

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: MORE THAN THE 'PHYSICAL REMAINS OF YESTERDAY'S INDUSTRY:' A CASE STUDY OF THE CLAYTON COTTON MILL

Abigail McCoy, Masters of Professional Studies, 2021

Thesis Directed By: Doctor Matthew M. Palus, Department of Anthropology

The historic Clayton Cotton Mill located in Clayton, North Carolina, operated from the early- to mid-twentieth century. This research investigates the quality and quantity of data that is recovered from twentieth century industrial sites when investigators utilize the methodologies and research interests of labor archaeology. It also examines how labor archaeology informs questions relating to race, paternalism, and child labor, and how labor archaeology's methodologies highlight the potential public value of the resource.

The initial archaeological investigations conducted at this mill were focused on traditional industrial archaeology research questions and concluded that the resource was not eligible for listing on the NRHP without considering research avenues associated with labor archaeology. The goal of this project is to evaluate this resource through the lens of labor archaeology, identifying valuable information that

adds to a more complete understanding of the resource and would have been lost if the original recommendation was accepted.

MORE THAN THE 'PHYSICAL REMAINS OF YESTERDAY'S INDUSTRY:' A
CASE STUDY OF THE CLAYTON COTTON MILL

by

Abigail McCoy

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Advisory Committee:

Doctor Matthew M. Palus, Chair
Doctor Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels
Doctor Mark P. Leone

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List of Abbreviations

ACC – Archaeological Consultants of the Carolinas

APE – Area of Potential Effect

CRM – Cultural Resources Management

NCLC – National Child Labor Committee

NCSHPO – North Carolina State Historic Preservation Officer

NRA – National Recovery Administration

NRHP – National Register of Historic Places

Chapter 1 . Introduction

The research interests and methodologies of industrial archaeology have shifted since its introduction as a discipline. For decades, important research questions and utilized methodologies focused on the physical dimensions and qualities of the machinery and architectural remains of the industry. If buildings were no longer extant, had been modified drastically over the years, or if the remains of machinery were not intact, the site was often dismissed. More recently, those studying industrial sites have recognized the need to examine them using research questions and methodologies associated with labor archaeology. Sites that would have been deemed not significant for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) were suddenly able to inform an extensive amount of research questions and provide valuable data concerning questions of laborers and their lifeways.

It is vital that those conducting significance evaluations for the NRHP are aware of and understand the most current research questions, approaches, and work conducted at the resource type they are evaluating; in the case of industrial archaeology, this should include the information presented by Fracchia and Roller (2015). This is especially pertinent to industrial sites as research questions and methodologies have undergone such a dramatic shift. Approaching these resources using traditional research questions not only causes the site's significance to be inadequately evaluated, but also misrepresents the potential value of the site to the local community. What quality and quantity of information can be recovered when examining historic textile mills through a lens of labor archaeology rather than only

industrial archaeology? How can approaching historic textile mills through a lens of labor archaeology better inform research questions relating to race, paternalism, and child labor? How do investigations utilizing labor archaeology’s methodologies highlight the potential public value these resources may have? These questions will be examined through a case study of two sites (sites 31JT555 and 31JT557) that are part of the Clayton Cotton Mill, which was in operation from 1900 to 1976 and the different approaches used to determine the resource’s significance and value.

Archaeological Investigations at the Clayton Cotton Mill

A Phase I archaeological assessment occurred at the Clayton Cotton Mill in 2018 and identified four sites, two of which are no longer extant laborer housing (Table 1.1). The survey was conducted as a Section 106 survey as the standing textile mill building is slated for adaptive reuse; the lead federal agency is the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The determined Area of Potential Effect (APE) of the project is approximately 32 acres containing the Clayton Cotton Mill and the John A. Vinson Planing Mill and Lumber Yard. Based off of data recovered from shovel tests only, the Cultural Resources Management (CRM) firm recommended the mill’s sites as not eligible for the NRHP under all four criteria.

Table 1.1. Archaeological Sites within the APE (Green et al. 2018).

Site Number	Description	NRHP Recommendation
31JT555	Six early 20 th ce house sites; prehistoric lithic scatter	Not Eligible
31JT556	Early 20 th ce cotton warehouses	Not Eligible
31JT557	Early 20 th ce house site	Not Eligible
31JT558	Early 20 th ce planing mill/lumber yard; Late Woodland isolate	Not Eligible

In the NCSHPO's response (correspondence dated 4 February 2019) to this initial investigation, they noted that the "extant Clayton Cotton Mill (JT1085)...is a contributing property to the Clayton Historic District (JT1356), which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places." They acknowledged that the survey sufficiently documented the spatial extent of the four identified sites but did not accurately assess their eligibility in regards to the NRHP, stating that:

Three of the four sites are directly associated with Clayton Cotton Mill and thereby the Clayton Historic District, which is listed in the National Register under Criterion A in the area of Commerce; for this reason the remains...are also thematically related to the District. The assertion that sites 31JT555 - 31JT558 are not eligible for the National Register under Criterion A, without assessment of their role in the early commercial development of Clayton, is not consistent with their identification as the remains of workers' housing, warehouses, and manufacturing areas.

They also stated that eligibility under Criterion D was not sufficiently addressed as it is "necessary to consider potential research questions that could be addressed by these site types, and whether or not materials from these sites and archival records can be used together to answer these questions." The NCSHPO asserted that though the "buildings associated with these sites have been removed, this does not automatically negate their research potential," and ended by recommending additional work to assess the four identified archaeological sites. Archaeological Consultants of the Carolinas (ACC) was contracted to continue Phase II investigations, which led to Phase III mitigation of the Clayton Cotton Mill sites. The author of this thesis contributed to these investigations by researching the historic contexts of the mill, conducting additional excavations and mapping of above ground remains at two of the four identified sites, co-authoring a mitigation plan under the research paradigm of labor archaeology, and co-authoring the technical report, which is still in progress.

Significance and Value Terminology

The term significance is used in American CRM as a designation put in place by the NRHP. The concept is discussed in further detail in Chapters 2 and 6. In this thesis, when the phrase “significance evaluation” is used, it is in direct reference to the determinations made by state programs under the NRHP. The term “value” is used to discuss the meaning and benefit a resource may have beyond its official significance determination.

Summary of Thesis

Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical background affecting research at the Clayton Cotton Mill. It examines the general shift away from processualism and how that change resulted in new research conducted at industrial sites. The transition in theory from processualism to postprocessualism closely parallels the shift from traditional industrial research questions to those related to labor archaeology. Researchers at industrial sites stopped focusing on the evolution of machinery and information concerning the physical remains of the industry and instead began to study questions revolving around the laborers and their lifeways. The first archaeological investigation conducted at the Clayton Cotton Mill utilized traditional industrial archaeology research questions and methodologies, not considering potential data that could be recovered when examining the site through the lens of labor archaeology. The following investigations conducted by ACC utilized research questions and methodologies associated with labor archaeology, resulting in the recovery of important and valuable data.

Chapter 3 situates the Clayton Cotton Mill in the broader context of North Carolina's textile industry as well as in its local context before focusing on the history of the mill itself. Many of the generalizations found throughout the history of the state's textile mills were reflected in the data identified at the Clayton Cotton Mill. A more focused discussion regarding the history of the town of Clayton, specifically in regard to cotton agriculture and industry, is also included. Finally, the history of the Clayton Cotton Mill is discussed, from its establishment by Ashley Horne in 1900 to its closure in 1976. In all three levels of examination, themes regarding race relations, child labor, and paternalism emerged. Data from primary sources such as newspapers and historic photographs discovered during this investigation are integrated with the history of this chapter to create a more informative documentation of the past.

The methodologies used to collect data are discussed in Chapter 4. The transition from traditional industrial archaeology to labor archaeology brought a shift in appropriate methodologies used to investigate industrial sites. The initial investigation relied on shovel testing and used the extant buildings and machinery to evaluate the Clayton Cotton Mill, resulting in the recommendation of all sites as ineligible. While excavations are important for determining if there are any belowground features such as privies, trash pits, or garden plots that would contribute to our understanding of laborer health and lifeways, one cannot rely on excavation alone to evaluate historic textile mills and laborer housing. In-depth archival research must be utilized to access any information that may have been documented about the resource during its time. Sources utilized include newspapers, photographs, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, primary sources published about the textile industry, and census data. Oral histories

should also be attempted when compiling data regarding laborers at industrial sites in order to gain insights into the resource that would otherwise not be documented (see Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988; Orange 2015; Westmont 2019). These methodologies are discussed in detail, as well as the importance of conveying the data recovered from these methodologies to locals and interested communities considering the real value of these resources lies in their public relevance.

Chapter 5 focuses on the data collected from two sites at the Clayton Cotton Mill through the methodology utilized for this project. Both sites consist of laborer housing though the houses themselves are no longer extant. Archival information taken from Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, United States Census data, and other primary sources including photographs and historic textbooks are used to inform these two sites. They also contextualize these sites with the mill and the laborers who lived in the mill village. The information compiled during an unstructured interview with Mr. Bill Amos, a former resident of the mill village, is also included; his insights provide glimpses into life at the mill village that would not have been identified through archaeological investigations alone.

In Chapter 6, the data presented in the previous chapter is analyzed. The data concerning the two sites are discussed, as is the information learned regarding the broader context of the mill and its laborers. The compiled archival data and the information learned from the unstructured interview are woven together with results from excavations to inform several topics including: laborer housing and lifeways; child labor at the mill; racial relations at the mill; collective action and paternalism; and the effect of the mill on the area. Following this is a discussion on NRHP

significance evaluations. Included in this analysis are the recent calls for archaeologists to move beyond significance towards a heritage-driven archaeology (see Atalay 2012; Clark 2006, 2014; Kolen 2009). When examining and evaluating industrial sites that operated within recent memory, especially ones that included corporate housing, the public value of the resource must be considered and addressed. This should include public outreach options as well as the dissemination of recovered information to the local community. It is the history and stories of the public which hold the memories and context of these places; these remembrances and stories should be documented and shared.

Conclusion

If the initial significance recommendations for the Clayton Cotton Mill sites had been accepted, valuable data would have been erased. There would have been no reason to compile archival information concerning the mill nor would Mr. Amos' recollections and insights have been documented. It is vital that investigators are aware of potential biases they may work under due to their knowledge of the resource and knowledge of relevant research questions. Approaching historic textile mills with only an understanding of traditional industrial archaeology can leave much of the potential data unidentified, leading to an uninformed assessment of significance. Losing that data hurts the official record of resources, but more importantly is damaging to local and community histories. Archaeology is a method of commemoration that creates a story of the past and enables others to learn and remember that story (Shanks and McGuire 1996). The narrative of industrial sites is so much more than how it was initially represented. Examining historic textile mills

through a lens of labor archaeology is necessary to correctly represent our nation's past and to adequately collect all data to aid in evaluating the significance and value of these resources.

Chapter 2 . Theoretical Paradigms and Industrial Archaeology

Introduction

In the past and sometimes still today, industrial archaeology focused on machinery and the industry's evolution rather than the lifeways and conditions of laborers (Shackel 2004; Shackel 2009:78; Symonds 2005). Some archaeologists still research these remains through the lens of the industry itself rather than a focus on the laborers, though, there has been an increasing move toward the latter. The theoretical paradigm subscribed to by the researcher influences the research questions asked, which in turn will affect how resources are evaluated as well as their perceived significance (Howell 2016:30; Moss 2005:584; Sebastian 2009). Approaching industrial sites by emphasizing labor archaeology is necessary to more sufficiently evaluate the significance of historic textile mills and the histories of those who worked there.

The Rise of Industrial Archaeology

The phrase "industrial archaeology" first came into use in Britain in the 1950s and is often associated with Michael Rix of Birmingham University. The term became more prominent in the 1960s, initiating much debate. The practice of industrial archaeology rose from a need to record and preserve industrial structures that were in danger of being destroyed, though some thought conducting archaeology was unnecessary due to the abundance of historic documentation regarding many industrial sites (Palmer 1990; Symonds 2005:36). Kenneth Hudson, one of the earliest leading proponents of industrial archaeology in Britain, defined industrial

archaeology as “the organized, disciplined study of the physical remains of yesterday’s industries” (Hudson 1963:21).

The earliest industrial research focused on the remnants of past industries and their industrial landscapes. Symonds (1972:87) called for industrial archaeologists to “recognize the significance of that building or machine in relation to the pattern of historical change.” When industrial archaeology reached the United States, its interpretation largely stayed the same: Vogel (1969:91) emphasized the goal of rediscovering “forgotten and neglected evidence of the industrial past on the basis of its physical remains.” Research emphasized the way machinery and its developments contributed to the rise of industrialism (Mellor 2005:4; Symonds 1972).

In its early days, industrial archaeology was “dominated by historic preservation, engineering documentation, and adaptive reuse issues” though secondary interests were “the machinery, the tools, and the manufacturing processes” (SIA 1991). Focusing on the effectiveness and mastery of early American industry created “a memory of the past that was rooted in...present day concerns” (Shackel 2003:3); this was following a time of economic transition for America as evidenced through its rapid de-industrialization (Shackel 2009:79). Similarly, most existing archaeological studies focusing on the textile industry studied the mill as a physical structure, evaluating the parts of machinery and buildings that were still visible and intact, and the different technologies and processes that were used in textile production (Mellor 2005:49). This can be seen through the New England Textile Mills Survey conducted by Robert Vogel in 1967, followed by a second survey in 1968. As Shackel (2009:80) discusses, the remaining industrial ruins in the American landscape were used to

“show a long presence of industrial might” in that area, celebrating capitalism and the strength of the American economy.

The Professionalization of Industrial Archaeology as a Discipline

Symonds (1972:82) posited that in order for industrial archaeology to become an academic discipline, its purpose and overall goals had to be clearly defined. He determined that the industry and the evolution of its machinery were important parts of culture, heritage, and the landscape (Symonds 1972:83). The relationship of technological progress with economic and social change was soon declared one of the main goals of industrial archaeology, focusing on what necessitated the rise of such technology (Buchanan 1968).

At the time, processual archaeology was becoming increasingly common and stressed the necessity of employing research designs and methods that could be replicated (Howell 2016:14). Some industrial archaeologists sought to do this by creating a unified goal and a predetermined set of research questions to guide their research and preservation needs at the time (Symonds 1972:82). Others continued to approach industrial sites as particularists, satisfied to describe the sites with minimal interpretation, foregoing the incorporation of theory.

Vogel argued that the interpretation of collected data is more important than simply collecting the data (Vogel 1969:90). But the interpretation of data is highly influenced by the researcher’s theoretical views and the standard research paradigms of that theory. According to Clarke (1979:474), the truths interpreted from even scientific data depend on the current social beliefs and the cultural atmosphere, meaning that biases are inevitably introduced. These biases can stem from the

researcher's personal values, the current accepted methodologies and toolkits, and the existing theoretical framework (Binford 1983:17).

Industrial Archaeology and Theory

Theoretical frameworks affect archaeological data from as early as the creation of the initial research design (Howell 2016:14). The most prominent accepted theoretical paradigm at the time will influence the data one looks for and interprets at archaeological sites. Until recently, the implications of this for industrial archaeology meant that the research questions asked, and the archaeological work conducted, focused largely on the evolution of machinery, the industrial landscape, and the entrepreneurs considered important figures in the United States' past (Mellor 2005; Shackel 2009). It also meant that many of those researching and discussing the industrial remains were doing so with a particularist approach and in an atheoretical manner, seeing the rise of industry and its technological "advancements" as just that: linear and progressive (Shackel 2004:45; Symonds 2005:41).

Lewis Binford argued that archaeological study should not be focused on a single site but should instead be regional (Binford 1964). Vogel's New England Textile Mill Surveys conducted in the late 1960s are evidence of this put into practice: a systematic, well-defined study addressing specific questions about the past on a regional scale. Many regional studies of industrial sites occurred in Britain during this time as well (Symonds 2005:39), holdovers from the influence of culture history approaches on archaeology. Traditional industrial archaeology was firmly situated within processual thought as it largely focused on production and process, studying things that could be measured and seen, rather than attempting to extrapolate data

regarding class, intersections of gender or race, and other information concerning the laborers associated with the sites.

Postprocessualism is a collection of approaches that rose due to dissatisfaction with processualist thought. Ian Hodder criticized processualism as dehumanizing archaeology, stating it ignored the importance of recognizing agency in material culture and social change (Watson and Fotiadis 1990). The goal was no longer to establish broad generalizations but to achieve understanding of the past and its people, bringing about a revival of culture history and interpretive archaeology especially in regards to individual action, gender, and inequality (Goodby 1994:52-53). Archaeology needed to regain its relevance to the public, which meant involving non-professionals in the process of archaeology and emphasizing public interpretation and outreach. In the case of industrial archaeology, it also meant shifting the stories being examined and told through the investigations conducted (Shackel 2009:90).

Contextual archaeologists, such as Hodder, use the analogy of material culture as a text whose meaning is waiting to be read and interpreted by archaeologists. This interpretation is conducted by analyzing the context and variances between it and other characteristics of material culture (Hodder and Hutson 2003:161, 195). Attention must be paid to the array of possible meanings which are contained in these material “texts;” it is acknowledged that the interpretation chosen subjectively reflects the researcher’s theoretical perspective (Hodder and Hutson 2003:157-159, 162). This emphasizes the importance of considering the meaning and interpretation assigned to the data within a contextual paradigm in order to understand what influences are shaping the research conducted and its explanations. As Hodder and Hutson

(2003:156) state, “whatever questions one asks about the human past, even if they are only about technology or economy, frameworks of meaning intervene.”

There has been skepticism in regards to postprocessual archaeology that largely rises from the concern that it is not a scientific archaeology (Moss 2005:582). However, the tensions between theories lead to new knowledge and to the increased development of archaeology (McGuire 1992:7). Through its critiques of the preceding theory, postprocessualism was an indication of the changing political realities of conducting archaeology in the United States (Moss 2005:584). One critique is the dissatisfaction with the categorical mindset of processual archaeology that resulted in “distanced and lifeless representations of the past,” as can be seen through the traditional study of industrial sites (Hodder and Hutson 2003:44; Spector 1993:17).

Industrial Archaeology and Labor Archaeology

Since the rise of industrial archaeology in the United States, theoretical frameworks and methodologies have significantly changed as have the concerns of the professional community. According to Howell (2016:1), what is learned from the archaeological record corresponds directly to how it is investigated and the kind of research questions asked. The growing acceptance of the postprocessualist paradigm brought a call to reexamine how industrial sites were being studied, giving rise to the archaeology of labor. In Britain, Marilyn Palmer (2000) emphasized the importance of broadening the traditional definition of industrial archaeology to include more than just technological advancements and that doing so would create increased interest in the field and the knowledge it generates. Adams et al. (1981) called for a shift in the

focus of methodologies to encompass social aspects relating to industrial complexes; this increased the value of subsurface deposits at mill complexes and the questions that were able to be addressed by the data gathered (Nevell 2016).

In the United States, Paul Shackel became a leading proponent of studying America's industrial past through labor archaeology. Others such as Vogel noted that focusing on labor often meant dredging up painful memories of those who were exploited and even died at the hands of industrial progress (Lowenthal 1985:403). But Shackel insisted that leaving behind traditional approaches to industrial archaeology and discussing labor and the struggle of the workforce made industrial complexes more relatable to the community (Shackel 2004:44).

The interpretations used by labor historians in relation to the industrial past were not uniform. The first studies of labor in the United States were largely focused on its economic history, emphasizing the formation and history of unions and collective bargaining (Brody 1979:111; Morris 1985:21). While this approach does inform the formation and development of labor as a broad, unified entity, it does little to address the agency of laborers or study information regarding their lifeways and social relations. During the 1970s, researchers began to focus on laborers as individuals, leaving behind the sweeping narrative of traditional approaches to labor history.

New research avenues involved studies on labor communities, women and minorities, impacts of ethnicity and race, and the experiences of workers (Brody 1979; Fracchia and Roller 2015). While unions and strikes were still emphasized, the research approach and scale of examination shifted. This is evidenced by Wilkerson's (2015) work studying a strike in Gastonia, North Carolina through the lens of one

woman's experience. This shift towards examinations of laborers and their experience rather than "events acting on workers" came to exemplify the new general approach to labor archaeology (Brody 1979:114; Fracchia and Roller 2015:8).

Interdisciplinary Approaches to Industrial Sites

There has been an increasing realization that archaeologists should include social history (Martin 2003) and labor studies (Shackel 2003) when examining industrial sites. An interdisciplinary approach enables a broader and more thorough understanding of the past. Archival research, oral histories, and archaeological evidence have become important aspects of industrial archaeology. Adams et al. (1981) notes the importance of this interdisciplinary approach in creating a comprehensive interpretation of industrial sites and their laborers rather than a one-dimensional overview of the industry's technology.

Revisiting Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

Archaeological investigations at Harpers Ferry and the nearby Virginus Island community reflect the shift of focus in industrial archaeology's research questions. The first archaeological investigations conducted were under processual research paradigms that reinforced the ideals of industrialism and its importance to the United States. Largely focused on production and process, they studied architectural and technical reconstruction of the industrial complexes (Shackel 1994:3). The ruins were studied to memorialize the industrial landscape, preserved and interpreted to be a "symbol of industrial precedence" (Shackel 2009:81) and to "reinforce the ideals of a mighty industrial nation" (Shackel and Palus 2006:829).

With the rise and acceptance of labor archaeology, archaeological investigations at Harpers Ferry and Virginius Island reflected the change in research paradigms, directing attention to the neglected histories of labor at industrial sites (Shackel 1994:7). Research included cultural landscape study and history to analyze domestic sites and the effects industrialization had on the lives of the working-class community (Shackel 1994:9; Shackel and Palus 2006:829). Studying domestic remains associated with industrial sites “provides information about the strategies used by people to negotiate their daily lives in the industrial era” and to determine how their lives were changed by the expanding industrial landscape around them (Shackel and Palus 2006:828).

