The Antebellum Landscape of an Ozark Farm: Property Rights and Resistance of Enslaved African-Americans on the Anderson Farm in Benton County

ANTEBELLUM HISTORY OF THE ANDERSON FARM

Like many families who came to northwest Arkansas during the period of Pioneer Settlement, the Anderson's likely had prior knowledge of the region from travel accounts, kin already living in the area, or even personal experience from previous trips. Just exactly when Hugh A. Anderson visited the land in Arkansas that he later would own is unknown but according to Anderson family history he may have come as early as the 1820s. Hugh A. Anderson was originally from Kentucky, moving to Alabama in 1818 (Goodspeed 1889:127). He was born June 10, 1782 in Logan Station, Kentucky; married his cousin Mary A. Anderson on January 11, 1810 and served as a caption in the War of 1812. Hugh and Mary A. resided in Lawrence County Alabama from 1818 until they settled in northwest Arkansas.

Hugh and Mary Anderson were the parents of eight children according to Goodspeed (1889:127). Louisa Ann married Robert W. Mecklin in Kentucky in 1829. Elizabeth H. was the wife of Albert Peel and after his death she became the wife of Judge Hiram Davis. James J. was the oldest son who came to Arkansas and, after living here for several years, was killed at age 39 by one of the Anderson's slaves on August 4, 1849 (see Arkansas Intellingencer newspaper article August 10, 1849). Mary Jane married Nathan M. Moran. Catherine, who was born in 1825 in Alabama became the wife of A.W. Dinsmore (Rose 1952:69). Hugh Allen died in Nicholasville, Kentucky and William W died in Selma Texas (Reaves 1941). Oliver I. was born in Alabama in 1831, came with his parents to Arkansas and later married Mary Kelleam in 1856 (Goodspeed 1889:127). Oliver took over the operation of the Anderson farm sometime in the 1850s and lived there until his death on November 16, 1910 (Easley and McAnelly 1995:5). Secondary written sources note various years when Hugh A. Anderson first brought his family and settled the land on which later became known as Hazel Glen; 1828 (Black 1975:20), 1830 (Gearhart 1958:8), 1832 (Benton County Pioneer 1956:3), and 1836 (Goodspeed 1889:127). Family oral history and at least one local historical source (Benton County Pioneer 1957:16) note that Hugh, known as Colonel Anderson, first came with slaves to homestead the land after which he returned to Alabama to bring his family back to their new home:

> Before moving to Arkansas, Col. Anderson came to the state with 40 slaves, homesteaded the land, erected a log house for living quarters, and built a brick kiln to make material for the family home. He then returned to Alabama for his wife and their nine children (Benton County Pioneer 1957:16).

This scenario only seems likely if Hugh left someone in charge of the homestead while he was on the trip to Alabama. It is possible he left a trusted slave, white overseer or perhaps his son James J. who would have been in his 20s at that time. Whether or not he had as many as 40 slaves upon initial settlement is unknown. The 1840 U.S. Census indicates 21 slaves living on the Anderson farm. It is plausible Hugh's first building improvements would have been a log house for his family with the intention of later building a finer home. This building sequence

was common for prominent Ozark Pioneer farm families from which specific data has been obtained from informant and archival information (Memory 1994).

Hugh Anderson was certainly intent on establishing a settlement in northwest Arkansas at some point in the territorial years since the earliest written record of his presence occurs in the 1836 Washington County tax records. He is not listed in previous Washington County tax records or the 1830 population schedule (Fifth Census of the United States, 1830, Territory of Arkansas). In the September 1836 Washington County tax assessment, Hugh is noted as having 320 acres of "second quality" land. Unfortunately, this assessment did not itemize the location of the 320 acres but it is presumed this land would be in the vicinity of the big spring just east of where Hugh would eventually build the brick, two-story, I-plan home. Interestingly Hugh A. Anderson was not assessed a poll tax (25cents) or shown as having any other personal property in Washington County. Personal property assessed in 1836 included: dwelling houses, slaves of 10 years and under 16, horses, mules, jacks, neat cattle, stud horses, slaves of 16 and under 45, tanyards, land of 1st quality, land of 2nd quality, and land of 3rd quality. This record implies Hugh A. Anderson was not a permanent resident of the area in 1836 since he was not assessed a poll tax or noted as owning a house or other property on his 320 acres. In 1837 Hugh A. Anderson is again listed in the Washington County assessment of taxable property, now shown with 600 acres and land valued at $3.00 per acre. The total value of his taxable property is shown as $1,800.00 (600 acres at $3.00 per acre) for which he was taxed $4.50. Like the year before, no other property was itemized for Hugh.

Benton County was carved out of the northern part of Washington County and admitted as the 34th county by an act of the General Assembly on September 30, 1836, the same day Arkansas was admitted as a state (Buell 1990:24). Early Benton County tax assessment records are missing from the courthouse, presumably lost according to the county archivist, Monty Balk. This is unfortunate since these records presumably note yearly property assessed to Hugh A. Anderson after taxes began to be collected for Benton County in the year 1837.

