

**HISTORICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE
ANDERSON SLAVE CEMETERY (3BE625)
BENTON COUNTY, ARKANSAS**

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Submitted to
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Abstract

An unmarked slave cemetery was reportedly located on a thirty-acre tract of land recently acquired by the Northwest Arkansas Airport Authority. Upon receiving various reports about its location from informants, including the Benton County Cemetery Preservation Group, the Airport Authority decided to consult with the Arkansas Archeological Survey to specifically locate the cemetery so it could be protected from future development. Various locations within the thirty-acre pasture were investigated by mechanical stripping of topsoil in areas where informants located the unmarked cemetery. Difficulty was encountered in cleanly removing topsoil by mechanical stripping because pockets of naturally occurring chert existed just under the surface in many parts of the field. When the blade encountered these pockets of stone, it would smear them in the surface of the cut thus obscuring the scraped area. Despite this limitation, bladed cuts were sufficient to discern soil anomalies that occurred on the scraped surface.

Three features interpreted as infant or sub-adult grave pits were located in Area B by a combination of mechanical stripping of topsoil and hand-excavated units. This area was located on a small knoll at the back corner of the former Anderson family farm near an intermittent creek. Features 1 and 2 were discovered by a hand-dug test and exposed in profile. Soil samples were taken from Features 1 and 2 for basic tests. No artifacts or skeletal material were discovered for samples that were sieved utilizing a flotation device. Feature 3 was exposed in top plan view after a soil color and texture change was noted in the corner of a hand-excavated test unit. No fill was collected from Feature 3. All three features were encountered at a depth of only 30-35cm. below ground surface. No further investigations were conducted in Area B since the project goal of identifying the specific location of the cemetery had been met. Further mechanical stripping was also considered unnecessary and potentially damaging to any additional shallow burials that may exist on the Area B knoll. The airport authority plans to mark off and protect the location of the cemetery.

Identification of various antebellum features, including the specific location of the slave cemetery, provides spatial data for defining the landscape of the Anderson antebellum farm. The slave dwellings and the burying ground were located south of a road and on relatively lower topographic settings than for the white family home and cemetery. The slave cemetery is located about 400meters south of the Anderson family cemetery on a corner of the property that is subject to flooding.

Historical accounts and archival data, which were gathered during this project, provide some detail of the antebellum landscape. Although we do not know the names of those buried in the Anderson Slave Cemetery, a few records do provide clues concerning possible relatives as well as incidents involving slaves associated with the Anderson family.

INTRODUCTION

At the request of Mr. Scott Van Laningham of the Northwest Arkansas Regional Airport (NWARA) Authority, the Arkansas Archeological Survey conducted an archeological survey of a thirty-acre tract of pastureland recently acquired by the Authority. The goal of the survey was to locate an unmarked slave cemetery associated with the Anderson family, the original pioneer settlers of the property. The field study was completed in 14 days between April 17 and May 6, 1998 by Jerry Hilliard, Jared Pebworth and Mike Evans of the Survey. Volunteer assistants included Lela Donat, Jason Harmon and James Davidson, all of the Survey or University of Arkansas Anthropology Department. Members of the Benton County Cemetery Preservation Group, Inc., especially Pat Perona, assisted during the project in providing informant information regarding the location of the slave cemetery. William "Bear" Boyett, airport construction inspector, assisted the survey crew in arranging for the use of heavy equipment.

Mr. Steve "Andy" Anderson, descendent of the original Anderson family, provided the author with genealogical information as well as information about former structures and other features associated with the family farm. Area residents also provided information about the former farm and potential location of the slave cemetery. These include Dane Rice, Derik Lewis, Hazel Rice Bright, Art Stout, Rex Grimsley, and Lee Harris. Scott Van Laningham compiled much of the informant information prior to our field study. Mike Lantrip, Resource Conservation Technician of the Bentonville USDA Natural and Cultural Resources Office, provided assistance in interpreting features on old aerial photographs.