Investigations at Lowell, Massachusetts

Beaudry and Mrozowski (1988) undertook an investigation of work and home life at the Lowell Boott Mill in Lowell, Massachusetts, using an interdisciplinary framework. Previous archaeological investigations examined the textile mills and the waterpower systems in use; this new research was a community analysis, adding a human dimension to the understanding of general social conditions and developments (1988:2). Many of the secondary sources used to inform Beaudry’s and Mrozowski’s investigation at the Boott Mill were the same documents consulted by previous researchers, but through their archaeological and ethnographic approach to the topic they discovered new research avenues regarding workers at the mill, generating new data from the previously utilized sources (1988:2).

Written and oral testimonies were also used to expand their initial research questions, since, as Shackel (2009:90) notes, there are often “inconsistencies between

the official and unofficial memories at industrial sites.” Combining these with a study of the material culture at the boardinghouses, they gained insight into the nature of the corporate household and changes in the resident population there, challenging previously established generalizations regarding textile mill boardinghouses.

The investigations at the Boott Mill boardinghouse emphasized that “one can often learn more and different things about working people and working life by looking to the places where they lived in addition to the spaces where they labored” (Shackel and Palus 2006:828). The interdisciplinary approach used “exploded many of the cherished popular myths” concerning the personal lives of workers at the mill (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988:2). Some of these popular beliefs were so widely accepted that they were included in the original research design of the project and were disproven as further archaeological and ethnographic research continued.

Recent Research

Adam Fracchia and Michael Roller (2015) authored a theme study addressing industrial era labor archaeology, providing a basic framework to aid in evaluating sites that can contribute knowledge on industrial laborers. It discusses property types such as worker housing; the intersectionality of industrial laborers; and applicable research questions for consideration at these sites. Ian Mellor (2005) conducted a study of industrial textile structures in Britain, examining the “social dimensions of production,” and how the physical layout of textile mills influenced and controlled laborers and labor relations (7). His goal was to move beyond the functionalist approaches typically applied to industrial remains. Hilary Orange (2015) compiled international studies concerning memory and industrial spaces and ways to

investigate the two. She examined how memory work can be a core component “which can interweave with other methods symphonically, or at other times...raise interesting (or vexing) questions” (25).

A Focus on Mill Villages

With increased attention on interdisciplinary approaches, conducting excavations at mill villages became progressively important to understanding and evaluating research questions. Examining subsurface cultural deposits at historic mill complexes provides insight into alterations of the environment and worker health due to industrialism. Soil samples can be analyzed for toxins to create an understanding of general health conditions; samples from privies can include toxins and parasites which are indicators of poor worker health; pollen samples can provide information regarding landscape changes due to industrialization; and the presence of certain artifacts such as medicinal and alcohol bottles can provide insights into the general health of laborers (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988; Shackel 2004).

Beyond Excavations: Intersectionality and Class

Alan Dawley (1981) examined several case studies focused on industrial communities with an emphasis on the major social theory that influenced each author and their underlying assumptions and questions. He noted that many researchers were influenced by symbolic anthropology and the work of Emile Durkheim, interpreting the power differences in class between industrialists and their laborers to be consensual and symbiotic (138).

Definitions of class as taken from Marx, Engels, Durkheim, and Weber, and the implications inherent in their definitions of class, influenced the works of the few

industrial archaeologists who discussed class in the early decades of the field (Dawley 1981). The lack of emphasis on class in early industrial archaeology studies is ironic as there was a focus on capitalism, and the concept of class is central to that of capitalism (Wurst 1999:7).

Refocusing industrial archaeology onto issues of labor allows for a reevaluation of the typical views of class and the preconceived notions entrenched within these views. Class has typically been viewed as correlated to status or grouped with aspects such as race, gender, and ethnicity (Wurst 1999:7-8). However, both of these approaches still define the concept of class as objective rather than a formation (Wurst 1999:8). Class is also typically defined without any examination of social relations that were present, something that can be almost impossible to identify through the archaeological record.

There is a common practice of blanketing one group of people under one class (e.g. mill workers as one social class), creating an unrealistic representation of these people and ignoring the intersectionality that exists within that one perceived social class. Marquardt (1992) suggests that as individuals act on multiple different scales, so should analyses examine numerous levels as varying social relations become apparent at different scales. Studying the class of a “unified” group at more than one scale creates a multi-dimensional and intricate representation of the complexity and variety of classes that are woven together.

Marx detailed different scales of class, calling them abstractions, as well as the dialectal use of class. He emphasized the importance of studying the movement between these abstractions to identify information about society and class (Wurst

1999:9). Doing so allows researchers to examine internal social relations, such as studying varying degrees of class structure within a single household (Wurst 1999:12). Recent work conducted by V. Camille Westmont (2019) uses material culture, oral histories, archival research, and architectural data to conduct an intersectional class analysis of women in the Northeastern Pennsylvania anthracite region. Her research studied ways that women gained social leverage and influence, elevating themselves within their communities. By focusing on different scales of class within the broadly designated “working class” she told a more complete and realistic story of the lives of these women.

Rather than falling into the “common sense” trap regarding class as an attribute of individuals (Wurst 1999:11), class can be examined at multiple different levels and in interrelated ways to learn more about industrial workers. Laborers at textile mills are often viewed as homogenous but there were divisions of class internally. Transient workers were often regarded as a different social class than permanent laborers; there were still divisions of race that caused perceived differences in social class; and as wages for women were often significantly lower no matter their situation, a household was made up of only women were generally of poorer economic standing than a household with a male head-of-household.

Some of these concepts can be difficult to examine through the archaeological record alone, but combined with archival research and oral histories, the stories of the intersectionality of class can become clearer. As Wurst (1999:17) states, the goal is “not to define as many classes as possible, but rather to understand the lived experience of the past.” Understanding the varying degree of class through differing

levels of generality allows researchers to observe social relations that would otherwise go overlooked and unexamined. Studying laborers in this way can make historical industrial sites relatable to a broader range of people, something that Shackel acknowledges is a concern when investigating historical industrial sites (Shackel 2004:44).

As Symonds (2005:37) notes, researchers must “not loose [*sic*] sight of the people behind the processes that we are attempting to study.” Knapp et al. (1998:2) suggests that the study of industrial technology must consider the way it influenced laborers’ social, political, and economic relationships. Reinvestigating industrial sites under different research frameworks enables new knowledge to be obtained, new perspectives to be considered, and allows the histories of those previously glossed over to be written, interpreted, and shared. This is vital as it is common for school curriculums and national memory to omit the struggles of labor and the consequences industrialization had on working-class families (Cobble and Kessler-Harris 1993).

Significance and Industrial Sites

The disparity between the approaches used to study Harpers Ferry emphasizes that the acceptance of new theoretical views and their research paradigms generates a shift in what archaeologists study and consider significant. In the United States, the term significance is a designation of value assigned by professionals and was established by the NRHP in 1966 (Leone and Potter 1992:137). Significance itself can seem arbitrary (Howell 2016:29) since what is considered significant changes depending on the accepted theoretical paradigms and associated research questions at the time (Altschul 2005:207).

According to Tainter and Lucas (1983), significance is not an inherent value of an archaeological resource; it is “assigned rather than revealed” (Leone and Potter 1992:139). Altschul (2005:198) clarifies that significance as defined by Criterion D “is not an inherent quality of an archaeological site, but instead is based on what we can learn from it.” Much like the influence of theoretical paradigms on research questions, research questions influence the perceived significance of a site. If a site cannot provide meaningful data in regards to the research questions it is considered not significant (Sebastian 2009), implying that significance is a quality assigned based on the research interests of those conducting the research. When those conducting investigations at historic textile mills think only of research questions associated with traditional industrial archaeology, valuable data concerning laborers and their lifeways will be unevaluated and potentially lost.

Dunnell (1984:63) states that significance is of the utmost concern as “virtually all management decisions depend on these admittedly judgmental assessments.” In turn, this causes evaluations of significance to appear arbitrary over time as paradigms and theoretical frameworks change. The criteria for eligibility in the NRHP were written when the significance of archaeological sites was based on their potential to contain data considered of interest to processual thought and culture history approaches to archaeology (Altschul 2005; Moss 2005:584).

Over the last several decades, discourse concerning significance includes discussions on the resource’s value (Altschul 2005). Value can refer to the resource’s perceived value (e.g. the determination of significance, usually in relation to criterion d) or its value to the public, two definitions that do not always overlap. Recent

discussions also address how to move beyond the scientific discipline of archaeology to a heritage-driven archaeology (Kolen 2009:210). Kate Clark (2006) notes that the very reason for regulations that evaluate and protect cultural resources is that “these assets are important...to the wider community” (59). But she goes on to state that the definition for value is rarely questioned, nor is whose values are considered in the resources assessment. The concept of significance has also been called into question as not being capable of thoroughly evaluating a resource, as being too vaguely worded, or as being adhered to too rigidly (Brown 2008; Leone and Potter 1992). Others note that “significance is a great start, but there is more to do” (Clark 2014:70), and that sometimes significance must be understood as “growing out of the needs of contemporary societies” rather than simply existing as part of an archaeological resource (Leone and Potter 1992:143).

It has been noted that the potential information available at industrial sites can be the most difficult aspect of significance to assess (Hardesty and Little 2009:123). This is true if the investigations are relying solely on traditional Phase I approaches. But utilizing other methodologies and employing “more varied and diverse approaches” can greatly inform the potential significance of sites, especially historic ones (Altschul 2005:193).

Fracchia and Roller (2015) authored a theme study of labor and industrial archaeological sites to provide a basic framework for the determination of eligibility and nomination of these site types to the NRHP. The goal of this study was to situate the lives of laborers within the context of industrial systems and to create guidelines that emphasized the evaluation of labor, stepping away from the capitalist- and

machinery-focused industrial archaeology. They codify current industrial and labor archaeology research questions to aid investigations in approaching significance evaluations at these sites in a way that better addresses the resource's value. Their work is an important step in expanding considerations of what has traditionally been deemed significant at historic industrial sites.

Research Questions at Industrial Sites

In traditional industrial archaeology, the evolution of machinery, the modification of the landscape, the use of natural resources for industrial purposes, and the construction of factories and mills determined the significance of a site. Certain aspects of these sites related to questions of labor were not evaluated; any potential data regarding questions of labor was lost since the rest of the site did not meet the standard research requirements (Sebastian 2009). These disparities can cause the loss of entire facets of human behavior if they are not considered in the research designs (Howell 2016:30). Knowing the research paradigm and methodological context of the data recovered is crucial as it informs what aspects of the data were not considered or recorded.

Today, research questions at industrial sites involve the economic impact of industries on the local economies; comparison of lifestyles between mill workers and supervisors; the economic and social impact industrial work had on laborers; gender and racial inequalities; the health and lifestyles of children; and information concerning transient workers (Fracchia and Roller 2015; McGuire 2014; Reid and McCoy 2020; Shackel 2004). The National Parks Service theme study of American Labor Archaeology mentioned above offers “insights into the study of labor in the

industrial era” (Fracchia and Roller 2015:4). The goal of many industrial archaeologists has shifted to “spend more time thinking about people, and less time cataloguing things” (Symonds 2005:37). This thesis seeks to address the data that could be lost if industrial sites are only considered through the research questions and methodologies associated with traditional industrial archaeology.

Conclusion

As Hegmon (2003:234) aptly states, theory “conditions the manner in which we see the world.” Questions concerning research paradigms and how they influence methodology and research agendas should be considered when conducting archaeology in an attempt to determine what research interests are being explored. Archaeologists are responsible for remembering that how they interpret the past has implications for a much broader range of people other than themselves (Moss 2005:586). Shackel (2000:90) provides the reminder that understanding “what is studied, remembered, and interpreted at industrial sites can show us who we are as a community of scholars and citizens of a nation.”

This exhortation encourages archaeologists to not overlook the ways that historic mill sites can inform research questions concerning the historic and contemporary communities in the surrounding area, especially in cases where those who worked or grew up at the historic mills are still alive. It is their family’s past that is glossed over and the struggles of their relatives that are neglected due to a focus on historic structures and technology. Conducting archaeology is a method of commemoration (Shanks and McGuire 1996). It produces a memory of the past and allows others to learn about history that has long been buried or overlooked. The way that memory is

interpreted and portrayed greatly depends on the research framework utilized by those conducting the research. The growing acceptance of labor archaeology and its research goals initiated the shift from traditional industrial archaeology, creating new ideas regarding what made industrial sites significant and altering the histories that were constructed concerning the industrial past.

Chapter 3 . Brief History of North Carolina's Textile Industry, Johnston County, North Carolina, and the Clayton Cotton Mill

Introduction

Similar to how a researcher's knowledge of current research paradigms affects the types of questions explored, so too does their knowledge of the historical context of the topic. Much discussion and analysis concerning the textile industry in North Carolina has occurred over the decades. The state has a rich history of textile production dating back to colonial times that is too lengthy to fully cover in this paper. The following section attempts to discuss the most pertinent aspects of the state's textile history in relation to the current research and is by no means an exhaustive history.

The Textile Industry in North Carolina

Broad Patterns in the Nineteenth Century

As early as 1828, reports were published in North Carolina discussing the necessity of manufacturing to correct the state's imbalance of trade as the state was importing significantly more than it was exporting (Bynum 1928:237). Some of the most circulated discussions came from the Fisher Committee, established by the General Assembly, who created exhaustive reports and held hearings concerning the benefits and possible issues associated with investing in a large textile industry (Griffin and Standard 1957a:29). They argued that the value of raw cotton would dramatically increase if it were turned into yarn in North Carolina and then exported; manufacturing would also allow surplus labor to be made good use of and increase

the development of local markets and small towns, improving “not only the physical but the moral and intellectual condition” of the people living in these areas (Glass 1992:8; Griffin and Standard 1957b:131, 153). Cotton was abundant throughout North Carolina and the cost of establishing textile mills was relatively low, encouraging the establishment of the textile industry in the state (English 2006:9).

There was a widely accepted belief that the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution resulted in economic and social progress. The owner of a mill in Greensboro that employed all-white laborers was heralded as a civic-minded benefactor who offered “employment for numerous hands hitherto doing nothing for the community, and but little for themselves” (Griffin and Standard 1957b:133). The belief in the industry’s positive effects on its workers and that industrial work was a “real blessing” and “comfort” to those who would otherwise “be wretched” spread quickly (Glass 1992:20). A newspaper in Raleigh even described the opportunity to work in textile mills as “a fine opening for hardy, industrious young men...willing to work hard, live well, earn money honestly, and enjoy one of the most healthful situations in this or any other country” (Griffin and Standard 1957b:141).

Industrial growth in North Carolina also stemmed from a fear of abolitionist movements in the North. The editor of the Raleigh Register stated there was a “wide and deep secret current running against the South” and encouraged the south to become self-sufficient through industry (Griffin and Standard 1957b:157). Prior to the Civil War, several companies depended on slave labor to keep their mills in operation. Some mills even tried to integrate their workforce, having black and white girls work together (Glass 1992:18). Opponents of industrial mills stated that utilizing

slaves would elevate them beyond their status and possibly lead to their economic freedom, and most white mill laborers were opposed to working with black laborers (Griffin and Standard 1957b:140).

During the late nineteenth century, individual men began to gain more economically from the textile industry but remained diversified in their interests, creating minimal divide between what planters and manufacturers generally desired for the management of their state's economy (Glass 1992:24). The industrial elite became enamored with living up to the "expectations of Victorian values by projecting an image of social responsibility and paternalistic control" (Glass 1992:25). Journals published reminders to these elite that they were not simply running cotton machines, but a "moral machine," and these exhortations of morality increased over time (Griffin and Standard 1957b:155). Industry was held as the catalyst that would rebuild North Carolina's economy, increase and improve education, and be solely responsible for the growth of towns and cities (Glass 1992:31). These ideas of creating a New South were advertised to the public through the Cotton Mill Campaign.

The Cotton Mill Campaign was fed to the public through newspapers claiming that the textile industry would be the "salvation of the South and...would be a seed from which other, diversified industries would grow" (English 2006:10). As with previously published propaganda concerning the industry, its supposed ability to raise the morals, education, and general well-being of the poor white people who worked at the mills was emphasized, as was the goodness of entrepreneurs who founded mills. Southern textile mill owners were seen as symbols of the New South, and their

success represented “progress, regional renewal through industry, and the creation of a new economic order” (English 2006:11). In a similar way, laborers in the south were painted as “native born, proverbially religious, [and] having an inborn inclination to be loyal to their employer, honest, and capable;” it was even implied that as long as only southern natives were employed in textile mills, there would be no threat of labor disturbances (English 2006:18). The representations of laborers and mill owners painted a picture of the ideal location and setup for establishing a larger textile industry.

Part of what encouraged the idea of the mill owner as an altruist was the unspoken norm that textile mills were for white employees only. Those who promoted the textile industry touted the idea that mill owners were interested in maintaining the racial status quo, manipulating the common fear among poorer whites that the abolition of slavery brought them in direct competition with free blacks for jobs (English 2006:12). Similar approaches were used to dissuade fears concerning class conflict and disparity, stating that the “leading citizens” operating the south’s textile mills were only attempting to aid people in avoiding “degrading competition with black farm labor,” and would employ only white operatives to strengthen “common bonds of race between management and millhands” (English 2006:12).

As a result, interest in the textile industry increased as did the number of laborers flocking to the newly constructed mill villages. With this growth came the need to educate and train southern entrepreneurs in the intricacies of the textile industry. The School of Textile at North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College in Raleigh was established in the late 1890s by Daniel A. Tompkins; textbooks authored by

Tompkins discussed practices of cotton manufacturing and textile marketing for both engineers and businessmen (Glass 1992:33).

As the mill industry hit its stride in the late nineteenth century and continued to expand, a labor shortage arose due to the implied ban on employing black workers in textile mills. There was also a hesitancy to employ immigrants, as they were thought to be less tractable and more likely to cause labor disturbances (English 2006:18). This meant that mills largely had to draw from local farm families to operate the mill machinery (McHugh 1986:151). Although the textile industry relied on a family labor system that seemed to reinforce traditional rural values, this system often resulted in the social and economic isolation of mill workers (Glass 1992:46). The way the system was set up often caused individual and community progress to stagnate, contrary to the promises that were a foundation of the Cotton Mill Campaign.

North Carolina's Mill Villages

The industry's reliance on waterpower persisted into the early twentieth century and helped to preserve the rural tradition found in southern mills, doing little to disrupt the vision of North Carolina as an agricultural society (Glass 1992:28). Mill villages were constructed to entice workers, and set up not as the boarding houses seen in Lowell, but rather as replicas of the rural atmosphere their targeted laborers were most familiar with. This meant constructing individual houses on lots with room for gardens and animals (Bynum 1928:239). It was a common requirement by mill owners that houses rented by families must provide at least one worker per room or two workers for three rooms, thus employing several members of each family within

the paternalistic environment of the mill (Glass 1992:18; Larkin 1929:686; McHugh 1986:149).

As the textile industry shifted from rural riverine settings to more urban settings situated near rail lines, mill villages were constructed on a grid-like pattern with smaller houses generally lacking large shade trees. House plans followed those laid out in Tompkins' textbook *Cotton Mill, Commercial Features* (Glass 1992:40). "Tompkins reminded his readers that mill workers were a rural people and did not require clothes closets or indoor plumbing" (Glass 1992:42). Tompkins also suggested that the textile factories be placed one to four miles outside of the city so the textile company could build and own the houses for their employees (Glass 1992:42).

The isolation that was inherent in the design of the mill village often worked to create dependent relationships between mill workers and their neighbors in a way that reflected traditional dependence on family members. This could be due in part to the poverty that faced most of these workers: in 1900 at a prosperous mill, a family of five with the father and four children working earned no more than \$1000 dollars a year (Glass 1992:47). The low wages did not reflect the hours put in: despite changes made in New England to enforce the sixty-hour work week, mills in the south often operated eleven to twelve hours a day (English 2006:32).

Mill villages still left enough room for most residents to have their own garden plot. Without these home gardens and the nutrients supplied from the vegetables and whatever livestock they could support, many mill workers would have suffered an even greater deficiency in basic vitamins and protein (Glass 1992:47). It was not

uncommon for many who lived in mill villages to suffer from pellagra, a disease that caused major discomfort and could be fatal.

Textile companies began to hire welfare workers to organize different clubs and events, such as flower and fashion shows, baseball teams, or sewing and garden clubs in an attempt to appear benevolent. Welfare programs also included a company store, church sponsorship, and company schools within the mill village, further increasing the paternalistic influence of mill managers and owners (McHugh 1986:149). This type of welfare capitalism was an additional way that mill managers attempted to retain control and manage the mill villages. Company paternalism was pervasive throughout the lives of laborers, and mill owners used their villages as “an institution of socializing and stabilizing the workforce” (McHugh 1982:137). Welfare programs also helped to perpetuate the misguided but prevalent notion that an industrialist of the New South was “a philanthropist first and a capitalist second” (Glass 1992:55). Even those discussing North Carolina’s textile industry in the twentieth century still praised the owners of textile mills for their devotion to their employees, stating that at larger mills “one is sure to find the owner doing all possible for the people who work for him” (Bynum 1928:239).

Mill school curriculums often employed paternalistic teachings to instill certain beliefs and behaviors in the children of mill laborers, including lessons on the evils of alcohol consumption. These lessons were not taught out of concern for the health of laborers but rather out of the self-interest of management (McHugh 1986:154). Often the attempts to control the morals of mill laborers were aided by state legislature that controlled the sale of liquor to mill laborers and required their education without

regulating what they were taught (Griffin and Standard 1957b:155). Those who lived in mill villages were often expected to attend the village church where the pastor's salary was paid for by the mill (Griffin and Standard 1957b:156). Paternalistic approaches employed by mill managers were echoed throughout newspapers and public opinion, with statements such as "a great good to society must result from the employment of thousands of idle and immoral persons," and many believing that there were no stigmas attached to mill work (Griffin and Standard 1957b:155).

Child Labor in North Carolina's Textile Industry

The textile industry was attractive to widows with children. These women were often among the first applicants generated by the Cotton Mill Campaign. With the promise of cash wages, a company house, and an education for their younger children, the potential securities gained through industry work drew many women from rural settings (Glass 1992:46). The appeal of having children earn wages and contribute to the family income encouraged migration from the country to the new industrial villages (McHugh 1982:137). The family labor system also allowed mill management to keep wages low as they could promise work for multiple members of families.

