A FORGOTTEN APPALACHIA:
THE GRAHAM FARM OF ALABAMA'S PAINT ROCK VALLEY

by

Jay Bradley Eatherly

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Public History

Middle Tennessee State University
December 2016

Thesis Committee:

Dr. Carroll Van West

Dr. Lisa Pruitt

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I was introduced to Dr. Carroll Van West during my first semester as a graduate student at Middle Tennessee State University. At the time of our introduction, I had no idea what "historic preservation" was as an academic endeavor or a professional career choice. Through my years within the program, Dr. West has instructed me both in the classroom and in the field. His passion for historic preservation is something I aspire to. I would like to thank Dr. West for that instruction, for patience with my many questions and time constraints, and for his help in the professional field. I would like to also thank Dr. Lisa Pruitt for agreeing to assist me with preparing my thesis and for instruction within the classroom. She helped me understand nineteenth century historiography which translated well for the first half of the story of the Graham Farm.

Dr. Rebecca Conard is deserving of my thanks as well. As my academic advisor, she remained patient with me through question after question and was always willing to work around my busy schedule in order to make time for me. I consider future students to be at a loss after her retirement for not being able to appreciate her instruction and friendship in the way that I enjoyed.

The staff at the Alabama Cooperative Extension System exhibited patience, hospitality, and assistance I could not have received elsewhere. I am particularly indebted to Noah Bowling, the care-taker of the Graham farmstead for putting up with me stopping by, sometimes unannounced, and allowing me to have access to every part of the farm. Donna Sands eagerly assisted me throughout the project, and I thank her for her continued excitement. I would like to thank Mr. Robert Head and his wife, Mrs. Nita

Head, the last remaining member of the immediate Graham family, for the time they gave me to question them about the farm, and the hospitality they showed me whenever we talked.

Lastly, I thank my family. I thank my mother, Julia Johnson, for instilling a love of history within me, even if it took me until I was thirty to realize it completely. The assistance of my mother-in-law, Mattie Joyner, has helped me and my family more than she will ever know. I want to thank my wife, Alicia. Your willingness to put up with my schedule and your continuous encouragement has allowed me to complete this challenge that we have experienced together. My children, Harrison and Eva, have had to deal with daddy coming home from work just to go straight upstairs to study for most of their lives. I thank them for their unconditional love. It is for these three that I have strived for three years to finish this journey.

ABSTRACT

Scholars have often studied Appalachia. To many, Appalachia ends in Tennessee, North Carolina, and perhaps, the northern tip of Georgia. However, the Appalachian range sees its southern most mountains terminate in north Alabama. The Paint Rock Valley, which sits within the larger Tennessee River Valley, is home to a small community of Appalachian farmers, of which many have deep familial roots. The physical landscape is beautiful but can be harsh, which dictates the type of farming allowed within the region. Despite the difficulties, families have been adopting and practicing progressive farming techniques for well over a century. The cultural landscape shares similarities with other Appalachian regions while maintaining its own unique differences.

The progressive ideals embodied within the cultural landscape may be found at the Graham Farm in Jackson County. It remained in the hands of one family from at least the end of the Civil War through 2012 when the last surviving member of the Graham family gifted the property to Auburn University. This study will show that despite economic hardships after the Civil War and after the Great Depression, the Graham family utilized progressive farming techniques and ideas to build a large, commercially viable farm. The farm, now administered by the Alabama Cooperative Extension System, can be used as a public space to educate visitors about the very progressive agricultural systems practiced by the Graham family for 100 years.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES vi

LIST OF TABLES ix

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER I: THE UPPER PAINT ROCK VALLEY 20

CHAPTER II: PROGRESSIVE FARMING IN THE SOUTH 28

- RECONSTRUCTION TO THE NEW DEAL 28

CHAPTER III: THE NEW DEAL FORWARD 47

CHAPTER IV: THE GRAHAM FARM AS A CASE STUDY 54

- DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES 54
- PRESERVATION CONCERNS 88
- THE GRAHAM FARM AS A PUBLIC SPACE 103

BIBLIOGRAPHY 106

APPENDIX 114

APPENDIX A: SKETCHES 115

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Border of Graham Farm within the Paint Rock Valley 54

Figure 2: The Paint Rock Valley landscape: Larkin Fork Creek 55

Figure 3: County Road 27 leading to the Graham Farm 62

Figure 4: Front façade of the Graham farmhouse 63

Figure 5: Dog-trot that has been filled in at Old Beersheeba Inn, Beersheeba Springs, TN 65

Figure 6: Interior central hall of Graham Farm homestead 65

Figure 7: Paint Rock Valley High School 67

Figure 8: Interior of Graham Farm cellar 68

Figure 9: Washroom on the left and smokehouse on the right 70

Figure 10: Concrete wash basins within washhouse 70

Figure 11: Fresh water spring 71

Figure 12: Water trough with sulfur well pump 72

Figure 13: Large equipment and tool shed 74

Figure 14: Interior view of shed 74

Figure 15: Front façade of the farrowing house 75

Figure 16: Interior view of farrowing house 76

Figure 17: The original barn circa 1982 78

Figure 18: The current renovated barn 78

Figure 19: Milking stations 80

Figure 20: Interior of barn-dairy stalls 80

Figure 21: Barn interior-the hay trough drops down and goes back up to save room 81

Figure 22: Barn interior-second floor loft’s mortise and tenon joints 81

Figure 23: Barn interior-ceiling, with historic wood, new wood, and new tin roof and hay catcher 82

Figure 24: A small two-stall shed 83

Figure 25: Small cattle path bridge with stone base 83

Figure 26: Historical photo of the farm circa early 1980s with landscape 85

Figure 27: Chicken coop with door facing farmhouse.. 85

Figure 28: Tractor shed 86

Figure 29: Dilapidated log structure 87

Figure 30: Detail of hardware-two hinges and a locking mechanism 87

Figure 31: Damage to soffit-notice debris on roof... 89

Figure 32: View of the farm from Maxwell Mountain 90

Figure 33: Exterior of farrowing house 92

Figure 34: Interior of farrowing house... 93

Figure 35: Detail of chicken coop with stones missing in corner................................... 94

Figure 36: Exterior wall of tool shed 96

Figure 37: Interior of shed with antique tools used on the farm..................................... 97

Figure 38: Antique plows.. 97

Figure 39: Cast iron stove door with Native American motif 98

Figure 40: Ten-gallon milk cans used in the dairy farm 98

Figure 41: Wash basin 99

Figure 42: Small disc plow abandoned on side of mountain 99

Figure 43: Early twentieth century bedroom suite.. 101

Figure 44: Early twentieth century vanity dresser 101

Figure 45: Mid-twentieth century cabinet crafted in Princeton, AL.............................. 102

Figure 46: Graham Farm and landscape 105

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Comparison of White population and African American population in Jackson County, Alabama.. 37

Table 2: Value/Quantity of Graham Farm's assets, 1880………………………………. 58

INTRODUCTION

While many historians have documented farming in the South, they have neglected Southern Appalachia. The Black Belt of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, along with the rich plantations in the same areas have tended to attract historians more so than the southern tip of the Appalachian Mountains. The Appalachian Mountain residents in Alabama have received little scholarly attention.

Agricultural patterns here were similar to other regions in the South. Sharecropping and tenant farming after the Civil War devastated the overall economic landscape of the South. The over-farming of certain crops, especially cotton, drove prices down to almost nothing as surpluses ballooned out of control. A boom occurred during World War 1 and its immediate aftermath when the world required the goods the South produced. Soon afterward however, the world market stabilized, and prices plummeted again to even lower depths. Farmers who bought more land, expensive equipment, or luxury items for their homes thinking the boom would last resulted in losing more than they had before the war. A severe economic downturn devastated southern agriculture well before the Great Depression of 1929. A poor road system benefitted the owners of railroads. Few roads outside of the major cities in the South were paved, leaving them vulnerable to deep ruts or unusable slop during times of rain. Farmers were forced to travel to a central marketplace instead of traveling wherever they chose to sell because of the “spokes-on-a-wheel” system. Until local, state, and federal agencies built more and better roads, agriculture in the South stagnated. Many residents lacked any advanced education which led to poor literacy rates. Aa a result, agricultural periodicals published by Progressives therefore suffered from a lack of readership. The rural South fought against these setbacks in an effort to modernize the landscape.[1]

According to the United States Census Bureau, the Census of 1910 was the last where more than half of the U.S. population lived in rural areas. By 1920, the majority had moved to urban areas, though the percentages were still close at 51.2 % compared to 48.8%. By the end of the 1920s, 66% of the South still "lived in rural areas, and 42.8% still labored on farms," according to historian Roger Biles.[2] Despite these numbers in the South, the United States, once a land dominated by rural lifestyles and agrarian cultures, had begun the journey to a nation whose population preferred the town and city to the farm. The 2010 Census shows that a full-fledged migration had been completed. That year, 80.7% of Americans lived in what the census designated as urban areas. The remaining 19.3% of the population had chosen to remain in an agricultural setting.[3] Despite the decline in numbers, farming in the United States is traditionally regarded as one of the nation's most vital industries. The production of food and textiles by America's farmers has become more important as the number of farms decrease. Fewer farms have to produce enough crops to feed and clothe an ever-increasing world population.

---

[1] Paul K. Conkin, *A Revolution Down on the Farm: The Transformation of American Agriculture since 1929* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2008), 3; Gilbert Fite, *Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture 1865-1980* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky 1984), 20; Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 195; Wayne Flynt, *Poor But Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1989), 59; David B. Danbom, *Born in the Country: A History of Rural America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1995), 176; Howard Lawrence Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 12; Suzanne Fischer, *Looking Beyond the Highway: Dixie Roads and Culture*, eds. Claudette Stager and Martha Carver (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 5.

[2] Roger Biles, *The South and the New Deal* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994), 2.

[3] U.S. Census Bureau, https://askcensus. gov/faq.php?id=5000&faqId=5971, accessed March 30, 2015. For a comparison of urban vs, rural population percentages from 1900-1990 see https://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/urpop0090.txt.

The cultural landscape of rural life also changed during the last 150 years. Two cataclysmic events shaped the South in several aspects, especially in agriculture. Both events allowed Southerners the possibility to adapt and to change the way they farmed. The Civil War remains the most life altering event the South, and arguably the nation, has experienced, with the Great Depression coming in a close second. Southern farmers adapted and changed the way they farmed after the Civil War. If a Confederate soldier was lucky enough to return home after Appomattox, he did so to a vastly changed landscape. The large number of former soldiers who either died or were left crippled necessitated a change to farming techniques. Lands devastated by battles, foraging by both armies, intentional destruction by Union troops, and general neglect left many Southerners with land considered unfarmable. After the Civil War, the South was left reeling with uncertainty. This agrarian region, when left with little to nothing to work with, began an era of hard times that remained through the end of World War II. Historian Wayne Flynt describes the landscape immediately after the Civil War by suggesting that "no chicken or pig was safe from hungry people."[4]

If a former plantation owner was able to cultivate his land for farming after the Civil War, he found that he no longer had forced labor with which to work the land. At the beginning of the Reconstruction era, white land owners paid wages to either poor whites and/or former enslaved African Americans for working fields. Many poor whites tried to rebuild whatever they may have had before the war and some succeeded even if only as subsistence farmers. In 1865, Congress proposed the Freedmen's Bureau Act which, according to economist Bruce J. Reynolds, included "plans for 40-acre tracts to be sold on easy terms from either abandoned plantations or to be developed on unsettled lands."[5] President Andrew Johnson eventually vetoed this and other proposals to award African Americans cheap tracts of land. Congress passed the Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1866 but failed to include any land provisions to southern African Americans. The failure to allocate land to African Americans allowed former plantation owners to retain their lands and seek paid help.

---

[4] Wayne Flynt, *Poor But Proud*, 62.

Many white farmers lacked the cash to employ freed African Americans for cultivation. Most African Americans lacked enough cash to purchase land they could farm themselves. With landowners searching for labor and laborers searching for work, a labor system known as sharecropping developed. White landowners devised a plan whereby a plot of their land, typically including a small house, would be measured off for the use of a poor-and many times black- family. The family would work the plot of land in return for a percentage of the harvest. Sharecropping seemed to make perfect sense at first, providing a balance of mutual interests between the two parties. David Danbom states that going from slavery to sharecropping was "joining landless labor with laborless land."[6] Flynt describes the viewpoints each side had, with the planters receiving a "more reliable labor force" and the croppers receiving a "contractual system, . . . increased self-esteem," and more "control over his or her life."[7]

---

[5] Bruce J. Reynolds, "Black Farmers in America, 1865—2000: The Pursuit of Independent Farming and the Role of Corporations." Rural Business Cooperative Service, USDA Report 194, Oct. 2002, 2.

[6] Danbom, *Born in the Country*, 124.

A lack of banks made receiving credit a difficult proposition after the Civil War. Many times the sharecropping family began their endeavor in debt and found it impossible to escape. If the family did not own tools or draft animals, the landowner might rent his to the cropper and collect payment at harvest time with interest added. This meant less percentage of the harvested crop for the sharecropper, who already owed the landowner his agreed upon percentage of the crops that had been cultivated. They might also owe rent for their house, which would also lower their compensation. Because compensation usually came once a year when the produce would be sold at market, many sharecroppers relied on a system known as crop-lien to purchase food and other supplies through the remainder of the year. Naturally, payment for these supplies would be due at harvest time, once again reducing the amount a family would receive. The cycle would then repeat itself the next growing season with the planter receiving most if not all of the profits from the harvest. As a result, the cropper would fall further into debt. Pete Daniel describes the system as a form of peonage and equates the system to the institution of slavery.[8]

The crop-lien system became a legal way to conduct farming business in Alabama when the state legislature passed it as a law in 1866. Many historians argue that this system, which continued well into the twentieth century, devastated the citizens and the agricultural economy of the state. Flynt recounts that William C. Stubbs, an Auburn

---

[7] Flynt, *Poor But Proud*, 64.

[8] Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969* (Urbana, Il: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 22.

University chemistry professor, "blamed the crop-lien system for bankrupting Alabama's small farmers."[9] Perhaps the cruelest aspect of the sharecropper's life involved not being allowed to set a portion of the land they cultivated for a personal garden that would provide sustenance they otherwise might not receive. Sharecroppers who were allowed to have a garden were considered lucky or blessed or both.

The desperate conditions of the vast majority of southern farms can be hard to comprehend. Even those that might be considered middle class farmsteads lacked enough capital or amenities to make them much more than subsistence farms. Poor farmers, whether they owned a small tract of land or were tenants or sharecroppers, lived in destitution. Time did not assuage the farmers plight. Percentages of sharecroppers and tenant farmers showed rapid increase between 1865 and 1900. In 1880, 37.9% of farms were operated by croppers and tenants. The percentage increased to 48.4% by 1900.[10] The twentieth century showed no mercy to southern farmers either. As Gilbert Fite shows, "Tenancy was increasing at a steady rate. There were slightly fewer black tenants in 1930 than a decade earlier simply because blacks had left the farm, but the number of white tenants had risen by some two hundred thousand. There were 384, 541 black and 336, 817 white sharecroppers in the region."[11] The dream of the next generation being better off than the current generation remained nothing more than just a dream. Each successive generation fell further into debt as farms decreased in size and value. Appalachia historian Carl Feather describes the fatalist point of view in the mountains.

---

[9] Flynt, *Poor But Prou*d, 67.

[10] Fite, *Cotton Fields No More*, 5.

[11] Ibid., 113.

"The best he could hope for was the status quo; to maintain it was to be successful. The mountaineer's children could not expect to fare any better than their parents as long as they farmed their allocation of acres carved from a stony mountainside."[12]

Poverty acted in some ways like an epidemic disease. It slowly affected increasing numbers with no regards to wealth, race, or region. Even the wealthy succumbed to the economic repercussions, although in decidedly less numbers. And though both whites and African Americans dealt with the woes of destitution, the percentages and the severity were higher amongst African Americans.[13]

While much of the South struggled with sharecropping, tenancy, and the crop-lien system, another region within the South always seemed to defy the norm of Southern conventions. The mountainous region of Appalachia served as the home for thousands of Southerners who typically preferred to do things a little differently than their lowlands neighbors. From the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia to the southern tip in North Alabama, residents of the hills and hollows took a certain amount of pride in being different. Mountain residents farmed just like other Southerners, but there were few, if any, large plantations because of the terrain. Because of this, comparatively few landowners enslaved African Americans. During the 1850s and into the Civil War era, regions such as East Tennessee and North Alabama were decidedly pro-Union if they took a side at all. Many saw no profit to them on either side of the war and were flatly against it. In fact, the state of Tennessee was the last state to join the Confederacy, the first Confederate state to fall under Union control, the first state to be re-admitted to the

---

[12] Carl E. Feather, *Mountain People in a Flat Land: A Popular History of Appalachian Migration to Northeast Ohio, 1940-1965* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1998), 17.

[13] Fite, *Cotton Fields*, 22.

Union after the war and sent the most troops to fight for the Union. These people were very independent and were not going to be swayed politically by slave-owners and popular opinion. After the Civil War, these mountain people considered themselves more Republican than Democrat when Republicans were the party of Abraham Lincoln.

Despite the fact that citizens in these regions were different from their Southern cohorts, some things remained similar. Farming in Appalachia was never an easy task and it was all the more difficult considering the effects of the Civil War. Difficult terrain, hard soil, destitution, and a lack of education made life farming in the mountains particularly devastating. One mountain man recalled that "some of 'um was s'hungry, they'd cut out a chunk (of cattle that had been shot)- they wouldn't wait till they skinned it an' cooked it. They just nearly starved to death. They'd cut out an' eat that raw beef, now."[14]

Cotton played the part of a double-edged sword in the South at the end of the nineteenth century. The cash crop brought more money to farmers which led to any farmer with more than a few acres eager to plant it. The over production of cotton led to a glut on the market, forcing prices down to as low as five cents a pound by the end of the century.[15] Farmers also relied on the plant so much that they felt they could not rotate the crops or let fields lie fallow to conserve the soil. Years and years of planting cotton left fields dry and nutrient free. These factors led to severe erosion in the South. Mountain farmers relied less on the famous cash crop because the terrain made it difficult to cultivate.[16]

---

[14] Roy Edwin Thomas, *Southern Appalachia, 1885-1915* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1991), 12.

[15] Fite, *Cotton Fields*, 48.

Because of the terrain and typically smaller plots of land, most farmers in the Appalachian areas toiled for subsistence. Many mountain farmers were known for the saying, "if we didn't raise it, we didn't have much food."[17] They produced plenty of vegetables including cabbage, lettuce, radishes, cucumbers, okra, tomatoes, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, corn, pumpkins, turnips, mustard greens, and collard greens. The majority of their meat came from pork but they also added chickens to their diet. They hunted rabbit, squirrel, possum, deer, and even the occasional bear to supplement their meat intake. Women on the farm worked many hours drying fruits and meat and canning a variety of foodstuffs to store up for the winter months.[18]

Many farmers in the South knew the situation could not remain in its current state. Progressive thinking farmers envisioned a better way to farm but too many lacked the means to invest in the new agricultural techniques and technology. Many progressive urban dwellers feared that mass migration of rural to urban centers would negatively affect the food market. These two groups sought to join and fight the crippling systems that ruled the region.

A certain group, known as Progressives or reformers, longed for an era in which they perceived a tightly knit community where, as historian Mary Hoffschwelle states, "everybody, regardless of status, felt a common bond of interest." Progressives sought scientific methods to "solve the nation's problems." Progressives felt the rural South was fertile ground to enact change amongst its peoples.[19]

---

[16] Flynt, *Poor But Proud*, 162.

[17] Thomas, *Southern Agriculture*, 39.

[18] Ibid., 40.

Urban Progressives often saw rural Southerners as backwards people in serious need of help. They believed that in order to change seemingly inherent, antiquated ways of life, a total overhaul of the education system was in order. Southern public education in the early nineteenth century suffered from poor funding and a lack of interest from the community. Many children helped their families by working the fields during peak work seasons. This limited how many days children could attend school. By the time a young boy turned thirteen or fourteen, he could be expected to quit school completely to work full-time on the farm. These long-standing culture practices helped the South maintain the lowest literacy rate in the nation. For years, reformers attempted to change the educational standards without much success. Although many reformers came from the rural South, typically urban Progressives had the ability, or means, to see change enacted. Often times, these urban Progressives struggled to understand the rural ways of life. According to Hoffschwelle, they eventually realized "that rural culture was grounded in the home, that in order to improve rural schools they would have to improve the rural home, and that to improve the rural home they would have to reach rural women."[20]

Hoffschwelle examines the Progressives efforts to educate the rural South through several means. Progressives utilized state and federal funds to build new, modern schoolhouses. These new schoolhouses would act as representations of what farmhouses could become. Hoffschwelle emphasizes how reformers believed in the importance of home economics courses for young schoolgirls. Girls would learn modern, scientific methods to improve the domestic lifestyle of the farm family. Education reformers hoped the girls would go home and put into practice these methods while also educating their mothers, sisters and grandmothers. While somewhat effective, school reformers soon realized that other methods needed to be established.

---

[19] Mary Hoffschwelle, *Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools and Homes in Tennessee, 1900-1930* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 13.

[20] Ibid., 17.

Progressives desired to make a difference and believed that they were. Hoffschwelle claims, "Reformers argued that domestic reform could hold families on their farms, revitalize rural communities and enhance civil life. . . .Better homes could produce better farms and an improved country life only if rural homemakers adopted new aesthetics and consumer goods."[21] Virginia Moore, an early organizer of rural home-makers associations, "lobbied legislators" for federal funding for "home demonstration work" in proposed legislation for a national extension service. In 1914, Congress passed the Smith-Lever Act, which created the United States Department of Agriculture Extension Service.[22]

Historian Melissa Walker also examines how women in the rural South used Progressive ideas to shape the dominant culture of the time and place. Whereas Hoffschwelle takes a generally positive view of the Progressive movement among women, Walker notes the negative attributes as well. Race, gender, and class issues handcuffed women throughout the South's farmlands. Gender roles remained strictly defined for much of the first half of the twentieth century. Typically, males continued to work in the fields "producing crops and raising livestock for the market."[23] Each of these jobs tended to be particularly strenuous on a job-by-job basis. Women, however, made up the difference in the number of responsibilities they carried on the farmstead. According to Walker, women regularly "tended [gardens] and harvested and preserved the family's annual food supply." They also tended to the "daily care and feeding of cows and chickens. . . were responsible for the household tasks of cleaning, sewing, and caring for . . . clothing and for tending children and sick."[24] During the seasons in which males were at their busiest, women might also be responsible for chopping wood or carrying water. Perhaps most importantly, no one in the family would eat if the women did not cook three meals each day. These duties befell females every day of the year, while males enjoyed some leisure time. African American women were expected to perform all these tasks as well as assist in the fields and earn wages off the farm.[25]

---

[21] Ibid., 104.

[22] Ibid., 33.

Home demonstration agents, women involved in the agricultural extension programs, attempted to disperse the knowledge they received in college or vocational school to rural women. Demonstration agents saw themselves as "social workers ministering to the needs of rural communities" while administering a "type of salvation to isolated farming folk."[26] Those rural "farming folk" might have seen things differently. Many times agents struggled to gain traction amongst the rural communities to which they were assigned. Either distrust towards an outsider telling women how to run their houses or a general lack of interest spurred these struggles. This is not to imply that rural women desired to maintain the status quo. If rural women were going to change their culture, they might utilize the agents sent to help them but often the agents would have to adjust according to the community's prerogative. Rural women of the time desired changes for a combination of reasons: they wanted access to modern tools and machines that could make their lives even just a little easier and they wanted to update their homes with the fashions and leisure associated with urban life.[27]

---

[23] Melissa Walker, *All We Knew Was to Farm: Rural Women in the Upcountry South, 1919-1941* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 22.

[24] Ibid., 21.

[25] Ibid., 22.

[26] Ibid., 100.

Progressives utilized the extension service programs effectively, with home and farm demonstrations becoming one of the more successful endeavors used during the era. Recent university graduates with agricultural backgrounds traveled to farms to educate farmers, usually on behalf of the government. They taught them better cultivation practices, soil conservation techniques, and how to use modern, mechanized tools. Many agricultural agents, according to Melissa Walker, would show the women of the farm "improved gardening and food preservation practices, techniques for providing . . . a balanced diet year-round, and ways to inexpensively make . . . clothing or home accessories."[28]

By the second decade of the twentieth century, several aspects regarding the southern farm began to change. Walker claims, "Between 1916 and 1921, as many as half a million southern blacks left the South, mostly sharecroppers."[29] Even with these

---

[27] Ibid., 101.

[28] Melissa Walker, *Southern Farmers and Their Stories: Memory and Meaning in Oral History* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 21.

[29] Ibid., 24.

large numbers, sharecropping continued to be a drain upon the South. Roger Biles remarks that in 1935, "1,831,470 tenant farmers worked in the South, approximately 63% of the nation's total." He goes on to note "land consolidation, mechanization, the introduction of new crops, and the displacement of a large segment of the rural work force," were all factors in changing the cultural and physical landscapes of the South.[30] With the Great Depression looming, Southerners were unprepared for the upheavals they would see in the coming decades.

It is easy to blame the Great Depression for the massive departure of rural residents beginning in the 1930s. However, there are deeper issues to examine that began well before the stock market crash of 1929. World War I changed the world on many levels, including the international agricultural market. During World War I and the immediate years afterward, a false high in the agriculture business of the nation was produced. With both the U.S. and Europe dependent on American agriculture, farmers in the U.S. experienced prices for their commodities they had never seen before. Just a few short years after the armistice that ended the First World War, Europe stabilized itself and was able to produce enough so that it was not so dependent on the United States. Historians have mixed feelings about what happened to domestic prices at this point. Farm prices dropped precipitously in the decade before the Crash of 1929. Some believe that a depression caused crop prices to decline rapidly. David B. Danbom gives several examples showing just how bad the market had become during between 1919 and 1929. He claims that in 1919 "wheat sold for $2.19 a bushel, potatoes went for $2.20 per hundredweight, and cotton fetched $.35 per pound; in 1929 the prices for these products were $1.05, $1.29, and $.17, respectively."[31]

---

[30] Biles, *The South and the New Deal*, 36.

Danbom argues that many historians, including economic historian H. Thomas Johnson, deny that a depression hit the farming industry during the 1920s. They believe that the falling prices were a result of several missteps by both the farmers and the government. Johnson believes that the term "depression" is not an accurate term. Johnson and others, according to Danbom, conclude that prices merely stabilized after World War I and returned to pre-war levels.[32] Danbom points out that many farmers fell into a trap of purchasing greater technological equipment that was being produced that seemingly made farming much easier. They purchased these extremely expensive machines, as well as personal items such as automobiles and other luxuries, on credit. They assumed that the high times they were experiencing would last forever. He does not necessarily blame the farmers, however, claiming that it is understandable that they would "try to live as middle-class urbanites lived . . . especially when all the urban media as well as the USDA, the land-grant colleges, and the Extension Service told them they should."[33]

The true culprit of hard times was the simple economic law of supply and demand. Farmers, especially in the South, were able to produce higher yields than they ever had before. New technology allowed farmers to produce more crops at a faster rate. A lack of a central organization for farmers to help stabilize the market meant that essentially every farmer competed with every other farmer for income. Years of producing more yield created such a surplus that prices could not stay high. Historian Paul Conkin suggests that so-called progressive ideas in agriculture actually hurt the vast majority of farmers. Many of the farmers with mid-sized farms could not maintain a life on the farm. Those with very large farms and those who farmed for mainly sustenance were, on the average, able to continue their operations. This situation led to many mid-level farmers fleeing to the cities where industrial factory and manufacturing jobs were on the rise. He does not bemoan the situation though. The loss of so many farmers helped weed out competition that simply could not keep up, thereby strengthening the industry. Those farmers who remained were able to pick up the pieces, albeit with government assistance, and further the industry well into the 1960s.[34]

---

[31] Danbom, *Born in the Country*, 186.

[32] Ibid., 188.

[33] Ibid., 189.

As bad as the 1920s were, the Great Depression made it worse. As Danbom suggests, "the issue was no longer prosperity, it was survival."[35] If the rest of the nation felt the effects of the market crash, farms felt them much more severely. President Herbert Hoover began the task of reviving the agricultural market but Franklin D. Roosevelt, once elected, utilized his New Deal to significantly help the industry. His policies helped farmers regain control of the market and limit production, which decreased surplus. The farmers worked together to form a cohesive community. Farmers banded together to form what they called cooperatives. Cooperatives allowed farmers to form a larger community in order to negotiate and control prices more efficiently.[36]

---

[34] Conkin, *A Revolution Down on the Farm*, 98.

[35] Danbom, *Born in the Country*, 186.

Carroll Van West explains that historians have debated whether the New Deal served more as a recovery or a reform program. He argues that it is obvious that "reform and recovery typically went hand-in-hand." New Deal proponents suggested that to incorporate a "lasting recovery in this backward state, . . . federal programs had to modernize the state's public improvements as they also reformed citizens to function better in a modern world." [37] While West details New Deal actions in Tennessee, New Deal reformers thought this way of many, if not all, southern states. Whether they like it or not, it was obvious farmers needed the help of these reformers.

Both Conkin and Roger Biles agree that while the New Deal policies helped the rich, or at least those who were better off get richer, they hindered those who owned smaller farms or sharecroppers. Both historians also believe that the demise of the sharecropping system was inevitable. Eventually these laborers were going to have to seek employment elsewhere. Luckily, cities and towns began to flourish with manufacturing and industrial jobs. The New Deal policies that seemed to be such a burden to the less fortunate, along with advanced technology, ushered in the end of the sharecropping era that would slowly die off over the next several decades.

One of the aspects of Progressive reform during the twentieth century that historians often overlook is that of road building. Roads throughout the nation were dismal. Many roads in the North were bad. Many roads in the South were dismal.

---

[36] Ibid., 208-209.

[37] Carroll Van West, *Tennessee's New Deal Landscape: A Guidebook* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 5.

Alabama road reformers were active in seeing a highway travel the length of the state from Tennessee to Mobile. In 1906, the North Alabama and South Alabama Good Roads parties joined to form the Alabama Good Roads Association.[38] The Progressive efforts of the national Good Roads Movement took shape in the form of the Dixie Highway. The Good Roads Movement led to a myriad collection of roads that connected Michigan to Florida. The Dixie Highway was the nation's first connected thoroughfare through multiple states.

Government officials, under pressure from citizens, attempted to improve the region's poor road system. Ingram argues that the Dixie Highway was unique because it was "at once a local, state, and interstate route and an interstate system."[39] The politics of the Dixie Highway plays an integral role in Ingram's account. The intricate layers of local, state, and federal funding as well as input from each entity makes the fact that it was ever completed all the more impressive. Dwight D. Eisenhower noticed the importance of the Dixie Highway while stationed in Georgia during World War I. He drew upon his knowledge of the road when his administration initiated the interstate highway system. Historian Tammy Ingram suggests that "the Dixie Highway offers an ideal lens for examining the associations between modernization and Progressive policy making in the South."[40] Local and state funding allowed the South to begin the process of better road building, which in turn allowed them to turn away from the stagnant past. By the 1920s, state and federal numbered highways began to replace the abysmal roads in the South.

---

[38] Preston, *Dirt Roads to* Dixie, 77.

[39] Tammy Ingram, *Dixie Highway: Road Building and the Making of the Modern South, 1900-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 6.

[40] Ibid., 7.

Farmers, especially southern farmers, can be stereotyped as backwards or ignorant. History shows something different. History proves that these men, women, and children, along with some urban reformers who desired to see the nation maintain its strong agricultural roots, resisted the onslaught of obstacles they faced. Hard work came naturally to these people and though they sometimes lacked the monetary means, they never lacked for desire. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs immediately produced results allowing southerners to reclaim agriculture as a bona fide business where one could succeed. The willingness to change, the determination, and invention these southern farm folk possessed helped usher in a long lasting revolution on the farm. This study is designed to evaluate, as a case study in progressive farming, one family farm that has been in use for well over a century.

CHAPTER I:

THE UPPER PAINT ROCK VALLEY

Most mountain farmers had very small farms that provided just enough for a family to survive on and perhaps a small amount of bartering within a larger community.[1] There was one glaring exception to this, however. Southern Appalachia, comprising of south Tennessee and north Alabama, was conducive to larger farming operations with its sprawling valleys and rich soils. While farming in the South has been extensively researched and written about, Southern Appalachia regions have largely been passed over. The Black Belt of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, along with the rich plantations of these same areas have tended to attract historians more so than the southern tip of the Appalachian Mountains. Jackson County, Alabama, sits squarely within this region. It is a large county, dotted with small but steep mountains and several small farming communities set within its many valleys.

The Upper Paint Rock Valley is a portion of land in Jackson County in northeast Alabama and is part of the larger Tennessee River Valley. The Paint Rock River defines the valley as it winds southward from just north of Princeton to its confluence at the Tennessee River. The valley sits at the southern tip of the Appalachian Mountain range. The terrain does incorporate some high and steep inclines, while the valley remains fertile with the help of the river and several tributary creeks. Historically, these valley beds provided enough acreage and good bottomland soil to make small scale farming financially successful.[2]

---

[1] Audrey Horning, *In the Shadow of Ragged Mountain: Historical Archaeology of Nicholson, Corbin, & Weakley Hollows* (Bridgewater, VA: Good Printers, 2004), 68.

Very little information has been recorded about the Native Americans who lived in the region but it is known that Cherokees lived there. White settlers probably migrated to the area soon after the United States paid the Cherokees to cede land in northeast Alabama in 1819.[3] The State of Alabama gained statehood and Jackson County was created during the same year. The county was named after Andrew Jackson, the recent hero of the Creek Wars at Horseshoe Bend, Alabama. Historically, residents of the Upper Paint Rock Valley have been fairly isolated from the rest of the world. Farmers traveled to Huntsville and southern Tennessee as well as small towns such as the county seat, Scottsboro, but generally residents remained within the region. The majority of residents within the valley owned their own lands and operated small farms.

Before the Civil War, Alabama's enslaved population numbered over 430,000, comprising about 45% of the state's population. According to the U.S. Census Records, Jackson County residents owned a relatively small number of slaves. In 1830, the total population of the county numbered 12,700 with 1,264, of those being enslaved, roughly 10% of the population. By 1860, the population had risen to 14,811 with a significantly higher population of enslaved, with 3,405. The percentage of enslaved had climbed to

---

[2] J.W. Moon, *Soil Survey of Jackson County*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954.

[3] Susan M. Abram, "Cherokees in Alabama," Encyclopedia of Alabama, October 10, 2013, accessed May 22, 2016, http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1087.

23% of the county's population.[4] Although the farmers in the Upper Paint Rock Valley typically fared better than other Appalachian farmers, the plots of farmable land were smaller and therefore slaves were not as commonplace as other areas within the state like the Black Belt. Usually, a few wealthy planters enslaved the majority of African Americans while yeoman farmers typically owned anywhere from one to five, with many not owning any. The majority of whites, however, saw the practice as justifiable, even if they owned none.