Hugh A. Anderson and his wife Mary had kin living in northwest Arkansas as early as 1835, if not before. Louisa Ann, their oldest daughter, had married Robert E. Mecklin in Kentucky in 1829. They moved to Arkansas in 1833; Robert briefly teaching school in Little Rock before taking charge of the Fayetteville Female Seminary in 1835 and later establishing and opening his own school known as Ozark Institute on May 19, 1845 (Reed 1961:25). Robert and Lousia Ann Mecklin settled in the Mount Comfort community of Washington County and, according to archival records, stayed in close contact with the Anderson family throughout the years. It is possible Hugh A. Anderson learned of the prime land available in the area of the big spring from his daughter and son-in-law. In any case the Anderson family seemed to have been well established in the northwest Arkansas community by at least 1836.

Early map, land patent and title deeds provide documentation for the property which became the Anderson Farm, and show the business acumen of Hugh, who obviously saw the value of a good piece of property and the potential for profit in a growing community. The earliest map source indicating any settlement for the sections later officially granted to Hugh A. Anderson is the General Land Office plat for Township 19N Range 31W, surveyed in 1834 with the plat map approved in 1839 (General Land Office 1834). This map shows a field located in the NE quarter of Section 29 and extending into the NW quarter Section 28 (Figure 3). The notation "Joseph

Nails field" was made beside the approximate forty-acre plot on this map (see Figure 3). A creek, later to be known as Anderson's Branch (Fenno 1978:39) is shown in the northern part of Sections 28 and 29 and noted as "Spring Branch."

The head of the creek is shown as a spring which is the big spring known historically as Anderson's Spring (Fenno 1978:40). A house is noted and shown north and west of the spring just south of the Section line between Sections 20 and 29. The dwelling symbol shown on this 1834 map is in the vicinity of the original Anderson home place and could represent the log house initially constructed by Hugh Anderson or the 1834 residence of Joseph Nail. Joseph Nail never received a patent for this quarter section or the adjacent property. Hugh A. Anderson, however, did receive a patent for this 160 acres in Section 29 on March 10, 1843 and for 80 acres in the E1/2 of the NW quarter as well as 80 acres for the W1/2 NW quarter Section 28 on May 1, 1845.

Joseph Nail is listed in the 1830 territorial census for Washington County and a number of persons named Nail, presumably related, settled in Benton and Washington Counties. The community of Lowell in Benton County was at one time called "Nailtown" due to many related Nail pioneer settlers (Fowler 1981:56). The Anderson family was obviously familiar with the Nails since James J. Anderson, Hugh and Mary's oldest son, bought two lots in Bentonville for 40 dollars from a Matthew Nail on February 20, 1841 (Benton County Circuit Court Deed Records, Book A, page 118). Hugh likely purchased the acreage shown as "Joseph Nails Field" from the Nails prior to his receiving a patent for the land in 1843.

Three land patents were granted to Hugh A. Anderson on March 10, 1843. The largest tract was the 160 acres in the NE quarter of Section 29 where the spring, branch and house as noted on the General Land Office plat was located. Two patents for 80 acres each in the SW quarter of Section 17 T19N R31W were also granted. This land was located about one mile north of the spring and house and noted as being part of the Osage Prairie on the 1834 General Land Office plat. In 1845 Hugh received two additional 80 acre patents in the NW quarter of Section 28 contiguous to the 160 acre tract of his original homestead. It appears Hugh selected these tracts due to a variety of natural features considered suitable for settlement. The spring and branch was a permanent water source that could serve household needs and, if desired, be utilized as a source of power for a mill operation. Adequate timber for building, forage and fuel could be found along the creeks and in the upland terrain to the north and south. Productive silt loam soils were present on terrace land and on the 160 acres on Osage Prairie located one mile north of the spring. Hugh and his son James J. also invested in the newly created county seat of Bentonville, both buying several lots in 1841 and 1845 (see Appendix A). Hugh's prosperity and business sense, albeit with some risk, is shown in the lengthy Deed of Tenant and loan for $843.00 he drew up for John E. Davidson on February 24, 1843 (see Appendix A.).

Although there is only sketchy information about the early development of the settlement made by Hugh A. and Mary Anderson, it appears they planned carefully. Census, land patents, and other records imply that this settlement could easily be termed a plantation, at least in scale with what others have defined as "small planters" in the upper South culture (O'Brien et. al. 1984:271). Hugh apparently situated his property holdings strategically and benefited nicely. He may have even operated a mill in the early 1840s. A court order issued in January 1843 appointed various men to oversee road improvements in Osage Township. Amos Osborn was authorized to apportion hands to work "on the road leading to Anderson's Mill" (Seamster

1964:68). Benton County historian Alvin Seamster (1964:69) noted the location of this road as near present-day Vaughn, "where Colonel Hugh Anderson had a mill at the big spring." According to family history, Hugh A. had a smithy, mill, and brick kiln in addition to the sizeable farm operation.

By 1860 the political township here carried the family name, indicating the legacy of Hugh A. Anderson in local economic, social and political affairs.

