd (when possible) for future research. Clay samples were fired and prepared using standard MURR procedures.

Two analytical samples were prepared from each source specimen. Portions of approximately 150 mg of powder were weighed into clean high-density polyethylene vials used for short irradiations at MURR. At the same time, 200 mg of each sample was weighed into clean high-purity quartz vials used for long irradiations. Individual sample weights were recorded to the nearest 0.01 mg using an analytical balance.

Table E.1. Samples in the neutron activation analysis

Site Number	Site Name	Stoneware Sherds	Kiln Bricks	Clay Samples	Total Samples	Ceramic Vessel Numbers*
41TV1051	Ransom and Sarah Williams farmstead	13	0	0	13	1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19
41BX28	Meyer Pottery	4	0	0	4	n/a
41GU4	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	10	1	1	12	n/a
41GU5	H. Wilson and Company	10	1	1	12	n/a
41GU6	Guadalupe Pottery site	9	0	0	9	n/a
Total		46	2	2	50	13 vessels

* Ceramic vessel numbers were assigned to the identifiable vessels in the Williams farmstead collection.

Both vials were sealed prior to irradiation.¹ Along with the unknown samples, standards made from National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) certified standard reference materials of SRM-1633a (coal fly ash) and SRM-688 (basalt rock) were similarly prepared, as were quality-control samples (e.g., standards treated as unknowns) of SRM-278 (obsidian rock) and Ohio Red Clay (a standard developed for in-house applications).

IRRADIATION AND GAMMA-RAY SPECTROSCOPY

Neutron activation analysis of ceramics at MURR, which consists of two irradiations and three gamma counts, constitutes a superset of the procedures used at most other NAA laboratories (Glascock 1992; Neff 1992, 2000). As discussed in detail by Glascock (1992), a short irradiation is carried out through the pneumatic tube irradiation system. Samples in the polyvials are sequentially irradiated, two at a time, for five seconds by a neutron flux of $8 \times 10^{13} \text{ n cm}^{-2} \text{ s}^{-1}$. A 720-second count yields gamma spectra containing peaks for nine short-lived elements: aluminum (Al), barium (Ba), calcium (Ca), dysprosium (Dy), potassium (K), manganese (Mn), sodium (Na), titanium (Ti), and vanadium (V). The samples encapsulated in quartz vials are subjected to a 24-hour irradiation at a neutron flux of $5 \times 10^{13} \text{ n cm}^{-2} \text{ s}^{-1}$. This long irradiation is analogous to the single irradiation used at most other laboratories. After the long irradiation, samples decay for seven days, and then are counted for 1,800 seconds (the “middle count”) on a high-resolution germanium detector coupled to an automatic sample changer. The middle count yields determinations of seven medium half-life elements, namely arsenic (As), lanthanum (La), lutetium (Lu), neodymium (Nd), samarium (Sm), uranium (U), and ytterbium (Yb). After an additional three- or four-week decay, a final count of 8,500 seconds is carried out on each sample. The latter measurement yields the following 17 long half-life elements: cerium (Ce), cobalt (Co), chromium (Cr), cesium (Cs), europium (Eu), iron (Fe), hafnium (Hf), nickel (Ni), rubidium (Rb), antimony (Sb), scandium

(Sc), strontium (Sr), tantalum (Ta), terbium (Tb), thorium (Th), zinc (Zn), and zirconium (Zr).

INTERPRETING CHEMICAL DATA

The analyses at MURR produce concentration values for 33 elements in most samples. Data for Ni in most samples was below detection limits (as is the norm for most New World ceramic analyses), so the element was removed from consideration during the statistical analysis.

All further statistical analysis was carried out on base-10 logarithms of concentrations on the remaining 32 elements. Use of log concentrations rather than raw data compensates for differences in magnitude between the major elements such as iron and trace elements, such as the rare earth or lanthanide elements (REEs). Transformation to base-10 logarithms also yields a more normal distribution for many trace elements.

The interpretation of compositional data obtained from the analysis of archeological materials is discussed in detail elsewhere (e.g., Baxter and Buck 2000; Bieber et al. 1976; Bishop and Neff 1989; Glascock 1992; Harbottle 1976; Neff 2000) and will only be summarized here. The main goal of data analysis is to identify distinct homogeneous groups within the analytical database. Based on the provenance postulate of Weigand et al. (1977), different chemical groups may be assumed to represent geographically restricted sources. For lithic materials such as obsidian, basalt, and cryptocrystalline silicates (e.g., chert, flint, or jasper), raw material samples are frequently collected from known outcrops or secondary deposits, and the compositional data obtained on the samples is used to define the source localities or boundaries. The locations of sources can also be inferred by comparing unknown specimens (i.e., ceramic artifacts) to knowns (i.e., clay samples) or by indirect methods such as the “criterion of abundance” (Bishop et al. 1992) or by arguments based on geological and sedimentological characteristics (e.g., Steponaitis et al. 1996). The ubiquity of ceramic raw materials usually makes it impossible to sample all potential “sources” intensively enough to create groups of knowns to which unknowns can be compared. Lithic sources tend to be more localized and compositionally homogeneous in the case of

¹We acknowledge Daniel Salberg for his role in preparing the samples for irradiation.

obsidian or compositionally heterogeneous as is the case for most cherts.

Compositional groups can be viewed as “centers of mass” in the compositional hyperspace described by the measured elemental data. Groups are characterized by the locations of their centroids and the unique relationships (i.e., correlations) between the elements. Decisions about whether to assign a specimen to a particular compositional group are based on the overall probability that the measured concentrations for the specimen could have been obtained from that group.