The Civil War left its imprint on the Upper Paint Rock Valley, although no battles were fought in the region. By 1863, Union troops commanded the Tennessee River, which led to skirmishes in the latter years of the war near the Paint Rock railroad bridge outside of Woodville, Alabama. Carroll Van West indicates that the population of Jackson County continued to rise despite the destruction caused by foraging, marching, and violence. He states that the population actually increased between 1860 to 1870 from 14,811 to 19,410.[5]

Residents of the Upper Paint Rock Valley mirrored other Appalachian citizens in their daily life. Most residents farmed a small plot of land, though their nearest neighbor could be miles away. Before settlers could begin to farm, the land needed to be cleared. The land in the Upper Paint Rock Valley would have been full of mature trees and undergrowth for those first settlers. Families relied upon nothing but draft animals such as horses, oxen, and occasionally mules to help clear the terrain. Crude log structures, usually filled with gaps and holes between the logs served as homes. Several historians relate a popular joke of the day, “farmers were both astronomers and agronomists: they could study the stars through the roofs of their leaky shacks and examine the soil through the gaps between the boards on the floor.”[6]

---

[4] Carroll Van West, "Historic Resources of the Paint Rock Valley, 1820-1954," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form. Alabama Historical Commission, 2004, 2.

[5] Ibid., 4-5.

The landscape of the Upper Paint Rock Valley varied greatly depending on where one settled. If one was lucky enough to have settled in the valleys, the soil was rich and fertile. If, however, a pioneer was relegated to land on the side of one of the mountains, farming would be difficult at best. Those who farmed in the valleys could afford to plant more than just corn, or in some cases, cotton. Their cash crops likely consisted of one or the other but their vegetable gardens could be larger and diverse. Those who lived on the mountainsides survived, sometimes barely on corn alone. Some of the more unfortunate could not even do that.[7]

Although the subjects Wayne Flynt describes did not live in the Upper Paint Rock Valley, they did live in the same county, just a few miles from the region. Flynt explores the poverty that many experienced after the turn of the century. So many families relied on corn for a variety of different functions. Many mountain families owned swine, which produced the largest portion of meat in their diet. They were able to use corn as grain to feed the livestock. Grinding the corn allowed families to produce different types of breads and cakes without having to plant other grains. For many families, a little bit of pork and a steady serving of corn-related foods served as the only nourishment they received.

---

[6] Steven L. Piott, *Daily Life in the Progressive Era*, (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011), 24; Wayne Flynt, *Poor But Proud*, 88; Gilbert Fite, *Cotton Fields No More*, 35. Wayne Flynt’s version varies slightly by stating, “sharecroppers ‘could study astronomy through the roof and geology through the floor.’” Gilbert Fite attributes the joke to D. W. Brooks, who “as a boy observed life on poor northeastern Georgia farms.”

[7] Celeste Ray, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture, Volume 6: Ethnicity* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 87.

Farmers, if they so desired, could use their corn for more profitable, if not legal, means. Perhaps the most important use of corn to the mountain man was that the crop could be fermented and distilled to produce corn whiskey, or moonshine. Federal and state laws prohibited the manufacturing and selling of moonshine and law enforcement intended on curbing the practice. According to Flynt, officers of the law received bonuses whenever a moonshiner was brought to justice, resulting in many miscarriages of the law. Moonshine actually sold at premium prices compared to other crops a family might grow. Flynt argues that moonshiners could sell their spirits for "five to six times what they could earn from corn."[8] Of course, not everyone ran stills on the side of mountains which left the majority of mountain people without the extra income garnered from the spirits.

Mountaineers also found it difficult for their children to receive an education. Parents expected their children to work the fields if they were lucky enough to own a sizable plot. Other families with smaller plots were no less dependent on the help of their children, but it might be in a different form. Children of poorer families might be expected to tend to whatever livestock they owned or perform jobs such as cutting firewood. If the family sharecropped, they too expected the children to help sow, tend, and reap the crops. These functions kept many children from attending school on a regular basis. While some children walked to school, several miles one way and with no shoes for some, many children simply lived too far away for them to attend. Not only did children find it hard to get to school, communities also struggled to find teachers. Flynt explains that basically two options existed: "Either they retained their own young people or attracted teacher-missionaries who came under the auspices of denominational agencies."[9] Mountain folk tended to look warily upon outsiders. They considered their own children less of a threat to their ways of life, since they would have been steeped in their own culture. Therefore, they preferred raising, in a sense, their own teachers instead of outsiders pushing their ideas.

---

[8] Flynt, *Poor But Proud*, 166. Flynt also goes into the detail about how moonshine was more than just making money. Mountain men saw producing it as carrying on a regional tradition against increasing subjugation to more modern America. They also believed that the laws against them were unjust. After taxes were introduced during the Civil War on homemade spirits, many saw moonshine not as a "luxury to be taxed" but rather as an "economic necessity."

The health of the citizens of the mountains, especially the children, always caused concern. The lack of a healthy diet caused malnutrition to spread like a disease amongst the poorer of the Appalachian residents, knowing no age, gender, or race. Malnutrition kept people weak, and more susceptible to other types of diseases and parasites. Children often lacked a pair of shoes until their feet stopped growing. Going barefoot all the time, especially with sanitation concerns, left children open to invading hookworms. Hookworms inserted themselves in between the toes of people, then rode the bloodstream until it reached the throat. They would be swallowed into the stomach and attach themselves to the small intestine. Once again Flynt explains that, although hookworms rarely killed, they did cause "a slow gait, sallow complexion, and lack of energy."[10] One of the most bizarre health issues came from unknown origins. A disease known as pellagra plagued poor people. Dr. J. F. Yarborough finally diagnosed the disease in 1916 and deemed that those whose diet consisted mostly of "meat, meal, and molasses" faced the greatest threat. Pellagra's symptoms could be confused early on with poison ivy or even a sunburn. After the reddish rash-type symptom, the skin would turn scaly and peel off, leaving the skin reddened. Lesions could appear, especially on the hands and lower arms, feet and ankles, and around the collarbone. In most cases, these issues, coupled with diarrhea, left the patient weak and in pain. Dementia often times followed if the disease continued to be untreated. After about four or five years, death could occur. The United States saw an estimated 100,000 cases of pellagra for the first three decades of the twentieth century, with the vast majority located in the South.[11]

---

[9] Ibid., 163.

[10] Ibid., 177.

The Upper Paint Rock Valley, like much of Appalachia, has been historically and intentionally isolated from outsiders.[12] Very few roads led into or out of the valley. Roads were little more than dirt paths, trails that Native Americans had blazed and white settlers used when migrating. As the population increased, trails turned into wider dirt roads. Rain caused roads to become muddy pits that wagons easily became stuck in. The wheels from wagons created deep ruts making trips bumpy and uncomfortable. Once mechanized transportation arrived, the same problems occurred. Roy Edwin Thomas quotes John Grindstaff from the Appalachian town of Stony Creek, Tennessee, "'An' if you meet another waggin in the' road a-cumin', no tellin' how you'd manage to git around each other. Sometimes, maybe ye'd hafta cut a tree or some saplin's down to git by."[13] Many farmers used the Paint Rock River as transportation of their produce before the state paved the dirt roads.

---

[11] Ibid., 174.

[12] Harry M. Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands: A Biography of a Depressed Area* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962), 19.

One major highway runs north/south through the heart of the valley. Alabama State Highway 65 runs from the Tennessee border just south of Huntland, Tennessee to the town of Paint Rock, Alabama. Work on the highway began in the 1920s which allowed farmers in the valley more access to bigger markets like Nashville and Huntsville. Despite not having a highway system such as the Dixie Highway, the Paint Rock Valley benefitted from updated roads in the twentieth century. Claudette Stager notes that these early twentieth-century roads "opened up the South" while newly constructed farm-to-market roads allowed goods to leave and enter the South much easier and more quickly than ever before.[14]

---

[13] Thomas, *Southern Appalachia*, 101.

[14] Claudette Stager, *Looking Beyond the* Highway, xvi.

CHAPTER II:

PROGRESSIVE FARMING IN THE SOUTH

RECONSTUCTION TO THE NEW DEAL

Southern politicians, authors, filmmakers, and even historians have long mythologized the antebellum South. The portrayal given is one of gentility, hard-working planters, paternalistic slave-owners and chivalrous gentlemen. Of course, over the last few decades, scholarship and historiography has challenged these tenets of the Old South, which has led to a sea change in how Americans view the South. The old view that the antebellum South was a picture of purity and bliss has been adequately dispelled. The era regarding the Civil War in the South has also been glorified as one of heroic times with Southerners defending their rights, their “country,” meaning their state, their families and their land. The very idea that the Civil War was fought over states’ rights and not slavery is indicative of how pervasive this myth became. That so many Southerners would claim this myth as truth almost one hundred fifty years later is even more indicative. However, the tide seems to be turning in that regard as well, with many Southerners seemingly beginning to understand the facts.[1]

The postbellum South has been mythologized in a different way. The picture of the poor, down-trodden, illiterate Southerner of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century is a popular one. Some Southerners fit this mold, but many others worked very hard to resist this portrayal. The common argument given for the South’s economic hardships for almost a century was that the emancipation of slavery left white farmers without the means to cultivate their farms. "Carpetbaggers" and "scalawags" have also been routinely vilified within Southern culture, politics and histories for affecting southern economics in a negative way. Losing slave labor and losing farms to Northern land speculators seemed to be the reasons given for all of the South's economic woes after the Civil War. Of course, many other factors contributed to the problems the South experienced. Bad transportation, exploitation of farmers by creditors and landowners, bad farming techniques, and politics all contributed to the struggles the average Southerner dealt with. Many Southerners, both black and white suffered economically for several decades after the war.[2]

---

[1] Chris Edelson, “Charleston, the Confederate Flag, and the States’ Rights Myth,” American Constitution Society for Law and Policy, June 19, 2015, accessed September 12, 2016, www.acslaw.org/acsblog/charleston-the-confederate-flag-and-the-states’-rights-myth.

How the South would pick up the pieces after the war and sustain itself had to be determined quickly. Towards the end of the nineteenth century a new ideal took hold of farmers throughout the country, but especially in the South. Populism, hand-in-hand with Progressivism, sparked a movement in the southern United States. Historian Joe Creech identifies the factors that led to the creation of these movements which included religious, political, economic, and social reform. Southerners, and to a large degree Mid-Westerners, championed Populist ideals. Those Populist ideals at the end of the nineteenth century relied more on restoration movements.[3] The People's Party and other Populist organizations desired to restore American ideals towards Jeffersonian agrarianism. Many Populists began to shift their ideals, however, as continued improvements in technology and practices persisted. Many farmers began to understand that those who practiced old traditions were going to continue to struggle and those who embraced the new had a much better chance of succeeding. Mouthpieces for the Populist movement, such as the *Farmer's Advocate*, began to join other publications such as the aptly named *The Progressive Farmer* in promoting progressive ideals in agriculture. The shift remained slow throughout the beginning of the twentieth century, even after the Populist Movement had died off, as many held too traditional practices. But younger generations of farmers were eager to farm as efficiently and as successfully as possible.

---

[2] Flynt, *Poor But Proud*, 67.

[3] Joe Creech, *Righteous Indignation: Religion and the Populist Revolution* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006), xxiii, 52.

Although Progressive ideals began in the late nineteenth century and continued to gain favor throughout the twentieth century, the South struggled to achieve those ideals on a large scale basis for several reasons. Race relations in the South played a large part which led the region into a downward spiral by instituting new practices that eventually overwhelmed the region regardless of the color of the person. Since enslaved African Americans gained their freedom, white landowners had to enter into labor negotiations with them and poor whites. At first, whites desired and even assumed that African Americans would accept minimal payment and work the jobs and the hours that they had while they were enslaved. In John Solomon Otto's opinion, too many historians have concentrated on studying antebellum agriculture and post-Reconstruction agriculture and not enough on Civil War and Reconstruction agriculture. He examines the interesting dynamic of plantation owners heading off to war while his family, usually the women, were left to manage the plantation and the slaves. He states, "By 1864, the bulk of surviving white men were either in the army or hiding to avoid military service."[4]

---

[4] John Solomon Otto, *Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era, 1860-1880* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 33.

Women accustomed to doing very little around the plantation were suddenly expected to run the operation. Of course, slaves, if they remained on the plantation, continued to perform most or all the work.

Only about 25% of white Southerners owned any slaves and only about 3% owned enough slaves – twenty – to be considered "a planter," according to Otto.[5] The remaining 75% either lived in cities or towns or, more likely, farmed a small plot of land for themselves. The men who lived on these small farms provided the vast majority of the Confederate soldiers. Therefore, the irony that the non-slaveholding majority were fighting and dying for the slaveholding minority became a point of contention between the classes.

Those landowning whites that did stay at home to work or oversee the farm were left with difficult decisions to make. For years Southern farmers had planted an inordinate amount of cash crops compared to staple crops. Cash crops such as cotton and tobacco brought the farmer exactly what the name implies – cash. Staple crops, like corn or rice, were also planted, but in far fewer numbers. Farmers had to decide between these two types of crops during the Civil War. One type would bring more personal wealth to the farmer but the other could be used to help sustain the South. More times than not, planters chose the cash crop. Historian James L. Roark argues, "the needs of the plantation and the demands of the Confederacy would clash repeatedly during the war. The cotton question was one of the earliest, but whenever planters were forced to choose between the two loyalties, they tended to make the same decision."[6] That decision was to make money. Otto is joined by historian David B. Danbom in explaining how the lure of the cash crop became one of the detriments to the region. He argues in his book *Born in the Country*, "Before the Civil War, cotton had been king. Afterward, it was a cruel tyrant. . . . The fundamental problem with cotton, as well as with rice . . . was that world supply had come into balance with – and even exceeded – world demand."[7] Danbom summarizes the situation, "The Civil War had obliterated concentrations of capital, disrupted the labor system, and severely damaged agriculture and its economic infrastructure."[8]

---

[5] Ibid., 47.

The prices of cotton fell precipitously while production only increased in the decades after the war. The techniques used by farmers only made matters worse. Otto demonstrates the difference between intensive farming and extensive farming. He defined intensive farming as a method employed by "agricultural reformers" who, "found followers in the more densely settled area of Maryland, northern Virginia and central Kentucky, where population pressures escalated land prices and encourage more intensive use of costly land." [9] Reformers attempted to make the most out of their soil. Instead of exhausting land for a few years and then moving westward on to new soil to begin again, intensive farmers desired to stay in place and utilize the earth to its full potential. This strategy required patience on behalf of the farmer and meant more costs as well. The availability of large amounts of cheap farmland in the southern states coupled with the time and cost of intensive farming led most Southerners to practice extensive farming. The crops being planted, tobacco, cotton, and corn, were especially hard on the soil. Not rotating crops or leaving fields to lie fallow damaged the earth further.[10]

---

[6] James L. Roark, *Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1977), 45.

[7] Danbom, *Born in the* Country, 127.

[8] Ibid., 127.

[9] Otto, *Southern Agriculture*, 6.

Some individuals made attempts to wrest away the control cotton had on much of the South. According to Robert E. Zabawa and Sarah T. Warren, Booker T. Washington established the Farmers Conference in Macon County, Alabama, in order to educate blacks how to farm more effectively and economically. They argue that Washington decided that agricultural education was what the black community needed most. According to Zabawa and Warren, Washington, "articulated his vision for the African American community," and his, "desire to 'uplift the people' through 'agricultural diversification, self sufficiency, and self-improvement.'"[11]

Progressives did not wholly rely upon using new technology to initiate change in agricultural ideas. Robert S. Davis, in his article "The Old World in the New South," examines Cullman County, Alabama, and the atypical aspects it exhibited in relation to the rest of the South. John G. Cullmann, born in Bavaria, Germany, moved to Alabama from Cincinnati, Ohio, after the Civil War. After the Civil War, the rail system in the South was in shambles. But rail companies began to slowly restore the system to even greater production. Cullmann, for whom the county is named after albeit spelled differently, became a land speculator for the railroad companies in North Alabama. He formed Cullman County by bringing many other German families from Cincinnati to the region. Though he was not a farmer, he desired for the community to experiment with crops other than traditional southern crops. The Germans brought strawberries to Alabama and also tried to raise sweet potatoes. Many even tried to incorporate vineyards into the farming landscape. Eventually several Georgians moved into the county and the German population began to assimilate with their techniques. Cotton and corn soon became the predominant crops. Though the German experiment ended quickly, it is an important addition to the historiography of the South. It contrasts the narrative that Northern carpetbaggers looked only to make a quick buck or further oppress the native population of the South.[12]

---

[10] Ibid., 6-7.

[11] Robert E. Zabawa and Sarah T. Warren, "From Company to Community: Agricultural Community Development in Macon County, Alabama, 1881 to the New Deal," *Agricultural History* 72 (Spring, 1998): 462.

Geographer Charles S. Aiken focuses on how the cotton plantation itself changed in the aftermath of the war. He also takes a closer look at how the African American population changed once freed from slavery and how they continued to evolve as farmers. His main argument is that, contrary to the popular narrative, the southern plantation did not suffer a fatal blow with the emancipation of the slaves.[13] Aiken hopes to show how plantation life changed from the Old South to the New South. In doing so he explores the relationship between former masters and newly freed black men and women. Aiken explains how the plantation changed with these new dynamics, but it did not die. In fact, he argues that plantations reached their numeric peak right around the turn of the century.

---

[12] Robert S. Davis, "The Old World in the New South: Entrepreneurial Ventures and the Agricultural History of Cullman County, Alabama," *Agricultural History* 70 (August 2005): 446.

[13] Charles S. Aiken, *The Cotton Plantation South Since the Civil War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 3.

Plantation owners needed their farms tended and four million freedmen needed to earn a living. As stated earlier, plantation owners assumed low wages would be sufficient for blacks while they continued the kind of work and the hours they worked before emancipation. What ended up being known as "gang labor" did not last very long. Soon African Americans began to realize that they held some leverage. They could enact change in several ways while also making things better for themselves. By essentially staging what would be called a strike and simply not working the fields, they could demand better wages and work hours. They also now had the choice, for the first time in their lives to pick up their family and belongings and move away from the farm if they felt like the landowner was not providing what they felt they deserved.[14] Michael W. Fitzgerald describes how blacks resisted in this way. Whites throughout the South tried to set Black Codes designed to keep blacks as slave-like as possible. But federal entities such as the Freedmen's Bureau nullified these codes. Blacks resisted in their own ways in order to force labor policies to change. One account, given by Fitzgerald, relates how armed black groups formed to persuade landowners to adopt their "new rules" including setting "twelve dollars per month" as a standard working wage. They also employed work slowdowns, boycotts, and crop seizing.[15]

Both historians Michael Fitzgerald and Peter Kolchin argue that recently freed African Americans desired to own land. While they might not have moved away from the former plantations where they had worked as enslaved peoples, they wanted to get as far away from the mindset of slavery as possible. After they fought for their right for an education many adults attended school with the children as often as they could. Many took active roles in politics, with several elected to office. In doing so they exerted some power until Reconstruction ended and whites regained their hegemony.[16]

---

[14] Danbom, *Born in the Country*, 110.

[15] Michael W. Fitzgerald, "To Give Our Votes to the Party: Black Political Agitation and Agricultural Change in Alabama, 1865-1970," *Journal of American History* (September 1998): 502.

Perceptions that white southerners held regarding African Americans and the race relations those perceptions begat before the war met contested realities after. Kolchin argues, "The master's concern for his slave seemed essentially the owner's concern for his property; once that property was free, the concern vanished remarkably quickly in most cases. Similarly, the slave's love for his master probably existed often in the planter's imagination."[17]

Ultimately, the blacks' refusal to continue to portray the "child-like Sambo" character led to white persecution. The black man that became educated, prominent in his community, or economically stable through either land or money became the "uppity nigger" instead of the "good darky." Whites believed that African Americans could not help but be lazy and idle and therefore eventually die off. By not conforming to the white perception of how they thought African Americans would behave, African Americans shattered such notions. Unfortunately, whites often times focused their scorn on black men and women who tried to make something of themselves. The black race attempted to resist all perceptions whites harbored toward them. In fact, African Americans could become prominent, but the white population could not and would not accept it. Violence and disfranchisement through Jim Crow laws were the recourse administered by the whites. Even John Cullmann's Germanic community harbored prejudice against blacks. Despite most of Cullmann's Germans "immigrating" from abolitionist heavy Cincinnati, Cullman County, Alabama, advertised itself as having very few "Negros." The numbers bear this out as well. Robert Davis reports that the black population in 1880 was forty-three. In 1890, it was thirty-eight. By 1900 the population had dwindled to just twenty-one. The black population in Cullman County was decreasing while the "statewide [black] population was increasing by one hundred percent."[18] Carroll Van West, as pointed out in the previous chapter, shows that this happened elsewhere too. Jackson County, Alabama, suffered from the same mass migration of African Americans searching for friendlier confines after the Civil War ended. The chart below shows that disparity has continued up to the present.[19]

---

[16] Ibid., 498; Peter Kolchin, *First Freedom: The Response of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972), 84.

[17] Kolchin, *First Freedom*, 188.

Table 1: Comparison of White population and African American population in Jackson County, Alabama

Year	Whites	African Americans
1870	16,350	3,060
1880	21,074	4,033
1890	24,000	3,800
1900	26,000	3,600
2010	49,288	1,117

Methods employed by the landowners created a system of almost perpetual debt by those who farmed the lands, both blacks and poor whites sought out ways to alleviate their burdens. Sharecropping, tenant farming, and the crop lien system all favored the landowner or creditor while preventing the laborers from ever getting ahead. But they were not without hope. William Warren Rogers argues that poor farmers, both white and black, began to look at the numbers and "realize the potential of the agrarian class: out of a total of 492,970 Alabamians in 1880 pursuing various occupations, 380,630 were engaged in agriculture."[20] Many were beginning to see that they could become politically active to enact change.

---

[18] Davis, "The Old World in the New South," 450.

[19] West, "Historic Resources of the Paint Rock Valley," 7.

Alabama agriculturists were hit particularly hard after the Civil War. Rogers suggests that white Northern Alabamians received more help from the Freedmen's Bureau than African Americans did. He quotes an editor of the era as saying, "'here lies a concern which attempted to make freemen out of slavery by making slaves of freemen.'"[21] Political action came slowly by these poor farmers. At a time when the industrialized workers of the nation began to form unions to protest their interests, famers too saw the benefit of working together. Local organizations formed throughout the sparsely populated countryside. These organizations allowed men to gather together for several different benefits. Often times, organizations would gather simply for the benefit of education. Learning how to scientifically farm more efficiently was essential during this era. New methods of increasing production while cutting down on labor –usually their own, since these were poor farmers – were of particular interests to these groups. But more often than not, these organizations formed to give a voiceless majority a voice.

---

[20] William Warren Rogers, *The One-Gallused Rebellion: Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), 98.

[21] Ibid., 5.

Even blacks began to form organizations as well. Jim Crow laws were not pervasive yet so blacks did still exert some political power. Sharecropping blacks refused to do any work, according to Michael Fitzgerald, that did not correlate directly to the crops they were responsible for. One of their league's organizers instructed members of organizations to sign no labor contracts until the election of 1868 was over and accounted for in the state of Alabama when "Republicans were expected to win control of the [state] government." [22] Under Booker T. Washington's guidance, the Farmers Conference and the Farmers' Improvement Society continued to fight for the rights of African Americans. With the Conference's help, they were able to purchase land by agreeing to easy rates that they could afford even in lean times, assuring them the ability to not only obtain the land but to retain it as well.[23]

Many times, organizations attempted to attract both poor whites and African Americans into their fold. Desiring to capitalize on the combination of the two races and the numbers they brought, these organizations at the very least let blacks join their own chapter of said organization. Paul Horton examines Lawrence County in Northern Alabama. Lawrence County was unlike most counties in the state at the time. It was known as a loyal Unionist stronghold during the Civil War. What amounted to a "civil war within a civil war" broke out with Unionists and runaway Confederate soldiers fighting Confederate sympathizers.[24] Horton's political study moves from organization to organization with each of them building up to the advent of the People's Party.

---

[22] Fitzgerald, "To Give Our Votes to the Party," 501.

[23] Zabawa and Warren, "From Company to Community," 463.

William Rogers also provides an in-depth study into the organizations that lead to Populism. Rogers begins with a study of The Grange. The Grange became the first agricultural organization formed after the Civil War and functioned primarily for social and educational reasons. Historians recognize that The Grange was largely non-political but focused on "government reform by electing farmers instead of lawyers and merchants to public office."[25] The Depression of the 1870s caused farmers to seek relief, which led to the Grange advocating aid for the farmers. The Grange attempted to remain non-political but the times were so tumultuous that it could not remain relevant by the late 1880s. Though The Grange was unsuccessful, it taught rural Southerners that the possibility of change through cooperation was real.

Once the Grange began to disintegrate, another faction rose up and called themselves the Agricultural Wheel. According to Horton, the Wheel began in Lawrence County, the north Alabama county that supported the Union in great numbers. The Wheel encouraged farmers to act on their own accord rather than follow the politicians and monopolists lead in how they should vote or live. "Borrowing economic ideas from the Grange," argues Rogers, "the Wheel sought relief for the agrarian class. Particularly desirable were 'co-operative stores, purchasing and sales agents and co-operative manufactures.'"[26] The Wheel advocated the "cooperative manufactures and followed the practice of naming a local storekeeper as 'Wheel Merchant' and trading only with him."[27] By 1888, the Wheel was deeply involved in politics. In Alabama, Democrats were so nervous that the Republicans had succeeded in bringing together enough white and black voters to affect the outcome of the coming elections that they resorted to race baiting. The tried but true method proved to be too much for the Republicans. By dividing the races, Democrats were able to carry the election of 1888.

---

[24] Paul Horton, "Testing the Limits of Class Politics in Postbellum Alabama: Agrarian Radicalism in Lawrence County," *The Journal of Southern History* 57 (February 1991): 64.

[25] William Warren Rogers et al., *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1994), 294.

The Agricultural Wheel formed with the upstart Farmers' Alliance after the election of 1888. The Farmers' Alliance became a national organization that exerted the most influence than any of its predecessors. The Wheel encouraged blacks to join and unite in their fight for more economic parity. Blacks were encouraged to and did form their own chapters of the Alliance, which whites were happy to have their vote as long as they remained segregated. Horton shows just how tricky race relations were at this time though by suggesting, "If radical and black Wheelers resisted consolidation with the Alliance, they were probably threatened with violence."[28]

The success of the Farmers' Alliance brought about political action that the nation has not seen since. Rogers explains in his book how all of these organizations built upon the former to produce the strongest third political party the nation has seen. The People's Party and their constituents, known as Populists, seriously challenged the status quo beginning with the elections of 1892. Throughout the early part of the 1890s Populists had made serious in-roads in both state and the federal governments. In some states the majority of representatives were Populists.[29] By 1896, the Populists nominated William Jennings Bryan for president. Bryan was already running as a Democrat, however, and this led to many Populists blending into Democrats. Populism remained active for some time, though their influence began to lag considerably by the end of the century. Alabama Democrats began to seek black votes toward the end of the century when disfranchisement laws were passed in 1901, effectively giving Democrats power in the South for the next six decades to seven decades.[30]

---

[26] Rogers, *The One-Gallused Rebellion*, 123.

[27] Rogers et al, *Alabama*, 296.

[28] Horton, "Testing the Limits," 79.

Like so many others historians, Edward Ayers points out that the era was defined by the turmoil the region encountered. Fence laws changed the way of life for Southerners. Before the Civil War, the South had been an open range. Ayers describes the scene, "Families who owned cows or pigs simply marked them, allowed them to fend for themselves, and then rounded them up when it came time for the slaughter."[31] Late in the nineteenth century, Southern states enacted fencing laws that limited cattle to grazing within fenced in areas. This law left the landless without the opportunity to own any livestock unless they were sharecroppers who lived on fenced in land. Ayers sums up the politics of the times by stating:

> Southern Farmers thought that public policy and private enterprise favored almost everyone in America other than themselves. Even though they produced more goods, paid more taxes, and cast more votes than any other group of Gilded Age Americans, farmers' voices often seemed to go unheard. Farmers felt abused by

---

[29] Rogers, *Alabama*, 305-310.

[30] Creech, *Righteous Indignation*, 95.

[31] Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 189.

> both of the major parties and exploited by every level of business from national corporations to local storekeepers.[32]

Despite some of the trials rural Southerners faced, they refused to surrender to the land or their circumstances. In 1872, the state helped form the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Alabama, which later became Auburn University. The new college focused on teaching students aspects of the "New South." Brooks Blevins defines the New South as a "creed (that) called for a new socioeconomic structure for the South, one based om industrialization and scientific, diversified agriculture."[33] The New South became the heart of Progressive agriculture in the twentieth century. Agriculturists attempted to embrace and utilize modern technology while holding true to the age-old traditions carried down from generation to generation. One of the difficulties involved the actual act of learning about new technology and farming practices. The government realized this problem and passed the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. The Smith-Lever Act allowed colleges and universities who had departments in agriculture, or better, specialized in agriculture, to reach out to those far-flung, isolated residents in order to "aid in diffusing . . . useful and practical information" on all things agricultural. The idea of "practical applications of research" to struggling farmers helped begin the transformation of southern agriculture.[34] Colleges and universities set out to the remote countrysides establishing extension offices and extension farms. Farmers could come and experience firsthand the latest trends in modern agriculture. They could take these ideas home and to the farmstead and hopefully begin to enact real change for the better. Jackson County and Upper Paint Rock Valley residents took advantage of two extension, or demonstration, farms in Dechard and St. Andrews in Franklin County, Tennessee, which bordered Jackson County to the north.[35]

---

[32] Ibid., 214.

[33] Brooks Blevins, *Cattle in the Cotton Fields: A History of Cattle Raising in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1998), 55.

[34] Smith-Lever Act of 1914. Public Law 63-95. 63rd Congress., May 8.

Farmers, especially in the southern mountains, resisted mechanization during the early years out of unfamiliarity to machines. Typical farmers used tried and true methods and were wary of changing the way things had been done for generations. Their fathers before them employed horses, oxen, mules, and hand held plows, and the system worked for them. Wariness of change contributed to the cultural landscape remaining unchanged for so long when it came to draft animals and tractors.[36]

Perhaps some aspects of progress and reform would have begun earlier had the Depression not hit when it did. It would seem that the amount of tractors would have increased on southern farms had cash not become so scarce through the 1930s. George Ellenberg describes the mechanized state of the rural South in the early twentieth century, "the automobile and, to a lesser extent, the truck, already were fixtures on many American farms. . . .On the national level, only 3.6% of farms had tractors."[37] Part of the reason for this discrepancy may also have to do with the fact that tractors remained unrefined. While automobiles had evolved to be fairly reliable and affordable by the 1920s, tractors were large, expensive, and heavy pieces of machinery. Many ran on kerosene instead of gasoline and lacked dependability. Tractors remained inefficient for the price they carried and their size. Paul Conkin explains, "the only profitable use . . . was for plowing, threshing, or pulling combines. They were huge machines, often weighing more than 20,000 pounds." At a time when farmers were trying to maximize efficiency, tractor manufacturers remained a few years away from creating them for the mass market that were dependable and more productive.[38]

---

[35] West, "Historic Resources of the Paint Rock Valley," 6.

[36] Thomas, *Southern Appalachia*, 33.

[37] George B. Ellenberg, *Mule South to Tractor South: Mules, Machines, and the Transformation of the Cotton South* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2007), 76.

Once World War II arrived, Southerners began to appreciate all that the newer tractors, which were smaller, lighter, cheaper and more dependable, could do to make life on the farm easier. By the 1940s, farmers realized that utilizing one tractor was more efficient than a team of horses or mules. Economic historians Alan Olmstead and Paul Rhode show that a 1944 by the United States Department of Agriculture examined the efficiency of the tractor relative to man-hours. Based on the department's findings, farmers in the United States saved an estimated 1.7 billion man-hours in both actual farming practices and the care and upkeep of draft animals. Though the cost of purchasing a tractor had decreased considerably, they were still relatively expensive. But when a factoring in the reduction of man-hours, farmers recouped those expenses quickly.[39] A farmer with one tractor could cultivate three or four times the land a famer with a team of mules could. Ellenburg explains the excitement Southerners began to experience when the theoretical question changed from "'tractor or mule'" to "'what kind of tractor?'" He continued, "Many southerners saw a bright future being erected on the ruins of the old, mainly due to the central place of the machine in the new order."[40]

---

[38] Conkin, *A Revolution Down on the Farm*, 16.

[39] Alan L. Olmstead and Paul W. Rhode, "Reshaping the Landscape: The Impact and Diffusion of the Tractor in American Agriculture: 1910-1960," *The Journal of Economic History* 61 (September 2001): 665.

Despite the emergence of tractors replacing draft animals in the South, tractors could remain scarce in certain parts of the region until about 1960. The 1940 United States Census Bureau's report on agriculture shows that the entire state of Alabama claimed only 6,822 tractors, constituting about 2.9 % of the state's farms. Jackson County, Alabama is reported as only having about 250 tractors amongst its farms. The decrease in the number of horses and mules is evident in the report as well. Tractors increased in number by 2,563 between 1930 and 1940. However, in the same amount of time, the number of horses and mules decreased by roughly 37,000 on farms within the state.[41]

---

[40] Ellenburg, *Mule South to Tractor South*, 102.

[41] US Department of Commerce, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 513.

CHAPTER III:
THE NEW DEAL FORWARD

Jackson County was particularly hard hit by the Great Depression. In response, the federal government took two major actions. First, during the Hoover administration, county and state officials secured a federal grant, via the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to build a modern road crossing the Cumberland Mountain. Then, during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, county and state officials continued the Resettlement Administration to establish Cumberland Mountain Farms, later renamed Skyline Farms. This major project of thousands of acres stood east of the mountain, opposite the Paint Rock Valley.[42] The Graham family remembers these years, according to the last remaining family member, Nita Head, neé Graham, when the family bought a sideboard and a desk that local community members from Skyline Farms had constructed for them.[43]

Jackson County is an interesting New Deal landscape. Historian Sarah Phillips refers to a group known as the "New Conservation," who believed "regional planning for land and water resources would alleviate farm poverty, modernize farm areas, and restore the viability of rural living."[44] Roosevelt's planned initiatives began while he was governor of New York. He set up several programs that tried to identify and resolve issues that New York farmers faced in terms of economic viability. He favored such reform ideals as electric power generated by the government and government assistance toward rural development.[45]

---

[42] Garet Bleddyn, et. al., *Skyline Farms, Jackson County, AL: Heritage Development Plan* (Murfreesboro, TN: Center for Historic Preservation, 2011), 3-11.

