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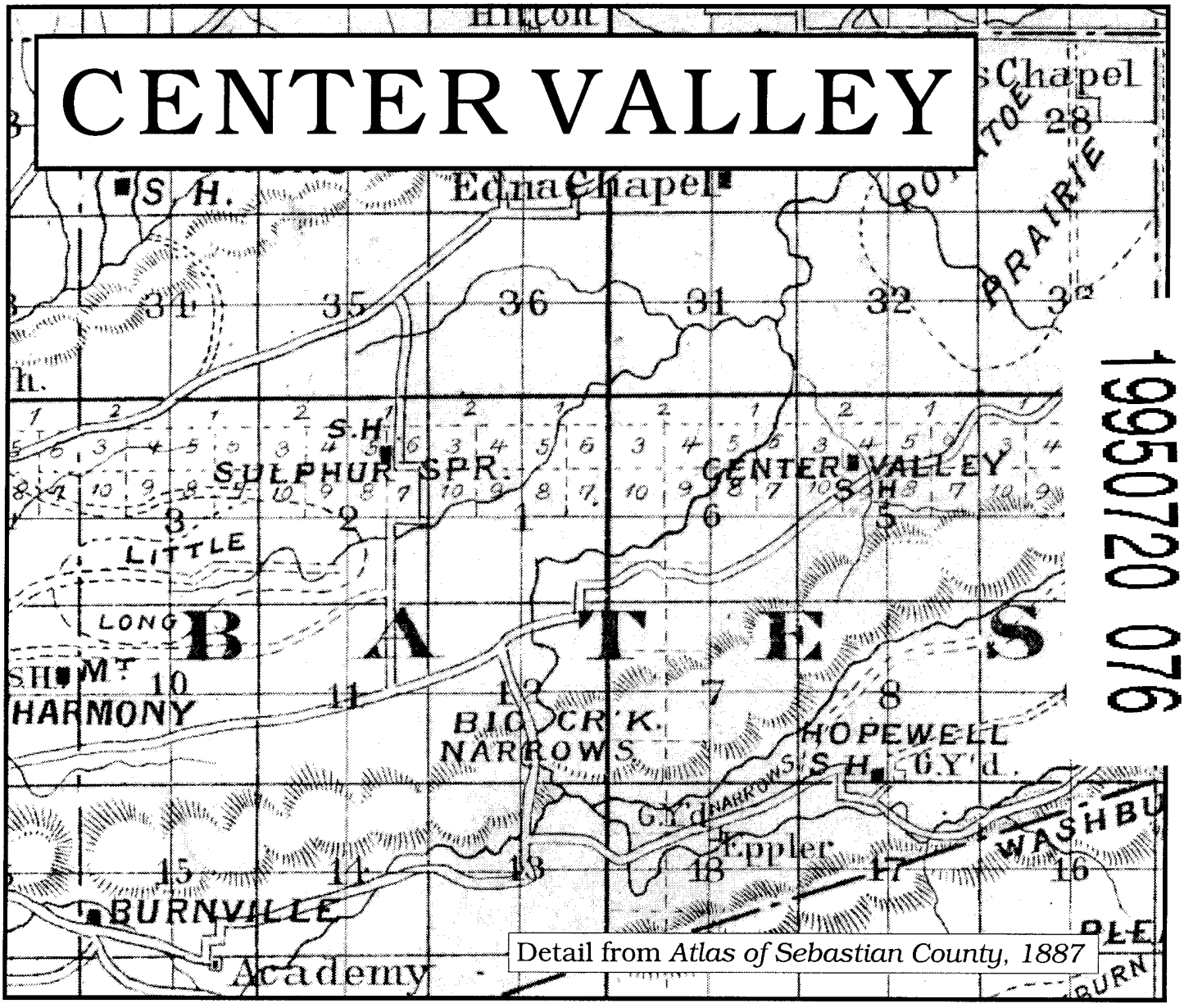
CENTER VALLEY



Detail from *Atlas of Sebastian County, 1887*

By W. J. Bennett, Jr., Jeffrey A. Blakely, Robert Brinkmann, William Isenberger, John Northrip, and Mary Bennett

Archeological Assessments Report No. 217
Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Report No. 17

Submitted to the Little Rock District, Corps of Engineers
1995

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by

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Abstract

This report is an effort to provide an understanding of a former rural community which existed from about 1860 until 1941. The name of the community was Center Valley and it was located in southeastern Sebastian County, Arkansas. The study attempts to provide an historical context for the evaluation of the archeological remains of the area's numerous farms. Since this locality is located within a portion of the Fort Chaffee Military Garrison which is likely to contain unexploded munitions, no field work was undertaken as part of this investigation. The reconstruction of the life of this community and its numerous farms and families depends upon a study of documentary, photographic, cartographic, and oral historical sources. These investigations were sponsored by the Fort Chaffee Military Garrison.

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Preface

This study represents an important stage in the study of the communities, families, and people which once made up the rural landscape now occupied by the Fort Chaffee Military Garrison. At the time of the creation of what was then called Camp Chaffee in 1941 this 72,000 acre portion of west-central Arkansas was home to over 1,200 farm families; and across this landscape was spread the built environment created by Euro-American settlers over slightly more than 100 years. It contained their homes, farms, schools, churches, post offices, gins, mills, country stores, and communities. The archeological record created by this occupation of the region is extensive and, excluding the alterations made over the past half century of use as a military training facility, may well be the predominant feature of the area's present landscape.

This present study is focused on one small rural community located in the southeastern portion of Sebastian County; a community known to its residents and neighbors as Center Valley. In many ways it seemed to have been typical of dozens of other regional communities, but, in other ways it possessed its own unique character. In this effort we have used a wide variety of information sources including documentary, cartographic, photographic, oral historical sources as well as a limited number of observations made directly from the archeological record. The following account is an amalgam of statistics and stories within which we have attempted to highlight some of the structural elements of life in Center Valley and to preserve the stories of the unique events and people which are a part of its heritage.

This community was singled out for particular study for reasons which had nothing whatsoever to do with the community itself. It was chosen because this was the location of a portion of the installation which was designated for development as part of a new series of training exercises. The community itself is situated within what is designated as the Direct Impact Zone (DIZ) of the installation; that portion of the installation which had been receiving dud-producing artillery fire since the training exercises conducted during World War II. Because of the extreme hazard associated with the presence of unexploded ordinance, it had not been included in the original cultural resource inventory of the installation. Indeed, the Programmatic Agreement between Fort Chaffee and the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) which provides the immediate context for cultural resource management activities on the installation specifically excludes investigations within this hazardous area. However, because of the needs of the Joint Readiness Training Center (JRTC) stationed at Fort Chaffee from 1987 to 1992, a portion of the DIZ, designated as Battle Area Bear (BAB), was surface-cleared prior to its development of a training site. As part of this effort an initial examination and documentation of the archeological record was undertaken and reported in Bennett, Blakely, and Isenberger (1991). When the JRTC activities in this area were expanded to include the movement of troops and vehicles across a wider corridor, an area called the Military Maneuver Area, North Zone, the additional investigations which provide the basis for this present study were undertaken. Prior to undertaking of this effort, discussions between the Fort Chaffee, the SHPO, and the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation (ACHP) were conducted and an agreement was reached that no field work would be conducted as part of this effort.

At this time we would like to acknowledge the assistance and cooperation of a number of persons without whom this present study could not have been completed. Above all this includes Jerry Sturdy of the Fort Chaffee Environmental Branch and Robert Dunn, archeologist with the US Army Engineer District, Little Rock (USAED,LR). Their patience and support were vital elements in the completion of the project. We also wish to acknowledge the special assistance of Nicholas Neylon, Director of the Old Fort Museum, Fort Smith, Arkansas. Most of all, our heartfelt thanks go out to those former residents and families of Center Valley. It was there participation in all phases of this effort that made this effort both a joy and delight for those of us fortunate enough to participate in it. Thank you, Center Valley!

Introduction: The Context of Investigations

The Center Valley project is an attempt to reconstruct a portion of the history and lifeways of a small rural community in Sebastian County, Arkansas. The Center Valley community was established during the early settlement of the region in the 1850s and continued as an important element of the region's cultural life until its dissolution by the creation of Camp Chaffee in 1941. The project, supported by the Fort Chaffee Military Garrison as part of its cultural resource management program, involves an extensive program of documentary, cartographic, photographic, and oral historical research which continues the work begun in the Battle Area Bear (BAB) project. In addition to the investigations associated with the preparation of this present report, the investigations of the Center Valley Project included an extensive series of public programs and a major exhibit carried out under the auspices of the Old Fort Museum, Fort Smith, Arkansas, as part of their sponsorship of work in local history. This exhibit with associated programming was called *Center Valley*. It opened at the Old Fort Museum in early March 1994 and continued until early August 1994. Substantial funding for this exhibit was provided by local businesses and from the Arkansas Humanities Council.

This volume is one of several products which have been produced by the Center Valley project and, like the Center Valley project itself, this volume exhibits some distinct differences from what might be considered more typical cultural resource management projects.

On one level the differences between this and other cultural research management efforts can be attributed to the nature of the project area which is situated entirely within Fort Chaffee's Direct Impact Zone (DIZ) which has been subject to artillery fire for more than 50 years. Although a portion of the area's surface has been officially cleared of unexploded ordinance sufficient to permit certain types of military activities, it is likely that significant amounts of such unstable explosives still remain in the area. For this reason it is inappropriate to conduct field research, particularly subsurface investigations, of a kind normally associated with the location and evaluation of archeological sites. The hazards and problems of investigations within the DIZ was recognized early on in the development of the Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Management Program and such investigations were explicitedly excluded by the Programmatic Agreement for Section 106 compliance between Fort Chaffee, the Arkansas State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), and the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation (ACHP), as long as the activities conducted within the area did not undergo substantial change.

Such a change was initiated in 1990 when the Joint Readiness Training Center (JRTC) developed plans to include a portion of the DIZ within their training activities. This situation presented a serious challenge to the Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Management program. On the one hand, it appeared certain that even the limited military training activities conducted within the area would result in adverse impacts to the archeological record. But, on the other hand, it was impossible to conduct traditional field investigations within the area to determine the exact nature of these adverse impacts or to devise appropriate physical mitigation measures. An initial attempt to deal with this problem was undertaken in 1990 in conjunction with the construction of the Battle Area Bear training site within the DIZ. This was a limited program of investigations which included surface

survey and site mapping coupled with extensive documentary, pictorial, and oral historical research (Blakely, Bennett, and Isenberger 1990). This study became the model for this current effort.

The Center Valley project is the result of numerous discussions between a number of agencies including Fort Chaffee, the U. S. Army Engineer District, Little Rock (USAED,LR), the SHPO, the ACHP, and Archeological Assessments, Inc. (AAI) who have been concerned to develop a program of investigation whereby adverse impacts to at least a portion of this archeological record could be lessened. The extreme safety hazard presented by a dense concentration of shallowly buried live ordnance precluded traditional archeological mitigation in the Center Valley project area. The Fort Chaffee Programmatic Agreement for Section 106 compliance specifically excluded areas which had not been surface and subsurface cleared of live ordnance. However, Fort Chaffee and the U. S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) recognized that a significant portion of regional history would be lost if nothing were done. In order to create the historical context needed for evaluating the significance of the numerous historic farmsteads at Fort Chaffee the decision was made, with ACHP approval, to go forward with an expanded version of the Battle Area Bear project for Center Valley. Legislative authority for that project and for the rest of Center Valley was Section 100 (a) (2) of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended.

While the circumstances surrounding this effort are unique, the program devised to achieve this goal stands very clearly within the mainstream of the Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Management Program. Thus, in order to understand why the Center Valley project developed the way it did, it is important to understand how the Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Management Program developed. The following pages provide a context for investigations which we believe will help place this volume within a more easily interpretable cultural resource management context.

The Fort Chaffee Military Garrison

Fort Chaffee consists of approximately 72,000 acres situated in west-central Arkansas south and east of the city of Fort Smith (Figures 1 and 2). The facility is located within the Arkansas River Hill and Valley Belt of the Ouachita Mountain Physiographic Province (Haley 1976). The varied landscape within the study area consists of long, steep-sided ridges and parallel valleys with occasional narrow gorges, broad low rolling hills, a small segment of the relatively flat Arkansas River floodplain, and several large tributary valleys including Vache Grasse Creek and Big Creek. A description of the major geomorphic features and the processes responsible for their creation and modification is found in Smith (1986).

It is assumed that the vegetation in the region has, for most of the Holocene period, been part of a mixed hardwood forest environment with occasional patches of prairie. Modification of the landscape and clearing of vegetation began with the first large wave of Euro-American settlement in the area prior to the Civil War. The establishment of farms and the excavation of surface coal mines had severely impacted the local vegetation by the mid-20th century. With the establishment of Fort Chaffee in the early 1940s, other extensive modifications have taken place in order for the facility to fulfill its training mission. Some areas, however, have been allowed to return to a more natural vegetative setting.

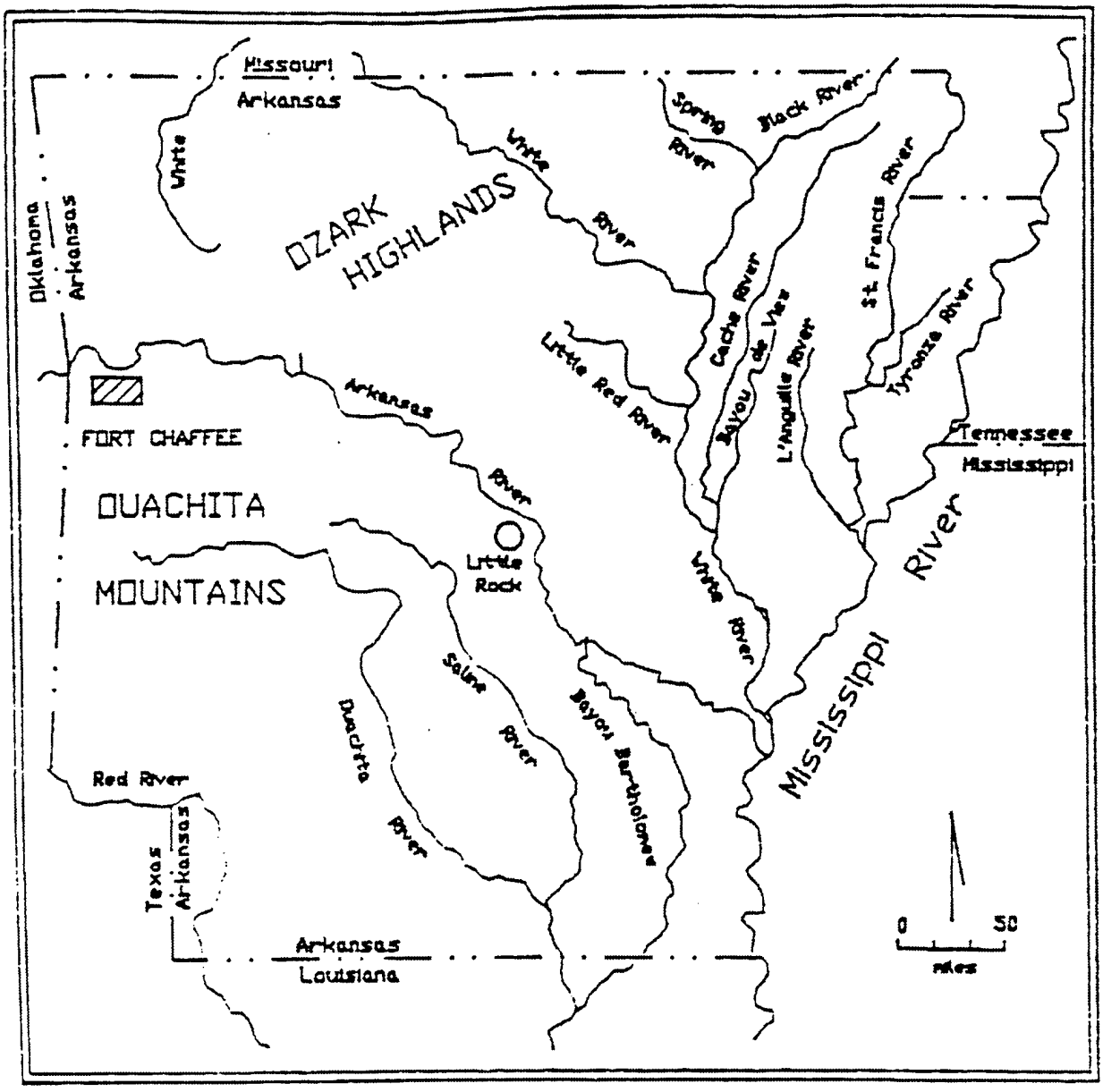


Figure 1. Fort Chaffee Vicinity Map

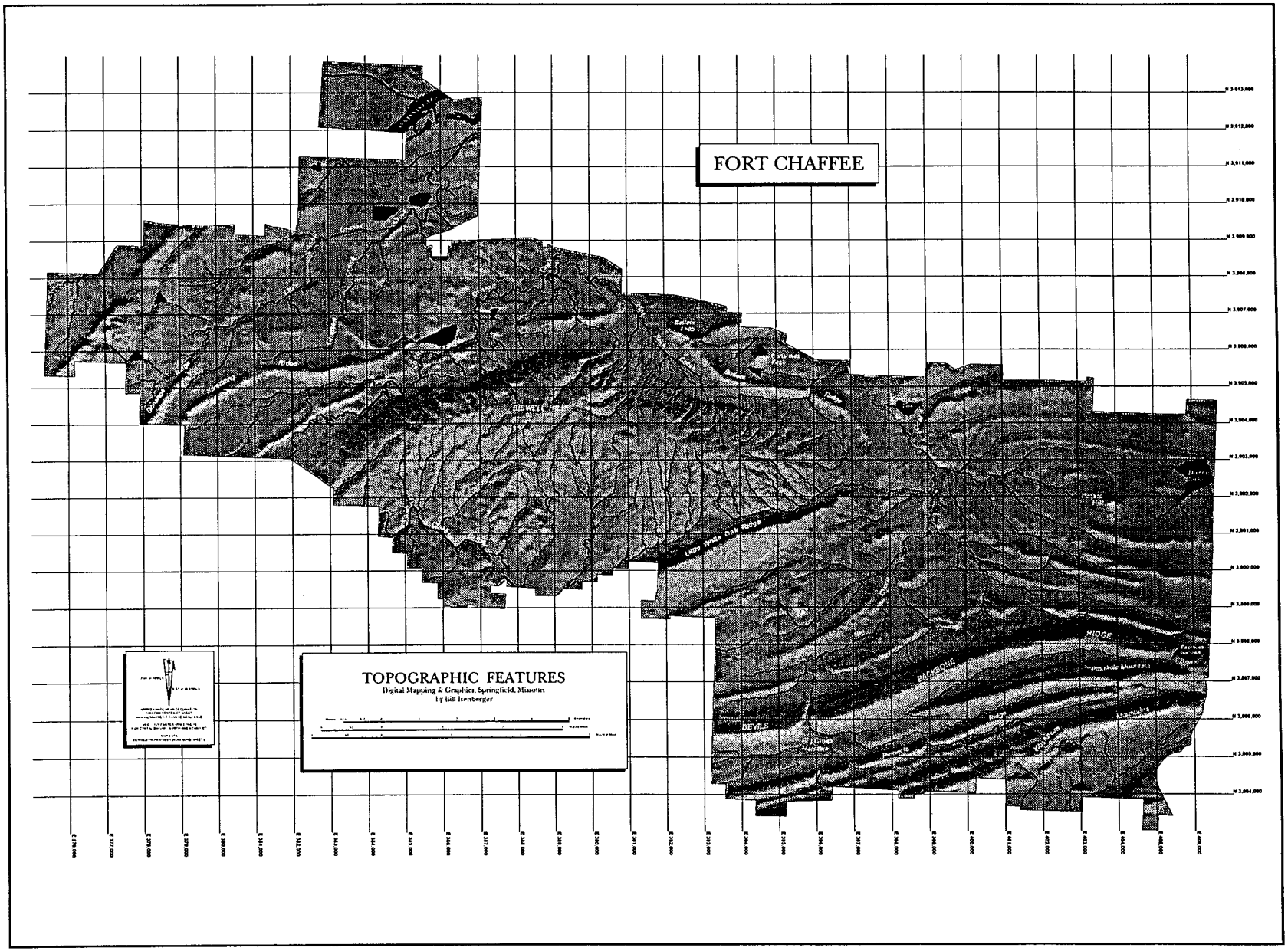


Figure 2. Fort Chaffee Military Garrison

The construction of what was to become Fort Chaffee began in September of 1941. Originally named Camp Chaffee in honor of Major General Adna R. Chaffee, the first Chief of Armored Forces, the installation was to play an important part in the training of armed forces during the Second World War. The original construction directive provided for facilities to house a division with supporting troops for a total of 30,000 soldiers. Among other units the 6th, 14th, and 16th Armored Divisions trained at Camp Chaffee during this period of intensive use.

In July 1946 the post was placed in an inactive status. It was reopened and designated as the home of the 5th Armored Division in June of 1948. The 5th Armored Division conducted both Basic and Advanced Individual Training until February 1950 when it was deactivated. At this time the post was again placed in an inactive status until the 5th Armored Division resumed its Individual and Unit Training missions in August 1950. In March 1956 the post became a permanent installation and was redesignated as Fort Chaffee.

In early 1957 Fort Chaffee became the "United States Army Training Center, Field Artillery" and given an additional mission of training Reserve Forces personnel prior to assuming their duties with the National Guard or Army Reserve units. Two years later in July 1959 the post was placed in a Caretaker status.

During the Berlin crisis in the fall of 1961 the post was re-opened as a training center by the U. S. Army Garrison (4002d) Reserve Unit from Oklahoma and the 100th Infantry Division (Training), a Kentucky Reserve Unit, was moved to train Infantrymen in Basic and Advanced Infantry tactics. In 1962 the 100th Division was inactivated and Fort Chaffee's new mission was to support the 3rd Corps Artillery and the XIX Corps (Reserve). This mission continued until Fort Chaffee was inactivated at the end of June 1965. Since 1965 many National Guard and Reserve Units have performed their summer training at the post.

In November 1974 the post was redesignated as the U. S. Army Garrison, Fort Chaffee (Semi-Active). In 1975 Fort Chaffee served as a Refugee Processing Center for Indochina Refugees. The Center was closed in December 1975.

Again, the post returned to its mission to provide facilities and support training for National Guard and Army Reserve Units during annual training and weekend training throughout the year. In this capacity Fort Chaffee provided facilities and support for the training of National Guard and Army Reserve Units, totaling in excess of 50,000 personnel annually.

In May of 1980 through February 1982 Fort Chaffee was given the mission to operate a Resettlement Center for Cuban Refugees.

In October of 1986 the Army approved, as a two year pilot program, the establishment of the JRTC at Fort Chaffee. This additional training role greatly increased the amount of training exercises carried out on the installation. Figures for 1989 show total soldier training days to be 436,799 ranging from a daily average in November of 316 to 2,511 in May.

The JRTC supports advanced training opportunities for Army Active and Reserve Component Infantry brigades and associated Air Force units. Typically, a JRTC training exercise is conducted over a two week period and consists of eight major phases: pre-deployment/special operations, deployment, low intensity conflict, preparation for defense/defense, deliberate attack, hasty attack, post operations recovery, and redeployment.

On 15 April 1991 the Department of Defense announced plans to transfer the JRTC exercises to Fort Polk, Louisiana, and to close Fort Chaffee as an active training facility. The existing facilities and training area at Fort Chaffee would be retained to support training of Reserve Units.

Cultural Resource Management Activities

Efforts undertaken to develop a systematic program of cultural resources management at Fort Chaffee began in the fall of 1986. Prior to that time there had been only a very limited number of archeological surveys conducted on Fort Chaffee. These had been restricted to narrow corridors associated with the production and delivery of oil and gas. In fact, less than 270 sites had been previously recorded for all of Sebastian and Franklin counties combined. As a result of the activities conducted in compliance with Sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Protection Act (NHPA) and Army Regulations 420-40 (AR 420-40) there are now more than 900 individual site locations recorded on the installation.

The initial activities undertaken as part of the development of the Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Management Program were the creation of a background study summarizing previous investigations within the Ozark and Ouachita mountain regions and the Arkansas River Valley, a reconnaissance-level geomorphological analysis of the Fort Chaffee landscape, and a survey of approximately 9% of the installation. The background study (Bennett and Watkins 1987) contains a critical assessment of past investigations of the region and a summary of the general culture-historical framework developed by these investigations. The 9% survey was originally designed to provide data to test a proposed model for the distribution of the archeological record across the installation. The theoretical basis for this modeling effort was that the archeological record was a characteristic of the landscape and it used the geomorphological analysis of the landscape provided in Smith (1986) as an objective base upon which to map the archeological record.

In order to understand how the subsequent cultural resources activities undertaken at Fort Chaffee developed, three points must be made about the way in which this effort was approached.

- Since the archeological record was viewed as a characteristic of the landscape, the highest priority was placed on an increasingly sophisticated understanding on the various landforms and landforming processes at work across the installation. Everything that followed in the development of this program of cultural resource management has been an attempt to support that perspective.

- When this process began, the archeological record was viewed as a collection of more or less independent entities called sites. Consequently documentation of the archeological record began as an attempt to define site polygons across the landscape created by the geomorphological analysis.

- Finally, because of the lack of prior investigations in the area, it was necessary to create a context for the evaluation of the various aspects of the archeological record present at Fort Chaffee. Because so little was known about the cultural resources present on the installation there was very little which could be considered insignificant.

Over the next eight years continuing investigations demonstrated the importance of understanding the integral connection between the archeological record and the landscape. As the understanding of this relationship deepened it became apparent that the archeological record is best understood not as a collection of independent sites but rather as a single organic entity. The development of this conceptual framework resulted in a greater understanding of the totality of the archeological record and its constituent parts. Consequently, it became apparent that the significance of discrete portions of the archeological record need not be made on a site-by-site basis. In fact, it can be argued that proceeding on a site-by-site basis actually hinders the management process.

Another very important facet of these investigations was the increasing awareness of the amount of documentary, photographic, and oral historical resources available for understanding the various aspects of the Euro-American settlement of the area. As experience was gained in working with these resources, particularly as the circle of acquaintance with people whose families had once lived on Fort Chaffee was expanded, their importance for interpreting the archeological record created by this settlement became clear. The nature, extent, and availability of these resources has had an important impact on the way in which the information potential of this portion of the archeological record was assessed.

All but two of the major cultural resource management projects undertaken at Fort Chaffee were performed by Archeological Assessments, Inc. (AAI), Nashville, Arkansas, with support from the US Army Engineer, Waterways Experiment Station (WES), Vicksburg, Mississippi. Individual projects undertaken as part of this effort were done under the supervision of the USAED,LR (Contract Numbers DACW03-86-D-0068 and DACW03-89-D-0100) and in consultation with the Environmental Branch, Fort Chaffee and the Historic Preservation Specialist at TRADOC. Financial support for this program was provided by Fort Chaffee. The reports of these projects constitute a series titled *Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Studies*. Copies of these reports may be obtained from the Defense Technical Information Service, Alexandria, Virginia.

Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Studies

No. 1 1987 Investigations. Introduction and Summary
No. 2 Culture Historical Context: The Regional Record
No. 3 A Cultural Resources Survey: 20% Sample
No. 4 Archeological Testing at Selected Prehistoric Sites in the Biswell Hill and Gin Creek Areas
No. 5 Archeological Testing at Selected Historic Period Sites in the Gin Creek and Biswell Hill Areas
No. 6. Documentary Research on Historical Communities at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas
No. 7 Cultural Resources Survey: 1987-1988. 12% Survey
No. 8 An Assessment of the Pre-Euro-American Archeological Record in the Vache Grasse Creek Area, Fort Chaffee, Arkansas
No. 9 Archeological Testing at Three Euro-American Sites, Fort Chaffee, Arkansas
No. 10 Investigations into Privately Held Documentary, Pictorial, and Oral Historical Resources Related to Euro-American Farmlife, Fort Chaffee, Arkansas
No. 11 Euro-American Occupation of the Eastern Center Valley, Arkansas: 1857-1941
No. 12 Cultural Resources Survey 1989-1990
No .13 Assessment of Damage to 3SB156
No. 14 Archeological Investigations at the German Prisoner of War Camp Location, Fort Chaffee, Arkansas
No. 15 World War II Structures at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas
No. 16 Archeological Investigations at Seventeen Euro-American Farmsteads, Fort Chaffee, Arkansas

These reports have been submitted for review by Fort Chaffee, USAED,LR, TRADOC, the SHPO, and the ACHP. Comments received from these agencies and officials were considered in the production of final reports.

An additional report related to cultural resource management at Fort Chaffee is "Geomorphological Reconnaissance of Fort Chaffee, Arkansas" (Smith 1986) which is the initial geomorphological analysis of the Fort Chaffee landscape developed by the United States Corps of Engineer, Waterways Experiment Station (WES). It is presently undergoing revision to reflect additional field data derived from the survey and testing projects listed above. Upon completion, this will become a part of the *Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Studies* series.

Other cultural resource management activities, sponsored by a variety of sources, have been undertaken at Fort Chaffee. These include an intensive survey with subsurface testing in the area north of Arkansas State Highway 22 and south of the Arkansas River in association with a proposed waste water project for the City of Barling, Arkansas, (Bennett 1989), and numerous small scale projects undertaken in support of natural gas production. It is important also to note that all the cultural resource management activities at Fort Chaffee are being carried out in accordance with the Historic Preservation Plan developed for the installation by AAI.

A video summary of many of these activities, *The Unified Landscape: Earth Science, Archeology, and Resource Management*, was prepared for and shown at the Earth Resources Workshop of the Legacy Resource Management Program held at Eglin Air Force Base in March of 1993. Copies of this video can be obtained from Dr. Lawson M. Smith, Geotechnical Laboratory, US Army Engineer Waterways Experiment Station, 3909 Halls Ferry Road, Vicksburg, MS 39180.

There have been several major investigations which provide the historical prologue for this present study. The first of these was a program of site evaluation undertaken for a number of Euro-American farmsteads; most of which were located in the Gin Creek area which is situated in the extreme southeast portion of the installation (Blakely and Bennett 1987).

As is almost always the case with programs designed to determine the significance of archeological sites the primary consideration for the significance of these sites was formulated in terms of criteria published for considering sites eligible for inclusion on the NRHP in 36 CFR 60. Of these the criteria almost universally applied in archeological investigations is Criterion D and for sites so evaluated, the crucial consideration is site integrity; that is, does the site in question still contain deposits of debris which have been only minimally disturbed since their original deposition and could, therefore, be attributed to specific periods of the site's use.

Thus, the major goal of this effort was to evaluate the integrity of the archeological record first by focusing on the fabric of the archeological record and then considering the nature of the artifacts recovered from the deposits. Weighing these factors, a judgment was made regarding the potential of the site to yield additional information, beyond that already obtained from the initial survey and testing work, about the lifeways used during the particular periods of the region's human occupation. However, because of the lack of an adequate context for the evaluation of Euro-American sites, it was judged necessary to conduct a study of the documentary resources related to the Euro-American occupation for such sites. Thus an attempt was made to use these data to develop a context of interpretation for the Gin Creek area. It was hoped that such a study would establish a link between the archeological records and the archival data (and perhaps some oral tradition) so that the sites investigated could be placed more firmly within their history of use. This study was aided considerably by the contribution of John Worrell, then Director of Research for Old Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts, who participated in the development of this evaluation program.

There were two very important results of this initial effort. The first was the discovery of the enormous amount of documentary and oral historical information related to these farms. The second was we discovered in the course of creating a context for interpretation for the Euro-American sites evaluated in Gin Creek that while the settlement of the area in the 19th and 20th centuries had been almost entirely agricultural this settlement was not simply a collection of individual farms. The Euro-American settlement had developed around small communities and included the development of numerous support services including stores, post offices, schools, churches, mills, and the like. Further, while agriculture was clearly the dominant enterprise in the area, other commercial and industrial activities, particularly coal mining, were also important.

This dual result convinced those working in the Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Management Program that the next step to be taken was to begin to develop an understanding of the various communities which had once existed on the lands which were now part of Fort Chaffee. The first step was the creation of what we have called The Communities Study (Blakely and Bennett 1988) which identified those elements of the rural landscape which provided what might be called the infra-structure to these farmsteads were identified. The study provided a narrative discussion of the development of the various small communities and their associated commercial and economic facilities. Furthermore, it was possible to designate the location of many of these facilities using cartographic and documentary resources which could be field-verified.

This study had several immediate positive results. It was determined that most of the archeological record associated with the community of Auburn was likely to be intact. The location of the nearly intact remains of a late 19th Century pottery kiln in the community of Cornish was also determined. On the negative side, it was discovered that there is almost no archeological record extant at the important social center of Biswell Hill campgrounds and that little is left of the several gins and mills which once dotted the landscape. The study also provided documentation for the only pre-1940s structure still standing on the installation, the Maness School House, which was constructed by the WPA. But most of all it provided an integrating context within which it was now possible to consider the significance of particular properties. This provided the basis for a much more extensive effort designed to investigate the availability of privately held documentary and pictorial sources of information about individual farms and families.

This project, called the Farmsteads Study, had two components. One of the components was the field examination of two carefully chosen farmsteads and the Osborn-McConnell pottery kiln at Cornish (Blakely 1990). The properties investigated included a late farmstead, an early farmstead, and the only known remaining example of an industrial site, the Osborn-McConnell pottery which was active in the late 1880s. The second component involved an attempt to contact people who had lived (or who had relatives who had lived) in the area prior to the construction of Fort Chaffee (Bennett et al 1990). A program of inquiry, greatly assisted by the Public Affairs Office at Fort Chaffee, was initiated through newspapers articles and television reports. The response to this inquiry was overwhelming. Literally hundreds of individual responses were received. Subsequent interviews with respondents revealed a wealth of information about life on these farms in the form of oral traditions, written stories, diaries, photographs, church records, letters, and the like. In short, this project discovered an immense but rapidly diminishing resource to be tapped in understanding the history and lifeways related to the late 19th and early 20th century occupation of the Fort Chaffee area.

Shortly after the completion of the Farmsteads Study a project emerged which provided us with the opportunity to use the information sources we had identified in a rather unusual way. As part of the development of facilities to support the training mission of the JRTC, Fort Chaffee proposed to develop a live fire exercise facility. This facility, called Battle Area Bear (BAB), was to include an ambush site with moving targets and fortified base camps. It was designed to provide integration of infantry, artillery, attack helicopters, and close air support in a single training exercise. This facility was proposed for construction within the DIZ.

Since BAB was to be situated within an area that had been surface cleared of ordnance it was judged appropriate to conduct a pedestrian survey in this area. Such investigations would, however, strictly avoid any ground disturbing activities because of the possibility of unexploded subsurface ordnance. This project documented the existence of an extensive archeological record associated with a community called Center Valley. This archeological record was judged to be both extensive and to have suffered relatively minor impacts from military activities. Adverse impacts from construction and live-firing exercises would almost certainly result in the loss of information about the Euro-American occupation of this portion of the installation.

In order to lessen these adverse impacts a program of site documentation was developed to recover information regarding the Euro-American farming occupation of this portion of Center Valley. This was to be done in a manner consistent with previous investigations but within the constraints associated with the presence of unexploded ordnance within the BAB project area. This program, developed in consultation with Fort Chaffee, TRADOC, and the USAED,LR as well as the SHPO, relied heavily on data from documentary, photographic, and oral historical sources. Field investigations were limited to the recording of the remains of various aspects of the built environment still present at these locations and the collection of artifact samples. No subsurface investigations were undertaken.

The subsequent report (Blakely, Bennett, and Isenberger 1990) presented data on over 20 individual farmsteads within the approximately 700 acres of the project area. Separate chapters on each farmstead included:

(1) a discussion and graphic representation of the location of the farmstead within the project area as well as a representation of the various elements of the farmstead as reconstructed directly from the archeological record and from oral interviews;

(2) a discussion of the documentary evidence, oral tradition, and observed archeological record for each farmstead; and,

(3) a summary of the combined data sets.

The report concluded with a generalized depiction of the origin, growth, and development of the eastern portion of the Center Valley community, emphasizing both continuity and change within this western Arkansas rural community. The final chapter in this report presented an assessment of the relative value of the archeological data used in this study which clearly demonstrated the crucial importance of the documentary, photographic, and oral historical resources. The Battle Area Bear study provided the immediate impetus for the Center Valley project and the basis for this present volume.

Chapter 1. Study Goals and Methods

Background

The Joint Readiness Training Center (JRTC) has proposed the development of a military maneuver area within a portion of Fort Chaffee formerly within the Direct Impact Zone (DIZ). The area, designated as Military Maneuver Area, North Zone, was to be used for tank and infantry exercises during periods of JRTC exercises (Figure 3). As part of the planning process to change the surface use of this area and in conjunction with provisions specified in the draft Programmatic Agreement with the SHPO and the ACHP, Fort Chaffee has performed Section 106 (P. L. 96-515) coordination for this undertaking. In order to avoid the loss of significant information, Fort Chaffee, in consultation with the SHPO and the ACHP, has proposed a program of data recovery which, although it does not incorporate field investigations, seeks to minimize the loss of information related to potentially significant cultural resources. Such a program has been adopted because of the extreme safety hazard present in the DIZ and should not be taken as a precedent for future cultural resource management activities elsewhere on Fort Chaffee. The following paragraphs outline the proposed data recovery program for this area.