Initial hypotheses about source-related subgroups in the compositional data can be derived from noncompositional information (e.g., archaeological context, decorative attributes, etc.) or from application of various pattern-recognition techniques to the multivariate chemical data. Some of the pattern recognition techniques that have been used to investigate archaeological data sets are cluster analysis (CA), principal components analysis (PCA), and discriminant analysis (DA). Each of the techniques has its own advantages and disadvantages that may depend on the types and quantity of data available for interpretation.

The variables (measured elements) in archaeological and geological data sets are often correlated and frequently large in number. This makes handling and interpreting patterns within the data difficult. Therefore, it is often useful to transform the original variables into a smaller set of uncorrelated variables to make data interpretation easier. Of the above-mentioned pattern recognition techniques, PCA is a technique that transforms data from the original correlated variables into uncorrelated variables most easily.

PCA creates a new set of reference axes arranged in decreasing order of variance subsided. The individual PCs are linear combinations of the original variables. The data can be displayed on combinations of the new axes, just as they can be displayed on the original elemental concentration axes. PCA can be used in a pure pattern-recognition mode, i.e., to search for subgroups in an undifferentiated data set, or in a more evaluative mode, i.e., to assess the coherence of hypothetical groups suggested by other criteria. Generally, compositional differences between specimens can be expected to be larger for specimens in different groups

than for specimens in the same group, and this implies that groups should be detectable as distinct areas of high point density on plots of the first few components.

It is well known that PCA of chemical data is scale dependent (Mardia et al. 1979), and analyses tend to be dominated by those elements or isotopes for which the concentrations are relatively large. As a result, standardization methods are common to most statistical packages. A common approach is to transform the data into logarithms (e.g., base 10).

One frequently exploited strength of PCA, discussed by Baxter (1992), Baxter and Buck (2000), and Neff (1994, 2002), is that it can be applied as a simultaneous R- and Q-mode technique, with both variables (elements) and objects (individual analyzed samples) displayed on the same set of principal component reference axes. A plot using the first two principal components as axes is usually the best possible two-dimensional representation of the correlation or variance-covariance structure within the data set. Small angles between the vectors from the origin to variable coordinates indicate strong positive correlation; angles at 90 degrees indicate no correlation; and angles close to 180 degrees indicate strong negative correlation. Likewise, a plot of sample coordinates on these same axes will be the best two-dimensional representation of Euclidean relations among the samples in log-concentration space (if the PCA was based on the variance-covariance matrix) or standardized log-concentration space (if the PCA was based on the correlation matrix). Displaying both objects and variables on the same plot makes it possible to observe the contributions of specific elements to group separation and to the distinctive shapes of the various groups. Such a plot is commonly referred to as a “biplot” in reference to the simultaneous plotting of objects and variables. The variable interrelationships inferred from a biplot can be verified directly by inspecting bivariate elemental concentration plots. (Note that a bivariate plot of elemental concentrations is not a biplot.)

Whether a group can be discriminated easily from other groups can be evaluated visually in two dimensions or statistically in multiple dimensions. A metric known as the Mahalanobis distance (or generalized distance) makes it possible to describe the separation between groups or between individual samples

and groups on multiple dimensions. The Mahalanobis distance of a specimen from a group centroid (Bieber et al. 1976, Bishop and Neff 1989) is defined by:

$$D_{y,X}^2 = [y - \bar{X}]' I_x [y - \bar{X}]$$

where y is the 1 x m array of logged elemental concentrations for the specimen of interest, X is the n x m data matrix of logged concentrations for the group to which the point is being compared, with \bar{X} being its 1 x m centroid, and I_x is the inverse of the m x m variance-covariance matrix of group X . Because Mahalanobis distance takes into account variances and covariances in the multivariate group, it is analogous to expressing distance from a univariate mean in standard deviation units. Like standard deviation units, Mahalanobis distances can be converted into probabilities of group membership for individual specimens. For relatively small sample sizes, it is appropriate to base probabilities on Hotelling's T^2 , which is the multivariate extension of the univariate Student's t .

When group sizes are small, Mahalanobis distance-based probabilities can fluctuate dramatically depending upon whether or not each specimen is assumed to be a member of the group to which it is being compared. Harbottle (1976) calls this phenomenon "stretchability" in reference to the tendency of an included specimen to stretch the group in the direction of its own location in elemental concentration space. This problem can be circumvented by cross-validation, that is, by removing each specimen from its presumed group before calculating its own probability of membership (Baxter 1994; Leese and Main 1994). This is a conservative approach to group evaluation that may sometimes exclude true group members.

Small sample and group sizes place further constraints on the use of Mahalanobis distance: with more elements than samples, the group variance-covariance matrix is singular thus rendering calculation of I_x (and D^2 itself) impossible. Therefore, the dimensionality of the groups must somehow be reduced. One approach would be to eliminate elements considered irrelevant or redundant. The problem with this approach is that the investigator's preconceptions about which elements should discriminate may not be valid. It also squanders

the main advantage of multielement analysis, namely the capability to measure a large number of elements. An alternative approach is to calculate Mahalanobis distances with the scores on principal components extracted from the variance-covariance or correlation matrix for the complete data set. This approach entails only the assumption, entirely reasonable in light of the above discussion of PCA, that most group-separating differences should be visible on the first several PCs. Unless a data set is extremely complex, containing numerous distinct groups, using enough components to subsume at least 90 percent of the total variance in the data can be generally assumed to yield Mahalanobis distances that approximate Mahalanobis distances in full elemental concentration space.