[43] Robert Head, speaking for his wife, Nita "Graham" Head, interview by author, Spring Hill, TN, May 28, 2016.

[44] Sarah T. Phillips, *This Land, This Nation: Conservation, Rural America, and the New Deal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 22.

Historians regard the period that brought so many programs, such as the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Civilian Conservation Corps, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the National Industrial Recovery Act as one of the most influential in American history. The New Deal's objective centered on the "three R's", according to historian Richard B. Drake. "'Relief', to care for the immediate needs of people; 'recovery,' to get the economy back on its feet again; and 'reform,' to change certain things that were wrong with the economic system."[46]

All three R's occurred in Jackson County. The first of these relief programs, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, was aimed at the heart of woeful economic agricultural practices. Roger Biles attempts to explain exactly how Roosevelt's New Deal policies affected the South in general and the agriculture business specifically. He suggests that Roosevelt immediately sought to help the nation's farmers. Congress enacted the first influential policy in 1933 after several months of contentious debate. The Agricultural Adjustment Act's premise centered around regulating prices for crops. By purchasing excess crops and paying farmers to plow up significant portions of crops already planted, the AAA intended to cut supply down and increase demand. While the AAA succeeded in some ways, it failed in others. Only the landowners benefitted from the policy. Tenant farmers and sharecroppers were not entitled to receive any portion of the money the government paid out. The landowner was responsible for doling out the money the way he saw fit, if at all. Tenants and sharecroppers suffered in an unintended way because of the AAA. Since the landowners were using less "cultivated land" the owners had "less need for labor." Many families either chose to leave or were forced to by landowners because of a lack of labor need.[47]

---

[45] Ibid., 25.

[46] Richard B. Drake, *A History of Appalachia* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 165.

An early policy review by historians F.B. Garver and Harry Trelogan, only three years after Congress enacted the bill, concluded that "the bill (AAA) found provisions for adjusting production, regulating markets, protecting consumers, compensating cooperatives, expanding exports, removing market surpluses and obtaining revenue in order to raise farm purchasing power."[48] They go on to point out some of the act's weaknesses including the fact that "all the programs were virtually propaganda and that mild coercion was applied in some instances," though they do not list specific examples of either claim.[49]

No program affected Jackson County more in terms of change and longevity than the Resettlement Administration's project at Skyline Farms. Originally known as Cumberland Mountain Farms, the project "aimed to build a model rural community" that included schools, general stores, community programs, and social events.[50] Skyline was divided into 181 farms varying in size from forty to sixty acres, where residents received a house and farm equipment. The families were responsible for paying the government back through the sale of crops, usually cotton. The project fell on hard times due to several crop failures and war time rations and by 1944, the government had begun to subsidize properties and sell them to private owners. Despite the eventual failure, Skyline Farms produced several jobs for those who had none and created a community that, although not the cooperative, planned community envisioned, still exists today.[51]

---

[47] Biles, *The South and the New Deal*, 43.

[48] F.B. Garver and Harry Trelogan, "The Agricultural Adjustment Act and The Reports of the Brookings Institution," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 50, no. 4 (August 1936): 600.

[49] Ibid., 618.

[50] West, "Historic Resources of the Paint Rock Valley," 7.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was another important program, since the Tennessee River passed through the county's edge. The TVA attracted both proponents and detractors. Opponents considered the program "communistic" and a detriment to private businesses who would have to compete with the government for electrification. Roosevelt felt damming rivers, especially in the most impoverished region of the country, the Tennessee Valley, meant more for agricultural reform than most other measures. Through the TVA and the Rural Electrification Authority, Roosevelt brought flood control and electricity to communities that desperately needed both. The majority of residents outside of major city limits continued to live without electricity until the TVA and the REA had completed large scale damming projects which could have been as late as World War II era and, at times, even later. Electrification allowed rural farmers the ability to practice progressive ideas that perhaps only the rise in tractor use equaled. The combination of electricity and tractors becoming firmly entrenched in the South transformed remote areas like the Paint Rock Valley. Electrification for the Paint Rock

---

[51] David Campbell, "Skyline Farms," www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1546 (accessed on May 10, 2016); Garet Bleddyn, *Skyline Farms*, 3.

Valley occurred when the Guntersville Dam was built in 1939 in neighboring Marshall County.[52]

Other New Deal programs affected the Paint Rock Valley as well. The Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps allowed hundreds of valley residents the chance to earn money. Both programs provided efforts to build bridges, pave roads, and clear land within the region. One of the largest efforts created by the New Deal that directly affected the residents of Jackson County involved the resettlement program at Skyline Farms during the mid 1930s.

The federal government also addressed the issue of worn out soil. The devastation that occurred on southern farms from planting cotton year after year caused serious erosion complications. The Soil Conservation Service worked diligently to educate residents and rehabilitate devastated lands. In 1941, it considered one million acres in Alabama to be useless. The CCC and the SCS worked together to set up eleven camps that planted 14,500,000 trees and 5,700 acres of kudzu to strengthen the soil and prevent further erosion.[53]

The SCS recognized that several types of farm land existed which necessitated the need for different guidelines for each type of topography. The program published a pamphlet in 1946 that promised farmers in the Luxapillila Creek Watershed in western Alabama that their eroded, denuded farms could produce double the income than they were used to. Though this reform project was outside the Paint Rock Valley, its information would have been just as valuable to the valley farmers. The SCS classified seven types of land from Class I, "level, well drained and productive" to Class VII, "steep, eroded, gullied land." The pamphlet educated the residents of this watershed community how each class could be productive and earn money, while also conserving the soil for later farming practices. One of the practices they favored for gently rolling lands was terracing the fields and adding kudzu in between the terraces to prevent them from breaking over. The SCS suggested farmers utilize assistance in creating terraces the correct way so that heavy rains would not destroy them and the excess rainwater could drain to the proper places. The soil conservation district even offered the assistance themselves.[54] Incidentally, one of the photographs within the pamphlet shows a farmer plowing land powered by two mules, presumably in 1946. According to Nita Head, her father, Henry Graham saw the benefit of terraced farming and became one of the first in Jackson County to do so.[55]

---

[52] West, "Historic Resources of the Paint Rock Valley," 7.

[53] Harvey H. Jackson III, ed., *The WPA Guide to 1930s Alabama* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2000), 25.

The New Deal affected most Americans in a broad and pervasive way. While Roosevelt's plans did much to change the southern farmer's life for the better, usually each program only did so temporarily. Melissa Walker argues that "most New Deal programs did little to help the poorest farmers remain on the land." Indeed, the end of the Depression also brought sharecropping and tenant farming largely to an end. Displaced, landless farmers often moved to cities searching for jobs in factories or mills. Walker argues that many of the Southerners she interviewed who had lived during the era believed that World War II did more for the agriculture industry than any of the New Deal programs of Roosevelt's administration.[56]

---

[54] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, *More from your Farm: A Guide to Soil Conservation farming based on a survey of the land in the Luxapallila Creek Watershed, Alabama*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Publishing Office, October 1946), 6, 9.

[55] Robert Head, speaking for his wife, Nita "Graham" Head, interviewed by author, Spring Hill, TN, May 28, 2016.

The South experienced real change during the war as the region experienced an economic growth that was not fueled by agriculture. The business of war had transformed the South into a "great training ground" for the newly recruited of the Armed Forces. Industrial jobs soared in the region as well, as factory workers worked around the clock producing wartime materials for the troops. The beginning of the transformation of the South from rural to urban is noted by Numan Bartley as 25% of the South's farm population, "some four million people," left the farms for the cities from 1940-1945. In 1944, Alabama's governor, Chauncey Sparks, claimed that his people had never known such prosperity.[57]

After World War II, farmers in the South rarely used individuals who rented land or sharecropped. Farming continued to be influenced by technology and science to the point that farming in the present day is considered to be a technical industry[58]. If a farmer today fails to incorporate the latest findings in agricultural science and technology, he or she will not be farming for long. Subsistence farming has, for the most part, vanished. If someone identifies as a farmer, more than likely they are farming on a grand, commercial scale.

---

[56] Walker, *Southern Farmers and Their Stories*, 27.

[57] Numan V. Bartley, *The New South 1945-1980: The Story of the South's Modernization* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 11.; Wayne Flynt, *Alabama in the Twentieth Century* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2006), 393.

[58] Conkin, *A Revolution Down on the Farm*, 81.

CHAPTER IV:
THE GRAHAM FARM AS A CASE STUDY

DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

The Graham Farm is nestled in a narrow valley between Maxwell Mountain and Prince Mountain in the northeast section of Jackson County. The valley is part of a region known as the Upper Paint Rock Valley which itself is part of the Tennessee Valley. The Graham Farm is located at the intersection of Alabama State Route 65 and County Road 27 at the base of Maxwell Mountain. The majority of the farm lies north of State Route 65, with a small section lying on the south side. County Road 27, which remained a dirt drive that ended just past the farmhouse, now dissects the farm on an east-west basis. The Larkin Fork Creek runs along the eastern border of the property and empties into the Paint Rock River at the southeast corner of the farm.

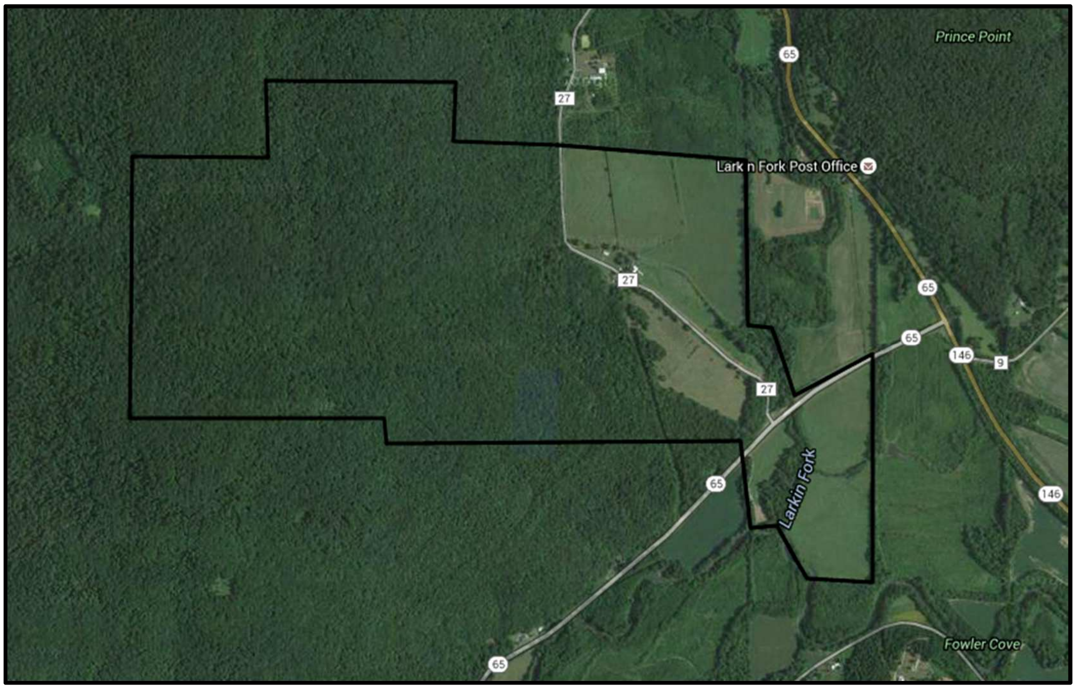


Figure 1: Border of Graham Farm within the Paint Rock Valley (Google Maps)

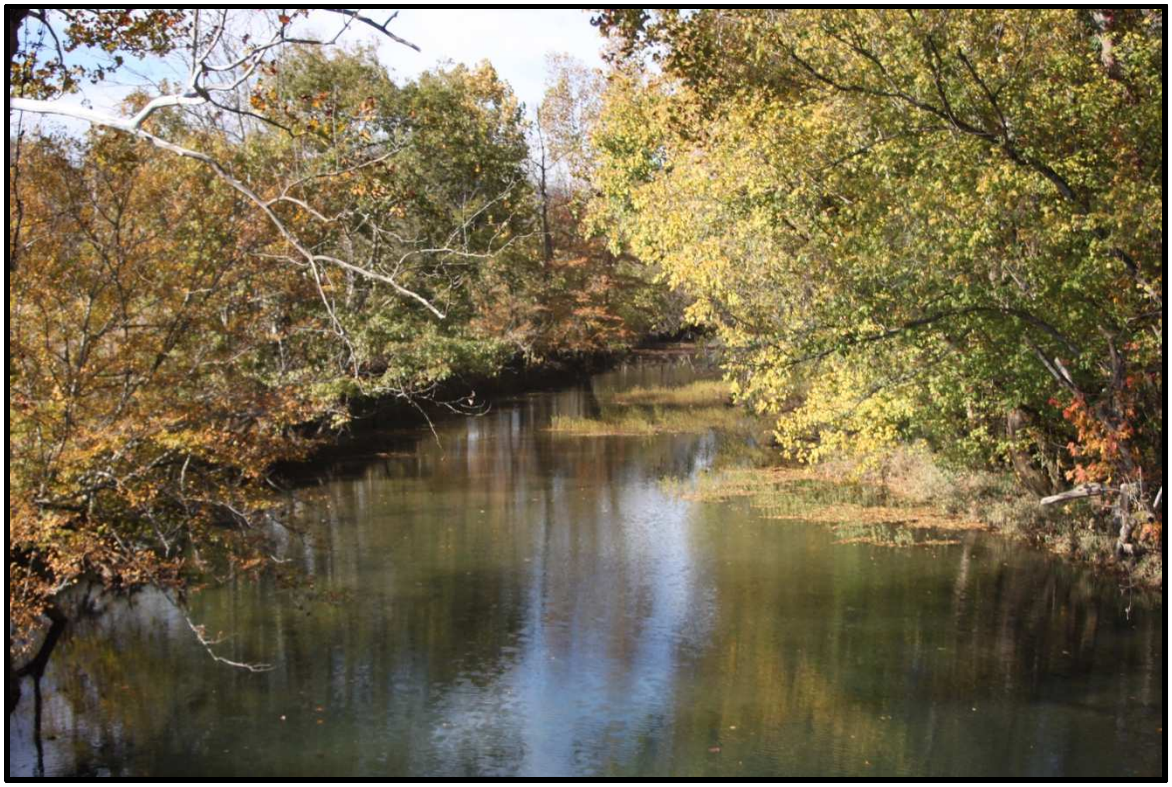


Figure 2: The Paint Rock Valley landscape: Larkin Fork Creek (Brad Eatherly)

Auburn University now owns the Graham Farm and its extension service, the Alabama Cooperative Extension System operates it, where it is utilized as a demonstration farm and a nature center. At its present size, the farm lies on 496 acres with 124.7 of those listed as farmable. The majority of the remaining acres are heavily wooded on the eastern slope of Maxwell Mountain. The Graham family had owned the farm for well over one hundred years prior to the last remaining member of the family deeding the property to Auburn University in December 2012.

A United States Census from 1850 has Milton Graham, aged twenty-six, living with a forty-six-year-old Sarah Graham, probably his mother and four siblings. The land is valued at $1,500.00 and Milton Graham's occupation is listed as a "miller." The value of the land is significant because most of the surrounding farms have no value attached to them and the majority of the ones that do are valued between $200.00 and $1,000.00. The plot of land cannot be verified that it is the same as the one in latter records because of a lack of information. However, it is assumed that if it is not the same land, it was nearby. While the 1850 census has the property listed as being in District 21, Township 2 Range 4 East, later records omit the "District 21" locale.[1]

According to a special Alabama state census taken in 1866, the Graham family owned at least a portion of the present-day farm. It shows Milton Graham living with three other males, presumably his children, and no females on the same plot of land that future deeds and censuses indicate as Graham-owned land.[2]

In 1870, Milton Graham increased his land area by purchasing land from a Simeon Walker for the sum of $640.00.[3] In 1870 Simeon Walker owned seventy acres of farmable land and Milton Graham owned thirty.[4] It is not known if Milton purchased the entirety of Walker's land or a partial amount. But by 1880, three sets of Grahams lived near each other. According to an Agricultural Production Sheet from 1880, Milton's brother James F. Graham owned ninety-seven acres of "tilled, including fallow and grass in rotation (whether pasture or meadow)" land, three acres of "permanent meadows, permanent pastures, orchards, vineyards," and three-hundred acres of "woodland and forest" valued at $4,000.00.

---

[1] Ancestry.com. "Milton Graham," 1850 United States Census, http://interactive.ancestry.com/8054/4187297-00283?pid=18643975&backurl=http://search.ancestry.com//cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26db%3D1850usfedcenancestry%26h%3D18643975%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3Dokg26%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource%26usePUBJs%3Dtrue%26rhSource%3D1276&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=okg26&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true#?imageId=4187297-00279 (accessed May 10, 2016).

[2] Ancestry.com. "Milton Graham," 1866 Alabama State Census, http://interactive.ancestry.com/1576/31075_174431-00647?pid=561933&backurl=http://search.ancestry.com//cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc%3Dokg88%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource%26usePUBJs%3Dtrue%26gss%3Dangs-g%26new%3D1%26rank%3D1%26msT%3D1%26gsfn%3Dmilton%2520f%26gsfn_x%3D0%26gsln%3Dgraham%2520%26gsln_x%3D0%26msypn__ftp%3DJackson%2520County,%2520Alabama,%2520USA%26msypn%3D1462%26msypn_PInfo%3D7-%257C0%257C1652393%257C0%257C2%257C0%257C3%257C0%257C1462%257C0%257C0%257C%26MSAV%3D1%26msydy%3D1866%26cpxt%3D1%26cp%3D12%26catbucket%3Drstp%26uidh%3Dat7%26pcat%3DROOT_CATEGORY%26h%3D561933%26recoff%3D4%25205%26db%3DAlabamaCensus%26indiv%3D1%26ml_rpos%3D3&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=okg88&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true (accessed May 10, 2016).

[3] Deed of Sale from Simeon Walker to Milton Graham, 2 June 1870, Jackson County, Alabama, Deed Book 4, page 501. Jackson County Probate Office, Scottsboro, Alabama.

According to the 1880 census a family with the last name of Hughes lived in between Milton's brother and himself. Most likely the Hughes family rented or possibly sharecropped some of the land, as his profession is listed as "farm laborer." According to the Agricultural Production sheet from 1880, Milton owned forty acres of "tilled", eight acres of "orchards or vineyards," and one-hundred ten acres of "woodland" worth $1000.00. His son, James A. rented forty acres of "tilled land" and eight acres of "orchards or vineyards" worth $1,000.00. The 1880 census has father and son, along with the son's wife and baby daughter, living under the same roof. Again, it is most likely that all Grahams, including the older brothers James F. and Milton, farmed the same land. If you combine the brothers' value of land, and accept that the land James

---

[4] Ancestry.com. "Milton F. Graham," Productions of Agriculture in the County of Jackson in the Post Office: Big Coon, 1870, http://interactive.ancestry.com/1276/32786_1220706416_0010-00548?pid=6300480&backurl=http://search.ancestry.com//cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc%3Dokg102%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource%26usePUBJs%3Dtrue%26indiv%3D1%26db%3DNonPopCensus%26gss%3Dangs-d%26new%3D1%26rank%3D1%26msT%3D1%26gsfn%3Dmilton%2520%26gsfn_x%3D0%26gsln%3Dgraham%26gsln_x%3D0%26msrpn__ftp%3DJackson%2520County,%2520Alabama,%2520USA%26msrpn%3D1462%26msrpn_PInfo%3D7-%257C0%257C1652393%257C0%257C2%257C0%257C3%257C0%257C1462%257C0%257C0%257C%26MSAV%3D0%26uidh%3Dat7%26ti%3D0%26pcat%3D35%26fh%3D0%26h%3D6300480%26recoff%3D%26ml_rpos%3D1&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=okg102&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true (accessed May 26, 2016).

Addison Graham rented is the same land his father owned, their 556 acres of land was valued at $7,500.00. Only a few farms in the vicinity matched the value of the Grahams' land with most falling well short, including many valued at just $100.00 or less. For example, the next three farms listed in the schedule, owned by J. G. Alspaugh, J. M. Stangler, and Robert Roberson, were valued at $690.00, $75.00, and $385.00 respectively. However, one nearby farm owned by Robert O. Fowler, was valued at $8,330. The following table combines all three of the Graham family farms' values in 1880.

Table 2: Value/Quantity of Graham Farm's assets, 1880

	Machinery	**Livestock**	**Hay**	**Horses**	**Mules**	**Milk Cows**	**Other Cattle**	**Butter**
Value/Qty	$300.00	$1200	4 tons	9	6	5	11	485 lbs.

	Sheep	**Swine**	**Poultry**	**Indian Corn**	**Oats**	**Cotton**	**Sorghum (Molasses)**	**Apple Orchard**
Value/Qty	4	92	95	1900 Bushels	200 Bushels	2 1/4 Bales	335 Gallons	40 Trees

While most of the other farms in the region raised similar livestock and crops, the Graham Farm typically produced more than their neighbors. While the Grahams produced 1900 bushels of Indian Corn, the seven remaining farms on the same schedule page produced only 2,630 combined with the next closest producing 1,050 bushels. Likewise, while the Grahams 485 pounds of butter, the next highest amount produced 365 pounds. Only one farm other than the Graham Farm produced any molasses from its sorghum crop and it only produced 40 gallons compared to the 335 the Grahams produced. Many of the farms near the Graham Farm are considerably smaller, sometimes as small as five acres. The majority, however, are between 25-60 acres. Though one farm, belonging to a Samuel Butter, was listed as being significantly larger than the Graham Farm. The Butter Farm occupied 290 acres of farmable land and another 440 acres of non-farmable land for a total of 730 acres but was valued at $1000.00 less than the Graham Farm and its 556 acres. Farms such as the Robert Fowler Farm and the Butter Farm succeeded both in land value and livestock and crop harvesting in the area as well, but this was a rare occurrence.[5]

James A. Graham applied for and received a patent from the General Land Office. According to the National Parks website, the Homestead Act of 1862 allowed one to apply for a land patent if he or she was: the head of the family, twenty-one years of age, had never borne arms against the United States Government, resided on a piece of property for at least five years, and had cleared and improved at least 40 acres. The patent, dated February 28, 1896 and "signed" by Grover Cleveland, grants Graham 79 and 92/100 of an acre. The patent also states that the land is "to have and to hold . . . unto the said James A. Graham and his heirs and assigns forever."[6] What is not known is if this was land that the Graham family had been residing on for more than the required five years. It may very well have been land that the Grahams had utilized for several decades.

---

[5] Ancestry.com. "Milton F. Graham," Productions of Agriculture in the County of Jackson, Alabama: 1880, http://interactive.ancestry.com/1276/32786_1220706416_0029-01680?pid=6190033&backurl=http://search.ancestry.com//cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc%3Dokg96%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource%26usePUBJs%3Dtrue%26indiv%3D1%26db%3DNonPopCensus%26gss%3Dangs-d%26new%3D1%26rank%3D1%26msT%3D1%26gsfn%3Dmilton%2520%26gsfn_x%3D0%26gsln%3Dgraham%26gsln_x%3D0%26msrpn__ftp%3DJackson%2520County,%2520Alabama,%2520USA%26msrpn%3D1462%26msrpn_PInfo%3D7-%257C0%257C1652393%257C0%257C2%257C0%257C3%257C0%257C1462%257C0%257C0%257C%26MSAV%3D0%26uidh%3Dat7%26pcat%3D35%26fh%3D1%26h%3D6190033%26recoff%3D%26ml_rpos%3D2&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=okg96&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true#?imageId=32786_1220706416_0029-01680 (accessed May 12, 2016).

Oral family history contends that James A. Graham's son, Henry Graham, bought the farm in 1917 at the age of 27. It would seem that at this point the entire 486-acre farm was now consolidated into one farm under the ownership of Henry Graham. Henry Graham married a woman from a neighboring farm, Ola Robertson. They had four children: James Russell, William Carl, Kelly, and Nita.

The Graham Family utilized progressive ideas in the operation of their farm which not only allowed them to be more financially successful than other nearby farms but also allowed them to be community leaders. Mrs. Nita Graham Head claims that her father worked for both the Coast Guard and Jackson County as the road commissioner. Henry Graham, while road commissioner, was influential in constructing both Alabama State Highway 65 and Alabama State Highway 142, which leads to Skyline, Alabama. Before then, a trip to the county seat, Scottsboro, took longer and one had to go well out of the way.

Henry Graham utilized the waterways as transportation at least once. The Graham Farm utilized the ability to produce cotton more than other farms in the area. One year, Graham built a raft, loaded it full of cotton and rafted down the Paint Rock River to the Tennessee River, through Tennessee to the Ohio River, and then to the

---

[6] National Park Service. "The Homestead Act of 1862," https://ww.nps.gov/home/learn/historyculture/upload/MW,pdf,Homestead%20Act,txt.pdf (accessed April 25, 2016); "James A. Graham," U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, http://www.glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=AL4210   .458&docClass=STA&sid=ktnxzeeq.qdj#patentDetailsTabIndex=1 (accessed February 23, 2015).

Mississippi. Once there he then took various waterways to Mobile where he sold everything, including the raft. Once he had done so, he walked back to the farm.[7]

The farm is comprised of several buildings and structures including: the farmhouse, a garage, a smokehouse/washhouse, a tool shed, a barn, a chicken coop, a tractor shed, a small equipment shed, and another general purpose shed. A spring on the side of Maxwell Mountain, with springhouse, feeds three concrete water troughs. Several yards away from the main farmhouse there is a dilapidated log cabin. According to Mr. Bob Head, who speaks for his elderly wife, at least one other sharecropper's cabin's remnants can be seen at some place on the side of the mountain. He claims that a bridge covered a pathway allowing the cattle come down from the mountain and into the low land pastures. This bridge would have been on the dirt drive that became County Road 27 near the intersection of State Highway 65.

---

[7] Robert Head, speaking for his wife, Nita "Graham" Head, interviewed by author, Spring Hill, TN, May 28, 2016.

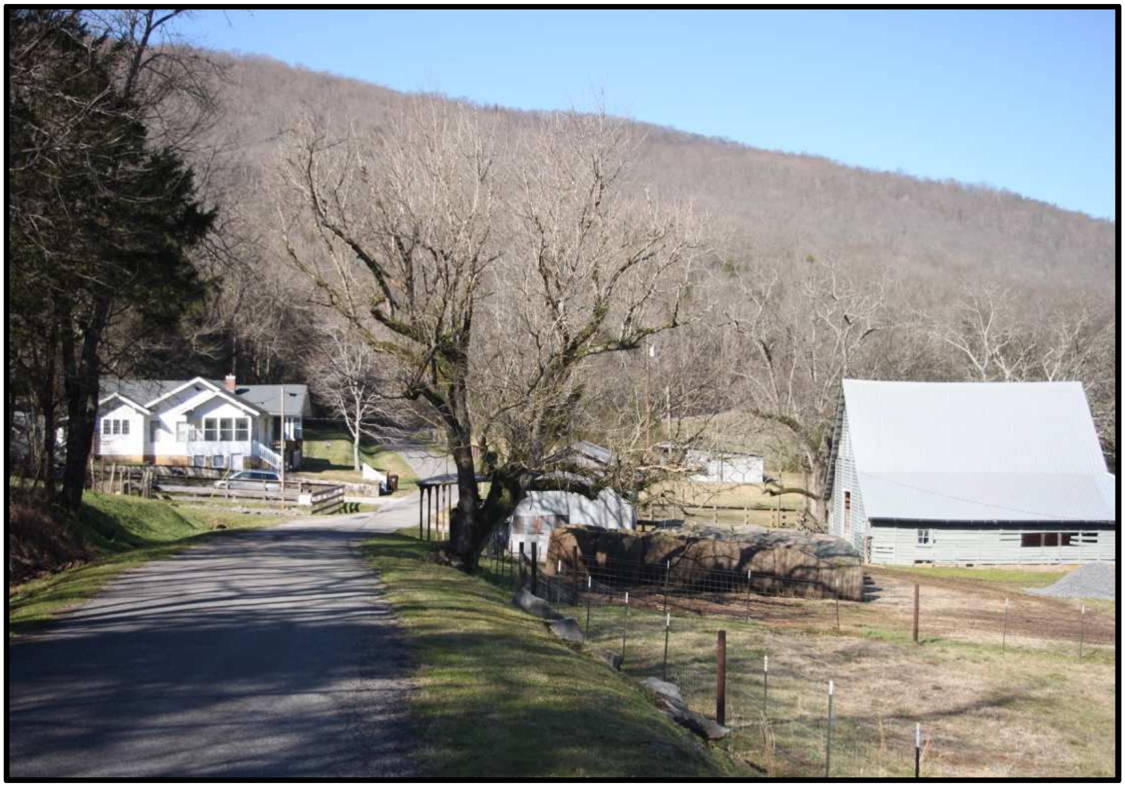


Figure 3: County Road 27 leading to the Graham Farm (Brad Eatherly)

The farmhouse is located on the west side of County Road 27, about 700 yards from the intersection of 27 and State Highway 65. The road, which used to end just past the house and remained unpaved until 1990, gently slopes down from a small ridge where the farm becomes visible. Maxwell Mountain meets the road where heavily forested land gives way to a cleared out pasture about the size of a football field. The mountain rolls gently down to the farmhouse. The house butts up to the base of the mountain about as close as it can. The house has several construction periods dating to c. 1870, c. 1920, and c. 1950.

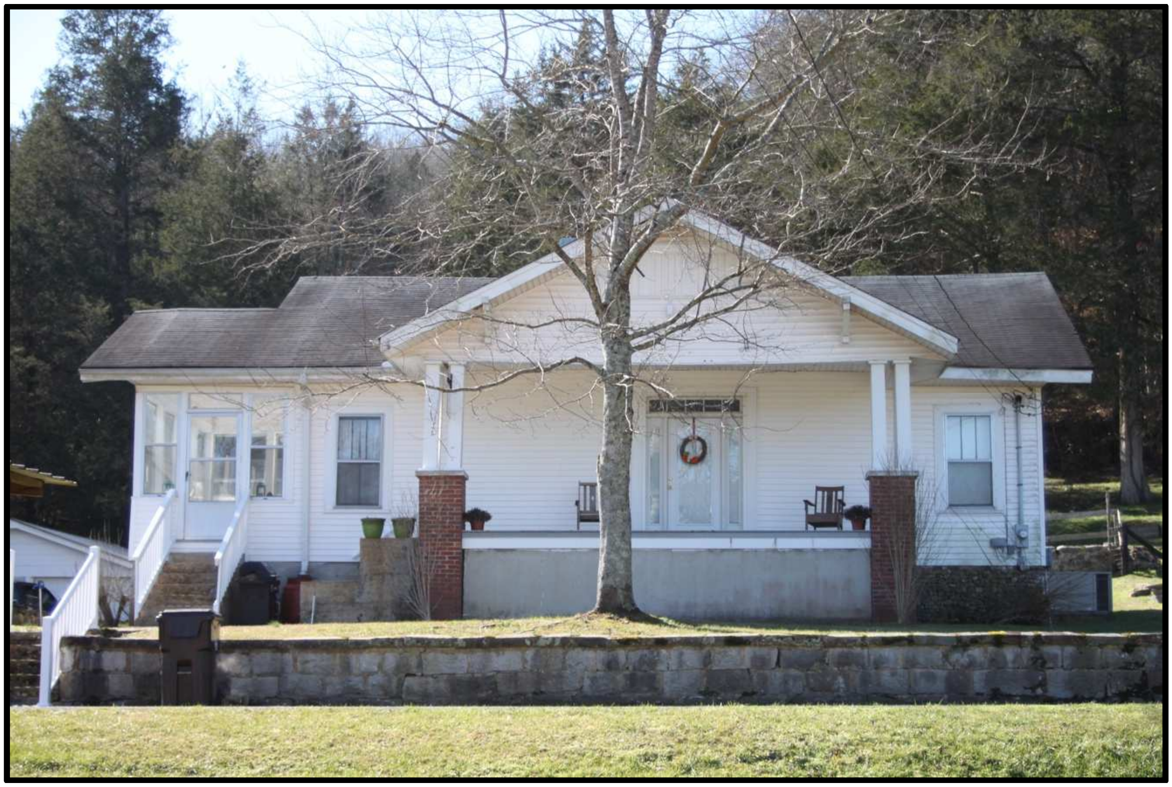


Figure 4: Front façade of the Graham farmhouse (Brad Eatherly)

The house, has a three-bay façade, with a side sun porch added c. 1950. The interior has a central hall plan, with two bedrooms flanking the hall. Bob Head explained that he believed that the original version of the house dated to the Civil War era. Robert Gamble has studied architecture in Alabama and notes that many owners filled in dog-trot houses and the central open passageway became the hall.[8] But there is no evidence this house was ever a dog-trot. One-story central hall plans remained popular in the South well into the twentieth century.[9] The original house would have ended at the back walls of the two back rooms. The Grahams added a kitchen and a dining room to the back c. 1920. The house lacked a bathroom until the completion of one into the late twentieth century. The bathroom was constructed onto the rear of the house, c. 1950, behind the two bedrooms on the right side of the house. Before that, the family used a pair of outhouses located on a small clearing directly behind the house. The family hooked running water up to the house by piping in cold spring water from the spring on the mountain until a county water line could be added to the property, as late as c. 1970. The family added a screened in porch off the side of the front-left bedroom. The porch held recently cut firewood for seasoning. The bedroom that the porch connects to includes a fireplace that would heat both the bedroom and the living room on the other side. One of the final additions to the house was a screened in back porch c. 1950, that became a storage/laundry room. [10] Roosevelt's plan for providing electricity to rural areas culminated in the Rural Electrification Authority. Jackson County established the North Alabama Electric Coop in 1940 and over the next several decades supplied the residents Jackson County with much needed electricity. The Graham Farm finally received electricity around 1950, according to Bob Head.[11]

---

[8] Robert S. Gamble, *Historic Architecture in Alabama: A Guide to Styles and Types, 1810-1930* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1990), 24-25.

[9] Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 101.

---

[10] Thomas Carter and Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Introduction to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 15.

[11] "About NAEC," North Alabama Electric Coop, accessed October 2, 2016, www.naecoop.com/history.asp.; Robert Head, speaking for his wife, Nita "Graham" Head, interviewed by author, Spring Hill, TN, May 28, 2016.