We can get an idea of the type and scale of farm operation by the earliest census of products taken in 1850 by the federal government. In 1850 the value of the farm was evaluated at $5,000, well above most of their neighbors in Benton and Washington Counties. From this census as well as the one taken for 1860 it is clear that the Anderson farm was a prospering operation based on corn and livestock. The number of bushels of corn produced on the Anderson farm suggests that it was, at least in part, used as a commodity in addition to livestock fodder. Other farm surplus was also sold at local and regional markets. Hogs, wheat, oats, butter, hay, beeswax, and honey were produced on the farm in marketable quantities.

Hugh A. Anderson apparently came to northwest Arkansas with the financial means, business skill and ability for planning to immediately make an impact on the local economy and establish his family as one of the social elite of the community. The fact that he was able to achieve this level of success was in no small measure due to slave labor. Brick making and probably the construction of the brick, I-plan house, were contributing elements of this labor force. Certainly most of the farm work was by slave labor as well as many chores like chopping wood, land clearing and everyday domestic chores. Slaves skilled as blacksmiths were likely used on the farm. Hugh may have even hired out his slaves, a common practice throughout the south and in northwest Arkansas.

Landscape planning by Hugh A. Anderson created a clever, if not sophisticated, use of space. Family history and archeological evidence of antebellum structures on the Anderson farm indicates buildings, work areas, and burying grounds were divided racially. The Anderson's large brick home and family cemetery were located north of the road on the elevated hill terrace or hilltop. Slave quarters, blacksmith shop, carriage house, and slave cemetery were all located south of the road on the stream terrace and/or floodplain. Hugh intentionally created this built environment based on his viewpoint of how slave-holding plantations should be organized. This viewpoint was likely, at least in part, based on the practical reason that slaves should be close to the fields and their work. The spatial separation of black dwellings, burial grounds and work areas also reflected mainstream notions regarding appropriate racial distance and segregation on the southern plantation. The Anderson farm landscape visually conveyed the message that here was a slaveholding plantation rather than a small farm. Most small slaveholding farmers in the Ozarks did not seem to segregate their farms to this extent. Oftentimes slave dwellings were little different from the owner's home, located nearby, and farm work done side by side with the master (Morgan 1973). The Anderson's large I-plan house and farm layout was a visible indication of the wealth and community status of the family.

Evidence of Hugh A. Anderson's influence in the community (he died at age 66 on June 14, 1848) is found in county court records. Hugh figured prominently, it appears, in the estate of Sarah Ridge, wife of murdered Cherokee leader John Ridge. After his murder in Indian Territory in 1839 by members of the anti-treaty faction of the Cherokee, Sarah Ridge, John's widow, fled with her children to the safety of Benton County. Because John Ridge left no will, and the law probably did not allow a woman to be the sole administrator of her husband's estate,

the Benton County Court, with the agreement of Sarah Ridge, assigned Hugh A. Anderson as joint administrator of the estate on July 28, 1839 (Scott 1984:6). Whether or not John Ridge or Sarah knew Hugh Anderson prior to John Ridge's death is unknown.

Presumably the slaves and the remainder of her property, left in Indian Territory immediately after the murder, were returned to Arkansas shortly after she arrived here.

In May of 1845 Sarah Ridge brought a lawsuit against Hugh A. Anderson as joint administrator of her husband's estate. This was a long and drawn out affair of which all the details are not precisely known. We do know that Sarah Ridge moved to Fayetteville around 1840, purchased what now is known as the Ridge House, and, before the fall of 1844, moved to Osage Prairie in Benton County, perhaps to try to settle the estate (Donat 1971:41). In 1854 Sarah Ridge received a patent for 80 acres located about two-and-one-half miles north of the Anderson farm on Osage Prairie, presumably her improvement noted in the 1845 suit.

Sarah Ridge, upon John Ridge's death, had inherited 21 slaves, all of whom are named in the court proceedings. Coincidentally, this is the same number of slaves indicated on the 1840 census living on the Anderson farm. Presumably they were Hugh Anderson's property, but they just as well could be the slaves of the Ridge estate managed by Hugh as agreed upon by Sarah Ridge. This case is an example of the complexity of the law, how slaves were regarded as property, and how they could become unsuspecting pawns in lawsuits. In any case, the suit is significant since there is a definite possibility that some of the persons buried in the Anderson Slave Cemetery may be related to the slaves owned by Mrs. Ridge. It appears Hugh Anderson was serving as Mrs. Ridge's agent in managing her estate in Benton County while she lived in Fayetteville, including managing the slaves as named in the suit. These slaves likely lived either on the Anderson place or on nearby property owned by Sarah Ridge. Hugh may have been hiring or selling slaves on credit, which as the administrator of the estate, he likely believed was his legal right. Obviously at some point Mrs. Ridge became unsatisfied with Hugh Anderson's management of the estate since she brought suit against him. The case was not settled during Hugh's lifetime but apparently came to an end sometime in 1849 when Robert Mecklin agreed to be Administrator in the case. Sarah Ridge and her children were granted all of the slaves but were ordered to pay the estate of Hugh Anderson several hundred dollars for his debts and expense of administration over the years. Hugh Anderson was noted in regional endeavors to promote education, not surprising since his son-in-law Robert Mecklin was a teacher and founder of the Ozark Institute at Mount Comfort. In late 1843 Hugh A. Anderson was appointed as one of the Board of Visitors for the Far West Seminary, a precursor to Mecklin's later school (Carter 1970:349). Hugh attended several Board of Visitors meetings in 1843 and 1844, a number of which were held at the Mount Comfort Meeting House (Carter 1970). Hugh and Mary must have personally invested in their children's education since we know Oliver met his future wife Mary Kelleam while at school at Cane Hill.