Regulations at mills often required children over a minimum age to labor at the mill as a condition of continuing employment for the other family members (McHugh 1986:152). A mill manager was noted as remarking that children were most likely to learn efficient cotton mill work from the ages of ten to fourteen than at any other age (McHugh 1982:138). Additionally, where mill schools were provided, children who completed school were expected to begin working at the mill. Mill managers used this

system to pressure the transition from child laborer to adult laborer, making it increasingly unlikely for adults or children to ever leave mill work, thus strengthening the effects of labor immobility found within the textile industry (McHugh 1982:137; McHugh 1986:153). Child labor provided free training to future employees, and was viewed as a long-term investment as it provided experienced adult laborers once they came of age (McHugh 1982:139).

During the early twentieth century, movements calling for the regulation of child labor in the textile industry gained momentum throughout the nation. A minister from Charlotte, Alexander J. McKelway, with the support of the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC), helped the movement to grow in North Carolina. This, aided by the photo documentation of Lewis Hine who began photographing the industry in the south in 1908, created substantial pressure on the textile industry. Though a federal law regulating child labor was not implemented until 1938, the number of children working in textile mills began to steadily decline by 1915 (Glass 1992:52).

Broad Patterns in the Twentieth Century

In 1901, Daniel Tompkins called a meeting of North Carolina's textile moguls to discuss ideas for self-regulation of the industry as strikes and labor disturbances increased. Over 100 mills decided to adopt the sixty-hour work week for all employees and agreed that children under the age of twelve would not be employed during the school year, unless the children belonged to widows or disabled parents (Glass 1992:51). However, during an investigation of the textile industry in 1907, it was found that managers often pulled children from schools at any time of the day or

year, as the “mill came first always, the school after” (McHugh 1986:154). In North Carolina in 1909, thirty-six percent of all spinners were children (McHugh 1982:141).

With the onset of World War I, the textile industry in the United States underwent a period of growth and intensive production, as an “unprecedented demand for American textiles” arrived with the war (Glass 1992:56). In North Carolina, the number of mills grew from 293 in 1914 to 343 by 1921, the number of laborers increased by twenty-five percent, and the value of all textile production grew almost 100 million dollars (Glass 1992:56).

The growth of industry created a period of relative economic stability for mill laborers. Following the war, demand for textiles decreased and manufacturers made changes to keep profit-margins high at the expense of their laborers. This increased pressure on mill hands led to strikes in 1919, the largest of which took place in Charlotte with aid from the United Textile Workers of America, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor (Glass 1992:68). The confrontations between management and the striking labor over the next two years did not make headway regarding the standard treatment and rights of workers. Mill managers refused to recognize the legitimacy of collective bargaining while workers fought to maintain the slight economic gains they had enjoyed during World War I.

As the demand for textiles grew, it brought the realization that output could only be increased so much when human labor was involved unless more people were hired, and laborers were already one of mills’ largest expenses. Following soon after the industry’s expansion from World War I, textile manufacturers began a “better equipment campaign” with the goals of lessening costs, improving machinery, and

cutting the number of people needed to operate the machinery (Glass 1992:60). It was believed that eliminating human labor would not decrease the productivity of the mill but would decrease the cost of textile production, and thus mill owners began to seek out ways to reduce their labor force while maintaining high levels of productivity. This mindset and the implementation of new demands by mill manufacturers led to confrontation and violence near the end of the 1920s.

Manufacturers decreased the number of laborers in textile mills and continued limiting the wages they earned while giving them more machines to oversee. They called this “scientific management” or “efficiency systems” but it was known by laborers as the “stretch-out” and in many places led to collective action (Larkin 1929:686). However, the press and general public opinion of strikes were on the side of the “philanthropist” mill owners, accusing “outside agitators” of stirring up troubles in the peaceful textile industry and blaming unions as preaching everything from communism to racial equality (Larkin 1929:689). Newspapers’ reporting of strikes echoed this response to textile strikes from *The Charlotte News*:

In the mill communities there is peacefulness and contentment. The ruckus has been caused by these outrageous Reds, atheists, home-wreckers, church-destroyers, [and] society-rapists [Larkin 1929:689].

Newspapers failed to examine the long hours, poor wages, and increased stresses of work through the efficiency systems that laborers were enduring. Mill hands such as Daisy McDonald left the mountains when she was married, assuming she would “find a money tree” working in the textile industry; but after twenty years of working in the mills she was only making \$12.90 a week and supporting nine people (Larkin 1929:690). Stories like hers were common throughout the industry in North Carolina.

Even with the rhetoric and efforts of manufacturers to instill a sense of extended family and social responsibility, divisions between the working class and managers grew quickly, and the new generation of mill men “did little to challenge the central underpinnings of the paternalistic mill village system” (Glass 1992:64). As a result, the disparities between social classes continued to grow as did the isolation of mill laborers. The United States Census of Manufacturers in 1929 determined that the average wage of textile laborers in North Carolina was \$13.28 a week, not enough for a single worker to provide for a family. These low wages continued to passively enforce the family labor system of the textile industry (Larkin 1929:686).

The Great Depression crippled the textile industry in North Carolina. The industry was already struggling with several widespread, deeply ingrained issues, but the massive economic downturn led to sweeping layoffs, wage cuts of already low wages, and efforts to reestablish the stretch-out system. By 1931, the majority of textile mills were closed or operating only two or three days a week (Glass 1992:74). It was not until the federal government intervened in 1933 that the textile industry began to recover slightly. Regulations established by the National Recovery Administration (NRA) relaxed control on the manufacturers but adopted a policy acknowledging the right of workers to organization and collective bargaining (Glass 1992:75).

The Cotton Textile Institute welcomed the NRA’s regulations and again decided to establish some of their own. Known as the Code of Fair Competition, they called for increased wages, an end to child labor, and implementation of a forty-hour work week for laborers (Glass 1992:75). As a direct result of these practices, some textile

manufacturers in North Carolina turned a profit for the first time since 1928. But these standards did little for the owners of smaller textile mills who were unable to afford an increase in wages or a reduction of work hour (Glass 1992:75). The regulations of the Institute and the NRA were not wholly respected – owners often found loopholes and practiced what laborers called code “chiseling” (Glass 1992:75). It is no coincidence that union membership grew rapidly during this period and tensions culminated in the fall of 1934.

The General Strike occurred in September 1934. In North Carolina, most active mills were shut down though several smaller, remote mills did not cease production. Despite being the largest in the nation’s history, the strike lasted only twenty-two days as workers felt their faith in union and government support was misplaced (Glass 1992:76). The failure of the General Strike coincided with the end of New Deal policies that tried to regulate both production and wages. With these changes came an increase in corporate ownership of mills, a diversification of products produced, a focus on synthetic materials which led to new and better equipment, and a decline in paternalistic management practices (Glass 1992:78, 81). However, the textile industry still remained one of the lowest paying in the nation despite the minimum-wage law (Glass 1992:86).

By this time, corporate mill villages were becoming obsolete. Commonly in the mid-1930s, the homes in textile mill villages were offered for sale to those who lived in them. Maintenance costs were deemed too large an expense for the mills and with the increase and expansion of paved roads, employees could be recruited from further away (Larkin 1929:687). The abolition of child labor also brought about an end to the

family labor system which was one of the main reasons company housing had existed in the first place (Glass 1992:84).

The refusal to employ black laborers in any positions other than custodial or heavy manual labor positions in the textile industry persisted until the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In fact, employers of textile mills were noted as sometimes threatening their white employees with replacement by black workers in order to manipulate employees into compliance, discouraging complaints or unrest (Glass 1992:91). After 1964, the textile industry integrated slowly, and within the next ten years over twenty percent of the industry's laborers were black (Glass 1992:91).

The very aspects that made the textile industry appealing to the south – the low cost of capitalizing a new textile mill and the low wages for workers – are what led to its emergence in developing nations. It was not long before almost half of the United States' textile consumption was imports from these countries (Glass 1992:96). Overall the industry declined during the 1970s and 1980s with more than 800 mills nationwide going out of business, leaving behind many empty buildings as testament to the once prolific textile industry.

History of Johnston County, North Carolina

Johnston County was formed in 1746. The town of Smithfield was chartered in 1777 and established as the county seat. Its location at the head of the Neuse River allowed for transportation of goods, largely tar, turpentine, and lumber, to the port of New Bern (Greco 1980:1; Powell 2006:637). The lumber industry was one of the first industrial ventures in the county, supplementing the income of farming operations. But agriculture soon became the principal economy of the county as cotton and

tobacco crop prices rose and transportation became easier (Greco 1980:2). In Eastern North Carolina, cotton production dramatically increased with the introduction of the cotton gin and by the 1840s, larger plantations focusing on cotton cash crops were established throughout Johnston County.

With agriculture centering on cash crops rather than subsistence, larger plantations and sprawling tracts of land were necessary, which in turn meant an increased reliance on slave labor. Greco (1980:2) notes that North Carolina utilized slave labor less than the surrounding states, though there were a few plantation owners in Johnston County who owned more than fifty slaves. Butchko (2016:5) claims that the number of free white households who owned at least one slave was close to 40 percent. As North Carolina relied more heavily on commercial agriculture, the demand for slaves increased, making slavery integral to the economic development of places such as Johnston County.

Thomas Butchko's work (2016) discusses Johnston County's history, offering insights into the nineteenth century agricultural practices of the county. According to Butchko, from 1800 to 1860, Johnston County's population increased by almost 10,000, bringing it to a total of 15,656 by the end of that period; almost half of the population was enslaved blacks (2016:7). During this time, large-scale production of cotton could only be accomplished by wealthy planters who owned large swathes of land and enough slaves to work it. There were 89 farms throughout the county able to grow cotton at this scale (2016:7-9). Their production of cotton, which continued even after the Civil War, created favorable conditions for the establishment of textile

mills. While less than seven percent of farmers in Johnston County grew cotton in 1850, ten years later that number had increased to almost 20 percent (2016:9-10).

In 1856, the Charlotte to Goldsboro line of the North Carolina Railroad was completed, encouraging growth along the rail line and making exportation of crops and lumber easier than ever before (Greco 1980:3; Powell 2006:827). The city of Clayton was incorporated in 1869 after growing around a stage coach route which the North Carolina Railroad followed in 1853 (Van Dolsen 2010:7-1). The introduction of rail lines aided in the economic, agricultural, and industrial development of the state and brought prosperity and growth to the city of Clayton (Butchko 2016:7). Between 1880 and 1900, the amount of railroad track in North Carolina rapidly expanded as a result of economic need and national prosperity, with over 1,500 miles of track constructed during this time (Greco 1980:8).

While the Civil War did slow the county's economic growth, it steadily recovered following 1865. Bentonville, located in southern Johnston County, was the location of the last major conflict of the war in March of 1865. As Union soldiers marched from Goldsboro to Raleigh, they only razed four of Johnston County's large plantations (Butchko 2016:21-25). With most plantations left intact and rail lines undamaged, agriculture in Johnston County continued strong in the years following the Civil War.

Tobacco replaced cotton as the major cash crop of North Carolina by 1900 due to the decrease in cotton prices following the economic depression in 1893 (Greco 1980:9). However, Johnston County remained one of the leading cotton producing counties in North Carolina, likely due to how deeply ingrained cotton was in the

area's economy. The Clayton Cotton Market generated large amounts of revenue and was known as the "biggest little cotton market in the Carolinas" (Van Dolsen 2010:8-89). By 1935, 24,084 bales of cotton were bought at this market by Clayton customers, including the two cotton mills in town (The Heritage of Johnston County Book Committee 1985:55). Into the middle of the twentieth century, "cotton and the industries associated with it dominated Clayton's economy and were an essential part of the town's identity and prosperity" (Van Dolsen 2010:8-9).

World War I brought a temporary increase in cotton prices, boosting Clayton's economy. The town advertised itself as having "practically no foreign born population" with its residents described as "patriotic Americans and highly efficient workers" (Talton 1936:16). Similar claims were made concerning labor disruptions, with the pronouncement that "generally prevailing strikes and labor troubles are unknown evils" (Talton 1936:16). However, one of the cotton mills in nearby Selma was closed due to a strike in 1932, forcing the textile industry there to consolidate (Greco 1980:11). In 1934, textile strikes increased throughout the Carolinas, but the Clayton Cotton Mill, then known as the Claytex Mill, was touted as one of the two textile mills in Johnston County that did not strike (Anon. 1934).

Economic stagnation in the early 1930s slowed growth throughout Johnston County, but by the late 1930s the economy improved. Cotton remained Clayton's economic backbone; a local slogan of the town at this time was, "Boost your cotton market and let your cotton market boost your town" (Van Dolsen 2010:8-92). As the number of automobiles in use increased and statewide road improvements were prioritized, there was a decreased reliance on railroads. In 1953, Highway 70 was

constructed to bypass downtown Clayton and businesses shifted away from downtown. The increased ease of access and proximity to Raleigh encouraged Clayton's businesses and population grew.

History of the Clayton Cotton Mill

Ashley Horne was a prominent local farmer in Johnston County who expanded his interests into different mercantile holdings and businesses including the textile industry. Horne's Clayton Cotton Mill company was founded in 1900, the first of three cotton mills in the town. The initial funding for this venture came from the Bank of Clayton where Horne was president. The layout of the mill, including its associated village, was based off of Daniel Tompkins' 1899 book concerning mill planning and design.

The textile mill was established on the eastern side of the rail line which ran through Clayton, its location next to the rail track making for easy movement of the almost 500 pound bales of cotton. A cohesive and self-sufficient black community also developed on the northern side of the tracks due to the ever-increasing racial tensions surrounding the Disfranchisement Amendment in North Carolina in 1900, which enacted measures to limit black voting rights (Van Dolsen 2010:8-87). Acts of violence, intimidation, and white supremacist demonstrations increased in occurrence before the act was passed, likely resulting in the consolidation of black families for safety and security as seen from this neighborhood in Clayton. Despite the proximity of their neighborhood to the mill, black laborers were not hired to work in the Clayton Cotton Mill.

Excitement ran high at the introduction of this new industry in Clayton. The opening of the mill is described in a local newspaper from 1901:

The machinery of the new Clayton Cotton Mill began whirring. It was started when Little Ms. Swannanoa Horne, the daughter of President Ashley Horne, of the mill, pressed the electric button which set the machinery throbbing through the building...the mill has 5,000 spindles and the machinery is of the best and latest manufacture, the structure being handsomely and perfectly made [Anon. 1901].

A mill village was constructed for the laborers who worked at the cotton mill. The houses first appear on the 1909 Sanborn Fire Insurance map, which depicts 27 one-story frame dwellings, 16 of which were single family units and 11 of which were duplexes. The 1910 Federal Census reports approximately 30 households inhabiting the mill village, made up of approximately 150 people. Residents were listed only as white. The census also labeled many individuals as “boarders,” which suggests that people who were unrelated may have been sharing houses. This includes some children who were as young as 12, implying that they had been sent by their families to earn wages working at the cotton mill.

The Clayton Cotton Mill underwent several ownership transitions during its operation. After 1927 it was leased to Rockfish Mills and renamed the Claytex Mill, but was soon closed in 1930 due to the Great Depression (Anon. 1927). The Clayton Cotton Mill was purchased in 1935 at auction by R.B. Whitley, a business associate of Ashley Horne, and renamed The Whitely Cotton Mills. By the 1940 Census, the mill was recorded as once again fully operating, with 73 households made up of 311 individuals listed in the mill village. The census also recorded that 29 of the households were living in the same house as they had in 1935. Aside from one individual listed as a boarder, all of these households were made up of immediate and

extended family. R.B. Whitley sold the mill in 1946 to LaFar Industries Group of Gastonia, who renamed the mill to the Clayton Spinning Company (Butchko 2016).

A study conducted in 1965 noted that Clayton was home to six industrial factories, creating an annual payroll of \$2 million. The Clayton Spinning Company (previously the Clayton Cotton Mill) and the Bartex Spinning Company were recorded as employing around 700 skilled and semi-skilled workers. The wages of textile mill workers were noted as between \$1.25 and \$2.25 per hour, and the report claimed that there were no labor unions present in any of Clayton's industries, noting "an outstanding spirit of cooperation" between the industries and the town (Clayton Industrial Development Association of 1965).

Child Labor and North Carolina

Twenty-eight states passed labor laws regulating the use of child labor by 1899, but a year later it was estimated that 25 percent of southern mill laborers were between the ages of 10 and 16 (Kemp 1986:8). Alexander McKelway (1909) compiled the reports of several investigators concerning child labor in the Carolinas for the NCLC and provided valuable information concerning labor practices in North Carolina. North Carolina passed its first legislation addressing child labor in 1903, prohibiting children under 12 from working in mills and limiting the hours of laborers under the age of 16 to 66 per week. However, this law was not enforced and mill owners largely ignored it. North Carolina tried again to address child labor in the 1910s, reducing the maximum number of hours to 60 per workweek for children under the age of 16 and prohibiting the employ of any children under the age of 14. The law allowed 12-year-olds to be "apprentices" at mills, essentially keeping the

minimum working age at 12. These regulatory attempts did not change much, and it was not uncommon to find children who had been working at cotton mills since they were six.

Lewis Hine, an investigative photographer, documented child labor within the textile industry for the NCLC and contributed to McKelway's work. He arrived in Clayton in October of 1912 and took photographs of child laborers at the Clayton Cotton Mill (Figures 3.1 and 3.2 [Library of Congress 1912]). These photographs were all taken outside of the mill as managers did not allow Hine to document the working conditions inside. He was often denied access to industrial buildings so he usually only "photographed children as they entered and exited the workplace" (Kaplan 1992:26). Hine witnessed children exiting locations that housed warping machines and looms, two areas children were generally not thought to work. He wrote in his notes associated with the Clayton Cotton Mill photographs:

Everyone went into work when the whistle blew, and I saw most of them at work during the morning when I went through. Mr. W.H. Swift talked with a boy recently who said he was ten years old and works in the Clayton Cotton Mill - also that others the same age worked...I couldn't get the youngest girls in the photos...(The Superintendent watched the photographing without comment.) [Hine 1912].



Figure 3.1. Photographs taken at Clayton Cotton Mill by Lewis Hine (Library of Congress 1912).



Figure 3.2. Photograph taken at Clayton Cotton Mill by Lewis Hine (Library of Congress 1912).

At the Clayton Cotton Mill, children were not listed as employed by the mill starting on the 1920 census. This was likely to avoid an official record of illegal labor practices. Most textile mills ignored labor laws as there was little enforcement and even fewer inspections (McKelway 1909). Most likely, young children continued working at the Clayton Cotton Mill until 1938. Officially, the youngest recorded employees at the mill in 1920 were 14 years of age. They were all female and were listed as being able to read and write.

The End of Mill Life

The Clayton Spinning Company ceased operation in 1976, 76 years after it first opened. It left 100 laborers unemployed; included among them were some who had

worked at the mill for 45 years (Jones 1976). The rising price of cotton was cited as the reason for the closure. Cotton prices and the increasing relocation of the textile industry to other developing countries led to many operations closing in the United States. Derelict industrial buildings were soon a common site throughout North Carolina, a testament to the state's once thriving but increasingly forgotten industry.

Conclusion

The history presented here, especially in regards to the textile industry in North Carolina, is in no way comprehensive. It does, however, provide the context of the Clayton Cotton Mill and situate the laborers of the mill within the broader contexts of the industry. Several aspects of this historical overview, especially in relation to race, child labor, and paternalism, inform and parallel the data recovered concerning the Clayton Cotton Mill. This data was not identified through excavations, but rather through a diverse and complimenting set of methodologies that informed the history of the Clayton Cotton Mill in a way that excavation alone could not accomplish. The next chapter will discuss the methodology utilized and illustrate how excavations alone are not enough to adequately evaluate the value of industrial sites.

Chapter 4 . Methods and Data Collection

Introduction

The methodology utilized by researchers at historic sites is greatly influenced by their knowledge of the resource type, including recent research interests associated with the resource type. For industrial sites, research questions have shifted from a focus on the physicality of the machinery and architectural remains to questions of laborer health and lifeways (Shackel 2004; Shackel 2009:78; Symonds 2005). The data that was gathered concerning the Clayton Cotton Mill can answer questions regarding the economic standing of laborers, laborer lifeways, race relations, child labor, and paternalism. It is vital that the investigations conducted and methodology used at historic cotton mills reflect this shift in focus in order to adequately evaluate the potential data of a resource, its significance, and the value that may be associated with that resource.

Rethinking Investigation Methodologies

The initial archaeological investigations at the Clayton Cotton Mill relied on traditional Phase I approaches. While not inherently incorrect, the focus on traditional industrial archaeology research questions – questions concerning intact machinery and architectural remains – led to many possible research avenues being disregarded. What determines a site’s significance shifts according to the accepted research framework and their research questions (Altschul 2005:207). The initial investigations stated that the sites had no archaeological integrity, were not representative of a “significant component,” nor were “well-reflective of their

associated industries” (Green et al. 2018:50). This does not consider the likelihood of potential features located at the location of laborer housings, features that are often not intersected by standard shovel testing methods. Nor does it consider information that could be “well-reflective” of laborer lifeways and demographics, data that is more pertinent than information concerning the industry itself.

When those conducting CRM surveys are not knowledgeable about current research avenues affecting the resource type they are investigating, incomplete methodologies may be employed leading to insufficient evaluations of the resource. Methodology to sufficiently evaluate historic sites even at a Phase I level must include excavations placed in consultation with historic maps, as well as a consideration of the possible archival information and the potential for oral histories to inform the value and significance of the resource.

Excavations

Detailed mapping took place at each of the four sites identified within the APE by Green et al. (2018) to better record and understand their composition. All aboveground features were relocated and mapped as well as shovel tests from the previous survey. Additional aboveground features were discovered and added to the sites, resulting in the modification of site boundaries. Although many of the aboveground industrial remains were displaced, a comparison between them and the historic Sanborn maps was used to aid in identifying their previous function. Two sites, 31JT555 and 31JT557, are the remains of mill village housing and will be the focus of this thesis.

