

**INVESTIGATIONS AT THE VALLEY PLANTATION
TENANT HOUSE #1 SITE (3DR476)**



Report by:

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCING SITE 3DR476 VALLEY TENANT HOUSE #1

Site 3DR476 was once the location of an African American tenant farmer house on the Drew County side of the Valley Plantation in southeast Arkansas, specifically located in Township 11S Range 4W Section 06. Subsurface excavations were conducted at the former location of the house in May of 2022 and served as the first major investigation of an exclusively postbellum site on the plantation. The investigations are part of a larger Valley Plantation project (Figure 1.1) intended to better understand Black lifeways on the plantation as well as to engage with the local African American community and their history.

In addition to documentary and archeological research, investigators identified key African American informants who either lived on the plantation prior to 1960 or were descended from plantation residents. These were Merle Bryant and Azzie McGehee, both of whom were born on the plantation in the 1930s, and Cassandra Webb, whose great-grandparents are buried near 3DR476 in the Cypress Grove Cemetery (3DR297) and many of whose ancestors lived and labored on the plantation around the turn of the twentieth century.

While none of these informants participated in the archeological investigation of the site due to physical limitations, some participated in the documentary research process as well as in the interpretation of places and artifacts. Moving forward our intention is to continue identifying African American stakeholders, whether of direct descent or local affinity, to address general issues of representation and participation in research projects.

This technical report provides an overview of the project as it relates to site 3DR476—the archival research process as well as the archeological investigations. It also includes a complete discussion of the artifacts recovered from the site. Many of these artifacts are now on display in an exhibit curated by Matthew Rooney (Figure 1.2) at the nearby Taylor dogtrot house (3DR26), which is owned and operated as a historic property by University of Arkansas at Monticello (UAM). That house was studied archeologically by both Leslie C. “Skip” Stewart-Abernathy (1992) and Jodi Barnes (2021) in years past.

General artifact analysis was conducted by Matthew Rooney and Virginia O’Connor, while all of the glass artifacts were analyzed by Katy Gregory. Faunal remains were mailed to Lucretia Kelly for cursory comments with the caveat that she will conduct thorough analysis of these types of artifacts after a larger number are recovered from Valley plantation sites in the future.



Figure 1.1: Plantation-era sites documented in the Valley Plantation Project Area



Figure 2.1: Merle Bryant and Matthew Rooney at the opening of the “Black Lifeways Through the Valley” exhibit, October 5, 2022 (Photograph by Kelsey Englert, University of Arkansas at Monticello)

In addition to Bryant, McGehee, and Webb, the authors wish to thank all of those who supported and participated in the research process. These include UAM faculty members John Henris, John Kyle Day, Clinton Young, and Eric Prichard; Arkansas Archeological Society members Don Bragg, Kenneth Bragg, Hope Bragg, Mary Jo Tucker, Tommy Gray, and Peggy Chapman; and Arkansas Archeological Survey staff Rachel Tebbetts, Jared Pebworth, and Melissa Zabecki.

Chapter 2

ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

(Adapted from Hart 2020)

Arkansas archeological site 3DR476 sits on a small terrace overlooking Bayou Bartholomew in the northeast corner of Drew County, Arkansas. The United States Department of Agriculture's (USDA) Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS) includes this terrace within Major Land Resource Area (MLRA) 131B: the Arkansas River Alluvium. MLRA 131B (Figure 2.1) extends across 3,955 square miles across Arkansas and Louisiana.



Figure 2.1: Mapped extent of MLRA 131B (Adapted from Hart 2020)

The site straddles two different ecological sites as delineated by the NRCS: Loamy Flood Plain (F131BY003AR) and Clayey Flood Plain (F131BY006AR), which are similar landforms with different soil textures. These sites occur on natural levees on floodplains and have slope ranges from 0 to 5. Water tables can be as high as 18 inches and are higher in the winter and early spring. The average annual precipitation is 56 inches, with most of the rainfall occurring in frontal storms during late fall, winter, and early spring. The total amount of precipitation that occurs as snow ranges from less than one percent to five percent. Temperatures range from highs in the low 90's during summer to lows in the low 30's during winter.

The bedrock in MLRA 131B consists of Tertiary and Cretaceous sands formed as beach deposits during the retreat of the Cretaceous ocean from the midsection of the United States. Alluvial deposits from flooding and lateral migration of the Arkansas and Ouachita Rivers typically lie above the bedrock. Soils on both ecological sites consist of very deep, somewhat poorly to well drained, very slow to moderately permeable soils. Most have a silt loam surface but can range from very fine sandy loam to silty clay loam. The typical profile recorded by archeologists at the field site in 2022 was 0-12 cmbd 10YR 2/2 very dark brown silty loam, 12-19 cmbd 10YR 3/4 dark yellowish brown silty loam, and 19-25 cmbd 7.5YR 4/4 brown silty clay.

The area once consisted entirely of bottomland hardwood deciduous forest and mixed hardwood and cypress swamps pocked with areas of prairies on the terraces (Figure 2.2). The major tree species in the native plant communities include water oak, Nuttall oak, cherrybark oak, pecan, red maple, sweetgum, eastern cottonwood, and hickory. The native understory species are palmetto, greenbrier, wild grape, and poison ivy. The nearby swamps additionally consist of trees including bald cypress, water tupelo, green ash, and black willow; and understory including buttonbush, lizardtail, waterlily, sedges, and rushes. The terraces are vegetated with switchgrass, bluestem, Indiangrass, and eastern gamagrass.



Figure 2.2: Photograph of a portion of 3DR476 taken during field excavations in May 2022 (Photograph by Kelsey Englert, University of Arkansas at Monticello)

Bayou Bartholomew, which runs across the northern boundary of 3DR476, is considered the longest bayou in the world, flowing 359 river miles from Pine Bluff, Arkansas to Sterlington, Louisiana. The bayou was created about 2,000 years ago when the Arkansas River moved to the east, leaving behind an old river bed.

Although the site marker in Figure 2.3 is placed just outside of the Rilla silt loam feature (RbB), the site does appear to sit squarely in this soil setting rather than in the Perry clay feature (Pe) that lines Bayou Bartholomew to the north. This RbB terrace is considered a Loamy Flood Plain ecological site with slopes of 3 to 5 percent. The pH rating for Pe is 5.3 (strongly acid), and the pH rating of RbB is 5.6 (moderately acid). Soils that have a pH below 5.5 generally have a low availability of calcium, magnesium, and phosphorus. At these low pH's, the solubility of aluminum, iron, and boron is high.



Figure 2.3: Site 3DR476 marked on the NRSC Web Soil Survey

Chapter 3

CULTURAL SETTING

The land where site 3DR476 was documented was part of a 52-million-acre cession that the Quapaw Tribe of Indians was forced to cede to the United States government in 1818 (Figure 3.1). This cession included lands across what is now southern Arkansas, southern Oklahoma, and northern Louisiana.

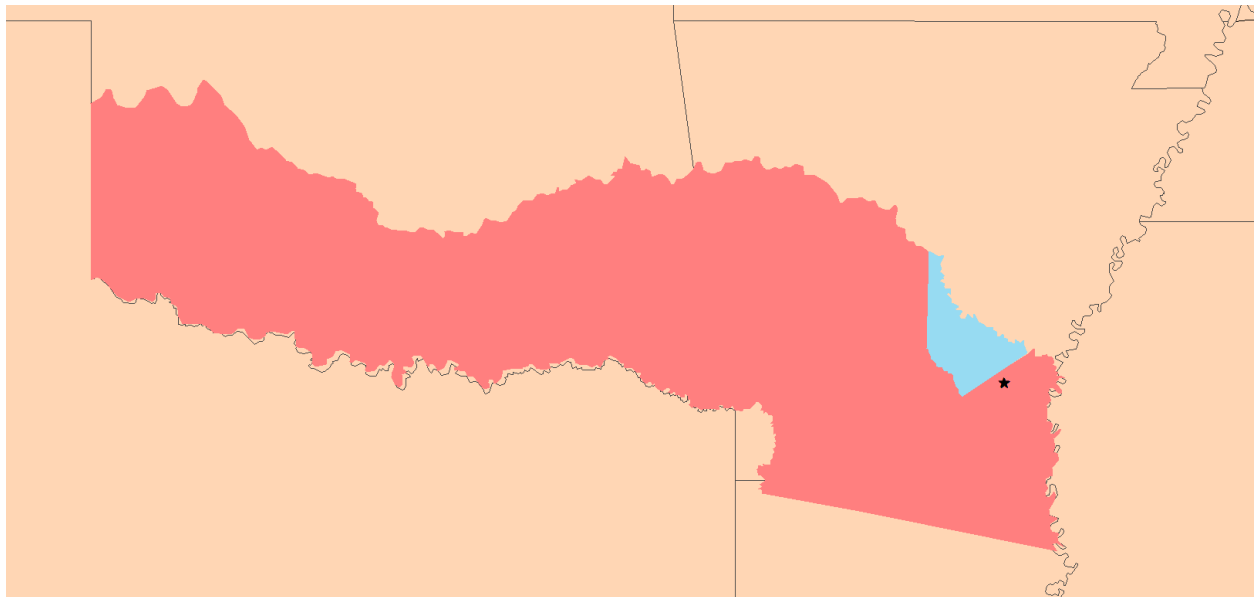


Figure 3.1: 3DR476 (black star) marked on a map of lands ceded by the Quapaws in 1818 (red) and 1824 (blue)

The oral tradition of the Quapaws (Bandy 2021:2) indicates that their tribe originated along the Atlantic Ocean and that after some time they moved west, settling in the lower Ohio River Valley. There they lived together with ancestors who would later separate into various tribes including the Omaha, Ponca, Osage, and Kaw—one large tribal nation called “Dhegiha Sioux” by linguists. The Dhegiha later migrated to the American Bottom area, where the people living around the site of Cahokia thrived between AD 800 and 1350.

After Cahokia was abandoned in the 1300s, according to Quapaw oral tradition (Bandy 2021:3), the Dhegiha people came upon the Mississippi River and were separated while crossing. The Quapaws were those who floated down the river after a guiding rope snapped, and this was the origin of the tribal name “O-ga-xpa,” or “Downstream People.” The Quapaws believe that they arrived in Arkansas prior to 1600, and they have declared multiple sacred sites along the St.

Francis River, which converges with the Mississippi River about 130 kilometers northeast of 3DR476.

Over the next two centuries the Quapaws both amalgamated with and displaced other Indian tribes who were living in southeast Arkansas (Bandy 2021:5), including the Tunica. They developed five autonomous villages around the convergence of the White River, the Arkansas River, and the Mississippi River—including in what is now northeast Desha County.

There were of course other Southeastern Indians living in the region for hundreds of generations before the Quapaws came. The earliest cultural sites documented in southeast Arkansas have been dated by archaeologists to 11,000 years ago (approximately 9000 BC). The Poverty Point World Heritage site, which was occupied by an ancient civilization between 1700 and 1100 BC, is located approximately 120 kilometers south of 3DR476.