Lastly, Mahalanobis distance calculations are also quite useful for handling missing data (Sayre 1975). When many specimens are analyzed for a large number of elements, it is almost certain that a few element concentrations will be missed for some of the specimens. This occurs most frequently when the concentration for an element is near the detection limit. Rather than eliminate the specimen or the element from consideration, it is possible to substitute a missing value by replacing it with a value that minimizes the Mahalanobis distance for the specimen from the group centroid. Thus, those few specimens that are missing a single concentration value can still be used in group calculations.

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The ceramic samples are assigned to four distinct compositional groups, with one sample remaining unassigned. The raw clay and kiln brick samples are very distinct from the ceramics, but we are unsure if this is a result of temper or other alterations of the clays or because of different clay sources. The following sections describe the compositional variability of the samples, compare them to other potentially relevant ceramic and raw material samples, and propose a scenario for how the Williams family produced and procured pottery. Table E.2 is a list of the current samples along with some descriptive information and group assignments. The sherds sampled from the Williams farmstead also have a vessel number indicating their association with a specific ceramic vessel in the site's ceramic assemblage.

Table E.2. Basic descriptive information and compositional group assignments

ANID	Comp. Group*	Alternate ID	Site Name	Material	Vessel No.
PAI-164	1	MM-1	Guadalupe Pottery site	Pottery	–
PAI-165	1	MM-3	Guadalupe Pottery site	Pottery	–
PAI-166	1	MM-4	Guadalupe Pottery site	Pottery	–
PAI-167	1	MM-5	Guadalupe Pottery site	Pottery	–
PAI-168	1	MM-7	Guadalupe Pottery site	Pottery	–
PAI-169	1	MM-8	Guadalupe Pottery site	Pottery	–
PAI-170	1	MM-10	Guadalupe Pottery site	Pottery	–
PAI-181	1	MM-24	Guadalupe Pottery site	Pottery	–
PAI-182	1	MM-25	Guadalupe Pottery site	Pottery	–
PAI-171	1	MM-11	H. Wilson and Company	Pottery	–
PAI-172	1	MM-13	H. Wilson and Company	Pottery	–
PAI-173	1	MM-14	H. Wilson and Company	Pottery	–
PAI-174	1	MM-15	H. Wilson and Company	Pottery	–
PAI-175	1	MM-17	H. Wilson and Company	Pottery	–
PAI-176	1	MM-18	H. Wilson and Company	Pottery	–
PAI-177	1	MM-19	H. Wilson and Company	Pottery	–
PAI-178	1	MM-20	H. Wilson and Company	Pottery	–
PAI-179	1	MM-21	H. Wilson and Company	Pottery	–
PAI-180	1	MM-22	H. Wilson and Company	Pottery	–
PAI-198	Unassigned	MM-43	H. Wilson and Company	Kiln brick	–
PAI-199	Unassigned	MM-44	H. Wilson and Company	Natural clay	–
PAI-183	2	MM-26	Meyer Pottery	Pottery	–
PAI-184	2	MM-27	Meyer Pottery	Pottery	–
PAI-185	2	MM-28	Meyer Pottery	Pottery	–
PAI-186	2	MM-29	Meyer Pottery	Pottery	–
PAI-151	4	41TV1051-357	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-1
PAI-152	1	41TV1051-20	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-2
PAI-153	2	41TV1051-233	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-3
PAI-154	2	41TV1051-191	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-6
PAI-155	1	41TV1051-157	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-8
PAI-156	2	41TV1051-316	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-10
PAI-157	4	41TV1051-317	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-12
PAI-158	3	41TV1051-335	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-15
PAI-159	1	41TV1051-309	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-16
PAI-160	3	41TV1051-219	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-17

Table E.2, continued

ANID	Comp. Group*	Alternate ID	Site Name	Material	Vessel No.
PAI-161	1	41TV1051-109	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-18
PAI-162	2	41TV1051-323	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-19
PAI-163	Unassigned	41TV1051-161	Ransom Williams farmstead	Pottery	CV-9
PAI-187	1	MM-30	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Pottery	–
PAI-188	1	MM-31	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Pottery	–
PAI-189	1	MM-32	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Pottery	–
PAI-190	1	MM-33	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Pottery	–
PAI-191	1	MM-34	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Pottery	–
PAI-192	1	MM-35	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Pottery	–
PAI-193	1	MM-36	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Pottery	–
PAI-194	1	MM-37	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Pottery	–
PAI-195	1	MM-38	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Pottery	–
PAI-196	1	MM-39	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Pottery	–
PAI-197	Unassigned	MM-40	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Kiln brick	
PAI-200	Unassigned	MM-45	Wilson, Durham, Chandler site	Natural clay	

Internal Variability

The ceramic samples are assigned to four compositional groups; however, two of the groups consist of only pairs of samples, and another group includes only eight samples. Figure E.1 is a plot showing the compositional group structure. Each of the groups is described below.

Group 1

Group 1 is the dominant signature at all of the Wilson family potteries and includes four of the samples from the Williams farmstead. The group is very chemically homogenous and indicates a similar paste recipe for each of the manufacture facilities. Every sample from the three Wilson potteries fits in this one

group. It is not clear whether the similarity is a result of recipes using similar chemically raw materials or if the same raw material sources were transported to all of the manufacturing facilities. This is the only group large enough to allow any statistical validation, and a simple group membership probability assessment using Mahalanobis distance confirms the assignment of all members and the lack of membership of any other sample in the study.