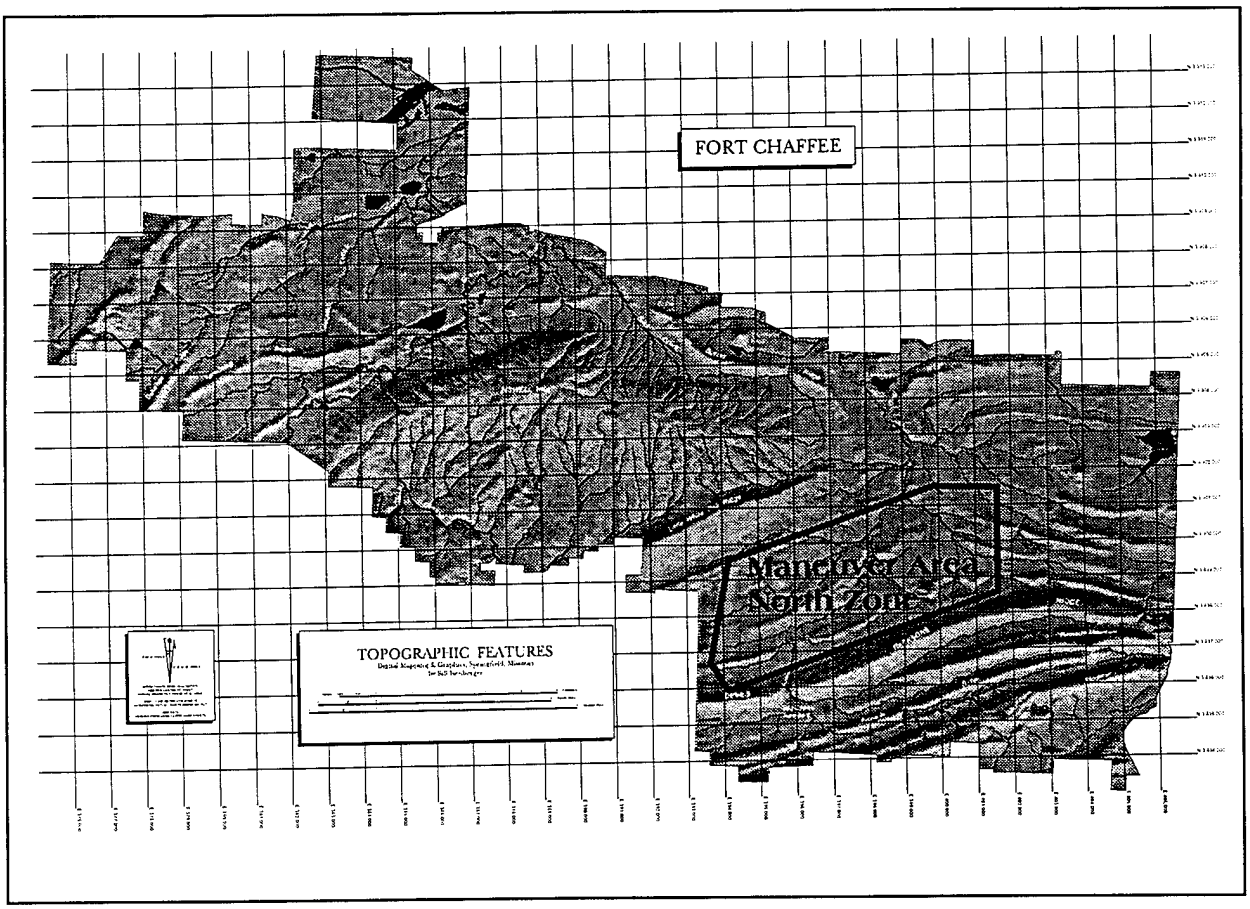


Figure 3. Military Maneuver Area, North Zone

The Archeological Record

The bulk of the archeological record within the project area was created by the Euro-American settlement of the area during the 19th and 20th Centuries. This is composed principally of individual farmsteads but other elements of the infrastructure of the rural communities such as schools and churches are present as well. The archeological record associated with the pre-Euro-American use of the area is thought to consist primarily of sparse scatters of lithic debris at or near the surface. Because of the inability of investigators to enter the area to observe such materials directly, this portion of the archeological record has not been an important focus of this effort.

Perspective

In keeping with the development of Fort Chaffee Cultural Resource Management Program, the goal of this effort was to adopt a much more inclusive view of the archeological record present in the project area than is usually employed in such programs. Traditionally, at least in Arkansas and the surrounding region, investigations of this type carried out under the general title of Historical Archeology have tended to focus almost entirely on that portion of the archeological record which is in the immediate vicinity of the principal farm structures. This practice has been recently criticized by William Adams. Since we find his remarks concerning "rural archaeology" and "landscape archaeology" particularly compelling we have reproduced these comments at length (Adams 1990: 92, 93).

> *The term "rural archaeology" is suggested here as a means of organizing several related approaches in the study of human history. Just as urban archaeology contributes to the understanding of the development of urban areas, rural archaeology makes possible the integration of understanding about rural sites. Urban archaeologists might consider rural sites to be nonurban but it is really the other way around for farms preceded cities in antiquity as well as in American history.*
>
> *Rural archaeology is defined here as the study of sites which can only occur within a rural context--exploitative and extractive sites like those associated with farming timbering and mining. The mere location in a rural setting does not mean that a site lies within the topic of rural archaeology, since ghost towns, forts, and other kinds of sites do not reflect a specifically rural phenomenon. While distinct from urban archaeology, rural archaeology shares some processes in common, like central places and transportation networks. A rural center or node can become an urban setting eventually, and so rural researchers must be familiar with urbanization as a process. Similarly, if archaeologists view frontiers in a dynamic sense, rather than as an edge phenomenon, then the rural area is the frontier for the city`urban landscape. The rural frontier ebbs and flows with soil exhaustion, clear cutting of forests, rise and fall of demand for products, access to national markets, and family life cycles. The rural landscape is the battleground between humans and nature where only temporary victories exist. People clear a forest, plant crops, exhaust the*

soil, die, the forest returns--only to be cut again in a few generations, and the process begins anew. As long as equilibrium is maintained, the landscape is rural, but if humans win a tactical victory in one area it becomes a town or city, and the ground so polluted as to make nature's task impossible without considerable time. Rural archaeology is, in part, landscape archaeology or landscape history.

Landscape Archaeology

Landscape archaeology could also be called settlement archaeology, but landscape history is perhaps a better term. Settlement archaeology is familiar to most archaeologists as a movement within the discipline to put archaeological sites within a geographic and environmental context. The word "settlement" in the name, however, has subtlety affected the direction which this area of study has followed, for it focuses upon settlements, meaning villages and dwellings therein, rather than the landscape upon which those settlements were built. when the landscape is addressed at all, usually only fixed variables like soils, slope factors, distance to water, or other resources are the subject of analysis...

Archaeologists would have a better understanding of rural sites by focusing on landscape history. Because archaeology began as a study of urban sites and monuments, the concept of the archaeological site has been that of the house lot, containing the house, yard, and outbuildings. Such a definition is appropriate only in an urban setting, if even then. Using a systems approach, that kind of site is but one small subsystem of the urban system. The system is what archaeologists should be trying to understand, not the subsystem of the house lot.

Some scholars refer to the built environment as being separate from a natural environment. While this dichotomy is useful for some purposes, it is nevertheless artificial. The built environment, of course, is never really separate from the natural one, but many human cultures like to think that they are above nature, not part of it. Humans build houses, ditches, and fences, and nature tears them down, rots them away, and covers them over. A better viewpoint would use the affected environment and the unaffected environment. The forest woodlot on a farm provides an example of the affected environment (L. Allen 1888:323-329). From the woodlot has come firewood and fence posts, squirrels for the pot, polk for the salads, and nuts for the Christmas stockings. While the forested woodlot may appear to be "natural" it is no longer unaffected by humans. Certain species of trees have been selected and cut for special purposes, for example, hawthorn cut for fence posts. In addition, when farmers clear adjacent land for planting, the forest is border by an ecotone not previously present, with the wildlife biomass increased in potential, as deer and rabbits, for example, find food in the fields and shelter in the forest. Similarly, a forest stream may be natural and unaffected, but it flows into tilled fields or pastures, it is no longer either natural or unaffected, due to the actions of soil erosion, cattle, and other factors. The fence built across a prairie farm becomes a new habitat for

plants and animals as trees and shrubs grow from seeds left in bird droppings. The built environment has become a natural one.

A new definition of what composes a site in a rural setting therefore must be proposed. While this reformulation may cause headaches for cultural resource managers, the rural site is the property owned or controlled by an individual or family. A site is more than just the house, yard, and outbuildings. Thus, a 640 -acre farm comprises a site. The farm is a higher-order subsystem, containing many other subsystems. It must be studied in its entirety, not in pieces. Such a site includes affected and unaffected environments. All areas used by a farm family to produce a crop or to produce energy would be included whether the land was owned or leased.

This definition of a rural site was espoused by landscape architects in the 1970s as "open space that is vital for maintaining the traditional man-land relationship of our historic small towns, farmsteads, battlefields, ghost towns, agricultural areas, cemeteries, mines, trails, and camps" (Tishler 1976:54) The survey form William H. Tishler (1976:55) used to study farmsteads, included virtually all the variables an historical archaeologist would choose:"The farmstead survey form...contained a matrix for classifying landscape characteristics including topography, vegetation and surface water features for four zones making up the farmstead setting: the vicinity of the buildings, the immediate area around the buildings, the site edges within visual proximity, and the landscape extending around the site."

The landscape history of a farm would detail the history of its land acquisition and usage, and the following questions might be asked: When were forests cleared? When and why were roads and fences built? What tillage practices were used? What crop rotation was used? Once exterior energy sources were captured, what was the effect on the woodlot and on the pasture? Were horses, mules, and oxen kept on the farm after powered farm machinery was used? Was the woodlot cleared for crops, once oil and coal became available for heating and cooking? How does diversification of land use vary through time? What crops were planted? When were orchards planted? Were they replanted after the trees reached maturity?

What the Center Valley project has attempted to do is to widen this investigatory focus to what we believe to be the next logical scale for analysis; the rural community.

Historical Context

The following pages have been taken largely from the Historic Preservation Plan prepared for the Fort Chaffee Military Garrison. They suggest guidelines for the evaluation of archeological sites.

Historic Property Definition. Army Regulation 420-40 defines Historic Properties as

> *Any prehistoric or historic building, district, site, structure, or object that is included in, that is eligible for inclusion in, or that may be eligible for inclusion in the NRHP. The term includes artifacts and remains that are related to such a building, district, site, structure, or object.*

The criteria to be used for determining eligibility for inclusion in the NRHP are stated in 36 CFR.60

> *The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:*
>
> *A. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or*
>
> *B. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or*
>
> *C. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or*
>
> *D. that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.*

Of the properties recorded at Fort Chaffee all but a very few must be evaluated using Criterion D. The Communities Study (Blakely and Bennett 1988) determined that only two locations on Fort Chaffee that could be said to retain sufficient integrity to be assessed significant using other Criteria; these were the Maness School and the town of Auburn, to which Criterion D should also be applied.

Historic Contexts and Property Types. In applying these criteria to make a judgment about the significance of properties the following statement from National Register Bulletin 16, "Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms" [U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division 1986] (NRB 16: 6) was also considered.

> *The Secretary of the Interior's standards state three distinct requirements for properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places. First of all, properties must possess significance. Second, the significance must satisfy at least one of the National Register criteria. And finally, significance must be derived from an understanding of historic context. The standards recognize that all that possesses age is not necessarily significant, and what is significant can only be determined in*

relationship to the historic development from which it emerged and in relationship to a group of similarly associated properties.

In applying this to Fort Chaffee the final judgment regarding which portions of the archeological record are to be considered significant, that is, as Historic Properties, must be made by a process which proceeds from the general to the particular. In this process, the general is understood as an Historic Context which is defined in NRB 16 in the following way.

> *A historic context is a body of information about historic properties organized by theme, place, and time. It is the organization of information about our prehistory and history according to the stages of development occurring at various times and places.* (NRB 16: 7)

Bulletin 16 further describes historic contexts by stating

> *Historic contexts may be developed at a variety of geographical levels or "scales." The geographic area selected may relate to a pattern of historic development of political division, or it may relate to the present day division of planning jurisdictions. All of the historic contexts for a geographical area, whether a state, land management area, or locality, together make up the history or prehistory of the area broken down into a series of historically meaningful segments, each segment being a single historic context. Grouped together as a set, the historic contexts for a specific community form a comprehensive summary of all aspects of the community's history and prehistory.* (NRB 16: 7,8)

Thus the historic context provides the general frame of reference for the assessment of particular properties. The bridge between historic contexts and particular properties is provided by the concept of Property Type.

> *Historic context is linked with tangible historic resources through the concept of property type. A property type is a grouping of individual properties based on a set of shared physical or associative characteristics. Physical characteristics may relate to structural forms, architectural styles, building materials, or site type. Associative characteristics may relate to the nature of associated events or activities, to associations with a specific individual or group of individuals, or to the category of information about which a property may yield information.* (NRB 16: 8)

In developing historic contexts and associated property types for Fort Chaffee it has been necessary to rely primarily on data generated directly from the investigations conducted on the installation. To date appropriate sets of historic contexts for this portion of Arkansas are still under development by the SHPO. Further, Davis (1982), which was created in the early 1980s to provide such guidance for archeological resources (both prehistoric and historic), does not define either historic contexts or suggest research problems for the Middle Arkansas River Valley which is the region, as defined by that document, within which Fort Chaffee is situated.

Euro-American Historic Contexts and Property Types. In contrast to the prehistoric period there is a wealth of documentation from which to create an understanding of the development of the historic period settlement. The following paragraphs are a summary prepared to assist in defining Historic Contexts.

Euro-Americans first entered the area which was to become Arkansas and the Arkansas River Valley on trips of exploration, searching for riches. These groups, led by individuals such as DeSoto in the 1540s, and later by exploring missionaries in the 17th Century, opened the region to the trappers and traders who would be the first Euro-Americans to spend considerable time in what was to become Arkansas.

The establishment of Arkansas Post at the end of the 17th Century just upstream on the Arkansas River from where it emptied into the Mississippi River provided one outlet for goods gathered upstream by trappers. The names or stories of such trappers are lost, but there can be little doubt that the lands that became Sebastian County, Arkansas, and even Fort Chaffee itself, would have been used by such individuals and groups over the 130 succeeding years after the establishment of Arkansas Post. Some hint at the general knowledge of this region acquired by trappers can be seen in the French place names and Spanish Land Grants given along the Arkansas River prior to 1803. Although they had yet to be occupied, Spanish claims were made for land along the Arkansas River on what became Fort Chaffee.

The sale of Louisiana to the United States in 1803 had a dramatic effect on this region. While trapping and hunting certainly continued after the transfer of this region, official voyages of exploration and the mapping of the region began soon thereafter. As the size and character of the land became known, and as the Euro-American population grew in the east, various Indian tribes and nations were moved west into this general region. As this happened an American military presence was required and in 1817 the military garrison at Fort Smith on Belle Pointe was established. While boat travel had been the preferred means of transportation to this point, once the fort was established a military road connecting it with other sites to the east was required. This road, which follows the course of State Highway 22, was completed in 1819.

With a permanent Euro-American presence established at Fort Smith, interest in the region grew. Federal law required land to be surveyed and maps drawn as the first step leading up to the settlement of a region. In 1825 and 1826 William Clarkson surveyed the township and range lines for the region, and between 1825 and 1843 Clarkson and a variety of subsequent surveyors surveyed the section and quarter section lines, allowing the General Land Office maps to be prepared which provided an organized framework for land title and transfer. The first of these lands were offered for sale in December 1828. By this time the Indian tribes had been moved either north of the Arkansas River or west into Oklahoma.

Prior to 1828 the sole means of transportation to Fort Smith were the Arkansas River and Little Rock-Fort Smith Military Road. In the vicinity of what is now Fort Chaffee, habitation was technically illegal since the land had not be readied for public sale. Clearly some squatted on lands

along both transportation options, but, for the Chaffee region, up to 1828 only Aaron Barling had been specifically granted land through a special act for land near what is now the town of Barling.

When the lands were opened for public sale between 1828 and 1848, there was no immediate rush to take up all the land. The first lands taken tended to be along the river and the military road. This caused the Chaffee lands to be settled, generally, from north to south and from west to east over the next decades. In a sense, settlement spread out from Fort Smith. Blakely and Bennett (1987) designated the years prior to 1870 as the pioneer period for the Chaffee region.

Euro-American settlement required a civil government, sources for supplies, and markets for products. In the late 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, when the population was small, Fort Smith and Van Buren served these needs. As the population grew, however, a more immediate civil government, roads, and some sort of general store became ever more pressing needs. New counties with new county seats arose (Charleston in Franklin County, Greenwood in Sebastian County, and Waldron in Scott County), and new roads were built connecting these regional foci of life. With these new roads cutting through previously uninhabited lands, additional growth was fostered through access. In addition, supply stores and post offices were established in such towns replacing the general need to go to Fort Smith. Now more local merchants made this trip and not the general farmer.

Other communities began to grow at service points; where major roads merged, where mills and gins were established, and where churches grew, but in the 1840s and 1850s, inevitably, these were small. Chismville, Chocoville, and Jenny Lind are examples of such communities.

Our study of census records revealed that most inhabitants viewed themselves as farmers at this time, few other occupations being found. Certainly, grist millers, gin operators, and carpenters were present, but they were few in number. It is equally clear from the same source that most farms were largely self-sufficient in the provision of basic foodstuffs as many small crops were grown or gardened on each farm. Very little was sold for cash. The only cash required at this time would have been cash for taxes and those foodstuffs desired but impossible to grow such as coffee and sugar.

To suggest that the farmers were largely self-sufficient does not imply that they were isolated. From the earliest times these farmers of 40 and 80 acres had neighbors, many times neighbors or relatives from times prior to moving to Arkansas. They shared religious beliefs and a sense of community. These families would inter-marry and would help each other during planting, harvest, and emergency situations. Since only about one-third of the lands taken were under cultivation, their animals certainly ran together in the wood lots. It was the pioneers who began the small communities of the region while at the same time running largely self-sufficient farmsteads.

These communities of the 1850s and 1860s share little with the common perception of "small community," such as present day Boles or Abbott, Arkansas. A small group of houses were not located contiguously. Instead the communities were defined by a larger sense of geography--all the residents of one mountain or one valley would view themselves as a community even though it had no center of population--Center Valley, Gin Creek, Hardscrapple, Biswell Hill, Lone Star, and others--population centers only developed later.

The first step towards cementing these identities was the establishment of rural post offices. This process began in the 1850s, was abandoned during the Civil War and reintroduced in the 1870s. Post offices such as New Market in Gin Creek, Brunner in the Lone Star region, Milor along Vache Grasse Creek near the military road, Round Knob on Spradling Ridge, and Vache Gras (location unknown) were rural post offices established usually as a room in the postmaster's house. Thus, a meeting place was established and the postmaster might enter to a small degree into marketing some durable goods, or might even run a mill. These post offices might be located near churches or cemeteries, or might cause them to move near to them, but in no case in this period did a population center, however small, arise.

A second type of community also existed at this time, the plantation. While this type of farm/community was rare in the Chaffee region, a few developed north of the Military Road and at least one in Eastern Center Valley. Here farms of over 1,000 acres were run through slave labor. These farms produced almost all their own needs as well as a cash crop--cotton. Such farms were to have a short duration as most were divided soon after the Civil War, but at least one or two did survive into the 20th Century using tenant and hired labor.

The Civil War was the major event of the pioneer period. Men enlisted in both Federal and Confederate Armies in outfits established in this vicinity. Thus, although no major battles were fought in the Chaffee region, the impact was great since conflicting loyalties caused deep divisions within the communities. Bushwhacking, murder, and general lawlessness overtook the region causing many families to hide and bury their possessions and to move either north or, south, or to Fort Smith for safety. It was only from late 1865 until 1867 that some of these families returned to set up life anew.

A new wave of settlement began around 1870, and this group of people and their descendants dominated the region until 1941. Blakely and Bennett (1987) called the period from 1870 to about 1895 as the period of settlement when the region expanded to its greatest extent. As the landscape became filled with additional farms, new roads connected them to create an infrastructure of ever increasing complexity. Life on the farm became simplified but more repetitive. The 40 to 80 acre farms in general remained at that size, but they increased the number of acres in production from one-third to about two-thirds. Many crops of subsistence were abandoned as the staples were grown or raised in addition to cash crops--cotton, primarily, but also fruits, at this time. The cash was then used to acquire more non-locally produced staples and goods. By the end of this period the coal mines had just come into production and this provided cash employment (full or part-time) for many individuals.

With the abandonment of many post offices during the Civil War, a new period of postal growth occurred from the mid-1870s through the 1880s. Post offices were established at Barling, Langston=Auburn, Montrose=Central, Actus=Jenny Lind, Lone Star, Cornish, Crescent, Massard, New Market, Floyd=Narrows, Buckley=Rye=Neal, and Randolph. In general these post offices started off simply as a postal room in a private house, but now a second force was at work. Community schools were being raised as quickly as post offices and many times the two operated most successfully near each other, with the school also serving as a church with a nearby cemetery.

The connection of these entities caused some "communities" to blossom into small villages: Cornish, Auburn, and Massard being the best examples on the base where a couple of houses, a general store, and even a blacksmith shop and, perhaps, a gin would develop.

The shift from almost total economic self sufficiency to a partial cash economy was accompanied by the beginnings of a middle class--school teachers, music teachers, druggists, peddlers, dress makers, merchants, and doctors became ever more present in the Chaffee region. These people in turn, while still deriving major support from their own farms, helped form the pool of people who might move into the smaller new villages.

A major economic downturn in the mid-1890s ended the period of settlement and began, what Blakely and Bennett (1987) called, the period of economic growth which lasted into the mid 1920s. Some trends which had begun in the previous period continued while other, more ominous, trends began which were to affect the communities. Farm sizes remained about the same with more land in cultivation. At the same time additional population growth brought the most marginal properties on line. Thus, maximal agricultural practices were underway. While this increased production and growth in the short term, these farmers probably did not recognize the damage being done to the soils through such practices--only the following depression would bring this to light.

Farms still produced a majority of the staples of life, but ever more effort and land became devoted to cash crops. Cotton continued to be king, but fruits, truck farms, cream, eggs, turkey farms, and the raising of exotic animals for wool all were cash crops which could be had. Coal mining was also available for cash as needed although by this time company towns like Fidelity served the larger coal company's needs.

Changes in transportation also had a major impact. Railroads ran across what became Chaffee by 1900, providing a means of transportation for goods and people who were removed from the water. At the same time automobiles entered with a rush and proved to be every man's means of getting about thus launching concerted efforts toward road improvement.

These improvements in transportation initially helped the villages grow, allowing quicker and easier access from farm to village and from village to town. An increased middle class seems to have encouraged, for the first time, people leaving the farm and heading to the city permanently. Thus by the 1920s, some farms which had been in one family for 60 years were sold to others as the later generations of the original family moved away. Since no highly productive land remained on which to expand, emigration served as one way to stem the population tide.

The success of more rapid and improved transportation had a dramatic effect which began to appear in the 1900s --consolidation. Most post offices and school districts could now be larger because of the ease of transportation. This idea was not lost and soon rural community post offices which had not blossomed into villages and the neighborhood school began to be closed and merged into ever larger geographic units--the economics of the situation seemed to required it.

The impact of the mid-1920s on the Chaffee region was dramatic. With large areas of soil seriously depleted, with the arrival of weevils which attacked the cotton crops, with an economic depression, and, finally, with a several years of less than average rainfall, the agricultural and economic basis of the region was seriously damaged. Blakely and Bennett (1987) called the period from the mid-1920s to 1941 retraction.

On the farms, cotton, fruits, and most other cash crops became far less profitable, if not unprofitable. The only cash source remaining for the farms was cream and eggs. Many families lost their farms for taxes. In a sense, it resulted in farms going back to the period almost 75 years previously where the economics of the farm had to be largely self-sufficient. At the same time County Demonstration agents taught better canning and preserving skills to the women and the Department of Agriculture promoted better soil management through terracing and other techniques.

Depression and economic duress brought on additional consolidation. By the late 1930's, virtually all school districts and post offices had been consolidated into the major towns of the region: Barling, Charleston, and Greenwood. While this removed several important social and economic functions from these communities elements of the built environment which supported these functions were put to other uses. The old school buildings still survived as churches or community centers. These were used throughout the year for a variety of social gatherings including picnics and singing schools.

Retraction was a difficult period and many people moved on to cities, but many stayed and continued to work the land and live and interact primarily within their local communities. In 1941 Camp Chaffee was formed taking over 72,000 acres of privately owned land and turning it into a military base. Many deeply resented the loss of their lands but could do nothing about it. With the advent of the base many worked there as civilian employees or in businesses supported by military revenues. Today, 50 years later, various communities from the Chaffee region still hold weekly or monthly gatherings of friendship. While the structures they formerly occupied are now gone the communities, such as Gin Creek, Lone Star, and Center Valley, have survived.

Given this understanding of the area's history it is clear that the historic context most appropriate to the Euro-American archeological record at Fort Chaffee would be the Development of Rural Communities in Western Arkansas. In keeping with the studies conducted previously it is possible to subdivide this historic context into the four phases of development suggested earlier for the Euro-American settlement of the area: Pioneer Occupation, Settlement, Economic Growth, and Retraction.

If this historic context were applied to the areas surrounding Fort Chaffee there would be a large number of different property types to be considered. These would include churches, schools, stores, light industries (gins, mills, etc.), and farms. Because of the wholesale removal of those elements of the built environment associated with such property types from Fort Chaffee, the development of most of these as property types would not be applicable to the management concerns of the installation. The Osborn-McConnell pottery is the only example of light industry for which substantial evidence remains. There does still exist, however, the remains of a number of structures with their associated artifact scatters which together constitute the core of the Auburn Community.

Finally, there is the Maness School, the sole surviving pre-1941 structure on the installation, which is an example of WPA School construction and, as such, has been judged eligible by the Arkansas SHPO, to be eligible for nomination to the NRHP.

Other than these exceptions, all of the property types other than farms have been largely obliterated from Fort Chaffee. For this reason the primary property type to be used in organizing this portion of the archeological record is the Euro-American farm.

Euro-American Farm - This property type is meant to include all the elements of the farm including buildings, animal pens, open-air work areas, fields, and woodlots. While evidence is scanty for the earliest farms on Fort Chaffee it seems likely that these were composed of very limited elements of the built environment; perhaps only a single, small structure and a few acres of cleared land. By the late 1880s, however, the organization of farms had become much more complex.

In defining the archeological record present at the typical or model farm it is necessary to look at both the physical archeological remains and those documentary, pictorial, and oral historical resources available for making such a determination. In ranking the properties against such a model the following guidelines are suggested.

(1) Farms associated solely or primarily with pre-1880 occupation should be judged and ranked solely on the basis of the condition and number of intact features present.

(2) Farms occupied after 1880 should also be judged on the basis of their physical integrity but should also be ranked according to the quality and quantity of documentary and oral historical resources available. Those which show the greatest amount of documentary and oral historical resources as well as those which possess high site integrity should be judged as the best examples of this property type.

Modeling the Archeological Record

The Center Valley project was undertaken to provide an extensive context for the understanding of the nature and scope of the various activities conducted at these farms over the course of nearly a century. In this way we hoped not only to recover data which would otherwise not be gathered, integrated, or interpreted about these particular farms, but to provide a much broader and much more detailed Historic Context for the interpretation of similar properties present on Fort Chaffee and elsewhere in the region.

Because of the landscape analysis provided by Smith (1986) an excellent initial landscape model for the natural setting of the Center Valley community was available. Using this source it has been possible to develop this model further using additional information from the GLO survey and later soil surveys to provide an accurate and informative model for the area's natural setting.

In addition, it was also possible to map major elements of the built environment constructed and used during the 19th and 20th Century occupation of the area using a variety of documentary,

cartographic, and photographic sources which include GLO maps and notes, Sebastian County Atlases of 1887 and 1903, the Arkansas highway map of 1936, and aerial photographs taken for the U. S. Department of Agriculture 1938. By combing these cartographic and photographic sources with information taken from abstracts, tax and census records, and information provided by former residents of the area composite maps for the development of the Euro-American built environment and settlement of the area have been in a computer graphics medium.

Research Goals and Questions

Using these excellent resources, it was possible to develop a series of models for the Euro-American settlement and occupation of the area within a Geographic Information system (GIS) format and to pursue a productive set of inquires by focusing on these resources rather than artifacts recovered by more traditional archeological methods. This was done by combining the information recovered through documentary and oral historical investigations with the spatial data relating to the arrangement of individual farmsteads and the distribution of farmsteads across the landscape. Using these data sets regarding the region's natural and built environment it is possible to address questions about the lifeways of residents at both the community and individual farmstead scales and to compare these as they may (or may not) have changed over the period from about 1850 to 1940.

Assuming that the area's history follows that documented in the earlier studies of the Gin Creek region (Blakely and Bennett 1987) and the eastern portion of Center Valley (Blakely, Bennett, and Isenberger 1990), the following is a listing of the questions presently identified for the project.

1) Were there differences in the distribution of farmsteads and rural landuse practices during the different periods of the region's development?

2) Were there major differences in the nature and/or arrangement of farmstead elements during each of the periods of the region's development?

3) Were there major differences between the nature and/or arrangement of farmstead elements at different periods of the region's development?

4) Were there major differences in the activities practiced at the individual farmsteads occupied during each of the periods of the region's development?

5) Were there major differences in the activities practiced at the individual farmsteads at different periods of the region's development?

6) What effect(s) did past landuse practices have on the landuse practices of subsequent periods?

Research Activities

Documentary Research. A search of the title abstracts for the lands within the project area was undertaken in the real estate records for Fort Chaffee on file with the USAED,LR. Histories of land ownership and farmstead developments similar to that developed in Blakely and Bennett (1987) were formulated. Once land ownership records were clarified, searches of the census and tax records were undertaken to provide additional information regarding the former residents of the various farmsteads. Newspaper accounts were examined for information about particular residents and events. This activity was conducted primarily by Jeffrey Blakely with assistance from W. J. Bennett, Jr. Ben Boulden also spent many hours scanning records related to commodity prices and climatic data. Research related to the soils within Center Valley was done by Robert Brinkmann.

Personal Interviews. Numerous interviews were conducted with previous residents of the Center Valley community and surrounding area regarding the ownership, organization, and activities known to have taken place at these farmsteads and communities. Interviews were conducted on with both individuals and groups of former Center Valley residents. These were conducted primarily by Mary Bennett, W. J. Bennett, Jr., John Northrip, and Jeffrey Blakely.

Photographs. During this project a concerted effort was made to locate and re-photograph pictures of the various aspects of life in the Center Valley community. As a result the project has compiled more than 200 images of families, individuals, and rural life in this community. This activity was undertaken primarily by John Northrip.

Data Synthesis and Reporting. This portion of the project has been undertaken by the production of a number of maps developed for the Center Valley area by William Isenberger. These maps depict changes in the physical environment, built environment, and landownership over the period from about 1850 to 1941. These were developed within a Geographic Information System format and serve as the spatial basis for the very large quantities of information about the former residents retrieved from the census, tax, and other public records. These map products form the basis for this current report.

Report Organization

This report contains 17 chapters. This first chapter attempts to provide the reader with an understanding of the project goals and methods. The second chapter presents a discussion of the physical setting of the community of Center Valley. Chapters 3 and 5 describe how the initial settlement was made and discuss events of the Civil War and its aftermath. Chapters 4 and 6 through 14 offer a series of "snap-shots" of the area, taken at ten year intervals. Chapters 15 and 16 are devoted to a consideration of particular elements of community composition and structure as viewed through time. In Chapter 17 we offer our concluding comments and recommendations.

Chapter 2. The Natural Setting

There are a number of ways to think about the location of Center Valley. In the following paragraphs we will consider some of these different ways and several of the more prominent characteristics of its natural setting. The characteristic which we have chosen to highlight is the soil which formed the basis for the agriculture from which the people of Center Valley gained their livelihoods. We have done so because of its extreme importance in the economic life of the community and because it has been possible for us to assess, albeit in a limited fashion, the impacts made by the Euro-American use of this critical resource.

Politically, Center Valley was located within what was to become Bates Township in the southeastern portion of Sebastian County, Arkansas. As far as we have been able to determine its location is marked on only on two maps, the 1887 Sebastian County Atlas (Figure 4) and the 1903 Sebastian County Atlas (although on the 1903 reference it is referred to as Central Valley).

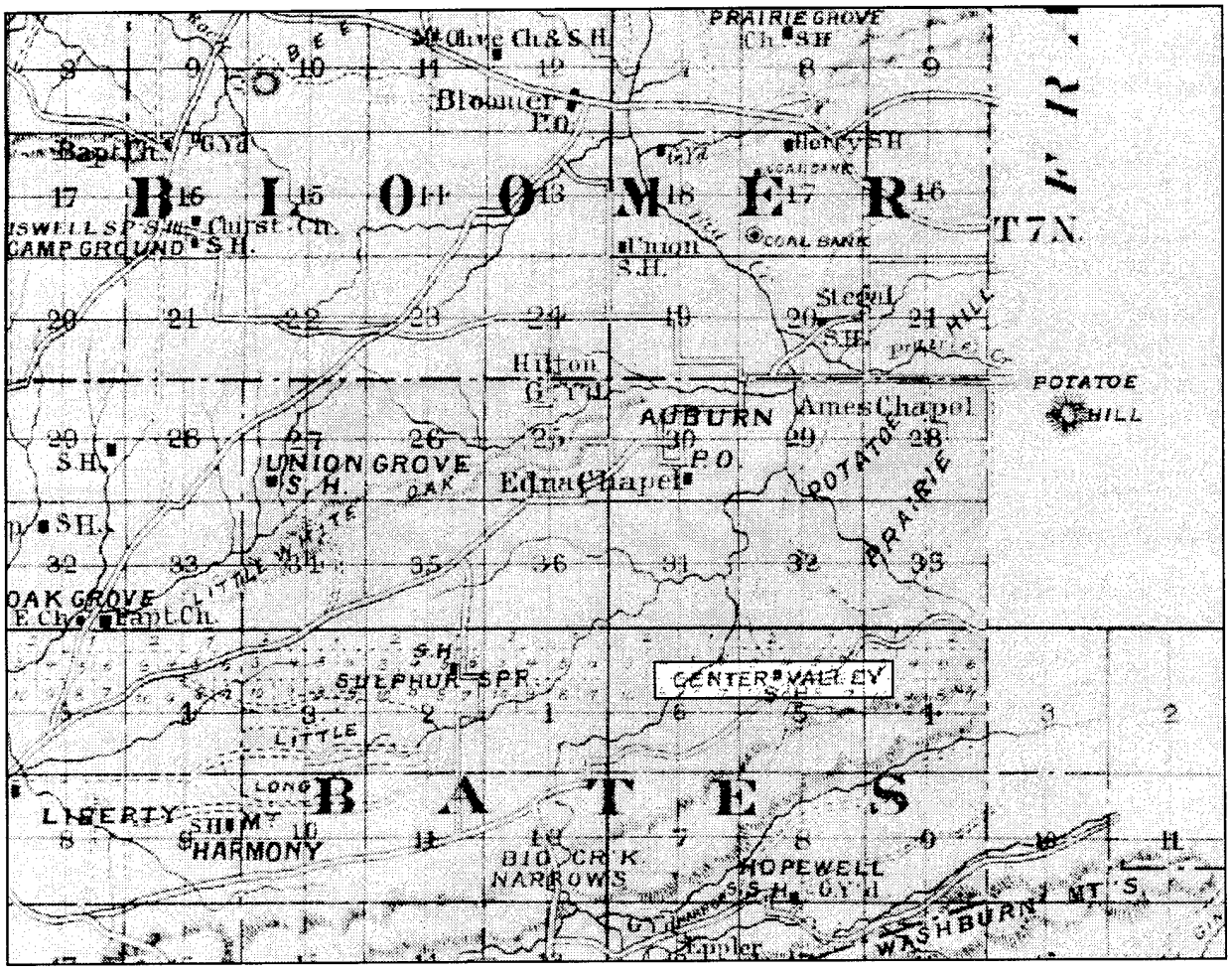


Figure 4. Location of Center Valley on the *1887 Sebastian County Atlas*

While Center Valley never had any defined limits or boundaries it did possess two focal points. One was the school and, therefore, much of our attention has been focused on what was known as School District No. 69; a political unit which provided us with the only clear, non-arbitrary boundaries used in this study. The location of the school was changed once during the life of the community. The school building also served as a worship center for Sunday services for many protestant groups, even after the educational activities had been removed from the community. The other important center of the community was the Center Valley cemetery which continued to serve as the focus of community spirit and a gathering place for residents who had left the community. Although it is no longer in the same location, the Center Valley cemetery continues to be the spiritual center of this now dispersed community.