The author conducted document research in the Berry Research Center at the Peel House in Bentonville, and at Special Collections, University of Arkansas Fayetteville. Monty Balk, archivist at the Benton County Courthouse, provided information about early tax records in Benton County. This research was conducted primarily after the conclusion of the field study in May. James Davidson and Jamie Brandon provided the author with useful cemetery data and source material regarding African-American burial practices.

The history of the reported slave cemetery is poorly known. No map sources indicate its presence and no records have been located indicating the names, ages or dates of persons buried. After the NWARA acquired the property consisting of thirty acres, a number of informants reported to the Airport Authority the existence of an unmarked slave cemetery located on the property. Since evidence from a variety of informant sources indicated the presence of the unmarked cemetery, the NWARA decided an on-the-ground search was necessary to determine its precise location. Informant information was inconsistent about the location of the cemetery within the project area. All sources did agree that a former slave cemetery was fenced at one time and the location was somewhere within the thirty-acre field. The fence and headstones were reportedly removed sometime in the last 50 years so the plot could be cultivated. Informants reported anywhere from eight to 30 graves. Anderson family history suggests there were no African-American burials that date after the Civil War. According to U.S. census data, 21 slaves resided on the Anderson farm at the time the 1840 census was taken, eleven in 1850 and only six in 1860.

All field documentation, including photographic negatives, slides, notes and maps have been deposited with the University of Arkansas Fayetteville Arkansas Archeological Survey

Research Station. Copies of all records were also submitted to the Arkansas Archeological Survey Registrar.

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Site forms were completed by the author and have also been submitted to the Registrar. State archeological sites recorded as the result of this project include the Anderson Slave Cemetery (3BE625), Anderson carriage house area (3BE626), location of the former Anderson Mansion (3BE631), and the extant Anderson Family Cemetery (3BE632). The latter two sites are located on private property adjacent to the project area. These sites were recorded because of their historical relationship to the slave cemetery and significance in understanding the antebellum landscape of the Anderson farm and local community.

PROJECT AREA DESCRIPTION

The thirty-acre project area is located on the Springfield Plateau of the Ozark Highland physiographic province in Benton County, Arkansas. The topographic setting is an upland terrace and floodplain about 1200-1220 feet above mean sea level. An intermittent tributary of Little Osage Creek, which runs west to east, forms the southern boundary of our project area (Figure 1). The northern and eastern project boundary is at Orchid Road while the western boundary is the half-section line separating the east and west halves of Section 29, Township 19N Range 31W.

The primary soils type for the project area is Peridge silt loam, 1 to 3 percent slopes (Phillips and Harper 1977:30). As Henry (1994:7) notes for an archeological survey conducted for adjacent airport property, these soils are naturally high in acidity, oxidation and leaching characteristics; all properties which are not conducive to the preservation of organic materials. The positive identification of the cemetery was found on a low knoll with soils characteristic of the Peridge series.

A second type of soil found at the south third of the project area adjacent to the creek is Secesh gravelly silt loam, occasionally flooded (Phillips and Harper 1977:32). Although this portion of the field was not mechanically bladed of topsoil, evidence of the cemetery was found on a low knoll within a few meters north of the flood prone Secesh soils type.

In recent years the project area has been in pasture but probably was under cultivation as recently as the early to mid 1960s. The northern portion of the field has been under tillage much longer than the south portion, which was probably wooded until the late 1950s or early 1960s. Subsequently, the fence line adjacent to the north creek bank at the southern edge of our project area is relatively recent with an earlier east-west fence located about 50-60meters north in what is now open pasture. One informant placed the location of the slave cemetery at the edge of this former fence line on a low knoll. This knoll was designated Area B and eventually became the focus of our field investigations.

Features associated with the Anderson farm but are not within the project area are located north of Orchid Road on private property (Figure 2). These features include a large spring and associated stream, the original site of the Anderson home, and the associated family cemetery. These are considered an important part of our study since they are an integral part of the original Anderson settlement and associated with the slave cemetery.

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 captian 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 Intelligencer 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).