Additional excavations were conducted throughout the APE with a focus on data that would address research questions related to labor archaeology rather than traditional industrial archaeology in keeping with current research questions for this resource type (see Fracchia and Roller 2015). Most additional excavations were placed within site 31JT555's boundary as it is the previous location of mill village houses. Investigations should include units to gain a better understanding of site stratigraphy and potential disturbance, decreased-interval shovel testing in areas shown on historic maps to have had mill structures present, and machine scraping to identify potential features such as privies, trash pits, or garden plots that would provide insights into worker health and livelihood. Only close-interval shovel test excavation has been currently utilized due to the onset of coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19), though machine scraping will be conducted in the future.

Re-excavating shovel tests across the site and positioning the grid using historic maps created a higher potential of identifying architectural remains, features, or activity areas that may have been missed. Identifying archaeological features and remains located in 31JT555 would provide a clearer understanding into the lifeways of laborers, their economic and social status, their health, and intersectionality within their broader social class. Close interval shovel testing in locations between laborer housing and industrial facilities can provide insight into the separation between work and home life. The type of artifacts identified and their distribution in this area may indicate a transition zone between home and work, informing just how interconnected the two were for those living in mill housing.

Archival Research

In-depth archival research must be utilized when attempting to determine the significance of a twentieth century business. Newspapers printed stories relating to the opening of new businesses, especially in an industry that was touted to employ only white Americans (English 2006:12; Griffin and Standard 1957b:133; Talton 1936:16). Newspapers can also be an important source of photographs that can aid in identifying potential archaeological remains as well as their function. Other possible sources, including textbooks published for The School of Textile at North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College in Raleigh by industrialists such as Daniel Tompkins, were utilized to inform how the textile industry and its laborers were viewed and discussed by those in control. For the investigation of the Clayton Cotton Mill following the initial 2018 study, archival research was conducted by Ms. Ellen Turco of RGA, Cultural Resources Consultants, Inc., much of which informed ACC's investigations. The Hocutt-Ellington Memorial Library's Clayton History Room and archives were also utilized.

Historic maps, such as Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, were consulted to determine expectations of archaeological remains, their temporal associations with each other, and the way the built environment changed over time. The 1909, 1913, and 1918 Sanborn maps were accessed through the Library of Congress, while the 1925 and 1942 maps were accessed through NCLive, a database containing historic documents and images. Census information greatly informed the demographics of mill laborers, including insights into their household composition, race, positions at the mill, and the number of people per family employed by the mill. A limitation of relying on

census data is that it may not contain accurate information; it is possible that the ages of children working at mills were inaccurately represented to the census takers to keep mill owners from being liable on an official record.

Accessing archival information will aid in connecting the names and demographics of families with domestic remains identified during excavations. A shortcoming of utilizing business records is the bias included in these historic documents: the information recorded is how managers wanted to represent their business rather than reality. However, it is difficult to identify individuals from an archaeological context alone; using archival data will allow family names to be put to the houses and artifacts identified archaeologically at 31JT555 and 31JT557.

The mill in Clayton was also investigated by Lewis Hine, which is particularly relevant when researching the histories of laborers; his photo documentation and associated notes greatly inform practices of child labor at historic mills. It is difficult to determine from archaeology alone whether children were employed at mills, and most mill owners only recorded the information they wanted public – having irrefutable evidence of child labor at the Clayton Cotton Mill through photographs is greatly beneficial to reconstructing the narrative of laborers at this location.

Oral Histories

Investigating twentieth century historic resources presents unique opportunities that must be utilized in order to gain a thorough understanding of the resource. The Clayton Cotton Mill was in operation from 1900 until 1976; there are still people alive today who grew up and worked at this industrial site. In cases such as this, oral histories must be conducted (or attempted) to add to the understanding of these

resources. The personal histories of laborers are often the most unwritten and ignored; gaining insights from actual laborers at historic mill sites can substantiate the archaeology conducted and archival resources analyzed and provide interpretations of events from those who lived them. Oral histories may also lead to identification of certain aspects of the site that were not apparent through excavations. While some have noted the subjectivity of human memory, others claim that “the use of multiple strands of evidence may create the truest picture of past events” (Hewitson 2012:47). Oral histories, when used in conjunction with excavations and archival resources, contribute to creating as complete an understanding as possible of historic mill sites.

Collecting oral histories not only involves the community in the research process, but also aids in creating a “more nuanced and comprehensive interpretation of the history of the mill” (Reid and McCoy 2020:14). Even one respondent willing to discuss their personal history in relation to the resource being investigated can create invaluable insights and will accomplish something archaeology rarely can: granting insight into an individual’s history.

Ms. Pamela Lipscomb Baumgartner, the Clayton Town Historian at the Hocutt-Ellington Memorial Library, was vital to ACC’s efforts to locate and contact local residents who remembered living at the cotton mill. One man responded and agreed to participate in an unstructured (non-directive) interview conducted by Ms. Dawn Reid, the Principal Investigator of ACC’s project. This research was submitted to the University of Maryland’s Institutional Review Board with the initiation of this thesis and was determined to not meet the definition of human subject research under their purview.

Using an unstructured interview gives the interviewee “power to guide the research in a way that is meaningful and relevant to them” and is still considered a formal interview (Cohen and Crabtree 2006; Reid and McCoy 2020:14). Unstructured interviews were developed “as a method to elicit people’s social realities” and can help to reduce researcher bias (Gorden 1969; Zhang and Wildemuth 2009:1). They aid in creating a rapport with the interviewee, allowing them to focus on topics they deem most relevant and significant to them, which is important as it is their past being researched (Atalay 2012; Cohen and Crabtree 2006; Oakley 1981). Using this approach shifts the research from traditional compliance archaeology closer to heritage archaeology and is a step toward putting the research interests in the hands of those whose heritage it is (Kolen 2009).

Conclusion

Some of this methodology is outside of the standard scope of work for Phase I investigations. But archaeology should not be conducted within a vacuum. Part of assessing a resource’s significance during a Phase I survey is considering the information and data that might be attainable from the resource even if it is not readily apparent in shovel tests. The potential public value of a resource should also be considered. The Phase I survey conducted at the Clayton Cotton Mill only evaluated the site through shovel testing and assessing the intactness of the industry’s remains, severely underestimating the available data of the resource as well as its value. Considering and utilizing additional means of gathering data during a Phase I survey is necessary to more thoroughly evaluate these sites and to make

recommendations that consider the totality of the resource, especially if the resource is likely to be of value to the public.

Chapter 5 . Results of Investigation

Introduction

Based on the NCSHPO's recommendations, investigations of the Clayton Cotton Mill moved beyond the Phase I survey to compile additional data and evaluate the significance of the four identified sites within the APE. Three of the sites (31JT555, 31JT556, and 31JT557) are directly associated with the Clayton Cotton Mill and the Clayton Historic District; the district is listed on the NRHP under Criterion A concerning commerce. The NCSHPO stated that there was not enough information gathered to determine the sites ineligible under Criterion D. To do so, one must consider potential research questions that could be informed by the sites and what sorts of investigations are appropriate to answer those questions.

Two of the four sites (31JT555 and 31JT557) are directly related to laborers; therefore, research questions used in evaluating these sites must involve detailed questions concerning laborer health, lifeways, and demographics. Approaching the sites through the traditional lens of industrial archaeology resulted in an incomplete and misleading evaluation. Additional excavations, in-depth archival research, utilization of historic maps, and conducting an unstructured interview with a former resident of the mill village were used in conjunction to create a more comprehensive interpretation of the resources and led to the recovery of substantial data. This chapter discusses the data that was recovered by approaching these sites through the goals of labor archaeology rather than industrial archaeology.

Investigation through Excavations

31JT555

Site 31JT555 is the location of six mill village houses that were razed sometime between 1965 and 1971 based off of aerial images. Although shovel testing at 15-meter intervals had already occurred, additional shovel tests were excavated as several shovel test locations were unable to be relocated. While no middens were clearly identified from the additional shovel testing, potentially intact architectural remains including brick and concrete foundations, a large sewage pipe, and a potential house pad were encountered. Close interval shovel testing at two-and-a-half-meter intervals was utilized along the southern edge of 31JT555, which is bounded by Mill Street (Figure 5.1). The goal was to investigate the transition zone between the cotton mill and laborer housing to better understand the degree of separation between home and work life. Of these 26 close interval shovel tests, 23 contained historic artifacts such as architectural materials, coal, ceramics, glass, and personal items, including a marble (Table 5.1). Artifacts from the additional 15-meter interval shovel tests have yet to be analyzed, but based of the initial assessment fall within the expected date range of this site.

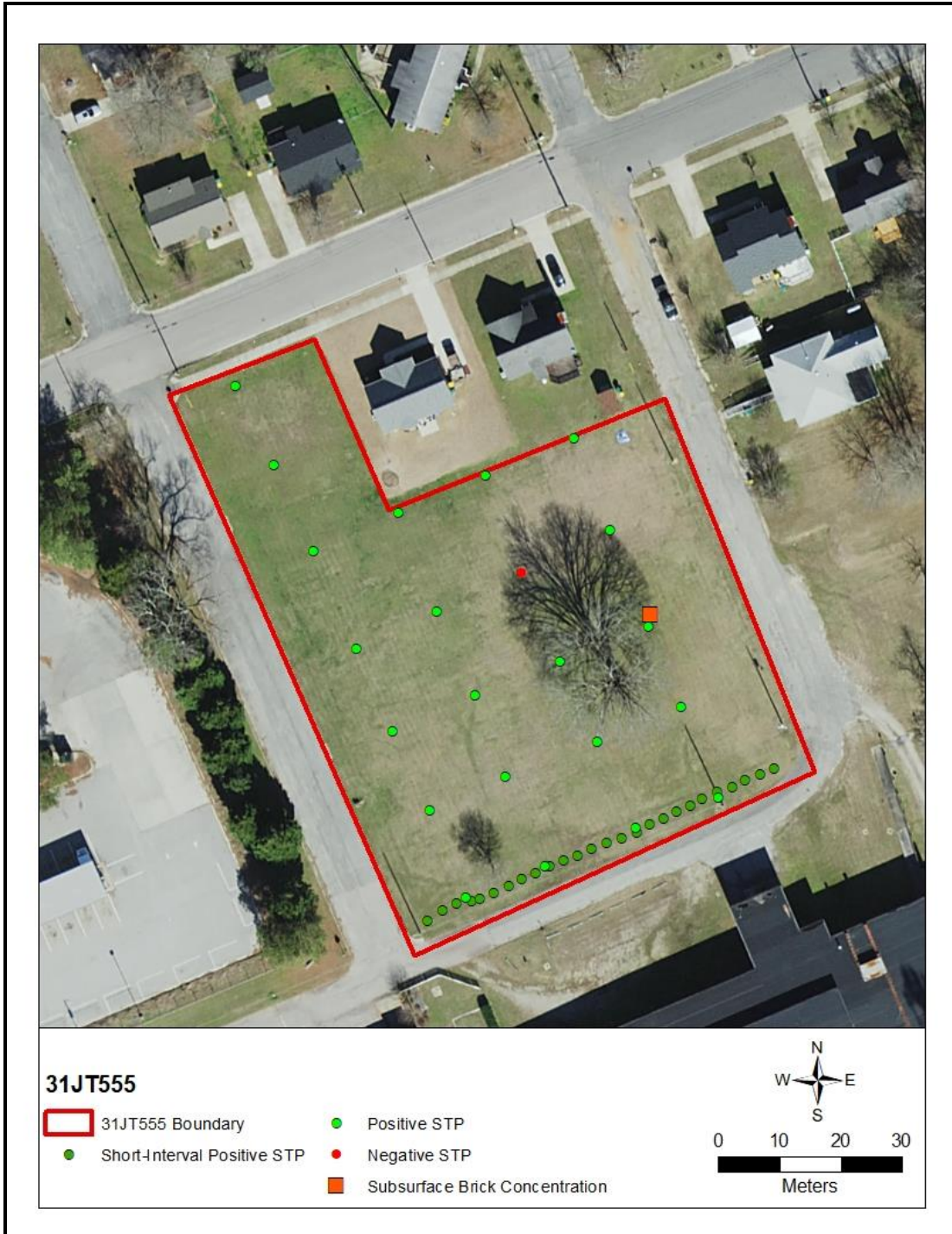


Figure 5.1. ACC’s shovel test locations at site 31JT555.

Table 5.1. Summary of Artifacts Recovered from Close-Interval Shovel Testing.

Artifact Type	Number/Weight	Comments
<i>Ceramic:</i>		

Transfer printed whiteware	1	Green floral design, overglaze, 1820-present ¹
Flow blue whiteware	1	1835-1900 ²
Decal decorated whiteware	4	1880-present ²
UID decoration whiteware	1	
Undecorated whiteware	10	1820-present ¹
Undecorated ironstone	4	1840-present ³
Bristol glazed/Albany slipped stoneware	5	1 w/blue sponge pattern-1860-1935 ⁴
<i>Glass:</i>		
Clear bottle glass	67	
Light green bottle glass	15	2 machine made-post 1903 ⁵ ; 1 machine & mold made-post 1903 ⁶
Pink bottle glass	1	
Aqua bottle glass	6	
Brown bottle glass	8	1 w/stippling-post 1940 ⁶
Green bottle glass	1	
Cobalt bottle glass	1	
Amethyst bottle glass	17	Mid 1870s-1920s ⁶
Amethyst tableware	2	Mid 1870s-1920s ⁶
Clear tableware	2	
Pink tableware	1	Embossed decoration, late 1920s-1940s ⁷
Milkglass tableware	1	
Milkglass	15	12 are lid liners-post 1869 ⁵
Light green flat glass	13	Window glass
Clear flat glass	4	
Clear lamp glass	1	
<i>Personal Items:</i>		
Milkglass shirt stud	1	
Milkglass button	1	Prosser style, post-1840 ⁸
Marble	1	“Pee wee” cat’s eye, post-1901 ⁵
Lighter cap	1	Aluminum, Zippo type, post-1933 ⁹
Slate pencil fragment	1	
Salt or Pepper shaker cap	1	Aluminum
<i>Metal:</i>		
Cut nail	7	1810-1890 ⁵
Wire nail	11	Post-1890 ⁵
Nail fragment	6	
UID form	16	1 possible fastener or small key; 1 square with center cut-out

Railroad spike	1	
Aluminum can lid	1	Stamped, post-1940 ¹⁰
Aluminum can fragments	5	
Sewer pipe fragment	1	
<i>Miscellaneous:</i>		
Brick fragments	130.5 g	
Coal	29.9 g	
Slag	36.8 g	
Porcelain insulator fragment	1	
UID material/other	42.7 g	Possible asphalt, plaster, tile, rock

1 DAACS 2009; 2 Majewski and O'Brien 1987; 3 Aultman et al. 2016; 4 JEPAT 2019; 5 Miller et al. 2000; 6 Lindsey 2019; 7 The Spruce 2019; 8 Sprague 2002; 9 Zippo 2019; 10 SHA 2021

Machine scraping has not yet occurred but it will be used to further investigate and mitigate 31JT555. Based off of information learned during an unstructured interview conducted with a former resident of the mill village (see below), the possibility of encountering features such as gardens and privies are high and would greatly contribute to data concerning laborer health and livelihood in the mill village.

31JT557

Site 31JT557 is the location of a mill house that is no longer extant. The house is shown on Sanborn maps until 1942 and was directly across the street from Everett's Chapel Free Will Baptist Church (Figure 5.2). The house itself was razed at some point in the following years and largely displaced into a nearby ravine. There are two standing piers, two brick rubble concentrations, and a segment of broken sewer pipe located at the location of the original footprint of the house. There are large amounts of modern trash strewn throughout the site. The entire site is disturbed and has been machine scraped into the ravine, adding little information regarding mill laborers or their domestic life through excavations. However, in combination with information

gleaned from archival resources including census data and historic maps, more data is available to provide meaningful details about the people who called this site home.

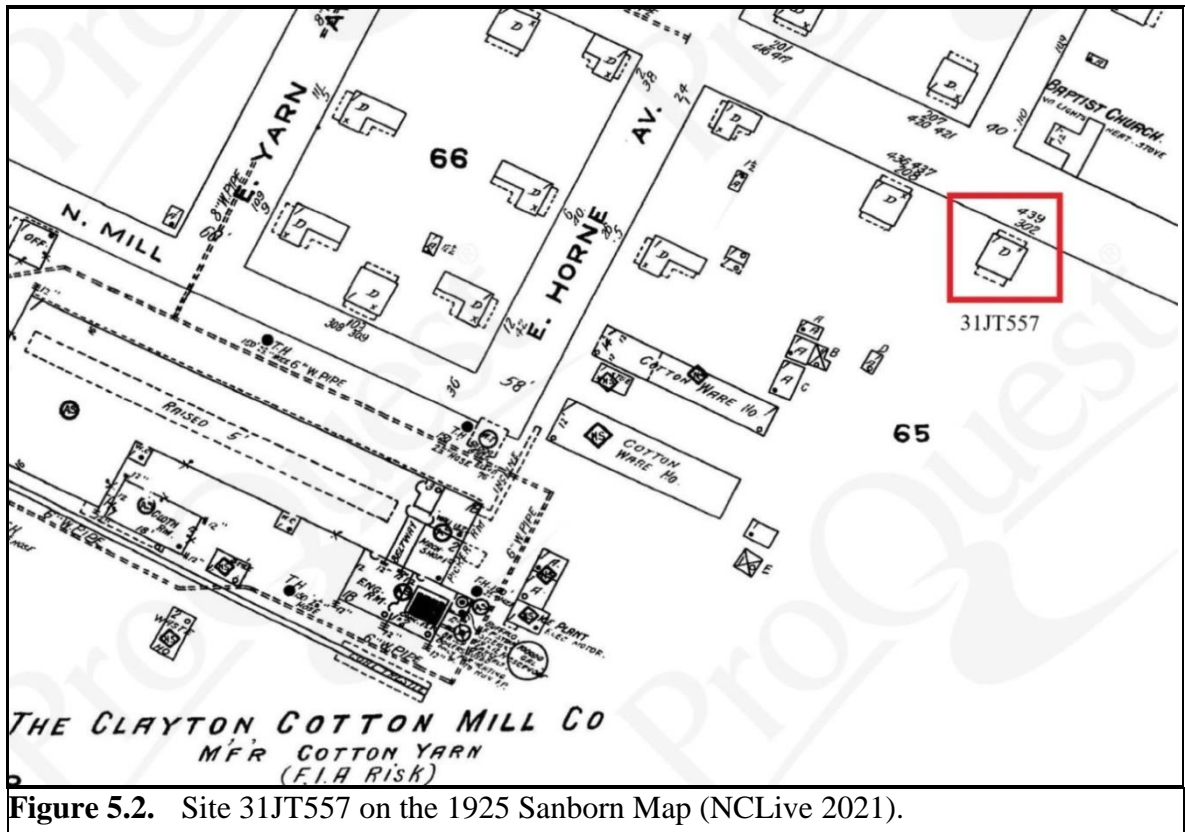


Figure 5.2. Site 31JT557 on the 1925 Sanborn Map (NCLive 2021).

Investigation through Archival Research

Businesses established in the early twentieth century were often documented in local newspaper articles; textile industry practices in North Carolina were also documented and influence through works by industrialists such as Daniel Tompkins. Historic photographs and maps can be particularly helpful in determining the physical aspects of an industry, the way that may have changed through time, and how those changes may have affected the mill laborers. Photographs may also document the faces of laborers, adding a human element to research that can sometimes feel devoid of life. Census data contributes to a better understanding of the demographics of laborers, their mobility, and how many children were reported as employees of the

mill. These aspects of research are all discussed in more detail below and all add to a fuller understanding of the people who lived and worked at the cotton mill.

Newspaper and Historic Documentation

As expected, the opening of a new industry in the town of Clayton was important news at the time. A newspaper article in 1901 described the opening of the mill and conveys the excitement surrounding the establishment of the textile industry in Clayton, including a description of the pomp and circumstance surrounding the initial activation of the machinery (Anon. 1901).

The design of the mill and its village can be traced back to Daniel Tompkins' work *Cotton Mill, Commercial Features*, published in 1899. This textbook was published to guide mill managers and those investing in the industry through aspects of the business including mill design. Early in the work, Tompkins discusses the advantages and disadvantages of locating the mill in the country. He warns that establishing the mill in too close a proximity to cities and their lawyers might promote law suits if laborers are hurt in the mill, whereas in the country there was no mercantile competition against the mill's store and employees would "go to bed at a reasonable hour and are therefore in better condition to work in day time" (1899:35).

Tompkins produced example layouts for mill villages, as well as included blueprints for inexpensive homes to rent to laborers with the goal of reproducing familiar rural feeling for workers (1899:116-121). He made statements such as:

A half acre lot is just about the right size for the average lot. Most families have scant time to devote to gardening, because so many members of the family are occupied in the mill. Therefore a larger lot would be apt to be neglected. At the same time, it is well to encourage the planting of vegetables and flower gardens, as being conducive to general contentment

among the operatives themselves, and as being an advantage to the mill company in making a cleanly and attractive property [1899:117].

Regarding the general layout of the mill village, Tompkins stated:

The whole matter of providing attractive and comfortable habitations for cotton operatives may be summarized in the statement that they are essentially a rural people. They have been accustomed to farm life, where there is plenty of room. While their condition is in most cases decidedly bettered by going to the factory, the old instincts cling to them. The ideal arrangement is to preserve the general conditions of rural life [1899:117].

Tompkins' 1899 work also discusses labor and race, providing insight into the standard views of those in the North Carolina textile industry at the turn of the century. While discussing the South's ability to be competitive in manufacturing, he writes about the "chaotic disorder" instigated by the abolition of slavery.

For nearly a quarter of a century after the civil war, it required the very best judgment, all the energy and all the moral and physical courage of the white people of the South to save civilization and preserve the social status. Many a time in this period things looked dark and gloomy. The Anglo-Saxon, in this, as in other instances, has borne the white man's burden and come out in the end gloriously successful. The social status of the white people has been preserved unimpaired, and race controversies are all well nigh settled on lines satisfactory to both races, and for the best interests of both [1899:109].

He goes on to discuss that black laborers are "sometimes used for draymen, firemen and other such purposes where there is little or no contact with the white organization" and that black women "work very well" in laundries (1899:109). After a discussion of attempted and failed efforts to employ blacks in mills, he writes "the best judgement would seem to be that they will never be available as cotton mill operatives except in more menial occupations" (1899:110).