Hugh did not prepare a will before his death in 1848 and an intestate record signed by the Benton County clerk on August 1, 1848 appointed his son James as administrator of the estate. Presumably James J. Anderson took over the farm operation at that time although he did own lots in Bentonville and could have lived there instead of residing on the family farm. It seems likely he would have had been on the farm at the time since he was the oldest son and administrator of the estate. If so, a tragic event unfolded on the Anderson farm about a year after Hugh's death resulting in the apparent murder of James J. by the hands of one of the slaves in

early August 1849. The account was recorded in the Saturday, August 11, 1849 edition of the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, a Van Buren newspaper. The story appeared as follows:

Horrible Murder. A horrid murder was perpetrated on Vache Grasse, in this county, about noon of the 4th instant. The facts, as far as we have been able to learn, as as follows: From some impropriety in the conduct of his negro, Mr. Anderson, a highly respectable citizen of Benton county, left home, some time last week, for the purpose of selling him. In company with the negro, he came through this city, and crossed over to Fort Smith. On Sunday, about three o'clock, P.M., the negro arrived at Fayetteville, with his master's horse, and dressed in his master's clothes, and remarked to another negro that he had killed his master. The fact that his master had not returned with him was of itself sufficient reason to suspect something wrong, and upon search being made for the negro, it was found that he had made his escape. With praiseworthy alacrity a goodly number of the citizens of Fayetteville started in pursuit of the negro, while at the same time, Col. Alfred Wilson, Mr. Dinsmore, a brother-in-law of Mr. Anderson, the rev. Mr. Stout, and Mr. Keats, came this way in search of Mr. Anderson. They passed through our city on Tuesday morning. On the other side of Fort Smith; on Vache Grasse, the search proved successful—Mr. Anderson was found about 150 yards from the road, weltering in his gore, his skull fractured in a shocking manner, and his throat cut from ear to ear. Col. Wilson, and the gentlemen who accompanied him, passed through our city on Wednesday, on their return to Fayetteville.

Should the negro be arrested, he will be brought to this city for trial, as the crime was committed within the limits of Crawford County.

P.S.—Since penning the above lines, the mail has reached us from Fayetteville. There is now no doubt of the negro's guilt. Some of the party in pursuit of the negro, after having come up with and shot him, about 25 miles from Fayetteville near where his wife lives, returned to the house and found the negro washing his wound. His escape was then so precipitate, that he left his pantaloons behind, one pocket of which contained Anderson's purse, with about $14. The pantaloons show a ball wound, which indicates that the ball must have lodged in the hip; and from the appearance of clotted blood on the suspenders, he is no doubt wounded in the shoulder. It is supposed that he is mortally wounded. It is now positively known that the murder of his master was premeditated by the negro, that he had disclosed his intentions to some free negros of the neighborhood.

We understand that Mr. Anderson was Mr. Mecklin's brother-in-law, Principal of the Ozark Institute (Anonymous in Arkansas Intelligencer 1849:3).

This is a remarkable account of what was likely a very rare violent cause of death, at least in terms of a slave murdering his master. Several points made in the story, reported in the sensational journalistic style of the period, provide valuable insight of antebellum life and slavery in the Ozark region. First, the slave was being sold for some unknown transgression. The impropriety that could cause one being "sold down the river" was at the master's discretion. Interestingly, James J. chose to travel 60 or more miles south to Fort Smith to sell this slave although there were certainly closer markets in Fayetteville and the surrounding area. He obviously wanted this man out of the area for good, perhaps also realizing that it would be difficult to sell a slave locally who was known to have caused trouble for his master. After the murder, the slave chose to ride back to the region where he is wanted. He then supposedly told a member of the black community in Fayetteville what had happened. Fayetteville seemed to be

an unwise place to return unless he was expecting to be harbored by local slaves or free blacks.

The white community of Washington and Benton Counties knew about the incident at this point; having sent out patrols to search for the run-away slave. That he wasn't taken in as a fugitive is not surprising since harboring a runaway could have cost a free black his or her freedom and a slave 25 lashes under Arkansas law (Cathey 1944:71). The runaway fled Fayetteville and was shot 25 miles from the city, likely in Benton County and perhaps near the Anderson farm. He returned to see his wife, was apparently found there at her house but miraculously escaped, presumed to be mortally wounded. The outcome of the slave's escape is unknown but the fact that he came back is remarkable. We can only guess why he chose to travel back to the place where he was most wanted; perhaps he felt he might make it north by himself or even with his family. Whether or not he escaped near or on the Anderson farm is unknown since the account did not note the place where his wife lived. The body of James J. Anderson was returned where he was buried in the Anderson family cemetery. One last note about the tragedy was the certain emotional stress for whites and blacks alike that resulted from this incident.