The historic Valley Plantation property itself is home to many precolonial archeological sites, the most apparent of which is a concentration of precolonial mounds documented as site 3DR2, less than a kilometer east of 3DR476 across Bayou Bartholomew. These mounds were built between AD 400 and 700 (Barnes In press:33). Our future scholarly works written on the Valley Plantation investigations will delve deeper into this pre-Quapaw history of southeast Arkansas.

Antebellum Plantation Period

The land ceded by the Quapaws and other Indigenous peoples west of the Mississippi River was first divided up into territories, including the Arkansas Territory in 1819. American statehood was not granted to the modern State of Arkansas until 1836, but incoming Americans were already claiming portions of the land before that. Due to this later acquisition of Indian territories on the frontier, the duration of plantations in southeast Arkansas based on enslaved labor was at most 46 years (1819-1865), creating a unique situation in contrast with the longer plantation lives along the Atlantic seaboard and in the Caribbean.

The land where 3DR476 was documented was part of what became Chicot County in 1824 (prior to the establishment of Drew and Desha counties), near lands acquired by Peter Rives in 1819 (Figure 3.2; Barnes In press:55). Rives' son-in-law, John Martin Taylor, patented the land along the south edge of the bayou, just north of the improved fields belonging to Rives, between 1844 and 1850. It was at this time that Taylor used enslaved labor to have the dogtrot house built that still stands at 3DR26. However, beginning in the 1850s the Taylor family maintained a primary residence in Kentucky and only visited their Arkansas holdings for a fraction of the year.

Both Rives and Taylor brought enslaved people to Arkansas to make “improvements” on the land to convert it from woods and prairies to profitable fields. Innumerable trees were also converted through enslaved labor into homes, stores, and fuel for steamboat traffic (Jones 2021:6). There were 111,000 men, women, and children enslaved in Arkansas during the antebellum period (Jones 2021:2), and these had to undergo a severe shift in lifestyle from



Figure 3.2: The location of 3DR476 marked on an 1824 General Land Office survey map northwest of Rives Farm (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management)

coastal plantations dominated by rice and tobacco agriculture to a developing cotton frontier (Jones 2021:8).

In 1850, Taylor had enslaved 83 people in Arkansas, most of whom worked in the agricultural fields and lived in quarters east of the dogtrot house (Saunders 1963). Cotton required a large number of enslaved laborers to prepare the soil for planting in the spring and work through the picking in the fall (Hawkins 2022). Taylor’s property in Arkansas at this time consisted of 2,050 acres of land, 450 of which were “improved.” He acquired a further 1,450 acres of land in Arkansas (including the adjacent land formerly owned by Rives) and more enslaved laborers over the next decade (Barnes In press:68). The 1860 census taker documented that Taylor had enslaved 101 African Americans in Arkansas.

Desha County was carved out in 1838 and was expanded to encompass the northern part of Chicot County in 1846, including the space where Taylor’s property was located. It remained exclusively part of Desha County until 1871, when Lincoln County was established to the west and Drew County shifted to include the southwest corner of what had been Desha. The modern plantation property therefore overlaps three counties: Drew, Desha, and Lincoln (see Figure 1.1)

Postbellum Operations

After the American Civil War ended slavery in the United States, cotton plantations in the South converted their operations into enterprises based on wage labor and tenant farming. Many formerly enslaved laborers continued to work the land to which they were previously bound, but many fled their former masters and sought work in new places.

In an effort to make Arkansas an attractive location for laborers to seek employment, the secretary of war ordered lessees of Arkansas plantations to pay “first class male laborers” \$25 to \$50 a month and women \$15 to \$18 per month in cash plus rations (Matkin-Rawn 2013). While the average wage for farm laborers in the South was \$16, Arkansas farm workers averaged \$21 to \$23 a month (Matkin-Rawn 2013), making the state a more attractive option than contemporaneous plantation properties in the east. Between the end of the Civil War and World War I, Arkansas attracted more African American migrants than any other state, well over 200,000 (Matkin-Rawn 2013:3).

Taylor’s wife died in 1868, after which he sold his lands in Kentucky and moved the family’s belongings to Arkansas permanently in 1876. His oldest son Henry became the full-time farm manager at what became the Valley Plantation and lived there until his death in 1900. Taylor lived in nearby Winchester but boarded his younger children in Monticello where they went to school (Saunders 1963:4). He died in 1884 and was buried next to the dogtrot house at 3DR26, despite objections from his daughter Eliza who wanted to bury him alongside his wife in Kentucky (Saunders 1963:6).

After Taylor’s death, his sons divided up the plantation holdings and ran it with the help of local farm managers. Around 1895, two of Taylor’s sons (who were living in Pine Bluff), organized “The Valley Planting Co.,” naming it after the railroad that passed through Winchester, which in turn became the company town for the plantation (Saunders 1963:6). The Taylors employed many managers over the next fifty years, including John Currie of Pine Bluff (between 1901 and 1921) and Dillard Saunders (between 1921 and 1925; Saunders 1963:6).

Various bookkeepers and managers were enlisted to run the plantation throughout the 1930s and 1940s, including John Haisty (served as bookkeeper and ran the company store and commissary), J. D. Lovelace (the “gin man”), and Frank Bowers. Bowers rented the Taylor house with his wife Sadie into the 1950s, when the plantation property was sold to Jesse Lee Myatt who ran the Arkansas Land and Cattle Company.

The WPA Survey of the Eastern Cotton Belt

“These areas are utterly subject to King Cotton, booming when the King is prosperous and slumping when the King is sick. Aside from feed for livestock and a limited amount of produce for home consumption, practically no other crop is grown.” (Woofter 1969:xx)

In 1936, the U.S. Works Progress Administration (WPA) published the results of a multi-year social study of the land tenure system in the Eastern Cotton Belt—which they defined as plantations in North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Their purpose was to understand the relationship between landlords and tenants on plantation properties, and their method was to conduct a field study of 646 plantations across this large swath of the American South (Woofter 1969:xvii)

The WPA defined a plantation as “a tract farmed by one owner and manager with five or more resident families” (Woofter 1969:xix). They concluded that in those parts of the South where fairly large operative units prevail (such as at the Valley Plantation, which included a far above-average number of tenant households), the plantation owners dominate the economic, political, and cultural life through their control over large acreages of the best land and of large numbers of tenant and laborer families.

Some of the conditions that prevailed in such areas were small proportions of urban and village dwellers; scarcity of non-agricultural industries; large families; poor school facilities, especially for Blacks; and a highly mobile population—families frequently moved in search of better conditions (Woofter 1969:xx).

Perhaps most notable in the summary provided by the WPA is that outside of the Mississippi Bluff and Delta areas very large plantations such as Valley were disappearing. Only a tenth of the plantations sampled operated 800 or more crop acres, and only about the same number housed 30 or more families (Woofter 1969:xxii). The typical plantation was occupied by 14 families, exclusive of the landlord’s family (Woofter 1969:xxxiii). Therefore, Valley Plantation with its acreage in excess of 10,000 and over 150 tenant households might be considered an outlier in many respects.

Population. The WPA concluded that cotton plantations require large-scale production and, in these areas, a large proportion of “Negroes” is found in the population. They also noted that in the Mississippi Bluffs and Delta areas the plantation organization was retained the most persistently and that the proportion of African Americans in the population was particularly large. It was in these “true plantation” areas that there was a high degree of concentration of land ownership and a consequent high proportion of tenants among the farm operators (Woofter 1969:xx). Additionally, when white farmers began competing with Blacks for places on the land as tenants and laborers, the WPA noted that white tenants were concentrated on smaller holdings while “Negro” tenants dominated the larger ones (Woofter 1969:xxi). There were only eight white tenant households at Valley in 1940 out of the entire 154 households documented.

Plantation owners encouraged African Americans to sire large families, the better to meet the labor demands of peak cotton seasons. The resulting high rate of population increase in turn perpetuated the plantation system, but the high death rate among Blacks resulted in a lower natural increase in population for African Americans than for whites (Woofter 1969:xx). The WPA researchers concluded that this “surplus labor supply” reduced the bargaining power of the

individual plantation tenant, making it increasingly difficult for one to transition out of the plantation system and become an independent farmer (Woofter 1969:xx).

The WPA makes reference in the report summary to the effects of the Great Migration prior to the Great Depression, stating that much of the excess labor migrated from the rural South to areas where industrial demand was expanding, but that the Depression had since caused a closing of the industrial labor market and a piling up of the population in plantation areas (Woofter 1969:xx).

Income. There is some discussion of the differences between share-croppers—virtual laborers who received half of the crop they raised in return for working the land—and various types of tenants, some of whom provided work stock and tools in exchange for a larger share of the crop. The WPA noted that often both classes were present on the same plantation (Woofter 1969:xx), and this was indeed the case at the Valley Plantation.

Prior to 1910, when acreage of improved land was expanding, wage laborers and tenants could sometimes save enough money to buy work animals and implements, enabling them to rent the land outright or even to buy small tracts (Woofter 1969:xxi). This is consistent with the fact that according to the 1940 population census, of the 135 Black households living at Valley, only two owned tracts of land outright. The proportion of net plantation income received by share tenants documented in the 1936 WPA study was very small—the average net income per family in 1934 was only \$309 while the average net income of the operators was \$2,572 (Woofter 1969:xxvi).

This low income for large families provided only a meagre subsistence: about one-third of the net income came in the form of products raised for home consumption—chickens, eggs, home killed pork, syrup, corn meal, cowpeas, and sweet potatoes. Additionally, many of these items were only available in the late summer and fall (Woofter 1969:xxvii).

During the cultivation months, tenant farmers would use another third of their income, about \$13 per month, for food (flour, lard, and salt pork), kerosene, medicine, and whatever clothing was necessary to purchase before the harvest. Another third would be used on clothing and other incidentals soon after the fall “settlement.” This meant that resources were typically exhausted by the winter, a time when “slim rations would begin” (Woofter 1969:xxvii-xxviii).

Living conditions. The WPA stated outright in its report that the houses furnished on southern plantations were among the poorest in the nation: “Unpainted four-room frame shacks predominate. Screening is the exception rather than the rule and sanitation is primitive” (Woofter 1969:xxvii). Clothing, usually purchased once a year was “of the poorest quality. Often the children do not have sufficient warm clothing to go to school” (Woofter 1969:xxviii).

The poor housing and lack of balance in diet was reflected in the health of the families who were studied by the WPA. The poor diet resulted in pellagra and other digestive disorders, and the lack of screening resulted in increased cases of malaria (Woofter 1969:xxviii). According to mortality

statistics documented in 1930 by the U.S. Bureau of Census, Arkansas had the highest rate per 100,000 of Malaria deaths (567 total, 38.5 per 100,000) when compared with the other six cotton states (Woofter 1969:230).