Physiography

The landscape within which Center Valley was situated is dominated by high ridges and low valleys (Figure 5). The highest ridges consist of sandstone and lower ridges are underlain by shale. Adjacent to the base of the ridges are aprons of colluvial deposits. These sediments formed as slope wash and gravity removed sediment from the ridges for redeposition at the base of the hill. The Big Creek stream system drains the Center Valley area and flows north and northeast. For much of its length, the stream reworks and redeposits colluvium, although there are some significant deposits of alluvium in the northeastern portion of the study area.

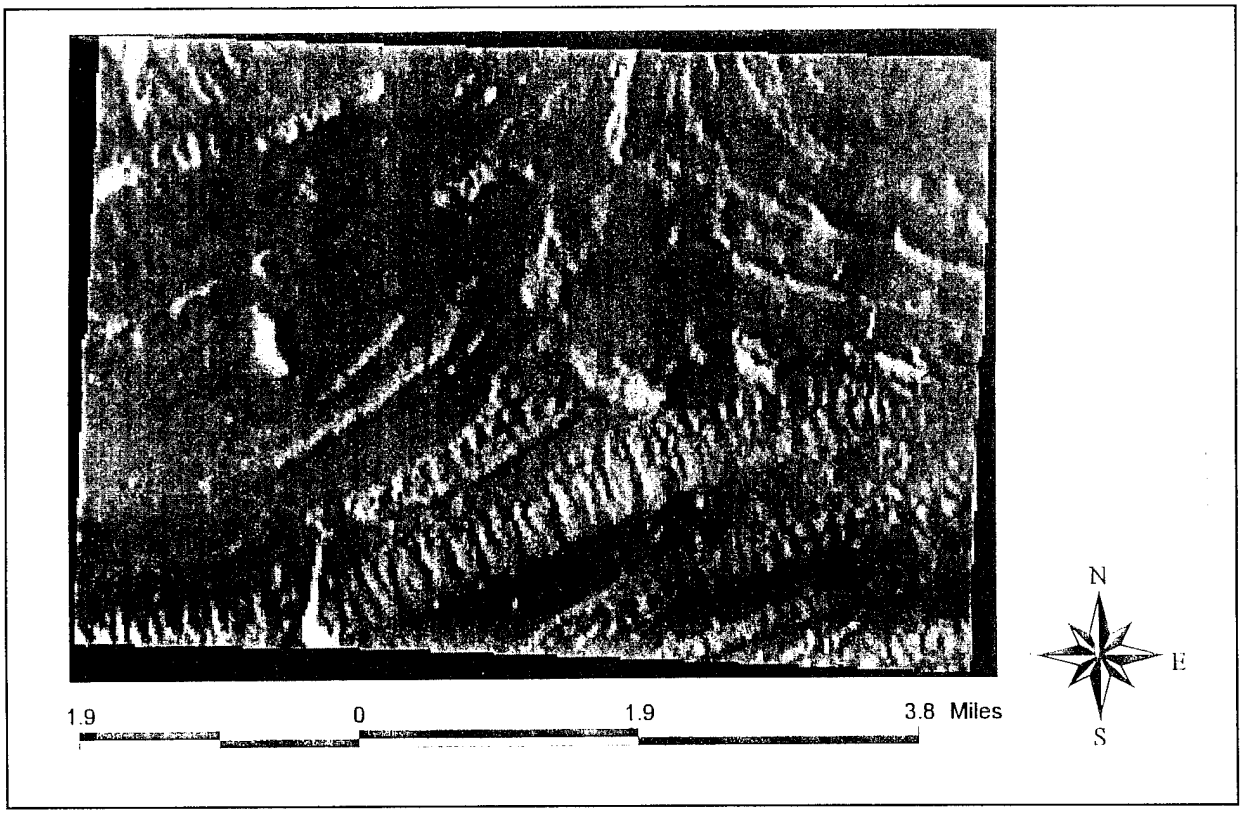


Figure 5. The Center Valley Landscape

Physiographically, this area is situated in the extreme northern fringe of the Ouachita Mountains. The most striking topographic features of the immediate area are Potatoe Hill, a stark peak which dominates the horizon to the northeast (Figure 6) and the Big Creek Narrows cut through Devils' Backbone Ridge to the south. The area is underlain by complexly folded Mississippian sandstone and shales. The folds trend approximately east-west in the Fort Chaffee area, although in Center Valley, the folds trend in an east-northeast direction.

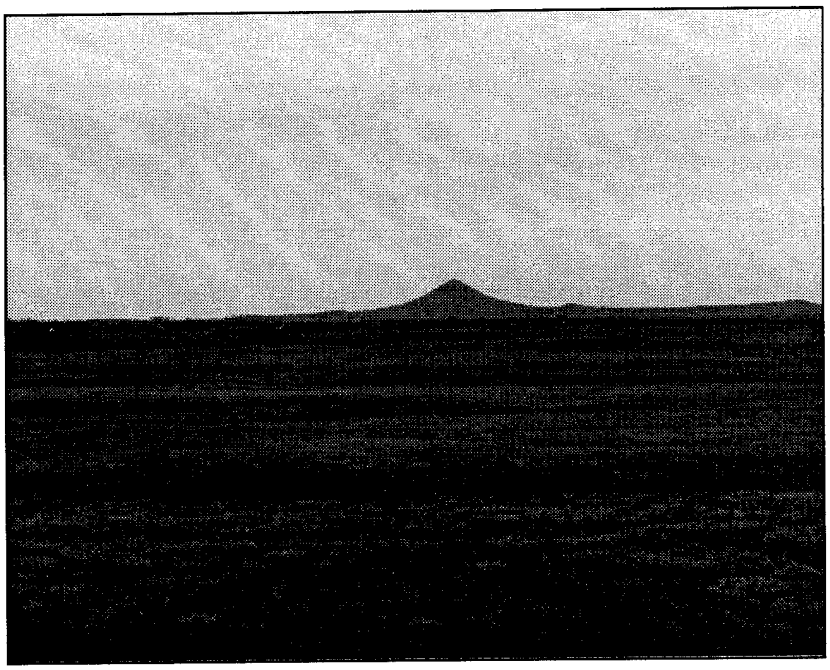


Figure 6. View of Potatoe Hill from the west.

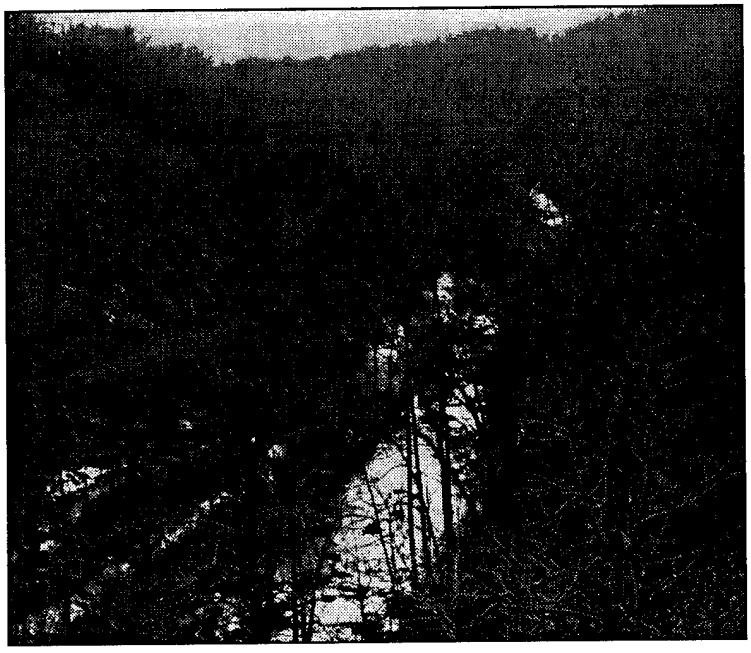


Figure 7. Big Creek Narrows

Vegetation

When the surveyors of the General Land Office (GLO) established the Section, Township, and Range lines for this area in 1827 they noted that the area contained several small prairies surrounded by a mature oak-hickory forest (Figure 8). The woody vegetation noted in the GLO notes was dominated by various species of oak including post oak, black oak, and black jack oak, with a few red oak. The largest of the oaks was a red oak which measured about 24" inches in diameter. Most, however, measured less than 15" inches. The surveyors also noted the presence of some hickory, elm, ash, and at least one large cottonwood.

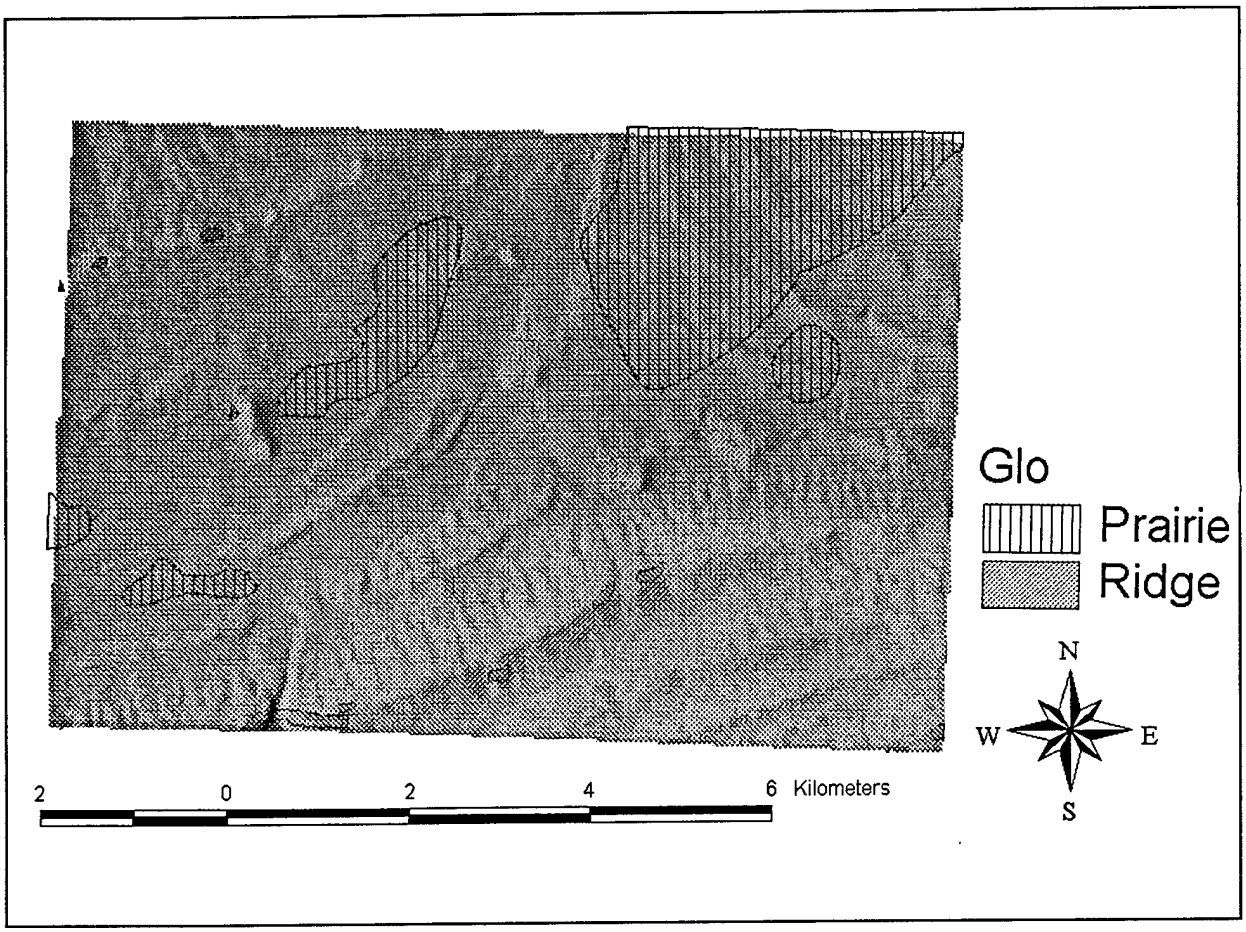


Figure 8. GLO coverage

While there is no early narrative description of this area, there is a description made by Thomas Nuttall in 1821 of what is most likely a similar setting located some 10 miles to the west (Lottinville: 1980: 161, 162).

May 3rd

From this (Cedar) prairie, and more particularly from a hill which partly traverses it, the mountains of the Pottoe appeared quite distinct, the Sugar-loaf on the east, and the Cavaniol, about three miles apart, on the west side of the river; the latter is to all appearance much the highest, and presents a tabular summit. The extensive and verdant meadow, in every direction appeared picturesquely bounded by woody hills of different degrees of elevation and distance, and lacked nothing but human occupation to reclaim it from barren solitude, and cast over it the air of rural cheerfulness and abundance...

On the 9th, I again rode out to Cedar prairie, accompanied by the Doctor, and one of the soldiers, whose intention was to hunt. Several deer were discovered, but all too

shy to be approached. We spent the night about the centre of the first portion of the prairie, which is divided into two parts by the intersection of s (sic) small wooded rivulet; and thou gh the evening was mild and delightfully tranquil, the swarms of musquetoes, augmented since the recent freshet, would not permit us to sleep.

It is truly remarkable how greatly the sound of objects, becomes absorbed in these extensive woodless plains. No echo answers the voice, and its tones die away in boundless and enfeebled undulations. Even game will sometime remain undispersed at the report of the gun. Encamping near a small brook, we were favoured by the usual music of frogs, and among them head a species which almost exactly imitated the lowing of a calf. Just as night commenced, the cheerless howling of a distant wolf accosted our ears amidst the tranquil solitude, and the whole night we were serenaded with the vociferations of the two species of whip-poor-will.

The dawn of a cloudy day, after to us a wakeful night, was ushered in by the melodious chorus of many thousands of birds, agreeably dispersing the solemnity of the ambiguous twilight.

Amongst other objects of nature, my attention was momentarily arrested by the curious appearance of certain conic hillocks, about three feet high, generally situated in denudated places, and covered over the minute pebbles; these on closer examination proved to be the habitations of swarms of large red ants, who entered and came out by one or two common apertures.

Weather

The climate of the region is classified as sub-humid and for the period of 1892 to 1992 the average mean temperature for the area, as measured in Fort Smith some 20 miles to the west, was 60.8 degrees. The highest recorded temperature was 113 degrees Fahrenheit on 10 August 1936 and the lowest was minus 15 degrees Fahrenheit on 12 February 1899. Average rainfall was 39.91 inches with a highest rainfall of 71.81 inches in 1945 and the lowest of 19.80 in 1917. Snowfall has averaged 6.4 inches per year with the greatest single accumulation, 17.5 inches, occurring on the 18th and 19th of February 1921. The average date of the first killing frost is 7 November and the average date of the last killing frost is 22 March, providing a growing season of approximately seven months.

Soil

The Sebastian County Soil Survey (Cox, Garner, and Vodrazka 1975) illustrates seven different soil series within the Center Valley area. Soil series consist of soils that contain nearly identical horizon sequences in profile. All of the soils in a series consist of identical major horizons that are uniformly thick. In addition, master horizon sequences do not vary within a soil series. The soil series often are divided into smaller areas called soil mapping units. These are differentiated on the basis of slope,

stoniness, or variations in texture in the surficial horizon within a region. There are thirteen soil mapping units that constitute the soil landscape in the Center Valley study area. The soil series and soil mapping units are listed below. A review of the major characteristics of the soil series found within the study area is provided below.

Soil Series	Soil Mapping Unit
Barling Series	Barling silt loam
Cane Series	Cane fine sandy loam, 3 - 8% slopes
Enders Series	Enders silt loam, 3 - 8% slopes Enders silt loam, 8 - 12% slopes Enders-Mountainburg association, rolling Enders-Mountainburg association, steep
Leadvale Series	Leadvale silt loam, 1 - 3% slopes Leadvale silt loam, 3 - 8% slopes
Mountainburg Series	Mountainburg sandy loam, 3 - 12% slopes Mountainburg stony sandy loam, 3 - 12% slopes Mountainburg stony sandy loam, 12 - 35% slopes
Taft Series	Taft silt loam
Wing Series	Wing silt loam

Soils of the **Barling series** form in moderately well drained flood plains. Specifically, the Barling series soils are located in the flood plains of intermittent tributaries to Big Creek in the northeast portion of the study area. These soils are typical of flood plains in that they have a thick A horizon underlain by differentiated B horizons.

The Cane series soils form on colluvial foot slopes in the uplands of the study area. Cane soils are commonly found adjacent to the highest ridges of the study area. These soils consist of a thin surficial plowed zone underlain by a B horizon, a textural B (Bt) horizon, and differentiated fragipan (Bx) horizons. The fragipan restricts the growth of roots and the flow of water through the soil. The Cane series soils are low in natural fertility.

The Enders series soils are found on the slopes of mountains underlain by shale. The location of these soils is strictly dependent on the underlying bedrock geology. These soils consist of very thin surficial O and A horizons underlain by differentiated B and textural B horizons. A C horizon is found below a depth of 48 inches. Due to the extreme slopes, these soils are unsuitable for agricultural development. Plowing and planting would be very difficult in many of the areas covered by Enders series soil. The shale parent material provides few natural nutrients for the soil which causes them to be very low in natural fertility.

The Leadvale series, similar to the Cane series, forms on colluvial foot slopes in the upland portions of the study area. They are found on the colluvial aprons adjacent to steep bedrock ridges. These soils consists of a thin surficial Ap horizon underlain by differentiated B, textural B (Bt), and fragipan (Bx) horizons. The fragipan limits root penetration and restricts drainage. The soils also are low in natural fertility.

The Mountainburg series soils are very thin and cover the steep sandstone ridges throughout the study area. They consist of a surficial plowed A horizon underlain by a B horizon and a textural B horizon (Bt). Sandstone bedrock is encountered at a depth of 18 inches. The shallow nature of these soils make them unsuitable for agriculture. These soils, like many soils formed on sandstone, are low in natural fertility. The soils are stony and are located on steep landscape positions.

The Taft series soils are found on colluvial slopes in the western section of the study area. These soils are similar to many of the other colluvial soils found in the study area. They contain a thin surficial A horizon underlain by a fragipan. The soil horizon described above probably is bimodal due to the deposition of post settlement colluvium and subsequent soil development.

The Wing series soils form in wet seep areas along slopes. Wing series soils are found in a portion of the northwest quarter of the study area. These soils consist of thin plowed A horizons underlain by differentiated textural B (Bt) horizons, and a C horizon. Bedrock is encountered at a depth of 60 inches. The sodium content of the soil is very high due to the lack of good drainage. Areas covered by Wing series soils are often ephemeral wetlands because the drainage is very slow after intense rain storms.

For this project, the soils were generalized into four categories:

(1) Soils formed on bedrock ridges;
(2) Soils formed on colluvial slopes;
(3) Soils formed in alluvium; and,
(4) Soils formed near seeps on foot slopes.

The distribution of these generalized soil units is shown in Figure 9 and their relative percentages are given below. Each of these units and the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) soil mapping units found within each is discussed below. Cox, Garner, and Vodrazka (1975) describes these in greater detail.

Generalized Mapping Unit	Area (acres)	% of Study Area
Soil 1. Soils formed on bedrock ridges	4,262	44.7
Soil 2. Soils formed on colluvial slopes	5,424	52.4
Soil 3. Soils formed on alluvium	151	1.5
Soil 4. Soils formed near seeps or foot slopes	145	1.4

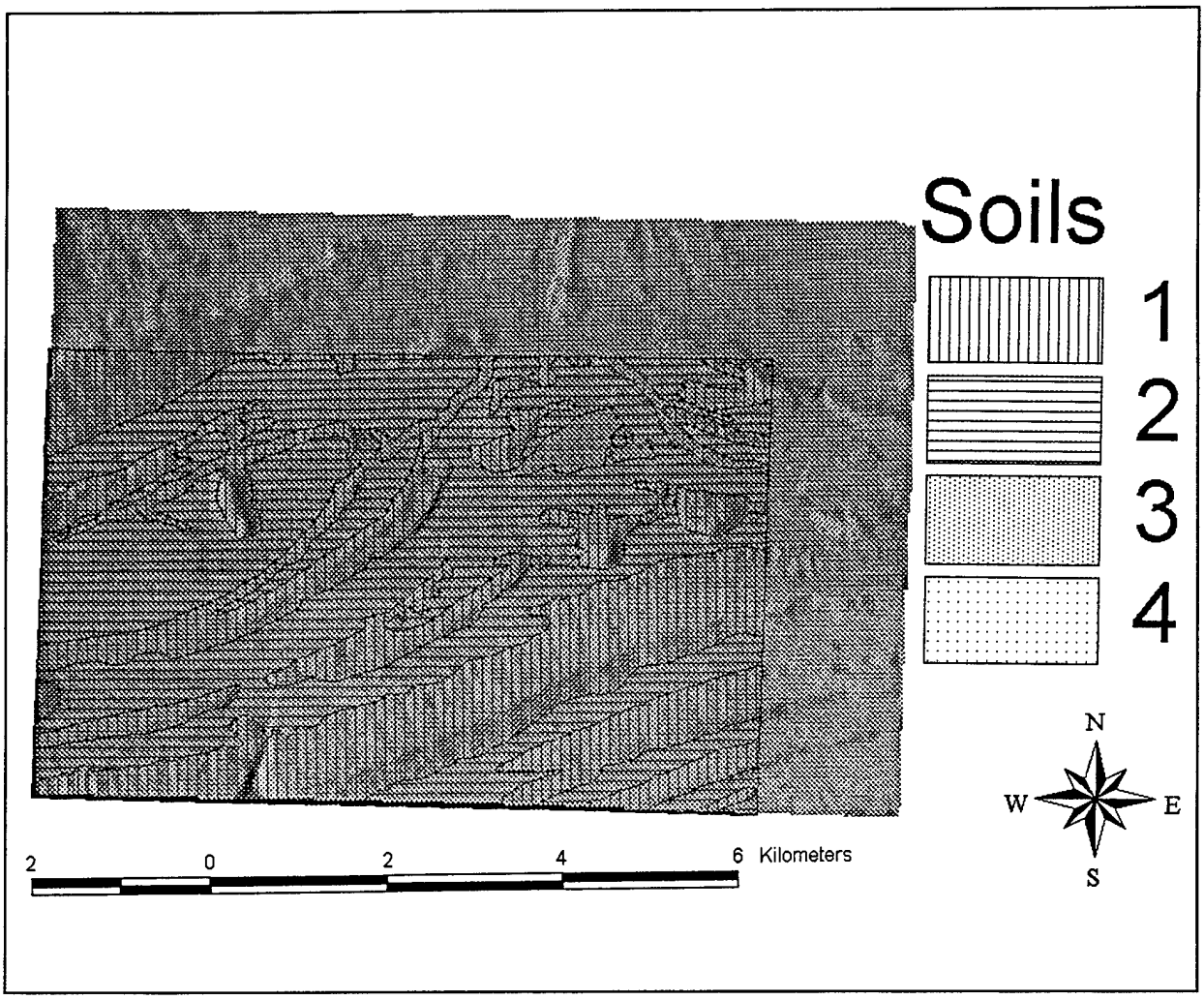


Figure 9. Distribution of Generalized Soil Mapping Categories

By far, the most extensive soils are those formed on bedrock ridges and the soils formed on colluvial slopes. Both of these generalized soil mapping units have severe limitations to agricultural development. The distribution of the generalized soil mapping units and their extent varies greatly. The soils formed on colluvial slopes are the most extensive soils in the area and cover 52.4% of the landscape. The soils formed on bedrock ridges also are extensive and cover 44.7% of the study area. These two soil mapping units are distributed in alternating east-northeast bands in the Center Valley area. Their distribution is indicative of the folded ridge terrain of northeast Arkansas. The soils that formed in alluvium constitute only 1.5% of the soil coverage in the Center Valley area. These soils are located in the northwest portion of the study site in narrow (0.25 mile wide) tributary valleys of the Big Creek drainage system. The soils that formed near seeps on footslopes cover only 1.4% of the landscape. These soils are found in the northeast portion of the Center Valley project area between the narrow tributary valleys of Big Creek. The soils formed near seeps on footslopes and the soils formed in alluvium constitute a very small portion of the study area.

Soils Formed on Bedrock Ridges. The Center Valley area consists of sandstone and shale bedrock which is complexly folded. The soils that formed on the weathered bedrock have properties of the surficial sandstone or shale. The SCS mapped seven soils that formed directly on bedrock. These seven soils can be grouped into three categories defined by bedrock parent material: soils formed on shale, soils formed in sandstone, and soils formed in a combination of sandstone and shale. Although each soil is compositionally distinct, they are mapped here as one unit (Figure 9).

The first group of compositionally distinct soil that formed on bedrock are the Enders silt loam 3-8% slopes and the Enders silt loam 8-12% slopes. The areas covered by these soils are low shale ridges between higher sandstone ridges. These soils are only slowly permeable and water can run off of the soil at a rapid rate. These physical properties in combination within the surficial slope, cause the soil to have a high potential for erosion if the surface is cleared. The Enders soils are thin, and have a substrate of clay formed from the weathering of shale. Unweathered bedrock is encountered between 3.5 to 8 feet. The soils are naturally unfertile and are not suitable for extensive agriculture.

The second group of compositionally distinct soil that formed on bedrock are the Mountainburg sandy loam 3-12% slopes, Mountainburg stony sandy loam 2-12% slopes, and the Mountainburg stony sandy loam 12-35% slopes. Found at the highest elevations in the study area, these soils form on the sandstone ridges and mountains in the Fort Chaffee area. Unlike the Enders soils, the Mountainburg soils are very permeable and thus very droughty. The soils are rocky and thin and naturally unfertile. In addition, they have a high potential for erosion if cleared. In profile, bedrock is found within twenty inches of the surface. These combined properties make the soil not suitable for extensive agriculture.

The third group of compositionally distinct soil that formed on bedrock are the Enders-Mountainburg rolling and the Enders-Mountainburg steep. These soils formed on shale, sandstone, or bedrock that is composed of muddy sandstone or sandy shale. The soils have properties of both the Enders and Mountainburg soils. They are either droughty or impermeable and are likely to erode if cleared. These properties cause the soil to be naturally infertile and unsuitable for extensive agriculture.

In summary, the soils formed on bedrock ridges are not suited to agricultural development. They are infertile and their cultivation causes severe erosion.

Soils formed on colluvial slopes. Adjacent to the ridges in the Center Valley area are extensive colluvial aprons consisting of gravity derived and slope-wash sediment which drapes the edge of the hills. The colluvial sediment consists of a mixture of sand, silt, clay, and coarse deposits that are poorly sorted at most localities. The SCS mapped four soil units on the colluvial slopes. They are the Cane fine sandy loam, the Leadvale silt loam 1-3% slopes, the Leadvale silt loam 3-8% slopes, and the Taft silt loam.

The Cane fine sandy loam consists of a thin A horizon underlain by a textural B horizon and a fragipan which causes the soil to be somewhat impermeable. Furthermore, the fragipan restricts root penetration. In addition, the soils are low in fertility and would not be suitable for intensive agriculture.

The Leadvale silt loams are similar to the Cane fine sandy loam in that they have a fragipan at depth and that they are naturally infertile. The Soil Conservation Service discusses the Leadvale soils, describing them as:

> *.....suitable for cultivation if they are protected from erosion. Most areas are cleared and were cultivated in the past, but they are now used mainly for pasture and meadow. These soils respond well to fertilization, and they are easy to till* (Cox, Garner, and Vodrazka 1975: 14).

These soils, like the Cane fine sandy loam, are unsuitable for widespread agriculture unless modern soil conservation and fertilization techniques are utilized.

The Taft silt loam has similarities akin to the Cane fine sandy loam and the Leadvale silt loams. The Taft silt loam has a fragipan at depth which reduces permeability and root penetration and it is low in natural fertility. In describing the agricultural potential of the Taft silt loam, Cox, Garner, and Vodrazka (1975: 24) states:

> *If drained and well managed, Taft soils are suited for most crops grown in the county. Most areas are used for pasture or meadow. These soils respond well to fertilization. They are easy to till, but they contain excess water for long periods after rain .*

The Taft silt loam, unlike the other soils, is more suited for agriculture than the other soils classified as soils formed on colluvium. The reason that they are more suitable for agriculture is that they formed on a flatter area than the Cane fine sandy loam and the Leadville silt loams. The flatness of the landscape covered by the Taft silt loam decreases the potential for soil erosion. Although the Cane fine sandy loam is naturally low in fertility and has a fragipan that reduces permeability and root penetration, it can serve as a suitable medium for agricultural development with modern fertilization and drainage techniques.

All of the soils formed on colluvial slopes category have some limitations to agricultural productivity. They all have a fragipan that limits drainage and root penetration. In addition, the soils are low in natural fertility and are, at best, suitable for pasture and meadow. The soils can be used for more intensive agriculture if soil conservation is employed in combination with modern drainage and fertilization techniques.

Soils formed in alluvium. The Center Valley area is drained primarily by the Big Creek stream system which is a small stream that flows north and northeast through the study area. Although Big Creek is important to the local ecology of the area, it has not left extensive deposits of alluvium in Center Valley. Instead, it has reworked and redeposited colluvium without significantly changing the sedimentary properties of the deposit. However, Big Creek and one of its tributaries have left a narrow (< 0.25 mile in width) deposit of alluvium in the northeast corner of the Center Valley area on which an alluvial soil formed . The alluvial soils mapped by the SCS are the Barling silt loam which are thick, moderately fertile soils that are well drained and suitable for a variety of crop types.

Due to its topographic position, the area covered by the Barling silt loam is prone to periodic flooding. This soil is the most suitable soil for agriculture in the Center Valley area.

Soils formed near seeps on foot slopes. Springs, or seeps, can be found throughout the Ouachita Mountain region of Arkansas where a water table intersects the lands surface. These wet areas modify the soils of a region by causing them to be continually, seasonally, or periodically flooded. In the northeastern portion of the Center Valley study area, there is one location that is significantly modified by a seep in a flat valley. Here the Wing silt loam formed on colluvium underlain by shale bedrock. These soils are modified as a result of periodic wetting. The Wing silt loam is low in natural fertility and is only slowly permeable. The permeability of the soil is low due to the high clay content of the soil. In addition, the soils are high in sodium due to the fact that the soils are not leached or well-drained. The soil is not suited for agricultural development.

Summary

In general, Center Valley was situated within what Smith (1986) has characterized as an Inter-Ridge Valley. This Inter-Ridge Valley contains the soils formed on colluvium. It is bounded on the west by a long east-west trending ridge which contained several large sandstone outcrops. These have been mapped geomorphologically as Ridge Slope, and Ridge Slope, Eroded. The most fertile soils in this area, while certainly not the most fertile in the region, were sufficient to support a mixed agricultural community. Erosion from the ridge slopes, poor drainage, and the presence of well-developed fragipans, however, all served to limit the agricultural potential of the study area.

Chapter 3. The Euro-Americans Arrive: Settlement Up to 1850

Introduction

According to the official land office documents for this region, there is no record of Euro-American settlement in the project area prior to the time when the land was opened for sale; for the land in Township 7N Range 30W this was 8 December 1828, for the land in Township 7N Range 29W and Township 6N Range 30W this was 30 January 1843, and for the land in Township 6N Range 29W this was on 16 October 1848. Neither the original surveyor's notes, the resultant General Land Office (GLO) maps, the State Land Office (SLO) tract books, nor any preemption records suggest any occupation in the study area prior to the enumeration of the 1850 Federal census. It was on 13 February 1851, that David Beebe acquired Lots 1 and 3 in Section No 5, in Township 6N Range 29W and the S/SE of Section 32 Township 7N Range 29W in the study area as well as the E/SE and the SW/SE of Section 12 and the SE/SW Section 21 also in Township 7N Range 29W. By acquiring these 333.05 acres Beebe became the first official private owner of lands within the study area. This does not mean that he and/or other Euro-Americans were not already living on and farming these lands as suggested by the 1850 census. This chapter will examine the initial Euro-American settlement of Bates Township beginning with a summary of official United States public lands policy and rules before investigating the specifics of the settlement of Bates Township.

Public Land Policy

With the establishment of the United States and the end of the Revolutionary War, the fledgling government began to come to grips with administering and eventually selling public lands to settlers. Policy began to be legislated and formulated by 1785, especially for the lands of the Northwest Territory. With the Louisiana Purchase, the amount of lands jumped dramatically and modifications of the system developed. During these years the theoretical establishment of the system of Township and Range, and the actual survey to define these units began. Once the land was surveyed, the creation of regional land offices became the focal point for sales. Between 1785 and 1837 the rules for acquisition were modified, as basic unit sizes dropped from 160 acre parcels to 40 acre parcels in order to make the land more accessible to the general citizen. In 1820 when a cash system was established for land acquisition, the price for government land purchased at a land office was set at $1.25/acre.

As the United States Congress established a policy of direct sale of land, it also established procedures to pass vast quantities of land directly to the individual states in order to support a number of national objectives. For both Arkansas and the study region the most significant of these acts was the Swamp Lands Act of 28 December 1850. The Swamp Lands Act passed 8,600,000 acres of federal lands to the State of Arkansas. These lands were to be sold by the State of Arkansas and the funds used to reclaim swampy lands, especially to support flood control and drainage work. The lands selected by Arkansas under this Act were to be either

swampy lands or lands subject to frequent flooding. This act was poorly implemented at both federal and state levels creating both fraudulent claims as well as ineffective and inefficient use of the funds generated from these land sales. Most of the reclamation done under this act was levee construction along the major rivers of Arkansas, and most of these works were destroyed during the Civil War (Harrison and Kollmorgen 1947; Hibbard 1965: 269–88). Certain lands in the study area were designated Swamp Lands and given to the State of Arkansas based on this Act. As swamp lands, owned by the State of Arkansas, they were sold at prices set by the State of Arkansas below the $1.25/acre set for federal lands, sometimes $0.75 or $0.50 per acre but sometimes as low as $0.20 (Walz 1958: 310-312).

Upon its admission to the Union in 1836, Arkansas received title to all lands in Section 16 of each Township and Range. This land was reserved for school purposes and in general was sold to finance public education (Hibbard 1965: 309–311). Through 1843 this was done by leasing these lands with the funds accruing for education. Subsequently the proceeds of land sale were used for this purpose. Originally such land was sold for at least $2.00 per acre, but later at $1.25 per acre (Walz 1958: 310-311). Saline springs grants in Arkansas were also awarded by the federal government with their proceeds designated as school funds. In 1862 a further land grant was passed for the support of colleges for agricultural and mechanical arts. The University of Arkansas was founded in 1872 based on this law (Hibbard 1965: 328–35).

Starting in 1850 a series of private railroad grants were authorized by Congress. Hibbard described how this worked (1965: 245):

> *The terms of the grant provided that alternate sections of land for six miles on each side of a line of railroad . . . should be given to the states within which the public land lay . . . and through which the road should pass. The land was to be handled through the state legislatures and sold, the money to be used in building a railroad. The law did not say whether the states should build and own the road or not, but it was understood that a private road might receive the proceeds as a subsidy. On this latter plan the states acted very promptly.*
>
> *The remaining public land, intervening between alternate railway sections, was to be sold at not less than $2.50 per acre. . . In much of the territory through which the road was to pass the government land had already been sold. As an offset to this situation the state was allowed to select "lieu" lands, in alternate section, within a distance not to exceed fifteen miles from the road.*

Two Arkansas railroads serving our study area benefitted from such legislation. The Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad was granted land under an Act of 9 February on 17 November 1857 and 28 July 1866. Land claimed by the railroad under these acts were patented, in general, on 13 July 1882. The Memphis and Little Rock Railroad was granted most of its land in the study region under Acts of 9 February 1853 and 26 July 1866 on 18 September 1890. Land claimed under these acts were patented, in general, on 2 December 1895.

The Homestead Act signed by President Lincoln on 20 May 1862 provided up to 160 acres of free land, except for filing charges, for any head of household. It required the head of household to improve the land and live on the homestead for five years before title would vest in the homesteader (Hibbard 1965: 385). Walz wrote (1958: 313):

> *In June, 1866, Congress provided that all remaining public land in Arkansas should be reserved from sale and subject to entry only under a modification of the Homestead Act of 1862, entries being restricted to eighty acres for a period of two years, and ex-Confederates being excluded from homesteading until 1867. This policy remained in effect until 1876, after which public land in Arkansas, which was by no means exhausted, could be secured either by purchase or homesteading.*

The $1.25/acre price of federal land remained the official price for all land from 1820 until the Graduation Act of 1854. This act allowed certain lands to be priced based on how long they had been on the market. Thus, prices dropped to $1.00/acre after 10 years on the market, $0.75/acre after 15 years, $0.50/acre after 20 years, $0.25/acre after 25 years, and $0.125/acre after 30 years. The net effect of this pricing system was to price the best land highest and let less desirable land have a lower price based on its demand.

Once land was acquired by individuals and then patented, it became subject to state taxes. If these taxes were not paid, title reverted to the State of Arkansas. A state law then allowed the lands to be reclaimed by anyone who paid the taxes. In the 1850s and 1860s, purchasing land forfeited for taxes could be a most cost effective way to acquire land.