Group 2

This group includes the four samples from the Meyer pottery as well as four samples from the Williams farmstead. We caution against assuming that the Meyer pottery was the source of the Group 2 samples from the Williams

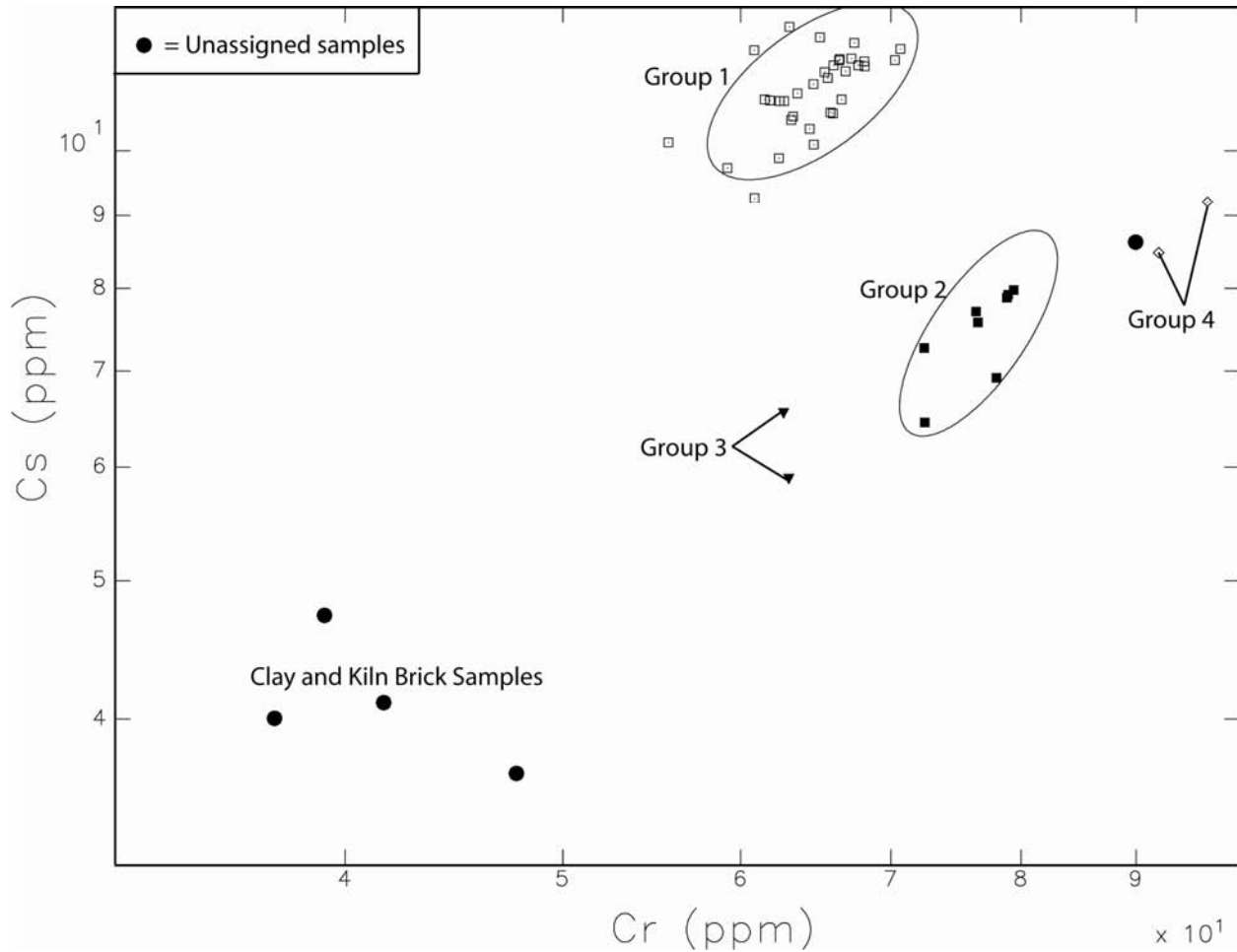


Figure E.1. Bivariate plot of chromium and cesium (log base-10 ppm) showing the compositional groups and unassigned samples. The ellipses represent 90 percent confidence intervals for membership in the groups.

farmstead. Group 2 is quite variable, and the Williams farmstead samples clearly separate from the Meyer pottery samples in a hierarchical cluster analysis. The farmstead samples show greater compositional variability than the Meyer pottery samples. Additional samples are needed to fully address the nature of Group 2 production, and would probably result in the separation of the Williams farmstead and Meyer pottery samples. Detailed statistical assessment of this group is not possible with the current small sample size.

Groups 3 and 4

Groups 3 and 4 consist of pairs of samples from the Williams farmstead. The pairs

consistently plot together in elemental bivariate plots and a cluster diagram. The production location for Groups 3 and 4 are unknown as they do not match any other samples.

Unassigned Samples

Of the five unassigned samples in the study, only one is a pottery sample. This sample likely represents a fifth source of ceramics present in the small sample from the Williams farmstead. The remaining four unassigned samples are kiln brick and raw clay samples from the H. Wilson and Company and the Wilson, Durham, and Chandler potteries. The clay and kiln brick samples are relatively similar to each other and suggest the possibility of broadly similar clays in

the region. The pottery may be distinct from the kiln and raw clay samples due to alterations of the paste through tempering or other processes. A petrographic analysis of the clay and ceramic samples may reveal the likely cause of the compositional differences.