Similarly, Tompkins discusses the probability of labor disruptions by comparing the ethnicity of those in the south to "Cuba and other Latin countries," stating that the South lacks the "heterogeneous mixtures of races and blood" that causes "such

disorder” in Latin countries (1899:109). He concludes by stating that “every obstacle to the development of manufactures has been removed,...the development is already well advanced and...will undoubtedly grow rapidly” (1899:109). However, by the 1930s collective action including labor strikes were rampant throughout the Carolinas. Despite this, a newspaper article claims that the Clayton Cotton Mill, then the Claytex Mill, was one of only two textile mills in Johnston County that did not join the strikes (Anon. 1934).

Cotton was already deeply ingrained in the area’s economy at the turn of the century, and the success of the cotton market and textile mills contributed to Clayton being known as the “Wealthiest City for its Size in the World;” while this may be an exaggeration, it was documented as being the fourth-financially wealthiest city in the United States in 1907 (Anon. 1907). A year later, another newspaper published an article discussing Clayton’s prosperity due to the Clayton Cotton Mill’s generated profits and the establishment of a second mill within city limits (Anon. 1908).

Newspaper articles also document the changes in ownership the Clayton Cotton Mill underwent during its time in operation. The mill was leased to Rockfish Mills in 1927 (Anon. 1927) who ran the operation of the industry under the name the Claytex Mill until it was forced to close the mills in the early 1930s. The mill was then purchased by R. B. Whitley in 1935 and a local newspaper ran an article discussing Whitley’s intent to “put the mill into immediate operation” (Anon. 1935). In 1946, the mill was sold to LaFar Industries Group and the mill’s name was changed to the Clayton Spinning Company. Finally, in 1976, the Clayton Spinning Company ceased operation due to the high price of cotton, leaving one hundred workers unemployed

(Jones 1976). The same article mentions that some of these laborers had been employed by the mill for 45 years and quotes David LaFar, III as stating “the sad part about the closing is the loyalty and industry of the numerous employees who have worked there for many years.”

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps

Comparing historic Sanborn maps can provide additional insights into the layout of structures in the mill’s area throughout the twentieth century. Figures 5.3 through 5.7 are Sanborn maps ranging in date from 1909 to 1942. By examining the maps side by side, it is possible to see the growth of the mill, changes that occurred over the years, and the continuous expansion of the mill village. They provide insight into the purpose and use of structures that may be identified archaeologically as well as information regarding the infrastructure of the mill buildings. Using the maps also aids in determining information about structures that are no longer extant or have been displaced.

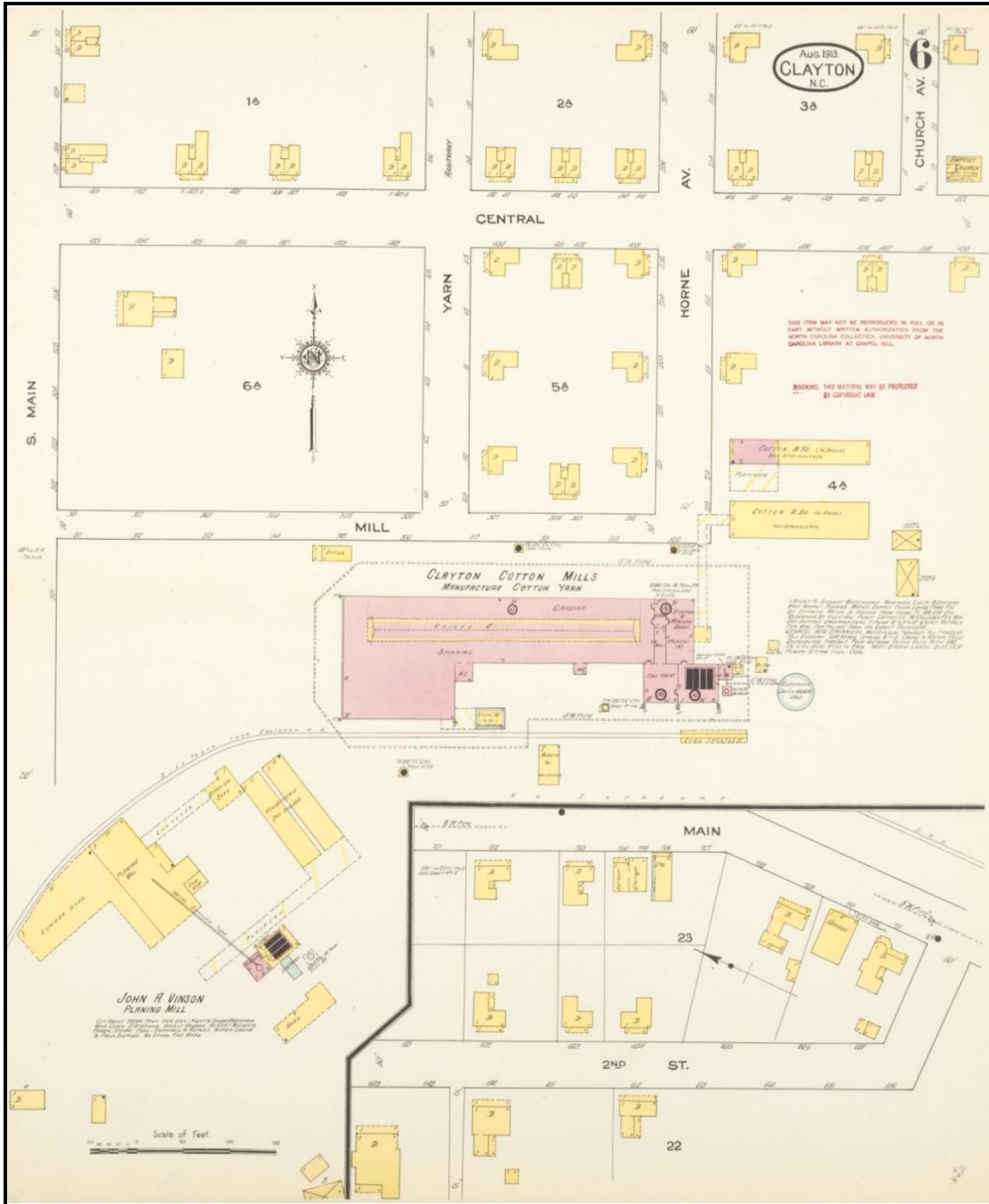


Figure 5.4. 1913 Sanborn map (Library of Congress 1913).

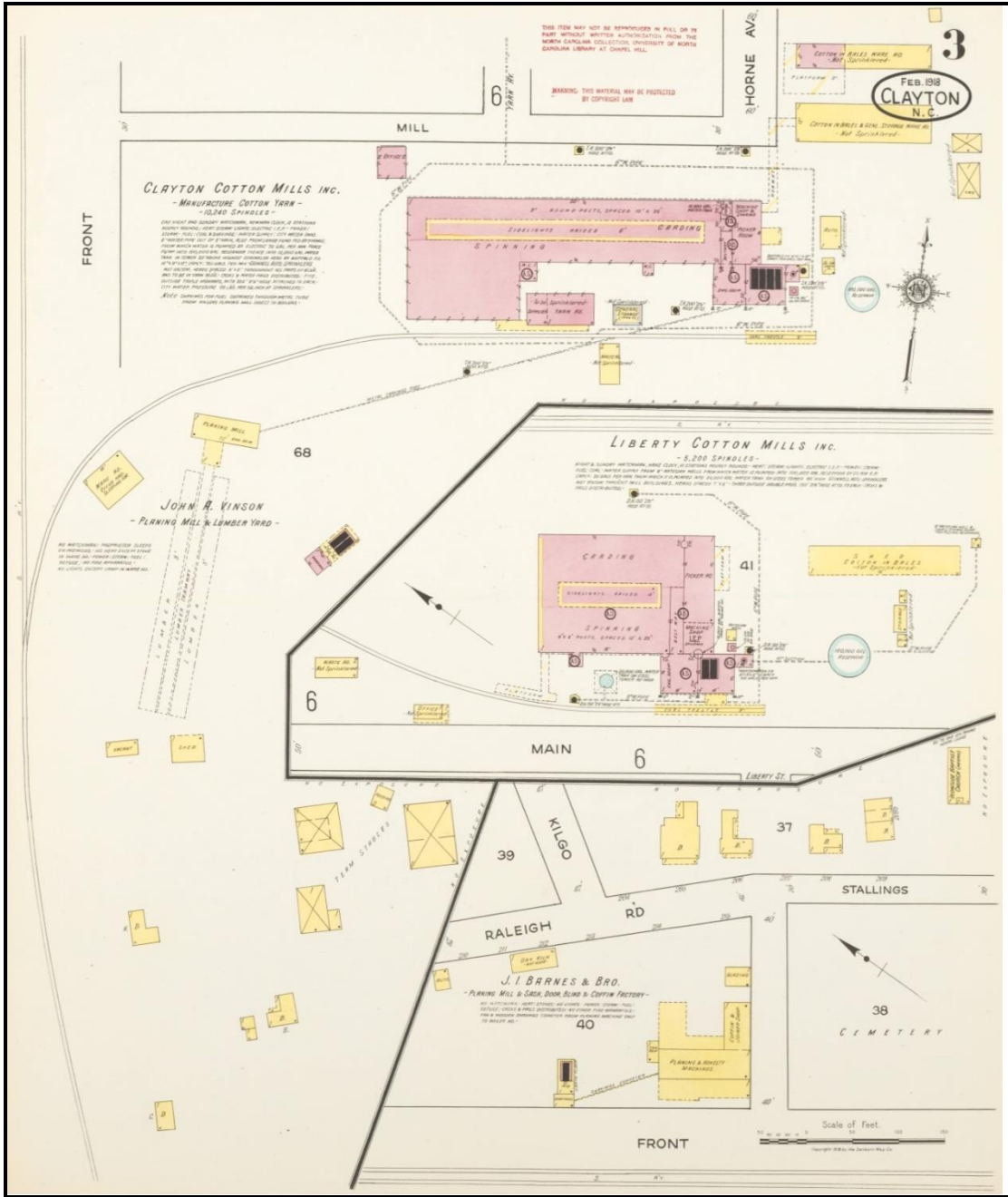


Figure 5.5. 1918 Sanborn map (Library of Congress 1918).

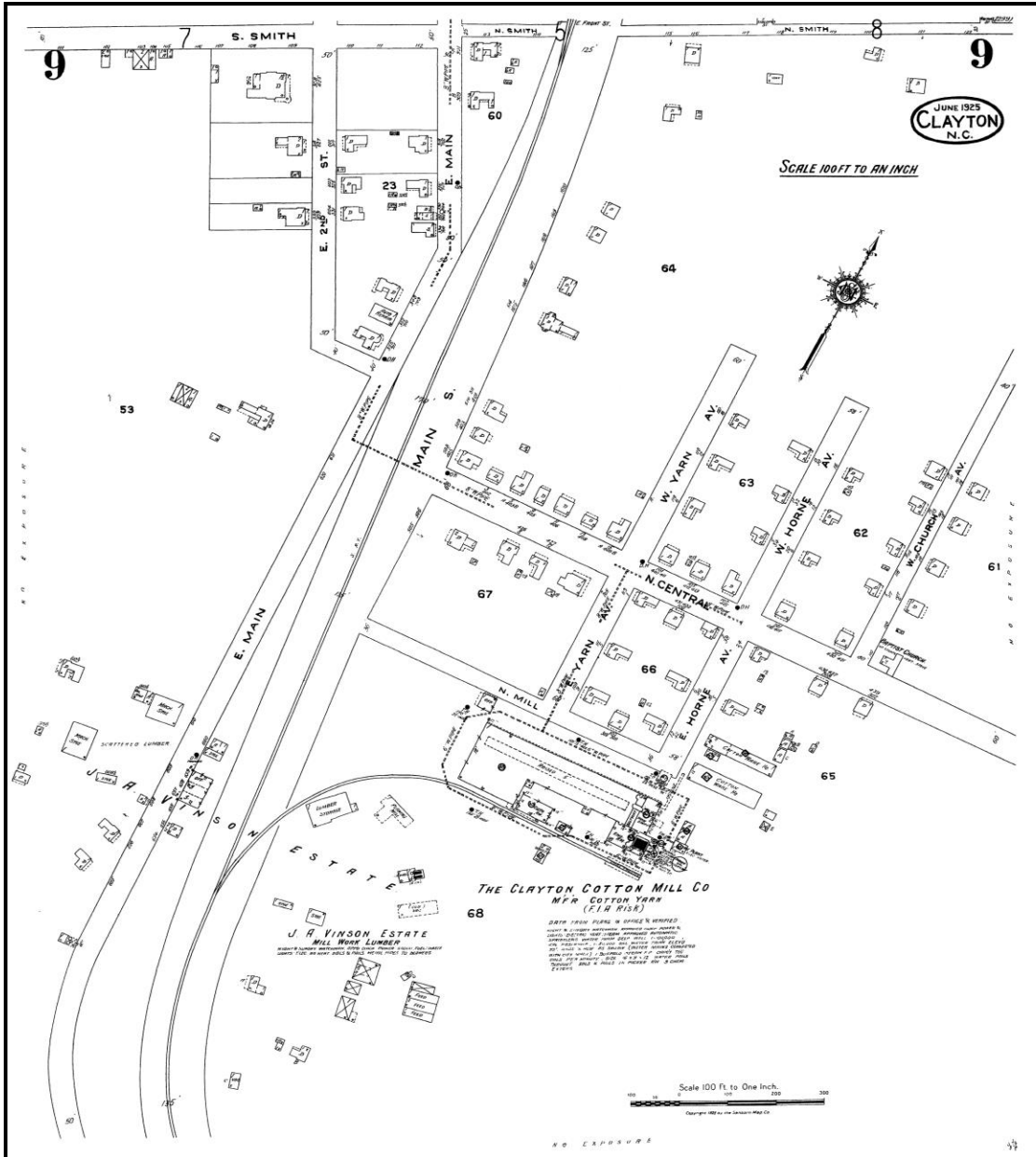


Figure 5.6. 1925 Sanborn map (NCLive 2021).

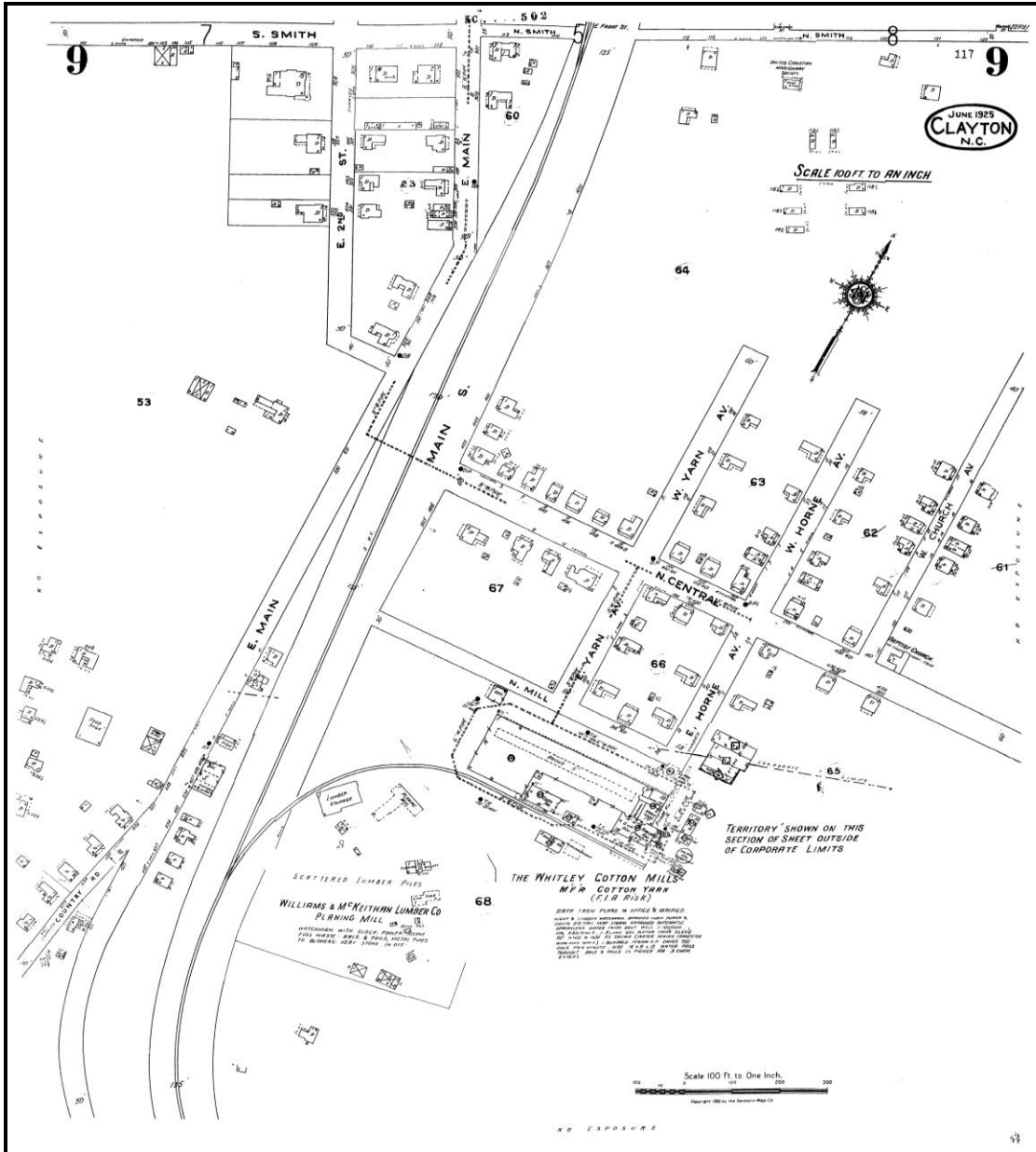


Figure 5.7. 1942 Sanborn map (NCLive 2021).

United States Census Data

The Federal United States Census data can be accessed to better understand the demographics of those who worked at the Clayton Cotton Mill. The 1910 Census was the first federal census to record the residents of the Clayton Cotton Mill village. While the data collected may not be completely accurate, it is an excellent baseline to work from and offers a glimpse into how the mill was represented to the federal

government. Information recorded on censuses often contains contradictions or may not be correct. For example, it is possible that the ages of children employed by the mill were inaccurately represented to the census takers in order to avoid any official record of illegal labor practices. Some of the contradictions, especially in relation to different spellings of names or incorrect ages, could be due to the level of education of those answering the census questions or due to misunderstandings by the census takers. The 1910 Census and the following censuses had a specific section for the Clayton Cotton Mill Village. Table 5.1 contains the compiled census data concerning children who were recorded as working at the mill.

Table 5.2. Number of Children Laborers at the Clayton Cotton Mill According to Census Data.

Age	Number Employed			
	1910 Census	1920 Census	1930 Census	1940 Census
16	7	3	9	5
15	5	4	5	1
14	15	1	3	-
13	6	-	-	-
12	4	-	-	-
11	3	-	-	-
Total	40	8	17	6

The 1910 Census documented three children under the age of 12 who worked at the mill and a total of 40 children 16 years-old and younger who were employed at the mill. This number significantly drops by the 1920 Census, and though it increases again by the 1930 Census, no children younger than 14 are listed as employees. The 1940 Census data is the last year that records have been made available to the public, and again the number of children recorded as working at the cotton mill decreased with only one child younger than 16 recorded as a laborer at the mill.

The 1910 through 1940 Censuses contain information regarding the number of households that made up the mill village as well as the number of people recorded as living there. The later censuses also document the number of individuals recorded as employed by the Clayton Cotton Mill. Table 5.2 contains these numbers and they are discussed in more detail below.

Table 5.3. Mill Village numbers from the 1910 through 1940 Censuses.

Census Year	Number of Households	Number of Individuals in Mill Housing	Number of Mill Village Residents Employed by Mill
1910	30	150	-
1920	44	215	75
1930	40	250	75
1940	73	311	156

1910 Federal Census

The 1910 Census recorded approximately 30 households as living on “Cotton Mill Hill;” this closely corresponds to the 27 dwellings that are indicated on the Sanborn map for the previous year. Approximately 150 people were recorded as living in the mill housing with all residents listed as white. Households made up of extended families were common and some households had up to 10 people sharing a home. Many individuals on this census were recorded as “boarders,” suggesting that unrelated people shared the mill houses. Some of these boarders were children, such as Nora Broadwell (age 19) and her brother Ola (age 13) who lived in the Adams’ home. The census noted that Ola could not read or write. There were also 31 mill laborers who were listed as not living on Cotton Mill Hill; these people could have been employed by either the Clayton Cotton Mill or Liberty Mill, both of which had associated mill housing. It was not until the 1920 Census that the specific mill that individuals were employed by was listed.

1920 Federal Census

The 1920 Census documented an increased number of individuals and households with a decreased number of child laborers. By this time, 44 households consisting of approximately 215 people made up the mill village, though only around 75 residents were listed as working at the mill. The remaining residents were mothers who stayed home or children under the age of 15. The majority of families rented these houses and again, all residents of the mill village were listed as white. Everett's Chapel Free Will Baptist Church was established in 1902 on land near the mill that was donated by Ashley Horne. Four of the five early church leaders were listed as mill laborers and residents of the village on the 1920 Census. The four fifteen-year-olds listed as working at the mill were all female: Hattie Pool, Viola Hoggard, Emma Wray, and Katie Holt. These four girls were listed as being able to read and write. Viola Hoggard's mother Martha was listed as widowed and the head-of-household.

1930 Federal Census

The 1930 Census indicates that the mill village consisted of 40 households made up of approximately 250 individuals, 75 of which worked in the mill. All houses were rented for four dollars a month. Jobs that were listed for mill employees included: spinners, spoolers, winders, creelers, carders, doffers, twiststers, utility workers, oilers, fixers, laborers, carpenters, mechanics, and a watchman. Though some males worked the looms, the majority were worked by women and children under the age of 16, while jobs requiring maintenance of the machines were restricted to men.