Bounty Lands and Lands to Settle Indian Claims

Starting in the 1840s a series of laws were passed which awarded lands to specific classes of individuals, generally veterans who had fought in wars on behalf of the United States but also to Indians as recompense for lands taken. The following discussion describes various laws that authorized land grants or land distribution and which affected Sebastian County. For the purposes of this study only those land granting laws which had an impact on the study region are examined.

The Treaty of 27 September 1830 between the United States and the Choctaw Indians at Dancing Rabbit Creek was the basis for issuance of Choctaw Land Certificates under specific acts of 23 August 1842 and 3 March 1845. Nine hundred forty-six Choctaw Certificates were issued under this act to heads of families as well as others to minors (Yoshpe and Brower 1949: 10). Many of these certificates were sold by the Choctaw to whom it was originally issued, apparently for cash and at a discount, and then used by purchasers to claim lands at Federal Land Offices. The first land claimed in the study area as well as other parcels were acquired through the use of such certificates.

The Ten Regiments Act of 11 February 1847 provided 160 acres of military bounty land for non-commissioned officers, privates, and musicians who served for 12 months, or the war's

duration, or were killed while in service, or were injured in the War with Mexico. These warrants were valid at any land office (but not for pre-empted land) and the veteran held the right to sell the warrant once the warrant had been issued. Alternatively, the soldier could receive a $100 Treasury Note bearing 6% interest. Thus, with the official market price for land at $1.25 per acre and the cash value of a 160 acre land warrant set at $100, a market was established whereby the value of the warrant could fluctuate between $0.625 and $1.25 per acre (Oberly 1990: 8–23).

An Act of 28 September 1850 granted land to veterans of Indian Wars of the War of 1812, or officers in the Mexican War. Acreage depended on length of service: 40 acres for one to three months, 80 acres for four months to one year, and 160 acres for more than one year. Originally these warrants were not transferrable. However, the "Assignment Bill" of 22 March 1852 made these warrants assignable and so they could be used by pre-emptors in meeting their obligations (Oberly 1990). The cash value of these warrants could vary on the market between $0.625 and $1.25 per acre.

An Act of 3 March 1855 provided a wide variety of military land bounties, granting 160 acres to anyone, or their widows, who had served more than two weeks in any war since the beginning of the Revolutionary War in 1775. In addition, if a veteran had previously gotten less than 160 acres under an earlier law, he could receive sufficient new acreage to achieve 160 acres in total (Oberly 1990). As with the Ten Regiment Act and the Act of 1850, the cash value of these warrants on the market could vary between $0.625 and $1.25 per acre.

Land Pre-Emption

As Congress was passing acts to regulate the official transference of lands to both states and individuals, American citizens and their representatives debated the concept and right of pre-emption. What were the rights of American citizens who arrived at regions prior to survey and then settled on lands and improved them? Many times these were the same individuals who blazed the first roads. Special Congressional Acts of 1830, 1832, 1834, 1838, and 1840 provided relief to early settlers who had improved land prior to the official sale of land. These acts established a precedent, although each was of limited duration (Rohrbough 1968). Thus, the concept of squatting on lands not yet open for sale was established, and, therefore, it was in place as settlement of western Arkansas increased in the late 1830s and 1840s.

The Land Distribution Act signed on 4 September 1841 established pre-emption rights for claims up to 160 acres that were on previously surveyed land. To secure these rights without risk, the pre-emptors had to purchase their claim prior to public sale at the going rate of $1.25/acre, although 12 and, later, 33 months of credit were allowed. Oberly described the pre-emption process (1990: 148–49):

> *The basic source for identifying squatters is a document called the Register of Declaratory Statements, part of the records compiled by the register at each district land office. A pre-emptor who wished to stake his claim and secure legal protection for his*

preemption had to appear personally at the district land office and make his declaration of preemption. He was required to do this within three months of settling on the parcel, though many in fact waited much longer. After he had filed his declaratory statement, he then had a grace period of one year to make improvements on his parcel and either obtain a warrant or accumulate sufficient cash to buy the land from the United States.

After the year's grace period ended, the pre-emptor had to come forth with proof of his improvements to the tract and the necessary payment, or forfeit his exclusive right to the land. In the latter case, the General Land Office reopened the parcel to other pre-emptors, or, if the tract was for sale as a part of an already offered township, the General Land Office opened it to private entry by outright buyers.

The Registers of Declaratory Statements are arranged by land office in Record Group 49 (RG 49), Records of the Bureau of Land Management, National Archives (Yoshpe and Brower 1949: 19). The law was effective for pre-emption after 1 June 1840 and it remained in force until 1866 when it was revoked for Arkansas and a few other states, later to be reinstated (Hibbard 1965: 168). Depending upon the township within our study area, public auction and private sale of land began in 1828, 1843, or 1848, as previously noted. Thus, such records could exist and identify squatters in the study region, but for this region these records appear to start in 1879 when the preemption law was reinstated.

Implication of National Land Policy

Peter Passel (1975) investigated the economic impacts of our national land policies, particularly on the South, for the period 1820 to the Civil War. His conclusions are interesting and have a bearing on interpretation of land acquisition and use in Sebastian County. He wrote (1975: np):

(1) Institutional factors, arising from the political process, largely determined the pattern of public land offerings in the pre-War period.

(2) The demand for potential cotton lands in the public domain fits reasonably well within the framework of a portfolio adjustment model. Land demand is functionally related to the rates of return on alternative assets and the aggregate wealth of the nation.

(3) The rapid distribution of public lands may well have encouraged, rather than handicapped the growth of American manufacturing in the 19th century. A general equilibrium model provides indirect evidence that, given substantial tariff protection, manufacturers are likely to have benefitted more from expanded markets than they lost to high wage labor.

(4) A simulation study suggests that rapid land distribution in the South cut real national income by increasing cotton supply in the presence of inelastic world demand.

(5) The economic implication of cotton land exhaustion through extensive use in the 19th century is unclear. Economic loss from land exhaustion seems more likely to have been dependent upon factor immobility than the failure to use efficient factor proportions.

Bates Township, Sebastian County, Arkansas

The first road through what became the study area is probably contemporary with the earliest acquisition of land in this region. An 1855 map of Arkansas shows a road connecting CharlesT(own) and Chocoville (now Mansfield). This road ran from Chocoville to the Brunner Post Office (located in Section 13 Township 6N Range 30W) through the Big Creek Narrows, then through Center Valley, to a point south of Potatoe Hill. The road continued north from that point to Charleston. Soon, however, a branch extended east from south of Potato Hill to Chismville. At the other end, a branch was soon erected which cut-off Big Creek Narrows and connected to Greenwood. Thus, by the late 1850s, the Chismville Road ran from Greenwood to Center Valley to Chismville, making the study region readily accessible by road. The exact date when this road was established is unknown, but we suggest that the original Chocoville to Charlestown Road was already in use by 1850.

The Earliest Settlers of the Study Area: An Overview

The listing presented below includes all known owners of land through 1860. This list is organized by year of first acquisition for each person owning land in the study area. The land shown under location may only represent a part of a larger purchase. Unless otherwise noted, the original purchasers were the owners of record in 1860.

Name	Date	Location	Source	Type
David Beebe	2/13/1851	S/SE Sec 32 7N 29W	USA*	Choctaw
Thomas Kersey	3/31/1851	Lots 7-8 Sec 6 6N 29W	USA	Choctaw
James Cardin	10/28/1852	SW/SW Sec 29 7N 29W	USA	1850
John R. Steele	3/1/1853	NE Sec 31 7N 29W	USA	1847
Obadiah Lairamore	10/17/1857	SW/NW Sec 32 7N 29W	USA**	Cash
James R. Willburn	10/17/1857	N/SE Sec 36 7N 30W	USA	Swamp
Jenral C. Morgan	11/8/1857	E/NW Sec 32 7N 29W	USA***	Cash
Frederic Coleman	1/30/1858	N/SE Sec 11 6N 30W	USA	Swamp
Adam A. Gann	1/30/1858	W/SE Sec 35 7N 30W	USA	Cash
James P. Perl	2/5/1858	SE/SE Sec 33 7N 29W	USA	Cash
Peter Pinnell	3/6/1858	Lot 4 Sec 5 6N 29W	USA	1850
Robert Gann	8/2/1858	S/NW Sec 36 7N 30W	USA	Cash
John King	9/28/1858	S Sec 31 7N 29W	USA	1847/55
Abram T. White	11/29/1858	NW/SW 36 7N 30W	USA	Cash
J. A. Barnhill	1858?	NE/NW Sec 32 7N 29W	Morgan***	Deed
Charles R. Kellam	1858?	S/SE Sec 32 7N 29W	Beebe	Deed
C. R. J. Kellam	2/3/1859	E/SW Sec 36 7N 30W	USA	Cash
John Jones	3/1/1859	NW/SW Sec 33 7N 29W	USA	Cash
James M. Bobo	7/13/1859	S/SE Sec 36 7N 30W	USA	Choctaw
M. L. Lairamore	8/4/1859	Lot 6 Sec 4 6N 29W	USA	Cash

J. H. Lairamore	8/4/1859	Lot 7 Sec 5 6N 29W	USA	Cash
G. M. Kersey	5/2/1859	N/SW Sec 5 6N 29W	USA	Cash
Samuel G. Cardin	8/11/1859	SE/SE 30 7N 29W	USA	Cash
F. D. Willburn	10/24/1859	NE/SE Sec 33 7N 29W	USA	Cash
David N. Cardin	10/28/1859	Lots 7-8 Sec 2 6N 30W	USA	Swamp
William J. Webb	11/4/1859	S/SW Sec 32 7N 29W	USA	Cash
Luna A. Boothe	11/11/1859	NW/SE Sec 6 6N 29W	USA	Cash
Sarah Clark	11/29/1859	N/SW Sec 1 6N 30W	USA	Swamp
Lewis W. Ferguson	7/2/1860	NW/NW Sec 12 6N 30W	USA	Cash
Mack S. Goin	8/17/1860	Lot 5 Sec 1 6N 30W	USA	Cash
Elias Graves	8/17/1860	Lot 3 Sec 6 6N 29W	USA	Cash
John S. Houston	11/5/1860	N/SE Sec 1 6N 30W	USA	Swamp

* This land was sold to Charles R. Kellam prior to 1859
** This land was sold to William Webb on 25 October 1859
***This land had been sold by Morgan before 1860, probably to Joseph A. Barnhill. Barnhill sold these lands to William J. Webb on 19 October 1861

While it is clear who owned what land and the year in which it was taken, it is far harder to identify who actually lived on and improved the land, and to establish a certain date for the first residence and use. Using this list as a basis for whom might have been living in the region in 1850, we will compare it with the 1850 Federal Census for Bates Township and suggest who might have been living in the immediate environs of the study area by 1850.

Bates Township on the 1850 Federal Census

According to the 1850 Federal Census of Bates Township, Crawford County, Arkansas, there were 35 household in the entire township. Of these 35 households only seven were listed as owning real estate. The real estate owners were (along with its value):

John M. Cluse	$1,000
John Eppler	$500
George Eppler	$500
Jacob Laster	$120
Michael Awalt	$240
Jeremiah Bell	$300
Henry P. Bell	$1,000

Of this group only John Eppler (Section 13 6N 30W) and Henry P. Bell (Section 8 6N 30W) appear in the SLO Tract books as original land owners by 1850, and can be located with precision within Bates Township. None of these individuals appear to live in the study area, rather they lived closer to Brunner, Burnville, and New Market regions.

The other 28 households listed on the 1850 Federal Census for Bates Township, those claiming no real estate, clearly were present in Bates Township, and had to be squatters. The Agricultural Schedules for these people confirms this suggestion. The amount of improved acreage for these

farms is noted by some number of acres, usually between 10 and 40, and then the unimproved acreage is listed as "G", a notation the enumerator used for "Government Land," again identifying squatters. If we assume that at least some of these 28 families eventually acquired the land upon which they squatted in 1850, then more locations can be added to the Bates Township location map of 1850. The list below presents the enumeration number, family name, date, and location of patented land in Bates Township.

Enumeration #	Family	Date	Location
1	Clayborn White	1851	Section 21 6N 30W
3	Preston R. Booth	1859	Section 14 6N 30W
5	Luna Booth	1859	Section 6 6N 29W
6	John Eppler	1850	Section 13 6N 30W
8	Marcus Eppler	1858	Section 18 6N 29W
10	Thomas Kersey	1851	Section 6 6N 29W
17	David Beebe	1857	Section 32 7N 29W
20	Peter Pinnell	1859	Section 5 6N 29W
21	Obadiah Lairamore	1857	Section 32 7N 29W
27	Allen Campbell	1848	Section 28 6N 29W
29	William R. Bowen	1857	Sections 12 and 13 6N 29W
30	Jeremiah Bell	1857	Sections 28, 29, and 31 6N 29W
31	Jesse H. Bell	1854	Section 32 7N 30W
32	Henry P. Bell	1848	Section 8 6N 30W
33	Nathaniel D. Osborn	1852	Section 5 6N 30W
35	John M. Martin	1852	Section 6 6N 30W

From both the likely and known family locations, it is suggested that the census taker in 1850 appears to have followed the Chocoville to Charlestown Road from south to north as he took the census. If we assume that in 1850 Luna A. Booth lived near the southwestern extremity of Bates Township and not on the land he acquired in 1859, then we can follow the census taker starting at Burnville along the southern side of Backbone Mountain to the region of the Eppler Schoolhouse (Section 18 6N 29W and Section 13 6N 30W), through the Big Creek Narrows to where Thomas Kersey was located in Section 6 6N 29W. Families 11 through 15 after Kersey cannot be located. Family 16, Isaac N. Williford, was probably Thomas Kersey's brother-in-law through Kersey's wife and quite possibly the husband of David Beebe's eldest daughter, thus he probably lived near Kersey or Beebe and along the Charlestown Road. Next came Beebe, the Pinnells, and Lairamores in Section 32 7N 29W and Section 4 6N 29W, which again is going north along the road. Interspersed with them are William Wilcox and Izel (Isel) Roark, who, therefore, probably lived in the Center Valley region.

After leaving the Lairamore farm, the road headed out of the township, but still the census taker, by necessity, had to enumerate families living beyond the Chocoville to Charlestown Road. Campbell, Bowen, and Jeremiah Bell were all residents of what later became Washburn Township, along Gin Creek and into Washburn itself. Thus, after the Lairamores, the census taker must have gone south to this region first, and then headed to the extreme western portion

of Bates Township, into what later became Center Township. Here Jesse Bell, Henry Bell, Nathaniel D. Osborn and John M. Martin likely lived.

If this reconstruction is correct, then the following heads of families probably lived in the study area as squatters when the 1850 Federal Census was taken in Bates Township on 11 and 12 October 1850:

Thomas Kersey
Isaac N. Williford
David Beebe
William Wilcox
Izel (Isel) Roark
Lewis Pinnell
Obadiah Lairamore
William Lairamore

To say exactly where these individuals might have lived is also highly speculative, but it is suggested that they lived in or near the acreage they subsequently acquired. It is possible that others listed on the census may also have lived in the study area (e.g., and especially, Jacob Laster, William Elkins, Chester Phelps, and Jeremiah Phelps), but to suggest that they did is even more speculative. By 1860 Isaac Williford, Isel Roark, and William Wilcox no longer lived in Bates Township. At that time it is unknown where Williford lived, but Roark lived to the south in Sugarloaf Township and Wilcox lived to the north in Bigg Creek Township. Thus, whatever homesteads these three families had established in Bates Township before 1860 were disposed of or abandoned without title ever being acquired. Beebe sold out about 1857 after acquiring title to his land, and the Pinnell family moved south to Scott County except for Peter, who appears to have stayed and acquired the family land, and his two sisters Jane and Amanda, who married into the Lairamore family.

The Study Area on 11/12 October 1850

An attempt to determine when Thomas Kersey, Isaac N. Williford, David Beebe, William Wilcox, Izel (Isel) Roark, Lewis Pinnell, Obadiah Lairamore, and William Lairamore entered the study area is greatly facilitated by the Agricultural Schedules attached to the 1850 Federal Census that were enumerated on 11 and 12 October 1850 for the study area. These records indicate that Thomas Kersey, Isaac N. Williford, Obadiah Lairamore, and William Lairamore had no improved land and were not enumerated on the agricultural schedules. This suggests that they had only moved there during the past agricultural year, an inference supported in the case of Kersey by Goodspeed (1889). The Beebe, Wilcox, Roark, and Pinnell families, however, had cleared land and grown crops during that same year, so they must have arrived by very early 1850 or before. The Beebe's had cleared 35 acres, the Wilcoxs 60 acres, the Roarks 25 acres, and the Pinnells nine acres. This suggests that the Pinnells arrived the latest of this group, either late 1849 or early enough in 1850 to clear land and plant crops. Perhaps, the Pinnells were the

advance team of a planned Lairamore and Pinnell move, since the families had intermarried by 1846.

When, then, did the Beebe, Wilcox, and Roark families arrived? It had to be between 1844, when the lands were surveyed and no one was recorded in this area, and 1849. It would also be possible to suggest that the Beebe, Wilcox, and Roark families arrived soon after the land was officially opened for settlement. It seems likely that all of this settlement occurred in Township 6N Range 29W since this land was opened 16 October 1848. It is entirely possible, then that the Beebe, Wilcox, and Roark families arrived between the end of 1848 and the end of 1849, in time to clear land and plant it. If this latter, speculative, argumentation is correct, then the Beebe, Wilcox, and Roark families arrived between the end of 1848 and the end of 1849, the Pinnell family at the end of 1849 or beginning of 1850, and the Thomas Kersey, Isaac N. Williford, Obadiah Lairamore, and William Lairamore families during 1850, probably near the end after crops were harvested elsewhere.

To return to the census data, if we assume that the residents of the study area in 1850 consisted of the families of Thomas Kersey, Isaac N. Williford, David Beebe, William Wilcox, Izel (Isel) Roark, Lewis Pinnell, Obadiah Lairamore, and William Lairamore, the population of the study area was 46. Each of the eight households was headed by a husband and a wife. Five households consisted solely of family members, the other three had apparently unrelated laborers or boarders living with them. For a number of these families, we were able to determine the time of their arrival in Arkansas and the place from which they came. Thomas Kersey arrived in Arkansas about 1841, probably Logan County. Isaac Williford arrived in what was probably Logan County about 1844 from Illinois. David Beebe came to Arkansas about 1838 from Missouri and settled in Crawford County, apparently in Van Buren Township. Lewis Pinnell arrived in Arkansas about 1840 from Crawford County, Missouri, and settled in Crawford County, Arkansas. The Lairamores arrived in Arkansas about 1835 from Franklin County, Missouri, and settled near Fort Smith, Crawford County, Arkansas, along the Arkansas River.

It is interesting to note that Joseph Cruthers, aged 19, David L. Cornwall, aged 31, Andrew Page, aged 19, Absalom Carmack, aged 14, and Thomas Gowson, aged 12, were all residents of the study area, but that apparently they were not living near their parents. Of these children, only Absalom G. W. Cormack may have been living with a relative. Cormack's Civil War pension application notes that his mother's maiden name was Wilcox; thus William Wilcox was probably an uncle, if not, his grandfather.

Birthplaces for the adults (aged 21 and up or married) show: Tennessee 6, Illinois 3, North Carolina 2, Kentucky 2, Arkansas 2, South Carolina 1, New York 1, and Missouri 1. Of these only people over the age of 42 were born in the original 13 states plus Kentucky, and all of these appear subsequently to have lived in either Tennessee or Missouri. Birthplaces for the children show: Arkansas 18, Illinois 5, Missouri 4, Tennessee 1, and Iowa 1. The eldest native Arkansan in the population was 24 (b. ca. 1826), and the eldest person was 52 (b. ca. 1798). No one in these families was reported to have died during the previous 12 months.

For those few families for whom there is agricultural data, it has already been noted that the Beebes had cleared 35 acres, the Wilcoxs 60 acres, the Roarks 25 acres, and the Pinnells nine acres for agriculture. Since none of them owned lands the census-taker inserted a "G" indicating that the land upon which these individuals lived was government land. For those few who actually owned land in this township the census-taker listed both improved land and unimproved land. Wilcox's 60 improved acres was the largest for the entire township, 20 to 40 acres being far more common. The census-taker evaluated the improvements made on these four farmsteads not the total value, giving numbers between $80 and $600. These values average out to between $9 and $11 per improved acre. Farm implements and machinery were valued $10, $15, $30 and $100. Each family owned horses (between one and five), milk cows (between two and six), and swine (between 35 and 100). No one owned sheep or mules/asses, and only one owned oxen (two). Three families owned other cattle (either six or eight). Animals per household were valued between $150 and $375 and clearly horses were the most valuable. Each family slaughtered animals for food, animals valued between $40 and $50 for three of the families and $150 by the fourth. In probably 1850 each family raised Indian corn (between 100 and 300 bushels) and churned butter (between 50 and 100 pounds). Three families raised cotton (producing between 1 and 2.5, 400 pound ginned bales) and three raised oats (producing between 30 and 100 bushels). One family raised 20 bushels each of Irish potatoes and sweet potatoes. Finally, each family produced home manufacture (between $12 and $62). The farm animals and production of the farms in the study area seem representative when compared with other residents of the township. Elsewhere in the township, some tobacco, wheat and rye were grown and some cheese produced. Others owned a few mules and sheep and wool was produced.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the methods of land acquisition and has suggested the means by which the first lands in the study area were acquired. Although it is not certain, we believe the first settlers may well have arrived in late 1848 with others arriving in 1849 and 1850. Since none officially acquired land until 1851, these early settlers must be called squatters. Eight families appear to have resided in the study area when the census was taken in 1850. Many of these first families appear to have resided in Arkansas for over a decade, most often elsewhere in Crawford County before their move to the Center Valley region. Clearly the Lairamores and the Pinnells knew each other before they came to the study area, and it is quite possible that the Kersey/Williford and Beebe families may also have known each other, probably as neighbors elsewhere in the vicinity. This early land acquisition set the stage for the settlement of the region during the next decade, when others arrived and the lands began to be acquired officially. Of these first settlers, some stayed and bought their lands later, while others moved on to new lands elsewhere.

Chapter 4. The Land is Filled: 1850 - 1860

Introduction

The decade of the 1850s saw a steady and rising influx of settlers to the study area. Initially, these people appear to have squatted on the lands and only later to have acquired valid title to their lands. By the late 1850s, as settlement progressed, it seems that title was acquired at the time of arrival. This chapter describes the expanding settlement of the region in the 1850s and ends with a discussion of the land and its people in 1860.

Settlement of the Study Area

The SLO Tract Books record the official dates on which land was acquired as well as the various methods of payment used. For the decade of the 1850s there were two methods of payment for lands purchased from the government land offices. One, of course, was cash. Up until 1854 the price of all land at these offices was $1.25/acre, but with the passage of the Graduation Act of 1854, land was discounted to a greater and greater extent depending upon how long it had been on the market. Thus, for the period when most of the land within the study area was taken, prices for identical lands could vary from township to township according to the year the township was opened for purchase. No doubt this fact had some effect on which lands were taken in which townships and when. Township 7N Range 30W was opened in 1828, Township 6N Range 30W and Township 7N 29W were opened in 1843, and Township 6N Range 29W was opened in 1848.

The second method of payment was through the use of a land warrant. As discussed above, land warrants were issued to veterans and, in certain cases, to their heirs in appreciation for military service between 1785 and the 1850s, as well as to Native Americans in payment for confiscated lands. If one was granted such a warrant it could be used as payment for almost any lands at any land office. Since these land warrants were transferrable, a market place was created and prices for these warrants established since their cash value was less than their value in open lands. Thus, supply and demand powered the marketplace and prices fluctuated.

Oberly calculated the market price of land warrants between May 1847 and November 1861. The price varied between about $0.60 at the beginning of the Civil War to almost $1.20 in August 1854. Thus, for the entire period up to the Civil War, purchasing bounty land warrants on the open market at the going price was the economically logical thing to do when purchasing fully priced lands (Oberly 1990: 108-109). However, the effects of the Graduation Act must also be considered in that certain lands in the study area were being offered at a fraction of the $1.25/acre standard price by 1857. In addition, the State of Arkansas was selling Swamp Lands at the same time and at a reduced rate. All these factors are reflected in the sale of lands in the study area. The following listing indicates by whom and how land was obtained in the study area prior to 1861.

Location	Year Sold	Price/Acre or Warrant Type	Year Offered	Purchaser
S/SE 32 7N 29W	1851*	Choctaw	1843	David Beebe
Lot 1 5 6N 29W			1848	
Lot 3 5 6N 29W			1848	
Lot 7 6 6N 29W	1851*	Choctaw	1848	Thomas Kersey
Lot 8 6 6N 29W			1848	
W/SW 29 7N 29W	1852*	1850 Warrant	1843	James Cardin
NE 31 7N 29W	1853*	1847 Warrant	1843	John R. Steele
S/NE 36 7N 30W	1857	$0.25	1828	James R. Willburn**
NE/NE 36 7N 30W			1828	
E/NW 32 7N 29W	1857	$0.75	1843	Jenral C. Morgan
SW/NW 32 7N 29W	1857	$0.75	1843	Obadiah Lairamore
SW/SE 35 7N 30W	1858	$0.125	1828	Adam A. Gann
S/SW 35 7N 30W	1858	$0.125	1828	Adam A. Gann
NE/SW 35 7N 30W			1828	
NW/SE 35 7N 30W			1828	
E/NW 36 7N 30W	1858	$0.125	1828	Robert Gann
SW/NW 36 7N 30W			1828	
NW/SW 36 7N 30W	1858	$0.125	1828	Abram T. White
NW/SW 12 6N 30W	1858	$0.75	1843	Frederick Coleman
SE/SE 33 7N 29W	1858	$0.75	1843	James P. Purl
SW/SE 34 7N 29W			1843	
S/SW 34 7N 29W			1843	
SE 31 7N 29W	1858	1847 Warrant	1843	John King
SW 31 7N 29W	1858	1855 Warrant	1843	John King
NW/NE 32 7N 29W	1858	$0.75	1843	Jenral C. Morgan
Lot 2 5 6N 29W	1858	$1.25	1848	Peter Pinnell
Lot 4 5 6N 29W	1858	1850 Warrant	1848	Peter Pinnell
NE/SE 35 7N 30W	1859	$0.125	1828	Abram T. White
SE/NE 35 7N 30W			1828	
NW/NW 36 7N 30W	1859	$0.125	1828	Robert Gann
NW/NE 36 7N 30W			1828	
E/SW 36 7N 30W	1859	$0.125	1828	Charles R. J. Kellam
S/SE 36 7N 30W	1859	Choctaw	1828	James Bobo
Lot 1 1 6N 30W			1843	
Lot 6 1 6N 30W			1843	
Lot 6 2 6N 30W	1859	$0.75	1843	David N. Carden
SE/NW 12 6N 30W	1859	$0.75	1843	Frederick Coleman
NE/SW 12 6N 30W			1843	
NW/SW 32 7N 29W	1859	$0.75	1843	Obadiah Lairamore
S/SW 32 7N 29W	1859	$0.75	1843	William J. Webb
NE/SE 33 7N 29W	1859	$0.75	1843	Francis D. Wilburn
N/SW 34 7N 29W			1843	
W/SE 33 7N 29W	1859	1855 Warrant	1843	John Jones
NE/SW 33 7N 29W	1859	$1.25	1843	John Jones
NE/SE 32 7N 29W	1859	$1.25	1843	John Jones
NW/SW 33 7N 29W				
SE/SW 29 7N 29W	1859	$1.25	1843	Samuel G. Cardin
SE/SE 30 7N 29W	1859	$0.75	1843	Samuel G. Cardin
NW/SE 6 6N 29W	1859	$1.00	1848	Luna A. Booth

SE/SW 6 6N 29W	1859	$1.00	1848	Luna A. Booth
Lot 5 6 6N 29W	1859	$1.00	1848	Thomas Kersey
Lot 6 6 6N 29W			1848	
Lot 1 6 6N 29W	1859	$1.25	1848	Obadiah Lairamore
Lot 6 4 6N 29W	1859	$1.00	1848	Milton L. Lairamore
Lot 5 5 6N 29W	1859	$1.00	1848	Peter Pinnell
Lot 7 5 6N 29W	1859	$1.00	1848	John H. Lairamore
Lot 8 5 6N 29W	1859	$1.00	1848	John H. Lairamore
N/SW 5 6N 29W	1859	$1.00	1848	George M. Kersey
S/NE 36 7N 30W	1860	$0.125	1828	James R. Willburn**
NE/NE 36 7N 30W			1828	
NE/NE 11 6N 30W	1860	$0.75	1843	Lewis W. Ferguson
NW/NW 12 6N 30W			1843	
Lot 5 1 6N 30W	1860	$0.75	1843	Mack S. Goin
Lot 10 1 6N 30W	1860	$0.75	1843	David N. Cardin
SW/NW 33 7N 29W	1860	$1.25	1843	John Jones
Lot 6 6N 30W	1860	$0.75	1843	Elias Graves
Lot 3 6N 29W			1848	
Lot 9 4 6N 29W	1860	$1.25	1848	John H. Lairamore
Lot 3 5 6N 29W	1860	$1.00	1848	Peter Pinnell

* Graduation Act not yet in force

** This land was originally purchased by Willburn in 1857 at $0.25/acre, and then in 1860 cancelled and repurchased at $0.125/acre by Willburn using the lower rates allowed by the Graduation Act for land open for sale for 30 years.

The Earliest Official Owners (1851-1853)

David Beebe appears as a resident of Bates Township on the 1850 census, but is not listed as a land owner. Thus, like Thomas Kersey and others, he was probably squatting on land he subsequently acquired. Beebe acquired the S/SE Section 32 7N 29W as well as Lots 1 and 3 in Section 5 6N 29W and 120 acres in Sections 12 and 21 on 13 February 1851 using Choctaw Certificate 250 which was issued to *Tah ish cam be* on 6 October 1845. These lands were patented six years later on 15 January 1858. Beebe first appears on the 1857 tax list as the owner of these lands, except for Lot 3 which he appears to have sold to Thomas Kersey. According to the 1858 tax list, he had also sold Lot 1 and 80 acres in Section 12. He is gone from the list by 1859/60. In all cases on the tax list, Beebe is called an absentee owner, possibly implying that none of this land was improved, but this may not be the case.

David Beebe was born about 1806 in New York, and his wife Susanna about 1808 in Kentucky. John A. Beebe, their eldest child living at home, was born about 1829 in Illinois. Adaline E. (b. ca. 1832) and Francis M(arion?) (b. ca. 1833) were listed as natives of Illinois. Their next child, Christopher C. Beebe was born about 1835 in Iowa. The subsequent child, George W. L. Beebe, was born about 1837 in Missouri. Napoleon Beebe was born about 1839 in Arkansas, as were their final two listed children. In 1840 David Beebe and family were residents of Van Buren Township, Crawford County, living north of the Arkansas River. It is unclear when the Beebe family moved to Bates Township. They were gone by 1857 and we have not been able to determine where they moved. Nonetheless, they were the first official owners of land within the study area in 1851 and it is likely that they lived in the study region by 1848/49, if not earlier.

Thomas J. Kersey and George M. Kersey. Thomas J. Kersey was born in Davidson County, Tennessee, on 5 October 1819. He was a son of George M. Kersey. According to Goodspeed (1889: 1333–34) he came to Logan County at an early date, where he married Peggy A. Shelby, but this is unlikely since both Thomas and George Kersey seem to appear on the 1840 Federal Census for McMinn County, Tennessee. Soon the younger Kersey family moved to Arkansas, and on 16 February 1841 their daughter Sarah Jane was apparently born in Arkansas. Soon thereafter Peggy Kersey died. In 1847 Thomas Kersey married Mary Ann Williford, who had been born in Montgomery County, Illinois, on 5 August 1832, a daughter of Jordan and Sarah J. Williford. Apparently the Williford family came to Arkansas about 1845. In 1849 Kersey went to California returning 15 months later a rich man. By 11 October 1850 the Kersey family is listed as residing in Bates Township but not owning property there. This suggests that Thomas Kersey and his family already lived within the project area prior to acquiring the lands.

On 31 March 1851 Thomas Kersey acquired Lots 7 and 8 in Section 6 Township 6N Range 29W through the use of Choctaw Certificate No. 110C, which had been issued to *Hortima.* Kersey had acquired the certificate from *O lah la*, the heir and probable father of *Hortima.* On 14 April 1859 he acquired Lots 5 and 6 in that same section, and on 22 March 1860 he acquired Lot 9 in the same section; all purchases directly from the government. According to tax records, between 1852 and 1855 he had also acquired the NW/NW (Lot 3) Section 5, apparently from David Beebe. By 1860, however, Kersey was a dry goods merchant and mill owner, a resident in Greenwood where he remained until his death on 11 October 1888. His wife died 6 June 1907, and both are buried in the Kersey Cemetery in northern Greenwood.

Thomas Kersey and family were enumerated on the 1850 Federal Census in Bates township under the name Casey, probably on or near the land he purchased the following year. Kersey may well have settled the land on his return from California, supposedly in 1850. In 1852, on the first tax record of Sebastian County (p. 16), Thomas Kersey owned Lots 7 and 8 in Section 6 Township 6W Range 29W, 80 acres valued at $300. He owned precisely the same land in 1855, as well as Lot 3 in Section 5, but his property was valued at $860 which suggests that improvements have been made. It was not until 1857 that Kersey is listed as owning Town lots in the relatively new town of Greenwood, possibly reflecting his move there at that time. Goodspeed (1889: 768) notes that in 1852 Greenwood was unimproved and that Kersey opened the first store in Greenwood later in the 1850s. Taken together, this strongly suggests that Kersey farmed his property in the study area between about 1850 and 1856.

Additional support for this suggestion is available. Kersey's eldest daughter Sarah J. Kersey married Laural Gee, probably during the Civil War, and settled at the edge of the study area. They probably would not have selected this area unless one had an association with the area. Likewise, Amanda V. Kersey, the eldest child of Thomas and Mary (Williford) Kersey married Andrew J. Fry on 25 July 1869; Fry was also a resident of Center Valley. Thus, it is judged likely that Thomas Kersey, the second official owner of land in the study area, occupied and farmed his land by 1850 and purchased it in 1851..

Thomas J. Kersey was the son of George Madison Kersey. George M. Kersey and family first appear in this region on the 1852 tax list as residents but not property owners. George M. Kersey did not become an official property owner until 2 May 1859 when he purchased the N/SW Section 5 6N 29W. The land was located across the Chocoville to Chismville road but touched property owned by Thomas Kersey at a common corner. Descendants of George Kersey owned this property well into the 20th Century. It is unclear, however, if George M. Kersey and family squatted on this land starting about 1852 or if they helped Thomas J. Kersey establish his farm first.

George M. Kersey is one of two apparent War of 1812 veterans to have lived in the study area, James Cardin being the other. George M. Kersey was born in Virginia in May 1791. He served in Captain Charles Conway's Company of East Tennessee Mounted Gunmen from 20 September 1814 to 1 May 1815. His first wife, Lucy Brock, the mother of Thomas J. Kersey and two other children, died in 1826; and on 20 December 1830 he married Elizabeth Gilliam in Jackson County, Alabama. The George Casey family was enumerated in Jackson County, Alabama, that year and appears to be this family. They started a new family there and about 1837 moved to Tennessee, probably McMinn County, where they and the Thomas J. Kersey family were enumerated in 1840. By 1850 the George M. Kersey family was living in Marion County, Tennessee, but apparently they soon moved to Sebastian County. George M. Kersey died 9 September 1863 in Sebastian County and was one of the first people buried in the Peter Pinnell (Center Valley) Cemetery. His wife, Elizabeth (Gilliam) Kersey, who apparently was born 11 May 1814 in North Carolina died on 23 June 1892 in Vesta, Franklin County, and was buried next to her husband. Children of George M. and Elizabeth Kersey include William (b. ca. 1833 in AL), Arthur (b. ca. 1836 in AL), Jasper N. (b. ca. 1838 in Tennessee), Paralee (b. ca. 1841 in Tennessee), George W. (b. ca. 1843 in Tennessee), Marion (b. ca. 1846 in Tennessee), Martha (b. ca 1848 in Tennessee), and Tennessee P. (b. ca. 1855 in Arkansas). Of these children only George W. remained in the study area once he reached the age of majority.