After the death of James J. Anderson, Mary, now in her late 50s, apparently took over the farm. In the 1850 census she is listed as head of a household with Oliver I (age 18), Mary (age 5) and 11 slaves (see Tables 2 and 4). By the time of the 1860 census, Oliver had married Mary Kelleam (in 1856) and had taken over the management of the Anderson farm. His mother was living with them at the time of the census and died shortly afterward on September 30th 1860. A Coswell Brannack, originally from North Carolina, was living with the family as a servant at this time according to the U.S. Census of Free Persons in 1860. There were six slaves on the Anderson farm at the time of this last slave census; a notable drop from previous census years. At the outset of the war, Oliver chose the Confederate side, later fought at Pea Ridge and in other encounters (Goodspeed 1889:127). Mary took her children and probably all the slaves to Texas to escape the war. A number of prominent northwest Arkansas families who had sided with the south made this decision early during the war. Families likely formed caravans for safety during the trip. Anderson family history notes a trusted female slave, Mammy Oma, who went to Texas and assisted Mary greatly in raising the children while there during the war.

After the war Mary brought her family back to the farm where she discovered the house had been burned. The family temporarily lived in the still-standing outbuildings until they had completed a new home. She and Oliver rebuilt a two-story frame I-plan that stood until it was torn down in the late 1980s (Freel and Hoog 1996:36). The Anderson family once again became a prominent force in the farm community due to Oliver and Mary's perseverance after the Civil War. During the tobacco boom of Benton County, Oliver helped area farmers build ten tobacco barns in ten days in 1876 (Plank 1959:14). The farm continued to be viable in the life of the Anderson family long after Oliver's death in 1904.

Table 1. U.S. Census data listed in 1840 for H. A. Anderson of Osage Township, Benton County, Arkansas.

Age Range	Under 5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60
Free White Males	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	1
Free White Females	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0

Age Range	Under 10	10-24	24-36	36-55	55-100
Slave Males	2	4	3	0	1
Slave Females	4	5	1	1	0

Table 2. Free Population Census Data listed in 1850, 1860 and 1870 for the Anderson family.

Date	Name	Age	Occupation	Place of Birth	Value Real Estate	Value Personal Property
1850	Mary A. Anderson	59		Kentucky	5000	No listing in 1850
"	Oliver I.	18	none	Alabama		
"	Mary L.	5		Arkansas		
1860	Oliver Anderson	28	Farmer	Alabama	5000	8151
"	Mary "	23		Arkansas		
"	William "	3		Arkansas		
"	Robert "	1		Arkansas		
"	Mary Anderson	68		Kentucky		
"	Coswell Brannack(?)	19	Serving	N.C.		
1870	Oliver Anderson	39	Farmer	Alabama	9000	1000
"	Mary "	39	Keeping House	Arkansas		
"	William "	13		Arkansas		
"	Robert "	11		Arkansas		
"	Kate	9		Arkansas		
"	Pearce	7		Arkansas		
"	Bettie	5		Texas		
"	Hugh	3		Arkansas		

SLAVE LIFE ON THE ANDERSON FARM

Life on the Anderson farm during the antebellum period is known from family history and what can be interpreted from census and other archival data. In general, not much is known about slavery in the Ozarks, and few studies of Ozark slave-holding farms have been published. Regional source material will be very important in shedding some light on the topic of slavery in the Ozarks and how various aspects of life may have been similar or different from other regions. Although a thorough discussion of regional source material and other studies regarding slavery are beyond the limits of the project scope, we will try to touch on these topics as they do have implications of the significance of the Anderson Slave Cemetery and its cultural context. Specific events regarding slaves associated with the Anderson family were noted in the previous section of this report. An additional bit of information was discovered during the course of the project identifying one of the slaves brought from Alabama. An obituary for Aaron Anderson Van Winkle from the Benton County Democrat 12 May 1904 (Hicks 1990:53) notes that he was brought with Hugh A. Anderson as a slave when the family originally settled in northwest Arkansas. Aaron Anderson Van Winkle (1829-1904) was a popular African-American resident of northwest Arkansas and is buried in the Bentonville City Cemetery.

At the time he came to Arkansas in 1836 he was 6 years of age and likely lived on the Anderson place until he was sold to Peter Van Winkle, who besides his other skills and investments, operated a large lumber mill on Van Hollow in eastern Benton County. Aaron Anderson Van Winkle worked for Peter as his servant until Peter's death in 1882. The ages noted for slaves on the Anderson farm in the 1840 and 1850 census suggests Aaron was sold in the mid-1840s. It is possible that some of Aaron's relatives or friends are buried at the Anderson Slave Cemetery. Another African-American Anderson may also be a former Anderson slave. Minerva Anderson is noted as living in White River Township, Benton County in 1870 and occupied as a domestic servant. This is the same township where Aaron Anderson Van Winkle resided after the war suggesting she may have been related to Aaron. She was noted as being 27 years of age at the time of the 1870 census and born in the state of Arkansas. In 1860 one of the female Anderson slaves was 18 years old, and in 1850, one noted as eight years old, ages closely matching what would have been Minerva Anderson's age in 1850 and 1860. No other black residents with the surname Anderson are noted in the Benton County 1870 census.