This census contained some information that reflected the concerns of the time: it was the only census to ask each household whether they owned a radio and also asked

who was at work on “the last regular working day.” The importance of the radio to Americans during this time is highlighted by the presence of a question concerning it on the federal census. All but one household in the mill village were recorded as owning a radio. The second question indicates the toll the Great Depression had on working Americans. Of those who were employed by the mill, the majority of employees indicated that they had been at work the previous working day. The two mill superintendents had also worked that day.

1940 Federal Census

Based off of the 1940 Census data, the Clayton Cotton Mill recovered from the Depression as indicated by the increasing number of residents and households in the mill village. A total of 73 households made up of 311 individuals were recorded as residing in the mill village, with 156 of these individuals employed by the mill. This census also recorded the current addresses of residents and if individuals were residing at the same address as they had as of April 1, 1935.

The 1940 Census also includes wage details and hours worked for the year 1939. This information has been compiled in Appendix A along with a calculation of the weekly rate for laborers at the Clayton Cotton Mill in an attempt to study gender-based wage discrepancies at this mill. The average wages for doffers, an all-male profession, was \$10.45, with the weekly rates ranging from \$7.69 to \$12.69. The average wages for spinners, an all-female profession, was \$9.76, with the weekly rates ranging from \$7.00 to \$13.00. The average wages for spoolers, another all-female profession, was \$9.36, with the weekly rates ranging from \$6.25 to \$12.50. Between these three positions, the average for doffer wages was indeed higher than

the two all-female positions, but there was a wide range of variance within all three professions. Similarly, Gertrude Pulley and Bathany Patit were both tangle workers, but Gertrude’s weekly rate was \$8.00 whereas Bathany’s was \$10.10. Both Nathaniel and Naomi Dodd were warp mill hands and made \$9.00 per week. Annie Bell Sealey made \$13.00 a week as a warp mill helper while Vivian Beddingfield made \$12.00 in the same position; her three male counterparts made between \$10.00 and \$11.00 per week and Margaret Joyner only made \$6.00 in the same position.

31JT555

Table 5.2 contains the information provided by the 1940 Census concerning those who lived in the houses located within 31JT555, including their name, age, position at the mill, income, and rent. The final column compares the residents provided from census information with the people that Bill Amos, a local resident (see below), recalls living in that location. This data provides the names and demographics associated with the archaeological remains, creating important associations between the families, incomes, and the archaeological data of this site.

Table 5.4. Residents of 31JT555 in 1940.

Address	Resident Name and Age	Position at Mill	Yearly Income	Resident Name per Bill Amos
430 Central Street/ 613 Yarn Avenue	Worrells, Jim, 41	Section Head	\$572.00	Same
	Minnie, 38	-	-	
	Victoria, 18	Spinner	\$364.00	
	Odessa, 16	Spooler	-	
	Annette, 14			
431/432 Central Street (Duplex)	Harold, 11			Underwood family - Owen, Rebecca, Jimmy, Francis
	Corbett, Lynn A., 50	-	-	
	Cora, 49	Runs Twister	\$360.00	
	Louise, 17			
	Pollard, Erwin, 24	Runs Twister	\$624.00	
	Leone, 26	Spooler	\$500.00	
Stevie, 3				

506 Horne Avenue	Bagwell, Urias, 43 Mavis, 33 Virginia, 11 Annie Ruth, 10 Nowelle, 8 Bettie Jean, 5 Jeannette, 4	Carder	\$1,040.00	Same
503 Horne Avenue	Crowder, Hugh, 31 Viola, 29 Beddingfield, William, 26 Christina, 23	Runs Frame Spooler Runs Fly Frame Spooler	\$624.00 \$128.00 780.00 \$475.00	Beddingfield family only
501 Horne Avenue	Underwood, Owen, 26 Rebecca, 20 Jimmie, 1 Amos, Bennie, 36 Dillie, 31 Doris, 13 Billy, 9	Doffer Spinner Roper Spooler	\$500.00 - \$624.00 \$520.00	Ellis family-Lafton, Mattie, Roy, Floyd, Mildred
2 Mill Street (Duplex)	Pollard, Gerald, 32 Lucy, 32 Rudine, 14 Frances, 4 Blinson, Loomis, 27 Ruth, 29 Bobby, 5 Gower, Gresham, 24 Edna, 20 Jennings, 1	Section Head Spooler Yard Hand Spooler Runs Warp Mill Spooler	\$700.00 \$450.00 \$520.00 \$210.00 \$700.00 \$150.00	Stancil family- Vada, Hester
611 Yarn Avenue	Smith, Leonard, 53 Belvia, 41 Marvin, 28	Warp Attender	\$725.00	Same
609 Yarn Avenue	Barbour, Cornelia, 69 Carley, 35 Mamie, 24 Stancil, Hester, 45 Vada, 39 (sister)	Spinner Spinner Spooler	- \$520.00 \$500.00	Amos family - Bennie, Dillie, Doris, Billie, Dean

Only 29 of the 73 households in the mill village indicated that they were occupying the same house as they had in 1935. All households were made up of

immediate and extended family with the exception of one boarder. Similar to the data gathered by the 1930 Census, all houses were rented and all residents were white. The youngest mill employee was recorded as Johnnie Petit, a 15-year-old listed as a “new worker.” He was the son of Bethany Petit who was widowed and had attended school through the fourth grade. There were several 16-year-old employees recorded as well: James Corbet, listed as a roping boy; Irma M. Ray, listed as a spooler; Edward Carter, listed as a new worker; and Odessa Worrells, listed as a spooler.

The 1940 Census also recorded many residents of 31JT555 who had been employed at the Clayton Cotton Mill on the previous census. Gerald Pollard was listed as 32-years-old and a Section Head on the 1940 Census; in 1930, he was listed as a Creeler. Jim Worrells was listed as a Section Head on the 1940 Census; in 1930, he was listed as a Fixer. Several others, such as Lewis Blinson and Ruth Blinson (maiden name Johnson), were recorded as living only a block or two away from where they grew up with their families in the mill village. Ruth was listed as a Spooler on both the 1940 and 1930 Censuses.

In 1940, annual income for those who lived within 31JT555 ranged from Cora Corbett’s \$360.00 for running a twister to Urias Bagwell’s \$1,040 as a carder. When first looking at income earned, it appears that the amount earned varied greatly even within the same job. For example, Dillie Amos, Vada Stancil, and Edna Gower were all spoolers; Dillie’s income in 1939 was \$520.00 and Vada’s was \$500.00 while Edna’s was \$150.00, significantly less than two other women employed at the exact same job. However, Dillie and Vada both worked 52 weeks in 1939 while Edna only worked 12 weeks, explaining the large difference between their incomes. There are

gender-based discrepancies in wages appear at the Clayton Cotton Mill but not consistently. Erwin Pollard, age 24, ran a twister and made \$624.00 as compared to 49-year-old Cora's \$360.00. However, Cora only worked 30 hours that year while Erwin had worked 52; her weekly rate is at \$9.00 compared to Erwin's \$12.00, but the wage gap is less than it first appears. Leone Pollard, age 26, made \$500.00 as a spooler while Viola Crowder, age 29, made \$128.00 doing the same job; Leone's weekly rate was \$9.62 while Viola's was \$8.00. Appendix A contains a table with this information.

There are some discrepancies within the census data. On the 1930 Census, Richard J. Barber, Cornela (his wife), and Mamie (his daughter) are listed as living on Yarn Avenue. Richard is a Drawer in the cotton mill while Mamie is listed as a Spinner. Cornela is listed at age 59 and Mamie at age 22. On the 1940 Census, Cornelia Barbour, Carley (her son), and Mamie are listed as living on Yarn Avenue. Cornelia is listed as widowed and 69 years old, Carley as 35. Mamie is listed as a Spinner at the mill. Misspellings and alternate spellings are common throughout the censuses and can lead to further misunderstandings of the data.

31JT557

According to the 1940 Census, Lela Brody, age 52, and her daughter Lela Mae, age 20, were the residents of this home. Lela was a widow whose husband Tilton was a farmer before he died in 1929. It is likely that the two women moved to work at the mill following Tilton's death in an effort to make up for the lost income. Both women are listed as being spoolers at the cotton mill; while no income amount is listed for Lela, Lela Mae is recorded as making \$430.00 a year. The rent for their home was

\$6.00 per month and they were documented as living at the same location in 1935. The Wilson family is also recorded as living in this house at the time of the census. Fannie is listed as married but also as the Head of House and was a Spooler at the mill; she was 46-years-old at the time. Her two children are also recorded as residing with her: Margaret, age 16, and William, age seven.

Mr. Bill Amos does not recall the Brody family but instead remembers the Bledsoe family living in this house during the 1940s. The census lists the Bledsoes as living on Iron Bridge Road in 1940 and 1935, with Hubert working as a doffer and Pearl working as a spinner at the cotton mill.

Lewis Hine's Documentation

In October of 1912, Lewis Hine visited the Clayton Cotton Mill and documented evidence for the NCLC of children working at the mill. He captured nine black-and-white images of child laborers outside of the mill though he was unable to take any inside. These photos show young male and female children standing just outside of the Clayton Cotton Mill (Figure 5.8 through 5.10). He observed that everyone from the photographs entered the mill when the whistle blew and though he was not allowed to photograph inside of the mill, he was allowed to walk through and saw most of them at work. He also notes that he was unable to document any of the youngest girls in the photographs.



Figure 5.8. Photograph taken at Clayton Cotton Mill by Lewis Hine (Library of Congress 1912).



Figure 5.9. Photograph taken at Clayton Cotton Mill by Lewis Hine (Library of Congress 1912).



Figure 5.10. Lewis Hine's Clayton Cotton Mill Photographs (Library of Congress 1912).

Investigation through Oral History

After efforts to identify former laborers and residents of the mill, one local man responded who was interested in discussing his time at the cotton mill. Mr. Bill Amos lived in the Clayton Mill village from the early 1930s to 1951 with his family. When he was born in 1930, his immediate family lived in a house on Main Street but had moved to the mill village by the time he was three or four. He recalls living in three different houses in the mill village until he was drafted in 1950 and left home in 1951. All following quotes are from Mr. Amos' interview conducted on 24 September 2019 unless otherwise noted.

Mr. Amos' Family History

Bill Amos' grandfather, Captain Miley Amos, was initially a farmer in Franklin County, northeast of Raleigh. He, like many farmers in the area, was struggling to make a living as tobacco blight decimated the crops. In the 1920s, he was approached by the Superintendent of the Clayton Cotton Mill, A.C. Atkinson, who offered employment to Miley Amos as well as his five children. The oldest of the children was Bill Amos' father Billy who was in his early twenties. This "glorious" offer of employment for the children as well as a home to live in was too good to refuse and so the Amos family moved to the mill village. The Amos' were recruited because they were connected through marriage to Jim Dodd, a Supervisor at the mill.

Captain Amos was in charge of two large boilers with a smokestack and the steam turbine, a six- to eight-foot wheel, at the spinning mill. Coal was brought in from railcars and transported via wheelbarrow to the boilers. The Captain was also a watchman, making frequent rounds throughout the mill for fire prevention purposes,

especially when there were no other employees in the mill. Mr. Amos remembers his grandfather owning a bulldog named Nig. Carpenters at the mill made a coffin for the dog when he died and they buried him in the sand borrow pit located behind the mill. When more sand was needed to mix concrete for the mill, they dug up Nig and embedded his bones in the concrete.

Starting when he was around 10 years old, Mr. Amos ran errands for Carl Boling, the owner of the store located just across the street from 31JT555. One of these errands included going to people's front porches and collecting the glass bottles they had purchased from the store; Mr. Amos earned a penny for each bottle he returned. He would also accompany Boling's daughter-in-law on her errands while his son was at war. He remembers Carl Boling as a "cripple with a bum leg" who could only get around with crutches. On the 1930 Census, Carl Boling was listed as a spinner; it is possible that an injury occurred following the census that led to Boling leaving mill work to run the store.

The Mill Village

Mr. Amos recalled that each house provided by the mill was rented for 0.50 cents per room and most were built with five or six rooms. While there was running water and an indoor toilet in the houses, their family could not afford electricity and so used lamplight. The water came through pipes that ran all through the village, connecting the homes to the water tank (near 31JT555). Some houses relied on coal for heat but many houses in the village used outsize, the exterior bark planed off of logs, which was bought from the sawmill next door.

It was common for two families to live in a single home but families moved homes within the mill village often. Most homes had gardens and kept chickens. Residents would meet at Carl Boling's store to agree on allotted space for the gardens and coordinate their gardening and their butchering. There was a space allocated east of the mill where each family were allowed to use a pen for keeping pigs and where the pigs were slaughtered and processed. He noted that gardening and keeping livestock was not a necessity but "was in their nature."

At Boling's store, residents would coordinate the butchering of their pigs. The man who killed the pigs would get the innards, while the carcass was brought back to the owner's house, and the hams were put in a salt box usually located in the bathroom. They were left for several days before being covered in pepper to help keep the bugs away while they hung out on the porch. It was common for people to begin eating the ham right out of the salt, rinsing it off and enjoying the cured ham.

Everything at this mill seems to have been self-contained, with Mr. Amos noting that the mill supervisors "looked after everything and took pride in the people." A carpentry shop was provided to conduct repairs for the mill village houses. There were eight to ten "yard hands" who specialized in plumbing, carpentry, and other necessary services for maintaining the houses. Through these men, the mill provided all maintenance for the residents. "If you had a problem, they came out and fixed it." There was also an area with ramps constructed for automobile maintenance where oil changes were offered as well as a concrete pad with a hose for people to wash their vehicles. A shower facility was also included within the mill itself where laborers could shower and change after their shift. Over the years, the original water tank

could not keep up with the mill village's demand for water, especially as people began to have washing machines in their homes. A new water tower was added to facilitate the changing technology.

Race and Class at the Mills

Transient workers were often employed by the planing mill, staying for short periods of time. These people were housed in the "back streets," farther away from the homes of permanent employees and amenities offered by the mill. Some transient workers employed were black and, according to Mr. Amos, were not allowed to live in the village at all. He recalls some of these workers being from an island in the Caribbean they called Ham, as it was shaped like a "ham of meat". Harry Pariser notes that the shape of Barbados has been compared to "that of a ham, [or] a leg of mutton" (2008:1). These laborers lived in shanties throughout the lumber yard in crude and unsanitary conditions. Mr. Amos stated, "They lived terribly, they just worked hard labor." When they came to Brannan's store during the weekends, he remembers their "terrible condition and the way they dressed and smelt." Black men would aid in loading and unloading lumber hauled by Clydesdale horses; Mr. Amos remembered that the black man who handled the horses did not use reins on them but simply talked to them, telling them where to go.

Aside from the black laborers who were employed at the lumber mill, the only other black individuals who entered the mill village were those that had a specific reason for being there. Mr. Amos' mother hired a black woman to help with the washing, paying her 0.50 cents per week. He remembers the woman having to walk in the middle of the street, carrying a stick to keep dogs away from her; often these

black laborers were “more or less escorted” to their destination. Mr. Amos does not remember black laborers ever being employed by the cotton mill.

Mr. Amos acknowledges that the mill laborers were likely disdained by other residents of Clayton for working and living at the cotton mill but stated that “we looked down on them because we had everything.” He remembers playing “a lot,” including in the sawmill area where he clambered over piles of boards. There was a mill park with a roundabout, seesaws, and other playground equipment; a baseball field; a designated marbles area; and paved streets to ride their scooters. Figure 5.11 is a photograph depicting the mill’s baseball team who played against rival teams in the area. A boxing ring was even constructed when several boys took up boxing in preparation for the Golden Gloves amateur competitions in North Carolina.



Figure 5.11. The Clayton Cotton Mill’s baseball team circa 1945 (Randy Moser Collection).

Laborer Lifeways and Health

There were several shops near the mill that Mr. Amos recalls. A Shell gas station was a popular gathering spot and offered ice cream, sodas, as well as some basic necessities. There was a large shade tree with a dining area just outside of the station that became a popular gathering place for the laborers. The “Office,” where the week’s pay was handed out, also offered some staples for sale. Every Thursday night for payroll, laborers would receive a numbered “ticket,” which was a round piece of aluminum. They would take the ticket to the office and exchange it for an envelope with their wages. Pay was usually between \$20.00 and \$25.00 per week.

Carl Boling’s store, which was located across the street from the mill housing (31JT555), was constructed around 1939 and sold basics including bread, sodas, ice cream, canned goods, and kerosene. Children played marbles next to the store and men would toss coins, drawing a line in the dirt and throwing nickels, dimes, or quarters, trying to get their coin closest to the line. On Friday nights, men gathered under the trees across the street from the store to play poker. The store also offered Capudine, a popular liquid pain reliever packaged in a brown bottle. Mr. Amos remembers Boling selling “gallons of the stuff” and that it frequently sold out as laborers flocked to the store to purchase it after their shifts in the mill. Mr. Boling kept a ledger listing purchases and credits, often writing off “hundreds of dollars” of purchases from transient workers who left without settling their balance at the store.

Laborers were offered life and hospital insurance for 0.50 cents a week through the mill. The hospital insurance was through Duke Hospital and an escrow account was maintained at the mill for any hospitalizations. While Mr. Amos does not

remember many injuries occurring at work, he remembers a story his father told about a man whose overalls got caught on the belt of a line shaft. While he did not die, he was carried up about 18 feet until his clothes were torn off of him and he fell.

Children at the Mill

While the official records of the Clayton Cotton Mill list no children as employed following 1920, Mr. Amos' grandfather was drawn to the mill at this time largely due to the promise of employment for his children. When his grandfather first arrived at the mill, there were children around the ages of twelve to fourteen being paid to work at the cotton mill, though Mr. Amos stated that "littler kids never went to the mill – it was too dangerous." He also notes that many women did not work at the mill either.

The mill is situated along the railroad running through Clayton, and the train would stop often to unload timber and the 500 pound bales of cotton or be reloaded with finished lumber and textiles. Roads leading in and out of the mill village were often blocked anywhere from thirty to forty minutes while the trains were offloading or being loaded. Children from the mill village who attended school all walked and had to jump over the connectors between rail cars to get to school many mornings. Mr. Amos said that all of his friends ended up staying and working at the mill, stating that "it got in their blood and they wouldn't leave." Most of his friends began employment at the age of 16 though several were employed as early as age 14, though Mr. Amos avoided working at the mill and left the mill housing in 1951.

Conclusion

As seen from Bill Amos' recollections and details from various archival resources, especially those of Lewis Hine, much more can be learned from this

historic mill than could be identified through excavations alone. Several details discussed with Mr. Amos resulted in knowledge that would have remained unknown otherwise. The data gathered from the various research methods discussed above will inform each other to create a detailed depiction of the historic cotton mill and its laborers. While some of it may contradict other gathered information, this will aid in reducing biases that may be inherent in that data. With the details presented above, the one-dimensional view of the Clayton Cotton Mill transforms into a broadened portrayal of the mill and includes a meaningful representation of the human dimension of its history. Most of the aforementioned data would not have been compiled or recorded if this historic textile mill had been evaluated using the research interests of traditional industrial archaeology.

Chapter 6 . Analysis of Collected Data

Introduction

It can be difficult not to approach historic industrial remains and evaluate them solely on what is recovered during excavations. But archaeology as a discipline has evolved to include more methodologies than uncovering what is preserved in the ground. These different approaches to research must be utilized to evaluate historic textile mills. Information recovered from excavations, archival review, and oral histories build off of and inform each other to create a more comprehensive representation of the investigated resource and enable research questions associated with labor archaeology to be answered. Without utilizing these varied methodologies, important information concerning the resource will be lost. The following analysis weaves together data that was researched and recovered under the paradigm of labor archaeology.

31JT555

Site 31JT555 is the location of six mill houses that are no longer extant (see Figure 5.1). Close interval shovel testing was utilized on the southern border of this site in the location between mill resident housing and the cotton mill, with the goal of better understanding the transition from work to home life for laborers. With 23 of the 26 shovel tests containing artifacts that were largely domestic, it seems that there was no clean break between the workplace and the houses, indicating the interconnectedness of work and home for mill village residents.

Artifacts ranged in date from 1810 to present and included domestic ceramics, glass, and personal items such as buttons, shirt studs, and marbles (see Table 5.1). Some of the ceramics and glass with generally older dates could have been family heirlooms that were utilized by the mill laborers. Or, like today, older forms of dishes and glasswares could have been less expensive to purchase second hand and were thus often used by mill laborers.

It is possible that artifacts and debris were pushed or scraped into this area when the houses were demolished and the area cleared, but with the proximity of the homes to the mill in the first place it is more likely the former option. The area that was shovel tested would have been the side yards of two mill houses and the front yard of another. A transition zone between work and home would be indicated by a mix of industry-related artifacts with domestic artifacts, but in this case the assemblage was almost entirely domestic. This suggests that this space was used only for domestic purposes despite its closeness to the mill and that domestic activities were occurring directly adjacent to the industrial facilities.

With their domestic spaces in such close proximity to the mill, it would have been impossible to not hear the bells and machinery all day or to get away from the smells of coal burning at an industrial level. Mr. Amos also discussed how children played throughout the mill grounds, how hogs were butchered just behind the mill, showers were constructed for laborers within the mill, and automobile maintenance occurred beside the mill. These all indicate how integrated home and work was for residents of the mill village.

Mr. Amos also recalled the round pieces of aluminum, or “tickets,” that mill laborers were paid with. While none of these have yet been identified archaeologically, it is possible that some will be recovered after scraping is conducted at the site. It is also possible that due to their high value, laborers kept a close eye on all of these tokens, leaving none to be accidentally discarded or lost.

There are some discrepancies between the 1940 Census data and Mr. Amos’ recollections regarding which houses mill laborers lived in. Of the eight houses located within 31JT555, the locations of four families were the same in both Mr. Amos’ account and the census. There could be several reasons for the discrepancies. Mr. Amos mentioned that it was common for families in the mill village to move around so it is possible that those officially renting the house and those living in the house were different. As he was young, it is also possible that Mr. Amos misremembered; but he recalls living in a different house than what was recorded on the census, indicating that this likely is not the case.