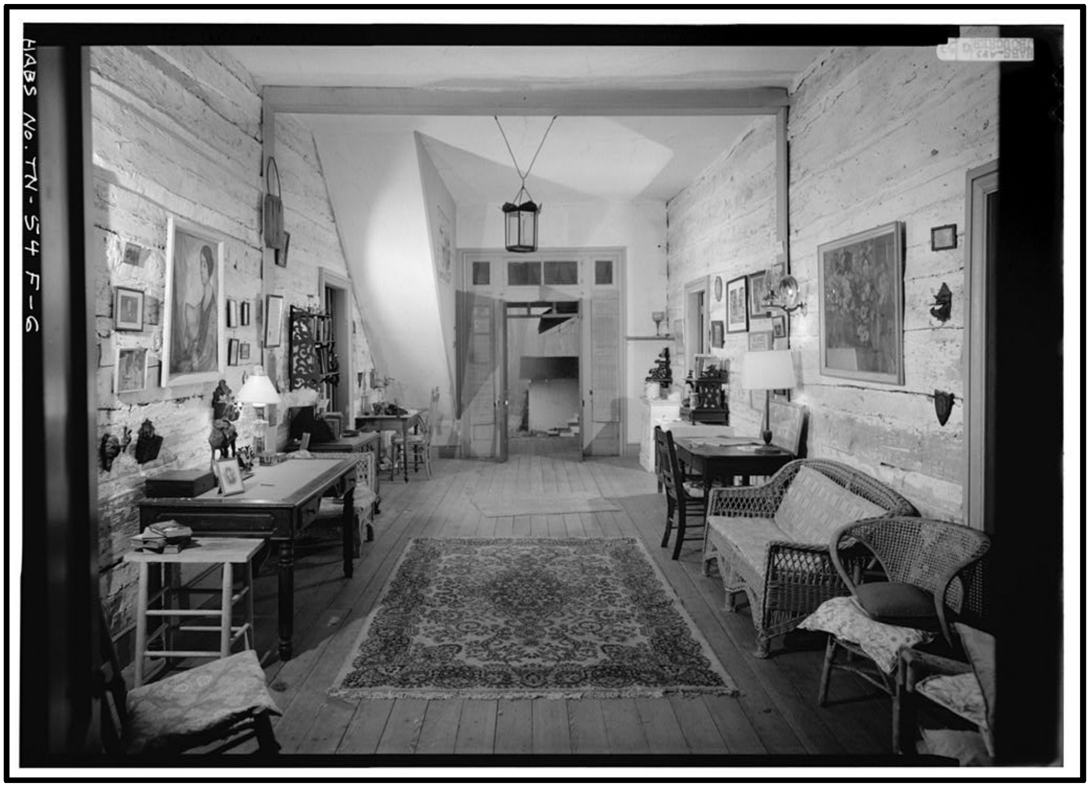


Figure 5: Dog-trot that has been filled in at Old Beersheeba Inn, Beersheeba Springs, TN (HABS)

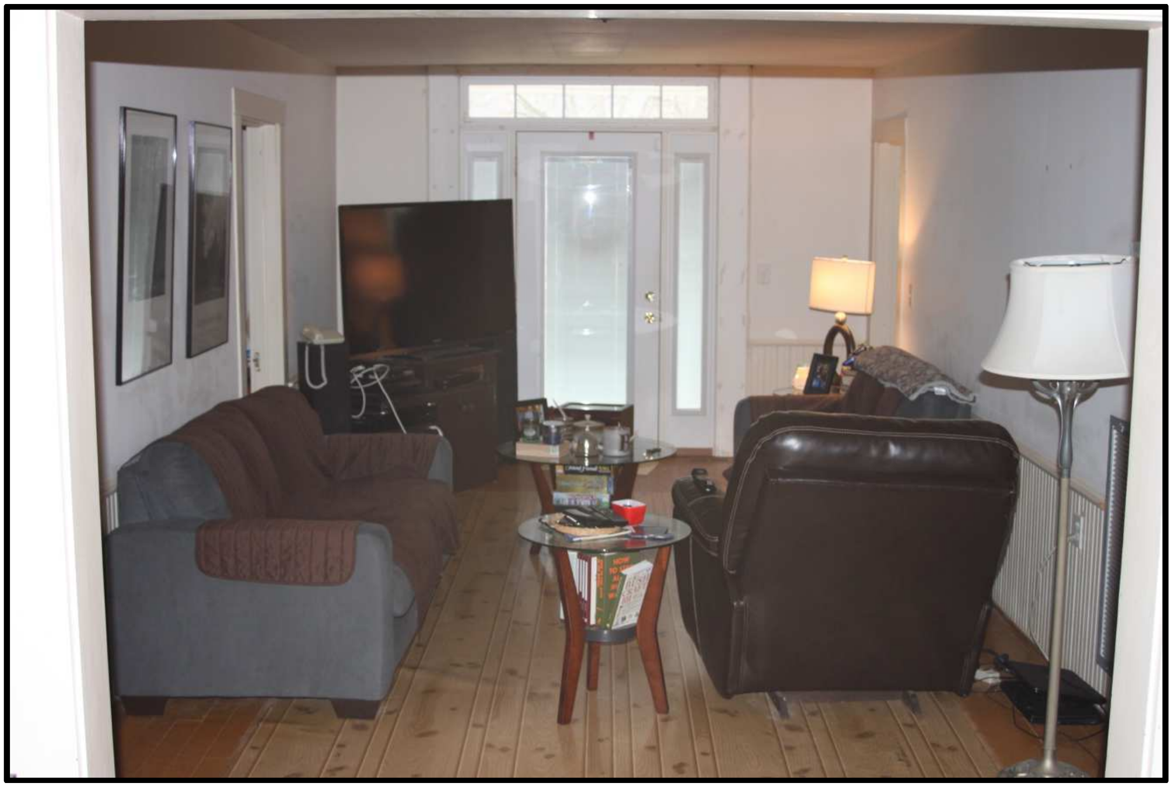


Figure 6: Interior central hall of Graham Farm homestead (Brad Eatherly)

The front façade of the farmhouse sits on an elevated lawn with a cut-stone wall separating the two levels of the yard. The current roof is made of modern, asphalt shingles. The cross-gabled house faces northeast and features four bays and a small portico leading to a central door. Two columns support the portico with brick bases and three small wooden pillars above each of the bases. A small screened-in porch sits off to the left side of the house with stone stairs leading to a screen door and two single-hung one-over-one windows. The porch is above a small stone cellar. Two one-over-one double hung windows are set on either side of the main entrance to the house. The front porch floor is made of wooden planks and sits above a solid cement block foundation. A small set of steps on the left side of the porch lead up to the elevated porch. The foundation of the house is mostly on a solid concrete block but at the corners of the front façade, the family decided to use small river stones as part of the foundation. River stones are used throughout the region in the community's architecture. The local high school, which was built by the Works Progress Administration in the 1930s, features river stones in its architecture.

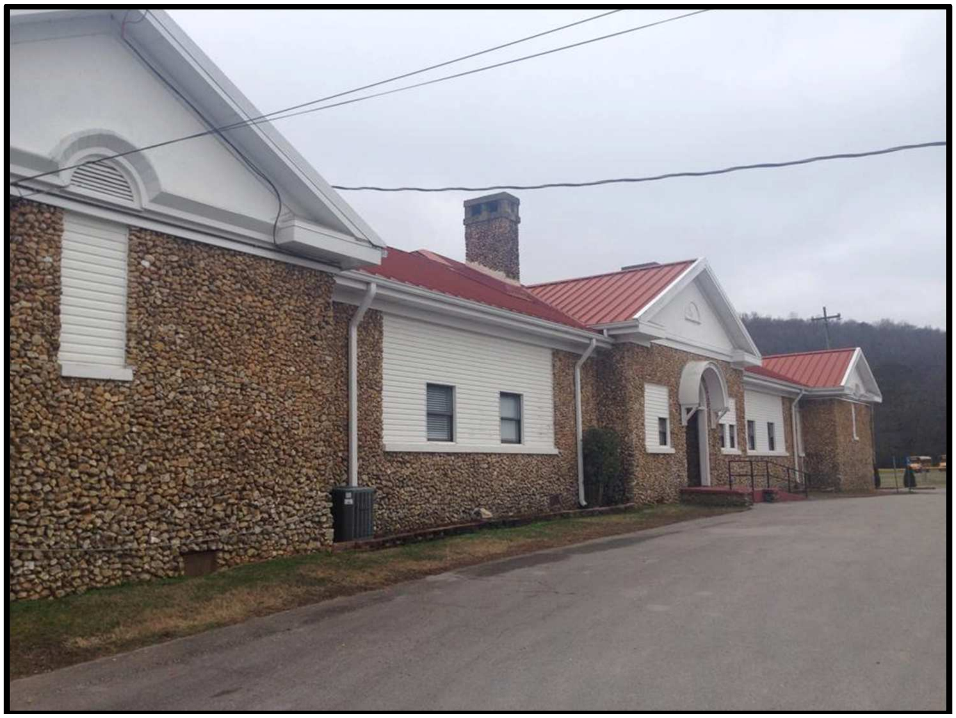


Figure 7: Paint Rock Valley High School (Mary Scott Hunter)

A small cellar, c. 1940, occupies the front right, or northeastern corner of the house. The cellar is currently used for storage but in the past it would have been used for storing food for the winter months which were always leaner. The cellar in the American South was a space primarily used by the women of the farm. The coolest places on a farm before electricity came from the cellar or, if a family was lucky, a springhouse. The temperature in the cellar can be as low as fifty-five degrees Fahrenheit which is perfect for storing preserved vegetables and fruits and even milk for short periods. Almost every farm in the region tried to have a few orchards if possible and the Graham Farm was no different. The fruits, usually apples and peaches, along with any berries that were nearby, could be canned and stored for use in the winter. Families pickled all sorts of vegetables and saved them as well.[12]

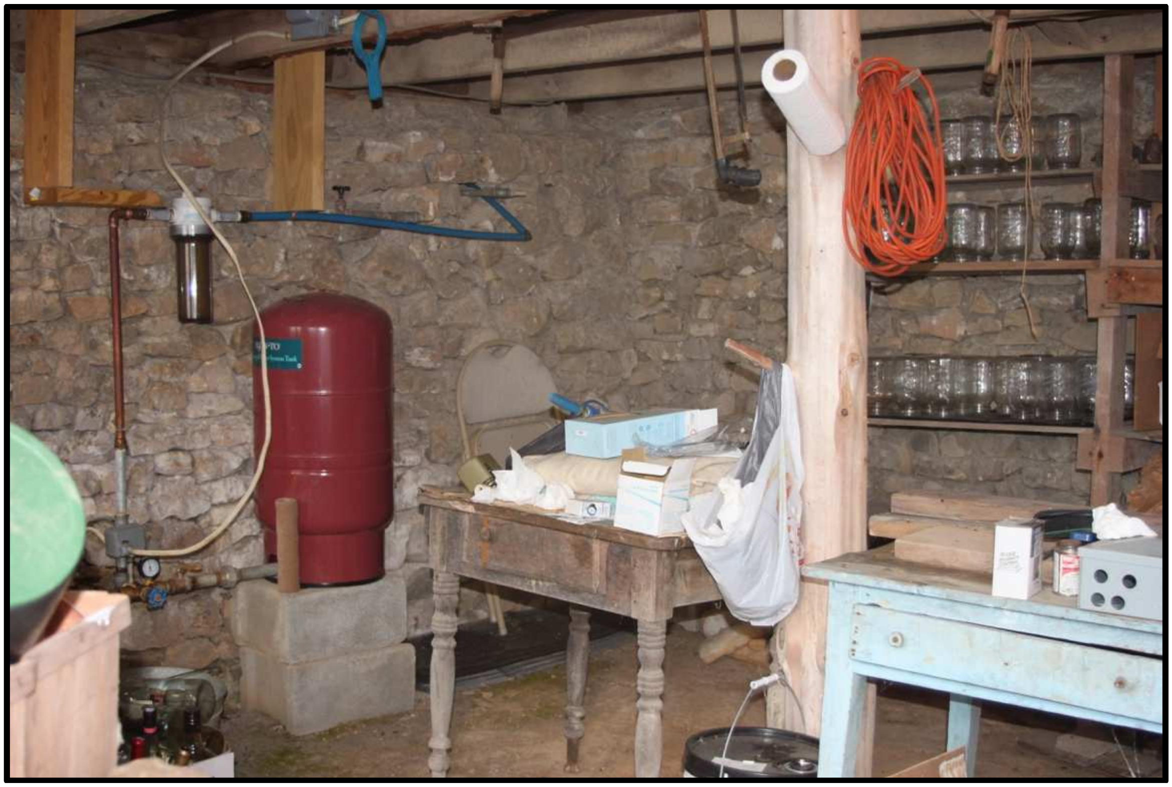


Figure 8: Interior of Graham Farm cellar (Brad Eatherly)

Behind the farm house, just as the mountain begins to rise up from the valley, lies a structure that is actually two-in one. A small rectangular wooden building served as both a washhouse and a smokehouse for the Grahams from c. 1920 to c. 1970. A corrugated tin roof covers the gables. The entrance is in the middle of the building. A large, barnyard type of door leads to a center room, probably used for storage. A sixpaned fixed window sits on either side of the door. To the left is the old washroom with a large concrete sink used for the washing of clothes and boiling water. The Graham family would have carried water to the sinks from the spring nearby until a pipe was connected to bring the spring water to the structure.

---

[12] Conkin, *A Revolution Down on the Farm*, 44; Fite, *Cotton Fields No More*, 45. Both Conkin and Fite discuss the differences in the gender roles of a farm. While men most often worked on all of the "outdoor" activities, including working the crops, cutting wood, and hunting, the women of the farm never stopped. Women would be in charge of milking cows, tending gardens, picking berries and fruits, cooking three square meals a day, killing chickens, quilting quilts and sewing clothes, canning fruits and vegetables, and sometimes providing education to the children of the family. These are just some of the many jobs women performed all day, every day. Many times their only social experience would be church gatherings and events.

Smokehouses were important structures to Appalachians, even for the "poorest of families." Almost every family constructed one and almost every smokehouse was behind the main house for easy access.[13] The smokehouse was separated from the central room of the structure by a door. The original wood of the smokehouse is noticeably darker and aged more than the rest of the interior wood due to the salts and other chemicals from the drying of and curing of freshly dressed meats that were raised and slaughtered on the farm. Currently, the smokehouse section is used as general storage for the farm.

---

[13] Lisa Holly Robbins, "Smokehouses and Root Cellars: Vernacular Architecture in Appalachia" (master's thesis, American University, 2006), 49

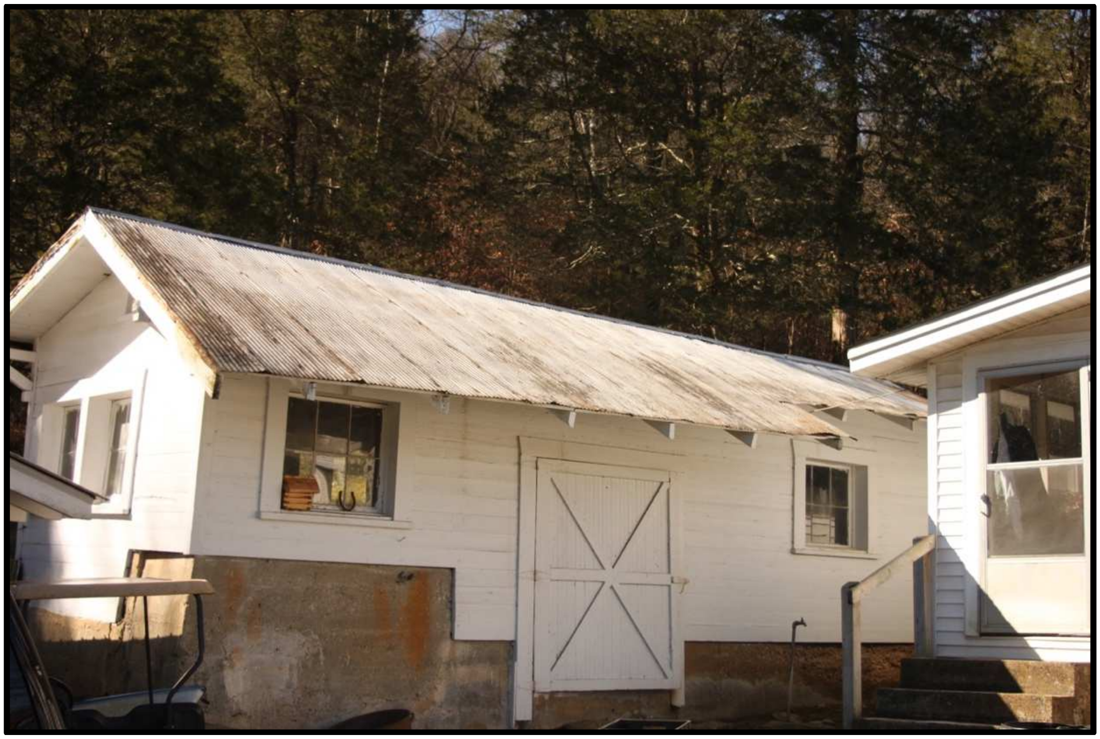


Figure 9: Washroom on the left and smokehouse on the right (Brad Eatherly)

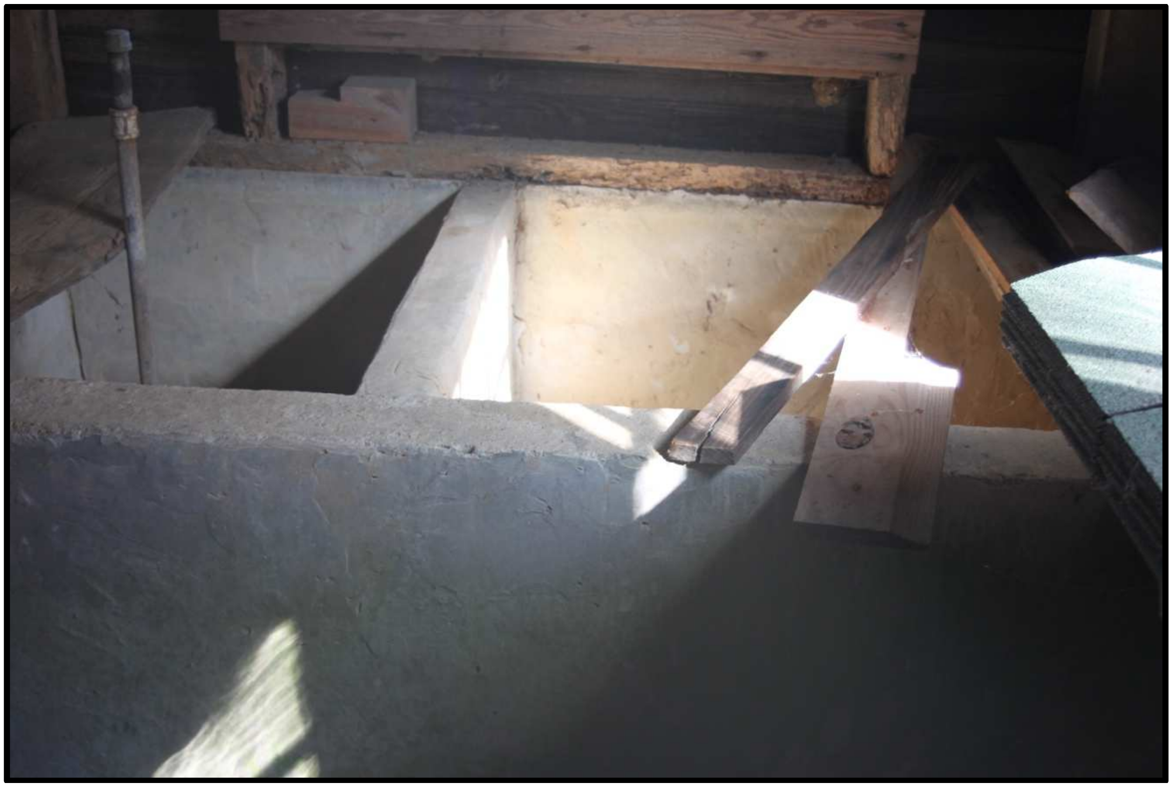


Figure 10: Concrete wash basins within washhouse (Brad Eatherly)

A fresh water spring flows from about a fourth of the way up Maxwell Mountain. It feeds into a creek that comes down the mountain to the east, of the house to the base. This water still fills the water troughs for livestock but it also used to be the water source for the farmhouse. The Graham family built up a stone wall around the spring with a wooden roof on top c. 1920. This allowed the Spring to remain cool even in the heat of the day, which in turn allowed the family to store dairy and sometimes packaged meat. Four or five sulfur wells were dotted throughout the property, including one that apparently used to be in the kitchen underneath the stairs that lead to the attic.

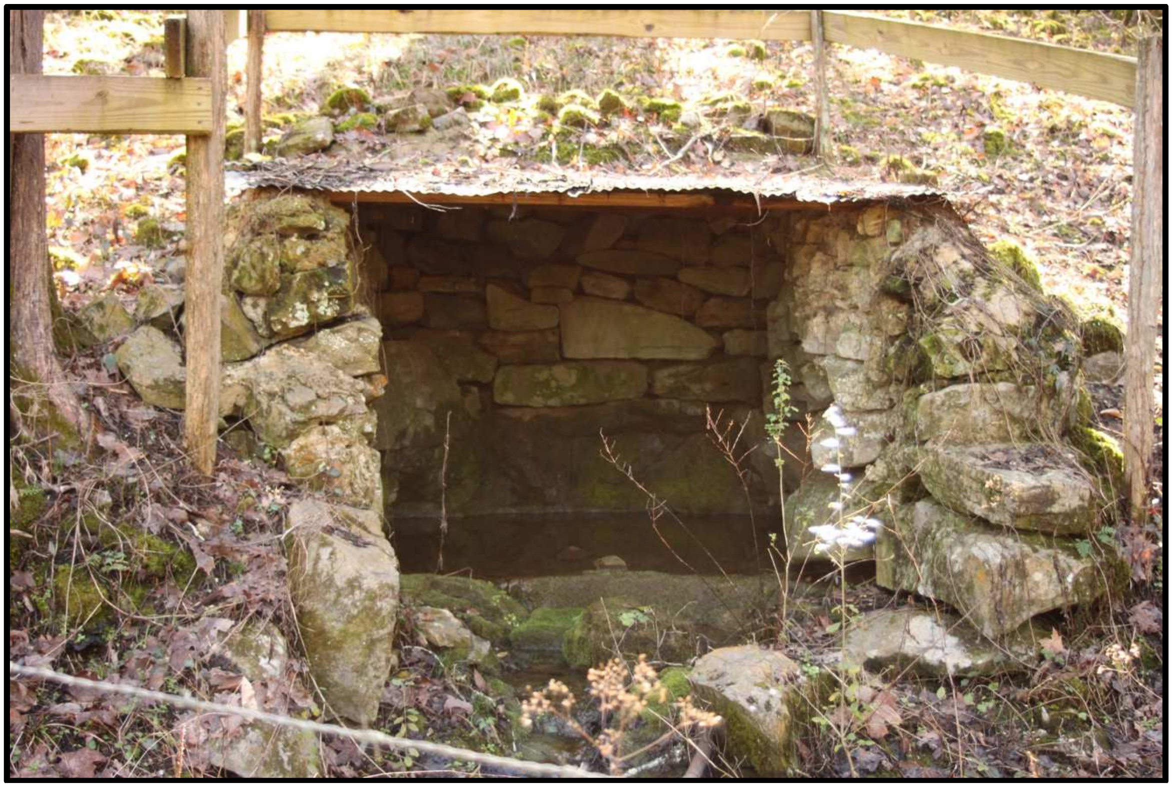


Figure 11: Fresh water spring (Brad Eatherly)

Three water troughs remain on the property. Bob Head believes that these were constructed by the family sometime in the 1920s or as late as 1930. Considering that roads continued to be fairly poor or even non-existent well into the twentieth century, these water troughs were like present day gas stations. If you were trying to drive livestock at all, they needed to be refueled constantly. The United States Department of Agriculture argues that adult cattle, on a ninety degree Fahrenheit day, need anywhere between twenty to forty gallons of clean water each day.[14] One concrete trough sits just on the other side of a fence near the house as County Road 27 winds by. Another concrete trough sits just on the other side of the road, behind another fence near a large equipment shed, and the last of the concrete troughs runs alongside a creek near the barn.

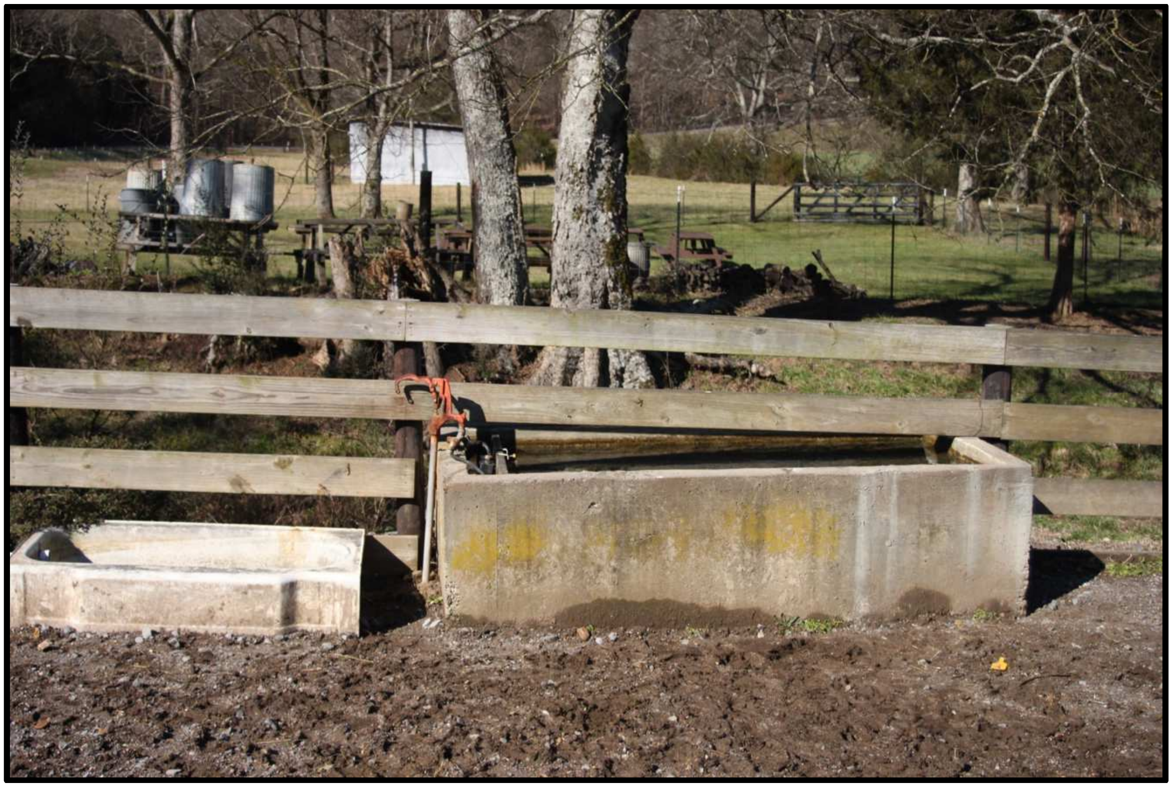


Figure 12: Water trough with sulfur well pump (Brad Eatherly)

---

[14] US Department of Agriculture, *Watering Systems for Serious Grazers* (Columbia, MO: USDA Natural Resources Conservation Services, 2006), 6.

County Road 27 splits the farm up into two sections. The farmhouse and the majority of the property on the south and west side of the road is mountainous and heavily wooded. A small amount of the mountain near the base has been cleared for pasture land. The majority of the farmable land is on the north and east side of the road. About forty-two acres is actually to the southeast of State Highway 65, though there are no known structures on that side. The remaining structures, save for one much further down the road, lie on the opposite side of the road from the farmhouse. A shed for large equipment and tools sits just a few feet off on the right of the county road. The simply made shed, was constructed around 1930 of a spare wood frame, wrapped in corrugated tin. The foundation is made of stone piers along the edge and at various places underneath the floor. The building has a gabled roof extending into a shed-roof covering. Several tools are nailed to the front façade of the shed along with an antique, though not the farm's first, tractor parked underneath. Five wooden Y-beams support the shed roof, which extends twelve feet from the façade. A single entranceway with no door is on the far right of the façade. The interior includes an elevated wooden floor and several antiquated tools of various type, some hanging on the wall, some sitting upon the floor.

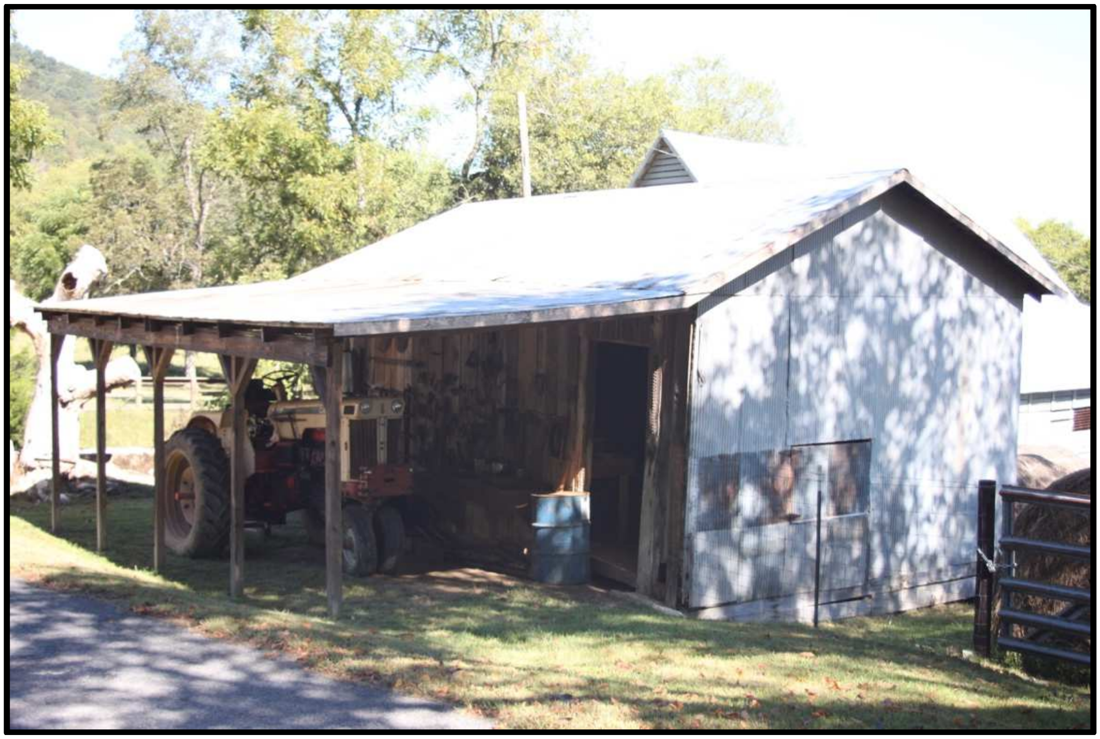


Figure 13: Large equipment and tool shed (Brad Eatherly)

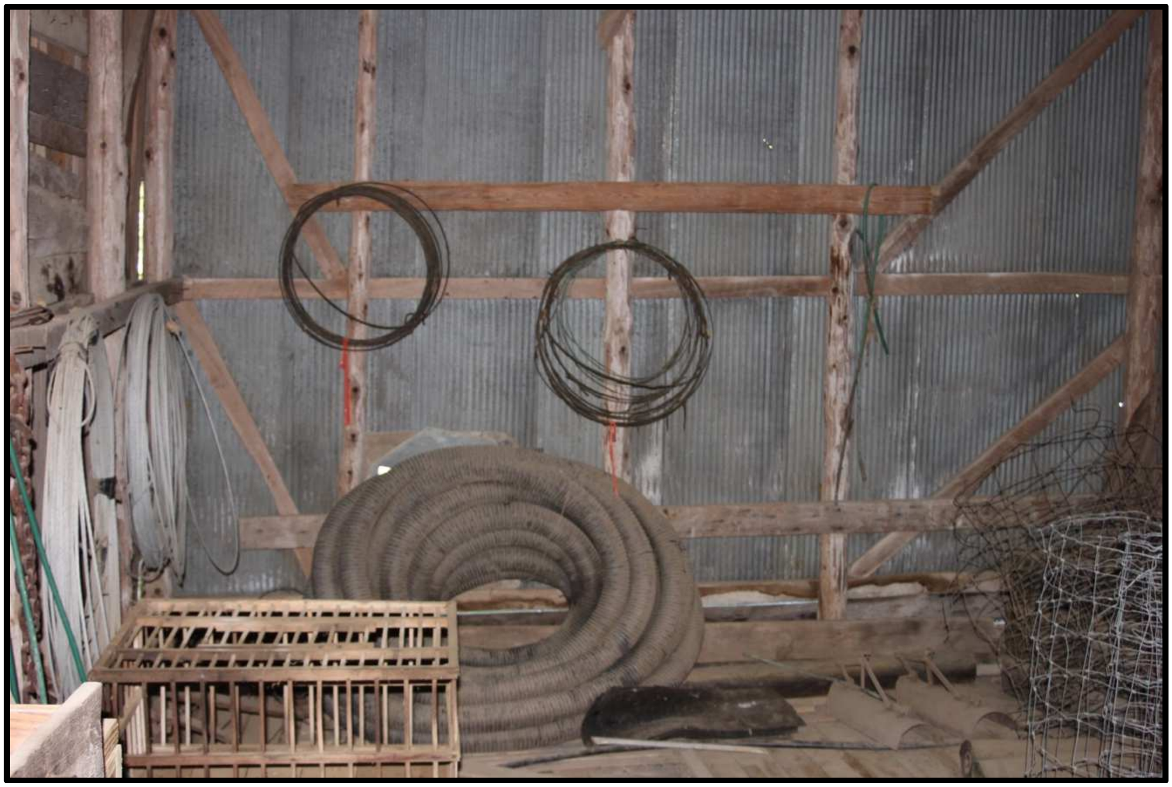


Figure 14: Interior view of shed (Brad Eatherly)

A farrowing house sits about fifty feet behind the large shed. A farrowing house is a structure designed to usher sows into specially made pens that allows her to nurse her litter without fear of the possibility of crushing any under her heft. The farrowing house was built circa 1950 originally as a dairy parlor. It was built southeast of the barn. The structure is rectangular in shape measuring 59 feet 8 inches long and only 11 feet 6 inches deep. It has a corrugated tin roof on top of a wooden frame. The frame is covered with asphalt tile with large pieces missing, exposing the wood. The front façade faces southwest and has six bays: two entryways and four two-over-two windows. Each window measures 2 feet by 2 feet 7 inches. Most of the windows are missing all or part of their glass.