Education. The education of children in farm families in the southeast was described by the WPA as “sadly neglected” (Woofter 1969:xxix). This was partially due to the low tax base in plantation areas but also due to southern states having lower wealth and therefore smaller appropriations per child. Southern rural districts also reportedly had a greater number of children to educate in relation to the number of productive adults and the value of taxable property. Additionally, the agricultural system encouraged the labor of children during the school term (Woofter 1969:xxix).

The WPA insisted in its summary that white and “Negro” education should be appraised separately, to better appreciate the problem with school finance in the South. They found that the per capita appropriations for Black teacher salaries tended to be in inverse ratio to the percentage of Blacks in the total population. In other words, in counties with large African American majorities, where many children would be crowded into one-room schools, Black teacher salaries were lower than in counties where Blacks were “more scattered” (Woofter 1969:xxix).

Chapter 4

DOCUMENTARY INVESTIGATIONS

A large part of the process of documenting and investigating the dwelling that once stood at 3DR476 was working through historic censuses, maps, and photographs. Much of this effort was made to demonstrate that the house was occupied by an African American tenant farmer family and to better understand the social conditions for Black farmers living at Valley.

Historic Imagery and Maps

Two historic maps show evidence of the house that once existed at 3DR476: a USDA soil map for Drew County published in 1917 and the Rotan Quadrangle topographic map published by the USGS in 1935 (Figure 4.1).

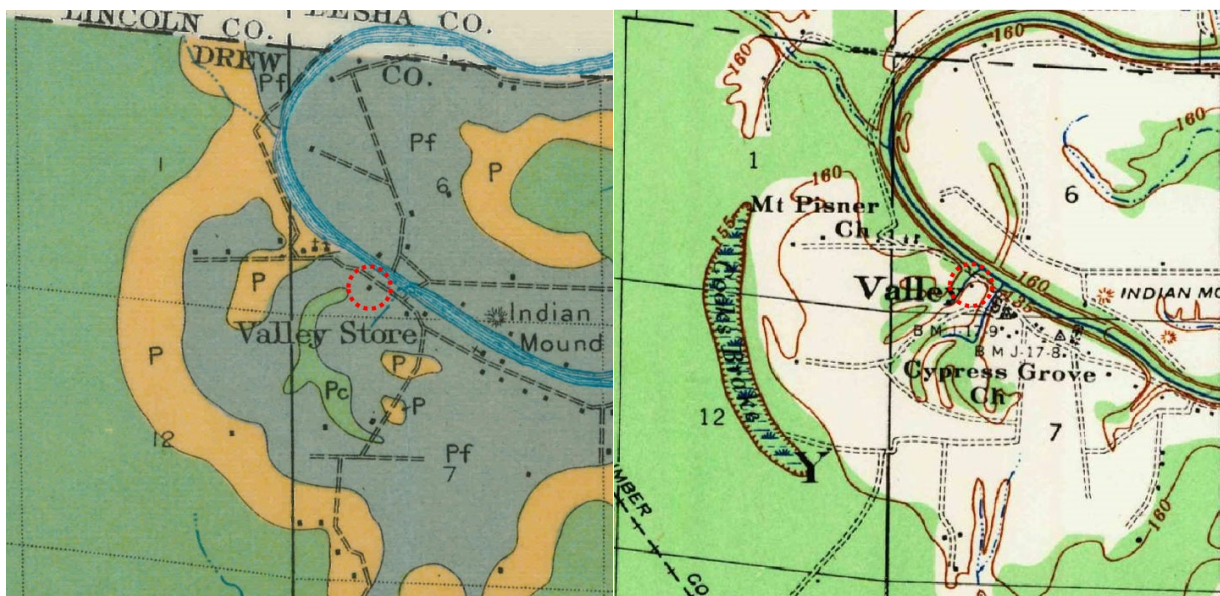


Figure 4.1: House at 3DR476 circled on historic maps from 1917 (left) and 1935 (right)

Both maps show that there was a farm road that ran along the south edge of the bayou just north of the house, and both Merle Bryant and Azzie McGehee confirm that they walked up this road to go to school at the Mount Pisgah church, which is also marked on both historic maps just a couple hundred meters northwest of 3DR476 (erroneously as “Mt Pisner” in 1935). A 1942 WPA survey of churches in Arkansas lists this church as being part of the Arkansas Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church, whose bishop, William M. Matthew,

was headquartered in Washington, D.C. Mount Pisgah was one of three churches from that conference listed as being in Tillar, Drew County, Arkansas.

The earliest available aerial photograph of the area was taken in 1939 and shows that the house at 3DR476 was square in shape and oriented toward Bayou Bartholomew (Figure 4.2). The photograph also shows that the space on the terrace south of the house was in use as an agricultural field, probably maintained by the tenant family who lived in that house.

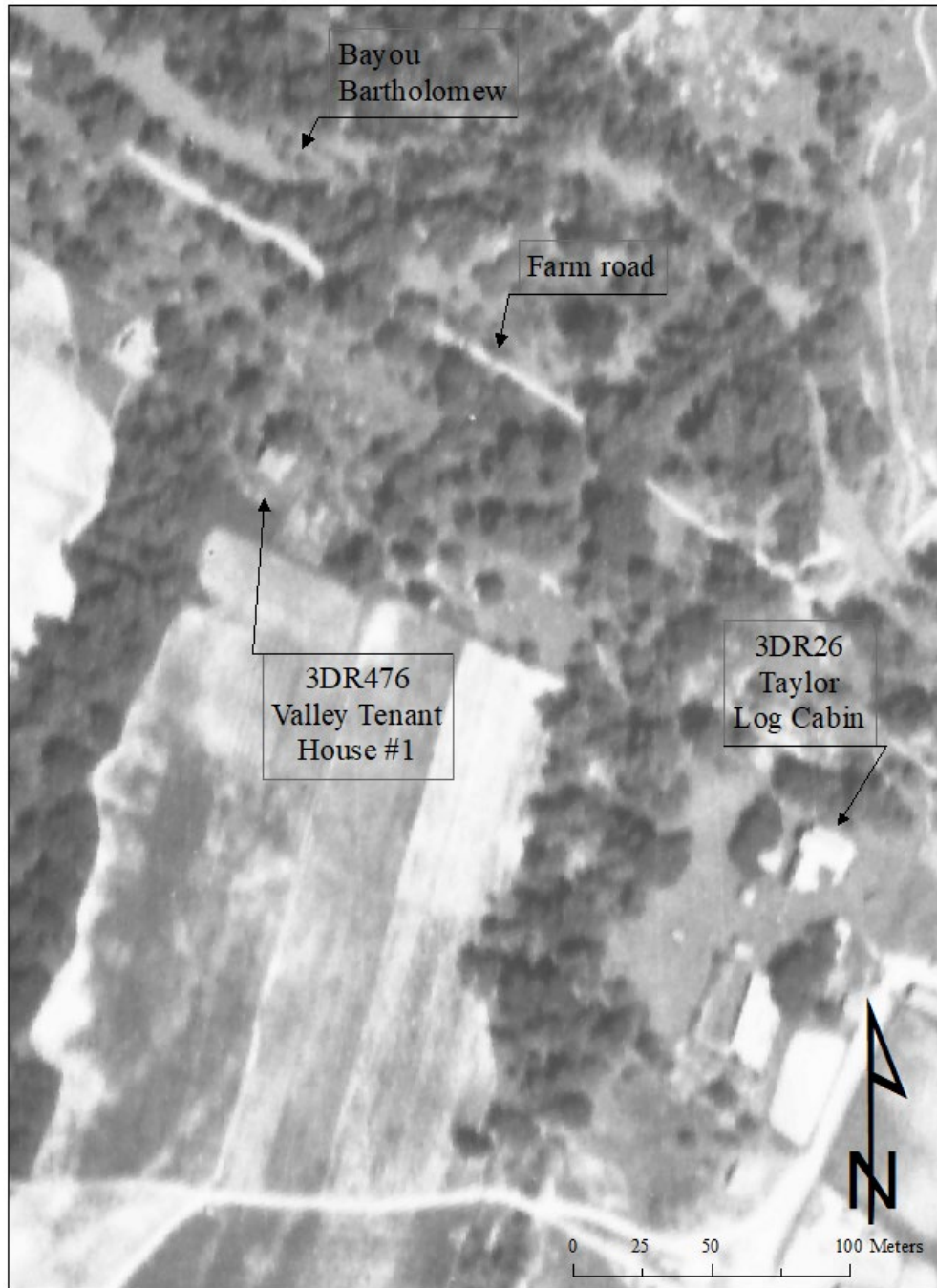


Figure 4.2: 3DR476 and 3DR26 marked on a 1939 aerial photograph

Both historic maps and the 1939 aerial photograph show that prior to 1950 there were four additional houses here west of the Taylor house. All of these western buildings, including the house at 3DR476 and the Mount Pisgah church, no longer appear on the next topographic map that marks buildings in the area: the Gourd Quadrangle published in 1964. A photograph taken by the USDA in 1949 also shows that the buildings had been removed by that time. The historic maps and aerial photographs therefore suggest a minimum residential occupation at 3DR476 between 1917 and 1939.

The 1940 Population Census

The living memory of Valley only extends back to the 1940s, and does not include first-hand information about who lived in the house at 3DR476 prior to it being abandoned or moved during that same decade. However, the population census at least suggests that it was home to one or more African American tenant farmer families in the 1930s and 1940s. We are still transcribing other population census information for earlier and subsequent decades, which will help us give a clearer picture of who was living at Valley through time.

The Drew County side of the Valley Plantation first appears on page 7A of the Live Oak township census (enumeration district 22-14, “outside of Winchester town”). The entire address column on this page has written across it “Valley Plantation – Winchester, Ark.” The following seven pages have nothing written in the address column—after which page 11A lists the address as “Tillar March Co.” We therefore assume that households 127-200 on pages 6B-10B were all residents of the Drew County side of the Valley Plantation.

The list begins with white farm manager J. D. Lovelace, who we know through an oral history interview recorded by Skip Stewart-Abernathy (Haisty 1991) was living in a plantation house on the east side of Bayou Bartholomew next to Winchester. It appears that the census taker started with Lovelace on their way west from Winchester and then continued working their way over the bayou and toward the Taylor house.

The census taker reached the dogtrot house at 3DR26 two pages later on 8A with household 145. The head was S. P. Barlow who was also a white farm manager and was renting one of the rooms on the ground floor along with his wife Clara for \$20 per month. There was also a public-school teacher named Margaret Pyron listed as a lodger, which mirrors the situation described in an oral history interview by Ruth Peacock (1991), who earlier in the 1930s boarded downstairs in the Taylor house and served as a school teacher for the white children.