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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 court house, 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."

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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.

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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 suggest 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 which was 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 (See Appendix B). 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. The proceedings, as published in *FLASHBACK*, by the Washington County Historical Society, are found in Appendix B.

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:

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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, are 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 negroes 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.

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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.

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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.

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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 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.

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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:

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“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.

FIELD METHODS

Field methods consisted primarily of using a road grader and/or front-end loader to blade four areas identified by informants as the location of the unmarked cemetery. Archeologists have used heavy equipment successfully in various regions of the state, including the Ozarks, for finding graves (Guendling 1989; Cande 1995; Spears 1996). Topsoil removal at or below plow zone depth is necessary to discover grave pit fill. The definition of the tell-tell grave outline is variable in distinctiveness depending on the nature of the topography, soils, geology, type of burial, and post cemetery land-use. Grave pits may show as dark organic stains in light color alluvial sandy soil or as subtle stains of lighter color soil and loose fill in rocky upland topography.

The entire project area prior to our field study was in thick pasture grass. No surface indications of grave depressions, vegetation changes or other indications of a cemetery were observed on a walkover of the property. Prior to topsoil removal, shovel tests and .5m x 1m strata-tests were hand-dug to determine the depth of plow zone and soil strata. Blade cuts were examined for the presence of pit stains and/or fill diagnostic of the size and shape of grave shafts.

A natural limestone and chert strata that occasionally outcrops to near ground surface hampered clean blade cuts in much of the field. Average plow zone depth was 20-25cm and it was necessary to blade at least about 10cm below the plow zone to thoroughly examine a blade cut for features. Finally, hand-dug 1m x 1m units were excavated in Area B after this was determined to be the most likely location of the cemetery based on informant and map data.

RESULTS OF FIELD STUDY

Area A was designated based on an informant who formerly plowed this field with a mule. He indicated that in the late 1940s while plowing the field his mule sunk into the ground. As he reported this incident to the landowner he asked why his mule sunk, and the response was that place was the location of the old slave cemetery. Since the informant pinpointed this location for Mr. Van Laningham, we bladed a large area around where he indicated his mule sunk in a supposed grave shaft. An approximate area of 1,600 square meters was scraped of topsoil and plow zone deposits. No soil anomalies distinctive of grave pits were located although one burned tree stump was observed. Pockets of chert strata were noted as natural features throughout this bladed area.

Area B is a low knoll in the southwest corner of the pasture. This is where a long-time resident located the cemetery based on visits made by him and his uncle, who owned the property at the time.

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The informant noted the area was fenced at the time of his visits with a low hog-wire enclosure. About eight marked graves were reportedly located within the enclosure. His uncle told him this was the location of the old slave cemetery. At the time of this informant's visits, he noted the cemetery was at the edge of the woods and fence. Later, in the 1950s, the woods adjacent and south of this knoll were cleared and the fence line moved south closer to the creek bank about along where it exists today. The informant indicated the cemetery fence was taken down at this time so that additional acreage could be put into cultivation. The knoll is within or adjacent to the floodplain and is about 1 meter higher than surrounding terrain. Aerial photographs from 1954 and 1971 located in the Bentonville office of the USDA Natural Resources and Conservation Service indicated a square anomaly in Area B. These maps, in addition to an aerial photograph taken in 1964 for the Benton County Soils Book (Phillips and Harper 1977), also show a faint fence line and/or east-west trending woods line along Area B. This information verifies the informant's recollection of the old fence and woods line near the cemetery. It appears this tract was cleared of trees by 1954. The square anomaly may be indicative of a difference in vegetation pattern or depression. Mike Landtrip, Resource Conservation Technician, examined the 1954 and 1971 aerial and determined the anomaly represented evidence of a cultural feature and was not part of the natural landscape due to its configuration and location within the field.