Comparison with Previous Ceramic Samples

The samples were projected against the entire MURR ceramic NAA database containing over 55,000 samples, producing surprisingly no close matches. The samples were directly compared to the historic samples from mission contexts submitted by Steve Tomka (GST001-032) and Mike Quigg (TRC262-269). Although

the Tomka samples are from mission contexts, they are Native American-produced ceramics, and thus it is not surprising that they are quite different from the samples in this study. The samples submitted by Quigg are from the Lorenzo and San Juan Missions in Real and Bexar Counties, respectively. As shown in Figure E.2, these samples are also quite distinct from the samples in the current study.

Comparison with Raw Clay Samples

A number of raw clay samples from central Texas have been previously analyzed. The recently compiled Central Texas Database (compiled by Darrell Creel) lists 40 samples

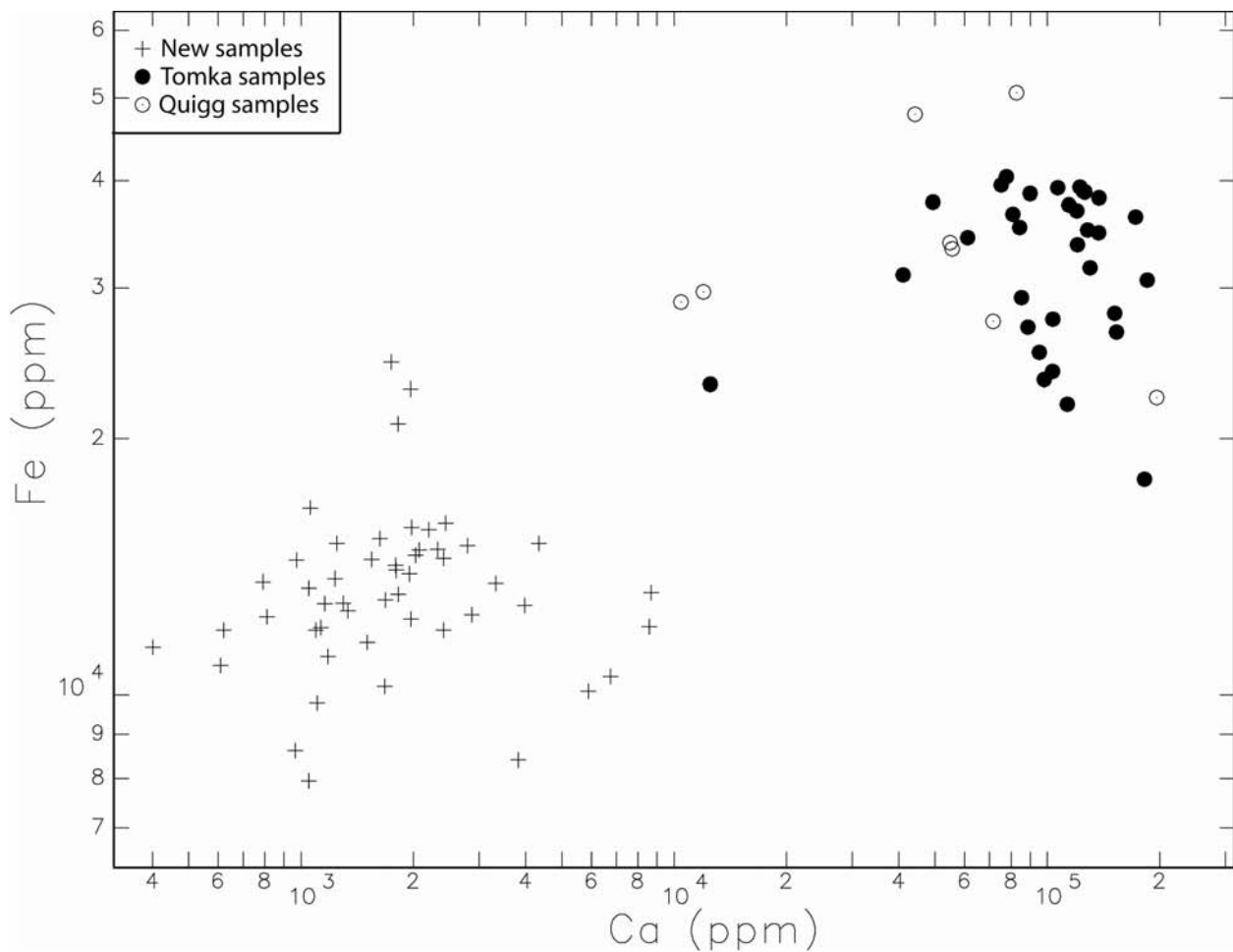


Figure E.2. Bivariate plot of calcium and iron (log base-10 ppm) showing the lack of similarity between the Tomka and Quigg samples and the current samples.

(Creel et al. 2013). None of the samples are clearly members of any of the compositional groups; however, some samples seem to have general similarity, including samples from the following counties: Medina (UT848, UT849), McCulloch (UT853), Coleman (UT855, UT856), Kerr (UT753), Bexar (UT365), Burnet (UT335, UT191). Previous compositional studies have noted the general similarity of the raw clays in the region, and thus similarity to sources in surrounding counties should be expected.