Two households down from Barlow is the household of Mack Flenor (household 147), a Black man who was mentioned in oral history interviews (Haisty 1991; Peacock 1991) as being the blacksmith on the plantation—and next to him is the household of Tommy Young (household 148), another Black man described in oral history interviews as the man who grew the company crop and took care of the plantation mules. Both Flenor and Young were discussed by Sherwood

Haisty (1991), who was interviewed by Skip Stewart-Abenathy. Haisty was a small boy when his father was the bookkeeper at the Valley Plantation in the 1930s. He said that they initially lived in a house just south of the Taylor house, which burned down in the mid-1930s. He said that until then Lovelace had lived in the Taylor house but then moved to his 1940 position across the bayou toward Winchester so that the Haistys could transplant into the dogtrot house. However, the Haistys moved to Tillar before 1940, which is consistent with Barlow's appearance in the house on the 1940 census. The census shows that Barlow and his family lived in McGehee five years earlier.

Haisty explained that both Mack Flenor and Tommy Young lived immediately east of the Taylor house, where there is now a pecan grove (documented archeologically as site 3DR475) immediately west of the Cypress Grove church and cemetery site (3DR297). Between Barlow and Lovelace on the 1940 population census, there appear 17 households, all described as "Negro" tenant farmer families. After Barlow, there are 25 more Black farm households followed by two white share cropper families and then another long list of Black farm families.

While we cannot say for sure which of these families lived in the house at 3DR476, we believe there is enough evidence to say that it was indeed occupied by one of these Black tenant farmer families in 1940. Given that Flenor and Young appear after Barlow on the census and lived to the east, the best candidate for the family is that which appears just before Barlow: household 144 whose head was Annie Barnes. However, it is impossible to say this with complete confidence since the census taker could have visited the houses out of order and crossed the bayou multiple times while traveling.

Despite this uncertainty, we make some general observations here about the 38 households (households 128-144, 146-166) documented on this part of the plantation in 1940 (Table 4.1). All of these families were paying either \$1 or \$2 rent monthly, and all but one were documented as having lived in the same house five years earlier on April 1, 1935. All but two were listed as tenant farmers—the exceptions being Tommy Young, the aforementioned laborer who grew the company crop, and Willie Cumpton, listed as a share cropper.

The difference in status between tenant and cropper in the early twentieth century usually referred to property rights. The tenant had title to the crops grown on rented premises while the cropper did not (Mangum 1952:12). However, it was also usually the case that landlords only furnished land to tenants who were expected to use their own tools and equipment while croppers had everything supplied except their labor (Mangum 1952:12). In the case of Valley, however, oral interviews suggest that all tenants were at least furnished with mules, which were kept centrally and loaned out on a day to day basis (Haisty 1991). It is not clear at this time what legal rights tenants at Valley had to their crops.

Within these 38 households were 167 individuals—76 of which were children under 18 years of age (approximately 46 percent). Many of the heads of household were born in Arkansas, but 14 were born in other states (approximately 37 percent).

Table 4.1: Households 128-144, 146-166 on the 1940 population census

#	Head	Adults	Children		1935 Residence	Monthly Rent (\$)	Occupation	Birth state
			Under 18					
128	Horton, Julius	2	2		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
129	Bynum, Henry	2	7		Same	1	Tenant	North Carolina
130	Rogers, Frank	2	7		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
131	Shine, Green	3	6		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
132	Armstrong, James	2	0		Same	1	Tenant	Mississippi
133	Harris, Jack	2	2		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
134	Fhae, Johnnie	2	0		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
135	Merrell, Larwiniel	2	1		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
136	Henderson, Alexander	2	1		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
137	Latis, Jim	3	0		Same	1	Tenant	Texas
138	Degreffend, Jess	3	3		Same	1	Tenant	South Carolina
139	Jones, Silvestia	2	0		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
140	Jackson, Walter	3	0		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
141	Henderson, T. P.	2	3		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
142	Deavers, Ada	2	4		Same	1	Tenant	South Carolina
143	Burton, Wiley	2	0		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
144	Barnes, Annie	1	3		Same	1	Tenant	North Carolina
146	Webb, Andrew	1	0		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
147	Flenor, Mack	2	3		Same	1	Tenant	Louisiana
148	Young, Tommy	2	4		Same	1	Labor	Arkansas
149	Deavers, Joe	2	5		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
150	Jones, Dina	4	5		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
151	Metcalf, Walter	2	1		Same	1	Tenant	Mississippi
152	Adams, Green	2	1		Same	1	Tenant	Louisiana
153	Clark, Walter	3	3		Same	1	Tenant	Mississippi
154	Rose, John	3	0		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
155	Rose, James	2	0		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
156	Quinn, Ed	2	0		Same	1	Tenant	Mississippi
157	Davis, Paul	2	0		Bartrop, LA	1	Tenant	Arkansas
158	Young, Lump	2	0		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
159	Armstrong, Nathan	5	7		Same	1	Tenant	Mississippi
160	Easter, Joe	3	1		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
161	Thomas, Dave	2	0		Same	1	Tenant	Arkansas
162	Barns, Joe	6	2		Same	2	Tenant	Arkansas
163	Mitchell, Joe	2	1		Same	2	Tenant	Louisiana
164	Price, Alfonizo	2	0		Same	2	Tenant	Arkansas
165	Crawford, Tom	3	4		Same	2	Tenant	Arkansas
166	Cumpton, Willie	2	0		Same	2	Share cropper	Alabama

Many of the people who appeared on this portion of the 1940 population census were identified in an oral history interview with Merle Bryant (2022), who was born somewhere on the plantation in 1938 but was apparently overlooked by the 1940 census taker. In 1940, Bryant was living with her mother, grandmother, and great grandmother, all of whom shared a house to the southeast of the Taylor house during the early 1940s. When Bryant was a little older, they moved up to one of the houses that stood along Highway 138 (burned down in the 1990s), which may match the movement or abandonment of several of the houses including those at 3DR476 and 3DR477 between 1939 and 1949. Bryant’s father, Alexander Henderson, however, does appear in this part of the plantation (head of household 136) along with his new wife Zenova and Bryant’s half-sister Betany (one year younger than Bryant). According to Bryant, her father spent time with many different women, but Betany’s maternal grandfather was the one who forced her father into marrying her mother Zenova.

Dina Jones, the head of household 150, was the grandmother of Azzie McGehee, listed here in the household with her maiden name Oates. She was nine years old and attending school—having completed second grade at the time the census was taken (Figure 4.3).

24	150	R	1	yr	Jones, Dina	Head	F	W	56	yr	5	5	Arkansas
25					Oates, Ella	daughter	F	W	28	yr	8	1	Arkansas
26					—, Aggie	granddaughter	F	W	9	yr	2	2	Arkansas
27					—, Cleveland	granddaughter	M	W	6	yr	1	1	Arkansas
28					—, Dorothy	granddaughter	F	W	4	yr	0		Arkansas
29					—, Dina	granddaughter	F	W	1	yr	0		Arkansas
30					—, Tracy	grandson	M	W	3	yr	0		Arkansas
31					Merrell, Dela	son	M	W	31	yr	0		Arkansas
32					Merrell, Joseph	uncle	M	W	38	yr	5		Arkansas

Figure 4.3: Azzie McGehee as she appears on the 1940 population census (U.S. Census Bureau)

Despite the problem with placing a specific family in the house at 3DR476 due to the imprecision of the census data, we would still like to review the household of Annie Barnes, who is the best contender for head of household there in 1940.

Annie was 73 years old in 1940, which suggests she was born in 1867, just after emancipation. She was born in North Carolina, and is not documented as being widowed or divorced. Living with her were three of her children: a 17-year-old daughter named Gladys Barnes, a 14-year-old son named Jack Barnes, and a 13-year-old son named Tommy Barnes. All three children were attending school and had completed the following grades respectively: eighth, fifth, and third. It is possible that all three of these children were riding a school bus to the Rosenwald school in Selma, which Merle Bryant explained was common once they reached higher grade levels and outgrew the elementary school at Mount Pisgah.

Annie Barnes appeared in both the 1910 and 1920 censuses in the same township, married to Warren Barnes, who was also born in North Carolina. Their oldest two children (Dora and Mary) were born in North Carolina between 1885 and 1890. Their third child, Adeline, was born in

Arkansas around 1892, suggesting that they moved to Arkansas around this time. Living with them were two stepdaughters—Berthola James and Artelia James—suggesting that Annie Barnes had previously had children with someone of that surname.

The households appearing just before Warren and Annie Barnes in 1910 also had heads with Barnes surnames, and all were born in North Carolina. It is therefore likely that all of these traveled to Arkansas together. In fact, Mount Pisgah refers to a location in the Carolinas, and one of the other churches documented at Valley on the 1917 soil map is called “Carolina Church.” Archeologist Jodi Barnes (surname a coincidence), who conducted research at Hollywood and Valley between 2013 and 2020, suggested that this latter church, which later became New Bethem Church, was named for African American people who migrated from the Carolinas (Barnes In press:85)

ARCHEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Site 3DR476 was first documented on December 21, 2021, by Rooney and O'Connor, who were exploring the south bank of Bayou Bartholomew west of 3DR26 in search of postbellum sites. Artifacts were observed eroding out of the northwest corner of the terrace down into the gully, including two parts of a wood-burning stove, several tableware ceramic sherds, and whole bricks. They observed that up on the top of that terrace there were dozens of bricks strewn across the surface as well as piled up behind a tree near the north edge of the landform. The GPS point collected for AMASDA at the slope where the stove parts were found synced up very well with the location of the house as it appeared on historic maps and photographs (Figure 5.1).

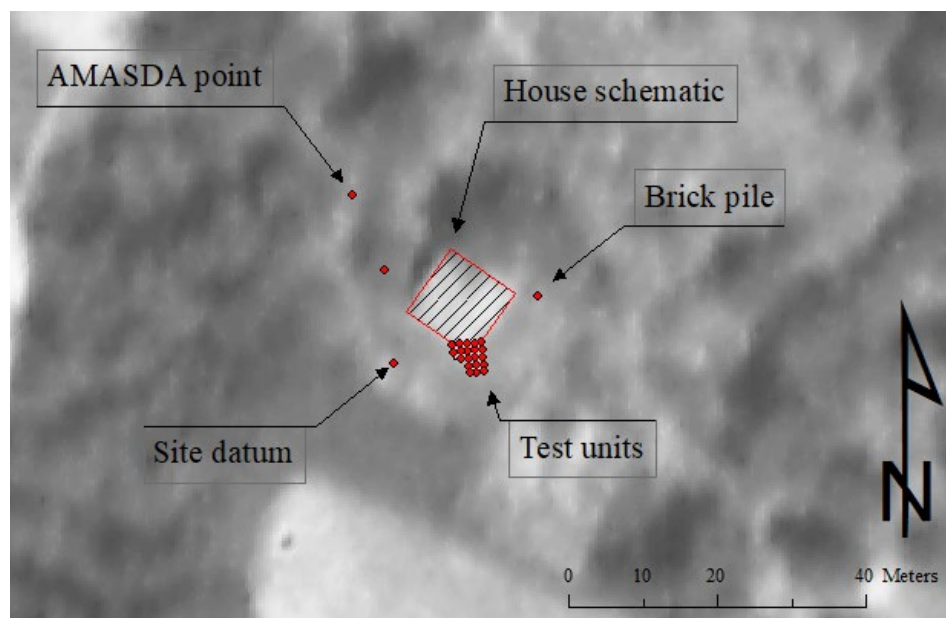


Figure 5.1: GPS points taken at 3DR476 superimposed over 1939 aerial photograph

In May of 2022, a field crew consisting of Rooney, O'Connor, and Kenneth Bragg began excavating 1x1-meter test units in a location centrally located where brick and ceramic artifacts had been recovered from the surface (Figure 5.2). Artifacts emerged immediately in the first few centimeters of subsurface soil and were present in dense amounts through approximately 23 centimeters below datum (cmbd). All test units were therefore excavated to 25 cmbd, where the presence of cultural artifacts stopped. All soil was dry screened through ¼" mesh at the field site, and all subsurface artifacts were collected and brought to the ARAS laboratory at UAM to be cleaned, analyzed, and curated (accession #2022-120).