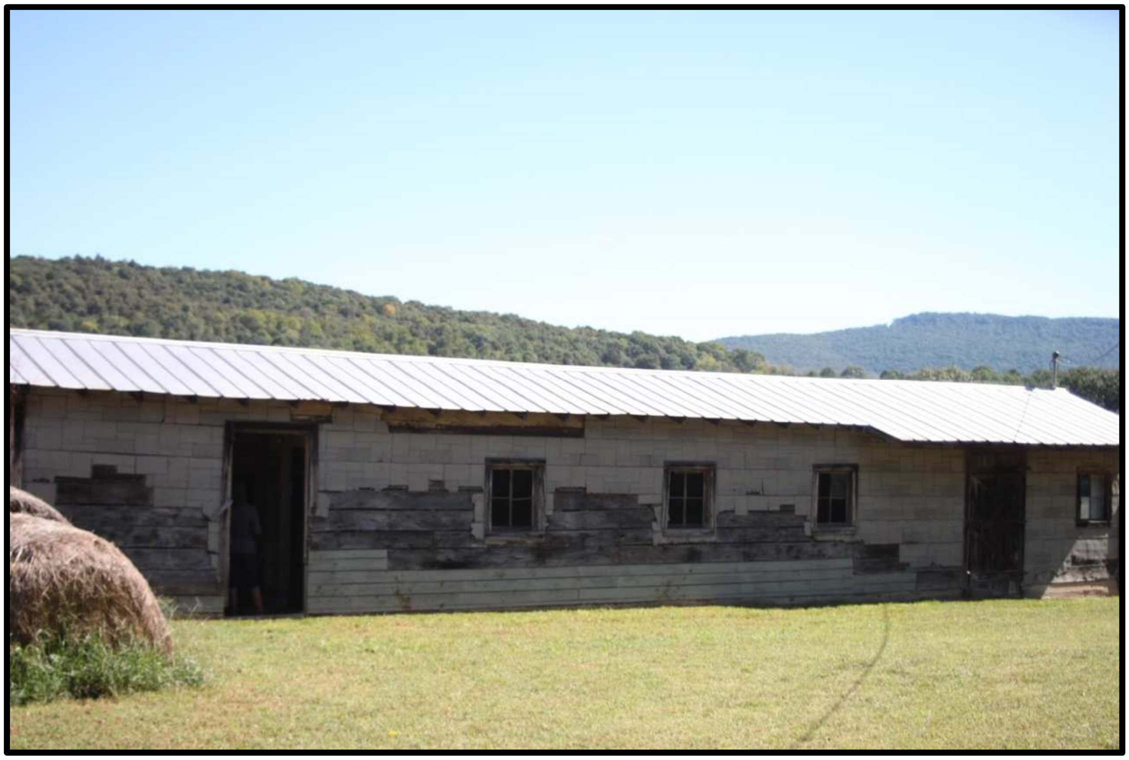


Figure 15: Front façade of the farrowing house (Brad Eatherly)

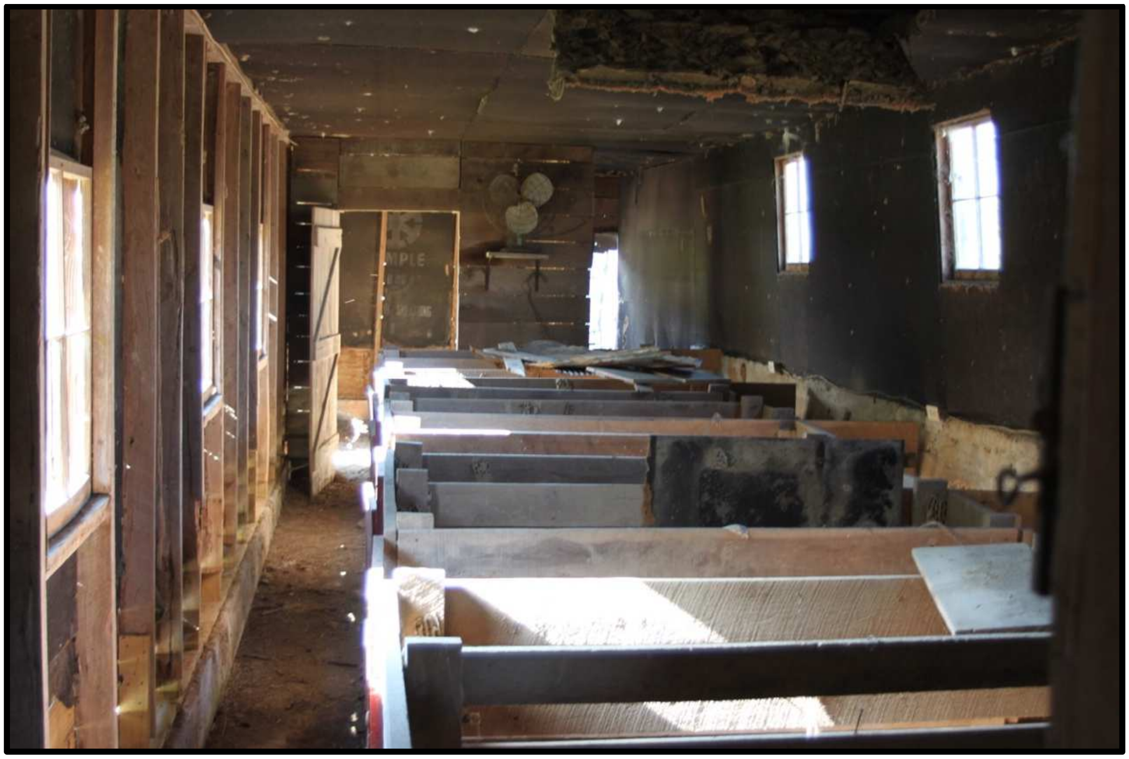


Figure 16: Interior view of farrowing house (Brad Eatherly)

The interior of the farrowing house was originally built as a dairy parlor and was converted to its current design sometime in the 1960s when dairy prices fell. It is not currently in use. There is a small room when you enter the doorway on the west side of the façade. It leads to a long room with five farrowing pens. Behind the initial room is a chute that sends the swine from outside into the pens. On the far east side of the building is another small room for storage. The interior is badly damaged with part of the ceiling hanging down and wasp nests throughout the building.

Other than the farmhouse, the most compelling building on the farm is the barn. It sits just to the west of the farrowing house. The barn's original construction date is currently unknown but most likely it was built sometime in the 1930s. It was more than likely modified in the 1950s. By 2012, the Alabama Cooperative Extension System

(ACES) decided to restore the barn while retaining as much wood from the original barn as possible. The entire exterior of the barn's façade is constructed of new material. Spaces are left in between the wood frame for lighting and ventilation purposes. The new roof is fashioned out of corrugated sheet metal. The entire exterior of the barn has been painted a pale shade of green that is congruent with how the original barn was painted. The main barn's façade faces the southwest and is 50 feet and 2 inches long. It is built in a style known as the Midwest Three-Portal Barn style.[15]

All barns are a form of vernacular architecture as each one is built with knowledge being passed down from generation to generation and neighbor to neighbor and according to the needs of the owner. The Graham Farm's barn, though constructed in the Midwest Three-Portal style, was built to suit the Graham family and therefore deviates somewhat from the style. Most Three-Portal barns would have a central portal with two identical flanking portals on the left and right side of the front façade. The roof would be gabled, with the front façade located on one of the gabled ends. The barn's façade deviates in only one way. The far east portal is a small doorway that measures 3 feet 3 inches wide while the far west portal is a large gate measuring 6 feet 2 inches wide. There is a small opening to the right of the gate that leads to a ramp inside the barn. This small door would have allowed cattle to exit the bed of a truck onto the ramp inside. A small door is located to the east of the central portal. A window is located in between this small door and the far east portal. The second floor hayloft features three bays. There is a central rectangular window, used for distributing hay to and from the barn.

---

[15] Allen G. Noble, *Wood, Brick & Stone: The North American Settlement Landscape* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 12.

There are two smaller square windows flanking each side of the central window. All four windows are devoid of glass.

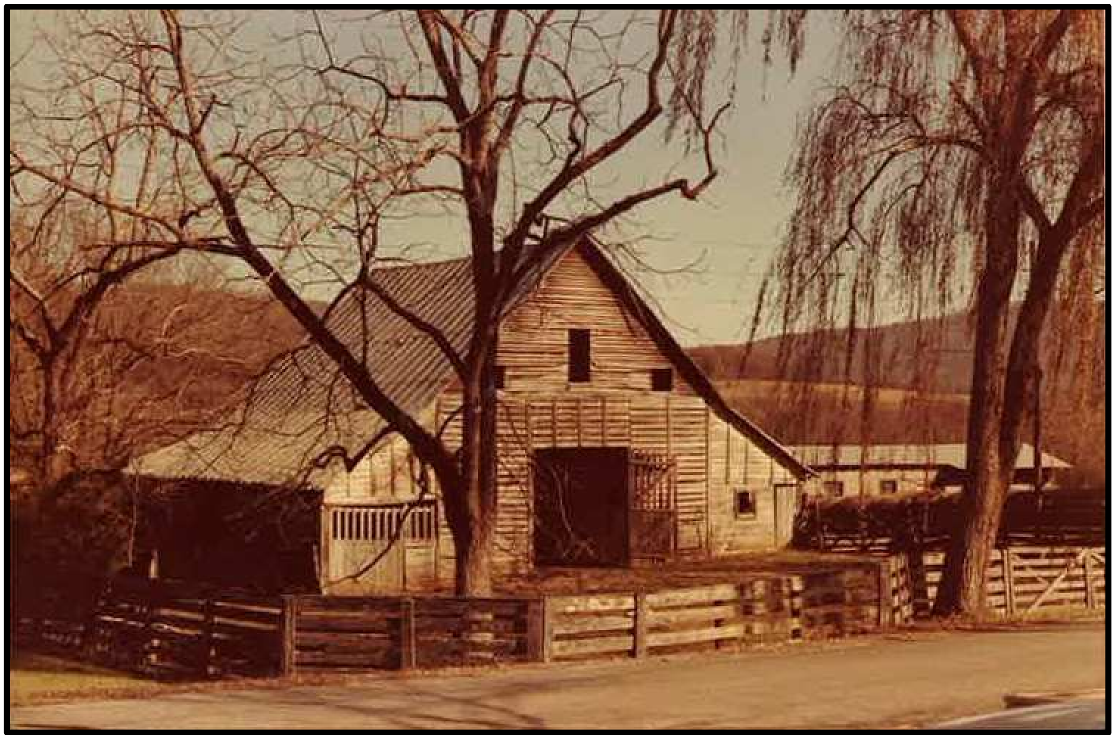


Figure 17: The original barn circa 1982 (Graham Farm Collection)

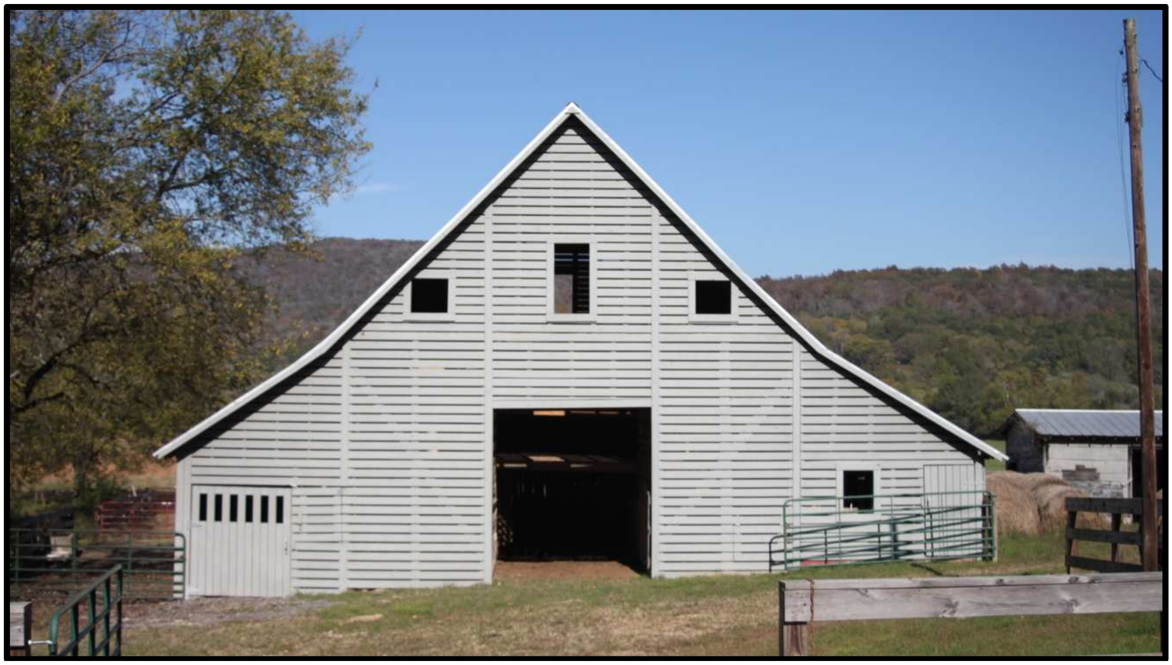


Figure 18: The current renovated barn (Brad Eatherly)

The interior of the barn consists of two levels. The ground level features two pens or cribs on either side of the central portal. Originally there were three pens on each side but they were modified at some point. Upon entering the barn, the first crib on each side remains intact. The crib to the west is used as a corncrib and extends to the second level. The crib on the east is used for storage. The wall that had formerly separated the next two cribs has been removed at some point in the past. This alteration allows the crib to double in size in order to allow mules to be penned. There is a small squeeze chute behind the right mule pin to allow inoculations to be given to cattle. The portal on the west side of the façade leads to an alley used for transporting cattle. A ramp leads into and out of the barn inside this alley. The portal, or door, on the east side of the façade leads to a former milking station and a holding pen for dairy cows. Two alleys at the back of the barn are used for feeding cattle and run perpendicular to the main central portal. These alleys run the width of the barn. The Graham Family connected a feeding trough to the wall separating the two alleys allowing the cattle easy access to hay without the hay falling to the ground. When in use these troughs are released from the wall to form a "V" shape. When not in use, the troughs are tied back to the wooden wall. The interior material is a combination of both old and new wood. The Graham Family employed mortise and tenon joints in the older material while also using more common "fix-it-as-you-go-along" methods. Most of the wood was machine cut at a local mill but several larger pieces were cut using a foot adze.

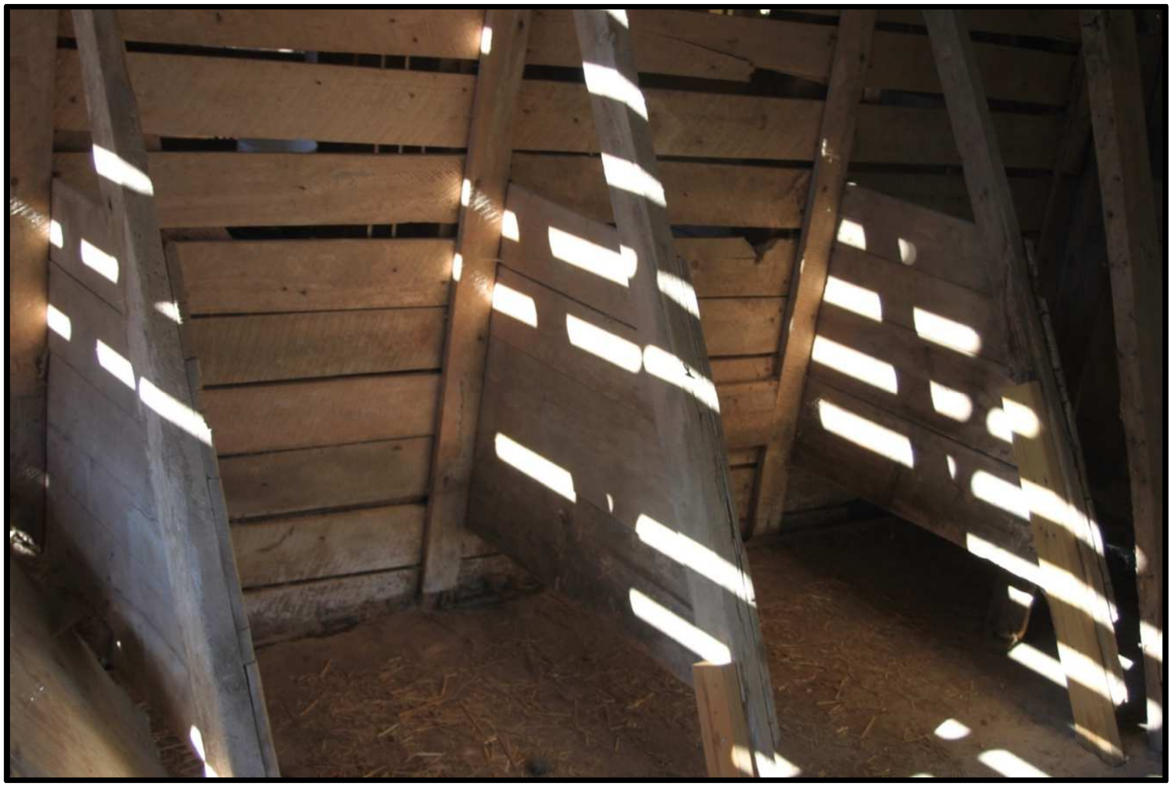


Figure 19: Milking stations (Brad Eatherly)

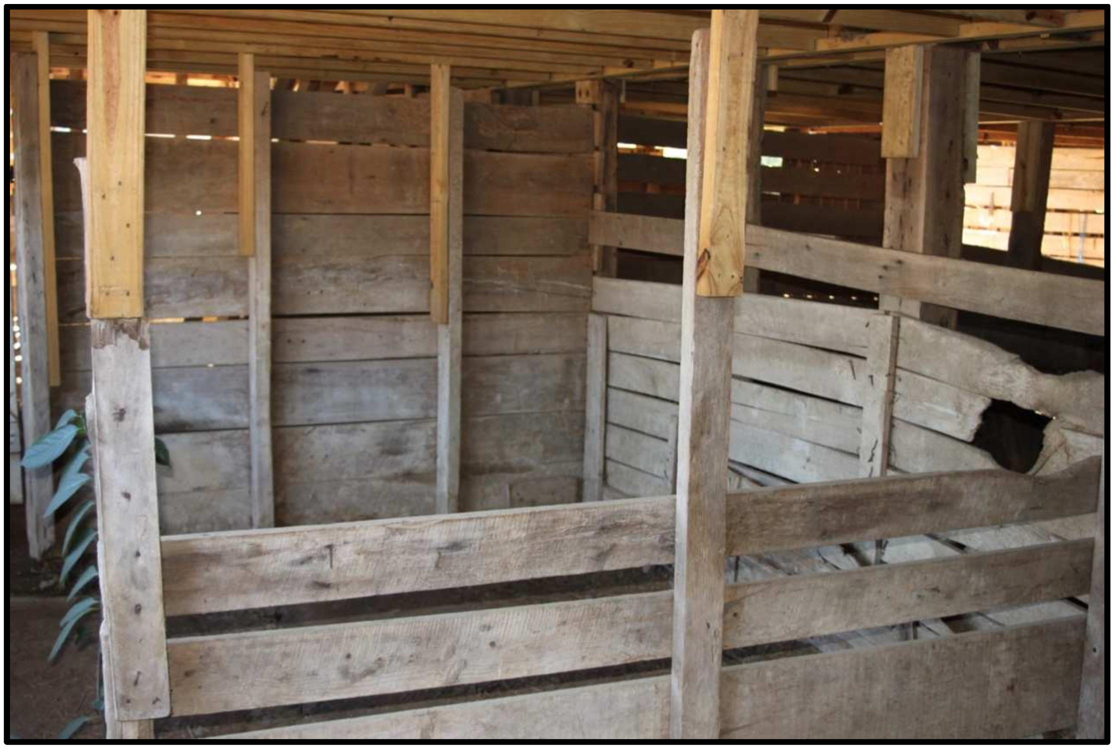


Figure 20: Interior of barn-dairy stalls (Brad Eatherly)

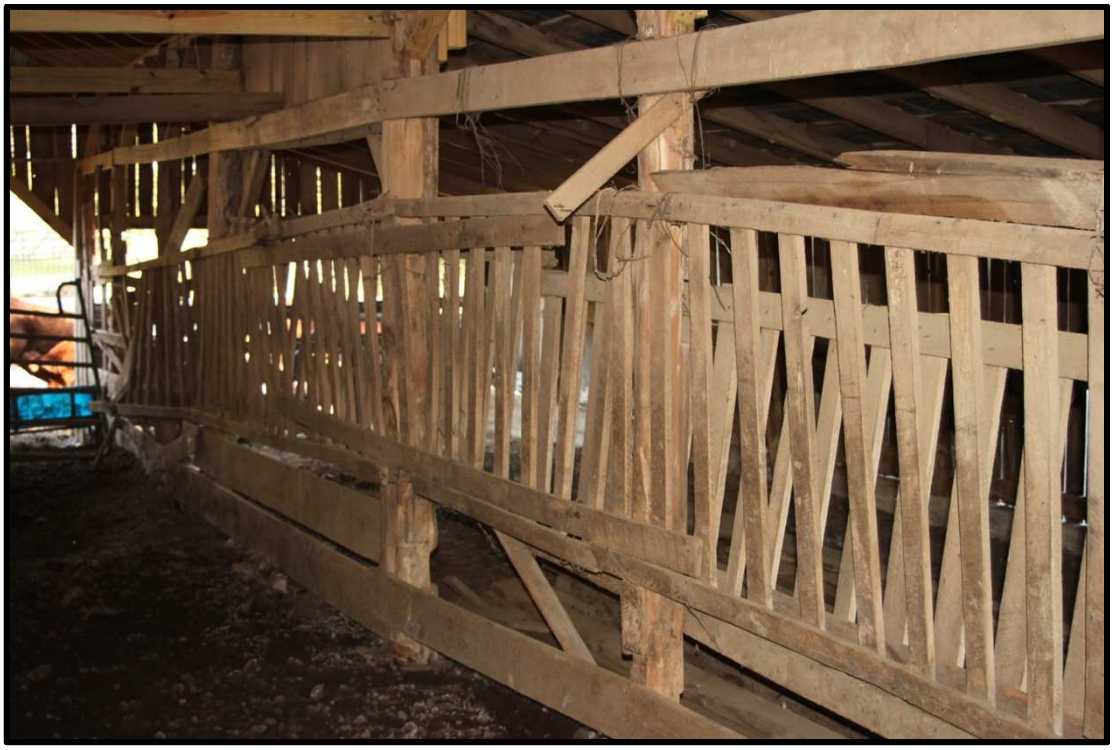


Figure 21: Barn interior-the hay trough drops down and goes back up to save room (Brad Eatherly)

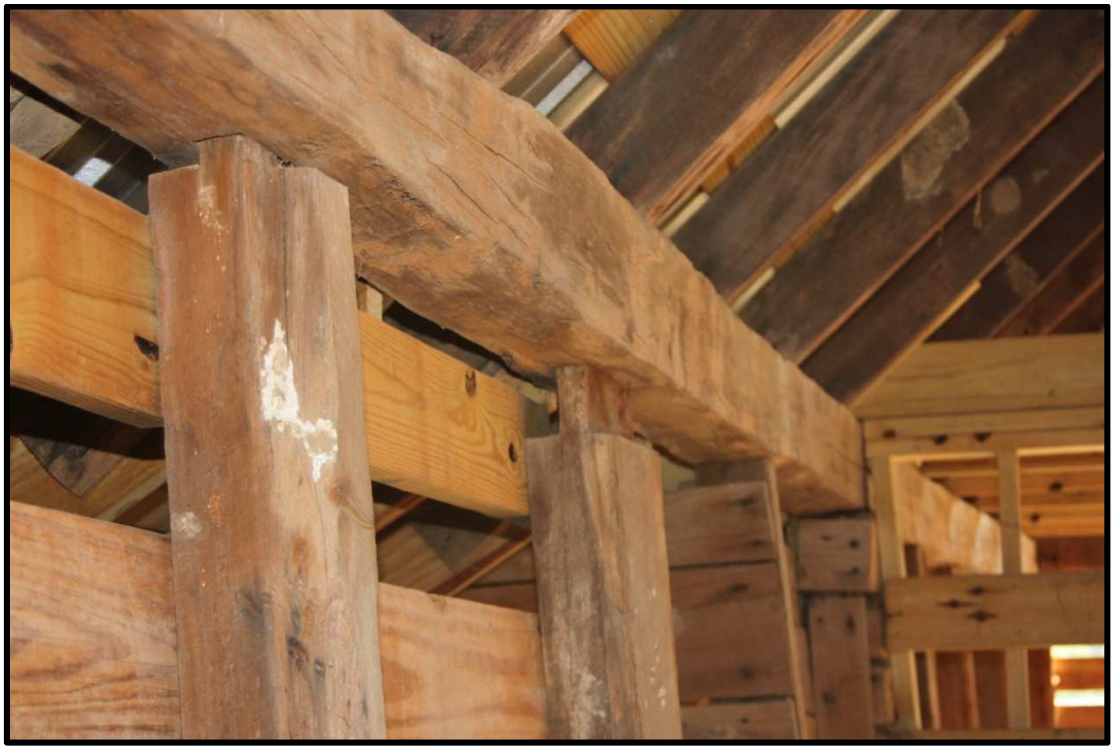


Figure 22: Barn interior-second floor loft's mortise and tenon joints (Brad Eatherly)

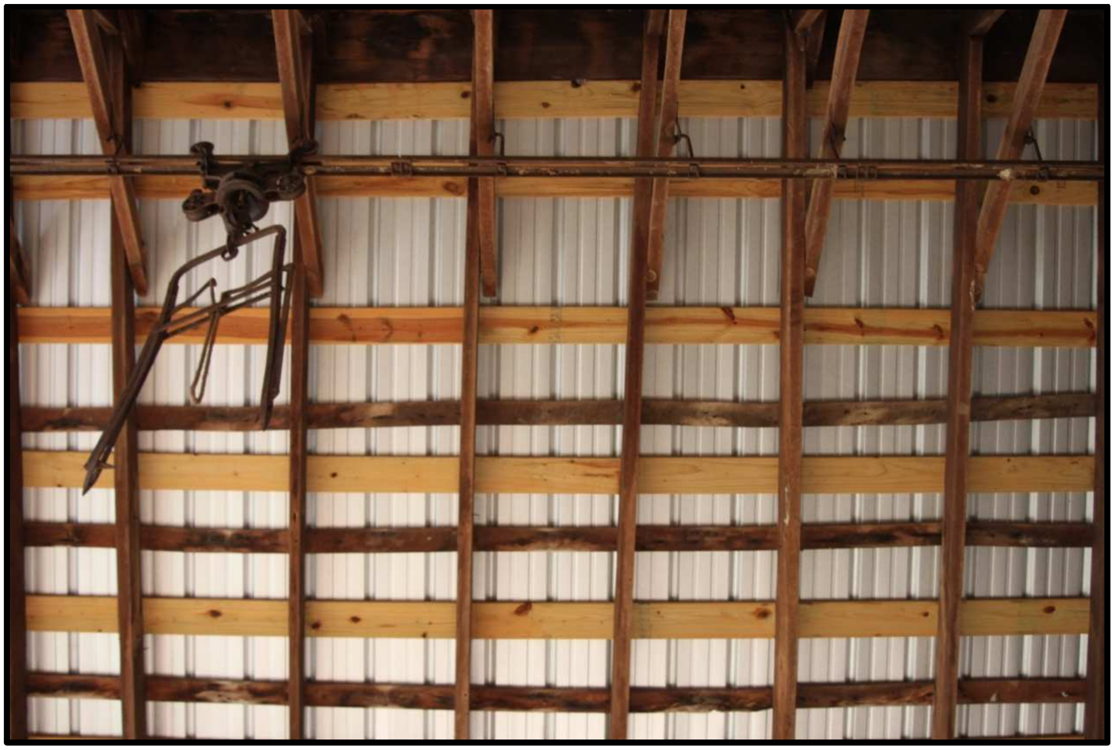


Figure 23: Barn interior-ceiling, with historic wood, new wood, and new tin roof and hay catcher (Brad Eatherly)

A small two-stall machine shed, *c.*1950, is located about twenty-five feet behind the barn. The entrance of the shed faces west. The frame and walls have been simply constructed with plank boards. The roof is supported by six Y-split posts and is constructed of corrugated tin. The roof has a fairly prominent angle that drops from west to east, with a small bent flap covering the front opening. Just in front of the shed a small pathway bridge with a stone base that dates to *c.*1910 has been constructed over a small ditch or creek.

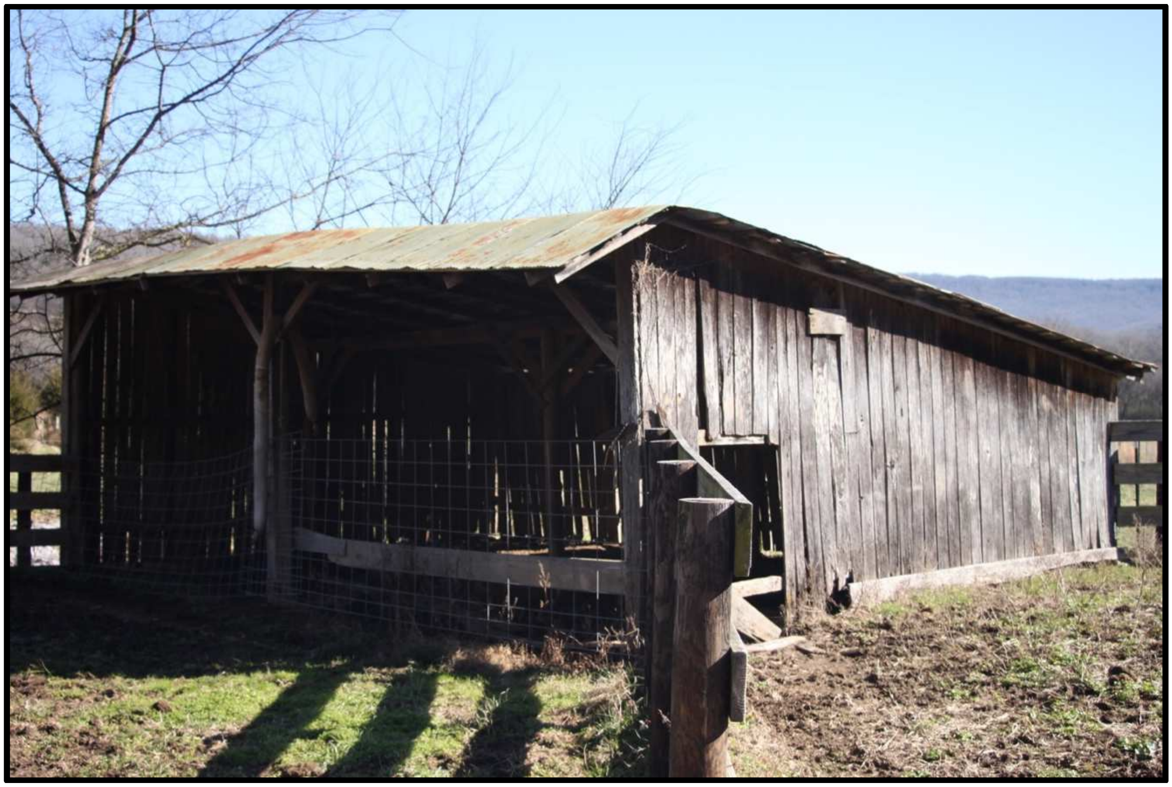


Figure 24: A small two-stall shed (Brad Eatherly)

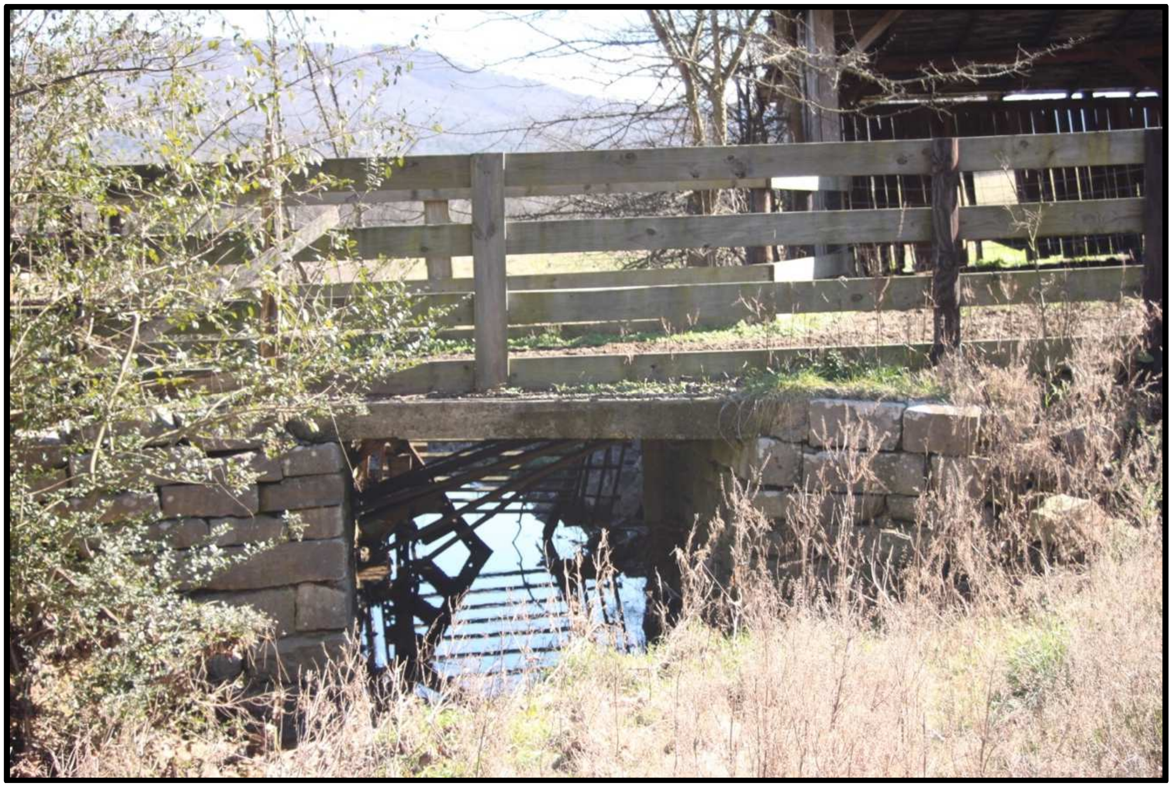


Figure 25: Small cattle path bridge with stone base (Brad Eatherly)

To the east of the barn in a separate fenced-off yard and directly across the street from the farmhouse sits a small chicken coop. The coop faces south towards the house with a small wooden doorway placed to the right side of the façade. The roofline, however, has a slight slope down from east to west, contrary to how most structures are built. The roof is made of corrugated tin. Two boarded-up wooden windows face the east. The walls are constructed of river rocks and are mortared together from the inside so that the mortar is not seen from the outside. The interior is the same as the exterior except for the dirt floor. Bob and Nita Head believe that this coop dates to the Civil War era but it probably dates to *c.*1930. The structure is currently used for storage because the farm no longer raises poultry. One extant photograph dating to the late 1970s or early 1980s shows a large wooden structure with a gabled roof behind the coop. The wooden building is no longer standing but was a larger chicken coop. The footprints from the building remain, but are difficult to discern in a current photograph.