Evidence of Ceramic Production

The similarity of the samples from the three Wilson family–owned potteries is interesting, although the reasons for the similarity are

unclear. Figure E.3 plots the samples by site and clearly shows the Wilson pottery compositional similarity. Tempering procedures might explain the differences between the raw clay samples and the ceramics, but the similarity between production facilities located in different counties is more difficult to explain. It is possible that the clays across the region are similar enough that a consistent final recipe might create a uniform signature. It is also possible that the same raw material sources were used for all three of the Wilson pottery manufacture facilities, involving significant transportation costs. The clay and kiln brick samples have lower concentrations of Cr, Al, Y, Sc, Ti, Cs, Ta, and U, and slightly enriched in Fe and Zn relative to the pottery samples. Unfortunately these differences do not match a

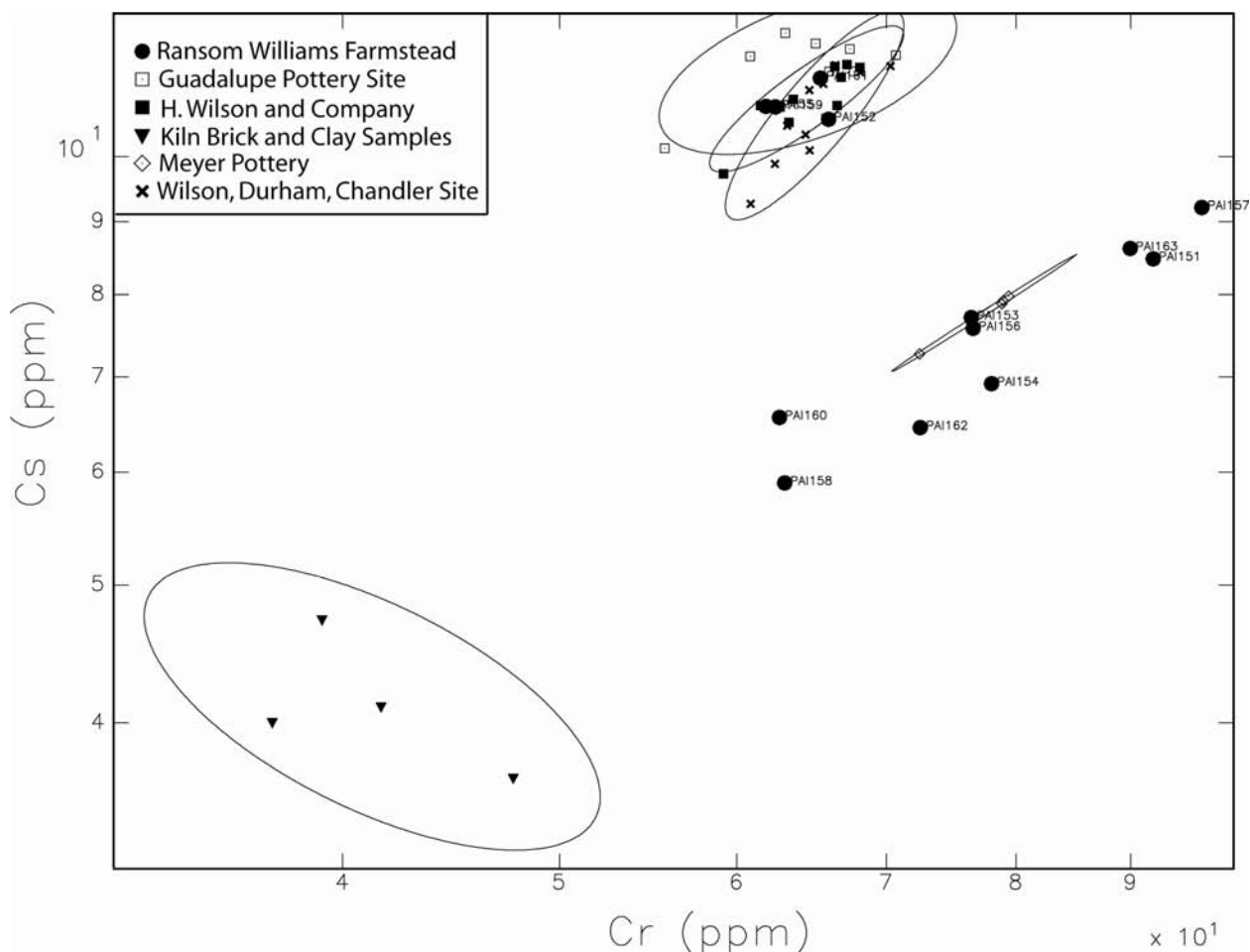


Figure E.3. Bivariate plot of chromium and cesium (log base-10 ppm) showing the distribution of samples by recovery site. The kiln brick and raw clay samples from two of the sites are grouped together. Ellipses represent 90 percent confidence intervals for membership in the groups.

characteristic pattern for tempering with common materials like bone, shell, sand, or ash. Perhaps historical documentation and/or petrographic analysis might help determine the cause.

Four ceramic samples from the Williams farmstead site are clearly members of Group 1 and match all 29 of the production samples from all three Wilson family potteries. The four Group 2 samples from the Williams farmstead are not as clearly associated with the four samples from the Meyer pottery; additional samples may eventually help to divide Group 2. The remaining farmstead samples fit three additional signatures (one unassigned, and Groups 3 and 4), and this variability suggests diverse procurement sources for the ceramics at the Williams farmstead.

CONCLUSION

The primary goal of this project is to assess the compositional similarity of the Wilson family-owned pottery production facilities and the pattern of procurement at the Wilson family farmstead. The Wilson potteries all have a remarkably consistent compositional signature suggesting a closely shared recipe, if not even shared raw material sources. The samples from the Meyer pottery, which located near San Antonio, Texas, and was not owned by the Wilson family, are chemically distinct. The pottery samples from the Ransom and Sarah Williams farmstead indicate a procurement system that included, but also extended well beyond, the three facilities owned by the Wilson family.