James Cardin, James F. Cardin, Samuel G. Cardin, and David N. Cardin. The Cardin (Carden) Family was one of the earliest families to live in this region, the first members arriving almost certainly in 1850. The eldest member of this family to settle in the study area was James Cardin, born 12 October 1786 in North Carolina, a son of James and Elizabeth (Fuller) Cardin. The younger James was a resident of Bledsoe County, Tennessee, who was drafted into Captain Turner's Company of East Tennessee Militia in the War of 1812 (Act of 1850 Bounty Land Certificate, 80 acres #5675). Soon after the war he moved to Franklin County, Tennessee, with his parents and siblings. There he married Jane Morrow, born 23 January 1801 in South Carolina, a daughter of John M. Morrow, Sr. (Bryan 1982) in Franklin County in 1816. Most of the Cardin family appears to have remained in Franklin (later Coffee) County, Tennessee, until late 1850, although son James F. Cardin and his family were not present there and had certainly left for Sebastian County. On 1 November 1850 the elder Cardin family was enumerated in Coffee County, Tennessee. The following children of James and Jane Cardin are known: Elizabeth Cardin born about 1818 in Franklin County Tennessee and married George Jasper; Martha born about 1819 in Franklin County, Tennessee; Mary E. Cardin born about 1824 in Franklin County Tennessee and married Obadiah Lairamore, Sr.; James Fuller Cardin, born in Franklin County, Tennessee, and married to Sarah Inman in 1844, died in the 1860s; William L. Cardin, born 30 April 1830 in Franklin County

Tennessee and died 28 July 1851 in Sebastian County; David N. Cardin born 20 February 1833 in Franklin County Tennessee, married Phoebe Jane Jones about 1858 and died 23 February 1898 in Sebastian County; Robert G. Cardin born about 1834 in Franklin County Tennessee, he married Mary Ann Douglas on 6/7 November 1855 in Sebastian County, and died of the measles while in service during the Civil War at Mount Vernon, Missouri, on 28 September 1862; Samuel G. Cardin, born about 1837 in Coffee County Tennessee, and died in the 1860s; and Thomas Albert Cardin, born 1839 in Coffee County, Tennessee, and killed about 4 April 1864 in Sebastian County.

According to the 1887 *Atlas,* the eldest son of James F. and Sarah Cardin claimed to have arrived in Sebastian County in 1850, and there is no reason to doubt this. By 28 July 1851 other members of the Cardin family had followed James F. Cardin to Sebastian County for on that date William L. Cardin died in Sebastian County. James and Jane Cardin followed the next year. According to Bounty Land records, James Cardin was in Coffee County, Tennessee, on 5 April 1852, and on 28 October 1852 when he filed his claim in the Land Office in Clarksville, he still gave his address as Coffee County. James Cardin may well have filed his claim as he passed Clarksville on his way to Sebastian County. His son James F. Cardin probably identified the land James Cardin acquired without the elder Cardin having seen the land. In January 1919, W. P. Fry stated that when he was a boy in the 1850s the Cardin home place was in Section 30 6N 29W, west of Big Creek. James Cardin died in 28 September 1855 and Jane (Morrow) Cardin on 23 January 1861, both are buried in the Ward Cemetery near their son William.

James Cardin was the first member of his family officially to purchase property in the study area. On 28 October 1852 he located 80 acres, W/SW Section 29 7N 29W, using War of 1812 Certificate #5675, issued under the Act of 1850. He had obtained this 80 acre land warrant based on his own War of 1812 service. The land was patented 1 March 1854. With his death in 1855 this property was passed to his wife, and with her death in 1861 it seems to have been passed to James F. Cardin and was merged with his properties.

James Fuller Cardin purchased the NE/SE Section 30 7N 29W on 8 February 1859, just outside the study area, and subsequently purchased other properties in the vicinity. James F. Cardin died prior to 1866, the year his widow, Sarah (Inman) Cardin, married Berry B. Putnam (Goodspeed 1889: 1356). The family remained in the area and James F. Cardin's eldest son, John Green Cardin (b. 1845 d. 1891), subsequently acquired the land.

The third member of the family officially to acquire land in the study area was Samuel G. Cardin, who acquired the SE/SE of Section 30 7 N 29W on 11 August 1859 and the NW/SE of that same section on 12 June 1860. He sold some of his land on 9 February 1861 and died, apparently unmarried and childless, before 1 February 1869 when his heirs sold his estate.

The fourth member of the family officially to acquire land in the study area was David N. Cardin. He acquired Lot 6 Section 2 6N 30W on 17 August 1859, Lots and 8 of that same section on 28 October 1859, Lot 10 in Section 1 6N 30W on 1 March 1860. He held these lands until his death on 23 February 1898, and it was not divided among his heirs until the 1910s.

John Robinson Steele. The fourth and final purchaser of lands prior to 1857 was John Robinson Steele. He acquired the NE Section 31 7N 29W on 1 March 1853, based on Warrant #76298 issued under the authority of the Military Bounty Land Act of 1847 for Steele's service in the 1st Regiment of United State Infantry between 20 April 1847 and 20 April 1852. Steele received his patent on 3 March 1854. Steele first appears on the 1857 tax list as a resident of this and only this land. He augmented this original acquisition with the purchase of the neighboring 80 acres on 8 March 1860.

John R. Steele claimed to have been born in Carlisle, Kentucky, about 1823. Nothing is known of Steele prior to his enlistment in Captain Eastman's Company (D), 1st Regiment United States Infantry. He rose to the rank of sergeant. After being mustered out of the army at Fort Duncan, Texas, on 20 April 1852, he moved to Boons Grove, Washington, County, Arkansas. On 10 June of that year he married Martha J. Stinson (Washington County Marriage Book A p. 267), who, according to family tradition, he met on the riverboat bringing him upstream to Van Buren. A few days later on 26 June 1852 Steele applied for his bounty land. Before 1 March 1853 he and his new bride had moved to his new land in the study area for he claimed to be living on it when he filed for the land. According to Claunts this land was situated on a prairie, subsequently named Steele Prairie (Claunts 1938: 69). Much of this property remained in the family until 1941.

John R. Steele was a minister and a lawyer. He was commissioned a prosecuting attorney for the 9th Circuit Court in Fort Smith on 30 May 1864. According to Claunts (1938: 69), *"He was killed in battle with bushwhackers during the war while on dispatch duty at the old open well under the hill just south of the McAnally place four miles east of Fort Smith,"* apparently in 1864. Subsequently Martha J. Steele remarried Asa Douglas about 1877. Martha Stinson Steele Douglas was born 9 February 1833 in Missouri and died 26 February 1905. She was buried in the Peter Pinnell (Center Valley) Cemetery. The Steele's had three children who survived infancy, all were born in Arkansas: William Henry (b. 24 August 1853 d. 6 February 1894), Julia Ann (b. 19 December 1858 d. 21 November 1939), and Pink Victoria (b. 23 September 1864 d. 26 March 1951).

The Second Wave of Owners (late 1857 - 1861)

Obadiah Lairamore, Sr., John Harvey Lairamore, Milton L. Lairamore, and Obadiah Lairamore, Jr. The Lairamore (Laramore, Larimore, Larramore, Laramoor, Laramour, Lorimer, etc.) family arrived in Crawford County, Arkansas, before 1836, and lived near the Arkansas River. By 1850 they were residents of Bates Township, but did not own property there and were presumably squatting. It was suggested in the previous chapter that they moved to the study area in 1850.

According to the biography of John H. Lairamore, which appeared in Goodspeed's *History of Sebastian County* (1889: 1335-36), Obadiah Lairamore, Sr., was born in Green County, Kentucky, on 8 July 1800, later living in Sangamon County, Illinois, Morgan and Franklin counties, Missouri, prior to moving to Crawford County, Arkansas, near Fort Smith, about 1832. While in Sangamon County, Illinois, he married Emily Esteys, who according to Bryan was "an Indian woman" (Bryan 1982: 39). This couple was the parents of nine children: William Lairamore who was born about 1825 in Illinois, married Jane in 1849/1850, and died in 1851/1852 in Sebastian County; Milton L. Lairamore who was born in Missouri about 1826, married Amanda Pinnell, and died sometime after

1889; John H. Lairamore who was born in 1829 in Morgan County, Missouri. John H. (Harve) first married Jane Pinnell and later married Ann P. Petty in 1860, he died in 1911 in Sebastian County; Samuel Lairamore who was born about 1832 in Franklin County, Missouri, married Mary Gabriel on 4 April 1850, and was mortally wounded in an accident on 1 April 1865 in Fort Smith; Elijah Lairamore who was born about 1835 in Arkansas, married Stacy H. in 1860, and died in 1860 or January 1861 in Sebastian County; Martha J. Lairamore who was born about 1838 in Arkansas and died possibly before 1860 but certainly before 1889; Obadiah Lairamore, Jr., who was born about 1840 in Arkansas, married Elizabeth N. Barnhill about 1860 and Elizabeth Norman Hinton on 15 August 1866, and died on 11 December 1915 in Montgomery County Arkansas; Wiley Lairamore, who was born about 1842 in Arkansas, married Martha Jane Buck about 1860 and then Mary E. Claunts on 1 April 1868, and died 8 December 1928 in Okmulgee County, Oklahoma; and Rebecca Lairamore who died before 1850.

Over the years Obadiah Lairamore, Sr., built two cabins near Fort Smith, served in the Black Hawk War, served in the Mexican war, and was a Union scout in the Civil War (Goodspeed 1889: 1335). Much of Goodspeed's biography can be supported through Obadiah Lairamore's listing in the Franklin County, Missouri, Federal Census Population Schedules in 1830, his presence on the 1836 Tax List for Crawford County, his presence on the 1840 Federal Census Population Schedule for Big Creek Township in Crawford County, and the 1850 Federal Census Population Schedule for Bates Township, and the 1860 Federal Census Population Schedule for Bates Township. According to Goodspeed (1889), Emily (Esteys) Lairamore died in 1862 and soon thereafter Obadiah Lairamore, Sr., married Mary E. (Polly) Cardin (Cordin), a daughter of James and Jane Cardin. Obadiah and Mary Lairamore were the parents of one child who survived infancy, Mary G., who was born about 1867 and who married G. W. Nichols in 1887. The elder Lairamore family is present on the 1870 Federal Population Schedule for Bates Township. and the 1880 Federal Census Population Schedule for Bates Township. Obadiah Lairamore ceased to pay Real Estate Taxes in 1880, so he probably died in that, or the following, year.

Obadiah Lairamore, Sr., acquired the SW/NW of Section 32 7N 29W on 17 October 1857, Lot 1 Section 6 6N 29W on 30 November 1857, and the NW/SW Section 32 6N 29W on 25 October 1859. On 25 November 1859 Obadiah and Emily Lairamore sold the lands in Section 32 to William J. Webb, who had just acquired adjacent property. This left only Lot 1 Section 6 as property of Obadiah Lairamore, Sr. In 1860 this land was owned by Obadiah Lairamore, but in 1867 it was owned by William P. Fry. In any event, some of the Lairamores were enumerated in Bates Township in 1850 and may well have been squatting on these or other lands by that time.

Milton L. Lairamore purchased Lot 6 Section 4 6N 29W on 4 August 1859. Milton and Amanda (Pinnell) Lairamore lived on this land in 1860 with their children, all born between 1850 and 1860 in Arkansas. Milton and Amanda Lairamore lost the property during the Civil War and according to Goodspeed's *History of Scott County* (1891: 392), moved to the Black Fork region of Scott County. This location is also reported by Claunts (1938: 69), and Milton Larimore appears here with his wife Amanda and family in 1870.

John H. Lairamore purchased Lot 7 Section 5 6N 29W on 4 August 1859, the same day as his brother purchased property nearby. Subsequently, John H. Lairamore purchased Lot 8 of the same Section on 13 August 1859, and Lot 3 of Section 4 6N 29W on 12 June 1860. He, his children, and his brother-in-law lived here in 1860. He apparently sold Lot 8 to his brother-in-law Peter Pinnell and the other two lots to I. M. Collier during the Civil War and moved to Black Fork, Scott County (Claunts 1938: 69). John H. Lairamore married Jane Pinnell in 1846; she died on 12 March 1858 and was the first person interred in the Peter Pinnell (Center Valley) Cemetery. All of their children were born in Arkansas. In 1860 John H. Lairamore married Ann P. Pettey. Clearly, therefore, the John H. Lairamore family was living in this region prior to their purchase of the land since Mrs. Lairamore was buried in the adjacent cemetery prior to acquiring this land. How long prior to this date they may have lived here is unknown.

James R. Willburn (Willbourne) purchased the S/SE and the NE/SE Section 25 and the N/SE the S/NE and the NE/NE Section 36 7N 30W, (320 acres) on 17 October 1857. James R. Wilbourne first appears on a tax list in Sebastian County, without property, in 1857, but not thereafter. He may be the James Willburn who had lived in Franklin County from the mid-1840's through the mid-1850s. On 8 August 1860 the property purchase in Center Valley was cancelled and immediately re-purchased by Willburn. The net effect of this was to lower the price per acre from $0.25 to $0.125 based on the Graduation Act. The Willburns do not appear on the 1860 Federal Census in this region. On 30 November 1866, James R. and Margarett Willburn of Coffey County, Kansas, sold these lands to James Jacobs.

Jenral C. Morgan. The first time Jenral C. Morgan appears in the records of Sebastian County is when he was appointed Postmaster of the Brunner Post Office in January 1854. By December of that year he left that position. Morgan next appears in the record when he acquired the E/NW Section 32 7N 29W on 8 November 1857. Later, on 8 October 1858, he acquired the NW/NE of the same section. He appears on the 1858 tax list as the owner of the initial 80 acres. About that time he must have sold his property to Joseph A. Barnhill who was the owner in 1861.

Jenral C. Morgan may be the J. C. Morgan who appears on the 1850 Federal Census in Randolph County, Arkansas. If so, he was born about 1828 in Tennessee. Living with him were his mother, Jane (b. ca. 1793 in Georgia), and his sister, Nancy (b. ca. 1824 in Tennessee). Next door lived his probable brother, William D. Morgan (b. ca 1817 in Georgia). William Morgan's eldest child, Martha, was born about 1844 in Arkansas. If this is the proper Morgan family, then Jenral C. Morgan came to Arkansas prior to 1844 and lived, at least for a while, in Randolph County prior to moving to Sebastian County before 1854.

Frederic Coleman was one of the more successful early settlers in this region. He acquired his first property on 30 January 1858, the N/SE Section 11 and the NW/SW Section 12, both 6N 30W. Soon he added NE/SW and the SW/NE Section 12 6N 30W as well as lands outside of the study area. By 1860 he claimed to own 560 acres for a farm valued at $1,500. His family retained ownership of some of these properties until 1941.

Coleman was born about 1833 in Germany and came to the United States in 1839. He became a naturalized United States citizen and served in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. He was married prior to 1853 to Martha, a native of Arkansas who was born in 1833. All their children were born in Arkansas. She died in 1861. By 1870 Coleman's wife was Elizabeth, a native of Arkansas who was born in 1844 and who died in 1905. Fred Coleman died in 1919 and is buried in the Coleman Cemetery.

Adam A. Gann and Robert Gann. The Gann family first appeared in Sebastian County about 1858. On 30 January 1858 Adam A. Gann purchased the S/SW, NE/SW, and NW/SE, all in Section 35 7N 30W. On 2 August in that same year he purchased the SW/SE of the same section. On that same date, 2 August 1858, Robert Gann made his first acquisition, the S/NW and the NE/NW Section 36 7N 30W. The following year, on 6 April 1859, he purchased the adjoining properties, the NW/NW and the NW/NE; comprising 200 acres in all. Some of these lands were to remain in the family for many years.

Adam Gann was born about 1810, apparently the same year as his wife, Susan. Both appear to have been born in Tennessee and to have died by 1888, the year his estate went through probate. It was soon sold by the family. The Adam Gann family appears to have come to Arkansas by way of Illinois from Tennessee. A complete list of children is unknown, but certainly Sarah Jane Gann, who married first Francis D. Willburn on 29 February 1859 in Sebastian County and then Neal Patty and later Louis Gann of Thorpe, Missouri, is one child and Margaret Catherine Gann who married Rufus L. Been in 1861 was another.

Robert Gann was born about 1829 in Hamilton County, Tennessee. His wife Rachel M. (Bean) Gann was also born in Tennessee about that same year. According to Williams (1979), Robert and Rachel (Bean) Gann were married in Hamilton County, Tennessee on 15 August 1849 by Isaac Thomas in Hamilton County, Tennessee. On the 1860 census they are recorded as owning 200 acres of land, exactly what the land records suggest. Rachel Gann, Robert's widow, also appeared on the 1870 census. Together these sources suggest that the Ganns left Tennessee in about 1854, probably Hamilton County where they resided in 1850, and that they initially moved to Missouri, before moving to Arkansas in about 1858, the year Robert Gann is listed as purchasing his property. Robert Gann died as a soldier in the Union Army during the Civil War, on 14 November 1863, and was buried in the Jones Cemetery. His wife, Rachel, survived until 24 March 1918. Most of these properties stayed in the family until 1941. Children included Isabella (b. 15 May 1852 in Tennessee), Thomas O. (b. 29 February 1854 in Missouri), George Washington (b. 11 October 1856 in MO), Martha J. (b. 8 August 1858 in Arkansas), Sarah (b. 2 August 1860 in Arkansas), and Emily Tennessee (b. 31 August 1862 in Arkansas). Other children of Robert Gann include Louisa (b. ca. 1848 in Tennessee) and Samuel (b. ca. 1850 in Tennessee), but these children were not claimed by Rachel on pension applications.

Alfred Gann, certainly a close relative of the other Gann's, appears to have lived next to Robert Gann at the edge of the study area, but no record of Alfred Gann ever owning land here is preserved in the deeds. Alfred Gann died soon after the Civil War (Williams 1979). Alfred Gann was born about 1816 as was his wife Lucinda. In 1850 the family resided in Hamilton County, Tennessee. Children

include: William Vinyard (b. 15 October 1843 in Hamilton County,Tennessee), Margaret (b. ca. 1844 in Tennessee); Henry (b. ca. 1845 in Tennessee; Malinda (b. ca. 1849 in Tennessee); Alexander (b. ca. 1851 in Illinois); George (b. ca. 1854 in Illinois), James (b. ca. 1856 in Missouri), Francis Marion (b. ca. 1859 in Arkansas), probably Emeline (b. ca. 1863 in Arkansas). After the death of Alfred Gann, the three youngest children lived with Adam Gann.

James P. Perl (Purl, Pearl) was one of the richest men to live in the region. In 1860, he owned 1,120 acres partially within, but mostly to the east of, the study area. On 5 February 1858 James P. Perl acquired the S/SW Section 34 and the SE Section 33, both in 6N 29W. Some of these properties remained in the Perl family into the 20th century.

James P. Perl was born about 1813 in Pennsylvania. About 1842 he married Nancy, who was born about 1825, probably in Tennessee. The marriage may have occurred in Arkansas as all of their children were born in Arkansas. The Perls were slave owners and seemed to have been an ardent Confederate sympathesizers since a renegade band of Union soldiers tried to assassinate Perl in 1864 (Goodspeed 1889). James Perl died in Texas on 15 April 1865. The widow, Nancy Perl, died after 1880.

Peter Pinnell acquired his first property on 6 March 1858; Lots 2 and 4 of Section 5 6N 29W. On 13 August 1859 he acquired Lot 5 and on 23 July 1860 he acquired Lot 9, both of the same section. Six days after he purchased Lot 2, his sister Jane (Pinnell) Lairamore died and she was buried on Pinnell's land, founding the earliest cemetery in the region, the Peter Pinnell Cemetery, now known as Center Valley Cemetery. He owned these lands until he went bankrupt in the 1880s.

Peter Pinnell was the son of Lewis "Pinnion" and Margaret Pinnell, natives of South Carolina and Tennessee, respectively. Peter appears to have been their second eldest child and was born in Missouri about 1833 (although his tombstone claims 1838 [ed, misreading 3 for 8?]). In 1830 the family was enumerated in Harmony Township, Washington County, Missouri, on the same page as a Peter Pinnell who was born about 1759 and who served in the Revolutionary War from South Carolina (p. 71; Revolutionary War Pension S17019; Crawford County Missouri History 1987: 304). The Federal Census records that in 1840 the family was in Liberty Township, Crawford County, Missouri (Federal Census p. 169), but soon moved to Crawford County, Arkansas. In 1850 he appeared on the census in Bates Township living next door to the Lairamores in the study area. According to Claunts, the parents moved to Scott County [see 1870 Scott County p. 567; 1880 p. 33], but Peter Pinnell remained and settled in the study area along with his sisters, Amanda and Jane, who were married to Milton L. and John H. Lairamore, respectively (Claunts 1938: 69). Peter Pinnell did not marry until 30 May 1870 when he wed Ann Elizabeth Hinton. Peter Pinnell died on 25 March 1912 and his wife on 27 August 1923; both are buried near Waldron, Scott County. Lewis and Margaret Pinnell were still alive in 1880 and living in Scott County.

Abram T. White acquired the NW/SW Section 36 7N 30W on 29 November 1858 and bought the NE/SE and the SE/NE Section 35 7N 30W on 6 April 1859. Since he purchased adjoining properties at two different times, it is considered likely that the White family lived in the study area, albeit only for a short time. Investigations have thus far discovered nothing further of Abram T. White.

John Jones and George W. Jones. One of the first families officially to obtain land in the general region of Center Valley was that of John and Narcissa (Rutherford) Jones (Figure 10). Between 1854 and 1858 the Jones family acquired 320 acres in Section 25 7N 30W outside the study area, then in 1859 and 1860 they acquired the SW/NW, the NE/SW, the W/SE and the NW/SW of Section 33 and the NE/SE of Section 32, both 7N 29W, 240 acres. According to family tradition, the family settled on the 320 acre tract in 1843 and they did not purchase the land until they were required to do so between 1854 and 1858 (personal communication from the late Mrs. BlancheLamb, March 1990). If this is so, then this is the earliest date suggested for occupation within this general region. Again, however, the Jones home was north of the immediate study area and thus cannot be identified as the first families living in the study area. The date at which the immediate neighborhood of the Jones homestead was settled has not been investigated.

Figure 10. John and Narcissa Jones

According to census data, the Jones family emigrated from Tennessee to Arkansas about 1843 (1850 Federal Census Population Schedule, Bigg Creek Township, Crawford County, family 15). A record of this move is recorded in family tradition which states that their daughter Eliza Harriet Jones (b. 1842) was just a baby when the family moved from Tennessee, and that when the family was camped in preparation to cross the Mississippi River, Eliza, who was about to be bathed, fell into the river and was swept downstream, but her buoyant baby clothes kept her afloat and kept her from drowning

(personal communication, Juanita Greenfield, April 1990). The Jones family had ten children born between 1838 and 1857. John Jones was a Union sympathizer who was killed by bushwhackers on 5 June 1864 while serving as a postal carrier. Narcissa Jones died 13 February 1894 and is buried in the Peter Pinnell (Center Valley) Cemetery. Many of the Jones properties remained in the family until 1941.

George W. Jones the eldest child of John and Narcissa (Rutherford) Jones was born in Tennessee on 28 March 1838 in Tennessee. He was killed during the Civil War on 27 June 1863. He married Jane before 1860. He acquired 120 acres, the W/SW Section 25 and the NE/SE Section 26 on 28 March 1859. This land is just north of the study area and it too appears to have remained in the family for many years.

William J. Webb acquired the S/SW Section 34 7N 29W on 4 November 1859. Almost immediately he purchased the NW/SW and the SW/NW of that same section from Obadiah Lairamore, Sr. He also acquired the NW/NW from the government, but apparently after the Civil War. These lands remained in the hands of his widow, son, and daughter-in-law until 1941(Figure 11).

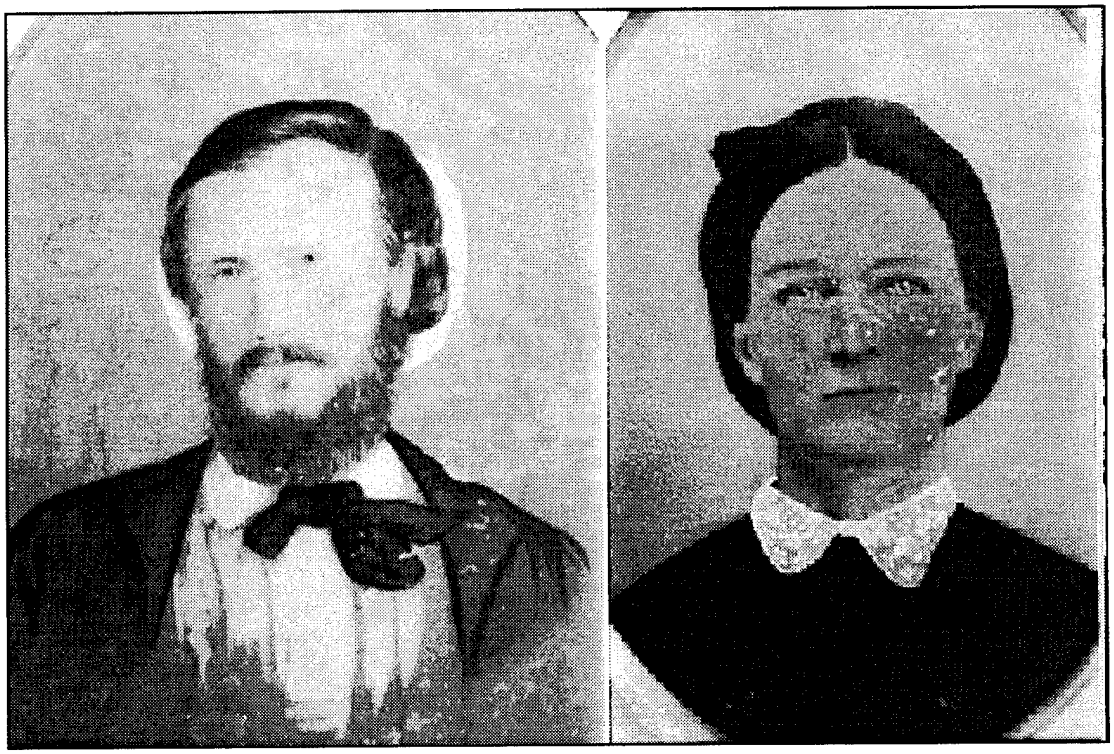


Figure 11. William J. and Elizabeth Hawkins Webb

William J. Webb may be the son of Kendall Webb who appeared on the 1850 Federal Census of White Oak Township, Franklin County in 1850 and was briefly mentioned in Goodspeed (1889: 1374). Neither Kendall nor William J. Webb can be found on the 1860 Census so this identification

is unsure. He does, however, appear on the tax list. He was probably born in Tennessee, according to census data supplied by his widow, and 1840 would appear possible as a birth date. On 6 December 1860 William J. Webb married Elizabeth P. Hawkins, a daughter of James and Mary Hawkins. She was born about 1836 in Tennessee. William J. Webb died in October 1869, survived by his widow and one son, William J., Jr. Almost immediately his widow remarried William Grigg, and when he died, she married her third husband Jehu Neal in 1881. She died in late 1889 or early 1890.

Joseph A. Barnhill acquired the lands that had been purchased by Jenral C. Morgan between 1858 and 1860. Barnhill appears on the 1860 Federal Census in Bates Township and is listed as owning about 125 acres which corresponds to the acreage purchased by Morgan. On 19 October 1861 Joseph A. Barnhill sold these 120 acres to William J. Webb for $300, except for one acre in the E1/2 previously donated for a church.

Joseph Barnhill was born about 1836 in Arkansas and in 1860 was unmarried. Living with him was 78-year old Elizabeth Barnhill, probably his grandmother. Enumerated next to them, and owning no property, were Able Barnhill, who was born in Arkansas about 1843, and his wife Rebecca, who was born in Arkansas about 1837. We suppose that Joseph and Able Barnhill were brothers. Other Barnhills are known in the vicinity.

Francis D. Willburn. On 24 October 1859 Francis D. Willburn acquired the N/SW Section 34 6N 29W and the NE/SE Section 33 6N 29W from the government. While the family does not appear on the Federal Census for 1860 in this region, this is viewed as oversight. Francis D. Willburn and Sarah Jane Gann were married in the region of Center Valley on 20 February 1859 by Esq. William Cole, who lived near Big Creek Narrows in 1860. Their sole child James Alfred Willburn was born on 21 March 1860 on Big Creek in Center Valley, Martha J. Steele assisting. Francis D. Willburn claimed to be from Sebastian County when he enlisted in the 1st Arkansas Union Cavalry on 1 August 1862 in Springfield, Missouri. According to the death records of his son James, Francis was a native of Kentucky. Francis Willburn was killed in a skirmish at Fayetteville on 28 October 1864. His widow, Sarah Jane Willburn remarried Neal Patty a few months later in Fayetteville, but was soon abandoned. She then married Louis Gann and moved to Thorpe, Dallas County, Missouri. She died about 1933. James A. Willburn, however, remained in Center Valley. He was raised by his Grandmother Susan Gann and his uncle Rufus L. Been served as his guardian until he reached the age of majority. At that point he sold his father's land and started his own farm in Big Creek Township before moving to Fort Smith in 1901, where he resided until his death on 18 December 1939.

Luna A. Boothe. Luna A. (Luny; Lewis) Boothe first appears without property on the 1850 Census of Bates Township, and later on the 1857 and 1858 Sebastian County tax lists. On 11 November 1859 he acquired the NW/SE Section 6 6N 29W. He bought the NW/SW on 25 November 1859, the NW/SE on 26 November 1859, and the NE/SW on 7 February 1860, all in the same section. He did not hold these properties long. The estate on Luna A. Boothe was filed 30 January 1861 and it was noted that his lands were mortgaged at the time. The lands were all sold by the estate by the fall of 1868.

Luna A Booth was born about 1821 in Tennessee, and his wife Susan B. B. E. L. (Ragsdale?) Booth about 1825 in Mississippi. They were probably married in Arkansas as their first child was born there in about 1843. Living with their next door neighbors were Preston R. Booth (b. ca. 1831 in Missouri) and Elizabeth Booth (b. ca. 1796 in Virginia). These are probably the brother and mother, respectively, of Luna A. Booth. The heads of this household were Joseph N. and Sarah A. (Bell) Basham (see Goodspeed 1889: 1288), who were no recognizable kin. By 1860 neither Luna nor Susan Booth appeared on the census, and Luna Booth is known to be deceased by January 1861. Preston Booth resided in Sebastian County for years. On the 1860 Census for Bates Township Preston Booth's eldest child was Luna A. Booth, further suggesting that Preston and Luna A. Booth were brothers and that the name of their father might have been Luna also. We note that a widow Elizabeth Booth was a resident of Lawrence County Arkansas in 1840. The ages of Preston and Luna A. Booth match for her male children. If so, they had at least two sisters. One also should note that in 1850 Matilda Wragsdale (b. ca. 1786 in Kentucky) and George Wragsdale (b. ca 1822 in Mississippi), likely her son, were living with Luna A. and Susan Booth. We believe that these are Susan Booth's mother and brother.

Lewis W. Ferguson purchased the NW/NW Section 12 and the NE/NE Section 11, both in 6N 30W on 2 July 1860 at the rate of $0.75 per acre. The land reverted to the State of Arkansas for taxes in the 1870s.

Mack S. Goin first appears in the historical record of this region on 15 August 1860 when he was enumerated on the Federal census in Center Township living with the Moses Bell family. Two days later on 17 August 1860 he purchased Lot 5 of Section 1 6N 30W from the government.

Mack S. Goin (Guin, Going, McGoing, etc) appears to be the Mac Goin who is listed on the 1850 Census in the 17th District, Campbell County, Tennessee. At that time he claimed to be 20 and to have been born in South Carolina. He was living with his wife, Eoly, also 20, who claimed to have been born in Tennessee. The Campbell County marriage book records the marriage of MacGoin to Eola Kirk on 24 March 1850. Living near to them was William Goin, 46, a native of South Carolina and his wife Liesitha, also 46 and a native of South Carolina. They had 5 children aged between 3 and 18. The 1830 and 1840 Federal censuses for Campbell County, Tennessee, also list William Goin. They match these data and leave space for an eldest son who would have been born in 1829 or 1830. William and Liesitha Goin would seem to be Mack S. Goin's parents. In 1860 the census listing for McGoing showed him to be 28 and a native of Tennessee, but since he was boarding at the time, these were probably data supplied by the head of that household and not Mack Goin.

M. C. Goin joined the 34th Arkansas Confederate Infantry near the start of the Civil War. Then on 1 January 1863 Mack S. Goin joined the Arkansas First Union Cavalry. Given these data as a background, Goodspeed wrote (1889: 749):

> *One McGoins, a Union soldier, who lived in the eastern part of the county, was caught and hung near Greenwood, while in the county recruiting soldiers for the Federal army. He was charged with having led a company of Union men, who had hung a Southern sympathizer by the name of Martin, because he was reporting Union men.*

This suggests that Goin lived in the study area for a short period of time starting in 1860.

Elias Graves purchased Lot 3 Section 6 6N 29W on 17 August 1860. The Graves family apparently left the region soon and the land reverted to the State of Arkansas for want of taxes.

Not a great deal is known of the Graves family. It first appears on the 1860 Federal Census in Sugarloaf Township, Sebastian County, on 29 June 1860. At that time Elias Graves claimed to be 19 and a native of Tennessee. His wife claimed to be 16 and a native of Tennessee, and their one year old daughter Amanda was also a native of Tennessee. Thus, it appears that the family was a recent arrival from Tennessee. On 17 August 1860 Graves purchased his land, and that is the last record known about Graves in Sebastian County. After the Civil War, the land reverted to Arkansas for back taxes. It seems likely that the Graves family lived on this property for a short period between 1860 and the war years.

Absentee Owners

It has been assumed that all owners noted previously were residents in Bates Township for at least a short time. This is unlikely for following owners who appear to be either land speculators or simply absentee owners.

Charles Rice Kellam and Charles R. J. Kellam. Charles Rice Kellam (Kellem, Kellum, Celliam, etc) appears to have purchased the S/SE Section 32 7N 29W and Lots 1 and 3 Section 5 6N 29W from David Beebe sometime between 1851 and 1854, although his estate first appears on the Sebastian County tax list as the owner of these properties in 1857.

Charles R. Kellam was a resident of Van Buren Township, Crawford County, Arkansas in 1840 when he and his family were enumerated on the Federal Census. At that time it was noted that Kellam practiced a learned profession. Kellam was the founder of CharlesTown (Charleston) and is said to have come to the region of Charleston in 1843. According to the SLO Tract Books Kellam purchased the land which became Charleston in 1844, 1846, and 1850. Kellam built the first commercial structures in Charleston, a double log cabin and then a brick store and grist mill (Goodspeed 1889), and reputedly named Potato Hill.

By census time on 26 November 1850, Charles R. Kellam and family were residents of Prairie Township, Franklin County. He was listed as a native of Vermont who was born about 1808 and his wife Susan S. a native of New Hampshire was born about 1810. He owned $3,000 in Real Estate and was a dry goods merchant. They had two children, Charles (b. about 1838 in Arkansas) and Edward P. (b. ca. 1847 in Arkansas). These data accord perfectly with those from 1840. Charles R. Kellam died on 4 April 1854 and is buried at the highest point of Park Cemetery, overlooking Charleston.

Sometime between 1851 and his death Kellam acquired the S/SE Section 32 7N 29W and Lots 1 and 3 Section 5 6N 29W from David Beebe. These lands were in his estate during its years of probate

until 1872. On 16 November 1868 the S/SE of Section 32 passed to Edward P. Kellam, the son of the deceased Charles R. Kellam, and Lot 1 was sold to Peter Pinnell on 2 September 1872. The eventual disposition of Lot 3 is not clear, but it appears to have been divested from the estate by 1868. These lands never appear to have been improved while owned by Kellam and his estate.

The widow Susan S. Kellam and family appeared on the 1860 Census for Prairie Township, Franklin County. She claimed to be 54 and a native of New Hampshire. She owned real estate worth $5,000, and 380 acres were listed on the agricultural schedules. Two children were listed at home, Edward T., now 12 and a native of Arkansas, and Mary B., 9, a native of Arkansas. COE Abstract 523/24 noted that Susan S. Kellam soon remarried and became Susan Harris. It is not known when Susan Kellam Harris died. In 1870 Edward and Nancy Kellam are listed as residents in Prairie Township.

Sarah Clark was the wife of Asa Clark and a resident of Fort Smith. The Clarks appear to have arrived in Fort Smith in the early 1840s and to have become first hotel keepers and later he worked as a carpenter. Sarah Clark purchased the N/SW Section 1 6N 30W on 29 November 1859, apparently in conjunction with John Carnall who had a 1/5th interest.

Asa Clark was born about 1809 in Maine, and Sarah about 1808 in New Hampshire. Prior to moving to Arkansas they lived in Maine, possibly with an intermediary stop in Illinois. They had at least five children, including Emma, born about 1845 in Arkansas, who was deaf and dumb and appears to have attended a school catering to her needs (subsequently she married a Mr. Miller), and Kate who was born about 1849 in Arkansas who was also deaf and dumb. Sarah Clark died in Fort Smith on 4 August 1887.

John King acquired the South half of Section 31 7N 29W on 28 September 1858. Half of this was acquired using a Mexican War warrant issued to William Meyer under the Act of 1847 and the other half using a Creek War Bounty Land Warrant issued to Liley, a minor child of *Cusseta Micco*, deceased warrior, under the Act of 1855. Half the land was patented on 1 September 1859 and the other on 1 December 1869. King held this land until 10 May 1867. King appears on the 1857 through 1866 tax lists as a resident of Fort Smith with substantial real estate interests.

On the 1850 Census of Fort Smith, John King, a 23-year old who was born in Ireland, is listed as living with Charles R. Birnie. In 1860 John King is a 27-year old lawyer born in Ireland, who is listed on the census as living in a hotel in Fort Smith along with John Rogers! At this time King is listed as owning $24,000 in real estate.