The north half of the knoll for Area B was bladed thoroughly and no pit features indicative of grave pits were discovered. Due to several factors, the south half of this knoll was only partially bladed with initial cuts only removing the grass and top 5cm of soil. A strata test was excavated on this part of the knoll on April 10th to determine the depth of plow zone. This work was conducted to aid machine removal of topsoil scheduled for the following week. A stratum of loose fill was discovered in the hand-dug 1.50m x 1m unit from the bottom of the plow zone to a depth 65cm below the bladed surface. Subsequent field days were spent

hand-digging adjacent trenches (see Figure 4). Ultimately, these hand-dug trenches completely exposed in profile two pit features (Features 1 and 2). The size of these features and their length to width ratio are indicative of sub-adult grave pits. No evidence was discovered indicating the use of coffins. The non-rectilinear profiles of these features also suggest that coffins were not utilized. Features 1 and 2 were adjacent to one another separated by only about 70cm. (see Figure 5) suggesting there was some relationship between them. Depth to the bottom of these features below current surface was approximately 65-70cm (see Figures 6-10). The grave shafts or pits were dug to the top of a dense limestone/chert/clay surface about 3 feet below ground surface. Soil samples and flotation samples were taken of these features with the remainder of the pit fill left intact. No evidence of human skeletal material or artifacts was found.

One additional feature recognized as a grave pit stain was discovered May 4 approximately 10m east of Features 1 and 2. Feature 3 was discovered in a 1 x 1meter test unit about 30cm below surface. Additionally 3 hand-dug units were opened to completely expose the top of this pit stain (Figure 11). Maximum depth of the unit excavations for Feature 3 was 40cm. Feature 3 consisted of loose, sandy loam fill, appearing slightly lighter in color than the surrounding clay subsoil. Few rocks were present in the fill as opposed to surrounding areas of the site. The orientation of Feature 3 (long axis east by west), size (126cm by ca. 65cm) and oblong shape, is interpreted as evidence indicating that this is a sub-adult burial pit (Figure 12). Although Features 1 and 2 were exposed and excavated in profile, they were of the approximate size and shape as Feature 3.

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Length and width measurements for features discovered here are similar to the minimum length and width measurements of grave shafts for the excavated Cedar Grove Cemetery in southern Arkansas (Trubowitz 1985:20). Grave shafts discovered at Cedar Grove ranged in length from 0.9 to 2.6 meters and in width from 0.5 to 1.2 meters. This data is supportive of the interpretation that the features discovered in Area B are also grave shafts.

The pit fill of Feature 3 was not excavated since evidence was supportive that this was a grave. No further work was conducted in Area B since it was determined the location of the cemetery had been found. State site number 3BE625 has been assigned to the portion of Area B where Features 1, 2 and 3 are located.

South of Area B at a distance of about 50meters and adjacent to the existing fence in the woods there were discovered several piles of debris, primarily various size stones, presumably from field clearing activities. Six, large limestone rocks suitable as grave markers were discovered in one of these piles. Some of these seem to have been shaped into tabular forms of suitable size for grave markers. These stones could have easily been obtained locally since limestone slabs are predominant in area geologic strata. They may have been taken from the adjacent streambed and lower creek bank where limestone was observed in tabular and slab form. Two hand-made bricks were also found in this rock pile. These stones and brick fragments were cleaned and photographed and later returned to Area B where they have been left to mark the interpreted burial features.

LABORATORY ANALYSIS OF SOILS

Soil samples were collected from Features 1 and 2 for basic analysis which was

conducted by the Cooperative Extension Service, University of Arkansas (Table 4). Samples were also obtained adjacent and at the same approximate depths as samples from the feature fill. Phosphorus content, although considered low, is higher in feature fill samples. The higher phosphorous content in the feature fill may be due to decomposition of bone from the burials. Archeological studies of chemical analysis of grave fill have been limited in number with somewhat inconclusive results, although high phosphorous content is generally a good indicator of decomposed bone.

Table 4. Basic Soils PH and Chemical Elements (lbs. Per Acre) for Area B samples.