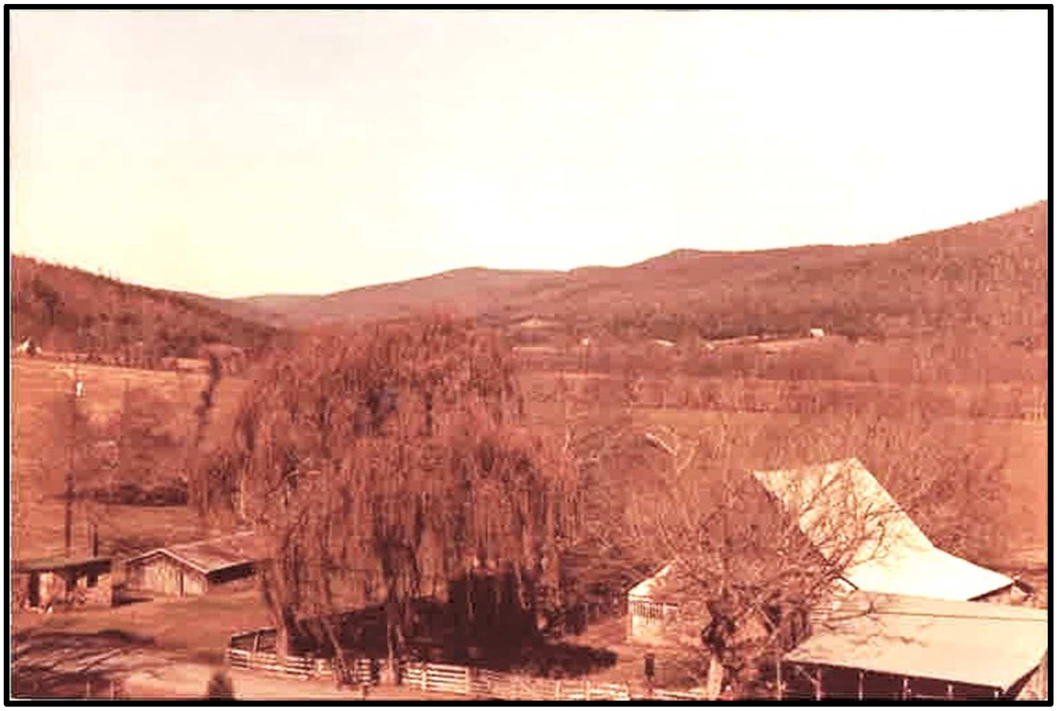


Figure 26: Historical photo of the farm circa early 1980s with landscape (note the wooden structure behind the chicken coop in the bottom left corner) (Graham Farm Collection)

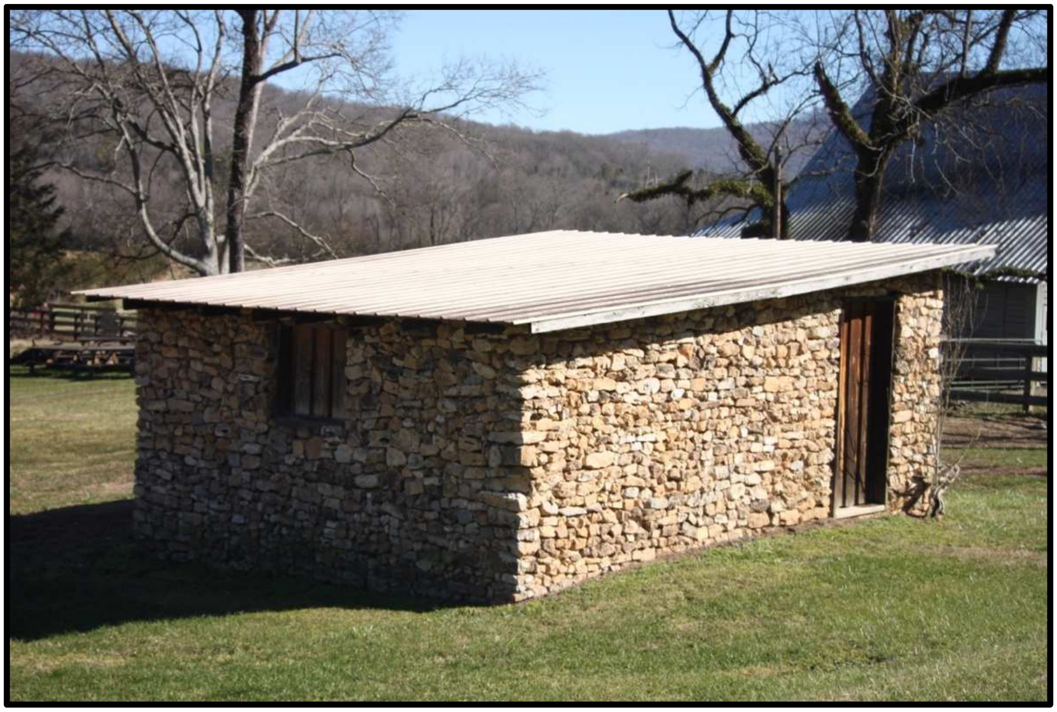


Figure 27: Chicken coop with door facing farmhouse (Brad Eatherly)

Another large shed, built c.1950-1960, used for storing tractors sits to the west of the chicken coop, also in its own fenced in yard. The shed opens up to the south and the frame is built out of wood. The roof slopes downward from the south to the north and is made of corrugated tin. The edge of the south end of the roof bends slightly down, extending over the opening much like the shed behind the barn. Eighteen wooden posts support the roof. The shed holds a variety of tractors, lawn mowing equipment, canoes, and other miscellaneous items.

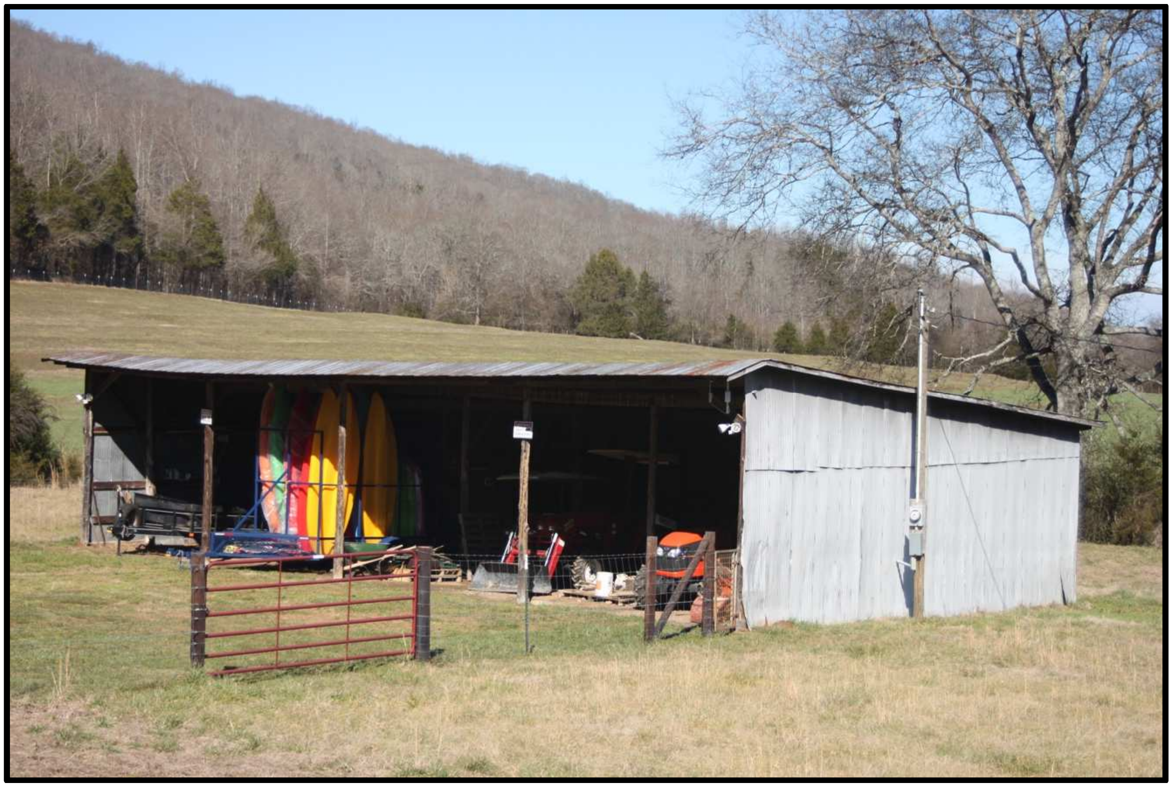


Figure 28: Tractor shed (Brad Eatherly)

The remains of one last known building sits on top of a small embankment once County Road 27 bends to the north and right before the property line ends. The construction date is not known, nor is the function. The log building was small, maybe six to eight feet by four or five feet. It is very possible that the building was a simple shed or crib of some sort. There are some metal hardware pieces, at least two hinges and what looks like a locking mechanism, remaining on a small doorway.

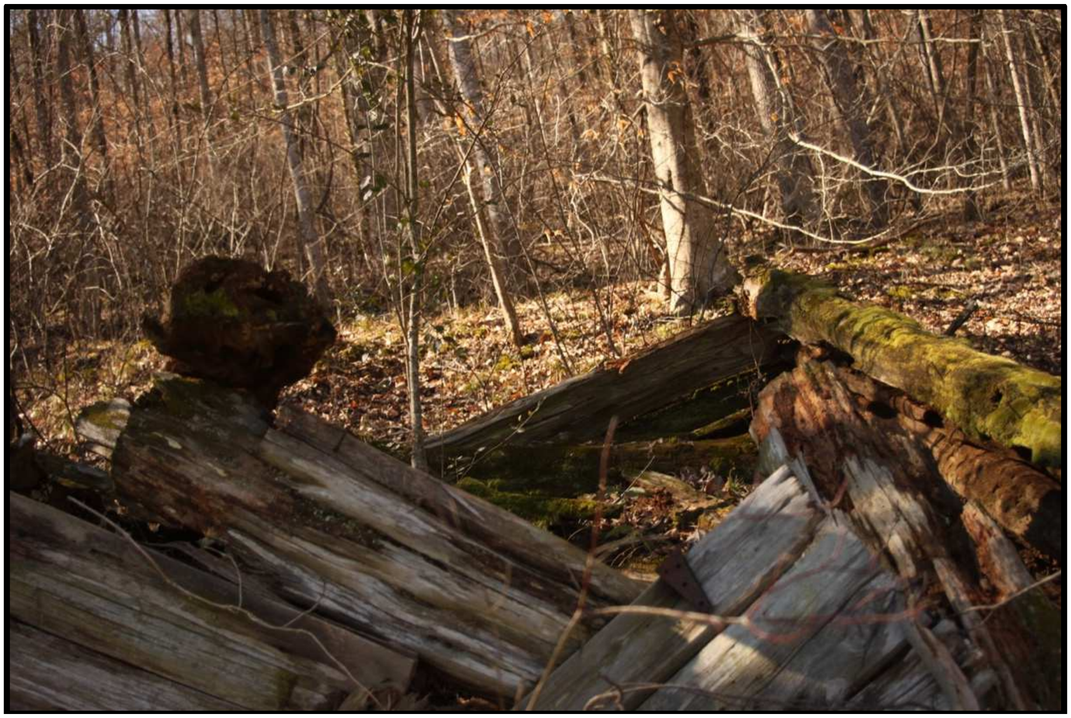


Figure 29: Dilapidated log structure (Brad Eatherly)

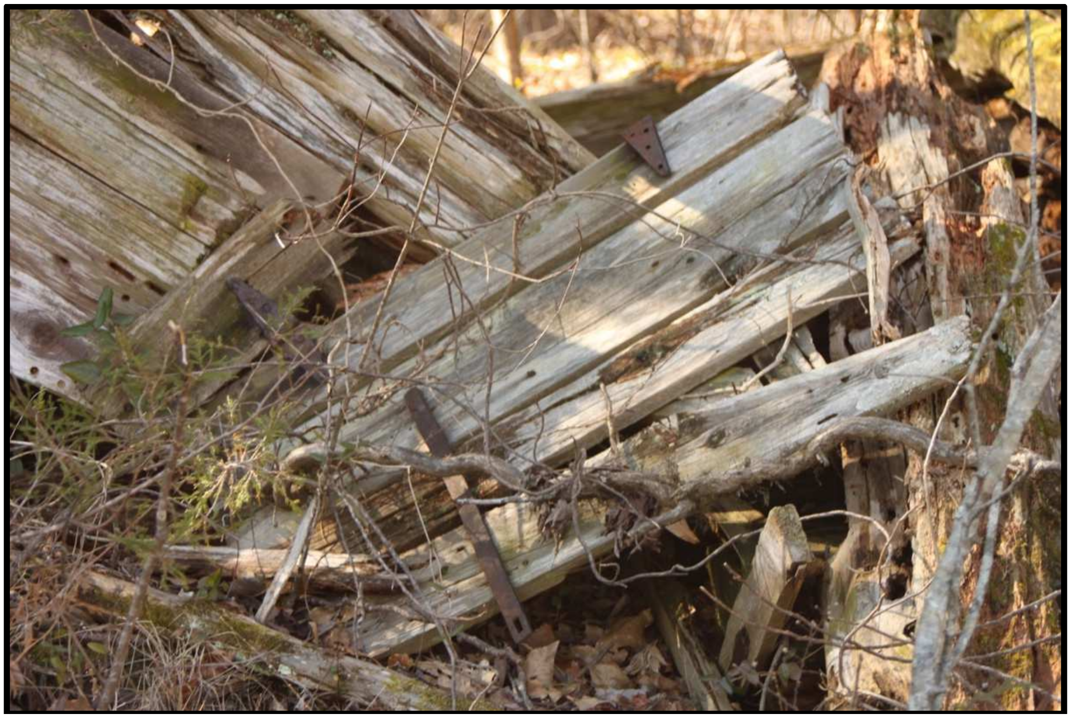


Figure 30: Detail of hardware-two hinges and a locking mechanism (Brad Eatherly)

PRESERVATION CONCERNS

The Graham Farm is at least one hundred and fifty years old in the year 2016. Unfortunately, there is little direct information on the dates of construction of its historic buildings and structures. The Graham family, like many in the region and throughout Appalachia, were extremely private. Upon deeding the farm to Auburn University, the family left all records and photos with the property. Records left behind amount to nothing more than some plat maps. Photos are mostly of unknown subjects from unknown dates, with no landscape that would identify it as being taken on the property. Because the property has remained within the family the entire time, there are few government records. If an owner of a property today feels the need to make adjustments to a house, he or she would have to acquire permits through the city or county. When the Graham family modified their house, permits simply were not required. Records of changes would have had to be made for posterity's sake by the family. Either the Graham family felt no need to keep such records, or they became lost over the years.

Despite not knowing the years of construction or modification, reasonable estimates can be made regarding the dates. The farmhouse has seen many changes over the years but without performing some invasive tests, it is very difficult to determine the stages the house has experienced. If, the façade of the house is the original façade, meaning that the house was never in the dog-trot style, the style seems to be from the 1920s or early 1930s. Preservation needs for the house are actually very few. The only pressing need is to replace a section of the soffit on the backside of the house. One small area of the soffit is hanging down from the overhang from the rear gable above the back porch. Based on debris seen underneath the hanging piece, animals or birds have already made their way inside and could cause some damage. The roof is old but in fair condition.

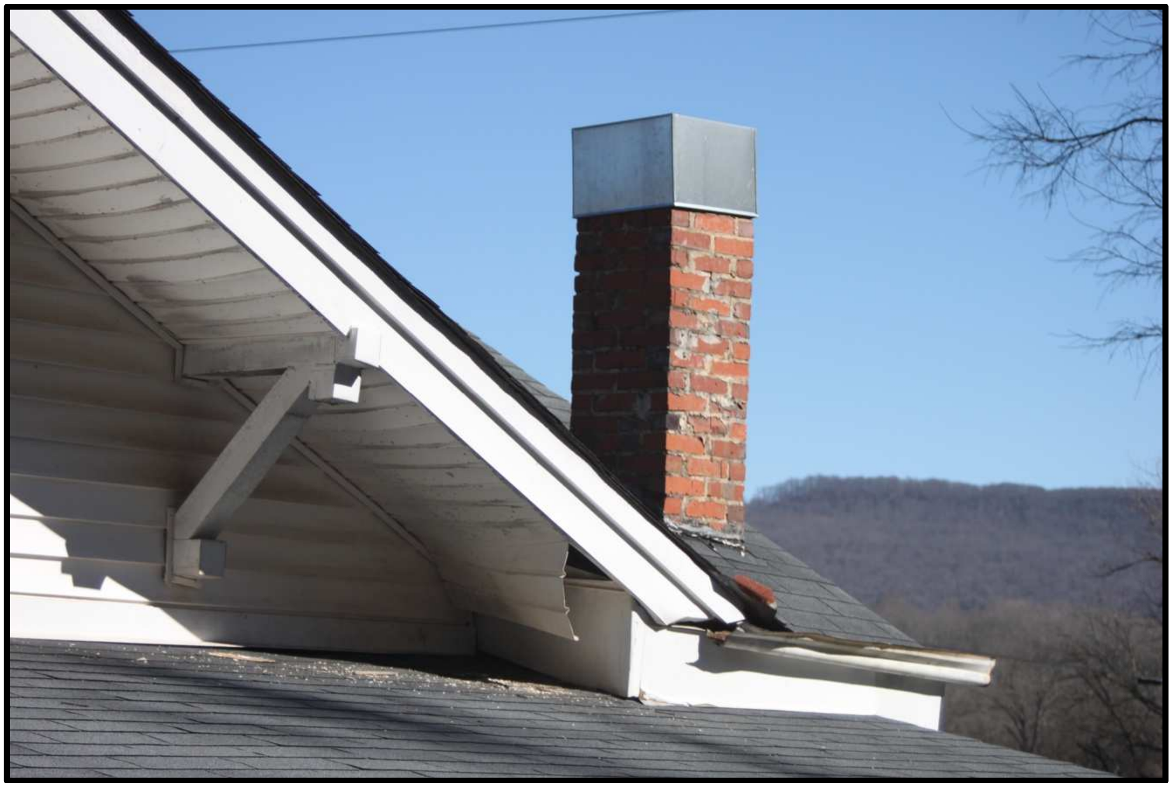


Figure 31: Damage to soffit-notice debris on roof (Brad Eatherly)

The combination washroom and smokehouse could have been built as early as the nineteenth century. The water that flowed into the washroom originated from the spring up the mountain. The pipe that brought the spring water is still there, though it is currently capped off. The interior of the building is in excellent shape, having been well maintained. There are a few boards that have spaces in between them, especially around the window frame in the washroom.

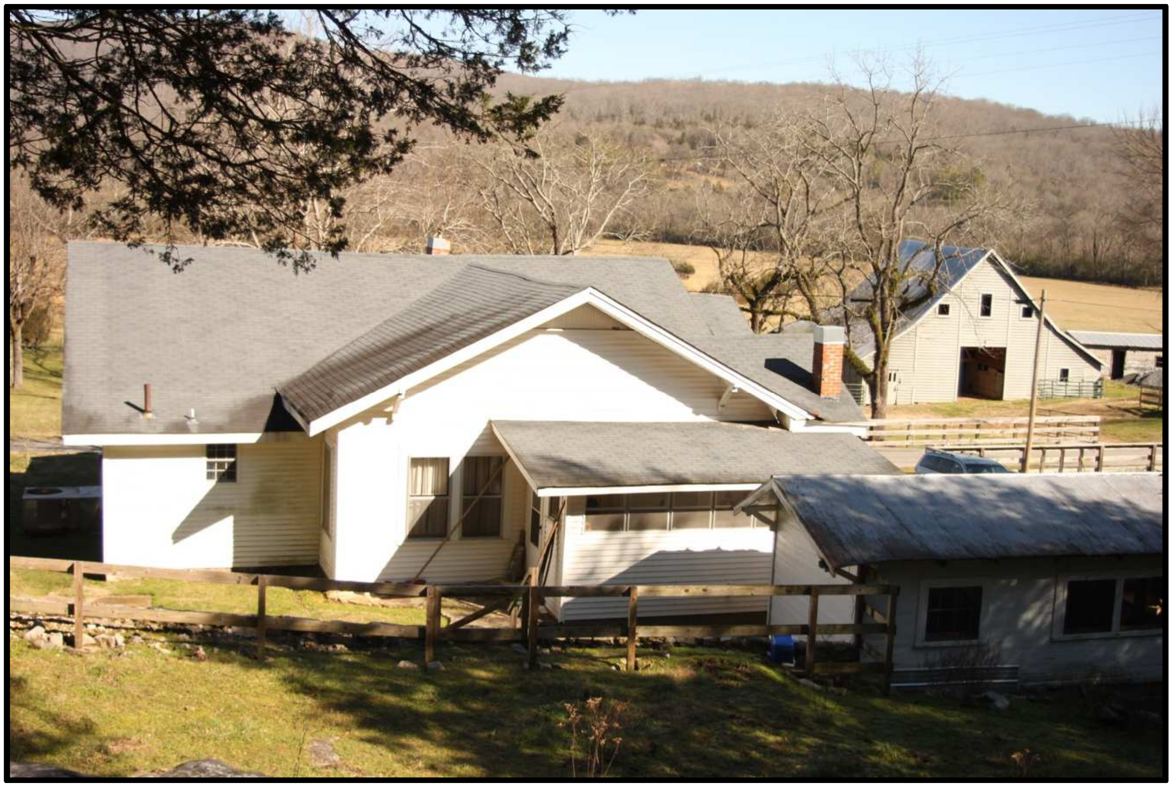


Figure 32: View of the farm from Maxwell Mountain-washroom and smokehouse in foreground (Brad Eatherly)

Across the street from the farmhouse, the large tool shed is in good condition. The stone pier foundation and the wooden floor are beginning to give way and need to be replaced soon. The two-stall shed behind the barn has no apparent preservation needs, nor does the large tractor shed. The water troughs, fences and small bridge allowing cattle to cross a small creek need no modifications for preservation reasons.

The farrowing house is in poor condition. The historical importance of this structure is directly tied to progressive farming. This type of structure would have been very rare in the region, first as the dairy cow milking station and then later as the farrowing house for the swine. The preservation of this structure is important to maintain the historic fabric of the cultural landscape the Graham Farm helped produce in the Upper Paint Rock Valley. The presence of a structure so large with the sole purpose of milking multiple cows at one time shows that the Graham Farm produced on a level higher than just subsistence for the family. The addition of electricity during the early 1950s allowed the Graham family to expand their operations. The building represents that turn towards commercial agriculture.

Several issues relating to the building's exterior need to be addressed. Asphalt shingles cover wooden planks around the perimeter of the building. Robert Young explains how this type of siding was popular during the Depression years as a cheap alternative to brick or metal.[16] Over the years, a number of these shingles have fallen off, leaving the wood left open to exposure from the elements. The shingles also provided an overlapping which covered the spaces in between the boards. With the shingles missing, moisture, insects, animals, and birds can enter the building and cause damage.

The frames and panes should be repaired or replaced and sealed. On the west side of the building, very near the barn, a large opening leads to a chute where the swine moved toward the pens inside the structure. Affixing a door there, as well on the façade, will help keep pests and moisture. As it stands, the building is overrun with wasps, bees and large horseflies. Rodents have easy access to the interior, where their scat can do great damage if left unchecked.

The entire structure from top to bottom needs to be restored in a manner similar to the barn. The restoration should use as much of the original construction as possible keeping in mind that some may have to be removed in order to preserve the integrity of the building. Robert Young's guidelines for such a structure suggest "the *limited*

---

[16] Robert A. Young, *Historic Preservation Technology* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2008), 187.

replacement in kind (author's italics) of extensively deteriorated or missing parts of features. . . .The replacement material needs to match the old both physically and visually."[17]

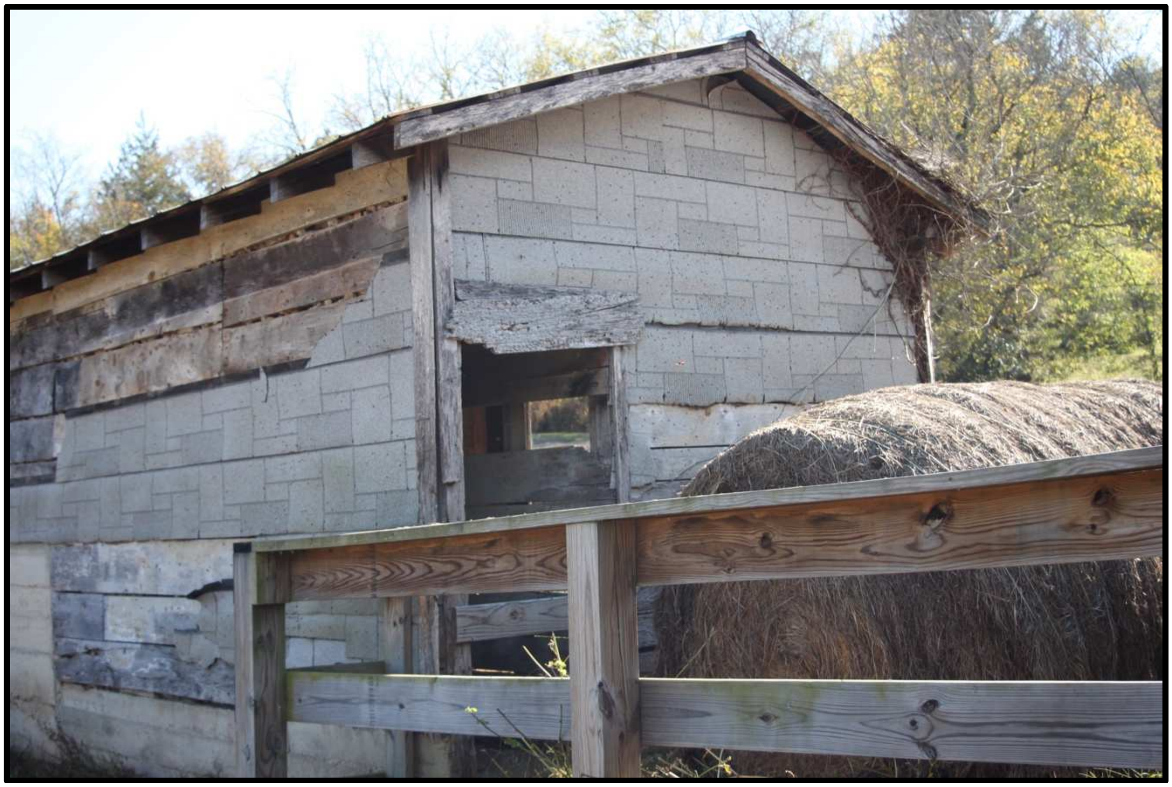


Figure 33: Exterior of farrowing house (Brad Eatherly)

---

[17] Ibid., 405.

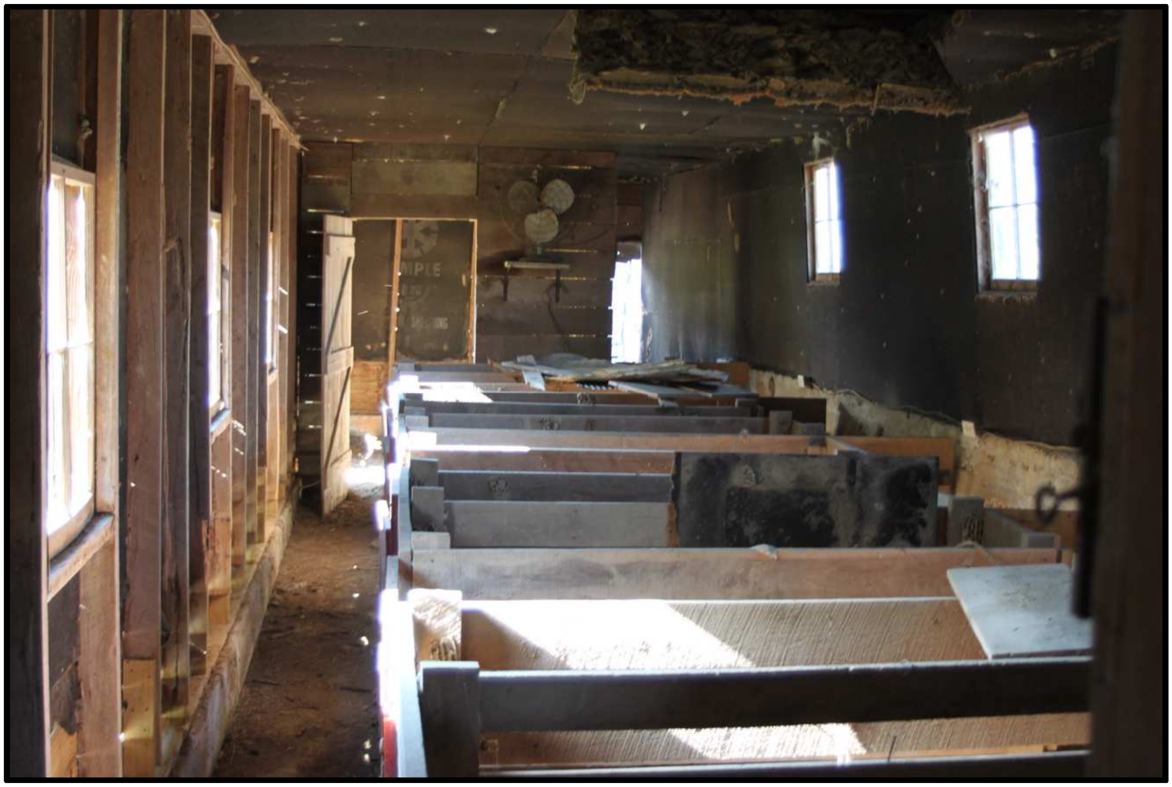


Figure 34: Interior of farrowing house-notice part of the ceiling falling down in foreground (Brad Eatherly)

Preservation of the barn included a complete remodel of the front façade. The interior preservation followed the guidelines set forth by the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. By conserving "existing historic materials and features," and "retaining the historic character of the property," the extension system allowed the building to continue to retain its historic quality.[18] The technique used throughout the barn where new material is joined to old material to strengthen the structure is known as the Dutchman process.[19] Because of the preservation of the barn, little to no work is required for the near future.

---

[18] Kay D. Weeks and Annie E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995), 19.

The chicken coop is in excellent condition. The stones from the Paint Rock River are in no immediate danger of crumbling. One corner, the southwest, looks like it has lost two or three stones and they should be replaced to maintain the strength of the wall. The mortar used on the inside of the coop remains in excellent condition with no real signs of wear. Vertical wooden slats provide the base for the corrugated tin that serves as the roof. The roof has a pronounced slope with its high end facing east and the low end facing west.

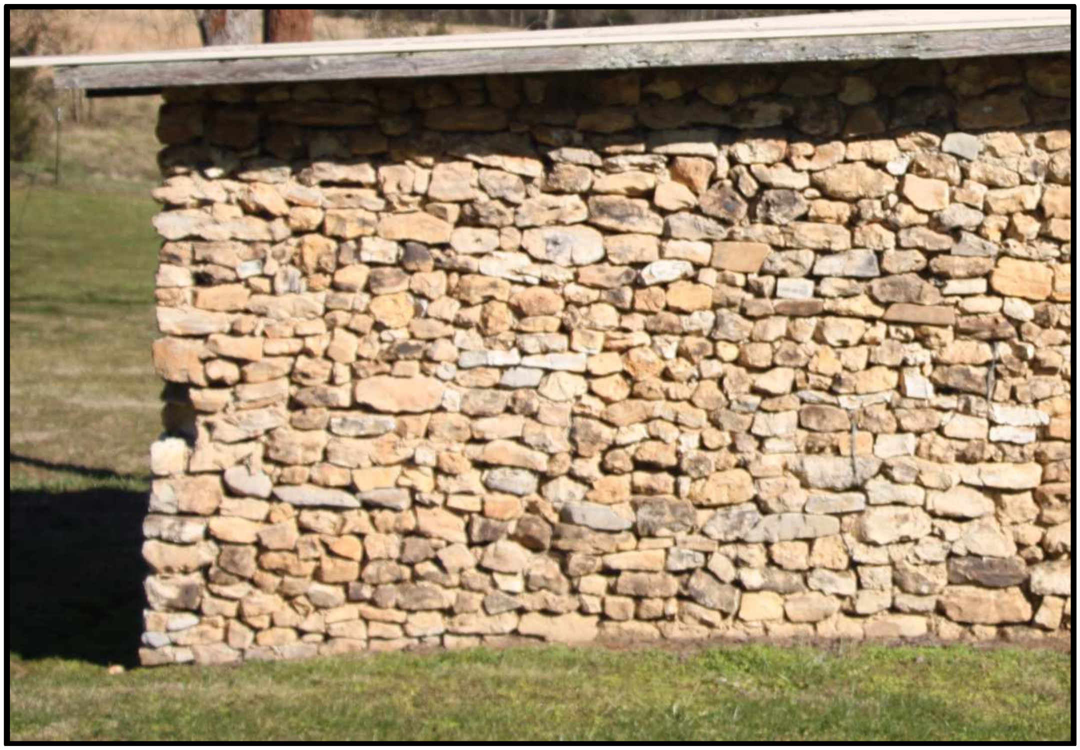


Figure 35: Detail of chicken coop with stones missing in corner (Brad Eatherly)

---

[19] Young, *Historic Preservation Technology*, 74.

Some of the tools and equipment that the Grahams used throughout the years remain on the property. These objects should be inventoried and secured. Many of these tools are housed in the tool shed across the street from the farmhouse. The remaining tools are just a slight indicator of the vast array of tools the family would have employed while actively farming the property. Many tools hang on the front façade exterior wall underneath a twelve-foot overhang and safe from rain. An assortment of tools including old saw blades, pickaxe head, horseshoes, along with various others join a 1960s Case tractor. Inside the shed several larger pieces of equipment sit, including several wire fences, a large saw blade, an antique scale, and an old plow. Inside the chicken coop sits several more pieces of equipment and tools. Perhaps the most interesting are those related to plows. There are three hand-held plows, two of which are metal. One has a metal moldboard, the piece that breaks up the land, and wooden handles. Several yokes and chains, along with a few old pitchforks hang on the walls.

The objects inside the smokehouse are historical and important as well. Before the house tapped into electricity, all cooking and heating would have come from fires. Cast-iron, wood-burning stoves provided more affluent families the ability for both warm food and warm bodies. The Graham family may have kept one in the smokehouse because they had at least one fireplace. A very worn cast-iron door that dates to the early twentieth century remains from the family's stove and is stored in the smokehouse. Often times, these doors would have some sort of motif gracing the door. The Graham's oven door features a Native American leaning on a long bow while looking out into the distance. This object is a very interesting piece of the Graham family's past.