James M. Bobo acquired Lots 1 and 6 Section 1 6N 30W and the S/SE Section 36 7N 30W from the land office on 13 July 1859 using part of Choctaw Certificate 210 issued to *Elah pam ba*. Bobo received his patent on 10 December 1861. In the 1866 Real Estate Tax Assessment Book, Bobo was still listed as the absentee owner of these lands, although oddly it lists one James Bennett as the original owner. Apparently in 1872 these lands were forfeited to the State of Arkansas for taxes.

James Bobo acquired the Choctaw Certificate from *Elah pam ba* and on 5 May 1846 he located about 320 acres of land in Mississippi. Subsequently ownership of 159.04 acres of the claim were

identified as illegally located and Bobo was given a hand written warrant to use to locate this quantity of land elsewhere. On 13 July 1859 Bobo acquired 159.47 acres in the study area using this warrant. Nothing else is currently known about Bobo.

John S. Houston acquired the N/SE Section 1 6N 30W from the State of Arkansas on 5 November 1860. This land had been given to Arkansas by the Federal Government as Swamp Lands in 1850. The official patent was issued on 24 February 1863 to John S. Houston. The Houston's held the land into the late 1860s but then apparently lost it.

J. S. Huston first appears in Sebastian County records on 6 September 1860 as a boarder in the house of W. H. Marean in Fort Smith. At that time Huston claimed to be 34 and a native of Georgia. His occupation was given as an auctioneer. In November, Houston acquired this land in Bates Township, and the next record of Houston comes in 1866 when he is listed as a nonresident on the 1866 Tax Assessment Book. This property is recorded along with his numerous other holdings. Thus it appears that Houston was a land speculator/agent. During the Civil War years Houston must have gotten married, for, on 12 November 1866, John S. and Elizabeth Houston used this property as collateral in a mortgage given to the Fort Smith firm of Ullery and Kerens (DB B. p. 128 FS). Apparently the Houstons did not satisfy the mortgage for in 1873 the apparent owners of Ullery and Kerens sold this property. Nothing is known of the Houston family after this date.

Property Ownership and Settlement in 1860

In order to illustrate the types of lands acquired by the earliest settlers in the Center Valley area we prepared a series of map coverages. Figure 12 provides a listing of the owners of individual parcels of land. Figure 13 shows the distribution of private (and public) landownership overlain over the area's topography. Figure 14, shows how the private ownership was distributed across the landscape as mapped by the GLO. Figures 15 and 16 illustrate the private ownership as mapped against the area's basic geomorphic features, Ridge Slopes (RS) and Inter-Ridge Valley (IV), and the four basic soil types discussed in Chapter 2.

The map coverages illustrate that even by as late as 1860 settlement in the area was still rather sparse. Large portions of the area was still under public domain; particularly those portions composed of the ridge slopes of Devil's Backbone ridge and the moist prairie area in the northeast. Large amounts of the most productive agricultural acreage had, however, already been taken.

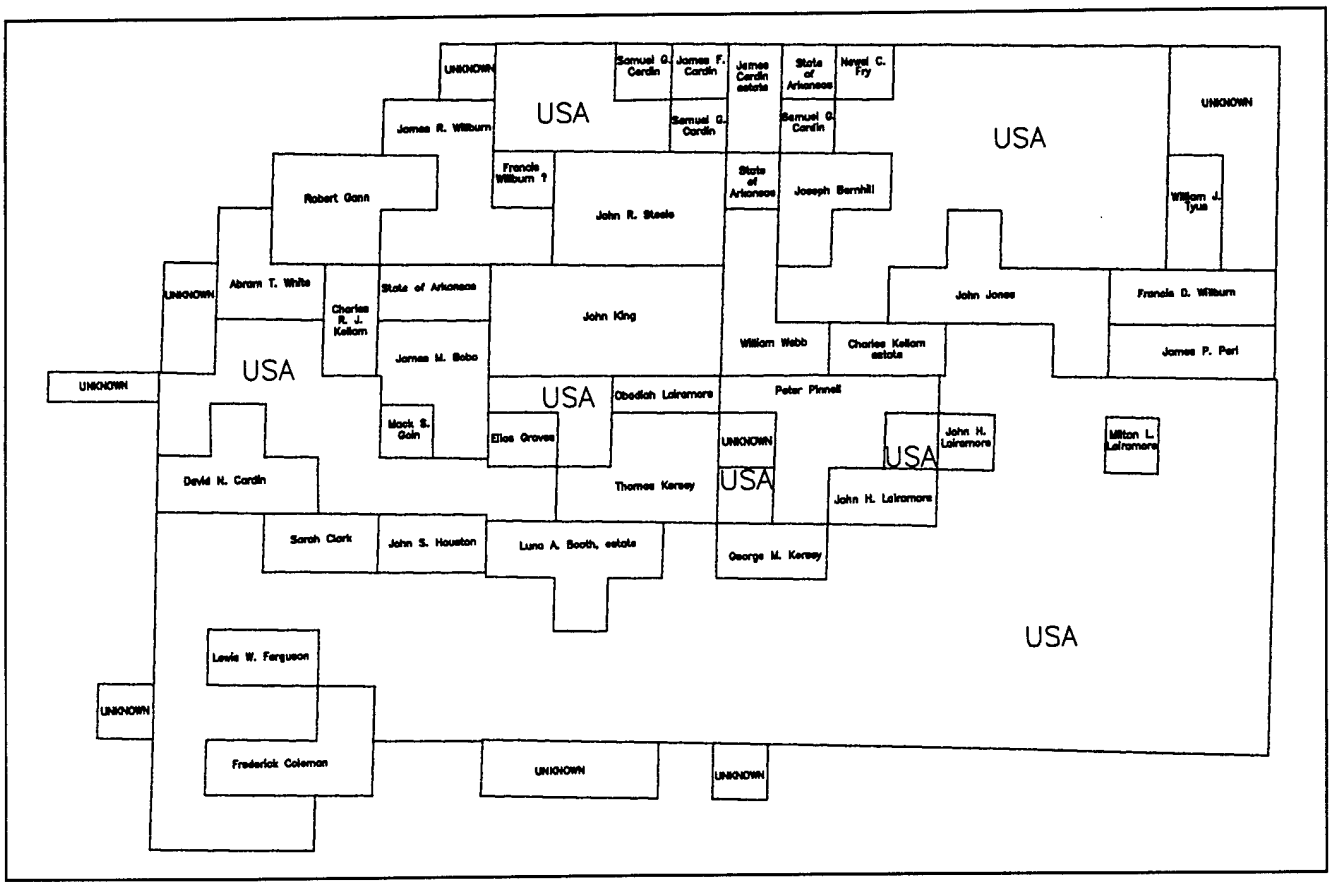


Figure 12. Landownership in 1860

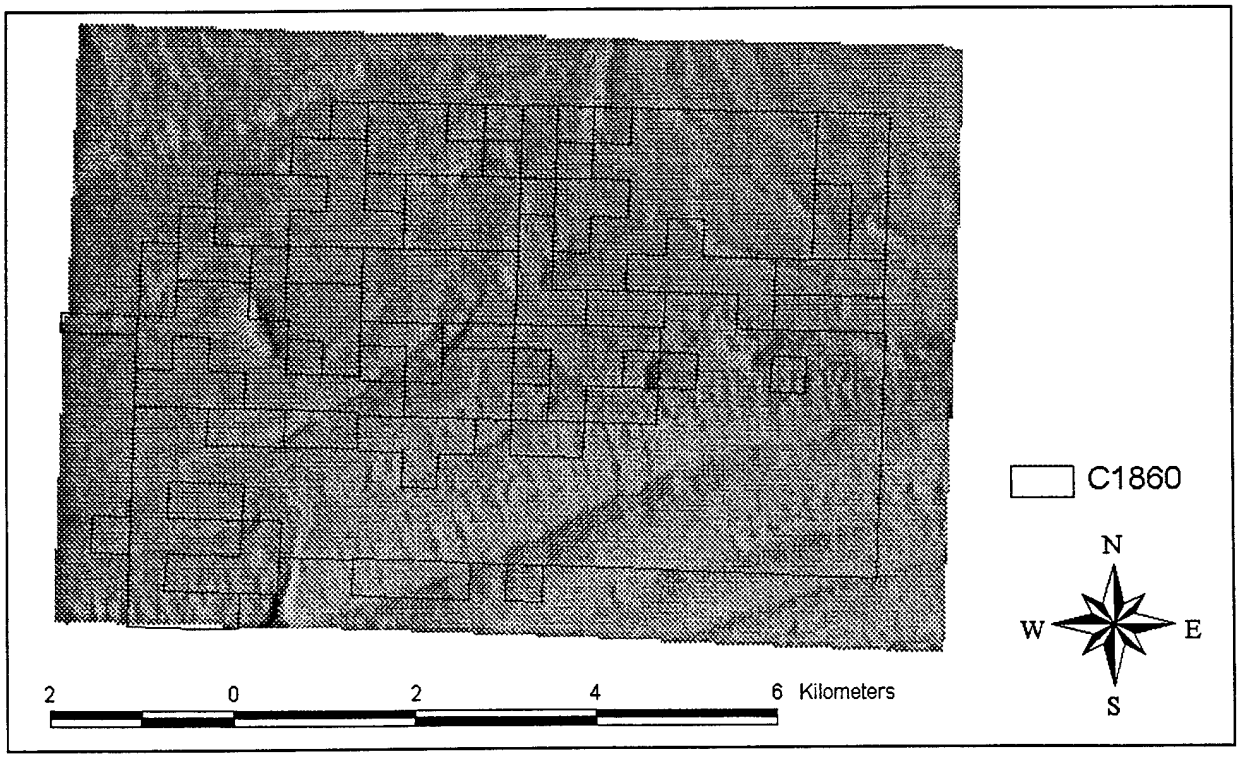


Figure 13. Ownership and Topography

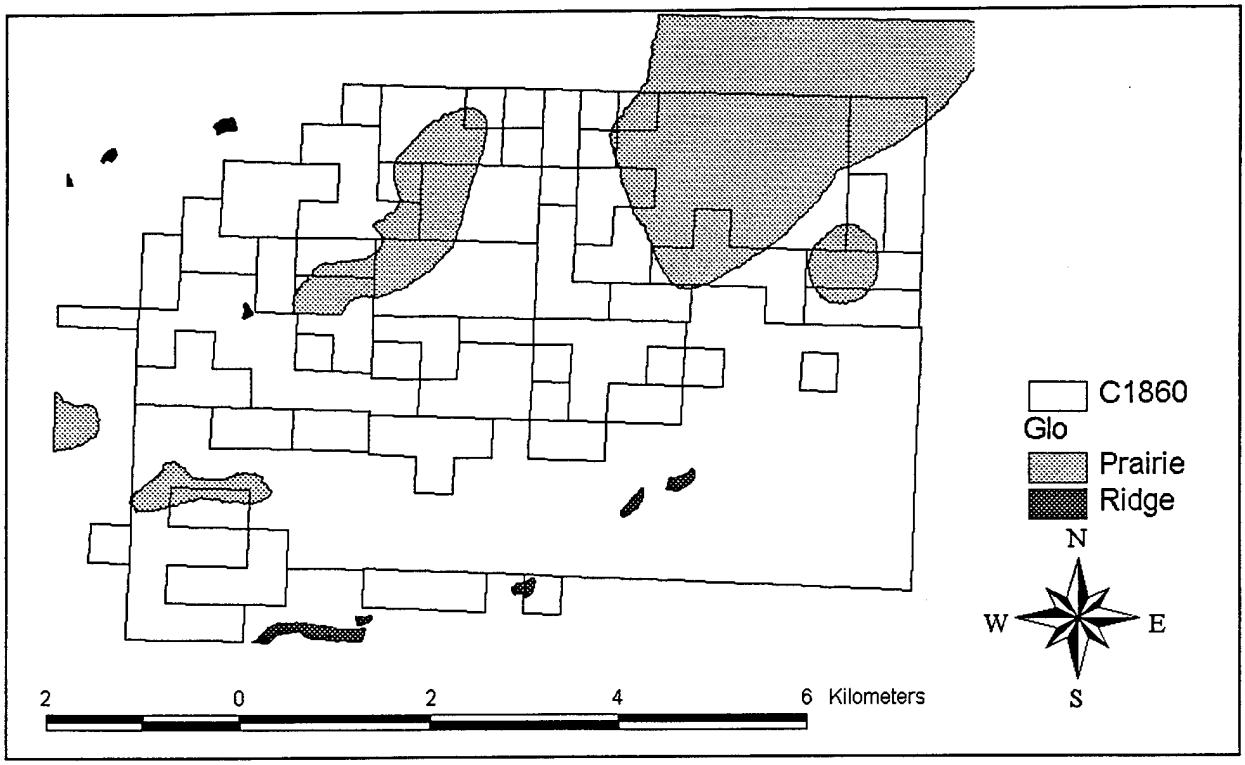


Figure 14. Ownership and GLO Features

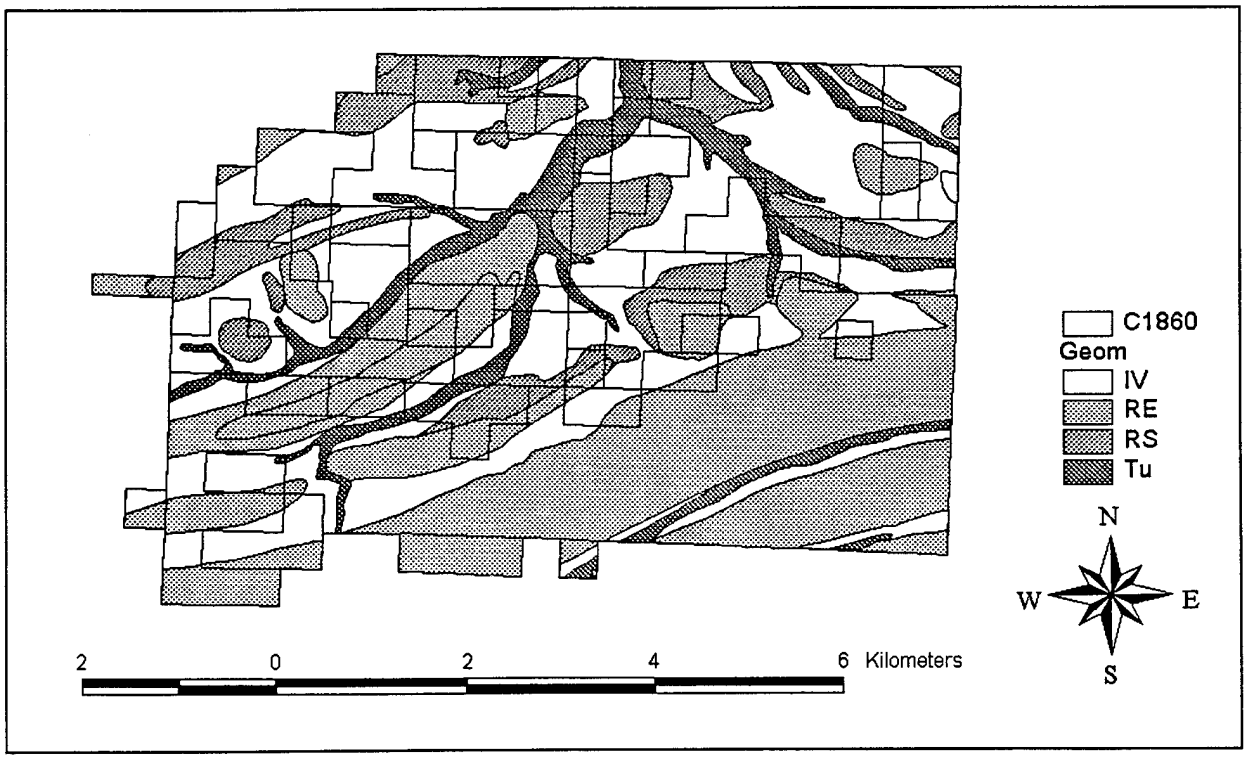


Figure 15. Ownership and Geomorphic Features

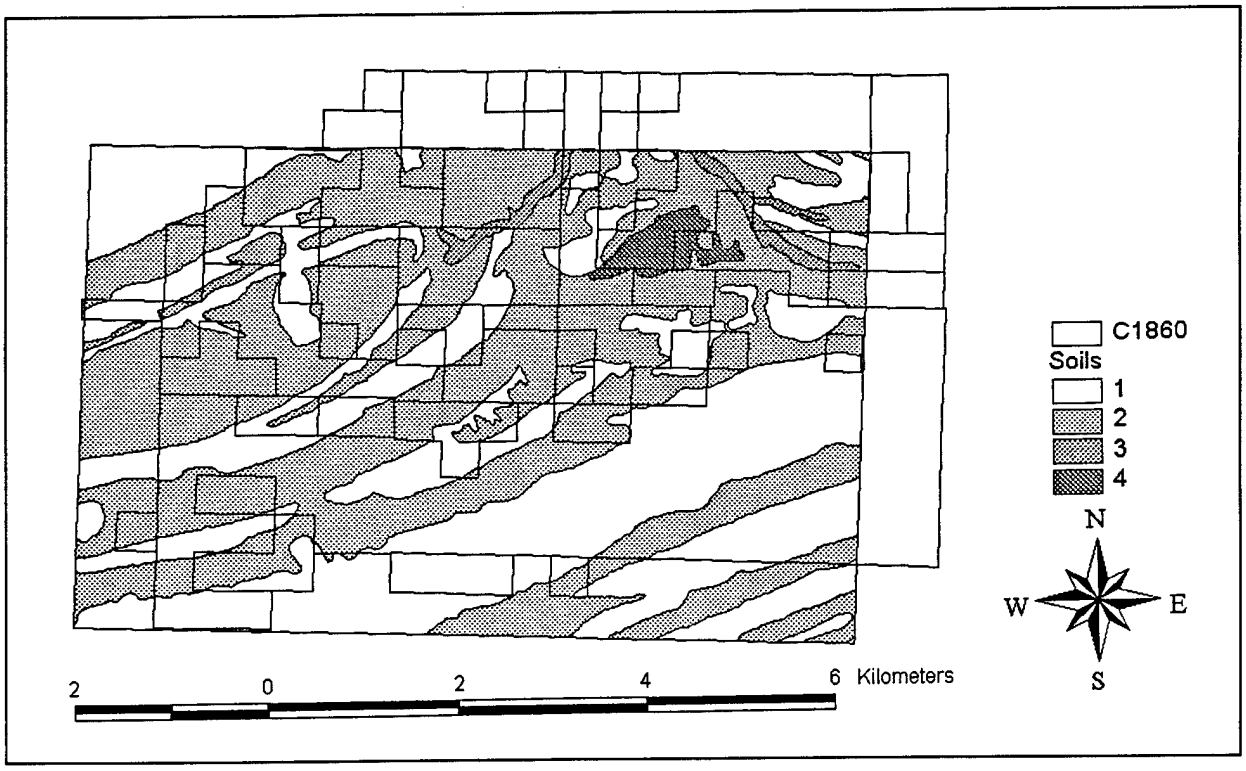


Figure 16. Ownership and Soil Units

Summary

Settlement of the study region in Bates Township probably began in late 1840s when the Lairamores, Pinnells, and Beebes appear to have arrived. At the same time the Joneses, Perls, and Booths appear to have settled nearby. Starting in 1850 the Kersey and Cardin families arrived, to be soon followed by the Steeles and the Morgans. All these families stayed in the region. During these same time periods other families certainly came to and then left the region. After about 1856 migration on a far larger scale began. By 1860 at least 21 families lived in the study area owning 1,701 acres, and the total population approached 100 individuals.

These farmers owned traditional farm animals (horses, milk cows, other cattle, swine, and probably chickens which were not recorded) and produced Indian corn, oats, wheat, butter, hay, and garden crops. The farms were valued at about $4.00 per acre when averaging improved and unimproved acreage, and farm size varied from 40 acres to as much as 560. Of the lands known to have been actively farmed, about 35% were improved.

While this population was rural, it was not isolated. Contact with Fort Smith was always available, thus allowing them to purchase goods, either locally or nationally produced, and to remain in touch with state and national news. Transportation via roads or steamboats brought these goods and new settlers to the region. In 1860 non-slave adult residents (those over 21 or married) came from Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, North Carolina, and Germany, and non-slave children show Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Texas, Kentucky,

and Mississippi. Thus, while the pioneer years of settlement were certainly underway, the community was in no way isolated from larger events. At the same time, the necessity of work to provide basic subsistence levels of food and shelter no doubt created a strong local community that was to be tested in the years to come.

Chapter 5. Center Valley 1860

Overview

In this chapter we begin to present "snap-shots" of the Center Valley community taken at approximately ten year intervals. This chapter, like those which follow, will be divided into two segments. The first will present a general overview which summarizes data which we have been able to collect for the community as a whole. The second will present "thumb-nail" sketches of individual farms.

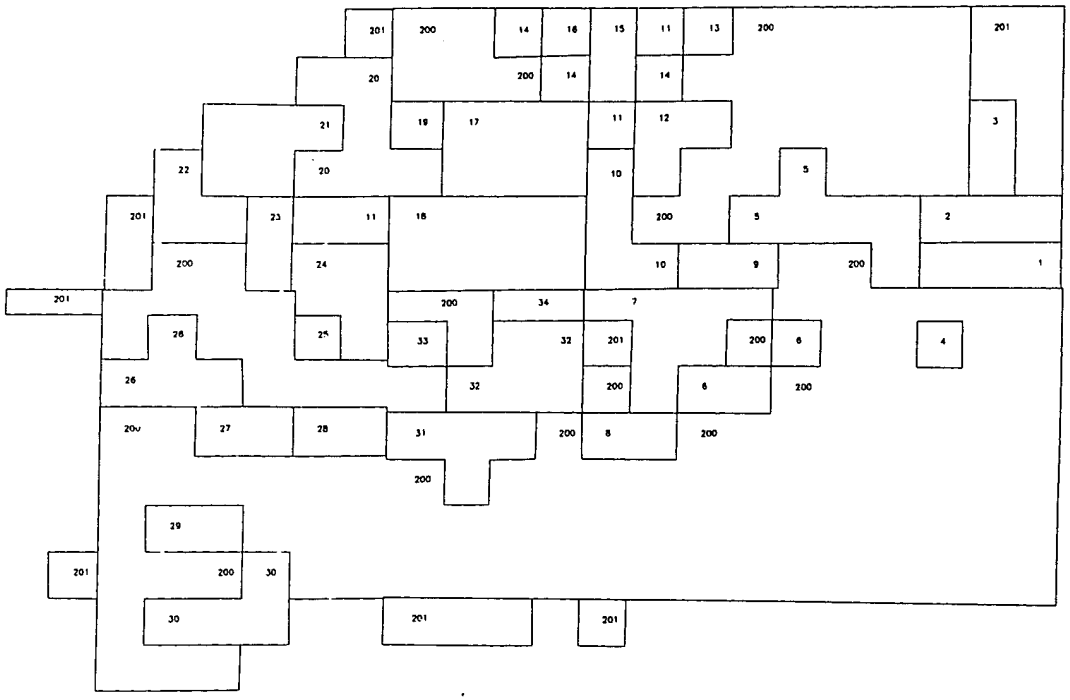
Property Ownership and Farm Size. In order to gain a perspective of the distribution of individual farms (or ownership units) we prepared a series of maps indicating the location and ownership of individual farms of each of our decades. These were compiled primarily from information contained in the property abstracts and occasionally this information does not agree with data in the Census records. We believe these minor discrepancies can be accounted for primarily because of property transfers which took place in those years. The schematic on the following page illustrates the distribution of farms in 1860.

For the purpose of understanding landownership patterns and how these may have varied over time we have created two standard presentations to be used in Chapters 5 and 7 through 13 of this study. The first of these shows the relative distribution of public and private land within the study area. The heading "Corporate" indicates ownership by corporations such as railroads, coal companies, and the like. Parcels held by individuals or partnerships which functioned as farms are grouped under the heading of private and counted as the number of farms present.

USA	Arkansas	Corporate	Unknown	Private	Number of Farms
5,363	162	0	658	4,195	34

The second standardized comparison shows the distribution of farm sizes for that portion classified as privately owned. In this comparison, the farms have been divided into eleven categories clustered into groupings around multiples of 40 acres which not only reflects the importance of this unit (quarter/quarter sections) in the original land sales but the strong statistical clustering of ownership units for the study area. Occasionally, there will be slight numeric discrepancies in these lists caused by the use of both documentary and cartographic sources in their development.

Farm Ownership 1860



1	Perl, James P.
2	Willburn, Francis D.
3	Tyus, William J.
4	Lairamore, Milton L.
5	Jones, John
6	Lairamore, John H.
7	Pinnell, Peter
8	Kersey, George M.
9	Kellam, Charles, estate
10	Webb, William
11	Arkansas, State of
12	Barnhill, Joseph
13	Fry, Newel, C.
14	Cardin, Samual G.
15	Cardin, James, estate
16	Cardin, James F.
17	Steele, John R.
18	King, John
19	Willburn?, Francis
20	Willburn, James R.
21	Gann, Robert
22	White, Abram T.
23	Kellam, Charles R. J.
24	Bobo, James M.
25	Goin, Mack S.
26	Cardin, David N.
27	Clark, Sarah
28	Houston, John S.
29	Ferguson, Lewis W.
30	Coleman, Frederick
31	Booth, Luna A., estate
32	Kersey, Thomas
33	Graves, Elias
34	Lairamore, Obadiah, Sr.
200	USA
201	Unknown

Farm Size	Farms	% of Farms	Acres	% of Acreage
<35 acres	0	0.00%		0.00%
36-45 acres	4	11.76%	158	3.76%
46-75 acres	3	8.82%	147	3.50%
76-85 acres	7	20.59%	566	13.48%
86-115 acres	1	2.94%	88	2.10%
116-125 acres	6	17.65%	726	17.29%
126-155 acres	0	0.00%		0.00%
156-165 acres	5	14.71%	641	15.26%
166-195 acres	2	5.88%	362	8.62%
196-205 acres	1	2.94%	197	4.69%
>206 acres	5	14.71%	1315	31.31%
Total Farms	34			
Total Acreage	4200			

As shown above, there were no ownership units within the study area in 1860 less than about 40 acres. Nearly 12% of the farms were, however, about 40 acres in size and a little less than 40% of the farms were about 80 acres or smaller. More than half the farms were about 120 acres or larger and nearly 15% were larger than 200 acres so that about 15% of the people owned over 30% of the private lands.

Community Composition and Social Statistics. In Chapter 4 we identified the land owners within the study area in 1860. By following the route of the census taker past the locations known to have been owned by these individuals, we attempted to identify the tenants and laborers who did not own land and establish a reasonable estimate for population in 1860. The following list presents the names of those families we believe lived in the study area on census day 1860.

Head of Family	Census Number	Status
Frederick Coleman	900	owner
J. A. Mordan	902	not owner
J. G. Woutan	903	not owner
W. W. Ferguson	904	not owner
P. J. Cocks	905	not owner

John H. Lairamore	906	owner
Peter Pinnell	906	owner
Isaac Carver	907	not owner
Dosier Fuyell	908	not owner
Jeperda Wouton	909	not owner
George Kersey	910	owner
Milton Lairamore	911	owner
Elijhah Lairamore	912	not owner
Joseph Barnhill	913	owner
Able Barnhill	914	not owner
Obediah Lairamore, Sr.	915	owner
Alfred Gann	936	not owner
Robert Gann	937	owner
David N. Carden	939	owner
Jane Carden	940	owner

Assuming this list to be correct, the population in 1860 according to the Federal population schedules was 93 Euro-Americans and three Afro-American slaves; 96 in total. The eldest residents were J. G. Woutan and Elizabeth Barnhill, both 78 (b. ca. 1782), and the eldest Arkansan was 27 (b. ca. 1833). The free adult residents (those over 21 or married) listed places of birth as following:

Birthplace of Free Adults

Tennessee - 15
Missouri - 7
Arkansas - 6
Kentucky - 3
South Carolina - 3
Virginia - 3
Alabama - 1
North Carolina - 1
Germany - 1

Birthplace of Free Children

Arkansas - 28
Tennessee - 12
Missouri - 7
Illinois - 2
Texas - 2
Kentucky - 1
Mississippi - 1

For the residents of Center Valley, only one death was reported on the census for the year 1 July 1859 to 30 June 1860. The deceased was Jane Laramour, the wife of J. H. Laramour and sister of Peter Pinnell. She was listed as 20 years old and had been ill for 30 days before her death. The cause of death is not listed. We also note that in the neighborhood deaths occurred from croup, measles, congestive chills, and bronchitis.

In 1860 three slaves appear to have lived within the study area. They were all owned by P. J. Cocks (ed, Cox?). Nothing is known of these slaves except that one was a 27 year old female, one was a 20 year old male and the third was a two year old boy. Cocks was a tenant and immediately disappears from the record along with his slaves.

For those farms operated by residents of the study area, 602 acres were improved acres and 1,099 acres were unimproved land so that 35.4% of the land owned in 1860 was improved. These figures include farms between 100% improved and 100% unimproved. These 1,701 acres were valued at $6,495, or $3.82 per acre. Farms had a variety of horses, mules and asses, milk cows, working oxen, other cattle, sheep, and swine. Most farms had between one and seven horses, one to four milk cows, a small number of other cattle, and a significant number of swine (three to 175 but averaging 50). Each farm also slaughtered some animals, usually between $25 and $50, but sometimes as much as $200. The value of animals varied from $40 to $1,420 with the larger values associated with owners and not tenants. All farms produced Indian corn and butter, but some also produced wheat, wool, oats, sweet potatoes, and Irish potatoes. Although a small amount of cotton was reported in 1850, records indicate that no cotton was produced in the study area in 1860. County social statistics recorded that the average yield for wheat was 10 bushels per acre and 20 bushels for corn, but that the county's production fell short of its need by 25%.

Not all owners of land located within the study area lived within the study area. John Jones, James P. Perl, Mack S. Goins, Thomas Kersey, and Susan Kellam all lived nearby on other properties or as boarders. Speculators Sarah Clark, John King, and John S. Houston lived in Fort Smith. Of the known residents of the area, three are conspicuously absent: John R. and Martha Steele who moved to the region in 1853 and who lived in the region for years, William J. and Elizabeth (Hawkins) Webb who were married in Center Valley in 1860 and Francis D. and Sarah J. (Gann) Willburn who were married in Center Valley in 1859. It is suggested that they were missed during the enumeration. The location of Luna Booth's widow, Susan, is also unknown.

The agricultural data of Perl and Kellam are of particular interest. Both of these owners had extensive holdings and lived outside of the study area, but a small portion of their holdings were within the study area. Kellam's estate included 380 acres valued at $4,200, and Perl's was 1120 acres valued at $7,265. Perl's entry suggests what was probably possible in an agricultural setting at the time. Perl owned ten slaves, 23 horses, 25 mules and asses, 33 milk cows, four working oxen, 183 other cattle, 17 sheep, 200 swine, all valued at $7,085. In 1859 he produced 200 bushels of wheat, 2,000 bushels of Indian corn, 150 bushels of oats, 10 bales of ginned cotton, 250 pounds of wool, 200 bushels of peas and beans, 20 bushels of Irish potatoes, 40 bushels of sweet potatoes, 200 pounds of butter, 60 tons of hay, and $1,775 worth of animals were slaughtered. These are numbers which totally overwhelm production and ownership within the study area.

The county's other social statistics recorded during the census reports three newspapers in Fort Smith: the *35th Parallel*, a weekly with a circulation of 900, the *Fort Smith Herald*, a weekly with a circulation of 900, and the *Fort Smith Times*, a weekly with a circulation of 900. While these newspapers probably had their largest circulation in Fort Smith, some editions may well have reached Bates Township. Fifteen churches were established in the county, again they were congregated in Fort Smith, but they included Methodist, Catholic, Baptist, Carmelite, and Episcopal; while none are known in Bates Township, some of its residents may have occasionally worshipped at one of these churches. Likewise, the county had 21 schools, again primarily in Fort Smith. In this case it is known that youths in Bates Township attended school so at least one must have been

nearby. For the county as a whole, there were 20 common schools with 30 teachers and 800 pupils and one Female Academy with three teachers and 40 pupils.

Individual Farms

In the following paragraphs we attempt to focus more narrowly on the individual farms which make-up the community. In selecting these particular individual farms we have attempted to present data only on farms and families which we are confident are present in the study area for this year and for which we were able to discover sufficient information to gain insight into many of the aspects of farm life. These are by no means all the families or farms within the study area at this time. Nor can it be said that the farms considered here are in any sense a rigorous statistical sample. While the information presented will cover a very large fraction of the farms active at the time it is simply impossible to gather all the information for all the possible parameters for all the farms. Thus, what is presented is a sort of "grab" sample. These individual farms do, however, contain insight into something of the variability present in the farms of Center Valley at these stated intervals and this is the goal of our study; to provide further definition to the variability present within the Euro-American Farm Property Type.

The statistics presented in the following paragraphs are derived primarily from the Population and Agricultural Schedules of the 1860 Federal census and the property abstracts.

Families and Farms. For 1860 we have been able to identify eleven different farms for which a considerable amount of data is available, primarily from the Federal Census and the title abstracts. In our judgment these compose about one half of the farms operating in the area. They are widely distributed over the study area landscape. In each case the farm operators are also owners, or will eventually become owners, of the property.

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILD AGES	OTHER	TOTAL ACRES	IMPROVED ACRES	FARM VALUE
Barnhill, Joseph	23	s	0		1	123	25	$700
Cardin, David	27	m	1	1		158	25	$800
Coleman, Frederick	28	m	4	1-6	1	163**	40	$1000
Ferguson, W. W.	56	m	4	13-22		81	nl	nl
Gann, Robert	30	m	6	2-11		197	10	$600
Kersey, George M.	74	m	4	4-16		80	30	$600
Lairamore, John H.	30	w	3	6-10	1	121	40	$800
Lairamore, Milton	32	m	4	2-10		38	12	$300
Lairamore, Obediah, Sr.	57	m	2	16-19		52	nl	$100
Woutan, J. G.	78	m	4	11-21		40	40	$100
Woutan, Jeperda	26	m	1	10m		80***	nl	nl

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILD AGES	OTHER	TOTAL ACRES	IMPROVED ACRES	FARM VALUE
Total						1133	222	

* marital status: s = single, m = married, w = widow
** acreage within the study area, *** estimated on the basis of later ownership data, nl = not listed

The farms listed above are clearly family farms. The only household which is headed by a single man without children is that of Joseph Barnhill. However, also living in this house was Elizabeth Barnhill (age 78) who we think likely to be his mother (or, possibly, grandmother). The other non-married head of household is John H. (Harve) Lairamore who has been recently widowed. With the exception of Barnhill, all the households, even those where the head of the household is in his seventies, contain children. (Although the listing on the Federal Census clearly lists the two children at J. G. Woutan's farm as children, the age differential between Woutan (age 78) and his wife, Sarah (age 60), makes us wonder if these might be grandchildren). Two households, both headed by men in their twenties, have only one child and in each case the child is about one year old. Most (six of eleven) list four or more children in residence. Three households have children in the late teens or early twenties. The number of children living at home does not seem to be a factor of the age of the head of the household.

Three of these farms have persons other than head of household (usually a male), wife, and children listed as residents. In the case of Joseph Barnhill, this is doubtless either his mother or grandmother. In the John H. Lairamore household the additional person is Peter Pinnell, the brother of Lairamore's recently deceased wife. The additional member of the Frederick Coleman household is Lucinda Wilburn (age 16).

The kinship relationship among these families is very strong. Three of the twelve are directly related; Obediah Lairamore and his two sons John H. and Milton (and a third son, Elijah, also lives in the area). The Lairamores are related to Peter Pinnell through multiple marriages. Living on the Joseph Barnhill farm as a neighbor is a young man named Able Barnhill and his wife who we believe to be Joseph's brother. Likewise, Robert Gann is living next to what appears to have been his brother, Adam. Further, while we do not have clear evidence, it seems almost certain that J. G. and Jeperda (later listed as Jephtah) Woutan are related; probably as father and son.

Of the eleven farms here, six are about 80 acres or less (three are about 40 acres) and five contain more than 120 acres. The age and family composition of the farms containing 80 acres or less shows considerable variation, in contrast to the larger farms which are operated by male heads of household who are 30 years old or younger.

The amount of improved acreage reported for these farms ranges from 100% for J. G. Woutan (an amount we are somewhat reluctant to accept) to about 5% for Gann who seems just to have moved onto the area. The improved acreage reported amounts to about 25%; a bit less than the general statistics would suggest. No farm listed more than 40 improved acres.

Crops, Commodities, and Livestock. The statistics presented immediately below come from the Federal Agricultural Schedules. They reflect the information gathered by that instrument and while we believe it highly likely that these crops and commodities are the major products of these farms, they do not reflect the entire range of agricultural products and commodities produced within the study area.