31JT557

While this site has been largely disturbed, information from archival research and from the unstructured interview can provide data on what would otherwise be deemed a largely insignificant archaeological site. The house was shown on the Sanborn maps (see Figure 5.2); it had both a front and back porch and a similar layout and size to many of the mill houses around it. In 1940, Lela Brody and her daughter Lela Mae lived in this home, along with Fannie Wilson and her two children.

The gendered approach to wages was deeply ingrained into the mill industry and was customary for the time. Commonly, single mother households earned

significantly less than families with a male head-of-household. This concept was known as the “family wage ideology” that was “predicated on the notion that men should be the primary financial supporters for their families” (Wilkerson 2015:171, 173). This biased but standard approach to wages ignored the reality that single mothers were left in poverty despite working the same hours as their male counterparts. Based off of this, it was not unusual to have several households with female heads-of-households residing together in one home. It is probable that the Brodys welcomed the extra aid in paying the rent for the house and that Mrs. Wilson would not have been able to afford renting a home on her own. However, wages at the Clayton Cotton Mill did not always adhere to this generalization; there is a more detailed discussion of this below.

Although Mr. Amos’ recollections differ with the information recorded by the census in this case, it is possible that the Bledsoe family he remembers moved to this location sometime following 1940. It is also possible that the Brodys and Wilsons simply kept to themselves though William would have been around Mr. Amos’ age at the time. Mr. Amos did mention several times how often families moved within the mill village and noted that though his family always lived on the same block, they lived in three different houses during his time there.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps

By examining the Sanborn maps, it is possible to determine changes in the mill’s layout over time. Figure 6.1 contains close-ups of the five Sanborn maps previously presented that were helpful in identifying some of the archaeological remains

throughout the mill complex. While this information is more relevant to examining the industry itself, there are some notable items that are relevant to this research.

On the 1918 map, there is a small structure on the eastern edge of the map labeled “Auto.” It is likely this was the area where Mr. Amos recalls auto repair work being conducted for residents of the mill village as he remembers most of the mill families owning their own automobile. The maps also indicate several areas that are fitted with sprinklers, but the large warehouses adjacent to the laborers’ homes did not contain sprinklers. These warehouses were used for the storage of cotton and would have been highly flammable. With no sprinkler or fire system in place, their close proximity to homes could have been worrisome, especially after the fire at the planing mill.

Between the 1918 and 1925 maps, the pickers room was shifted to be a little further away from the engine room. While it is difficult to determine the exact reason behind such a move, those working as pickers were likely glad to be a bit farther away from the constant noise of the engines. And for the first time on the 1942 map, there is a line that indicates the “corporate limits” of the town. While this is not expounded on, it suggests that Ashley Horne followed Daniel Tompkins’ advice once more in regards to the Clayton Cotton Mill, founding it outside of Clayton’s city limits.

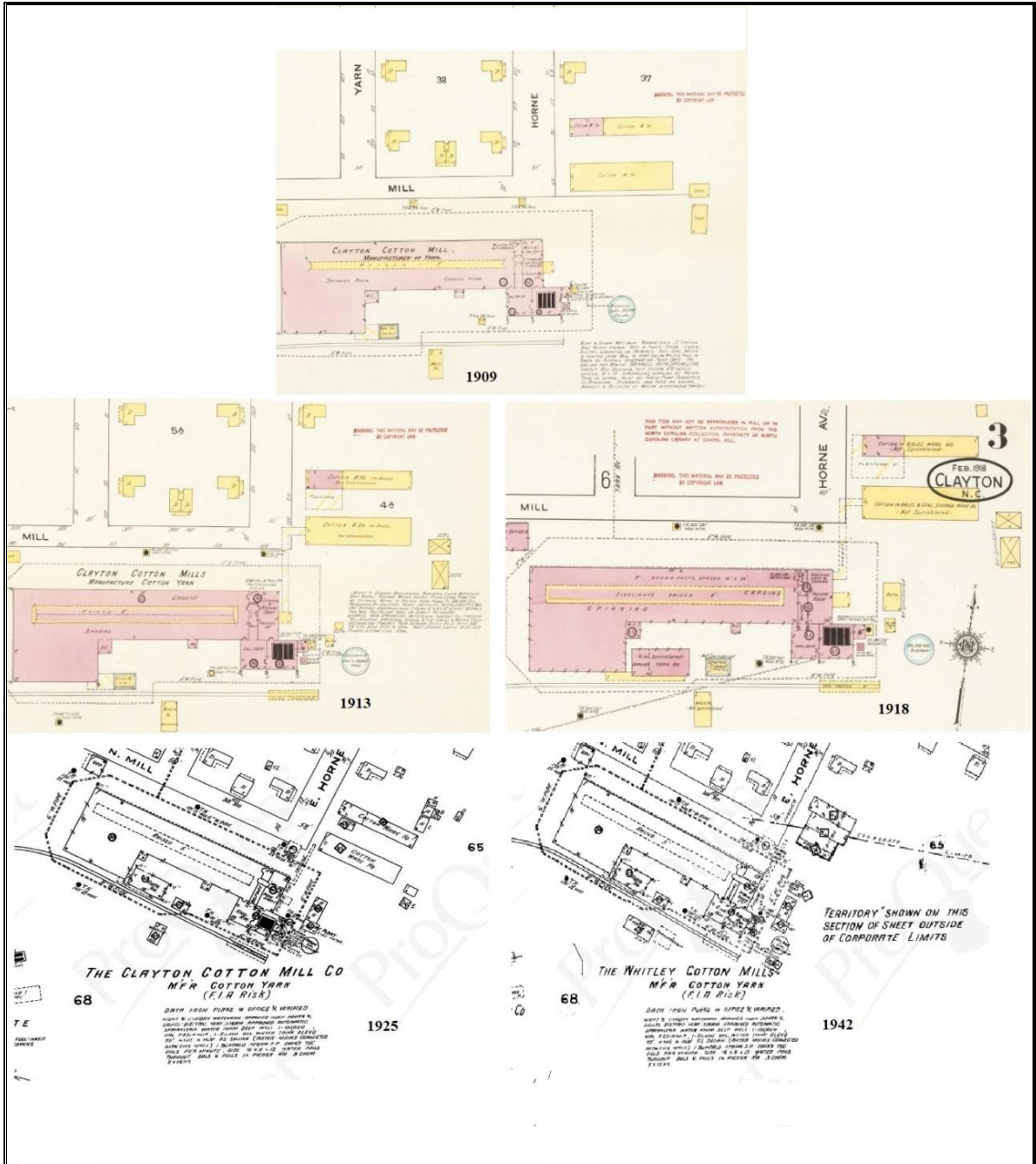


Figure 6.1. Changes to the mill on Sanborn maps (Library of Congress 1909, 1913, 1918; NCLive 2021).

Laborer Housing and Lifeways

Daniel Tompkins’ 1899 work was published as part of the Cotton Mill Campaign to encourage industry and growth and to create the New South. Through his mill village designs he attempted to placate the rural laborers by creating “attractive and

comfortable habitations” that would be “conducive to general contentment” (117). His belief that textile laborers could be exploited through long hours and low wages as long as they were balanced with space for gardening and flowers reflected the general approaches to laborers at the time (Glass 1992:18).

According to Mr. Amos, keeping livestock was “in their nature.” Those seeking work in the textile industry were largely from rural areas due to the collapse of North Carolina’s agricultural economy in the latter decades of the nineteenth century (Glass 1992:45). The transition from rural agricultural practices to textile mills was not easy, as taking up “public work” often meant giving up basic ideals of self-sufficiency and independence that had been traditional and deeply-ingrained values for generations of their families (Glass 1992:46). It is likely that maintaining gardens, chickens, and pigs, was a way for mill laborers to retain some semblance of their previous lives. The area allocated for the pig pens and slaughtering is located near a cell tower where the ground has been graveled and disturbed. Without archaeological evidence for these things, Mr. Amos’ interview provides the only insight into these practices, suggesting that the Clayton Cotton Mill maintained the standard practices of other North Carolina textile mills as suggested by Tompkins.

Additionally, there would have been no way of determining that a plain concrete pad was used for automobile washing, oil changes, and other maintenance provided by the mill for personally owned automobiles. Similarly, the playground and baseball field were not identified during excavations. These places were important to life in the mill village and were used every day by laborers. With no archaeological evidence to identify them and only minimal archival evidence to suggest a few of

them (e.g. photograph of the baseball team), the overall depiction of life here would have been skewed and incorrect.

Mr. Amos also recalled that Carl Boling's store was often sold out of Capudine, a liquid pain reliever that included antipyrine, salicylates, bromides, caffeine, and was eight percent alcohol (NMOAH 2020). Capudine was advertised as relieving pain and discomfort from headaches and neuralgia, muscular aches and pains, aching discomforts from colds, and reducing fevers. Whether the tonic was indeed bought for its medicinal benefits or its mixture of caffeine and alcohol, it was a household staple for mill laborers. Mr. Boling would buy gallons of the tonic and pour it out into single dose bottles for the mill laborers to purchase. It is interesting to note that Ashley Horne, founder of the Clayton Cotton Mill, also served on the board of the Capudine Chemical Company, a Raleigh-based analgesic producer (Pittman 1988). It is likely that excavations at 31JT555 will reveal evidence of these small brown bottles throughout the site, as Mr. Amos noted that people often would not return the bottles to the store.

Child Labor

When Mr. Amos' grandfather was approached by the mill Superintendent in the 1920s, he was drawn to the mill by the offer of employment for all of his children. According to the 1920 Census, there was only one fourteen-year-old child employed by the mill and no children younger than 14 that year. While it is possible that the census data is correct, Mr. Amos stated that when his grandfather arrived at the mill, children as young as 12 were employed. The discrepancy is likely due to inaccurate information provided to the census takers to avoid any official record of illegal

employment. If it were not for the interview, the census would have been the best data available concerning child labor following Lewis Hine's visit.

The numbers from the 1920 Census indicate the growth in the number of houses that made up the mill village as well as in the number of individuals overall. However, the number of children listed as employed by the mill drops dramatically from 40 in 1910 to only eight in 1920 (see Table 5.1). It is likely that rather than being an accurate representation of labor practices, this was to avoid any official record of illegal labor practices. It is also possible that with the onset of World War I in 1914, more children were employed to make up for the absence of those who enlisted, with the number again declining in 1918 at the end of the war.

Between the 1920 and 1930 Censuses, the number of children recorded as being employed by the mill more than doubled, jumping from eight to 17 though there were still no children under the age of 14 listed as employed. A possible reason for this notable increase could be due to the influence of the Great Depression, which began in 1929. The 1930 Census documented who had attended work the previous regular working day, indicating the widespread labor disruptions the Depression caused. For mill managers, children were the cheapest labor they could employ, making it likely that managers encouraged more children to work. For families, having their children employed meant a slight increase in income during a time when there was no guarantee of regular work. It was not until 1938 that the federal Fair Labor Standards Act was passed, limiting hours of employment and occupations for children, as well as declaring that the age of 16 was the usual minimum age for employment.

By the 1940 Census, the number of children employed at the mill had drastically decreased, with only one child under the age of 16 recorded as employed by the cotton mill. While it is still possible that there were more children employed than listed, with the increased awareness and enforcement of new labor laws, it is likely that the numbers on this census are relatively accurate.

The depiction of the Clayton Cotton Mill would be skewed based off of census data alone as it suggests that no children under the age of 14 were employed by 1920. It is possible that the number of children employed decreased due to the attempts to regulate child labor in North Carolina around this time. But after seeing Lewis Hine's photographs and hearing Mr. Amos' recollections of children working, it appears that the census taker was not able to accurately represent the number of children employed by the mill.

Historic Photographs

Lewis Hine's photos are part of a collection given to the Library of Congress in 1954 by Gertrude Folks Zimand who was chief executive of the NCLC at that time. Hine's photographs aided in publicizing the realities of child labor throughout the nation and contributed to an increased push for laws protecting children to be enforced. They also documented the realities of the demographics of mill laborers as many mills did not list children as employees. When they did, the ages did not appear to be an accurate reflection of the children's actual ages. These photographs provide evidence that children were indeed employed in mills even if they were unlisted, which was a common practice of the time (McKelway 1909). In Figure 5.10, Hine chose to focus the camera on the children in the front, leaving the adults in the

background out of focus. This effect emphasizes the goals of his photographs as well as his intended subjects.

In the notes associated with his photographs of the Clayton Cotton Mill, Hine mentions that he was unable to get any of the youngest girls in his photographs. Based off of the images of the children he did capture, it seems that the owners of the mill subscribed to the general approach to education that most southern mill owners did. Children were often listed as attending school but were kept home whenever the mill manager decided they needed the labor (McHugh 1986:154). This was still the case after some attempts at self-regulation occurred in North Carolina's textile industry in the early 1900s though meaningful federal action did not occur until 1938.

Photographs also provide evidence of laborer lifeways that may not be recovered through excavations. Many of the young boys depicted in Hine's photographs are shoeless, whereas all of the females, no matter how young, are wearing shoes and stockings. Most men and boys are also wearing similar hats, though some seem to be wearing much nicer hats (see Figure 3.1, the two men in the center back). Many of the young boys have bright white shirt buttons that are largely uniform, though there are some larger coat buttons visible. Suspenders are also visible throughout the images as are their associated metal pieces such as buttons, buckles, and slides.

Aside from a patch on an apron (see Figure 3.2, woman second from the left), all clothes are in good repair and are largely lacking stains. Many of the girls' and women's apron pockets appear to be full (see Figure 3.2 and 5.10); the bulges look angular so are likely filled with items related to working at the mill rather than

hankies. If these items were indeed related to the industry, there is the possibility that they could be identified in domestic settings since they were carried in apron pockets.

The women and some of the younger girls are wearing white shirts that appear to be without stains, and even most of the men's clothes are in excellent condition. From these observations as well as the cleanliness and lack of any type of cotton debris on their clothes, it is possible that the mill superintendent encouraged the laborers to dress up and take extra care with their appearances since Hine would be present. Other contemporary photographs of textile mill workers show their clothes covered in lint, pieces of thread, and grease, adding to the support that the photographs at the Clayton Cotton Mill might have been staged or directed by the mill superintendent.

Racial Relations

Throughout the cotton mills of the south, there was a deep-rooted and widespread stereotype that black workers were unable to operate or understand the machinery used in mills and were unfit to take part in the production aspect of mill work (English 2006:17). This belief was held well into the twentieth century, often leaving black workers employment only in custodial or heavily manual jobs such as in the mill warehouse or picker rooms (English 2006:17; Glass 1992:19; Griffin and Standard 1957b:141). As the number of women and children employed by textile mills increased starting in the mid-1800s, the belief that black laborers could not be employed was reinforced by the social norm that white women and girls should not be in the same room as black men; this belief was reinforced by Daniel Tompkins' publications (English 2006:17; Tompkins 1899:109).

Daniel Tompkins was influential and his publications permeated the textile industry and the way most mill managers approached their laborers. He perpetuated the belief that black and other non-white laborers were not fit to work anything other than menial positions in the textile industry, and that black laborers working in the textile industry threatened the well-being of white laborers. Mr. Amos remembered that he only saw black laborers working with the draft horses or in other positions that required heavy manual labor and the data from the 1910 through 1940 censuses document no non-whites living in the mill village. It seems that Ashley Horne followed Tompkins' advice on matters of race and mill village layout when he founded the Clayton Cotton Mill. The Sanborn maps show the mill village homes on relatively spacious lots, leaving plenty of room for small family gardens, and Mr. Amos recalled the importance of these family gardens to the mill laborers.

The area where Mr. Amos recalls the shanties of black transient workers being located has been graded and disturbed, leaving no archaeological evidence of these individuals. While these black laborers were not employed by the cotton mill, the planing mill was directly adjacent to the cotton mill and children often played throughout the grounds of the mill throughout the day. The only other black people who came near the mill were those who helped with washing or other domestic chores, hired by mill hands. With no archaeological or archival evidence available discussing these laborers their story would have completely vanished without Mr. Amos. And while the story of race at the Clayton Cotton Mill does not diverge from the usual practices in the southern cotton industry, it is important to have evidence supporting these broad generalizations.

Effect of the Clayton Cotton Mill on the Area

The 1901 newspaper article from *The Smithfield Herald* provides a glimpse into the general feeling of the town upon the opening of the mill. The article conveys a sense of excitement and anticipation and includes the details of young Swannanoa Horne pushing an electric button to start the machinery. Only six years later, the title of “Wealthiest City for its Size in the World” was bestowed upon Clayton, indicating that the textile industry was doing well in the area (Anon. 1907) while in 1908 an entire article was dedicated to the prosperity caused by the textile industry (Anon. 1908). Even after the general decrease in cotton prices following 1893, Johnston County continued to produce large quantities of cotton, making endeavors into the textile industry well worth the initial costs. Cotton and the textile industry became “an essential part of the town’s identity and prosperity” (Van Dolsen 2010:9).

The censuses show that many of the people who worked at the Clayton Cotton Mill had been employed by them for over a decade, and that their parents were also often employed by the mill. This is supported by Mr. Amos’ recollection that his peers began working at the mill by the time they were 16, following in their parents’ footsteps. A newspaper article in 1919 stated that “50 per cent of the employees of the Clayton Cotton Mill today have been steadily with the company for the past 18 years” (Anon. 1919). The long-term and multi-generational employment at the mill suggests a lower turnover rate of mill hands than was typical of the industry in North Carolina.

Throughout the textile industry, it was common for single mother families to earn significantly less than families with a male head-of-household. Overall, there does appear to be some gender-based discrepancy between wages at the Clayton Cotton

Mill though there are numerous inconsistencies. It is true that the two female-only positions made roughly a dollar less per week on average than doffers, a male-only position. But there were several other positions where males and females earned the same wages or females earned higher than their male counterparts. Similarly, within the same position, some females earned significantly more than other females performing the same work; this holds true with male laborers as well.

As the textile industry was crucial to the economy and livelihoods of many in Johnston County, newspapers recorded the transfers of ownership and closures of the Clayton Cotton Mill during the 76 years it was in operation. The Horne family relinquished ownership of the mill in 1927, just a few years before the mill was forced to close due to the economic disruptions of the Great Depression. R. B. Whitley then purchased and reopened the mill; Whitley was from Johnston County and had his hand in many different businesses, including two general stores that he opened with partners Ashley and Charles Horne in 1901 and 1902. The mill transferred ownership once more in 1946 before finally closing in 1976. The plant manager was quoted as citing the high price of cotton as the reason for closure (Jones 1976). The same article also mentions that some of the laborers at the mill had worked there for 45 years, indicating that the low turnover rates and long-term employment discussed in *The Charlotte Observer* (Anon. 1919) persisted throughout the mill's operation.

Collective Action and Paternalism

Beginning in the late 1920s and into the 1930s, labor strikes became common throughout North Carolina. *The Charlotte News* published articles that blamed these

labor disruptions on “Reds, atheists, home-wreckers, church-destroyers, [and] society-rapists” who disrupted the “peacefulness and contentment” of mill communities (Larkin 1929:689). It is interesting to note that Daniel Tompkins resided in Charlotte until 1912 and owned a controlling interest in two newspapers based out of Charlotte. It is likely that his publications and his outspokenness against anything that might disrupt textile industry profits were continuing to influence reporters and newspapers during this time. However, the laborers at the Clayton Cotton Mill never joined in any strikes that resulted in halting production according to *The Clayton News* article published in 1934. Mr. Amos corroborated this, stating that he remembers a largely content and happy life in the mill village.

Overall, Mr. Amos’ recollections of life in the mill village are idealistic and content. While he did leave the mill when he was still young, there is evidence that those who worked at the Clayton Cotton Mill were relatively satisfied with their lives. In 1932, a cotton mill in nearby Selma was forced to close due to a strike (Greco 1980:11). Two years later, strikes in the industry increased throughout North Carolina as dissatisfaction among laborers spread. Two mills in Johnston County did not participate in any strikes; one of these was the Clayton Cotton Mill (Anon. 1934).

Part of their refusal to join in collective action may come from the paternalism that was so deeply engrained in their lives. Seemingly philanthropic acts such as providing playgrounds, baseball fields, and boxing rings; sponsoring churches or stores; and offering amenities such as car and home maintenance often had ulterior motives. These were calculated moves by mill management that increased their influence into the lives of laborers while at the same time allowing them to appear as

philanthropists of high moral standing (English 2006:11; Glass 1992:42; Griffin and Standard 1957b:155; McHugh 1986:149). Tompkins (1899:37) stated concerning these provided amenities that the “business interest of the mill” was the main incentive as “moral influences and education make better work people.”

Additionally, these provisions were attempts to keep mill laborers happy with their long hours of work for minimal pay and to help discourage any collective action. Several of these typical approaches to paternalism are outlined in Daniel Tompkins’ 1899 work discussed previously. Mr. Amos knew that others likely disparaged the mill laborers but was adamant that “we looked down on them because we had everything.” Based off of his recollections of life at the mill, it is likely that paternalism at the Clayton Cotton Mill contributed to the lack of strikes during the twentieth century.

The long-term and multi-generational employment that existed at the mill is likely also due to the effects of corporate paternalism. The mill managers included various extracurricular activity areas and provided maintenance as a way to meet all needs of their employees, discouraging them from leaving while encouraging their children to stay into adulthood (McHugh 1982:137; McHugh 1987:153). The inclusion of places like the baseball field, play areas, the store, and the church were all quite intentional, normalizing the paternalism of the textile industry and allowing mill owners to maintain a social and economic control that “extended beyond factory walls” (Glass 1992:42). Textile owners not only engineered and designed the landscape, but also designed the culture of the mill laborers through paternalism; the

social engineering inherent in this affected several generations of textile mill employees.

It is interesting to note that there were some aspects of the laborers' lives that extended beyond corporate control at the Clayton Cotton Mill. While mill ownership provided the pens for keeping pigs and the space for gardens, the smaller decisions relating to these subsistence practices were decided among the community, separate from the typical corporate control. The cooperation among the neighborhood is apparent through their planning of gardens and their coordination of butchering.

Mr. Amos' willingness to discuss his life at the Clayton Cotton Mill led to indispensable insights that would have otherwise remained lost to history. Without his input regarding race relations, subsistence practices, and child labor, conclusions on these topics would have largely been based on the broader trends of the textile industry in North Carolina. Additionally, his interview adds to the humanness of this resource, a component that can often be lost in the archaeological record and research conducted at industrial sites.