Sample PH	P	K	Ca	Mg	Na	So4S	Fe	Mn	Cu	Zn	
Feature 1 (3a)	7.2	25	200	1419	85	89	10	126	310	2.0	1.4
Feature 1 (3b)	6.8	41	168	1810	11	99	15	108	146	1.2	1.0
Feature 2	6.3	67	172	1377	83	94	25	105	81	1.1	0.8
Test Unit 2	6.1	16	275	1639	140	108	29	108	224	1.4	0.8
Root Stain	6.2	25	166	1692	136	103	16	100	431	2.9	10.2

Separate samples of soil were sieved utilizing a flotation device to search for any evidence of artifact content within the fill from Features 1 and 2.

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A water source is used with the flotation tank to sieve soil for artifacts, bone, charcoal, and any other organic or inorganic matter. No artifacts or bone fragments were discovered in the flotation soil samples. Wood charcoal fragments were found primarily from Feature 1 soil samples. These fragments are probably the result of field burning and tree stump and/or root removal when the area was cleared, either before use as a grave plot or when the area was cleared for use as a plowed field. No artifacts or bone was discovered in the fill. Various size rocks of sandstone, chert and limestone is inclusive of the fill.

SUMMARY OF FIELD INVESTIGATION

Three pit features were encountered in Area B blade cuts. These features are interpreted as burial pits. They were found in an area where an informant visited the cemetery as a boy when it was fenced and marked. Aerial photographs verified an anomaly, interpreted as a cultural feature, in Area B. Several limestone tabular rocks and two hand-made bricks were discovered south of Area B adjacent to the woods and existing fence. These stones and bricks are suitable as grave markers and some appear to be crudely shaped.

The size and shape of the three features suggest these are child burial pits. No evidence of coffins, coffin hardware or burial artifacts was discovered. The oblong non-rectilinear shapes of the pits were also indicative of burials lacking coffins. Since the goal of discovering the location of the slave cemetery within the project area had been met, no further topsoil removal was conducted to locate additional features.

MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Additional grave pits are likely located in areas on the knoll which were not thoroughly bladed, especially east of Feature 3. An area 100' north south by 200' east west was staked delimiting the area of the knoll. This area should be avoided for future development. Fencing the area as staked should adequately delimit the area known as the Anderson Slave Cemetery. No further archeological examination of the cemetery is required as long as this area remains undeveloped. Further machine scraping, subsequent grave removal and relocation is recommended if the area of the Anderson Slave Cemetery is planned for future development.

PROJECT RESULTS

Documentation indicating the presence of the cemetery includes archival sources and informant information. Aerial photographic maps show an anomaly in a portion of the project area, designated Area B, where one of the informants said he visited the slave cemetery as a boy. The specific location of the Anderson Slave Cemetery was identified by the discovery of three archeological features interpreted as infant or child grave pits found in Area B. Features 1 and 2 were identified in profile excavations. Feature 3 was identified in plan and left undisturbed. Fill from Features 1 and 2 was collected and sieved using the Survey's flotation device. No artifacts or bone were recovered. Other excavations of historic burials in the Ozarks, especially for those of infants or children, indicate physical remains are almost non-existent about 30 years after inhumation due to the high acidity of upland soils (Cande 1995:167). Soil samples taken from Feature 1 and 2 fill and surrounding soil were tested for basic properties.

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The phosphorous content of the feature fill was higher than for samples of surrounding matrix, which may indicate bone decomposition within the features. Machine removal of plow zone and hand dug test units conducted adjacent to and surrounding the features indicate any additional burials would likely be located randomly on the knoll rather than in row/column placement. The close proximity of Features 1 and 2 suggests the two burial pits were dug at about the same time.

Although machine scraping of topsoil and plow zone was successful in locating these features, the nature of the soils, geology, burial type and post depositional disturbances due mainly to plowing made this a difficult task. The feature definitions were visually subtle but recognized mainly by the difference in texture and soil compaction as compared to surrounding soil matrix. Similar grave pit characteristics for were found for the Dement Cemetery in Crawford County, Arkansas (Cande 1995), even though these child burials were interred in coffins.

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.

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