Table 3. Information from the 1850 and 1860 U.S. Slave Census, Benton County, Arkansas.

1850			**1860**		
Slave Owner	**Mary A. Anderson**		**Slave Owner**	**Oliver Anderson**	
Number of Slaves	Age	Sex	Number of Slaves	Age	Sex
1	62	F	1	65	M
1	53	M	1	20	F
1	48	M	1	19	M
1	8	F	1	18	F
1	9	M	1	10	F
1	9	F	1	2	M
1	6	F			
1	4	F			
1	3	M			
1	2	F			
1	4	F			

Data from the slave census note the ages and gender of those living on the Anderson farm in 1840, 1850 and 1860 (Tables 1 and 3). Of note are the eight young children in 1850 and the absence of a female of child-bearing age. This suggests the mother or mothers of these children

either died or were sold prior to the 1850 census. Only three of the eight children noted in 1850 (one male nine years of age, and two females age eight and nine) may have still been living on the Anderson farm in 1860.

These slaves may be those noted in the 1860 census with ages of 18, 19, and 20. Five of the children age six and below in 1850 were presumably sold or died during the 1850s since their corresponding ages are not shown for the Anderson family in the 1860 census. One or more of these slave children may have been given as gifts to other members of the family who left the farm. A common practice throughout the south, including this part of the Ozarks, was to give a slave servant to a newly married son or daughter as a wedding gift (Doolin 1980:30). Although the certainties of what became of the Anderson slaves is as yet unknown, it seems clear that maintaining slave nuclear families was not a primary concern.

Slaves obviously had limited choice of where they lived, what they built, what possessions they had, or even where they buried their dead. Nonetheless, they seemed to make the most of what little material possessions they had as well as any precious time not spent working for their master. While their lives as laborers were largely beyond their control, life in and around the slave quarters was normally unrestricted during the hours or days when they were not assigned work tasks. Of course these "off" hours were spent preparing meals, taking care of children, maintaining garden plots, chopping wood, and performing countless additional tasks for daily survival. Even so, a different way of life, unlike that seen under the master's watchful eye, existed on every farm and plantation. This culture combined the following basic elements: a deeply rooted African worldview that existed primarily on a subconscious level; the influence of Euro-American traditions, especially Christianity; and the physical and psychological impacts of slavery on the human condition. A unique African-American way of life was born, charged with spirit and persistence, and often seen from a white viewpoint as stubborn and superstitious. Slavery, to many white Americans, was justified by the prevalent notion at the time that blacks were racially and culturally inferior, thus helpless to live as free persons. The institution of slavery was also rationalized on the basis of a strict interpretation of the bible. Since slavery is repeatedly noted in the bible, many southern Christians believed it was theologically sound, morally just, and part of God's plan for humankind (Gomes 1996). This religious rationalization persisted many years before the Civil War, became a standard in the south during the war, and even persisted well into the beginning of this century as a rallying cry for many segregationists. The moral justification for slavery and its perceived role for a healthy national economy brought about the need to regulate many facets of slave life in the American legal system.

Like most southern states Arkansas had laws regulating slavery. For example, slaves were legally not allowed to work as farm laborers or as hired hands for their master on Sundays but they were allowed to work for themselves to help sustain their families. Codes strictly limited assembly of slaves and travel from one plantation to another. These codes were probably more strictly enforced among some owners than others and likely varied regionally. Where laws were nonexistent for various infractions or life circumstances like birth, marriage, or death, the master was the sole arbitrator in decision making. In Arkansas, no provision was made that slaves receive a proper funeral service, but most masters, under the normal circumstances of death, permitted burial and allowed funeral services to be held for their slaves. Even so, there were times when the time of the funeral was dependent on work schedules. A number of accounts in the Works Progress Administration slave narratives note funerals often were held weeks after a burial. Sometimes the owner would allow the slaves to choose a date for the funeral days or

weeks after the burial, which oftentimes occurred at night (Blassingame 1972). The funeral services often involved preaching, eulogizing, and celebrating the life of the deceased.

Whites sometimes attended the funeral services, but rarely, if ever, attended wakes or night burials of slaves.

Nails and boards for making coffins were sometimes supplied by the master and normally made by some member of the slave community. Sometimes coffins were not used at all. One Texas ex-slave commented that his experience was "When slaves die or git whupped to death, 'bout night they would send somebody out to dig the grave, and then they would go out and bury him when it come dark. Harris--he was a nigger on the plantation--would make the coffin jus' straight box-like--jus' like a hoss trough. They would jus' dig a hole and put the nigger in there and throw dirt on him. They wasn't any preacher or sorrowin' when a slave die" (Rawick 1979:629). Other accounts also indicate little preparation for the grave pit other than digging a simple hole in many cases. On the other hand, some masters supplied built coffins and bought or supplied material for grave markers for a few of their elite slaves (Roediger 1981:165).