NAME	BUTTER	HONEY	WOOL	SLGH*	WHEAT	INDIAN CORN	OATS	SWEET POTATO	IRISH POTATO	HM*
Barnhill, Joseph	25	0	0	$30	0	300	30	0	0	$0.00
Cardin, David	20	0	0	$20	63	150	0	0	0	$0.00
Coleman, Frederick	25	0	12	$50	65	500	0	0	0	$25.00
Ferguson, W. W.	50	0	0	$40	0	300	0	0	0	$0.00
Gann, Robert	0	0	0	$85	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00
Kersey, George M.	150	0	0	$200	0	500	0	0	0	$0.00
Lairamore, Obediah, Sr.	0	0	0	$40	50	100	0	0	0	$0.00
Lairamore, Milton	0	0	0	$40	0	400	0	0	0	$0.00
Lairamore, John Harvey	100	0	0	$45	150	100	0	0	0	$0.00
Woutan, J. G.	50	0	0	0	28	200	0	40	0	$0.00
Woutan, Jeperda	0	0	0	$35	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00

* SLGH = Value of Slaughtered Livestock; HM = Home Manufacture

Clearly the major crop grown on these farms was corn. All of the farms, except the Jeperda Woutan and Robert Gann farms which report no crops grown, reported the production of corn in multiples of 100 bushels. Six out of the ten crop-producing farms grew some amount of wheat and one produced a few bushels of oats. No honey is listed on these farms and this may also indicate that, as of this time, there are no (or very few) orchards in the study area. No cotton or Irish potatoes were reported for these farms and only one reported the production of sweet potatoes. Ten of the farms reported values for slaughtered animals, ranging from $200 at the George M. Kersey farm to $20 at the David Cardin farm. Butter was produced at eight farms in amounts varying from 20 to 150 pounds. The Frederick Coleman farm reported the production of $25 in home manufacture. The Coleman farm is also the only farm which lists wool production. The amount of butter produced varies considerably from farm to farm. While those which report the most butter produced also report the most milch cows, this relationship does not seem to be particularly strong.

Even though most of these farms produce some variety of crops, those reported seem to be related primarily to livestock production or commodities (butter). Several farms produced two or more grain crops. Milton Lairamore, however, reported only corn. In this case the entire 12 acres must have been given over to corn production.

The statistics used below for livestock were also gathered from the Federal Agricultural Schedules and, while these would seem to be the major types of livestock present on these farms, this list cannot be said to be inclusive of all the types of livestock present at these farms.

NAME	HORSES	M/A*	MILCH COWS	OXEN	CATTLE	SWINE	SHEEP	VALUE
Barnhill, Joseph	1	0	0	0	0	3	10	$100.00
Cardin, David	1	0	3	2	1	44	7	$325.00
Coleman, Frederick	3	4	4	4	5	20	6	$600.00
Ferguson, W. W.	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	$300.00
Gann, Robert	1	0	2	0	20	14	0	$75.00
Kersey, George M.	4	0	4	4	3	40	0	$560.00
Lairamore, Obediah, Sr.	1	0	2	0	0	25	0	$200.00
Lairamore, Milton	4	0	1	0	0	50	0	$200.00
Lairamore, John H.	1	0	4	0	0	175	0	$680.00
Woutan, J. G.	6	0	2	0	4	20	0	$600.00
Woutan, Jeperda	0	0	1	2	0	20	0	$40.00

*M/A = mules or asses

These farms employed three basic types of draft animals; horses, mules, and oxen. Horses were present on all but one of the farms and it seems reasonable to think that some of the six horses on the J. G. Woutan farm would have been used by Jeperda Woutan. Mules were found only at the Coleman farm while four farms listed oxen.

Except for the Joseph Barnhill farm, all the farms listed the presence of milch cows, ranging in number from 1 to 4 animals. Five farms had cattle, the Robert Gann farm reports 20 and all, except for Ferguson had swine ranging in number from 3 to 175 animals which, we assume, were allowed to range free. Barnhill, Cardin, and Coleman also kept sheep, although Coleman is the only farm which reported wool production. While only the Coleman farm reported all these various types of farm animals, almost all of the farms report having horses, milch cows, and swine.

The declared value of the livestock at these farms varies from a high of $680.00 at the J. H. Lairamore farm to a low of $40.00 at the Jeperda Woutan farm. Four of the farms value their livestock at more than $500.00 while three place this value at $100 or less. (The low value reported by Robert Gann seems out of line with the number of animals reported, however.)

Summary

Settlement of the study region in Bates Township probably began in late 1840s when the Lairamores, Pinnells, and Beebes appear to have arrived. At the same time the Joneses, Perls, and Booths appear to have settled nearby. Starting in 1850 the Kersey and Cardin families arrived, soon to be followed by the Steeles and the Morgans. All these families stayed in the region. During these same time periods other families certainly came to and then left the region. After about 1856 migration on a far larger scale began. By 1860 at least 21 families lived in the study area owning 1,701 acres, and the total population approached 100 individuals.

These farmers owned traditional farm animals (horses, milk cows, other cattle, swine, and probably chickens which were not recorded) and produced Indian corn, oats, wheat, butter, hay, and, we believe, garden crops. The farms were valued at about $4.00 per acre when averaging improved and unimproved acreage, and farm size varied from 40 acres to as much as 560. Of the lands taken, about 35% were improved.

While this population was rural, it was not isolated. Contact with Fort Smith was always available, thus allowing them to purchase goods, either locally or nationally produced, and to remain in touch with state and national news. Transportation via roads or steamboats brought these goods and new settlers to the region as witnessed by the wide diversity in birth places..

In considering eleven of the individual farms in the study area, we believe that we can see some variation between these individual farms, but these appear to be variations within a particularly well-defined theme. Linked together by strong and pervasive kinship ties, these farms were clearly family farms organized to produce a very similar set of products. Such differences as can be seen in the data discovered thus far are much more quantitative than they are qualitative. There are differences in the ages of the individual farm families, the numbers of livestock at specific farms, and the amount of crops produced. These are differences, we believe, that may best be accounted for within the life-cycle of the farms themselves. In the sample considered above, most of the farms are fairly new and some are only just getting started. Others, however, have been in operation for several years. A similar pattern is present within the farm families themselves. Some, like the J. G. Woutan and George M. Kersey, are headed by people over 70, while others are headed by people still in their twenties. We will return to this theme of farm and family development in later chapters.

Chapter 6. Strife and Stress: the Civil War Years

Introduction

With the exception of the late 1840s and early 1850s when Euro-Americans first appeared in the study area, the decade starting with the outbreak of the Civil War and ending with the 1870 Federal Census probably saw more change to the study area than any other decade. Given an official war, a bushwhacking war, and the century and a quarter separating us from these events, this is also the decade during which the local historical records are the poorest. People lost their land through abandonment or taxes, deeds were not recorded, but even when they were the records destroyed in a courthouse fire in 1881. For those families that did not lose or sell their land this situation is of little importance since we at least know they owned the land, but for many parcels actual ownership is a question. The identities of tenants, laborers, and squatters remain as even more difficult questions.

The Civil War

One of the most eloquent statements we have discovered regarding life in the region during this period was made by Narcissa Jones in her deposition of 30 April 1874 given to support her petition to collect monies owed to her through the confiscation of property (Claim No. 43,764).

> *The rebels burned our house with all the household goods. Shot one of my sons and hung my brother and my husband was compelled to layout to prevent being killed, by which cause he was exposed and I am satisfied that it caused his death.*

The Civil War came to the study area in three ways. First, over the five years of the war many of the males aged between about 16 and 50 served in either or both of the Confederate and Union armies. Some of these soldiers lost their lives during the war, but few did so during actual combat. Second, at least three battles were fought in Sebastian County. Two, the battle at Backbone Ridge and the Battle of Massard Prairie, were close to the study area, but the third, a skirmish in Bates Township may well have occurred within the study area. Third, and finally, with a mixed population containing both Confederate Union sympathizers, neighbor was set against neighbor and a guerilla, or bushwhacking, war began about the time the Union forces first took Fort Smith in 1863. This bushwhacking war continued into the late 1860s and possibly into the early 1870s. These three aspects of the Civil War will be discussed separately in the following paragraphs.

The Soldiers. Arkansas seceded from the United States to become a Confederate State on 6 May 1861. As a result area residents were forced to make a dramatic decision for or against the Confederate cause. Many chose to enlist in the Confederate army but some immediately fled north and joined Union units. Others, notably, Robert G. Carden and Francis D. Wilburn were to join the Union Army later in 1862.

Many men, while sympathetic to the Union, were reluctant to leave their homes and families to enlist immediately. This led to the practice of "laying out" in the brush; that is, leaving the farm to camp out in the mountains nearby to avoid conscription in the Confederate Army but returning home to tend the farm when the "coast was clear." This created a sort of underground network of friends and relatives constantly moving about the region, supported by people who because of age, sex, or disability were exempt from conscription. Thomas Kersey by then a prosperous farmer and merchant with extensive property in Greenwood and elsewhere was one such supporter. The following account given in a deposition by Richard Stinson, a Center Valley resident, describes one such situation (cf. deposition of Richard 14 August 1873 in support of Civil War compensation claim by Thomas Kersey, Petition No.8,184)

> *About June 1862 I was dodging around to keep from being conscripted into the Confederate Army. about this time Union men were in great danger in this vicinity. several had already been shot by the Confederates and others were in prison. and those of us here were pretty closely pressed and hemmed in. about the 14th of June 1862, the claimant having learned something of some intended movements of the conscripting officers against myself and other Union men travelled on horseback, and alone a distance of about fourteen miles from home and hunted me up. I was then staying with a brother of claimant (Arthur Kersey) also a Union man, claimant then and there advised and urged me to get together all the Union men I could and to leave with them immediately, and try to make our way to the Federal lines, and to join the Union forces. I asked him for some money, but he said he had none with him. he then pulled out a knife and gave it to me. In accordance with this advice nineteen (19) of us left on the next night and thirteen of us got through to Cassville, Mo.*

In order to identify the various individual participants we have developed the following list of men known to have served in the various units. This list is organized by Confederate unit and lists soldiers or immediate family members who lived in, or immediately adjacent to, the study area by 1861. In some cases soldiers served in more than one units during the course of the war. If they could be identified, they are listed in both places. In other cases, particularly when two local men have the same name, e.g., George Kersey, we cannot always be sure which man we are dealing with, or, if yet another unknown person is listed.

Of all these Confederate soldiers, the sole known casualty was William Kersey who died in March 1863. He left a widow, Mary Dickerson, who applied for a widow's pension on 6 August 1914 from Franklin County.

2nd Arkansas Infantry
Company A
William Goin - private

4th Arkansas Infantry
Field Staff
William J. Ferguson

5th Arkansas Infantry
George Ragsdale - private

7th Arkansas Infantry
Company I
G. W. Kersey - private

11th and 17th Consolidated Arkansas Infantry
Company C
Samuel Larimore - private
Company I
George Kersey - private

15th (Josey's) Arkansas Infantry
Company D
George Kersey - private

15th (Northwest) Arkansas Infantry
Company I Emergency F
William L. Carden - private

17th (Griffith's) Arkansas Infantry
James Claunts - private
Company C
George Kersey - private
Samuel Larimore - private

18th (Marmaduke's) Arkansas Infantry
Company B
Lewis Ferguson - private
Company E
George Ragsdale - private

20th Arkansas Infantry
Company G
J. P. Pearl - private

27th Arkansas Infantry
Company B
William J. Webb - private

31st Arkansas Infantry
Company F
J. C. Morgan - private

34th Arkansas Infantry
Company D
D. N. Carden - private
Company E
M. C. Goin - private
Alvis Goin - private
B. F. Goin - private
Company G
G. W. Kersey - private
J. N. Kersey - private

35th Arkansas Infantry
Company A
James Claunts - private
Company D
Williams N. Claunts - private
Frederick Coleman - private
Arthur Kersey - private
Company E
Samuel Barnhill - private
William Kersey - private
Company F
Abel Barnhill - private
Alfred Barnhill - private
Company I
Joseph Barnhill - private

51st Arkansas Militia
Company D
D. N. Carden - private
C. N. Fry - private
R. S. Gann - private

58th Arkansas Militia
Company B
G. W. Kersey - 2nd lieutenant
William Kersey - private

Cocke's Regiment Arkansas Infantry
Company K
J. H. Laramore - private
Obadiah Lairamore - private
Wiley Lairamore - private
Peter Pinnell - private

1st Arkansas Mounted Rifles
Company K
G. W. Ragsdale - private

Arkansas Light Artillery
River's Battery
Gideon Purl - corporal

Crabtree's 46th Arkansas Cavalry
Company F
J. Carden - private

Gordon's Regiment Arkansas Cavalry
Company C
George Kersey - private

Until 1863 there were almost no Union forces based in Sebastian County. The county was, however, subjected to numerous and repeated recruitment by Union forces stationed north of the Arkansas River. After Fort Smith was taken by Federal Forces, a large segment of the male population served the Union army. The following list is organized by Union unit and lists soldiers who lived in the study area by 1861 or in a few cases their immediate family members. In some cases, soldiers served in more than one units during the course of the war. If they could be identified, they are listed in both places. Particular valuable sources of information for these identifications come from Allen (1987a, 1987b, and 1991).

1st Arkansas Union Infantry

Company E
Daniel Gann - private, enlisted 1 March 1863 in Fayetteville
William S. Jones - private, enlisted 1 March 1863 in Fayetteville
Jasper N. Kersey - corporal, enlisted 1 March 1863 in Fayetteville; murdered in Sebastian County on 1 July 1863

Company HJ
John H. Larimore - private, enlisted 1 November 1863 in Waldron
Obadiah Larimore - private, enlisted10 March 1863 in Franklin County
Samuel Larimore - private, enlisted 1 September 1863 in Fort Smith; died 2 April 1865 in Fort Smith
Wiley Larimore - private, enlisted 2 October 1863 in Fort Smith
Peter Pinnell - private, enlisted 1 November 1863 in Waldron

Company I
Andrew J. Fry - sergeant, enlisted 1 March 1863 in Fayetteville
Calvin M. Fry - private, enlisted 1 March 1863 in Fayetteville
Robert Gann - private, enlisted 1 March 1863 in Fayetteville; killed 14 November 1863 in Sebastian Co.
Vinyard Gann - private, enlisted 1 March 1863 in Fayetteville
George W. Kersey - private, enlisted 1 September 1863 in Fort Smith
Thomas Kersey - private, enlisted 1 September 1863 in Fort Smith

2nd Arkansas Infantry
Company F
James H. Claunts - private, enlisted 17 September 1863 in Fort Smith
Josiah H. Cook - private, enlisted 9 November 1863 in Fort Smith; died 19 June 1864 at Huntersville, Arkansas

1st Arkansas Cavalry
Company A
Robert G. Cardin - private, enlisted 21 June 1862 in Sebastian County; died 28 September 1862 at Mt. Vernon, Missouri

Company C
Mack S. Goin - private, enlisted 1 January 1863 in Fayetteville; apparently killed at Greenwood during the war
Francis D. Wilburn - private, enlisted 1 August 1862 in Springfield, Missouri; died 28 October 1864 in Fayetteville

George W. Wooten - corporal, enlisted 28 July 1862 in Sebastian County, Arkansas
William W. Wooten - private, enlisted 10 January 1863 in Sebastian County, Arkansas

2nd Arkansas Cavalry
Berry B. Putnam - sergeant, enlisted 17 September 1863 in Fort Smith

Arkansas Light Artillery
1st Battalion
Japtha Wooten - private, enlisted 27 April 1863 Cassville, Missouri

While Arkansas's Confederate troops saw action in many locations during the war, Arkansas's Union forces stayed fairly close to home. While these units, the 1st Arkansas Union Cavalry in particular, participated in a few battles outside of Arkansas, most of their activities were confined to skirmishes with bushwhackers and Confederate raiders.

Comparing the lists of Confederate and Union soldiers, it is readily apparent that some soldiers switched sides during the war. This list includes James H. Claunts, Benjamin F. Been, Rufus L. Been, Andrew J. Fry, Calvin N. Fry, Mack S. Goin, George W. Kersey, Jasper N. Kersey, William Vinyard Gann, John H. Lairamore, Obadiah Lairamore, Samuel Lairamore, Wiley Lairamore, and Peter Pinnell. The Union pension records of men who served in both armies provides an explanation for this behavior. In 1862 the Confederate States passed the Conscript Law which required all men of age to serve in the military; all who did not would be shot. As a result, many Union supporters were coerced into Confederate units by late 1862. Some served as teamsters, but most deserted to the north when the first opportunity presented itself. All such individuals claimed never to have fired a shot in support of the Confederate cause. As an example, the following extract from an affidavit in support of the pension application of the heirs of Andrew J. Fry, written by Calvin M. Fry on 6 May 1897:

> *I am 57 years old, a farmer, PO address Burnsville, Ark. The deceased soldier A. J. Fry was my brother. He was living at home with our parents at the commencement of the war near Auburn, Sebastian County, Arkansas. I was living about 3/4 mile from there as I was then married. Relative to his Confederate service I can state that we both remained at home until the passage and enforcement of the Conscript law. Some time in June 1862 brother Andrew J. and another brother D. V. Fry who now lives at Mound Valley, Kansas, and myself with three others started for the Federal Army which we knew were somewhere in Missouri. We went just across the state line into Missouri and hearing of many Confederate troops still ahead of us all but one of the party turned back and came home. A man by the name of Crabtree went on and I heard got to the northern lines. The rest of us were seriously afraid that we would be captured and killed and did not go further. We were about 8 to 10 days on that trip and when we knew that the only safe path for us was to report to the Confederates at Greenwood for duty and we did so. It was generally known that we had made an attempt to leave the county for the Federal lines and we knew that if we were caught that no mercy would be shown us. To save our lives we went and reported and was enlisted in the Confederate Army together. We served until along*

in December when he deserted and I followed him a few days after. We came home and stayed around awhile and then he went to the Federals and I followed him a short time after and we both joined the same company in the federal army.

In the end, the Federal Government recognized the situation and such soldiers and their heirs were awarded pensions based on their Union support.

The Battles. A number of battles and skirmishes were fought in and near the study area during the war. The ones of major importance were the Battle on Devil's Backbone on 1 September 1863, the skirmish of Bates Township on 2 November 1863, and the skirmish on Massard Prairie on 27 July 1864. A final skirmish on the Little Rock Road, probably about where it crossed Vache Grasse Creek, occurred on 28 September 1864 and pitted a forage train led by the 14th Kansas Cavalry against guerrillas and Indians (Goodspeed 1889: 748) and does not concern us here except as an example of the political and military situation of the region in 1864.

The Battle on Devil's Backbone north and west of Greenwood, Arkansas, occurred on Tuesday 1 September 1863 (for popular summaries of this battle see Angeletti 1966: 7-10, or Britton 1899: 156-59). It occurred as a consequence of military operations conducted by Union Major General James G. Blunt whereby he swept the forces of Confederate Brigadier General William L. Cabell out of the Indian Territories in a series of actions ending on 31 August 1863 at the Arkansas - Indian Territories border south of Fort Smith. On 1 September 1863 Blunt led the First Arkansas Union Infantry and other forces and took the garrison at Fort Smith without opposition from the fleeing Confederate forces. As part of that action on 1 September 1863 Blunt deployed the Second Kansas Cavalry, the Sixth Missouri Cavalry, and two sections of Rabb's Second Indiana Battery, about 1,500 troops, under the command of Colonel William F. Cloud south in pursuit of the fleeing forces of General Cabell (Official Records 1888: 601-602). Cabell's forces consisted of about 3,000 men, but he claimed that he could never get more than 1,200 ready for duty. His forces consisted of (Cabell in Official Records 1888: 604):

[J. C.] Monroe's, [Lee l.] Thomson's, and [J. F.] Hill's regiments of cavalry, [J. L.] Witherspoon's, [W. A.] Crawford's, and Woosley's battalions of cavalry, [A. S.] Morgan's infantry regiment, four iron 6-pounder battery, also several independent companies of Partisan Rangers. (Hill's regiment, and Woosley's and Crawford's battalions were raised from deserters and jayhawkers who had been lying out in the mountains, and forced into service.)

By 9:00 am on the 1st of September, Cloud's advance forces had reached Jenny Lind and skirmished with the rear-guard pickets of Cabell's fleeing forces. By 11:00 am the full forces under Colonel Cloud had reached the foot of the Devil's Backbone, about six miles down the road from Jenny Lind, as the skirmish continued. At about noon some of the lead troops of Colonel Cloud, under the direct command of Captain E. C. D. Lines of the Second Kansas Cavalry, fell into an ambush at the base of Devil's Backbone [about halfway between Nickletown and the Gilliam Cemetery, two and one half miles southwest of where US 71 crosses Backbone Mountain] whereby Lines and another soldier were killed and nine other men wounded. In a letter to Lines's father, J. W. Robinson

described the area: *"The enemy formed in a dense growth of small timber and brush, and when our scouts came up, they let them pass through without firing a gun, but when Company C came up, they opened upon them a very heavy volley of infantry in two columns"* (Lines 1867: 26). Colonel Cloud then engaged all of his forces in a battle that raged for about three hours. At that point Cabell's forces suddenly retreated from their battle line atop Devil's Backbone and Cloud's forces occupied the field of action, taking prisoners and receiving deserters. Cloud claimed to have lost 14 soldiers in the battle while Cabell estimated that he lost five killed and 12 wounded. The next day as Cabell's forces retreated towards Waldron, Cloud returned to Fort Smith with his forces (Official Records 1888: 602-607). Cabell claimed that he could have repelled the attack had eight companies not broken rank "in the most disgraceful manner" and lost the battle (Cabell in Official Record 1888: 606-607).

Little is known of the Skirmish of Bates Township which probably took place on 2 November 1863. The sole troops engaged were the 1st Arkansas Union Infantry (Dyer 1959a: 670, 680. The event was also reported in the regimental history of the 1st Arkansas Union Infantry (Dyer 1959b: 999), but here the implied date was 1864, the date re-reported by Allen (1987a). The date appears as 1863 in the *Official Records* (1888: 8*; Irvine 1980: 20). This action seems to be more akin to fighting in the subsequent bushwhacking war. As far as can be ascertained, it was a skirmish between bushwhackers and some part of the 1st Arkansas Union Infantry. Its significance is that it occurred within the study area and it highlights the local violence between Union and Confederate sympathizers that began at this time.

The Skirmish on Massard Prairie, which occurred on 27 July 1864, was the last "battle" outside of Fort Smith in this region (for popular accounts of this battle see Goodspeed 1889: 746-47, and Britton 1899: 530-33). Union forces had controlled Fort Smith for almost a year by July 1864 and had establish a number of outposts for grazing. One such outpost was located on Massard Prairie about seven miles southwest of Fort Smith. This outpost consisted of about 200 men in the Sixth Kansas Cavalry under the command of Captain David Medford. On 27 July General Gano led a successful attack against this installation as part of a larger plan of action for the region. Due to insufficient forces the larger aspects of the battle plan did not materialize, but the raid on Massard Prairie was a total victory for Gano's forces. General Gano's forces consisted of about 1,500 men: Gurley's Regiment commanded by Major Downs, a detachment of the 29th Texas Cavalry commanded by Major Carrol, a detachment of the 31st Texas Cavalry commanded by Major Looscan, a detachment of the 5th Texas Partisan Rangers commanded by Captain Haynes, Captain Welch's company, Captain Head's company, detachment of the 1st and 2nd Choctaw Regiments commanded by Colonel Folsom, a detachment of Wells' battalion of Texas Cavalry commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, and a detachment of Colbert's company of the Chickasaw battalion.

Reports of this battle in the *Official Records* make it clear that the Sixth Kansas Cavalry was surrounded by General Gano's brigade before they knew what had happened. Fighting lasted for a while with many of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry retreating on foot to "the house" on Massard Prairie where they withstood a number of charges before surrendering. At least ten men were killed and 15 severely wounded. Some 127 men were captured, including Captain Medford, along with 200 Sharps rifles, 400 six-shooters, horses, sutlers stores, and camp equipment. Some Union forces

escaped through the woods or by hiding in bushes until the Confederate forces left after the raid. After the battle General Gano's forces retreated back to the safety of the wooded hills to the south in preparation for an abortive attack on Fort Smith a few days later. On the 27th, General Gano lost seven men killed, 26 wounded, and 1 missing. One casualty was the Choctaw Rev. *Tiok-homma* (or Red Pine, who was known among Euro-Americans as William Cass). The loss of this "warrior and Christian" was clearly noted in the Confederate report of Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper (Official Records 1893: 11-33; 1903: 480-81). The captured troops of the Sixth Cavalry were marched to Camp Ford near Tyler, Texas, and interned there.

Bushwhacking War

After August 1864 the area around Fort Smith had passed to Federal control, but internal strife remained and took the form of the bushwhacking war which lasted until the late 1860s or early 1870s (Bryan 1972). Although the region was nominally under Union control, groups of disgruntled Confederate supporters carried out a campaign of assassination against Union supporters. Of course, retribution followed.

This war seems to have begun with assassination of Union supporters by 1862. Most of the casualties of Union soldiers who were from the study area did not result from battle, but from assassination or execution at the hands of their neighbors. Goodspeed reported (1889: 749):

> *One McGoins, a Union soldier, who lived in the eastern part of the county, was caught and hung near Greenwood, while in the county recruiting soldiers for the Federal army. He was charged with having led a company of Union men, who had hung a Southern sympathizer by the name of Martin, because he was reporting Union men.*

The case of Jasper N. Kersey, son of George M. Kersey, is particularly noteworthy. Goodspeed (1889: 749) simply reported that "Jasper Kersey was shot near Salem because he had joined a company in the Nation, and came out to see his folks." According to Union military records, Kersey was dispatched to recruit soldiers for the 1st Arkansas Infantry in March 1863. He made his base in the Poteau Mountains and apparently visited his wife and child periodically during this time. On or about 27 June 1863 Kersey and his recruits William Adkins, Lee Glover, Danial Logan, Garrison Bridges, and two young men named Robins were captured near the home of Kersey just to the south of Center Valley by a band of bushwhackers led by Fitzwilliams and John Martindale (unless they are the same person). They were taken to Hodges Prairie where on 1 July 1863 they were killed and their bodies left. On that day Major Oozeley of the Confederate home guard commanded some soldiers to go and bury the bodies. This was done and the bodies buried where they were found. Between 1865 and 1869 a Federal Grand Jury was empaneled in Fort Smith to investigate this crime. John Spradling served on this jury and they indicted John Martindale et al for the crime. The final disposition of the indictment is currently unknown.

The *New Era* of 21 November 1863 described an encounter with the Fitzwilliams band, a renegade band of bushwhacking Confederate soldiers (p. 2):

Fitzwilliams, came to anguish a few days ago, (13th inst.) and got out of it only by hard running. Capts. Vanderpool and G. E. T. Smith, 1st Ark. Inf. with 150 men, surprised and routed the bushwhackers camp at Mt. Ida, some 50 miles south of Waldron. "Fitz" and his villanous band were badly scared, and made a fleeing retreat, leaving some wagons, 10,000 rounds of ammunition, 7000 lbs. bacon, a few tents (previously stolen from U.S.) together with a few nice buggies, as the prize of victory to the Feds. Sixteen of Fitz's men were killed and 20 taken prisoners.

In January 1863 [the 14th according to Goodspeed and the 18th according to Pettigrew] Union Captain Hart and a band of Union soldiers raided Charleston, murdering Edmund Richardson and Col. DeRosa Carroll, before leaving, being chased down and captured, with Hart and his Lieutenant hung (Goodspeed p. 642; Pettigrew p. 11-15). A final Union casualty in this was "old man Morrow" who apparently lived just north of Center Valley. In fact, much of the tracking story, in which names were withheld, recounted by Pettigrew may well have occurred in Center Valley This organized Union action is certainly comparable to individual actions of Fitzwilliam's company.

A more or less organized battle between Union and Confederate bushwhacking groups occurred in 1864 near the Nixon Cemetery in Charleston. Goodspeed reported that Carroll Morrow and Albert Cardin, the latter a resident of Center Valley while the former hailed from just north of the valley, were two of the casualties (p. 643). According to Bryan (1982: 39):

Thomas Albert Cardin, the youngest [son of James and Jane (Morrow) Cardin], born 1839 and killed by bushwhackers [in 1864] at the same time as William Carroll Morrow, son of B. F. Morrow. . .

There is a story in the Ward family which holds that B. F. Morrow was killed by bushwhackers at or about the same time as his son and nephew. B. F. Morrow's wife, who was a Ward, reportedly gathered up the bodies and hauled them to Fort Smith for burial. The young men are buried in the National Cemetery but there is no record of B. F. Morrow. . . . Bushwhacking continued for years after the Civil War ended. And an infamous gang roamed the Big Creek area.

Less organized bushwhacking existed. According to military records, Robert Gann was killed on 14 November 1863. Bryan wrote (1972: 5) that Gann was shot while on leave "while cutting post to fence a field; the shooting was not fatal so he was finished off with a hunting knife." According to Williams (1979: 31), Robert Gann "was buried in the Jones Cemetery, during the night, as the bushwhackers were reported to be still in the area." Bryan then added (Williams 1979: 31):

According to Hugh Been, Alfred [Gann] and a son were hanged. By the time the family got to them to cut them down the son was dead but the father survived but died a few years later from the neck wounds. This same bushwhacker band almost got Leroy Been, Hugh's father. He saw them coming and escaped by hiding behind a rock fence.

According to Claunts (1938: 69-70):

> *Rev. John R. Steele . . . was also a lawyer and was commissioned prosecuting attorney for the ninth judicial circuit May 30, 1864. His commission was signed by Gov. Isaac Murphy and attested by Robert I. T. White, Secretary of State. He was killed in battle with bushwhackers during the war while on dispatch duty at the open well under the hill just south of the McAnally place four miles east of Fort Smith.*

According to Blanch Lamb as reported by Blakely, Bennett, and Isenberger (1990: 31):

> *[John] Jones was a northern supporter in the Civil War. Once the Union forces had control of the region, Jones, who apparently was too old for normal service, was working as a mail carrier for the Union. On 5 June 1864 he was killed by bushwhackers. That night the bushwhackers went to the house in an attempt to rape and kill his family. Narcissa Jones had armed the family when her husband's horse returned without him and subsequently the family found the body. Thus when the bushwhackers arrived she was able to defend her family and escape to Fort Smith. The bushwhackers did, however, burn the home to the ground on the night of 5 June 1864.*

Bushwhacking didn't have to be political, as pointed out by Stevens and Bryan in their account of the Confederate supporting McConnell family (1979: 24-25):

> *In 1864, Minerva [Hawkins McConnell, the wife of Robert H. McConnell] died suddenly after working in the fields, and while the men were all away in the war. . . . Mary Jones McConnell [Osborn, Minerva's eldest daughter and the wife of Nathaniel H. Osborn] . . . and another woman went to the top of the Been ridge where there lived a crippled blacksmith and quarryman. They secured a stone, and had it marked "M. Mc" and carried it back horseback to mark the grave. They, women and children, were planning to flee south to avoid the bushwhackers but they knew the men would be coming in sooner or later and would wonder who occupied the new grave in the old cemetery. . .*
>
> *It was to this county [Little River County] that the McConnell and Osborn women went after the death of Minerva, Mary Jones McConnell Osborn is still remembered as Aunt Maje by older members of the McConnell and Osborn families. During the long trip of the refugees south, she not only suckled her own child but her baby brother William Owen McConnell. Later the other women came back home to check things out to see if it was safe, leaving all the children with Maje. She, as a lone adult, later made the trip to Greenwood, through the mountains filled with bushwhackers, driving a wagon filled with children and a few bushels of grain. Bushwhackers raided her camp twice at night looking for anything valuable but she managed to keep the grain safely hidden.*

A vivid account of the bushwhackers in this general region was provided by Captain Robert Henderson of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry. Henderson was captured at the Battle of Poison Springs, Arkansas, and became a prisoner of war at Camp Ford. In October 1864 he and two companions escaped and they headed north to the nearest Union outpost, Fort Smith. Henderson's story was narrated by George W Martin (1904: 413):

> *November 17, near Waldron, within fifty miles of Fort Smith, they were recaptured by a party who announced themselves bushwhackers, and boasted that they had killed and scalped every Kansan and Arkansan who had fallen into their hands, and that since the 1st of April they had killed sixty Federals. Here Henderson concluded it was safer to be an Iowa soldier than a Kansan. A Kansas soldier was about as objectionable as a colored soldier, the latter certain to be shot. So from this point on he was a member of the Eighteenth Iowa. Parker and Jones [his two escaping companions] likewise belonged to the First Indiana Cavalry. The captain of this squad was named Sewell. Before the departure of Steele's command on the Camden expedition, and while stationed at Roseville, Lieutenant Henderson had captured a guerilla named Colonel Carpenter. He was turned over to the Fourth Arkansas Infantry regiment, his neighbors, who shot him. The guerilla who took in Henderson and his compatriots, was a nephew of Carpenter, and so his talk was quite cheering. He did not know the identity of his prisoner—it would have been woe to Henderson if he had; so he magnanimously robbed him of what clothing he had left, also a large silver ring each from Parker and Jones, and announced that they would be taken back to Tyler. The next day he took them back nine miles, and the day following would have turned them over to a guerilla captain named Miller, who knew Henderson, and whom Henderson knew well enough to deem a second escape preferable to his recognition. It would be all over with him if he did not somehow make a second slip.*
>
> *Toward evening it began to rain, and for convenience the captain ordered a number of the party to a near-by house for supper. As soon as they approached the house the woman began to cry. The same party had murdered her husband a few weeks previous. After supper they were told to go to the smoke-house and make a fire. Everything was damp, and in the search for something dry Henderson gave them the slip . . .*
>
> *At daylight of the 22nd he came to Massard Prairie. Here was the most dangerous point on the road. Bushwhackers were abundant, constantly picking off Union men who ventured out. Henderson here lost all caution—was so overjoyed with the prospects of home and of the flag that he was reckless of consequences. He met two ladies and asked them where he could breakfast, and they referred him to a little board shanty not far off, where he might get some Lincoln coffee. He received a good breakfast from a woman whose husband was a Union man in Fort Smith. He was now ten miles from Fort Smith, traveling in daylight. After a weary walk he reached the southern edge of heavy timber, and the flag of Fort Smith beamed on his*

eyes. The timber had been felled, lying crosswise and the limbs jagged, affording a very good protection against the advance of an army of assault, and there was good view across it. . . . He was now three miles out [and behind Union lines].

Against this backdrop, the story of how Martin Alonzo East (Figure 17) was injured while serving the Union forces during the War takes on a certain poignancy. The following quote is from a handwritten autobiography written in the early part of the 20th Century. East lived in Center Valley in 1862 and 1863, and again after the bushwhacking war ended starting in 1870. He died in Center Valley in 1913. This previously appeared in Blakely, Bennett, and Isenberger (1990: 214-15):

Figure 17. Martin Alonzo East

[I]n Dec. 1862 or Jan. 1863 I with 27 other made our way to Fayetteville, Ark. and enlisted in Company "I" 1st Ark. U.S. Val. Infantry - commanded by Capt. William J. Heffington. . . . After enlisting at fayetteville in Feb. '63 I received orders to go to Sebastian Co. and bring out recruits. Uncle Cal Rutherford and I made our way back - crossed the Ark. River some 6 miles below Van Buren - in a dug-out and went home that night. The country was thick with Confederate Bushwhackers - seven of us got together and we swam the river about midnight - about a mile north of the Vinyard near Central. The late Judge John Howard furnished me a young mule to ride - no saddle - we plunged the River - all swam but my donkey - he went to the bottom several times - I couldn't swim so as he rose to the surface I caught him by the tail (after sliding back) and I caught up with the others and was the first to land on the north beach, in making an effort to get the bridle reins he kicked me in the left temple inflicting such a wound that affects me till this day. Mr. James Blythe who now lives between Jenny Lind and Fort Smith is the man who pulled me out of the water. Blythe, Cal Rutherford and myself are yet living . . . .I wish to say here that after swimming the Ark. River in the night that we came very near running into General Cabell's 1200 Cavalry - on the top of Mulberry Mountain this was about 4 o'clock the next day after crossing the river. . .