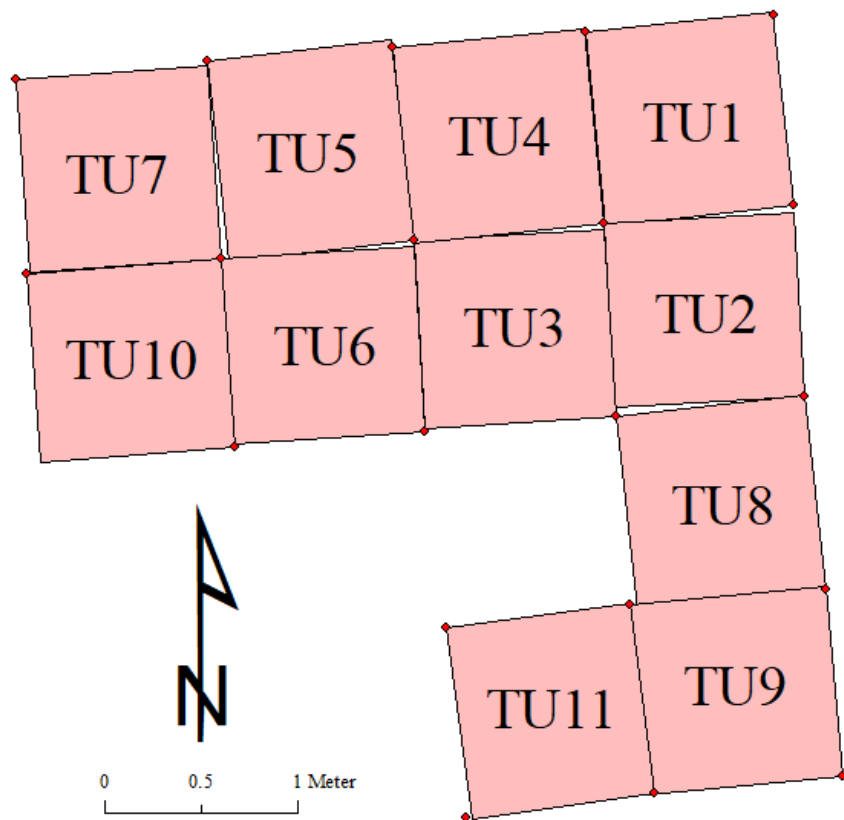


Figure 5.2: Test units (TU) excavated at 3DR476 in May of 2022

In addition to the three-person field crew, two public archeology days were held at the site where volunteers could visit and help screen artifacts. The Tunican chapter of the Arkansas Archeological Society held a field day on May 12 with five volunteers (including Don Bragg, Hope Bragg, Mary Jo Tucker, and Tommy Gray). Rachel Tebbetts of the ARAS also visited for the Tunican field day to photograph the event.

The second public archeology day was oriented toward UAM faculty and staff, who visited the site on May 19. These included historians John Henris and Clinton Young as well as psychology professor Eric Prichard, who has since joined the AAS. UAM photographers Kelsey Englert and Kristin Cowling visited for the UAM field day and took photographs of the event. Katy Gregory, ARAS station assistant at the Toltec Mounds station, also visited on May 19 and helped screen and identify artifacts.

Notable subsurface features encountered during test unit excavations included a snuff bottle cache (Figure 5.3) observed on the cultural floor of TU3 (at approximately 23 cmbd). This consisted of five bottles—two whole and three broken. We were able to excavate around the



Figure 5.3: Snuff bottle cache photographed in situ on the floor of test unit #3
(Photograph by Rachel Tebbetts)

cache and keep it in situ and then collect the fragments of each of the broken bottles together as individual specimens.

While moving west with our excavations into test units six and seven, we observed a soil change in the cultural floor from a reddish-brown color to a more washed out light-yellowish-brown color (Figure 5.4). Based on the positioning of the test units in relation to the house as it appears in the 1939 aerial photograph (see Figure 5.1), we are interpreting this soil change as representing the corner of the house structure. The darker soils on the cultural floor of test units 1-6 are thought to have been covered by the house historically, which protected them from rain and other weathering events for a period of 40-50 years. The lighter soils within test units 6, 7, and 10 were more directly exposed to rain and weather, which leached the soils of some nutrients. Additionally, the lighter exterior soils came into more regular contact with the people who lived in the house—they would have walked and sat on these cultural floors.

We attempted to uncover more of the soil feature in our remaining test units to the southeast, but a tree growing through the space between test units 3 and 11 made unfavorable conditions for tracing the feature directly. The soil change was not observed in test units 9 or 11 to the southeast, so we believe that the corner of the house turned around the location of the tree (Figure 5.5). If this supposition is correct, this would place the snuff bottle cache observed in test unit 3 just under that southeastern corner of the house.



Figure 5.4: Soil feature observed on the cultural floor of the westernmost test units

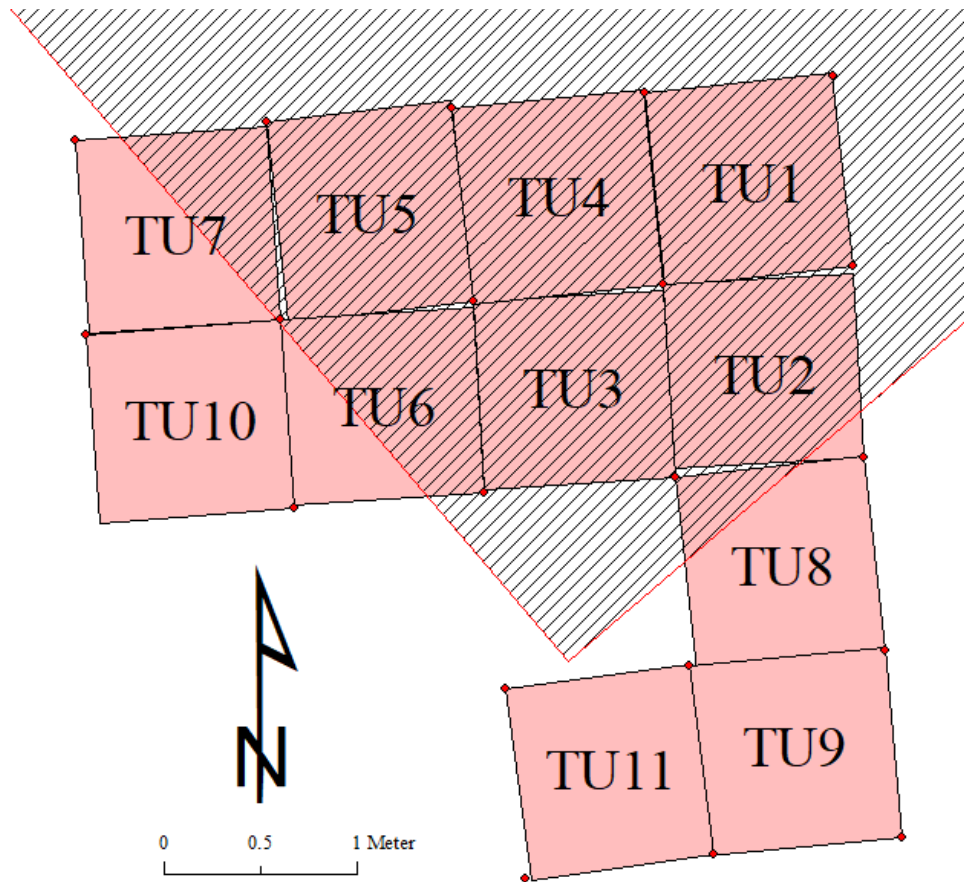


Figure 5.5: Schematic of house location laid over test units based on soil feature

A 20-centimeter-long metal spike was recovered standing upright in situ within the southern edge of test unit 10, with a distal blunt end terminating slightly below the cultural floor (Figure 5.6). We interpret this as an electrical grounding element that would have been attached to a lightning rod affixed to the exterior of the house. The presence of this artifact in test unit 10 further supports the interpretation that the soil feature represents the exterior edge of the house.

The density of artifacts was generally ubiquitous across all eleven test units, but test unit 10 yielded the highest weight of artifacts—approximately 20 percent of the assemblage. This further differentiates it from the other test units as an exterior space not covered by the house. The other test units yielded between 6 and 12 percent of the weight of the assemblage each.

The only brick artifacts recovered from the site were fragments excavated from test units, all of which were relatively small. Whole bricks and large fragments observed on the surface were not analyzed as part of the assemblage but were collected and used in a nearby interpretive exhibit. No brick piers were observed in situ on the surface as they were at the Morning Star Baptist Church site (see Figure 6.2).



Figure 5.6: Metal spike observed upright “in situ” in test unit 10

Chapter 6

MATERIAL CULTURE INTERPRETATION

Artifacts and ecofacts recovered from 3DR476 are discussed in terms of “use” categories rather than raw materials, with the caveat that these objects were used differently by different individuals over time. These categories, adapted from Stanley South’s (1977:95-96) “functional” groups, are therefore a guide to organization rather than a definitive statement on their nature.

Architecture

Nails. Over a thousand nail artifacts were recovered from 3DR476 (Figure 6.1). The majority of these were classified as wire nails (n=1005; Table 6.1), but the assemblage also included a small number of older machine “cut” nails (n=30). Nearly 20 percent (n=193) of the wire nail artifacts were identified as fragments, either head and shank with the end missing (n=99) or just the shank with the head missing (n=94). More than 90 percent (n=911) of the wire nail artifacts had observable heads.