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**APPENDIX F: African American Newspapers
in Austin, Texas, 1868–1907**

Nedra Lee

In conjunction with the historic archeological investigations of the Ransom and Sarah Williams farmstead, African American newspapers published in Austin, Texas, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were analyzed by the author. The goal of the study was to get a snapshot of what life was like for African Americans living in central Texas from their own perspectives. The analytical methods and interpretations of the data derived from the analysis of African American newspapers are presented in Chapter 13, and the tabulated data are presented here.

The available newspaper sample spans from 1868, three years after emancipation and the year of the earliest available issue, to 1907, a date selected because it is near the ca. 1905 ending of the Williamses' occupation of the family farm. Within this time frame, there are 220 surviving issues from five different newspapers readily accessible in Austin archives. These newspapers are all available in the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History at the University of Texas at Austin, and they consist of:

Austin Searchlight, Austin, Texas
October 24, 1896 (original) and
February 23, 1907 (microfilm,
miscellaneous Austin reel)

Free Man's Press, Austin, Texas
August 1, 1868 (original and
microfilm); July 25, 1868, August 22,
1868, August 22, 1868 (photocopy)

Gold Dollar, Austin Texas
August, 1876 (photocopy)

Herald, Austin, Texas
January 7, 1893–January 2, 1897
(originals); March 10, 1917–June 21,
1919 (photocopies); November 10,
1917 (original)

Sunday School Herald, Austin, Texas
May 15, 1892–December 17, 1892
(originals)

The original plan was to conduct an in-depth examination of all of these issues, compiling detailed data on the articles, public service announcements, and advertisements. Due to time constraints, however, the number of

issues that could be examined for this study was limited to 135, or approximately 61.4 percent of the available issues. Table F.1 is a summary of the African American newspapers published in Austin during the 1868–1907 period and existing in local archives. The table also shows the number of issues analyzed for this study. Table F.2 is a listing of the 135 issues that were examined for this study, and Table F.3 is a listing of the 85 issues that were not examined.

Table F.4 (on CD) includes all of the data recorded for the 135 newspaper issues that were examined, with two levels of classification codes and a third level of topic headings to aid in sorting and interpreting the data. The tabulated data include 9,166 lines of entry, with one line for each article or advertisement in each of the examined issues. The entry classifications and types that were used to organize the data are:

ARTICLE

- Announcement
- Article
- Event
- Letter

ADVERTISEMENT

- Announcement
- Event
- Job
- Job Training
- Product
- Service

The primary subject headings used in Table F.4 are:

Agriculture	Humor
Alcohol	Legal
Apparel	Leisure
Arts (and Entertainment)	Local News
Beauty and Hygiene	National News
Black Issues	Obituary
Business	Politics
Disaster	Religion
Education	Restaurant
Family	Room and Board
Financial	Science
Firearms	State News
Food	Tobacco
General (General Interest)	Transportation
Government	Unknown
Health	Violence
Home	Women's Issues

Table F.1. African American newspapers published in the Austin area between 1868 and 1907, available in Austin archives, and analyzed for this study

Newspaper Name	Repository	Years in Collection	No. Issues in Collection	No. Issues Examined	No. Issues Not Examined
<i>Austin Searchlight</i>	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	1896, 1907	2	2	0
<i>Free Man's Press</i>	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	1868	3	3	0
<i>Gold Dollar</i>	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	1876	1	1	0
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	1892	20	20	0
<i>The Herald</i>	Austin History Center; Dolph Briscoe Center for American History; George Washington Carver Museum and Cultural Center	1893–1897; 1900	194	109 (all 1893 and 1894 issues; only 10 issues from 1895)	85 (1895–1897; 1900)
Total No. of Issues			220	135	85
Percentage of Total Issues			–	61.40%	38.60%

Table F.2. African American newspapers analyzed

Newspaper Name	Year	Month	Day	Volume No.	Issue No.	Issue Count	Comments
<i>Austin Searchlight</i>	1896	10	24	2	40	1	
<i>Austin Searchlight</i>	1907	2	27	8	48	2	
<i>Free Man's Press</i>	1868	7	25	Not listed	Not listed	3	Paper incomplete; unable to determine volume and issue
<i>Free Man's Press</i>	1868	8	1	1	3	4	
<i>Free Man's Press</i>	1868	8	22	Not listed	Not listed	5	Paper incomplete; unable to determine volume and issue
<i>Gold Dollar</i>	1876	8	Not listed	Not listed	Not listed	6	Information not included on the newspaper
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	5	14	2	1	7	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	5	21	2	2	8	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	5	28	2	3	9	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	6	4	2	4	10	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	6	11	2	5	11	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	6	18	2	6	12	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	6	25	2	7	13	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	7	2	2	8	14	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	7	16	2	10	15	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	7	23	2	11	16	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	7	30	2	12	17	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	8	6	2	13	18	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	8	13	2	14	19	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	8	20	2	15	20	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	8	27	2	16	21	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	9	10	2	18	22	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	11	5	2	26	23	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	11	26	2	28	24	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	12	1	2	30	25	
<i>Sunday School Herald</i>	1892	12	17	2	Not listed	26	Issue number illegible on microfilm
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	1	7	2	33	27	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	1	14	2	34	28	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	1	21	Not listed	Not listed	29	Volume/issue number not listed on paper; possible printer's error
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	1	28	2	35	30	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	2	11	2	37	31	