The location of burial plots for slaves was dependent to a large degree on the master's bidding. Some plots were located in the rear of the white family cemetery or adjacent and outside the white cemetery. Some ex-slave accounts note slave burial grounds would only be allowed some distance from the plantation house and white cemetery. These plots were always on land unsuitable for cultivation, and considered poor for most farm use, and likely subject to flooding. If slaves had any say in determining the location of their separate cemetery, it was probably in the distance from their dwellings on land deemed appropriate by the master. A separate burying ground had the benefit of privacy from whites. The location of the Anderson Slave Cemetery was probably based on Hugh Anderson's and/or his slaves' idea of what location and distance from the white settlement was considered appropriate.

The mortality census was checked for 1850, 1860 and 1870 for persons associated with the Anderson farm. No persons indicated as slaves belonging to the Anderson family are noted in the 1850 and 1860 mortality census and no blacks with the surname Anderson are noted in the 1870 mortality census for Benton County. Since mortality census data only note persons who died the year before the census was taken, the fact that no such persons are listed as possibly associated with the Anderson family is not surprising.

THE ANDERSON SLAVE CEMETERY SOURCES

The existence of a slave cemetery associated with the Anderson place is mentioned in two references. In an article published in the Benton County Pioneer (1957:16) about the Anderson-Dinsmore-Watson Families the second paragraph reads:

> Also on the homestead is another cemetery, said to be the only one for Negroes in the county, that is known at this time. Of course early graves are those of former slaves who came with the families from Alabama (Anonymous 1957:16).

The second reference to the slave cemetery is noted for the Anderson Family Cemetery in Volume IV of the Cemeteries of Benton County (Northwest Arkansas Genealogical Society 1975:40). A statement noting the location of the marked Anderson Family Cemetery is followed by these comments regarding the slave cemetery:

"About 30 negro slaves brought from Tennessee were buried across the road from the house. Slave area is now a plowed field field" (Northwest Arkansas Genealogical Society 1975:40).

The 1957 reference suggests the slave cemetery at that time was probably still fenced or at least marked and certainly well known. Statements in the 1975 reference place the cemetery within the project area and note it was a cultivated field implying it was unmarked.

The archival record of the Anderson farm, particularly during the antebellum period, provides a context for the historic landscape when the slave cemetery was an active, integral part of the plantation. For this farm, the slaves were permitted to maintain a burying ground some distance (about one-quarter mile) from the owner's home and family cemetery. Although the location of the slave quarters have yet to be archeologically identified, family sources indicate these houses were located about 200meters east of the slave cemetery. The identification and specific location of these related features give us an idea of the layout of the Anderson farm. In part this layout was planned based on what was considered an appropriate use of space for slaves as opposed to white members of the family. Living quarters and burying grounds were separated with white facilities north of the road on rolling hill topography with slave quarters and burying ground all located south of the road on a relatively low stream terrace. There were certainly practical reasons for the placement of some of these built features, but equally important for the black-white feature locations, was the idea of racial segregation. There may have also been an underlying subconscious message of power, wealth, and community status. Slave dwellings were below the mansion and the slave burying ground was located on land subject to flooding; therefore considered of little economic value. The white family cemetery, on the other hand, was situated on a very high hill overlooking the mansion and farm below, including the slave living quarters. People traveling along the road would probably immediately recognize the Anderson farm buildings as part of a large operation owned by a prominent family rather than one of the many modest Ozark farmsteads that dotted the landscape in the surrounding neighborhood.

REFERENCES CITED

Anonymous
1956 Note on the Death of Lt. Colonel Paul Liggett Anderson. *Benton County Pioneer* I(4):3.

1957 Anderson-Dinsmore-Watson Families. *Benton County Pioneer* II(4):16-17.

1849 Horrible Murder. *Arkansas Intelligencer* VIII(20):2.

Benton County
Circuit Court Deed Records, Book A. Barry Library, Peel House Museum, Bentonville, Arkansas.

Black, J.D.
1975 *History of Benton County*. Lithographed by International Graphics Industries, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Blankenship, Calvin & Clara and John Kearney
1975 Anderson Cemetery. In *Cemeteries of Benton County, Arkansas*, Vol. IV, pages 40-41. Published by Northwest Arkansas Genealogical Society.

Blassingame, J.W.
1972 *The Slave Community, Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Buell, M.A.
1990 *A Historical Geography of Selected Small Towns in Benton County, Arkansas.* Masters Thesis, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

Cande, K.H.
1995 *The Ozarks as Destination: Phase III Archeological Investigations at the Lambert Farmstead (3CW674) and Phase II Testing at the Dement Farmstead and Cemetery (3CW685), Crawford County, Arkansas.* Arkansas Archeological Survey Project Nos. 829 & 864 Final Report.

Carter, D.G.
1970 Some Historical Notes on Far West Seminary. *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 49(4):345-360.

Cathey, C.W.
1944 Slavery in Arkansas. *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* III(1):67-90.

Donat, Pat
1971 Fayetteville's Oldest Home. *Flashback* 21(3)39-55.