Complete wire nails were analyzed based on modification and size categories. Straight wire nails (n=323) were subdivided into three size categories: 2-4 cm (n=130), 5-6 cm (n=117), and 7+ cm (n=76). These were selected to simplify Journey’s (1987:84) size brackets to be used to identify elements of the wood frame building. He observed that assemblages containing large numbers of nails sized 3.2 cm and 3.8 cm indicated wood shake roofing and roof battens, whereas structures with tin roofs required the use of longer nails measuring 5.1 cm. The fact that 40 percent of the straight nails fall into the 2-4 cm category at 3DR476 suggests that the house in question had a wood roof. The nails identified in the 5-6 cm category served to hold together other parts of the house: rafters, ceiling, flooring, and wall boards. The larger nails greater than 7 cm were typically used for joists and sills (Journey 1987:87).

Modified wire nails were not organized by size but were instead subdivided into three categories: bent (n=232), clinched (n=210), and pulled (n=41). Bent wire nails were those with a sharp bend angle between 90 degrees and 180 degrees. Clinched nails were those with only one bend measuring 90 degrees or lower. Clinched nails were also divided further into an “L” shape category (n=169) that more closely approximated a 90-degree bend, and a “U” shape category (n=41) for those with bend angles noticeably lower than 90 degrees. Pulled nails were identified as those modified into an arc shape rather than a single sharp bend.

The recovery of earlier machine cut nails suggests that the house at 3DR476 was constructed between 1895 and 1902. Journey’s (1987:90) seriation indicates that sites with fewer than 20



Figure 6.1: Wire nail artifacts recovered from 3DR476 undergoing analysis

Table 6.1: Wire Nail Artifact Analysis

Category	Qty.	% of total	
Complete	812	81%	% of comp.
<i>Straight</i>	323	32%	40% <i>% of str.</i>
2-4 cm	130	13%	16% 40%
5-6 cm	117	12%	14% 36%
7+ cm	76	8%	9% 24%
<i>Modified</i>	489	49%	60%
Bent	232	23%	29%
Pulled	47	5%	6%
Clinched	210	21%	26%
L clinched	169	17%	21%
U clinched	41	4%	5%
Fragments	193	19%	
Head and shank	99	10%	
Shank only	94	9%	
Total	1005		

percent wire nails were dated prior to 1888, that sites with at least 75 percent wire nails were dated subsequent to 1895, and that by 1902 all nails at a site should be wire nails. Placing the construction of the house between 1895 and 1902 syncs well with the establishment of the Valley Planting Company on the property in 1895, which brought with it a burst of growth in the plantation population and a greater need for houses.

The house at 3DR476 last appears in historic aerial imagery in 1939 and appears to be entirely absent in 1949 along with all of the other structures observed immediately west of the Taylor dogtrot house at 3DR26 (multiple houses and the Mount Pisgah Church building). An oral history interview (Bryant 2022) indicates that houses were moved from the banks of Bayou Bartholomew, which had formerly been the main transportation thoroughfare on the plantation in the 1800s, up to Highway 138 when the area was electrified in the 1940s and 1950s. It is therefore possible that after 1939 the house was (a) moved, (b) burned, (c) taken apart and repurposed, (d) abandoned, or (e) some combination of these. The fact that the majority of the complete nails are either straight (40 percent), bent (29 percent), or clinched (26 percent) suggests that the house was either burned or abandoned. The 1949 aerial photograph shows no indication of the structure, but it is possible that the house could have been knocked over and then lost to the encroaching flora, hiding it from bird's eye view. The presence of clinched nails in particular suggest this since the only way they could have been deposited into the soils in that shape was for the wood in which they were affixed to either rot or burn in place. There is not good evidence for burning on any of the artifacts, leaving the most likely archeological interpretation that the structure was abandoned sometime between 1939 and 1949.

Bricks. Dozens of bricks were observed on the surface across 3DR476, and every test unit yielded brick fragments (total weight: 5,107 grams or 11.25 pounds). There is no evidence to suggest that any of the tenant houses had brick chimneys, but it was common for structures to be put up on brick piers with crawl spaces left underneath. Two contemporaneous examples of this brick pier technology at the Valley Plantation are the still-standing tenant house at 3DR477 and the Morning Star Baptist Church foundation documented at 3DR479 (Figure 6.2). Most of the brick is of the lower-fired red variety, but there were some specimens that appeared to be higher fired and intended for high furnace temperatures.

Three different maker's marks were identified on bricks that indicate where they were produced (Figure 6.3). One is a Mex-R-Co "Viking" brick, produced in Mexico, Missouri. This particular brick was advertised in 1950 as an intermediate-heat duty firebrick used in furnaces (Mexico Refractories Company 1950:12). A second is a "La Clede-St. Louis" variation 5 brick, described in a 1918 advertisement as a general-purpose brick used in furnaces (Laclede-Christy 1918). The third identifiable maker's mark is on a small fragment that shows the letters "RK." These letters and their font match closely with documented bricks produced by the Arkansas Brick and Tile Company (A. B. & T. Co.) at their nearby Pine Bluff factory.

Fencing staples and wire. Every test unit yielded fencing staples (n=31) as well as wire fragments (n=314; 607 grams), some with barbs. These artifacts indicate fencing, likely used to



Figure 6.2: An example of a brick pier left in place at the Morning Star Baptist Church site (3DR479)



Figure 6.3: Bricks recovered from 3DR476 with maker's marks

corral animals owned by the tenant family. An informant (Bryant 2022) indicated that individual families at Valley kept animals like pigs, goats, and chickens.

Metal grounding spike. One thick wrought iron spike measuring 20 cm in length with a blunt terminus was documented standing upright in situ in one of the test units above and through the edge of the soil feature interpreted as the structure boundary. It is possible that this served as the grounding segment of a lightning rod affixed to an outer wall of the house.

Window glass. Analysts only identified 29 flat glass shards in the entire glass assemblage (less than two percent of the overall glass weight), and none of these were deemed to be window glass. It may be that if the house at 3DR476 had glass windows these were removed before the house was abandoned.

Clothing and Adornment

Buttons. Subsurface excavations at 3DR476 yielded 69 clothing button artifacts (Figure 6.4). The majority of these (n=62) were identified as riveted two-piece metal “workwear” buttons, generally used on denim overalls and pants. Test units additionally yielded five ceramic prosser-molded button artifacts (four whole with four eyes apiece and one fragment), one metal button with two eyes, and a shell button fragment also with two eyes. The 69 buttons recovered from this tenant house outnumber those found at the Taylor house (3DR26), which yielded only 59, despite the fact that excavations at that location uncovered 10 times more horizontal space. Additionally, among the buttons recovered at 3DR26, only six were of the two-piece riveted variety, far fewer than the 62 recovered from 3DR476.

The majority of the riveted workwear buttons probably came from overalls, which was the common outfit for both farming and industrial work in the early twentieth century. The most numerous recognizable buttons are those produced by the Cyrus W. Scott Manufacturing Company (n=7), which was incorporated in Texas in 1907 and voluntarily dissolved in 1937 (OpenCorporates 2022). The dominance of this particular button brand in the assemblage supports the abandoning of the site as a domicile in the 1940s. The Scott’s Level Best trademark registration describes its products as including overalls, pants, work shirts, and coveralls (Trademarkia).

The second most numerous recognizable buttons were those produced by Carhartt’s (n=3), which were marketed as a clothing brand that was produced by union labor. Two of the Carhartt’s stud buttons feature small heart decorations, and the third has an overall heart form rather than a circle. The heart-shaped button appears to have a trolley decoration on its face that is heavily obscured by the weathering of the metal over the past 80 years. Carhartt’s was established in Dearborn, Michigan in 1889 and first appealed to railway workers before expanding to many other cities and countries. A factory was established in Dallas, Texas in 1910 and Irvine, Kentucky in 1932. Any of these could have supplied clothing to Winchester where pants and overalls were purchased by Valley Plantation farmers.



Figure 6.4: A sample of button artifacts recovered from 3DR476

Of the remaining decorated workwear buttons, one is a “Tuf Nut” button, which was produced in Little Rock, Arkansas. The company constructed two buildings in the 1920s that are now on the national register and employed garment workers in central Arkansas well into the 1970s. Additionally, there were three buttons with train locomotive decorations on them. Two have an attached car behind the locomotive, and the third has the locomotive by itself with no attached car but with a star overhead. These three along with the three Carhartt’s buttons all have affiliation to railway-related clothing, but no evidence has emerged at this time that any of the Valley Plantation farmers doubled as railway workers.

Fasteners and buckles. Test units excavated at 3DR476 yielded eight artifacts that were classified as clothing buckles or fasteners (Figure 6.5). Four of these are fasteners from overalls, which complement the large number of workwear buttons recovered from the site. Three are square buckle frames that were probably once attached to waist belts. The last is a fastener with two spikes attached to rusted hinges, likely a fastener that was once attached to a pair of suspenders.

Jewelry. Five artifacts recovered from 3DR476 are classified as jewelry or adornment (Figure 6.6). Two of these are glass beads—one a whole coral-colored bead and the other a white bead



Figure 6.5: Clothing fasteners and buckles recovered from 3DR476

fragment. Coral-colored beads and jewelry have significance for multiple ethnic groups in Africa, particularly Nigeria, where brides traditionally wear coral-colored beads during weddings. Test units also yielded an iron finger ring that resembles a woman's engagement, wedding, or promise ring. The iron band has a head where a center stone is probably placed, but the artifact is too rusted to be able to observe what stone might be affixed and too delicate and brittle to be cleaned for closer analysis.

Another artifact identified as "jewelry" is a small metal chain with four links, which may have been part of a bracelet or necklace, but the most intriguing jewelry artifact is a black cameo embedded in a metal casing. The cameo itself is a small piece of dark treated wood with a face carved into it in "cameo" or facing to the side. Black cameo jewelry has its origins in the 1800s as a type of mourning jewelry, but it became popular during the Victorian period to wear as a fashion statement that had nothing to do with mourning. The type of wood found in this particular artifact has yet to be identified, but cameo jewelry has been found to be produced from various types of fossilized wood as well as tree resin. In recent decades there has been a movement to create black cameo jewelry that depicts stylized African women in profile. The