Significance Evaluations

Tainter and Lucas (1983) state that significance is not an inherent value of an archaeological resource. Significance is a classification of value that is determined by professionals, suggesting that it is "assigned rather than revealed" (Leone and Potter 1992:137, 139). Discussions of significance have evolved to include discussions of value, specifically the public value of the resource (Altschul 2005). Some have pointed out that the reason regulations such as significance evaluations exist is that the resources are important to a broad range of people (Clark 2006:59). When

considering the potential significance of a resource, one must consider not only the information that may be learned from it but the value that the resource and its data may have to the public.

“Much of the discussion about significance...has focused on what is important, how such values are defined, and how one recognizes these values in an archaeological site” (Altschul 2005:193). The investigator’s knowledge of current research questions and their associated methodologies will greatly affect the determination of significance and value in a resource. Archaeologists conducting CRM investigations, even Phase I investigations, must begin with knowledge of the resource type they are evaluating. That means learning that industrial sites are no longer used to answer questions concerning the evolution of machinery and structures, but are rather used to answer questions regarding the lives of the laborers who toiled away at those machines.

Preservation of Information

The sites themselves will not be preserved but the information recovered regarding the people who lived at these houses will be. Their names have been pulled from the past and are remembered, and details regarding their lifeways were recovered. The information provided by both of these sites served to further clarify and distinguish the lives of the mill laborers from the industry itself, providing a small glimpse into the lives of traditional and non-traditional mill families in Clayton during the twentieth century. The amount of data compiled regarding both sites and the mill in general was vast and was only recovered by investigating the mill through research questions and interests associated with labor archaeology.

Beyond Significance

Evaluating significance for the NRHP is the driving force behind CRM archaeology. However, the time for incorporating potential public value into significance determinations is long overdue. CRM practitioners are also responsible for evaluating sites through the lens of a more heritage-driven archaeology, one that considers questions concerning the local value of sites rather than simply the overarching national eligibility. While the physical remains of these two sites have largely been erased, a large amount of information was recovered through census data, other archival research, and by conducting an unstructured interview with a former mill village resident. The significance determinations of these sites are not as important as the dissemination of the information recovered from them. The Clayton Cotton Mill was important not only to the town of Clayton, but to the hundreds of mill laborers whose families relied on it for wages and housing. Their stories have largely been forgotten or overlooked but that will change with the information recovered from these recent investigations.

Conclusion

The CRM investigations of these sites are not yet complete. Even though they were determined significant it will not result in preserving the sites themselves. However, the amount of data compiled concerning this resource is vast. As long as that information is shared with the community, preserving the physical remains of the site is unnecessary. This data was recovered only because methodologies other than traditional archaeological excavations were used to evaluate the resource and because the resource was reinvestigated using research questions associated with labor

archaeology rather than traditional industrial archaeology. The archival research and oral history conducted provided additional insights into the lives of laborers that would not have been identified archaeologically, and the methodologies informed each other in a way that highlighted potential biases within the data.

While the final goal is to determine significance in relation to the NRHP, more must be considered when evaluating twentieth century industrial sites. Our understanding of significance evaluations in relation to these sites should also evolve to include the potential value of the resource to the public and how that value can be shared with the community. This could include early consultation with the community after sites and resources have been identified, or an examination of current local histories (e.g. through school curriculums, websites containing entries on local history, information at the local library's history room, etc.) to determine if the identified site could help inform that history in a meaningful way.

If investigations at the Clayton Cotton Mill had ceased based off of the recommendations of the initial Phase I investigations, an extensive amount of meaningful data would have been lost. Similarly, if investigations of historic textile mills are not conducted through the paradigms of labor archaeology, extensive amounts of information will remain lost to history. All archaeologists are stewards of the past and as such should consider the local and public value of resources in their evaluations of significance as well as ensure that they are approaching resource types utilizing current research paradigms and methodologies.

Chapter 7 . Conclusion

The preceding chapters were an examination of the data compiled by evaluating the Clayton Cotton Mill through a lens of labor archaeology rather than traditional industrial archaeology. Investigating the mill using research questions and methodologies associated with labor archaeology led to the recovery of important data, especially regarding themes of race, paternalism, and child labor. These investigations informed not only the significance evaluations of the site but also its public value. The archival research and oral history conducted provided insights regarding laborers that would not have been identified through archaeological investigations alone. If the initial evaluations conducted solely under the parameters of traditional industrial archaeology had been accepted, much of the information regarding this time in the town of Clayton's history would have remained in the past. Instead, the local community will now be able to learn about the history in their backyards. The memories of those who lived before them will be preserved and shared, moving beyond the one-dimensional view of the textile industry in Clayton.

Future Research

The research discussed in this paper is not the full extent of what could be learned from the data associated with the Clayton Cotton Mill in regards to the lifeways of laborers. The census data could continue to provide insights into the demographics of mill laborers starting as early as the 1890 Federal Census. Compiling the names of those listed as employed by the mill on the 1910 Census and finding them on the preceding censuses could ground truth the general assumption that the vast majority of mill laborers were previously farmers. It could also inform if

moving to the mill was an economically lateral movement for laborers (e.g. if these people were largely renters before moving to the mill or owned their own property, amount of time unemployed prior to working at the mill, et cetera). These same sorts of questions could be researched on the later censuses to determine if trends for new laborers remained consistent through 1940.

Similarly, a comparison of the expected cost of living from 1900 to 1940 versus the wages that were earned during those years could be made, indicating the socioeconomic status of those employed by the mill. Both of those figures could be adjusted for inflation and compared to costs of living and wages today to provide better insight into the mill laborers' status. These figures could be used to examine the gendered wage gap today versus at the Clayton Cotton Mill. Data could be gathered concerning the mill laborers' years of experience at the mill to see if the variance in wages was related to amount of experience, gender, level of education, or another factor yet to be identified. Conducting similar census research at the contemporaneous cotton mills in Clayton or Johnston County and comparing the data could provide context to the Clayton Cotton Mill's data. This could aid in further clarifying some of the aforementioned information regarding socioeconomic status at the mill.

As Mr. Amos recalled laborers changing homes frequently, census data could be utilized to determine how likely it was for mill families to move between homes within the mill village. One could also examine how often the children of the first generation of mill workers stayed at the mill once they were no longer dependents. Names could be compared to see if these people tended to find spouses within the

mill village or married outside of the village, informing the degree of isolationism often inherent in mill villages.

More effort could be put forward to identify the business records associated with the mill. While they were not recovered for this project, it is possible that they are preserved in an archive or in someone's attic. Finding these records would provide a glimpse into how those running the mill viewed laborers as well as how decisions regarding their employees were made. Similarly, it is also possible that there are others still alive who would be willing to discuss their lives at the mill although they were not identified during this project. Mr. Amos' insights were invaluable; finding more people to share their remembrances of life at the mill would only add to the value of this resource.

Mechanical stripping of 31JT555 should and will occur. The interview with Mr. Amos provided information concerning life at the mill that was not identified through archaeological investigations. While scraping has not yet occurred at the site of the mill housing, it is likely that evidence for cultural features associated with the laborers such as gardens, middens, or privies will be identified. These features and their archaeological remains should then be compared to Mr. Amos' recollections to aid in determining their previous function and informing laborer health. Additional architectural remains were already discovered when additional shovel tests were excavated, suggesting that there is still data to be identified through archaeological investigations at this site.

Future Public Outreach

It is easy to consider public interpretation of historic resources outside of the purview of CRM archaeology, but interpretation of historic resources, especially ones that were important to local towns, is an aspect that should not be overlooked. Resources should be evaluated from a perspective that considers the potential benefit of the resource to the public, and data recovered from these sites should be disseminated to the public. It is crucial to remember that the very reason the NRHP regulations exist to evaluate and protect cultural resources is that they are important to the wider community (Clark 2006:59). In this case, public outreach options include:

- interpreting the final technical report into one for general consumption;
- creating educational modules for local schools of varying grade levels;
- creating informational booklets to place in the waiting rooms and lobbies of local businesses;
- archiving copies of the technical report as well as additional site information and documentation at the local library's history room;
- having a public archaeology day or days during excavations;
- presenting at one of the local historic society's meetings;
- and contributing detailed information to NCPedia.org and other relevant websites for an entry on the Clayton Cotton Mill.

Rather than simply compiling all recovered data into a report to be curated, the results of this project should be shared with those who live in the city of Clayton to create awareness and interest in the mill and the stories of those who lived there. None of the aforementioned public outreach options as have yet been completed, but

as the CRM project is still underway it is likely that several of these options will be utilized. As this site is slated for adaptive reuse, creating a display in the new building's lobby with historic photographs, artifacts, and information concerning the historic mill would greatly contribute to keeping local history alive. Public outreach should involve and educate locals of their town's history; for this project, the outreach would largely focus on the people who lived and worked at the historic mill. The ideas mentioned above are all relatively intensive projects and with the outbreak of COVID-19 it is unlikely that several of these options will be feasible. However, it is important to consider all options and the benefits they could have if employed.

This list of possible outreach is by no means exhaustive. They all, however, are ways to ensure that the value of this resource is shared to those whose history it is. Part of what makes these sites important is the amount of data recovered and the relevance of that data to the local community. This historic textile mill contributed to the growth of Clayton while providing employment and a home for numerous families over the 76 years it was in operation. It is easy to look elsewhere to learn about history, but to have this amount of historical information next door without realizing it indicates that perhaps we, as archaeologists, have more work to do.

Significance evaluations of historic mills, even at the Phase I level, should evolve to include considerations of public value. Though some resources may appear to have little to offer at a cursory glance, when considered from their value to the local community or the value they may have to the wider public, their importance may grow. CRM archaeologists must remember that "significance is a great start, but there is more to do" (Clark 2014:70). Considering public value could include consultation

with the local community concerning resources and sites identified. It could also involve examining the current local histories to determine if the new sites could inform them in a way that is meaningful to the community. Moving beyond traditional significance evaluations or simply curating recovered data in a repository is vital. Historical and cultural resources “should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people” (16 U.S.C § 470). Part of adequately meeting these responsibilities is considering how we, as stewards of archaeological heritage, can do our part to make the data available and meaningful to the community.

Conclusion

Determining the significance of the two sites at the Clayton Cotton Mill does not mean that they will be saved. In this case, the data recovered from and concerning the resource is more important than preserving the physical remnants of the resource. The information compiled for this thesis and for the CRM investigation of this resource shed light on an area of Clayton’s history that remains largely unknown to those living in the area and those who have an interest in North Carolina’s past. Now, locals and researchers will be able to find information concerning the cotton mill and its laborers and will better understand the history of the town and its people.

The information from the archaeological examinations of the sites, the compiled archival data, and the conducted oral history is what makes this resource both significant and valuable. Together, these data coalesce to tell the story of mill laborers in Clayton during the twentieth century, stories that otherwise would have faded into

the past. Much of what was learned during this research can only truly be considered significant in the broad sense of the term if it is shared with the residents of Clayton.

As Moss (2006:586) warns, archaeologists must remember that their interpretations of the past will impact more than just the archaeological community. Archaeologists must also recognize that archaeology's toolkit is extensive. It includes much more than excavations, especially when investigating historical resources. Even in CRM, an understanding of ethnographic methodologies and how to implement these methodologies is important to aid in understanding local communities and their desires, their past, and their future. Research should be conducted with careful consideration of the community as well as the resource's public value. Studying historic textile mills through the research questions and methodologies associated with labor archaeology is imperative to sufficiently evaluating the significance and value of these resources to the archaeological community as well as the local community.

Appendix A. Wages of Laborers per the 1940 Census

Name	Sex	Occupation	Weeks Worked, 1939	Income	Weekly Rate
James P. Copps	M	Bobbin Hauler	52	\$520	\$10
Cornold Beddingfield	M	Boiler Fireman	52	\$572	\$11
Will Dodd	M	Boss Second Supt Car Shop	52	\$624	\$12
Lodey R. Edwards	M	Card Room Foreman	52	\$750	\$14.42
Urias B. Bagwell	M	Carder	52	\$1040	\$20
Amos Blinson	M	Carpenter	52	\$732	\$14.08
Noble Hill	M	Doffer	16	\$203	\$12.69
Luther Corbett	M	Doffer	52	\$624	\$12
Earl Pollard	M	Doffer	52	\$624	\$12
Jones Edward Bridges	M	Doffer	52	\$500	\$9.62
Edgar Amos	M	Doffer	30	\$300	\$10
James E. Reaves	M	Doffer	52	\$500	\$9.62
Odis Reaves	M	Doffer	52	\$520	\$10
Hugh Sealey	M	Doffer	52	\$570	\$10.96
Howard Ellis	M	Doffer	52	\$570	\$10.96
Dewey Bolling	M	Doffer	52	\$624	\$12
Robert Boling	M	Doffer	52	\$520	\$10
Jygertha Blinson	M	Doffer	52	\$520	\$10
Ben Spence	M	Doffer	52	\$520	\$10
Luther Petet (Petit)	M	Doffer	52	\$520	\$10
George Patit (Petit)	M	Doffer	52	\$400	\$7.69
Owen Underwood	M	Doffer	52	\$500	\$9.62
Jim Ellis	M	Hand Spools	50	\$500	\$10
David Blinson	M	Head Mechanic	52	\$1500	\$28.85
James Amos	M	Helper – Warp Mill	0	\$0	\$0
James W. Reaves	M	Helper – Warp Mill	52	\$570	\$10.96
Rudolph Reaves	M	Helper – Warp Mill	12	\$132	\$11
Annie Bell Sealey	F	Helper – Warp Mill	8	\$104	\$13
Lester Adams	M	Helper – Warp Mill	12	\$120	\$10

Name	Sex	Occupation	Weeks Worked, 1939	Income	Weekly Rate
Margaret Joyner	F	Helper – Warp Mill	52	\$312	\$6
Vivian Beddingfield	F	Helper – Warp Mill	12	\$144	\$12
Frank Smith	M	Loom Fixer	52	\$625	\$12.02
Clyde Lester Kendall	M	Loom Fixer	52	\$750	\$14.42
Odell Pollard	M	Loom Fixer	52	\$624	\$12
Battle Salmon	M	Loom Fixer	52	\$500	\$9.62
Mae Allen Ivey	M	Loom Fixer in Spinning Room	52	\$754	\$14.5
Daniel Poole	M	Maker Barbs	52	\$600	\$11.54
James H. Stancil	M	Mechanic	52	\$675	\$12.98
Lofton Ellis	M	Mechanic in Twister Room	52	\$750	\$14.42
Iva Blinson	F	New Worker	0	\$0	\$0
Johnnie Hocutt Patit	M	New Worker	0	\$0	\$0
Edward Carter	M	New Worker	0	\$0	\$0
Josephine Stancil	F	New Worker	0	\$0	\$0
Linnie Pollard	M	Night Watchman	52	\$572	\$11
Wiley Amos	M	Night Watchman	52	\$572	\$11
Hames Homer Dodd	M	Overseer	52	\$1200	\$23.08
Elsie Sealey	F	Reeler – Hand	52	\$468	\$9
Willie Pollard	M	Roper	26	\$310	\$11.92
James Corbett	M	Roping Boy	26	\$310	\$11.92
Alton Jones	M	Run Fly Frames	52	\$600	\$11.54
Arthur Spence	M	Runs Cards	52	\$520	\$10
Eugene Petit	M	Runs Cards	52	\$572	\$11
William A. Beddingfield	M	Runs Fly Frame	52	\$780	\$15
Archie Barbour	M	Runs Frames	52	\$624	\$12
Bennie Polard	M	Runs Frames	52	\$520	\$10
Clessie Pollard	M	Runs Frames	30	\$300	\$10
William Beddingfield	M	Runs Frames	52	\$676	\$13
Allen Edwards	M	Runs Frames	52	\$572	\$11

Name	Sex	Occupation	Weeks Worked, 1939	Income	Weekly Rate
Hugh Crowder	M	Runs Frames	52	\$624	\$12
Hosgwood Johnson	M	Runs Frames	52	\$629	\$12.1
Leoman Wilkins	M	Runs Looper Spool Room	52	\$572	\$11
Sam Browning	M	Runs Slubbers	52	\$675	\$12.98
Otto Sealey	M	Runs Slubber	52	\$520	\$10
James Williams	M	Runs Slubber	52	\$520	\$10
Ivan Mooneyham	M	Runs Speeder	52	\$468	\$9
Borden Narron	M	Runs Speeder Frame	52	\$520	\$10
William J. Tait	M	Runs Twister	52	\$572	\$11
Elmo Pollard	M	Runs Twister	30	\$330	\$11
Johnnie Underwood	M	Runs Twister	52	\$676	\$13
Cora Corbett	F	Runs Twister	40	\$360	\$9
Erwin Pollard	M	Runs Twister	52	\$624	\$12
Douglas Johnston	M	Runs Twister	52	\$572	\$11
Lottie Bledsoe	M	Runs Warp Mill	52	\$728	\$14
Alex Pulley	M	Runs Warp Mill	52	\$675	\$12.98
Graham Gower	M	Runs Warp Mill	52	\$700	\$13.46
Johnnie Collings	M	Section Boss	40	\$480	\$12
Herman Joyner	M	Section Foreman	52	\$650	\$12.5
Gerald Pollard	M	Section Hand, Twister	50	\$700	\$14
Jims Worrells	M	Section Head	52	\$572	\$11
Burtchel Harper	M	Slubber	32	\$384	\$12
Ola Mae Hill	F	Spinner	52	\$600	\$11.54
Cleo Jones	F	Spinner	16	\$208	\$13
Lorene Tait	F	Spinner	52	\$468	\$9
Inez Browning	F	Spinner	52	\$400	\$7.69
Bernice Reaves	F	Spinner	28	\$230	\$8.21
Viola Guy	F	Spinner	52	\$520	\$10
Letha Pollard	F	Spinner	\$0	\$0	\$0
Viola Ellis	F	Spinner	52	\$416	\$8
Polly Sealey	F	Spinner	36	\$288	\$8
Mattie Ellis	F	Spinner	52	\$500	\$9.62
Helen Narron	F	Spinner	52	\$520	\$10
Viola Edwards	F	Spinner	52	\$570	\$10.96

Name	Sex	Occupation	Weeks Worked, 1939	Income	Weekly Rate
Kathleen Pilkerton	F	Spinner	12	\$120	\$10
Winnie Petit	F	Spinner	10	\$110	\$11
Alice Ivey	F	Spinner	26	\$260	\$10
Maggie Johnson	F	Spinner	52	\$544	\$10.46
Magdaline Johnson	F	Spinner	12	\$144	\$12
Vallie Stancil	F	Spinner	26	Illegible	
Rebecca Underwood	F	Spinner	0	\$0	\$0
Vistoria Worrells	F	Spinner	52	\$364	\$7
Mamie Barbour	F	Spinner	52	-	
Hester Stancil	F	Spinner	52	\$520	\$10
Edna Wall	F	Spinner	50	\$450	\$9
Bennie Amos	M	Spinning Roper Room	52	\$624	\$12
Ola Hill	F	Spooler	40	\$480	\$12
Georgiann Poole	F	Spooler	40	\$400	\$10
Hattie Pollard	F	Spooler	0	\$0	\$0
Rosa Bridges	F	Spooler	52	\$520	\$10
Lenora Bridges	F	Spooler	52	\$520	\$10
Bessie Tait	F	Spooler	30	\$270	\$9
Minnie Pollard	F	Spooler	52	\$480	\$9.23
Estella Polland	F	Spooler	20	\$200	\$10
Leila Adams	F	Spooler	52	\$325	\$6.25
Laura Dodd	F	Spooler	50	\$450	\$9
Emma Harper	F	Spooler	0	\$0	\$0
Irma M. Ray	F	Spooler	0	\$0	\$0
Luna Mooneyham	F	Spooler	0	\$0	\$0
Nora V. Spence	F	Spooler	52	\$500	\$9.62
Dora Spence	F	Spooler	16	\$160	\$10
Myrtie Williams	F	Spooler	52	\$406	\$7.81
Elizabeth Spence	F	Spooler	8	\$80	\$10
Lela Brody	F	Spooler	Illegible	\$0	\$0
Lela Mae Brody	F	Spooler	52	\$430	\$8.27
Fannie Wilson	F	Spooler	52	\$416	\$8
Ethel Underwood	F	Spooler	12	\$115	\$9.58
Julia Carter	F	Spooler	52	\$520	\$10

Name	Sex	Occupation	Weeks Worked, 1939	Income	Weekly Rate
Dillie Amos	F	Spooler	52	\$520	\$10
Christine Beddingfield	F	Spooler	52	\$475	\$9.13
Viola Crowder	F	Spooler	16	\$128	\$8
Leone Pollard	F	Spooler	52	\$500	\$9.62
Odessa Worrells	F	Spooler	0	\$0	\$0
Vada Stancil	F	Spooler	52	\$500	\$9.62
Lucy Pollard	F	Spooler	50	\$450	\$9
Ruth Blinson	F	Spooler	30	\$210	\$7
Edna J. Gower	F	Spooler	12	\$150	\$12.5
Irene Johnson	F	Spooler	50	\$450	\$9
Blonnie Johnson	F	Spooler	50	\$450	\$9
Elester Ellis	F	Spooler	50	\$450	\$9
Alvie Johnson	F	Spooler	52	\$500	\$9.62
Nettie Lee Dodd	F	Spooler	52	\$520	\$10
Velma Wilkins	F	Spooler	52	\$520	\$10
Victor Poole	M	Sweeper	52	\$600	\$11.54
Paul Spence	M	Sweeper	52	\$520	\$10
Richard Johnson	M	Sweeper	52	\$524	\$10.08
Gertrude Pulley	F	Tangle Work	52	\$416	\$8
Bathany Patit	F	Tangle Worker	52	\$525	\$10.10
Leonard D. Smith	M	Warp Attender	52	\$725	\$13.94
Nathaniel Dodd	M	Warp Mill Hand	50	\$450	\$9
Naomi Dodd	F	Warp Mill Hand	40	\$360	\$9
Carmie Adams	M	Yard Hand	52	\$528	\$10.15
Loomis Blinson	M	Yard Hand	52	\$520	\$10

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