The washroom contains three two-feet tall milk cans that hold ten gallons each. These cans would have been used in the farrowing house when it was still a dairy parlor. The milk would have been collected into these canisters and sold very soon or stored in the cellar or placed in the natural spring on the side of the mountain to keep from spoiling as quickly. The washroom also holds a large steel bowl that could have been used for a number of jobs. It might have been used to hold water while the women of the family worked on washing clothes.

These historic tools and objects in sheds, chicken coops, and smokehouses can help express the benefits the family enjoyed while practicing agricultural ideals that not everyone in the region could afford or desired to practice.

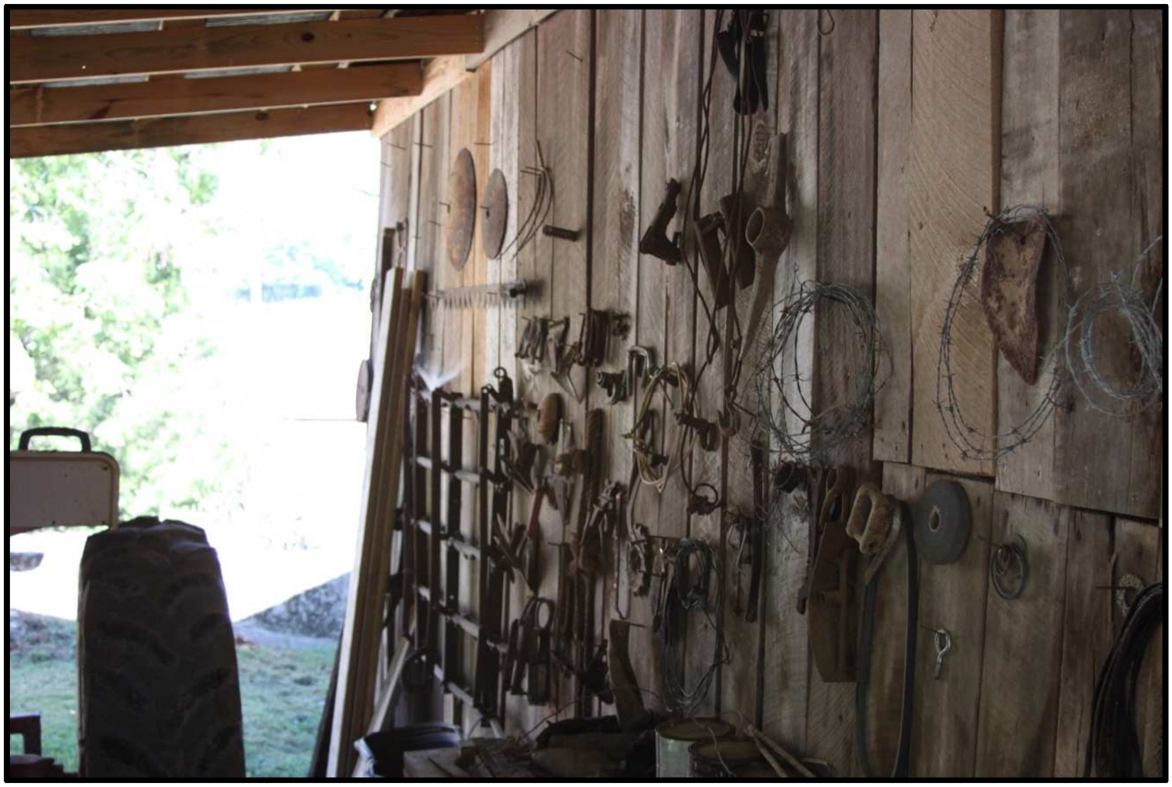


Figure 36: Exterior wall of tool shed (Brad Eatherly)

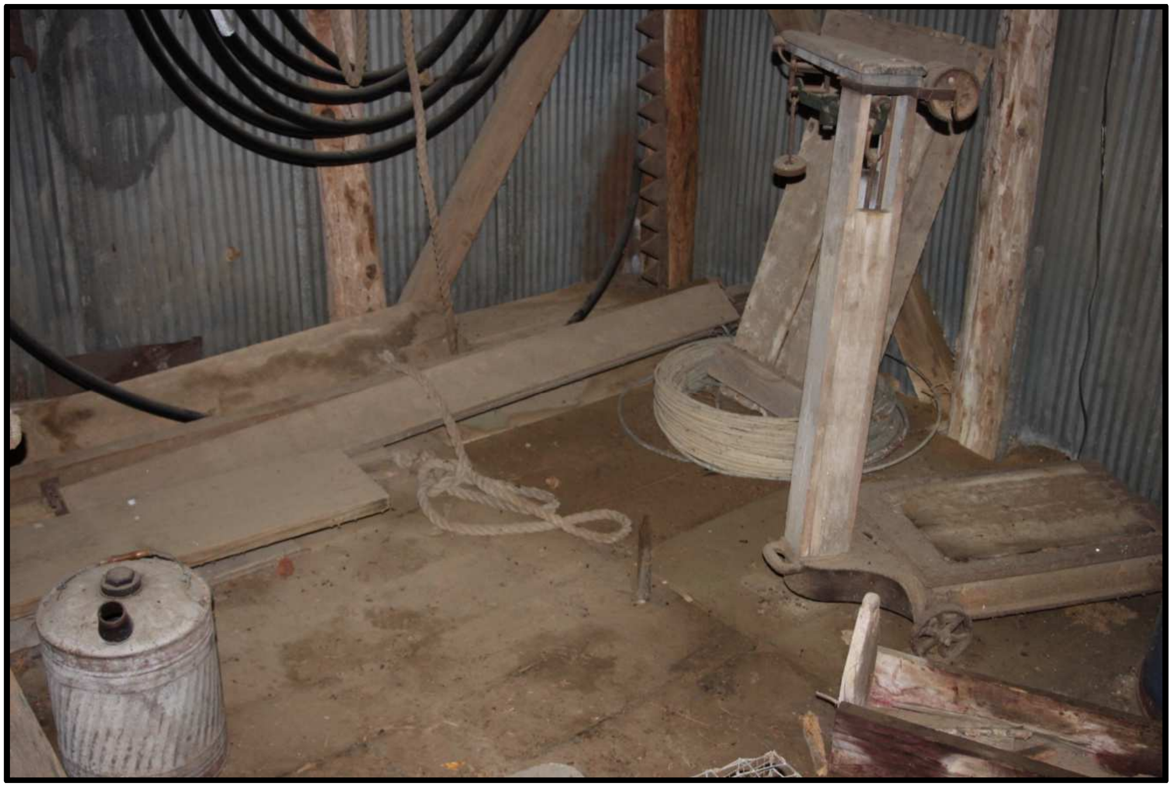


Figure 37: Interior of shed with antique tools used on the farm (Brad Eatherly)

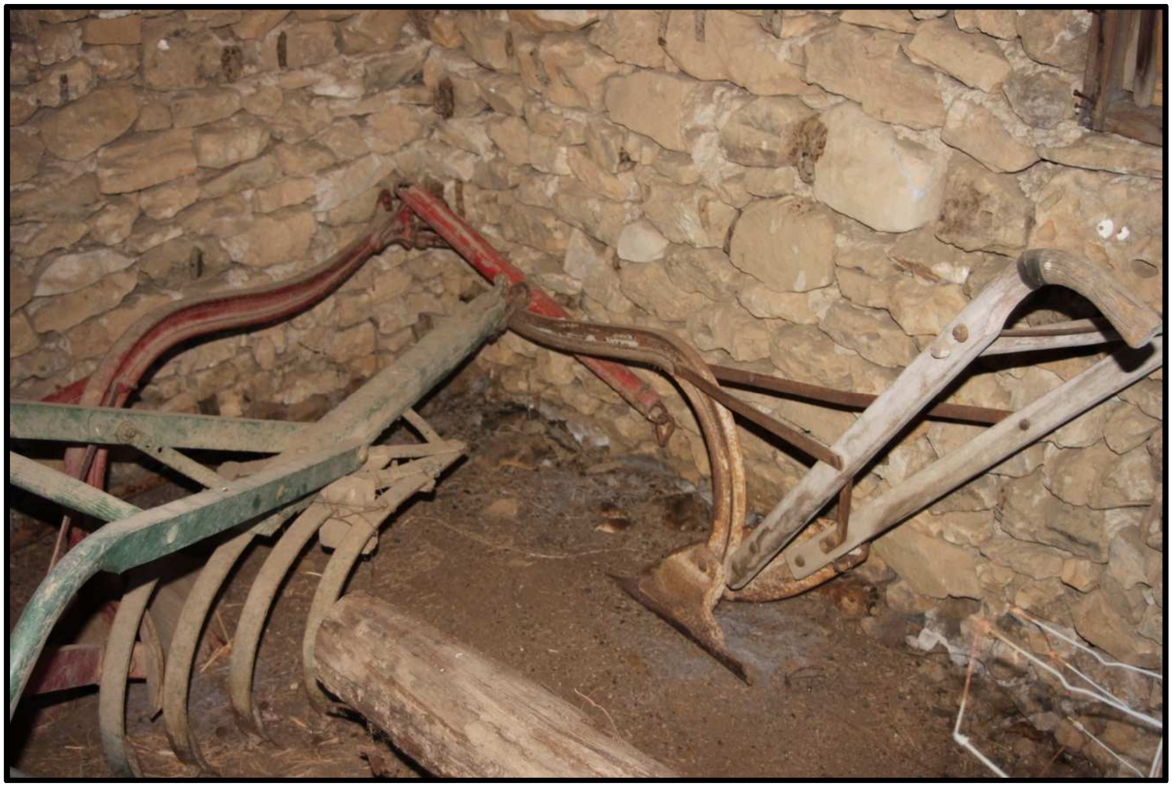


Figure 38: Antique plows (Brad Eatherly)

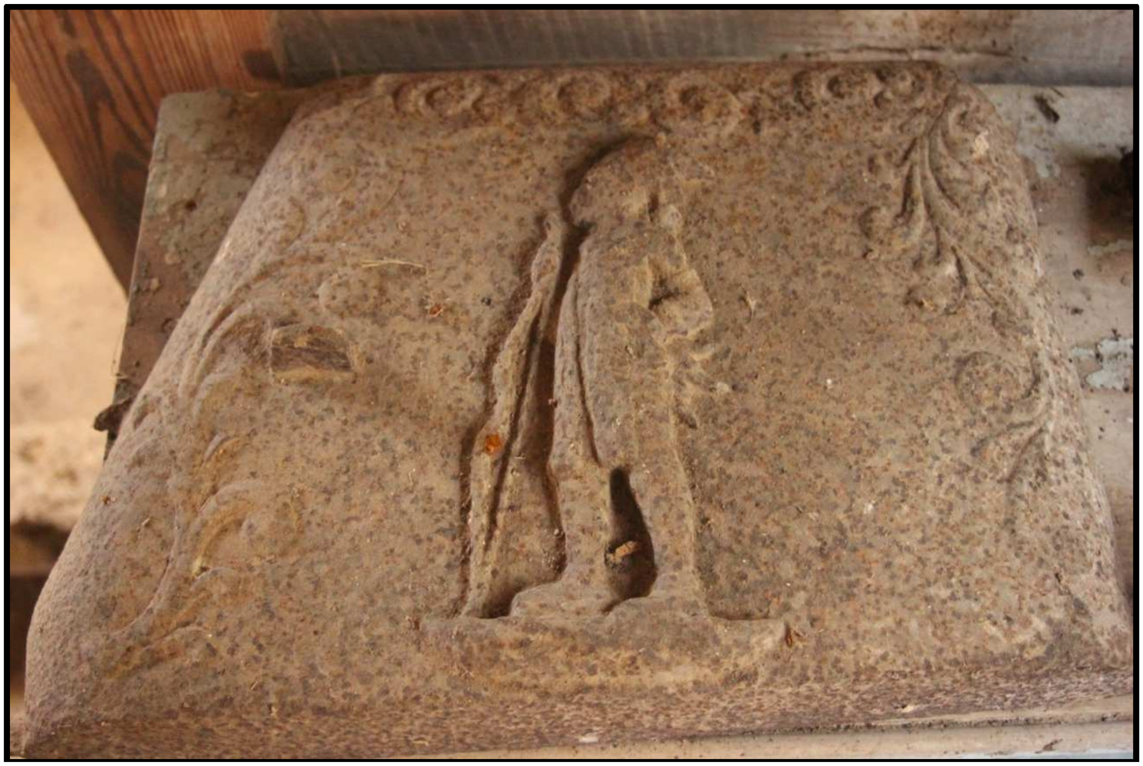


Figure 39: Cast iron stove door with Native American motif (Brad Eatherly)

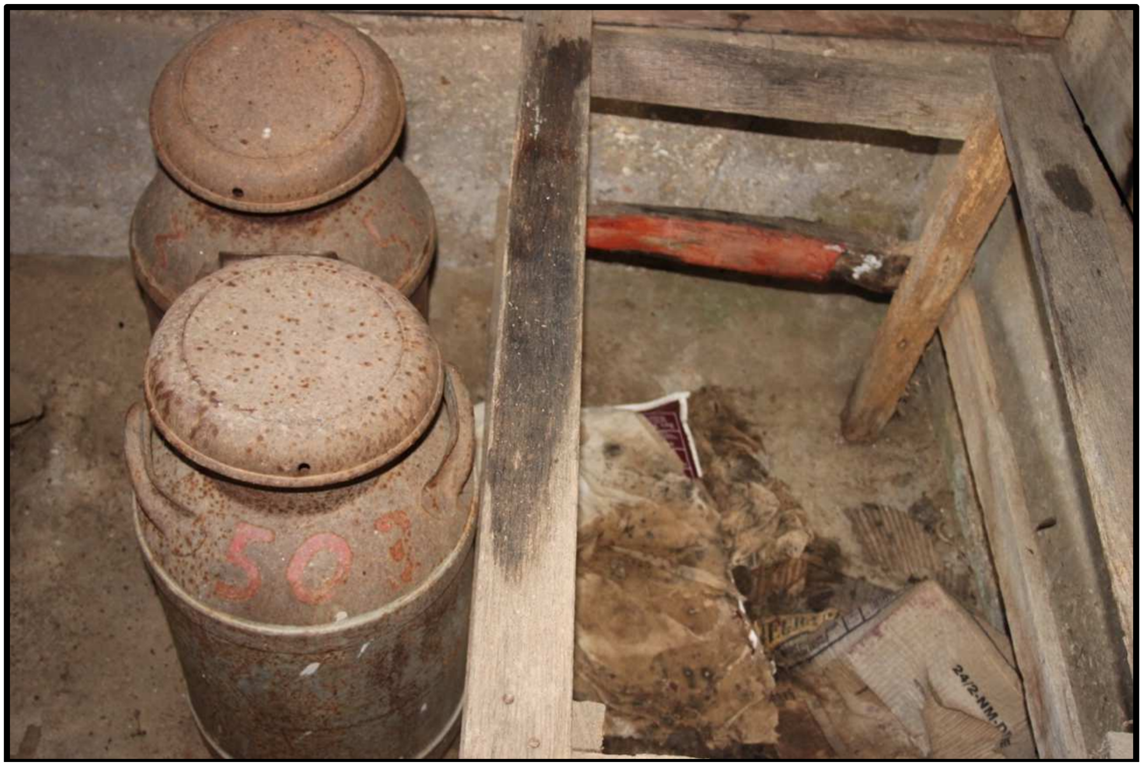


Figure 40: Ten-gallon milk cans used in the dairy farm (Brad Eatherly)

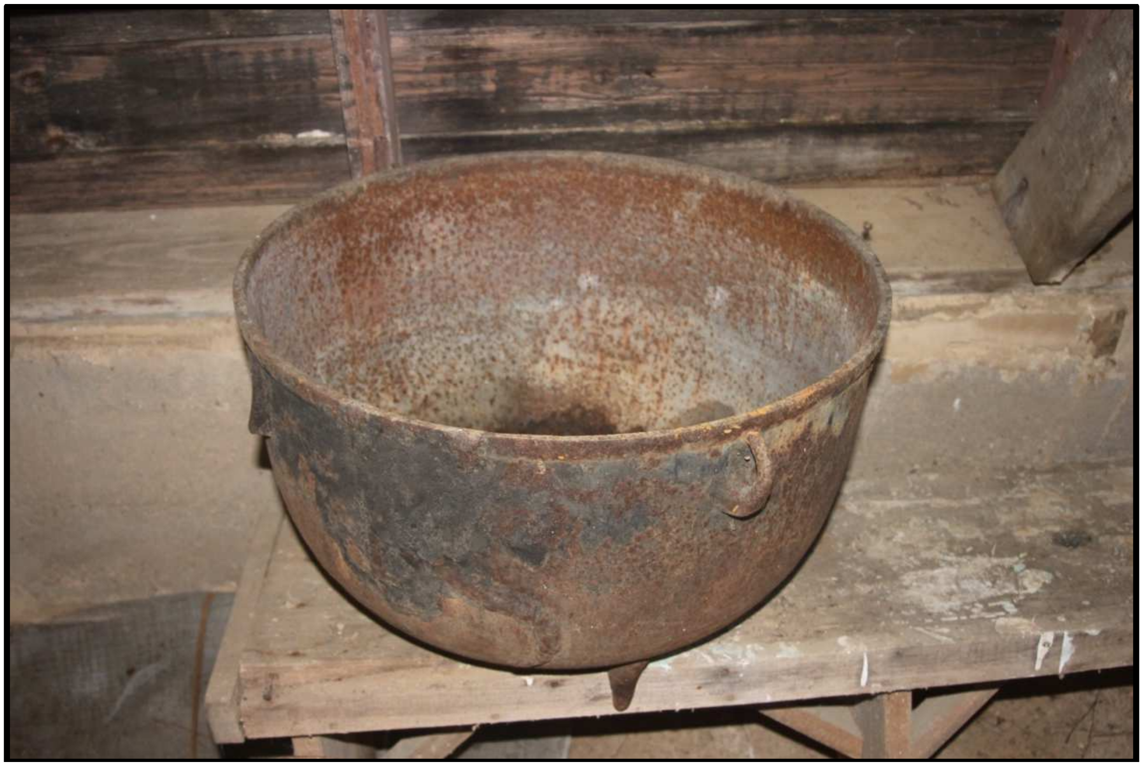


Figure 41: Wash basin (Brad Eatherly)

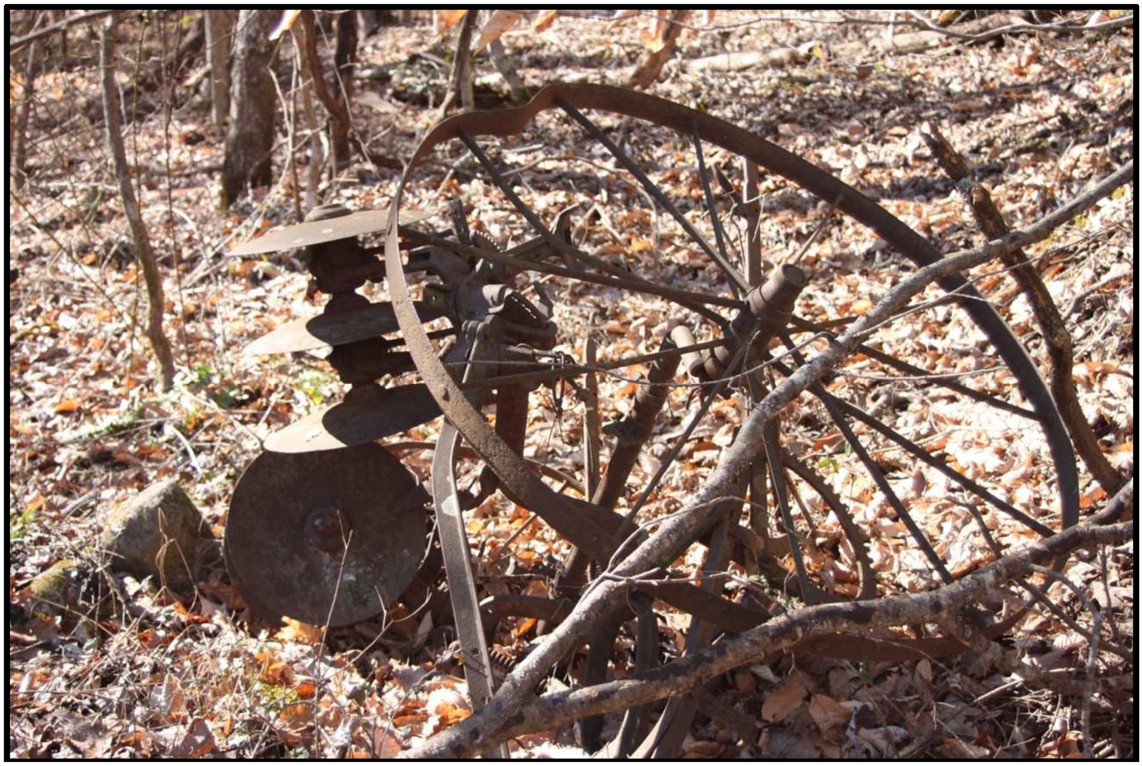


Figure 42: Small disc plow abandoned on side of mountain (Brad Eatherly)

The farmhouse contains numerous significant objects associated with the Graham Family. These objects should be inventoried and secured. Items that remain include a bedroom suite in one of the rear bedrooms crafted by the White Furniture Company in Mebane, North Carolina. The early twentieth-century furniture includes a bedframe, two sets of dresser of drawers, and a vanity. Several quilts, some over one hundred years old, that were quilted by the Graham family women remain in the house. During the Depression, the Grahams purchased a sideboard table and a desk that remain in the house, while helping community members who constructed the items. The back porch houses a cabinet from the mid-twentieth century built by a man from the neighboring town of Princeton. Shelves and tables that were used for canning fruits and vegetables remain in the cellar.

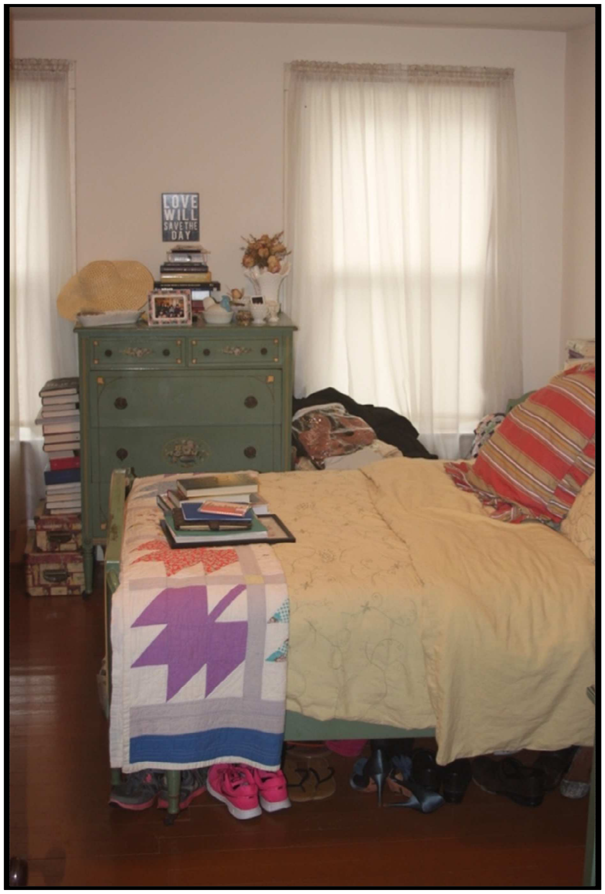


Figure 43: Early twentieth century bedroom suite (Brad Eatherly)

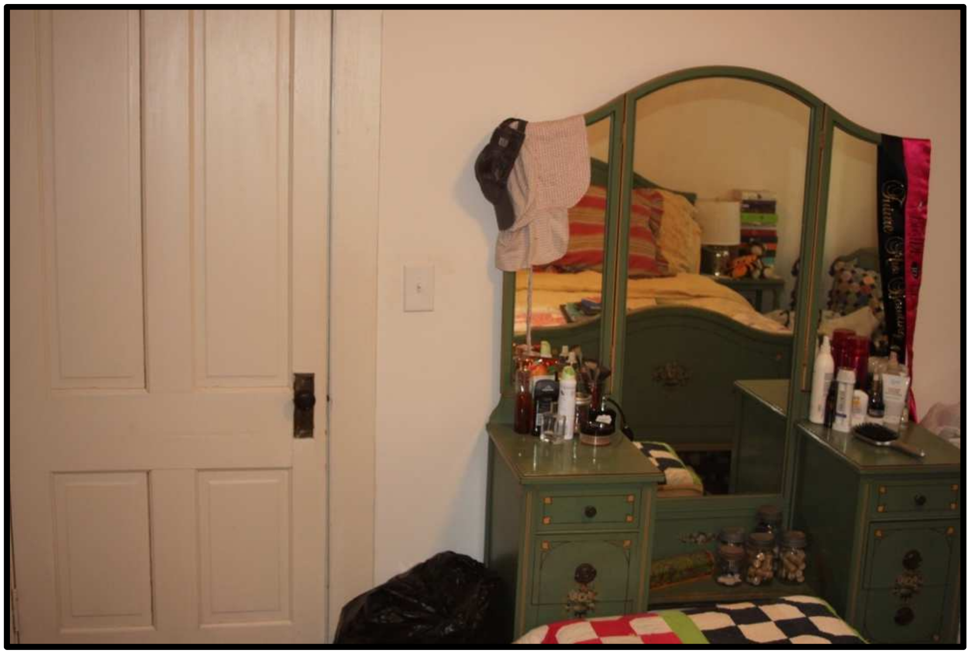


Figure 44: Early twentieth century vanity dresser (Brad Eatherly)

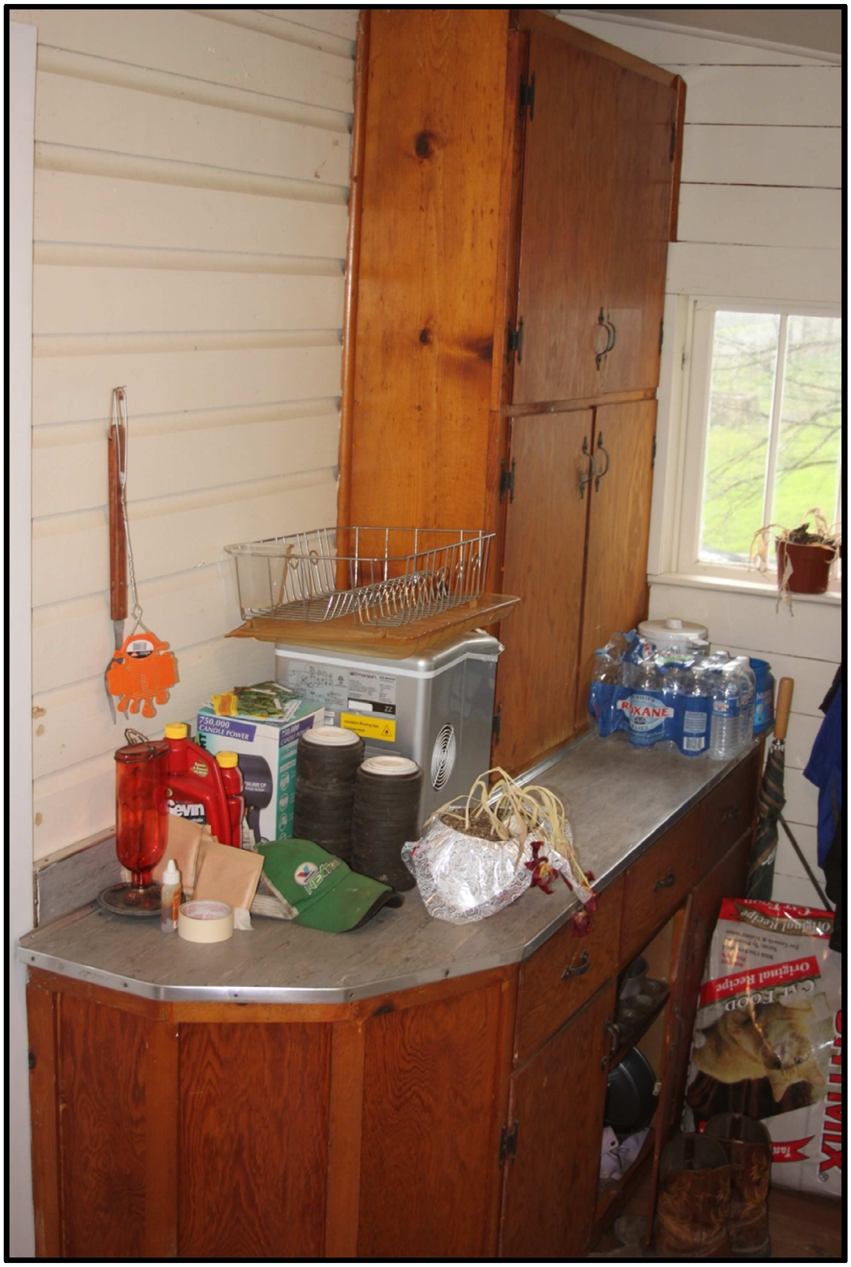


Figure 45: Mid-twentieth century cabinet crafted in Princeton, AL (Brad Eatherly)

THE GRAHAM FARM AS A PUBLIC SPACE

When Nita Head and her husband Bob deeded the Graham Farm to Auburn University in 2012, the last remaining family member of the Graham family ceased to have any association with the property for the first time in almost one hundred and fifty years. The Alabama Cooperative Extension System (ACES) operates the farm with the public in mind. The Extension Service is designed to educate local farm families on the latest scientific and technological advances within the industry. The Graham Farm is also acting as a nature center which allows an even greater portion of the public who can enjoy and learn about agricultural practices, nature conservancy, wildlife management, and livestock sciences. ACES plans on building several structures including a pavilion or a lodge for conferences and cabins and campgrounds for youth overnight visits. The Farm plans on providing many programs for youth groups and for veterans of the Armed Forces. Groups such as bird watching communities, photography clubs, and those interested in marine life could spend time exploring the property. High school agricultural clubs could visit the farm and glean valuable information.

The Upper Paint Rock Valley to this day remains an isolated, sparsely populated region. The few towns in the valley are small with agriculture remaining the biggest industry by far. Citizens of the Paint Rock Valley still work on the land, producing crops for themselves but also for an ever-increasing global market. The landscape of the valley, with its quickly rising mountains and thin valleys, mandates that farms remain relatively small. In some cases, one family has owned the land they live on for a century or more. The Green Farm, the Graham Farm's neighbor to the north, rivals the Graham Farm in length of family ownership of the land. The cultural landscape, so deep with history and community, has resisted large-scale change heretofore. With sprawl from Huntsville looming in the future, the next few decades will be important for the Paint Rock Valley to cling to the culture that has defined the area for two hundred years.[20] Professor Norman Tyler suggests that when historic preservationists consider properties worth preserving, they tend to be attracted to urban areas. But Tyler stresses the importance, in this era of urban sprawl, for preservationists to recognize that as cities expand, they will be doing so into previously rural areas. He argues that "there is a need for a systemic process to identify and protect meaningful and valued landscapes, with provisions appropriate to the rural situation."[21] The Upper Paint Rock Valley is certainly "meaningful" and "valued." The necessity to understand and preserve one of the most important properties within its boundaries is paramount. The Graham Farm is a southern treasure hidden away in a small narrow valley in northeast Alabama.

---

[20] Susan Calafate Boyle, *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 153.

[21] Robert Tyler, Ted J. Ligbel and Ilene R. Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009), 294.

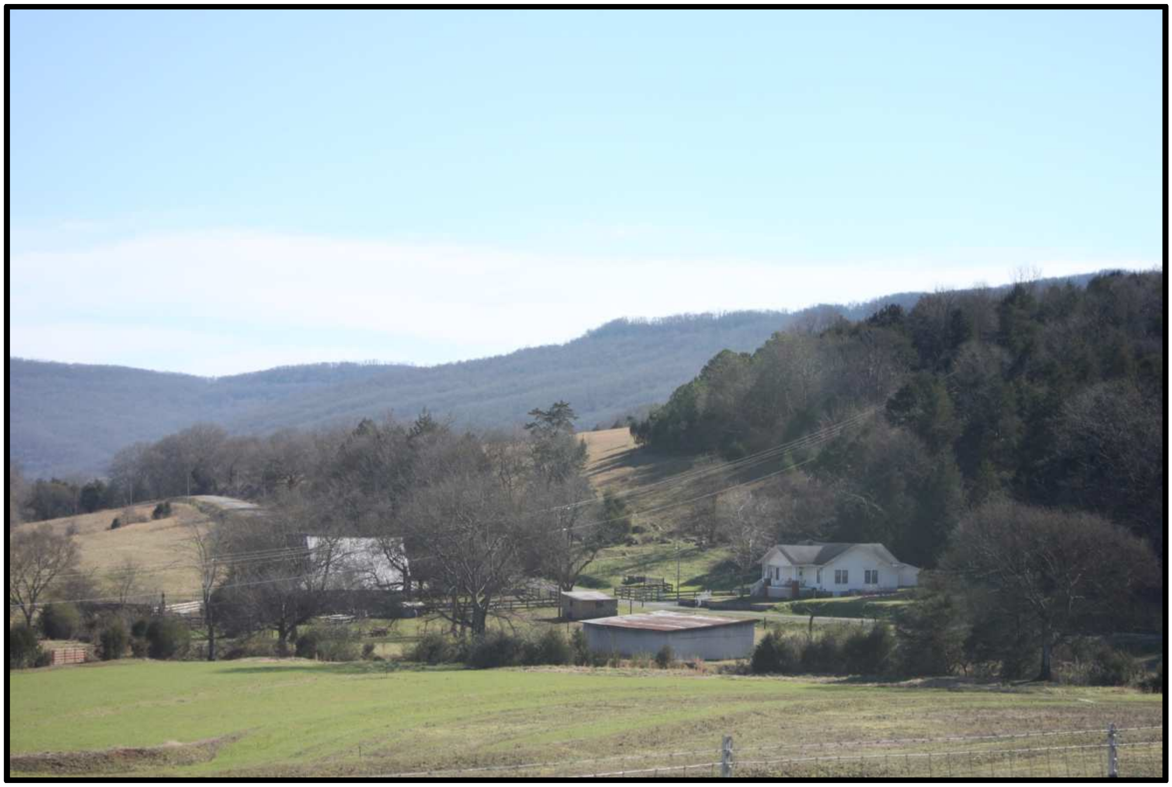


Figure 46: Graham Farm and landscape (Brad Eatherly)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Ancestry.com. Milton Graham, 1850 United States Census. http://interactive.ancestry.com/8054/4187297-00283?pid=18643975&backurl=http://search.ancestry.com//cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26db%3D1850usfedcenancestry%26h%3D18643975%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3Dokg26%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource%26usePUBJs%3Dtrue%26rhSource%3D1276&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=okg26&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true#?imageId=4187297-00279. Accessed May 10, 2016.