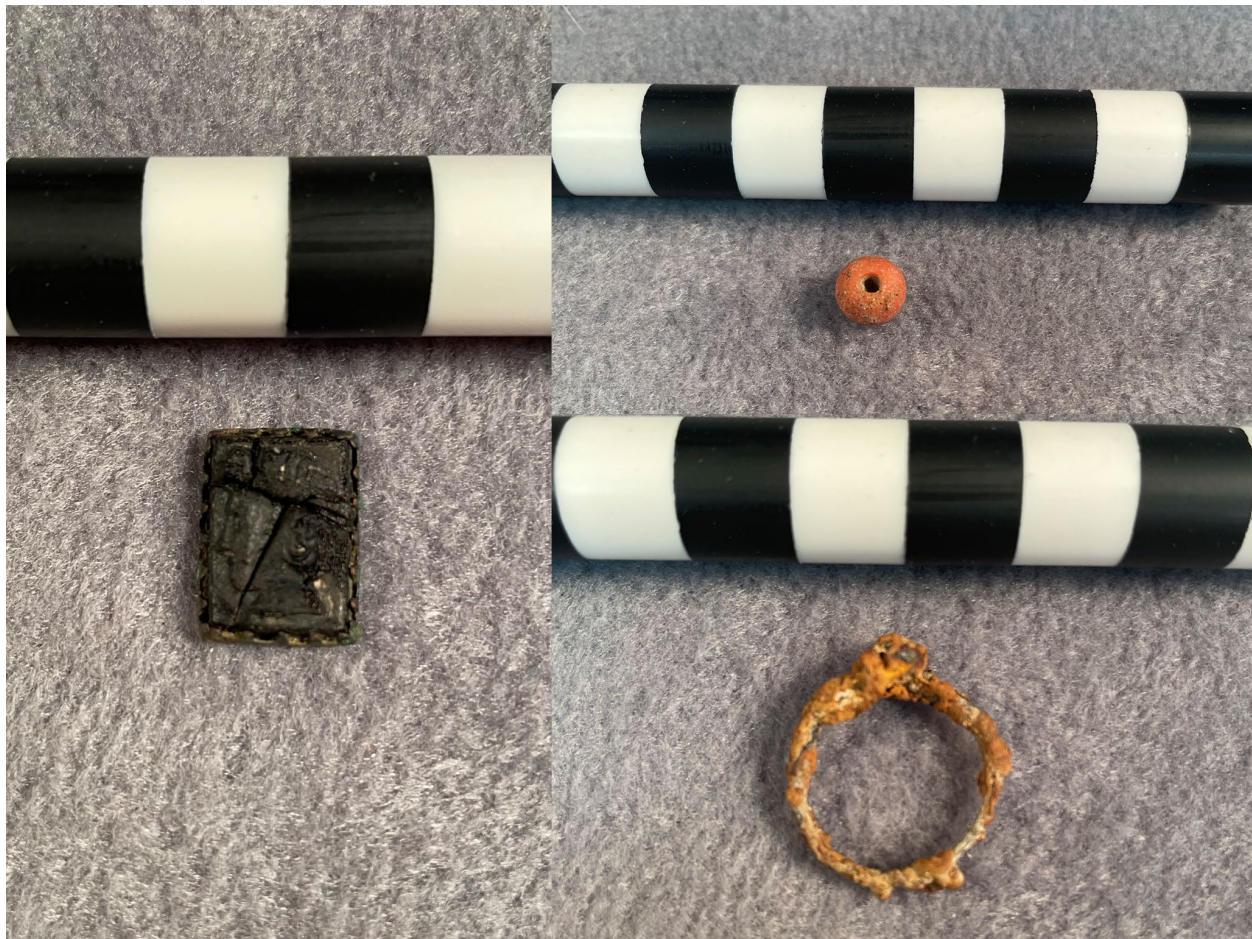


Figure 6.6: Three of the jewelry artifacts recovered from 3DR476: black cameo (left), coral-colored glass bead (top right), and iron finger ring (bottom right)

artifact in question is quite small, measuring only 17.12 x 12.63 mm. Its size suggests that it may have formerly been attached to a small bracelet or ring.

Foodways and Dining

Ceramic tableware sherds. Two large tableware fragments were collected from the surface of 3DR476 when it was first documented, and subsurface excavations yielded a further 112 ceramic sherds identified as tableware (Figure 6.7; Table 6.2). The majority of these were classified as whiteware (n=61), ironstone (n=31), porcelain (n=14), and yellowware (n=5)—all tableware ceramic ware types that were used prior to the American Civil War but continued to be produced into the early twentieth century. The remaining tableware sherds were not attributed to a specific ware due to obscurant weathering of the artifacts.

Approximately 40 percent (n=45) of the ceramic tableware sherds were identified as being part of “flat” vessels such as plates or platters, and a little over 20 percent (n=24) were identified as being components of “hollow” vessels such as bowls or cups. The remaining sherds (n=45) were



Figure 6.7: Selected ceramic tableware and utilitarian sherds recovered from 3DR476

too fragmentary to allow a determination to be made on their original form. More than three quarters of the tableware sherds (n=88) were not decorated. Decorations observed on the remaining sherds included molded motifs and molded edges, hand painted elements such as flowers and stars, and solid shades of green and blue. Three of the sherds have partial base marks, including one that reads “Semi-Granite.”

Table 6.2: Ceramic analysis of 3DR476 compared to the Taylor House (3DR26)
(3DR26 ceramic analysis was conducted by Jodi Barnes, In press)

Description	3DR476		3DR26			
	Qty.	Weight (g)	Qty.	Weight (g)	Qty.	Weight (g)
Tableware	114	365.3	2663	12850.8		
Creamware	0	0	8	36.9		
Pearlware	0	0	76	296.5		
Ironstone	31	139.5	0	0		
Whiteware	61	98.3	2335	11957.8		
Porcelain	14	104.2	217	456.8		
Yellowware	5	20.3	27	102.8		
UID refined earthenware	3	3	0	0		
Storage	12	80.2	192	2570.3		
Stoneware	8	46.7	182	2360.4		
Redware	2	1.5	10	209.9		
Coarse earthenware	2	32	0	0		
Total	126	445.5	2855	15421.1		
					How much more?	
					Qty.	Weight (g)
<i>Square meters excavated</i>	<i>11</i>		<i>116</i>			
<i>Tableware per square meter</i>	<i>10.36</i>	<i>33.21</i>	<i>22.96</i>	<i>110.78</i>	<i>222%</i>	<i>334%</i>
<i>Storage per square meter</i>	<i>1.09</i>	<i>7.29</i>	<i>1.66</i>	<i>22.16</i>	<i>152%</i>	<i>304%</i>
<i>Total per square meter</i>	<i>11.45</i>	<i>40.50</i>	<i>24.61</i>	<i>132.94</i>	<i>215%</i>	<i>328%</i>

Ceramic storage sherds. A further 12 ceramic sherds were excavated from 3DR476 that are classified as storage or utilitarian sherds, primarily used for keeping food. These were further identified as stoneware (n=8), redware (n=2), and coarse earthenware (n=2). Four of the stoneware sherds have dark brown glaze on one side, and two fragments were identified as part of the lid of a large ceramic container. Both of these are painted blue on their exterior with molded floral patterns around both the top and side that would have wrapped around the top of the hollow container (see Figure 6.6, bottom right).

A comparison of both tableware and utilitarian storage ceramics recovered from 3DR476 with those accrued from subsurface excavations at the Taylor house (3DR26), where the enslaver family and later the farm managers lived, shows that the latter contained a much higher density of ceramic artifacts by weight (see Table 6.2). After accounting for square meters excavated, the ceramic density in the test units at 3DR26 was more than three times higher. Although the Taylor dogtrot house was occupied for about 100 years, twice as long as the tenant house at 3DR476, the former was not occupied year-round for the first 30 years of its existence—the Taylor family

lived in Kentucky and only visited for part of the year. Additionally, the house was moved in 1880, and the majority of the excavations took place around this later living space, which makes the assemblages recovered from 3DR476 and 3DR26 adequately coeval in time.

When these statistics were put before Merle Bryant (2022), an African American woman and former resident of Valley in the 1940s and 1950s, she explained that her family as well as many others had very few ceramic plates and cups and that they often reused things like metal cans as cups or bowls and metal can lids as plates.

Glassware. The glass artifact assemblage recovered from 3DR476 included a small number of glassware shards (n=21). Most of these were colorless (n=12), but there were also aqua-colored shards (n=6) and yellow-colored shards (n=2) identified. Most of these shards had molded decorations on their bodies. Some had beaded molding while others had small diamond-shaped patterns. One shard was identified as a fragment of the rim of a drinking glass.

The remaining glassware shard was rose-colored and identified as “depression” glass. Depression glass vessels were produced during the 1920s and 1930s and came in many different forms, including candy dishes, plates, goblets, teacups, pitchers, trays, and sugar jars. The single fragment recovered from 3DR476 is too small to identify its form.

Container glass. Several canning jar lid fragments (n=48) were recovered from subsurface test units at the site. These were all identified as milk glass and many (n=14) showed evidence of embossed lettering. Nearly all of these displayed letters commonly observed on Boyd’s mason cap liners: “BOYD’S GENUINE PORCELAIN LINED CAP,” artifacts that are commonly found across southeast Arkansas, including on multiple sites documented on or near the Valley Plantation study area (Barnes In press:133).

In addition to canning jar lid artifacts, analysts identified jar fragments both turquoise-colored (n=2) and colorless (n=3). These were all jar rim fragments with external screw thread finishes.

Faunal remains. Every test unit dug at 3DR476 yielded faunal remains (animal bone ecofacts). These remains were mailed to Lucretia “Cricket” Kelly, a faunal specialist who analyzed all of the remains recovered from 3DR26 as well as the Lakeport Plantation big house (3CH90) in a neighboring county. Kelly recommended that we hold off on conducting an in-depth analysis on faunal remains until more excavations are conducted across the Valley Plantation. Kelly will then analyze all of the remains at one time to be more expedient with funding and consistent with identification. Kelly did, however, take a cursory look at the assemblage recovered from 3DR476 in 2022 and made some general observations.

Kelly (2022, personal communication) counted 95 specimens, four of which were mussel or snail shell fragments. Most of the bone fragments are not identifiable below the class level but come from medium and large mammals. Other initial observations included a piece of softshell turtle



Figure 6.8: Animal teeth recovered from 3DR476

and a mandible fragment from a possible rabbit. It is not clear whether this was from a domestic or wild rabbit. Kelly also observed two possible bird fragments—one a long bone from a medium-sized bird and the other a very juvenile lower leg bone (tarsometatarsus)—probably from chickens. Most of the tooth fragments are from pigs (Figure 6.8), but some of the larger teeth could be from cows.

Ammunition. Most units yielded at least one artifact identified as ammunition, artifacts commonly associated with hunting food animals. These were identified as .22 caliber bullet casings (n=8), .45 caliber ACP bullet casings (n=2), and shotgun caps (n=3). All of these types of ammunition artifacts were also recovered from 3DR26 and analyzed in the past by Carl Drexler (In press). In a similar fashion to what is being done with faunal remains, we will likely wait until more excavations are conducted across the Valley Plantation before asking Drexler or another analyst to look closely at the ammunition artifacts.

Drexler (In press:282-284) wrote that .22 caliber rounds were first patented in 1857 and were popular for hunting small animals and birds. This projectile represented more than 60 percent of all ammunition-related artifacts at 3DR26 and is also the dominant type in the 3DR476

assemblage. The .45 caliber ACP rounds were used in military sidearms throughout the twentieth century but are also commonly carried by hunters, either as a sporting weapon or “as a means of administering a *coup de grace* to a large game animal wounded by a more powerful shoulder weapon” (Drexler In press:287). The shotgun ammunition casings recovered from 3DR26 ranged in date from 1867 to post 1950 (Drexler In press:289).