The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead

Table F.2, continued

Newspaper Name	Year	Month	Day	Volume No.	Issue No.	Issue Count	Comments
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	3	4	2	40	32	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	3	11	2	41	33	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	3	18	2	42	34	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	3	25	2	43	35	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	4	1	2	44	36	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	4	22	2	46	37	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	4	29	2	47	38	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	5	13	2	49	39	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	5	20	2	50	40	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	5	27	2	51	41	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	6	3	2	52	42	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	6	10	3	1	43	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	6	17	3	2	44	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	6	24	3	3	45	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	7	8	3	5	46	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	7	15	3	6	47	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	7	22	3	7	48	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	7	29	3	8	49	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	8	5	3	9	50	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	8	12	3	10	51	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	8	19	3	10	52	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	8	26	3	11	53	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	9	2	3	12	54	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	9	9	3	13	55	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	9	16	3	14	56	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	9	23	3	15	57	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	9	30	3	16	58	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	10	7	3	17	59	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	10	14	3	18	60	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	10	21	3	19	61	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	10	28	3	20	62	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	11	4	3	21	63	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	11	11	3	22	64	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	11	18	3	23	65	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	11	25	3	24	66	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	12	2	3	25	67	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	12	9	3	26	68	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	12	16	3	27	69	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	12	23	3	28	70	

Table F.2, continued

Newspaper Name	Year	Month	Day	Volume No.	Issue No.	Issue Count	Comments
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	12	23	3	Holiday Supplement	71	
<i>The Herald</i>	1893	12	30	2 [sic]	29	72	Volume number incorrect due to possible printer's error
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	29	4	31	73	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	1	6	2	30	74	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	1	13	2	31	75	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	1	20	2	32	76	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	1	27	2	33	77	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	2	3	3	33	78	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	2	10	3	34	79	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	2	17	3	35	80	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	2	24	3	36	81	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	3	3	3	37	82	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	3	10	3	38	83	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	3	17	3	39	84	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	3	24	3	40	85	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	3	31	3	41	86	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	4	8	3	42	87	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	4	14	3	43	88	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	4	21	3	44	89	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	4	28	3	45	90	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	4	3	45	91	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	12	3	45	92	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	19	3	47	93	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	5	26	3	51	94	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	6	2	3	52	95	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	6	9	4	1	96	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	6	16	4	2	97	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	6	23	4	3	98	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	6	30	4	4	99	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	7	4	5	100	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	14	4	6	101	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	21	4	7	102	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	7	28	4	8	103	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	8	4	4	9	104	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	8	11	4	10	105	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	8	18	4	11	106	

The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead

Table F.2, continued

Newspaper Name	Year	Month	Day	Volume No.	Issue No.	Issue Count	Comments
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	8	25	4	12	107	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	9	1	4	13	108	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	9	8	4	14	109	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	9	15	4	15	110	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	9	22	4	16	111	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	9	29	4	17	112	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	10	6	4	18	113	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	10	13	4	19	114	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	10	20	4	20	115	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	10	27	4	21	116	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	11	3	4	22	117	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	11	10	4	23	118	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	11	17	4	Not listed	119	Issue number illegible on microfilm
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	1	4	27	120	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	8	4	28	121	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	15	4	29	122	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	22	4	30	123	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	22	4	Holiday supplement	124	
<i>The Herald</i>	1894	12	29	4	31	125	
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	1	5	4	32	126	
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	1	12	4	33	127	
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	1	19	4	34	128	
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	1	26	4	35	129	
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	2	2	4	36	130	
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	3	2	4	40	131	
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	3	30	4	45	132	
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	4	27	4	49	133	
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	5	25	5	1	134	
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	6	22	5	5	135	

Table F.3. African American newspaper issues available in Austin archives but not analyzed

Newspaper Name	Year	Month	Day	Issue Count
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	2	9	1
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	2	16	2
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	2	23	3
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	3	9	4
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	3	16	5
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	3	23	6
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	4	6	7
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	4	13	8
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	4	20	9
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	5	4	10
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	5	11	11
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	5	18	12
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	6	1	13
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	6	8	14
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	6	15	15
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	6	29	16
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	7	6	17
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	7	13	18
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	7	27	19
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	8	3	20
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	8	10	21
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	8	24	22
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	9	7	23
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	9	14	24
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	9	28	25
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	10	5	26
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	10	12	27
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	10	16	28
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	10	18	29
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	10	19	30
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	11	2	31
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	11	9	32
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	11	16	33
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	11	30	34
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	12	7	35
<i>The Herald</i>	1895	12	14	36
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	1	4	37
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	1	18	38
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	1	25	39
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	2	1	40
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	2	8	41
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	2	15	42

Newspaper Name	Year	Month	Day	Issue Count
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	2	22	43
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	2	29	44
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	3	7	45
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	3	14	46
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	3	21	47
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	3	28	48
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	4	4	49
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	4	11	50
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	4	18	51
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	4	25	52
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	5	2	53
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	5	9	54
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	5	30	55
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	6	6	56
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	6	20	57
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	6	27	58
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	7	4	59
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	7	11	60
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	7	18	61
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	7	25	62
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	8	1	63
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	8	8	64
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	8	15	65
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	8	22	66
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	8	29	67
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	9	5	68
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	9	12	69
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	9	19	70
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	9	26	71
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	10	3	72
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	10	10	73
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	10	17	74
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	10	24	75
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	11	2	76
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	11	7	77
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	11	14	78
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	11	21	79
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	11	28	80
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	12	5	81
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	12	12	82
<i>The Herald</i>	1896	12	19	83
<i>The Herald</i>	1897	1	2	84
<i>The Herald</i>	1900	1	6	85

Table F.4. Database of newspaper entries compiled from the examination of 135 issues of African American newspapers in Austin archives (on CD only).