Doolin, James
1980 Conditions of Slavery in Washington County *Flashback*, Published by Washington

County Historical Society, February 1980:5-8;30-34.

Easley, B.P. and V.P. McAnelly
1995 *Obituaries of Benton County, Arkansas, Volume Four, 1910-1913.* Heritage Books, Inc., Bowie, Maryland.

Fenno, C.B.
1978 *The Place Names of Benton County, Arkansas.* Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

Fowler, Mrs. Charles
1981 A Look at Lowell, Arkansas. *Benton County Pioneer* 26(4):56-60.

Freels, M.D. and Wayne Hoog
1996 Hazel Glen Farm. *Benton County Pioneer* 41(2):36.

Gearhart, George
1958 Reminiscenses of Old Anderson Township and its People. *Benton County Pioneer* III(3):8-10.

General Land Office
1834 *T19N R31W Survey Map.* State Land Office, Little Rock.

Goodspeed Publishing Company
1889 *History of Benton, Washington, Carroll, Madison, Crawford, Franklin, and Sebastian Counties, Arkansas.* Goodspeed, Chicago.

Gomes, P.J.
1996 *The Good Book: Reading the Bible with Mind and Heart.* William Morrow And Company, Inc. New York.

Guendling, R.L.
1989 *An Archival and Field Research Study of Cultural Resources within the National Cemetery Expansion Area, Pulaski County, Arkansas.* Arkansas Arkansas Archeological Survey Project No. 714.

Henry, D.O.
1994 *A Reconnaissance Level Cultural Resource Survey of Areas Proposed for the Northwest Arkansas Regional Airport, Benton and Washington Counties, Arkansas.* Prepared for Barnard Dunkelberg and Company, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Hicks, M.L.
1990 *The Van Winkle Family*. Marilyn Larner Hicks, Dallas Texas.

Memory, Melissa
1995 *Historical Archeological Investigations of the Wilson Farm Site (3WA988).* Unpublished manuscript on file with the Arkansas Archeological Survey.

Morgan, G.D.
1973 *Black Hillbillies of the Arkansas Ozarks.*

O'Brien, M.J. and J.A. Ferguson, D.E. Lewarch, C.K. McDaniel, W.M. Selby, L.M. Snyder, R.E. Warren
1984 *Grassland, Forest, and Historical Settlement.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Phillips, W.W. and M.D. Harper
1977 *Soil Survey of Benton County, Arkansas.* United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service and Forest Service, in Cooperation with the Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station.

Plank, W.H.
1959 When Tobacco was King. *Benton County Pioneer* IV(3):13-15.

Rawick, G.P.
1979 *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography,* Supplement, Series 2, Volume III, Texas Narratives, Part 2. George P. Rawick, General Editor, Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, Number 49, Greenwood Press, Westport Connecticut.
Reaves, L.M.
1941 Glimpses of Yesterday. In *The Arkansas Gazette,* Sunday, July 27.

Reed, J.S.
1961 *Solomon Tuttle of Old Mt. Comfort and His Descendents*. Published by the Washington County Historical Society.

Roediger, D.R.
1982 And Die in Dixie: Funerals, Death, & Heaven in the Slave Community 1700-1865. *The Massachusetts Review* 163-183.
Rose, F.P.
1952 Hugh Anderson Dinsmore. *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* IX(1):69-78.

Scott, Gail
1984 *Will Book A Benton County, Arkansas, Box #1 Estate Records*. Northwest Arkansas Genealogical Society, Rogers, Arkansas.

Seamster, Alvin
1964 Roads of Benton County. *Benton County Pioneer* IX(4):68-70.

Spears, C.S., M.H. Manhein, J.C. Dixon, and G.E. Padgham
1996 *Archeological Investigations and Restoration of the Old Pioneer Cemetery in Greenland,*

Washington County, Arkansas. SPEARS Project Report 106.

Trubowitz, N.L.
1985 Archeological Background from the 1980 Excavations. Chapter 3 in *Gone to a Better Land,* edited by Jerome C. Rose. Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series No. 25, W.F. Limp, Series Editor.
U. S. Census
1830 *Population Schedules Territory of Arkansas, Washington County.* University of Arkansas Special Collections, Fayetteville.

1840 *Population Schedule, Arkansas, Benton County*. Microfilm, University of Arkansas Special Collections, Fayetteville.

1849 *Population Schedule, Arkansas, Benton County*. Microfilm, University of Arkansas Special Collections, Fayetteville.

1860 *Population Schedule, Arkansas, Benton County.* Microfilm, University of Arkansas Special Collections, Fayetteville.

1870 *Population Schedule, Arkansas, Benton County.* Microfilm, University of Arkansas Special Collections, Fayetteville.

U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management Eastern States
1993 *Pre-1908 Homestead & Cash Entry Patents.* General Land Office Automated Records Project, Compact Disc.

Washington County
1836 *County Tax Records*. Microfilm, University of Arkansas Special Collections, Fayetteville.

1837 *County Tax Records*. Microfilm, University of Arkansas Special Collections, Fayetteville.