Recreation

Bisque porcelain doll fragments. The test unit excavations at 3DR476 yielded 16 small bisque porcelain doll fragments (Figure 6.9). All of these are white or cream colored, and one of the fragments has a disc-shaped element (14.7 mm in diameter), which would have served as the proximal end of an arm, leg, or neck that could be affixed to a doll body (see Figure 6.9, far right). Another fragment has a peach coloration and a form reminiscent of the facial cheek of a doll, many of which had darker blush coloring applied in that location.



Figure 6.9: Bisque porcelain doll fragments

Three of the fragments have traces of stamped lettering, which are similar to maker’s marks on other types of ceramics. The lettering identified on the three fragments is a single “M” on the first, an “se” above another line of text on a second, and “Mar” above an “a” on the third. The letters and font match closely to dolls produced by Armand Marseille in Germany beginning in 1890 (Foulke 2001:147). The particular lettering on these fragments matches the maker’s mark documented on character baby and toddler dolls produced by Marseille beginning in 1910 (Foulke 2001:150).

Snuff bottles. Two unbroken snuff bottles were among the artifacts collected from the surface when 3DR476 was first identified, and a further five were found in a cache at the bottom of one of the test units (Figure 6.10). Two of these were recovered unbroken while the other three were broken, but the shards of each were still collected separately as individual vessels. An additional 86 glass fragments were identified as snuff bottle fragments based on their form and color. Taking the weight of the entire glass assemblage together, snuff bottles and fragments make up



Figure 6.10: Two snuff bottles collected from the surface of 3DR476 in 2021

approximately 40 percent of the overall weight, making this artifact type one of the most ubiquitous recovered from 3DR476.

Snuff bottles sometimes have molded dots on their inferior end, but there is not agreement on what these indicate. Some speculate that the greater number of dots the stronger the snuff (Figure 6.11). The snuff bottle artifact assemblage recovered from 3DR476 included 10 specimens with completely intact inferior ends—two with four dots, five with two dots, and three with no dots. None of these bases nor other base fragments show any evidence of stippling, which puts their production prior to 1940.

The bottle form is consistent with snuff containers produced by the American Snuff Company in Memphis, Tennessee, which became the headquarters for the company in 1912. Labels on bottles observed at the nearby Desha County Historical Museum read “Tobacco Scotch & Rappee Snuff,” with a net weight of 5.58 ounces. Historically, snuff was a smokeless tobacco powder that was ingested through the nose, but it became popular in the United States to “dip” a small stick or twig in the powder and then place it in inside the cheek—an oral ingestion technique that led to the modern use of dipping tobacco (moist snuff).



Figure 6.11: Inferior ends of snuff bottle artifacts showing molded dots (or lack thereof)

Alcohol. Aside from snuff bottle glass, analysts identified 161 other amber-colored bottle glass shards, making up about 10 percent of the weight of the entire assemblage. An additional eight glass shards were identified as having various shades of olive and dark green coloring. Amber-colored and olive-colored glass was commonly used to produce bottles that held beer and wine as well as different types of medicine. The glass fragments in question were too fragmentary for analysts to make confident estimations of overall form, but the large relative weight of the amber-colored glass in particular suggests that there were alcohol containers present, since these containers were typically much larger and heavier than medicine bottles. Together, snuff bottle artifacts and other amber-colored glass artifacts make up half of the weight of all glass recovered from the site.

Household Items

Free-standing metal stove. Two large elements from a free-standing cast iron stove were collected from the site when it was first documented (Figure 6.12). These were discovered sticking out of the edge of the terrace that was eroding to the west of the site into the adjacent gully. One element is an entire metal stove top (50 x 60 cm), which has a long wire nail still



Figure 6.12: Two elements of a free-standing metal stove found on the surface at 3DR476

attached (21 cm in length) with a square nut affixed at its end. The stove top has the characters “14A” stamped to the right of the oval stove pipe opening, which was a size indicator for cast iron skillets. To the left of the stove pipe opening, there is a “7” discernible amid some rusting. Many contemporary stoves had a stove pipe size indicator marked in this location, and the stove pipe aperture on this stove top is seven inches wide.

The second element is a rectangular cast iron stove base (29 x 40 cm) that has a corner broken or sheared off. The remaining corners have wire nail fragments embedded within, and the anterior side has apertures where stove legs could have been affixed.

Mechanical clock parts. Excavators recovered four small metal mechanical parts that were likely part of a clock (Figure 6.13). Two of these are small metal gears, one is a small metal spring, and the other two are small washers.

Hygiene artifacts. One glass jar fragment made of milk glass was identified in the assemblage with a wide external screw thread finish that was likely part of a vessel that once contained hygiene cream or lotion. Additionally, two safety pins were recovered from subsurface excavation units as well as a toothpaste tube roller (Figure 6.14). The toothpaste roller consists of two parallel wires terminating in a “key” shape for gripping and twisting. The artifact recovered here has tubing still wrapped around the wire prongs and partially rusted. Jodi Barnes (2021:13)



Figure 6.13: Mechanical clock parts recovered from 3DR476



Figure 6.14: Safety pins and a toothpaste tube roller

identified safety pins in the Taylor house assemblage recovered from 3DR26 and argued that such artifacts indicate “motherwork” labor such as changing diapers.

Medicine bottles. Subsurface excavations at 3DR476 yielded 30 glass artifacts identified as fragments of medicine bottles. The majority of these were cobalt in color (n=19), followed by shards that were colorless (n=6), aqua (n=2), and violet (n=3). The aqua-colored shards both featured embossed writing, and one was identified as a fragment of a “Pine-Tar” bottle. The cobalt-colored shards are reminiscent of “milk of magnesium” bottles. Two of the medicine bottle shards with intact rims were identified as having prescription finishes, indicating that glass stoppers were likely used to seal them.

One of the colorless medicine bottle shards has a maker’s mark showing that it was manufactured by the Owen’s Illinois Glass Company. This particular specimen has a factory code showing that it was produced in Bridgeton, New Jersey, as well as a date code placing its manufacture in 1933. Another colorless medicine bottle base shard is embossed with a Brockway Glass Company maker’s mark. It was produced circa 1925 to 1934.

Other glass. In addition to all of the glass artifacts described above as well as in the preceding subsections (recreation and foodways), an additional 116 glass artifacts were identified as bottle fragments. Most were colorless (n=77), but a variety of colors were observed on the remaining shards including aqua (n=13), light green (n=4), turquoise (n=11), and violet (n=11). Analysts could not identify form with confidence due to the fragmentary nature of these artifacts, and it is possible that they were associated with myriad activities: household, hygiene, medicine, and personal care. A further 190 glass shards were identified as “vessel” glass fragments, and could include fragments of bottles as well as glassware used for dining. These generally came in the same variety of colors. Approximately 22 percent of the weight of the glass artifacts (n=825) had no form identified due to extreme fragmentation.

One of the glass bottle fragments had stippling on the base, which is an indication of post-1940 production. However, none of the other bottle artifacts with observable bases had stippling, suggesting that the majority of the assemblage was produced prior to 1940.

Writing implements. Four slate tablet fragments and the metal top of a pencil where an eraser was once affixed were recovered from test units at 3DR476. Slate writing tablets were typically 2.5 mm thick and machine polished, sometimes featuring drilled holes so that several could be bound together as a “book.” Standard sizes included 5 x 7, 6 x 9, 7 x 11, and 8 x 12 inches. The surface could be ruled with lines, divided into squares, or left blank. Some were wire bound or sat in a wooden frame. Others featured a felt strip or ribbon secured to the edge to protect the fingers from splinters (Davies 2005:63-64). The fragments recovered from this site were too fragmentary to make any determination about the nature of the tablets.

Tools. The distal end of a pointed knife blade fragment was recovered from 3DR476. The tang and handle are missing. A distal end of a crowbar was also identified in the assemblage with sharpened prongs intact.

Chapter 7

DATING SUMMARY & FUTURE RESEARCH

While the documentary sources showed that a house was present at the location of 3DR476 between 1917 and 1939 (22 years), the archeological investigations allowed us to double the known number of years that the house was present at this place on the plantation landscape—from 1895 to the 1940s (approximately 50 years).

The terminus post quem for the house at 3DR476 is 1895, based on the composition of the nail assemblage. Square cut nails are present, but wire nails make up more than 80 percent of the nail assemblage, indicating that the structure was built between 1895 and 1902. The terminus ante quem for the site is 1949, due to the aerial photograph that shows the building absent during that year. However, the presence of a glass bottle fragment with stippling on the base indicates that the site was still in use for habitation after 1940.

Future Research at the Valley Plantation

A review of the state site file system shows that aside from 3DR26 and 3DR476 there are 30 additional habitation sites around the project area (see Figure 1.1) that have yielded plantation-era artifacts (3DE292, 3DR1, 3DR2, 3DR8, 3DR61, 3DR69, 3DR154, 3DR196, 3DR199, 3DR202, 3DR297, 3DR331, 3DR338, 3DR340, 3DR351, 3DR362, 3DR366, 3DR367, 3DR374, 3DR377, 3DR380, 3DR393, 3DR395, 3DR408, 3DR431, 3DR441, 3DR467, 3DR475, 3DR477, and 3DR479). One of these is the mound site across the bayou (3DR2), which was heavily excavated by archeologists in the 1990s who were investigating the earlier Native American component. It is historically documented, however, that at least one tenant house was present on the mounds during the postbellum period.

All of these habitation sites should be revisited so that we can determine whether any are good candidates for subsurface investigations. Locations of additional house sites observed on 1939 aerial photography should also be visited and documented as new sites. A more robust data set consisting of assemblages recovered from multiple habitation sites will allow for a stronger comparison between the Black tenant families who lived across the plantation with the white farm managers who lived in the Taylor house after 1895. Such a dataset will also serve as a starting point for investigating other postbellum plantation communities across the region, state, and southeast more generally.

In addition to habitation sites, there were at least six churches across the plantation, including the Cypress Grove Baptist Church (3DR297) and the Morning Star Baptist Church (3DR479). The

former is likely the location of Hollywood’s historic slave quarters and is a high priority for remote sensing and subsurface investigations. The latter is an excellent candidate for subsurface excavations due to its preservation and would be an ideal space to conduct a component of a future Society training program. Both church sites likely doubled as habitation sites. One of the grave markers at Morning Star (3DR479), at least, bears an inscription stating that the interred was a member of the church household (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1: Grave marker of Charlott Williams at Morning Star (3DR479)

We have not yet identified the Mount Pisgah Church archeologically, but this would also be a good candidate for future excavations, given that we know it also served as a school for younger Black children who lived on the plantation. Investigations should also eventually reach the local Rosenwald schools that were attended by African American children living on the plantation and in Winchester—one at Selma and the other at Loggy Bayou, respectively. Both are located within four miles, as the crow flies, from the Taylor dogtrot house (3DR26).

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