Ancestry.com. Milton Graham, 1866 Alabama State Census. http://interactive.ancestry.com/1576/31075_174431-00647?pid=561933&backurl=http://search.ancestry.com//cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc%3Dokg88%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource%26usePUBJs%3Dtrue%26gss%3Dangs-g%26new%3D1%26rank%3D1%26msT%3D1%26gsfn%3Dmilton%2520f%26gsfn_x%3D0%26gsln%3Dgraham%2520%26gsln_x%3D0%26msypn__ftp%3DJackson%2520County,%2520Alabama,%2520USA%26msypn%3D1462%26msypn_PInfo%3D7-%257C0%257C1652393%257C0%257C2%257C0%257C3%257C0%257C1462%257C0%257C0%257C%26MSAV%3D1%26msydy%3D1866%26cpxt%3D1%26cp%3D12%26catbucket%3Drstp%26uidh%3Dat7%26pcat%3DROOT_CATEGORY%26h%3D561933%26recoff%3D4%25205%26db%3DAlabamaCensus%26indiv%3D1%26ml_rpos%3D3&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=okg88&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true. Accessed May 10, 2016.

Ancestry.com. Milton F. Graham, Productions of Agriculture in the County of Jackson in the Post Office: Big Coon, 1870. http://interactive.ancestry.com/1276/32786_1220706416_0010-00548?pid=6300480&backurl=http://search.ancestry.com//cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc%3Dokg102%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource%26usePUBJs%3Dtrue%26indiv%3D1%26db%3DNonPopCensus%26gss%3Dangs-d%26new%3D1%26rank%3D1%26msT%3D1%26gsfn%3Dmilton%2520%26gsfn_x%3D0%26gsln%3Dgraham%26gsln_x%3D0%26msrpn__ftp%3DJackson%2520County,%2520Alabama,%2520USA%26msrpn%3D1462%26msrpn_PInfo%3D7-%257C0%257C1652393%257C0%257C2%257C0%257C3%257C0%257C1462%257C0%257C0%257C%26MSAV%3D0%26uidh%3Dat7%26ti%3D0%26pcat%3D35%26fh%3D0%26h%3D6300480%26recoff%3D%26ml_rpos%3D1&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=okg102&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true. Accessed May 26, 2016.

Ancestry.com. Milton F. Graham, Productions of Agriculture in the County of Jackson, Alabama: 1880. http://interactive.ancestry.com/1276/32786_1220706416_0029-01680?pid=6190033&backurl=http://search.ancestry.com//cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc%3Dokg96%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource%26usePUBJs%3Dtrue%26indiv%3D1%26db%3DNonPopCensus%26gss%3Dangs-d%26new%3D1%26rank%3D1%26msT%3D1%26gsfn%3Dmilton%2520%26gsfn_x%3D0%26gsln%3Dgraham%26gsln_x%3D0%26msrpn__ftp%3DJackson%2520County,%2520Alabama,%2520USA%26msrpn%3D1462%26msrpn_PInfo%3D7-%257C0%257C1652393%257C0%257C2%257C0%257C3%257C0%257C1462%257C0%257C0%257C%26MSAV%3D0%26uidh%3Dat7%26pcat%3D35%26fh%3D1%26h%3D6190033%26recoff%3D%26ml_rpos%3D2&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=okg96&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true#?imageId=32786_1220706416_0029-01680. Accessed May 12, 2016.

“Deed of Sale from Simeon Walker to Milton Graham, 2 June 1870, Jackson County, Alabama.” Deed Book 4, page 501. Scottsboro, AL: Jackson County Probate Office, May 16, 2016.

National Park Service. The Homestead Act of 1862. https://www.nps.gov/home/learn/historyculture/upload/MW,pdf,Homestead%20Act,txt.pdf. Accessed April 25, 2016.

US Census Bureau. https://askcensus.gov/faq.php?id=5000&faqId=5971. Accessed March 30, 2015.

US Congress. Senate. Smith-Lever Act of 1914. Public Law 63-95. 63rd Cong. May 8, 1914.

US Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service. "More from your Farm: A Guide to Soil Conservation farming based on a survey of the land in the Luxapallila Creek Watershed, Alabama," Washington, D.C.: Government Publishing Office, October 1946.

US Department of Commerce, Census Bureau. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 Agriculture*. Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Offices, 1943.

US Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records. "James A. Graham." http://www.glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=AL4210__.458&docClass=STA&sid=ktnxzeeq.qdj#patentDetailsTabIndex=1 (accessed February 23, 2015).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abram, Susan M. "Cherokees in Alabama." Last modified October 10, 2013. Accessed May 22, 2016. http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1087.

Aiken, Charles, S. *The Cotton Plantation South Since the Civil War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Ayers, Edward L. *Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Bartley, Numan V. *The New South 1945-1980: The Story of the South's Modernization*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995.

Biles, Roger. *The South and the New Deal*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994.

Bleddyn, Garet, et. al. *Skyline Farms, Jackson County, AL: Heritage Development Plan*. Murfreesboro, TN: Center for Historic Preservation, 2011.

Blevins, Brooks. *Cattle in the Cotton Fields: A History of Cattle Raising in Alabama*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1998.

Boyle, Susan Calafate. *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*. Edited by Richard Longstreth. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Campbell, David. "Skyline Farms." http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1546. Accessed on May 10, 2016.

Carter, Thomas, and Elizabeth Collins Cromley. *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2005.

Caudill, Harry M. *Night Comes to the Cumberlands: A Biography of a Depressed Area*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962.

Ray, Celeste. *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture, Volume 6: Ethnicity*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Conkin, Paul K. *A Revolution Down on the Farm: The Transformation of American Agriculture since 1929*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2008.

Creech, Joe. *Righteous Indignation: Religion and the Populist Revolution*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006.

Danbom, David B. *Born in the Country: A History of Rural America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1995.

Davis, Robert S. "The Old World in the New South: Entrepreneurial Ventures and the Agricultural History of Cullman County, AL." *Agricultural History* 70 (August 2005): 439-60.

Drake, Richard, B. *A History of Appalachia*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001.

Edelson, Chris. "Charleston, the Confederate Flag and the States' Rights Myth." American Constitution Society for Law and Policy, June 19, 2015. Accessed September 12, 2016. www.acslaw.org/acsblog/charleston-the-confederate-flag-and-the-states'-rights-myth.

Ellenburg, George B. *Mule South to Tractor South: Mules, Machines, and the Transformation of the Cotton South*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2007.

Feather, Carl E. *Mountain People in a Flat Land: A Popular History of Appalachian Migration to Northeast Ohio, 1940-1965*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1998.

Fischer, Suzanne. *Looking Beyond the Highway: Dixie Roads and Culture*. Edited by Claudette Stager and Martha Carver. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006.

Fite, Gilbert. *Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture 1865-1980*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1984.

Fitzgerald, Michael W. "To Give our Votes to the Party: Black Political Agitation and Agricultural Change in Alabama, 1865-1870." *Journal of American History* (September 1989): 489-505.

Flynt, Wayne. *Alabama in the Twentieth Century*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006.

—. *Poor But Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1989.

Gamble, Robert S. *Historic Architecture in Alabama: A Guide to Styles and Types, 1810-1930*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1990.

Garver, F.B., and Harvey Trelogan. "The Agricultural Adjustment Act and The Reports of the Brookings Institution." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 50, no.4 (August 1936): 594-621.

Glassie, Henry. *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts*. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1975.

Hoffschwelle, Mary. *Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools and Homes in Tennessee, 1900-1930*. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1998.

Horning, Audrey. *In the Shadow of Ragged mountain: Historical Archaeology of Nicholson, Corbin, & Weakley Hollows*. Bridgewater, VA: Good Printers, 2004.

Horton, Paul. "Testing the Limits of Class Politics in Postbellum Alabama: Agrarian Radicalism in Lawrence County." *The Journal of Southern History* 57 (February 1991): 63-85.

Ingram, Tammy. *Dixie Highway: Road Building and the Making of the Modern South, 1900-1930*. Chapel Hill, NC: The university of North Carolina Press, 2014.

Jackson III, Harvey H., ed. *The WPA Guide to 1930s Alabama*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2000.

Kolchin, Peter. *First Freedom: The Response of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972.

Moon, J. W. *Soil Survey of Jackson County*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954.

Noble, Allen G. *Wood, Brick & Stone: The North American Settlement Landscape*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984.

North Alabama Electric Coop. "About NAEC: Our History and Milestones." Accessed October 3, 2016. www.naecoop.com/history.asp.

Olmstead, Alan L. and Paul W. Rhode. "Reshaping the Landscape: The Impact and Diffusion of the Tractor in American Agriculture, 1910-1960." *The Journal of Economic History* 61(September 2001): 663-698.

Otto, John Solomon. *Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era. 1860-1880*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Phillips, Sarah, T. *This Land, This Nation: Conservation, Rural America, and the New Deal*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Piott, Steven L. *Daily Life in the Progressive Era*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011.

Preston, Howard Lawrence. *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991.

Reynolds, Bruce J. "Black Farmers in America, 1865-2000: The Pursuit of Independent Farming and the Role of Corporations." Rural Business Cooperative Service, USDA Report 194, Oct. 2002, 2.

Roark, James L. *Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: W.W. Norton Company, 1977.

Robbins, Lisa Holly. "Smokehouses and Root Cellars: Vernacular Architecture in Appalachia." Master's thesis, American University, 2006.

Rogers, William Warren. *The One-Gallused Rebellion: Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970.

Rogers, William Warren, and Robert David Ward, Leah Rawls Atkins, Wayne Flynt. *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1994.

Stager, Claudette. *Looking Beyond the Highway: Dixie Roads and Culture*. Edited by Claudette Stager and Martha Carver. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006.

Thomas, Roy Edwin. *Southern Appalachia, 1885-1915*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1991.

Tyler, Robert, Ted J. Ligbel, and Ilene R. Tyler. *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009.

US Department of Agriculture. *Watering Systems for Serious Grazers*. 2006.

Walker, Melissa. *All We Knew Was to Farm: Rural Women in the Upcountry South, 1919-1941*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

—. *Southern Farmers and Their Stories: Memory and Meaning in Oral History*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2006.

Weeks, Kay D., and Annie E. Grimmer. *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitation, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings*. Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, 1995.

West, Carroll Van. "Historic Resources of the Paint Rock Valley, 1820-1954." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Alabama Historical Commission, September 2, 2004.

—. *Tennessee's New Deal Landscape: A Guidebook*. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2001.

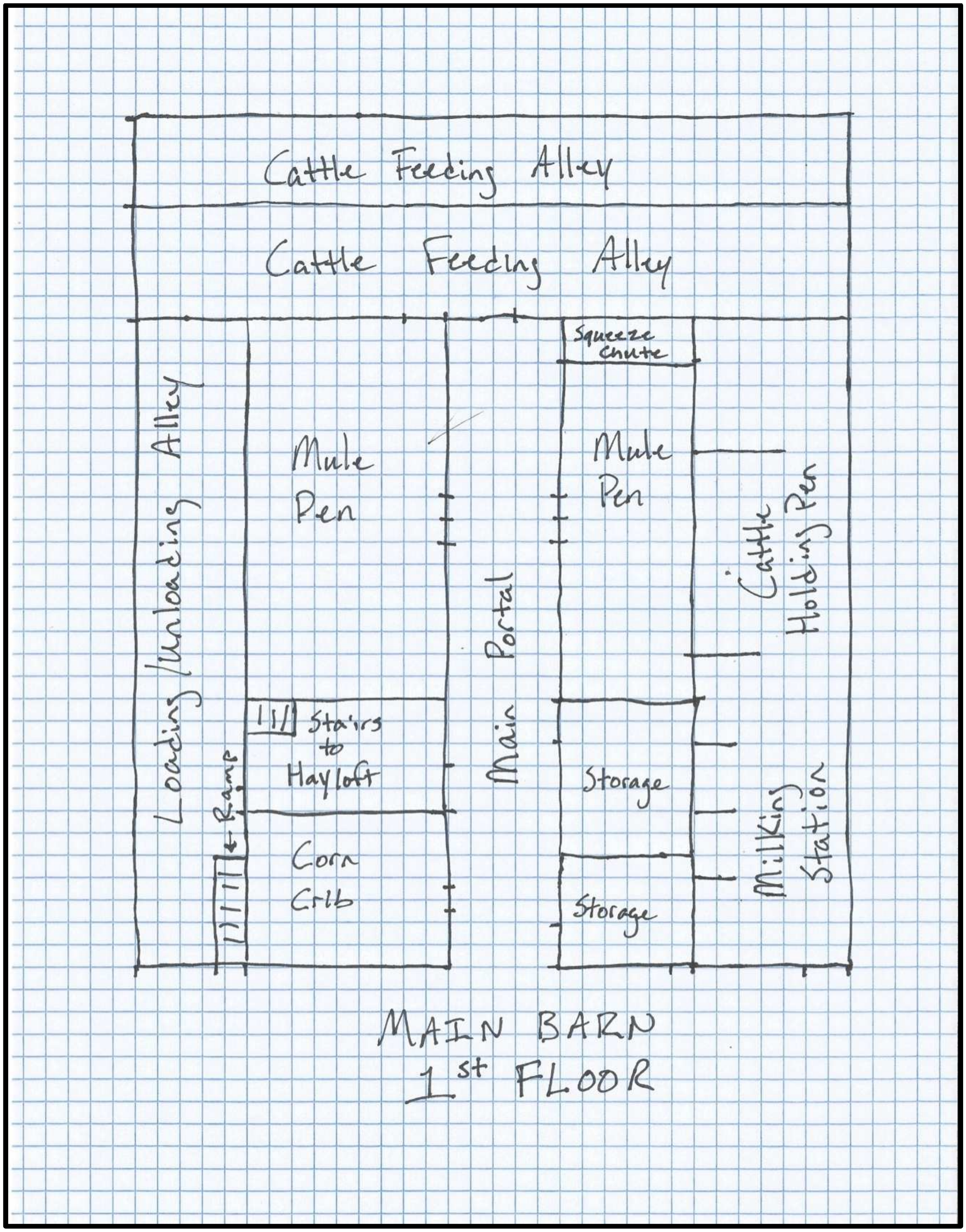
Young, Robert A. *Historic Preservation Technology*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2008.

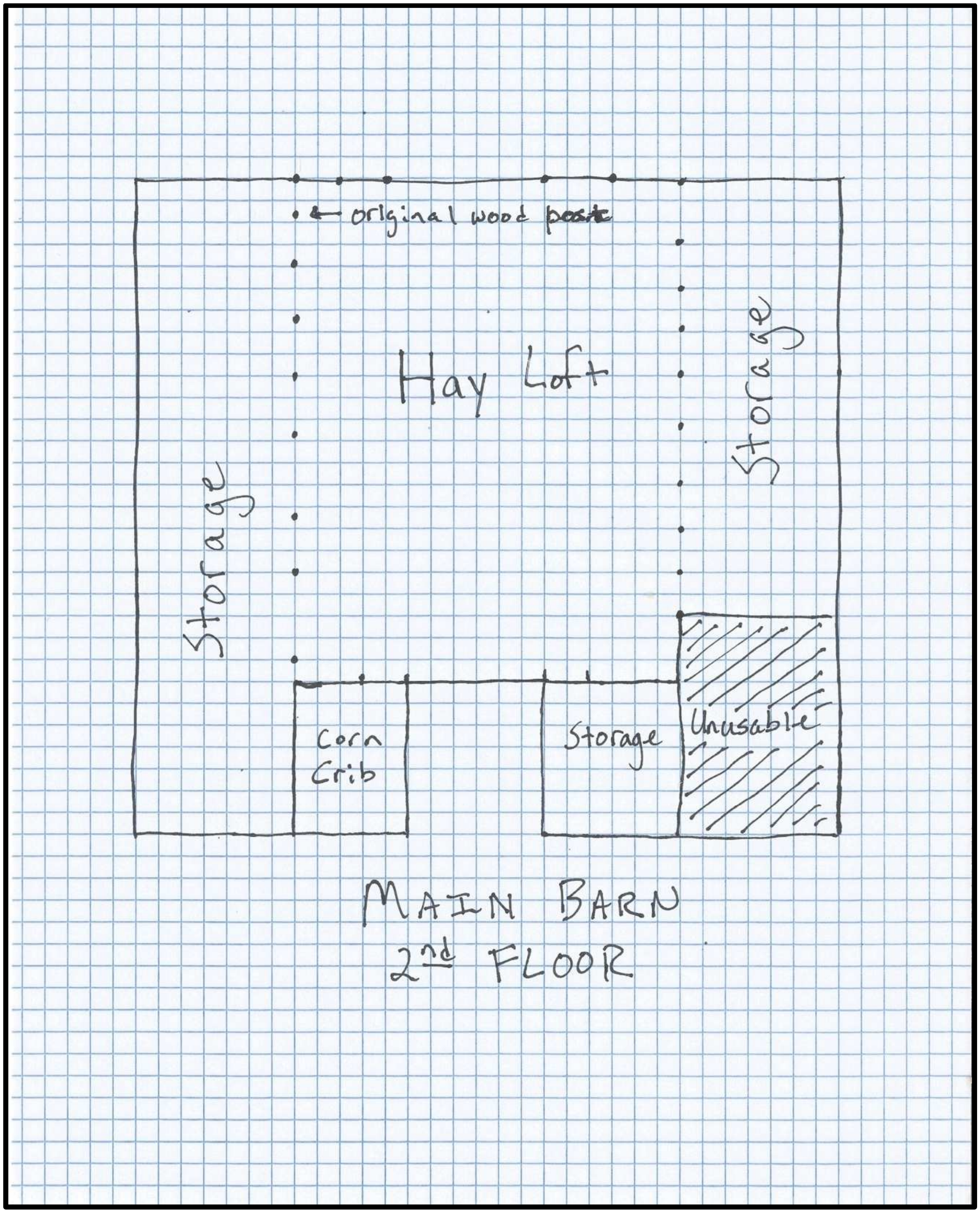
Zabawa, Robert E., and Sarah T. Warren. "From Country to Community: Agricultural Community Development in Macon County, Alabama, 1881 to the New Deal." *Agricultural History* 72 (Spring 1998): 459-486.

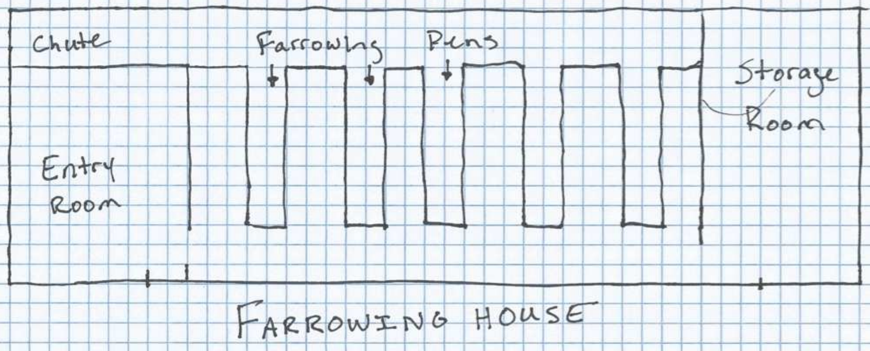
APPENDIX

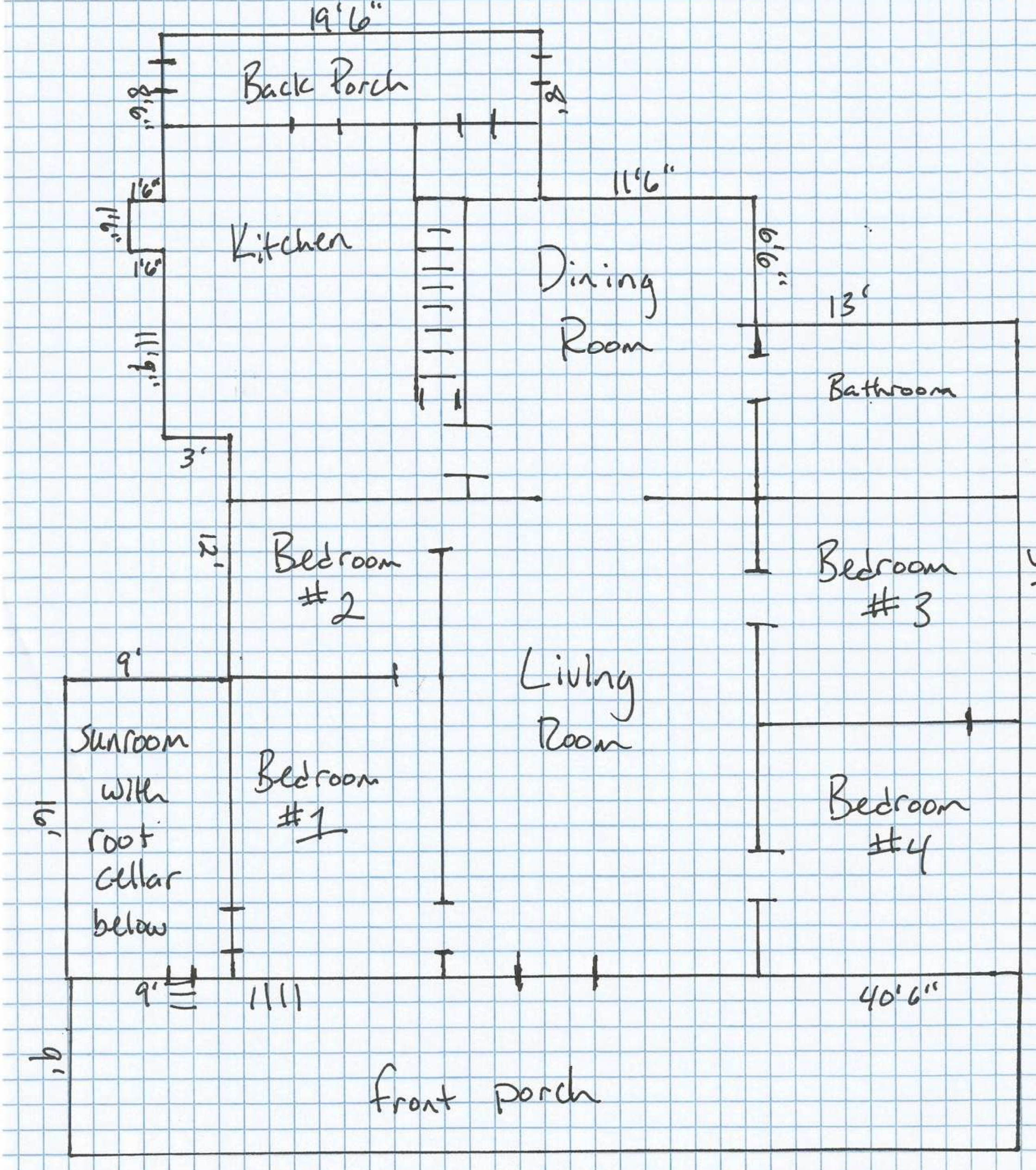
APPENDIX A:
SKETCHES

The following pages contain rough sketches of each of the structures located on the Graham Farm. The sketches are not in any particular order and, although close, should not be considered to be drawn to scale. Only a modern garage, a pump house built in the last few years, the covering for the spring, and the dilapidated log structure on the mountain far away from the other structures have been omitted. Of those, the spring and the log cabin could have been included. The reason for not including the spring is that it is more or less a simple covering. I decided to exclude the log structure because it is so decayed that its original size is not discernible. It looks like it would have been about six by eight feet, but it is difficult to tell.

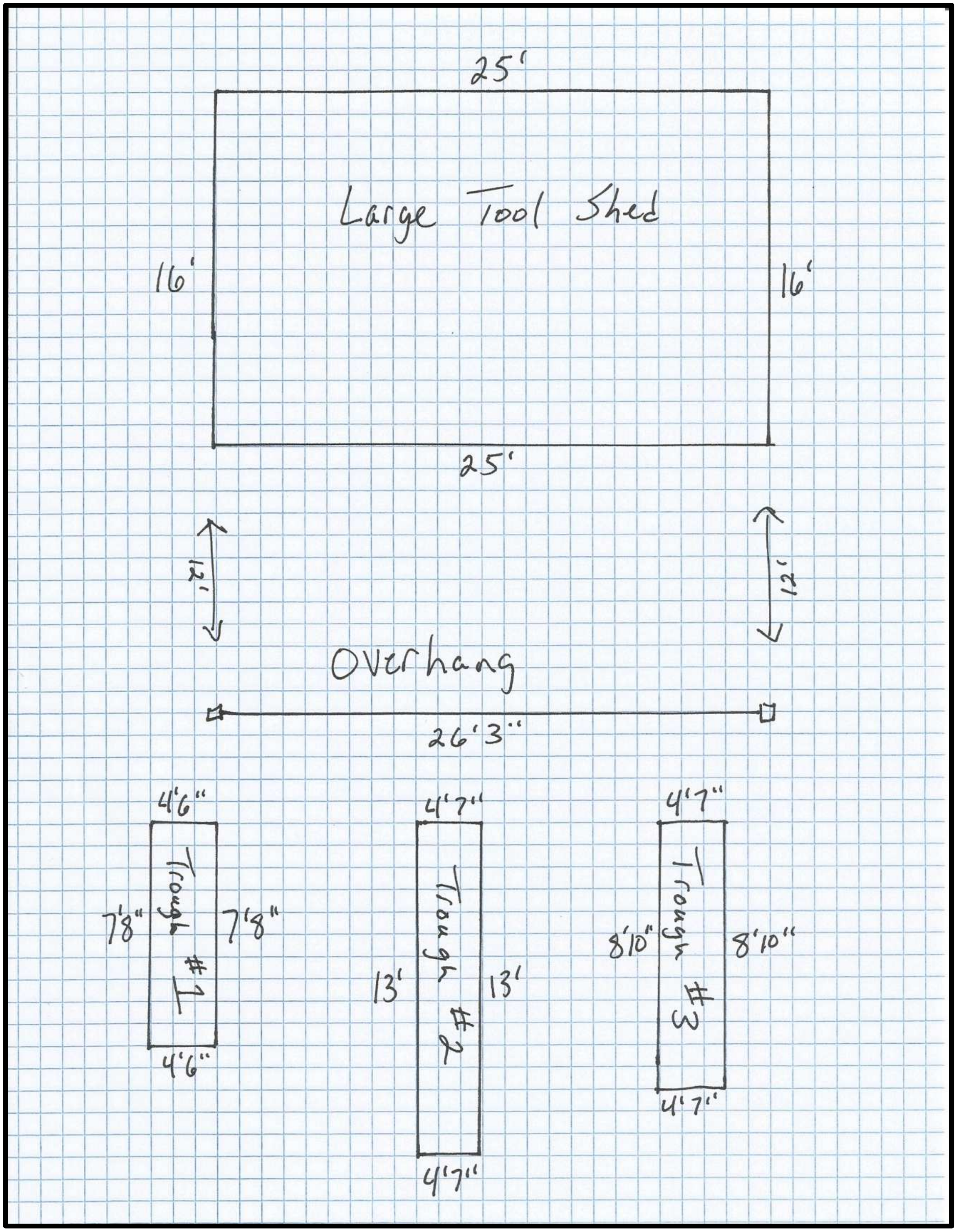

Cattle Feeding Alley
Cattle Feeding Alley
Squeeze chute
Loading/Unloading Alley
Mule Pen
Mule Pen
Main Portal
Cattle Holding Pen
Stairs to Hayloft
Ramp
Corn Crib
Storage
Storage
Milking Station
MAIN BARN
1st FLOOR

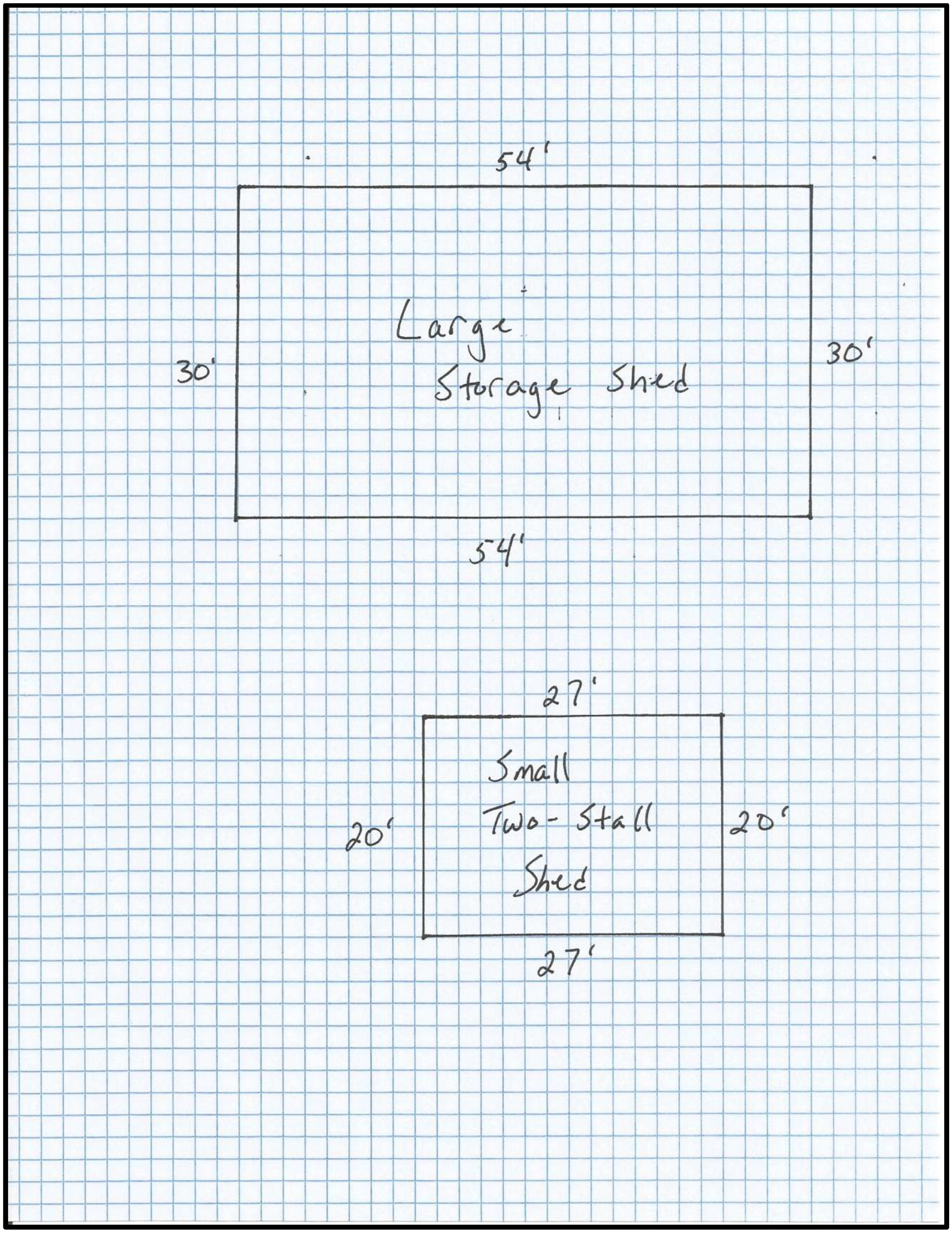

← original wood posts
Hay Loft
Storage
Storage
Corn Crib
Storage
Unusable
MAIN BARN
2nd FLOOR

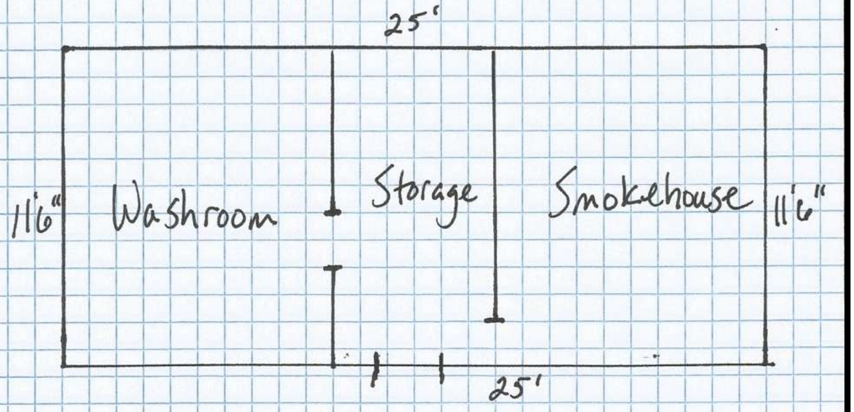

Chute
Farrowing Pens
Storage Room
Entry Room
FARROWING HOUSE

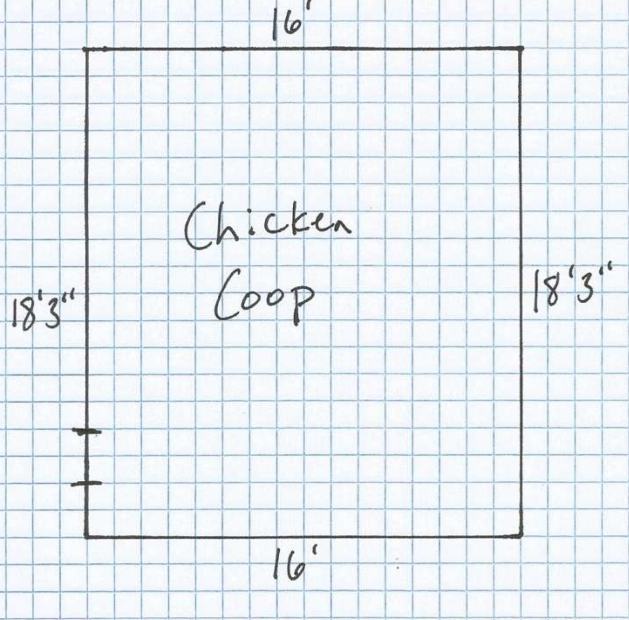

19'6"
Back Porch
8'6"
4'
1'6"
1'6"
1'6"
Kitchen
11'9"
11'6"
Dining Room
6'6"
13'
Bathroom
3'
12'
Bedroom #2
Bedroom #3
34'
9'
Living Room
Sunroom with root cellar below
Bedroom #1
16'
Bedroom #4
9'
40'6"
9'
front porch

FARMHOUSE


25'
Large Tool Shed
16'
16'
25'
12'
12'
Overhang
26'3"
4'6"
Trough #1
7'8"
7'8"
4'6"
4'7"
Trough #2
13'
13'
4'7"
4'7"
Trough #3
8'10"
8'10"
4'7"


Large
Storage Shed
Small
Two-Stall
Shed


25'
11'6"
Washroom
Storage
Smokehouse
11'6"
25'


16'
Chicken
Coop
18'3"
18'3"
16'