Bryan published the most thorough account of the bushwhacking war in *The Key*, but even this is brief (1972: 4-5). He reported three phases: one, Confederate bushwhackers taking advantage of the women and children of Union soldiers while the latter were away; two, after Pea Ridge and with Union forces in control of the region the returning Union soldier avenged the first phase on the women and children of the missing Confederate soldiers; and three, after the war ended the former Confederate majority retaliated against Union supporters who no longer had the support of an army. This final phase lasted until about 1870. During this time, according to Bryan (1972: 4) *"Fields went unattended, horses, cattle and hogs almost disappeared either driven off or shot. Most houses had been burned and most families were living in lean-to or brush ARBOR SHACKS."*

Although certainly politically biased, a report in the *New Era* on 14 November 1863 (p. 2 col. 3) reported the situation around Fort Smith:

> *The town is full of refugees from the country, of whom a large number is supported by Government. This is deplorable, not so much on account of the expense of feeding them, as from the injury the community at large is receiving by the almost total suspension of farming operations. The cause of all this is bushwhacking. No family, known to entertain Union feelings, is safe out of the reach of U.S. troops. The recent advance of rebels encouraged this abominable, fiendish set of men to extend their operations nearer to town than ever. Since the hasty flight of the rebels these fiends have become less bold in the immediate vicinity of this place. But there is still so great a feeling of insecurity among the country people, that they are very little disposed to go to work in good earnest and prepare for another year's crop. Many families also had their houses burnt, after having been robbed of everything, and have come to town in the most pitiable circumstances. The inauguration of the geurilla warfare is one of the deepest stains of infamy to be charged to the hellish Confederacy; for, while it decides nothing eventually, it inflicts infinitely more suffering, and especially on the helpless, than an open and regular system of warfare.*

Slowly the bushwhacking war ended in the late 1860s but the combatants generally refused to talk about it in detail, ever. Bryan wrote (1972: 5):

> *Years ago, while a young reporter for the Greenwood Democrat, I talked with many veterans, both Confederate and Union, about the Bushwhacking War. They told many gruesome tales. But never once did one name a name, or pretend that all the wrongs were on one side. This was in the late 1920's, long after the danger of a revival of post-war hatreds was over. Still they were all bound by the Pact of Silence.*

Disease and Death

Excluding those killed in the bushwhacking war, the only documented death in battle of a Center Valley resident was that of Francis D. Willburn who was killed in battle at Fayetteville. Of the others who died violently, Samuel Lairamore was killed by an accidental discharge of his own pistol on 1 April 1865 (*New Era* 8 April 1865 p. 2), and George Kersey was killed in January of that year in a dispute with a local citizen of Fort Smith. Others were wounded and one, William W. Wooten, carried the musket ball for life.

The pension files of Union soldiers of the Center Valley region and their heirs suggests that the two greatest threats to human life were measles and small pox. Robert G. Cardin died at Mount Vernon, Missouri, on 10 December 1862 of the measles, Benjamin F. Been and his brother Rufus L. Been both had the measles in 1863 and recovered. Moses Lambert (a colleague of Been's) reported that many had the measles in May and June 1863. Elizabeth N. (Barnhill) Lairamore (the first wife of Obadiah Lairamore, Jr.) contracted the measles in 1864 and died, and Josiah Cook contracted the measles and died at Huntsville, Arkansas, on 19 June 1864. For a population as small as Center Valley, the number of cases of and death by measles is large, especially in May and June 1864. It seems that the males contracted the disease in service and some came home to recuperate and passed it on to their wives.

Small pox was also a major killer at this time. While no residents of our study area are known to have died from this disease, the effects of small pox were, indeed, present. Since small pox could be prevented by vaccine many Union soldiers were vaccinated. On 15 September over 200 men received the vaccine in Fort Smith, and many of these men came from the study area. Unfortunately, the vaccine administered was tainted, syphilitic, and, although none of them died immediately, these men suffered for the rest of their lives from recurring skin ulceration and other complications. The pension files of William Vinyard Gann, Jasper N. Logan, Freeling H. Bridges, Wiley C. Lairamore, and "many others" all describe in graphic medical terms the disabilities acquired by these men, some of whom lived 60 years after the war. For this population only Calvin Fry appears to have contracted small pox and he survived. This terrible situation was reported as follows in the Fort Smith *New Era*, 30 January 1864.

> ***U. S. General Hospital, Fort Smith***
>
> *The General Hospital at this post consists of six buildings, viz: the St. Charles Hotel, Sutton Masion, Rector Masion, Prism, Small Pox and Colord Wards, containing 240 patients.*
>
> *The Hospital is under charge of Dr. J. E. Bennett, A. A. Surgeon, U. S.A., and three assistants, viz: Drs. J. S. C. Rowland, J. L. Prentiss, A.A. Surgeons, U. S. A. and A. D. Tenney, Assistant Surgeon, 1st Colored Kansas Volunteers*
>
> *The prevailing diseases are Pneumonia and Small Pox. There are also in hospital some 40 cases of vaccination with syphilitic virus. This unfortunate and detestable*

disease has spread among soldiers and citizens to the extent of between five and six hundred cases, presenting all the symptoms of true syphlis.

Other medical conditions experience by Center Valley residents and attributable to the war and its conditions included hernias, blindness, dysentery, and piles.

Post-Civil War Years

Because of the destruction of the Greenwood Courthouse records in 1880, we lack many deed and tax records with which we might reconstruct land ownership and use during this period. In many cases we can learn who owned land in 1860 and who owned it in the 1880s, but no means is available to determine how or how many times a parcel might have changed hands in the interim. Thus, in many cases we can only guess and speculate who owned certain parcels in the 1860s.

In the description of the Bushwhacking War it was seen how civil control was lost during this period. It was not a safe place to be; apparently many times crops were not planted at all, areas were desolate. We know that many of the former residents left the region for some period of time in the 1860s only to return later. Martin A. East and family lived near Batesville and did not return until 1870. Many of the Gann and Been families went north to Thorpe, Dallas County, Missouri for a few years. Others went to Kansas. Fort Smith was a safe haven, but with no food produced regionally, times must have been particularly difficult there. Many of the Lairamores moved to Scott County. Others moved, never to return, to destinations in Texas, Kansas, Oklahoma, and elsewhere.

With people leaving permanently, or for a few years, and with the deed and tax records lost, the area was in flux. Many apparently just left the land and, according to the laws of Arkansas, others acquired these lands simply by paying the back taxes. No doubt this occurred frequently and it adds dramatically to the difficulties in identifying who lived where and when. Thus, while larger patterns may be evident, specific data for this period are difficult to determine with certainty.

Chapter 7. Center Valley 1870

Overview

The following announcement appeared in the Fort Smith *New Era* (Vol 1 Number 9) on 26 December 1863.

> *COMMANDING GENERAL'S ORDERS*
> *Head Quarters, District of the Frontier*
> *Fort Smith, Ark., Dec 21, 1863*
>
> *CIRCULAR*
>
> *The General Commanding this District desires to call the attention of the citizens of Arkansas, living within the limits of this command; to the permanency of the occupation of Western Arkansas by the United States military forces and to the vast advantages that must accrue to its citizens by a prompt return to their farms, workshops, and other legitimate avocations, of all who, from any cause, have abandoned their homes, since the commencement of hostilities, and who may now desire to give assurance of their loyalty, and to hereafter maintain the integrity of the Federal Union.*
>
> *The occupation of the country by a large Federal force must necessarily create an active demand and ready market for all farm produce; and even though the army move further south, the citizens of this section of the State cannot fail to enjoy, to a great extent, the same prosperity that has heretofore attended their labors in times of peace*
>
> *By command of Brig. Gen'l John McNeil*
> *T. J. Anderson*
> *Ass't Adj't General*

In many ways this announcement epitomized the situation in the region during the 1860s. The early war years had made it virtually impossible to carry on the ordinary activities of farm life and many people had abandoned their property or, at the least, curtailed their farming efforts. But, now that the Federals were in control of Fort Smith, officials announced that it was not only safe but highly profitable to return. As Chapter 6 illustrated, however, this promise was a considerable overstatement of the safety of rural life for most of the decade. Although by 1870, order was well on its way to becoming reinstated.

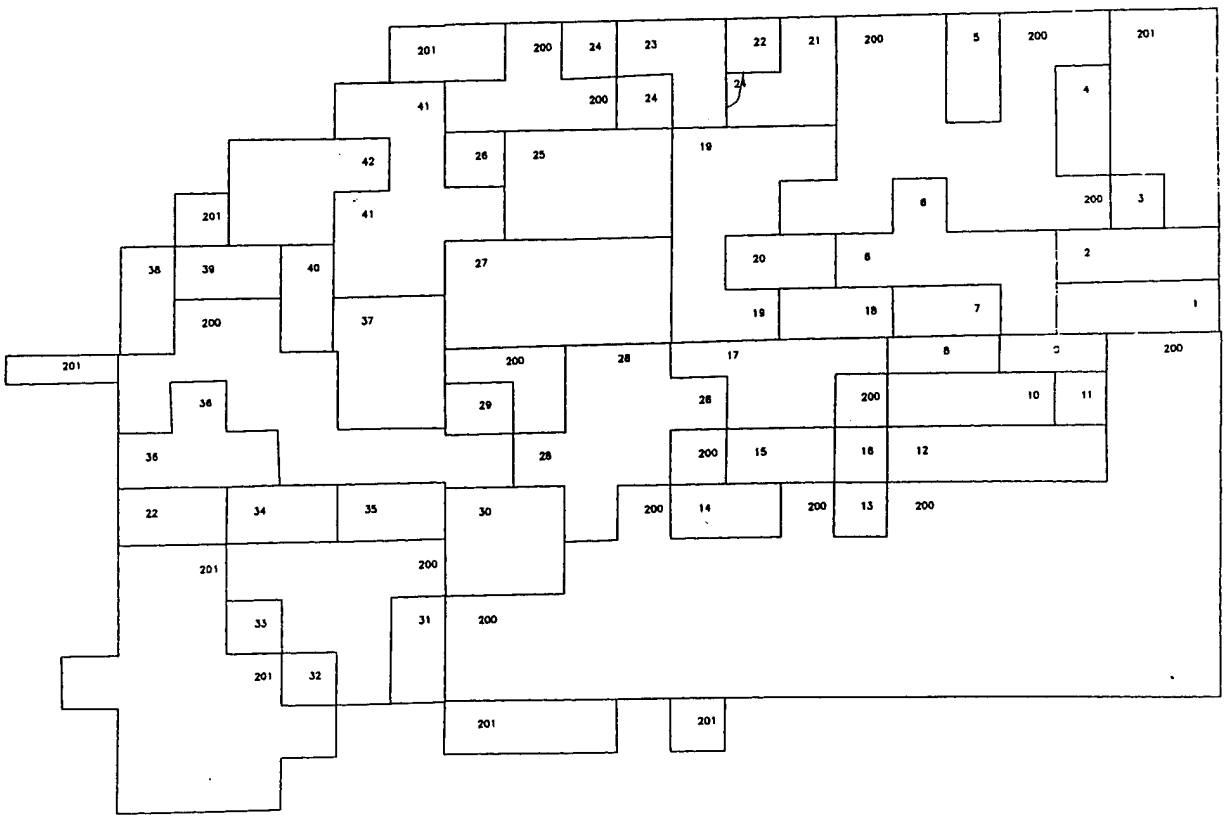
Property Ownership and Farm Size. Figure 22 illustrates the distribution of farms in the study area in 1870. At this time about 40% of the land was still property of the USA. This public land was concentrated along the ridge slope in the south and southeastern portion of the area and the wet prairie in the northeast.

USA	Arkansas	Corporate	Unknown	Private	Number of Farms
3942	49	0	1568	5557	41

In 1870 there were no farms of less than 35 acres. The largest percentage of landowners owned farms of about 80 acres and, while over 50% of the farms were 80 acres or less, these constituted about 25% of the privately held acreage. Over 40% of the farms were 120 acres or more; (nearly 15% were over 200 acres) and the farms over 200 acres made-up almost 40% of the acreage which was owned by about 15% of the individual landowners.

Farm Size	Farms	% of Farms	Acres	% of Acreage
<35 acres	0	0.00%		0.00%
36-45 acres	6	14.63%	242	4.35%
46-75 acres	3	7.32%	159	2.86%
76-85 acres	12	29.27%	964	17.35%
86-115 acres	2	4.88%	177	3.19%
116-125 acres	6	14.63%	718	12.92%
126-155 acres	0	0.00%		0.00%
156-165 acres	2	4.88%	323	5.81%
166-195 acres	2	4.88%	364	6.55%
196-205 acres	2	4.88%	397	7.14%
>206 acres	6	14.63%	2213	39.82%
Total Farms	41			
Total Acreage	5557			

Farm Ownership 1870



1 Perl, James P.
2 Willburn, Francis D., estate
3 Runnels, Elisha
4 Aldridge, Alfred
5 Campbell, Susan M.
6 Jones, John, estate
7 Lairamore, Obadiah, Jr.
8 Lairamore, Obadiah, Sr.
9 Neal, Jehu
10 Gilcoot, GeorgeW.
11 Lairamore, Milton L.
12 Wilcox, Jasper
13 Shaver, George G.
14 Kersey, Elizabeth
15 Fry, William P.
16 Gilcoot?, George W.
17 Pinnell, Peter
18 Daugherty, Joseph
18 Kellam, Edward
19 Webb, WilliamJ., estate
20 Jones, Enoch M.
21 Fry, Newel C.
22 Arkansas, State of
23 Cardin, James F., estate
24 Peninger, ThomasP.
25 Steele, John R., estate
26 Willburn, Francis D., estate
27 Wright, Reuben
28 McNatt, Mary
29 Arkansas?, State of
30 Ball, William
31 Gilliam, John
32 Wilson, David
33 Unknown
34 Clark, Sarah
35 Kerens
35 Ullery
36 Cardin, David N.
37 Unknown
38 Gann, Adam A.
39 Ferguson, James E.
40 Kellam, Charles R. J.
41 Dunn
41 Owenby
42 Gann, Robert,estate
200 USA
201 Unknown

Community Composition and Social Statistics. In 1870 the entire study area was located in Bates Township. Bates Township was enumerated between 25 July and 8 August and at that time it consisted of 124 households and 124 dwellings. Along with the Population Schedules, Agriculture, Mortality, Industry, and Social Statistics schedules were compiled. All were examined in this study although no industrial installations were noted within the entire township.

Given the known land owners and by interpreting the pattern made when households are plotted against their order of enumeration, we suggest that the census-taker began along the Greenwood to Charleston Road at the northern edge of Bates Township and followed it to the southern end before returning north, more-or-less along the western side of the township. Thus, we concluded that the two individually separate but consistent sections of the population schedules belong to the study area or to individuals on its immediate periphery. Because of the inexact condition of the evidence for this period we have opted for inclusiveness and we probably overstate the population of the study area.

Census Number	Head of Household	Status
1-11 are to the north of the study area		
12	Lorenz J. Spiegle	Not Owner
13	John Hewett	Owner
14	D. V. Fry	Not Owner
15	Andrew J. Fry	Not Owner
16	Newel C. Fry	Owner
17	Elizabeth Grigg	Owner
18	Jasper D. Daugherty	Owner
19	George G. Shavers	Owner
20	William D. Shavers	Not Owner
21	Joshua Neal	Owner
22	Obadiah Laramore (Jr.)	Not Owner
23	Obadiah Laramore (Sr.)	Not Owner
24	Phillip Lewis	Not Owner
25	John S. McNatt	Owner
26	Marion J. McNatt	Owner
27	Alfred Aldridge	Owner
28	Robert Davis	Not Owner
29	Ruse Crabree	Not Owner
30	Joseph A. Gilliam	Not Owner
31	Peter Pinnell	Owner
32	John Summers	Not Owner
33	William Fry	Owner
34	Elizabeth Kersey	Owner
35	John Holden	Not Owner
36	Jephthah Wooten	Not Owner
37-41 are just to the south of the study area		
42	William Ball	Owner
43	George W. Kersey	Owner
44	John Derhart	Not Owner

45	David Wilson	Owner
46	John A. Hanley	Not Owner
47	Johnson Gilliam	Owner
48	Willbourn Boggs	Owner
49	George W. Gilliam	Not Owner
50	John Gilliam	Owner
51	Minard Gilliam	Not Owner

52–66 are south and west of the study area

67	Frederick Coleman	Owner
68	Pressly B. Riggs	Owner
69	Muse Sanford	Owner
70	Wyatt Nedham	Owner
71	E. S. Davis	Not Owner
72	Rufus L. Been	Owner
73	William Ferguson	Owner
74	John Ferguson	Not Owner
75	David Carden	Owner
76	Elijah Ferguson	Not Owner
77	David Owenby	Owner
78	Marion Owenby	Owner
79	Martha J. Steel	Owner
80	Benjamin Shavers	Not Owner
81	Robert Childress	Not Owner
82	Y. A. Robertson	Owner
83	James C. Carden (Berry Putnam)	Owner
84	Adam Gann	Owner
85	William V. Gann	Owner
86	Benjamin F. Been	Owner
87	Rachel Gann	Owner

87–124 are to the north and west of the study area

In this analysis there were 56 heads of household and 56 dwellings. Of the 56 heads of household, 34 were listed as owning real estate (not necessarily the property on which they lived) and 22 were listed as not owning real estate. Of those listed as not owning real estate, some soon purchased land within Center Valley and, usually, this appears to be the land on which they lived in 1870. Others may have been living on land they never claimed, while some may simply have been renters or laborers.

We estimate the population of the study area to have been about 308 persons: 61 adult males (age 21 or over or married), 62 adult females (age 21 or over or married), 102 male children (63 aged 8 to 20), and 83 female children (43 aged 8 to 20 and unmarried). Some of the discrepancy in the male to female ratio in the children may be explained by the younger age at which females married (e.g., a married 17-year old female is counted as an adult). Thus, the female mortality while giving birth caused younger females to be married and an apparent male/female discrepancy in favor of males in the children. The apparent younger age at marriage for females indicates that the death of younger men during the Civil War did not substantially diminish the male population of primary marriageable

age. The census records indicate that there were four widowers and six widows in the study area at this time. Birthplace data show a great variety but certain trends.

Adult Males	**Adult Females**	**Male Children**	**Female Children**
Tennessee - 20	Tennessee - 21	**Arkansas - 61**	**Arkansas - 47**
Alabama - 8	**Arkansas - 9**	Texas - 19	Texas - 17
North Carolina - 6	Georgia - 8	Missouri - 9	Georgia - 6
Georgia - 6	Alabama - 7	Tennessee - 4	Missouri - 5
Kentucky - 5	Missouri - 4	Georgia - 3	Illinois - 3
Missouri - 4	South Carolina - 2	Illinois - 2	North Carolina - 2
Iowa - 2	North Carolina - 2	North Carolina - 2	Tennessee - 1
Ireland - 2	Indiana - 1	Indiana - 1	Indian Territories - 1
Virginia - 2	Kentucky - 1	Kansas - 1	Mississippi - 1
Mississippi - 2	Virginia - 1	Alabama - 1	Kansas - 1
Arkansas - 1	Texas - 1		
Louisiana - 1	Mississippi - 1		
Illinois - 1			
Ireland - 2			
Germany - 1			

Again, the number of female adults born in Arkansas, when compared with male adults, is indicative of the younger age of married females. Also the large number of children born in Texas, as well as a few from Missouri, the Indian Territories, and Kansas are likely indications of movements during the Civil War.

All residents of the study area were listed as "White" except for Phyllis Hawkins who was listed as "Black." The eldest resident was Elizabeth Lewis, the widowed mother of Phillip Lewis. Elizabeth Lewis claimed to be 94 and a native of South Carolina. If her age was listed correctly, she would have been born about 1776. Three residents of the study area are listed on the Mortality Census as having died during the period from June 1869 to June 1870: William Laramore, son of Obadiah Laramore, Jr., who died in February of whooping cough at the age of one month; James Bullard, 57, probably the father-in-law of Elijah Ferguson and father of Jane Ferguson who died in February of consumption; and an infant male child of David and Elizabeth Owenby who died in March of Congestive Brain fever at the age of one month.

Literacy is hard to quantify because it is difficult to be confident in the data as presented. Of the 61 adult males, nine claimed to be unable to read and 13 claimed to be unable to write. Of the 62 adult females, 14 claimed to be unable to read and 22 claimed to be unable to write. Schooling seems to have been possible between the ages of about seven and 22. Of the 185 children 78 (45 males and 33 females) were recorded as attending school during the year. This figure certainly underestimates literacy given the number of children below school age, 79 (39 males and 40 children). Thus, 78 of 106 school age children received schooling during the previous year (1869). One school teacher is recorded within the bounds of Center Valley and a ratio of one teacher to 78 students seems possible.

Of the adult males (21 years and over) all were farmers or farm hands except Francis W. Owenby (actually only 20) listed as a school teacher, James Duckett (actually only 19) listed as a saddler, and Y. A. Robertson who was a wagon-maker. All the adult females kept house. Most children were listed as "at home" but some younger males were farm hands and some younger women who did not live with their parents were listed as domestic servants. Handicaps or physical impairments were noted in the study area; one eleven year old male was listed as deaf and dumb. Adult males could be denied the right to vote if they were convicted felons or if they had served in the Confederate Army and were not pardoned. Eleven adult males were denied the right to vote.

The study area comprised about one half of the households in Bates Township. According to the Agricultural Schedules from the 1870 census, in all of Bates Township there were 2,888 improved acres, 8,264 wooded acres, and 1,253 other unimproved acres, or 12,405 acres owned by private citizens. These farms were worth a total of $63,865, and the farmers owned $3,918 worth of implements. Between June 1869 and June 1870 the farmers paid $1,940 in wages. On 1 June 1870 farmers owned 245 horses, 22 mules or asses, 277 milch cows, 53 working oxen, 279 other cattle, 145 sheep, and 2,577 swine, livestock worth $35,555. During the previous year the farms produced 1,194 bushels of winter wheat, ten bushels of rye, 20,870 bushels of Indian corn, 715 bushels of oats, no barley, no spring wheat, no buckwheat, no rice, 1,900 pounds of tobacco, 64.75 bales of cotton, 137 pounds of wool, three bushels of peas and beans, 403 bushels of Irish potatoes, 1,453 bushels of sweet potatoes, $245 in orchard products, 9,075 pounds of butter, 30 pounds of cheese, no wine, no market garden produce, no commercial milk sold, 71.25 tons of hay, 641 gallons of molasses, 45 pounds of bees wax, 240 pounds of honey, no forest products, and $1,835 in home manufacture. $7,854 worth of animals were slaughtered. Total farm production was valued at $67,165.

Although half the farms in Bates Township at this time are to be found in the study area, they comprised less than half of the acreage. Farm size varied between 360 acres and 12 acres. It appears that renters only rented improved land and that the farmers owning these acres did not count the rented property as part of their farm. Many non-landowners farmed plots between 12 and 20 acres. The most valuable farm was worth $1,850, but only three other farms were worth even $1,000. Most farms were valued between $200 and $500.

Social statistics were tabulated for the entire county. It is likely that these data are weighted heavily in favor of Fort Smith and may not represent what occurred elsewhere in the county. In 1870 the various religious societies were tabulated as: nine Baptist congregations with five churches and membership of 1,000 with property of $3,500; nine Methodist congregations with four churches and membership of 800 with property of $5,000; six Presbyterian congregations with two churches and membership of 350 with property of $3,800; one Episcopal congregation with one church and membership of 300 and property worth $4000; one German Lutheran congregation with one church and a membership of 625 and property worth $6000; and one Catholic congregation with one church and a membership of 400, but property valued at $52,000.

Graded common schools employed three male teachers and three female teachers, teaching 310 male pupils and 130 female pupils. Ungraded common schools employed 52 male teachers and 11 female teachers, teaching 960 male pupils and 1,170 female pupils. Private day schools employed eight

male teachers and 14 female teachers, teaching 250 male pupils and 310 female pupils. Private boarding schools employed three female teachers, who taught 50 female pupils. It would seem likely that whatever schools existed in the study area employed two teachers (one male and one female) were ungraded common schools.

Three local newspapers were printed in Fort Smith. The *Fort Smith New Era,* a weekly, had a circulation of 600. The *Fort Smith Herald*, a weekly, had a circulation of 900. The *Fort Smith Herald*, a daily, had a circulation of 300. It is also known that citizens subscribed to religious newspapers printed in Memphis and beyond.

Perhaps the most interesting and applicable social statistic was a wage summary for the county. The average wage for a farm hand was $17/month with board. The average day labor wage with no board was $1.50 per day. The average day labor wage with board was $1.00 per day. The average carpenter earned about $3.00 per day without board. The average female domestic made about $4.00 per week without board. The average cost to board per week was $4.50.

Individual Farms

Families and Farms. For 1870 we have been able to identify 20 different farms for which a considerable amount of data is available. These compose about 37% of the farms operating in the area and are widely distributed over the study area landscape. In all but one case, the farm operators are, or will soon become, owners of the property. The statistics presented below are derived from the Federal Census.

NAME	AGE	M*	CHILDREN	CHILDREN AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES	IMPROVED ACRES	FARM VALUE
Aldridge, Alfred	47	m	4	2-19	4	82	35	$500.00
Ball, William	54	m	4	6-10		100	25	$400.00
Been, Benjamin G.	25	m	1	1		80	14	$300.00
Carden, David	36	m	3	2-11		158	25	$800.00
Coleman, Frederick	38	m	6	1-16		120	45	$500.00
Ferguson, Elijah	31	m	2	1-3		80	15	$300.00
Fry, Newel	53	m	4	10-21		90	45	$700.00
Gann, Adam	60	m	4	7-17		79	50	$1,200.00
Gilliam, John	44	m	4	4-17		80	30	$400.00
Grigg, Elizabeth	33	w	1	8	3	205	45	$1,000.00
Kersey, Elizabeth**	49	w	1	15		80	2	$285.00
Kersey, George W.	25	m	1	1		80	10	$375.00
Laramore, Obadiah, Jr.	29	m	2	3-9		76	13	$100.00
Laramore, Obadiah, Sr.	61	m	1	3		113	13	$300.00

NAME	AGE	M*	CHILDREN	CHILDREN AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES	IMPROVED ACRES	FARM VALUE
Owenby, David	49	m	7	7-20		372	50	$1,400.00
Neal, Joshua	36	m	5	4m-10	1	40	20	$250.00
Pinnell, Peter	36	m	0			91	6	$475.00
Shavers, George	52	m	6	10-26		40	30	$100.00
Wilson, David	42	m	5	4-11		42	20	$500.00
Woutan, Jeptha	35	m	3	8m-5		80	27	$600.00
Totals						2088	520	

Out of the 20 farms listed in this sample all but two are headed by a married male. The two exceptions are the Elizabeth Grigg (Gregg) and the Elizabeth Kersey farms which are both headed by widows. In the case of Elizabeth (Betsy) Kersey, this is the farm that was operated by her and her husband, George M., in 1860. All of the households except the Pinnells include children whose ages range from infants to children in their early 20s (Five families have one year old or younger children and five families have children in their late teens or twenties in residence). The greatest age spread for children is on the George Shavers farm (10 - 26 years).

Only two of the heads of households are 30 years old or younger and only two are 60 years old or older. The two young farmers, Benjamin Been and Obadiah Lairamore, Jr, both have ties to the general vicinity and their farms are not far from their parents.

Strong kinship ties are present in this sample. In addition to the father-son relationship of the Lairamores, Elizabeth Kersey is the mother of George W. Kersey and many of the families listed (the Beens, Cardins, Fergusons, Frys, Ganns, Gilliam, and Shavers) have other relatives living nearby as shown on the full census listing.

In this sample, four families indicated on the census that they were not owners of the farms they were operating. Three of these, the two Lairamores and Jeptha Woutan, were living in the area in 1860 and we are fairly certain that Woutan is still living on the same farm which will soon become his property.

The farms in our sample are heavily weighted toward farms of 80 acres or less which matches the general profile for the study area. In our sample slightly less than 25% of the acreage has been improved. This, however, is likely to be somewhat low as we regard the amount of improved acreage listed for the Peter Pinnell farm (6 acres) and the Elizabeth Kersey farm (2 acres) to be in error and a considerable understatement. Farm value varies from $1,000.00 or more for David Owenby, Elizabeth Grigg and Adam Gann to a low $100.00 for the probable renter George Shavers. Nine of the farms were valued at $500.00 or more.

Crops, Commodities, and Livestock. The statistics listed below were derived from the Federal Agricultural schedules.

NAME	COTTON	WHEAT	OATS	INDIAN CORN	SWEEK POTATOES	IRISH POTATOES	HAY	SHORGUM	TOBACCO	ORCHARD*
Aldridge, Albert	0	0	0	299	10	15	5	0	50	0
Ball, William	0	139	0	300	15	0	0	10	20	15
Been, Benjamin	1	0	20	300	40	0	0	0	0	15
Carden, David	1	0	0	200	0	10	1	0	30	0
Coleman, Frederick	0	30	100	300	0	0	1	0	0	0
Ferguson, Elijah	0	0	0	100	50	0	0	10	0	0
Fry, Newel	0	26	0	200	10	10	0.5	18	10	0
Gann, Adam	0.5	0	0	300	50	15	0	0	50	0
Gilliam, John	1	20	0	300	0	0	0	0	0	25
Grigg, Elizabeth	0	0	40	75	0	0	4	0	0	0
Kersey, Elizabeth*	0	0	0	250	30	0	0	0	0	0
Kersey, George W.	0	0	0	200	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laramore, Obadiah, Sr.	0	0	0	150	20	0	3	0	0	0
Laramore, Obadiah, Jr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neal, Joshua	0	0	0	250	25	0	0.5	0	0	0
Owenby, David	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pinnell, Peter	0	40	0	200	0	0	0.5	0	0	0
Shavers, George	0	0	0	600	150	20	3	50	100	0
Wilson, David	0	40	0	300	0	0	1	0	0	0
Wooten, Jepthah	0	31	0	300	0	0	0	0	0	0

* agriculture for William Kersey, Elizabeth's son * apples or peaches

There are very few items, which by either their nature or their quantity, are likely to have been produced as cash crops. Only four farms produced cotton, and none more than one bale. Corn was being produced at 18 of the 20 farms. Only Obediah Laramore, Jr., David Owenby, and Enoch Jones who have apparently just started their farms, do not list corn as a major product. Seven farms produced wheat, by far the greatest amount by William Ball (139 bushels), and three farms produced oats. Only Frederick Coleman raised all three; corn, wheat, and oats. Shorgum was raised at nearly half the farms and tobacco, apparently for personal consumption, was raised at six farms.

Orchards are now present in the study area and have apparently been planted much earlier so that the trees are bearing fruit by 1870. We cannot tell exactly when orchards first made their apparence but judging by the following advertisement in the 12 December 1863 issue of the *New Era* (Volume 1 Number 7), these may date from the early to mid 1860s at least.

Fort Smith Nursery

The undersigned has constantly on hand at his nursery 3 1/2 miles south of Fort Smith, a great variety of CHOICE FRUIT TREES Grafted and Budded, such as Apple, Cherry, Pear, Peach and Green-Gage Plums.

Now is the time for all who are lovers of good Fruit to select your trees. Give me a call.

Nov 14 3t *Wm. Stromberg*

These farms also reported the production of a number of different types of commodities. Chief among these was butter which was produced in varying amounts at 17 out of the 21 farms, although only the Grigg farm produced cheese. Two farms, one of which also had an orchard, produced honey. With the exception of the Owenby farm, all farms recorded slaughtered animals as part of their produce. More than half, 12, reported earnings from some form of home manufacture.

LASTNAME	BUTTER	HONEY	CHEESE	WOOL	SLAUGHTERED ANIMALS	HOME MANUFACTURE
Aldridge, Albert	150	0	0	0	$150.00	$10.00
Ball, William	50	0	0	0	$100.00	$10.00
Been, Benjamin	75	20	0	0	$100.00	$0.00
Carden, David	100	0	0	0	$175.00	$0.00
Coleman, Fred	125	0	0	0	$125.00	$25.00
Ferguson, Elijah	75	0	0	0	$75.00	$25.00
Fry, Newel	100	0	0	0	$85.00	$25.00
Gann, Adam	125	0	0	25	$60.00	$100.00
Gilliam, John	0	0	0	0	$125.00	$25.00
Grigg, Elizabeth	125	0	30	0	$90.00	$15.00
Kersey, Elizabeth	25	0	0	0	$65.00	$10.00
Kersey, George W.	0	0	0	0	$65.00	$0.00
Laramore, Obadiah, Sr.	25	0	0	0	$110.00	$10.00
Laramore, Obadiah, Jr.	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Neal, Joshua	75	0	0	0	$80.00	$0.00
Owenby, David	100	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Pinnell, Peter	15	0	0	0	$315.00	$0.00
Shavers, George	120	0	0	0	$190.00	$0.00

LASTNAME	BUTTER	HONEY	CHEESE	WOOL	SLAUGHTERED ANIMALS	HOME MANUFACTURE
Wilson, David	75	15	0	0	$110.00	$30.00
Wooten, Jepthah	125	0	0	0	$100.00	$10.00

Each of these farms reported the presence of milch cows. Seventeen farms had horses as part of their livestock but only two reported mules and two others reported the presence of oxen. Eighteen of the farms had cattle and 18 had swine, while four reported sheep. The cash value reported for the livestock ranged from a high of $625.00 at the George Shavers farm to a low of $50.00 at the Obediah Laramore, Jr. farm.

NAME	HORSES	M/A*	MILCH COWS	OXEN	CATTLE	SWINE	SHEEP	VALUE
Aldridge, Alfred	4	0	3	2	11	50	0	$450.00
Ball, William	2	0	2	0	3	30	0	$175.00
Been, Benjamin	1	0	2	0	3	0	38	$200.00
Carden, David	2	0	3	0	0	70	0	$425.00
Coleman, Frederick	3	0	5	0	6	60	14	$475.00
Ferguson, Elijah	1	0	2	0	1	40	0	$200.00
Fry, Newel E.	0	0	2	0	3	9	0	$120.00
Gann, Adam	2	0	1	1	3	35	12	$350.00
Gilliam, John	3	0	5	0	8	20	0	$475.00
Grigg, Elizabeth	5	0	3	0	4	23	0	$375.00
Jones, Enoch	5		1					$150.00
Kersey, Elizabeth	1	0	3	0	2	20	0	$225.00
Kersey, George W.	2	0	1	0	1	10	0	$320.00
Laramore, Obediah, Jr.	0	0	1	0	0	7	0	$50.00
Laramore, Obediah,Sr.	2	0	1	0	1	13	0	$225.00
Neal, Joshua	3	1	4	0	1	7	0	$400.00
Owenby, David	0	3	8	0	4	0	0	$575.00
Pinnell, Peter	2	0	1	0	8	40	0	$350.00
Shavers, George G.	2	0	4	0	9	35	0	$625.00
Wilson, David	1	0	2	0	2	40	10	$325.00
Wooten, Jepthah	1	0	2	0	3	40	0	$250.00

*M/A = mules or asses

From these various statistics it would appear that two of these farms are just beginning; at least under their current ownership. There is, however, a great deal of difference between these three farms. For Obediah Lairamore, Jr., this may well be his first farm, having previously lived and farmed with his father. This is not the case for David Owenby. Owenby was a large and proposperous land owner who was able to bring significant resources to this farm.

According to the figures listed above, by far the most productive farm is that of the George Shavers family; a family which does not own the farm and which will not be present in 1880.

Summary

The decade from 1860 to 1870 was certainly the most traumatic in the community's history. The region weathered the Civil War during which is population was split between northern and southern supporters. This split led eventually to a bushwhacking war that extended at least until 1870. Thus, during the 1860s life in the study area was unsettled. People were assassinated, people moved away temporarily to safer havens. Farms were abandoned and sold. Some residents came back to claim their land and start again. In other cases, new owners settled and re-established farms. In some cases land was forfeited to the state and lay vacant for some period of time. It was a turbulent period and the court house fire of 1880 limits our insights into many of its details. It would seem, however, that by 1870 people the local bushwhacking war was ending and people were returning. Even by 1870 the population of the region reached about 300, about three times that of 1860; dramatic growth given the history of the decade. Owned farm land in the township appears to have reached about 12,000 acres, seven times a decade earlier.

While there were certainly differences in the family composition of the farms in the community, these differences appear to be fairly minor. The farm families profiled here cultivated row crops, raised stock, and tended orchards. A new era of growth was beginning that can be seen in the individual farm profiles which depict the existence of numerous, mature, family farms operated by families who had come from morethan a dozen different states and two European countries. This era was to extend into the 1890s.

Chapter 8. Center Valley 1880

Overview

The decade of the 1870s saw the close of the bushwhacking war and the first steps toward the reestablishment of community. New lands were taken from the government and abandoned farmsteads were reactivated. Unfortunately, the best sources for identifying people during this decade are lacking; no tax lists are preserved for the period 1868 through 1879 and the court house fire in 1880 also destroyed the deed books. Thus gaps in the written record exist and, in general, this period is too remote for the oral record to preserve much additional and essential data. We are fortunate that the Federal Census enumeration and the first preserved Personal Property Tax records for 1880 both exist. These are crucial data for interpreting this period.

Between the census enumeration of July/August 1870 and June 1880 many new families moved into the study area, families that were to remain and gain prominence over the next half century. These families included Enoch M. Jones, Caroline Jones Dial Treadaway, Martin Alonzo East, Israel Phillips, Dr. Solomon Jackson, Ethelbert Paddock, Franklin Roose (Figure 18), John Burris, Pleasant Buckner, John P. Langston, Adolphus Dillahunty, Alexander Cahoon, Emanuel Golden, Harmond Thames, Joel K. Oldham, John J. Hearn, and John Stewart. Except for the families that came immediately prior to the Civil War, no decade saw the arrival of as many long term residents as this.

Figure 18. Franklin and Mary Roose

This mass influx of new residents can probably be traced to the recovery of Bates Township from the bushwhacking war and becoming a safe enough place for new arrivals to settle down, especially northerners. Safety, plus the Homestead Law of 1862, which allowed land to be taken essentially free from the government, no doubt stimulated rapid settlement at this time, although it would be at least another decade before a post office and small village were established in the area.

Property Ownership and Farm Size. In 1880 the entire study area was located within Bates Township. The schematic on the following page illustrates the relative size and distribution of the farms in 1880 as reconstructed from the property abstracts.

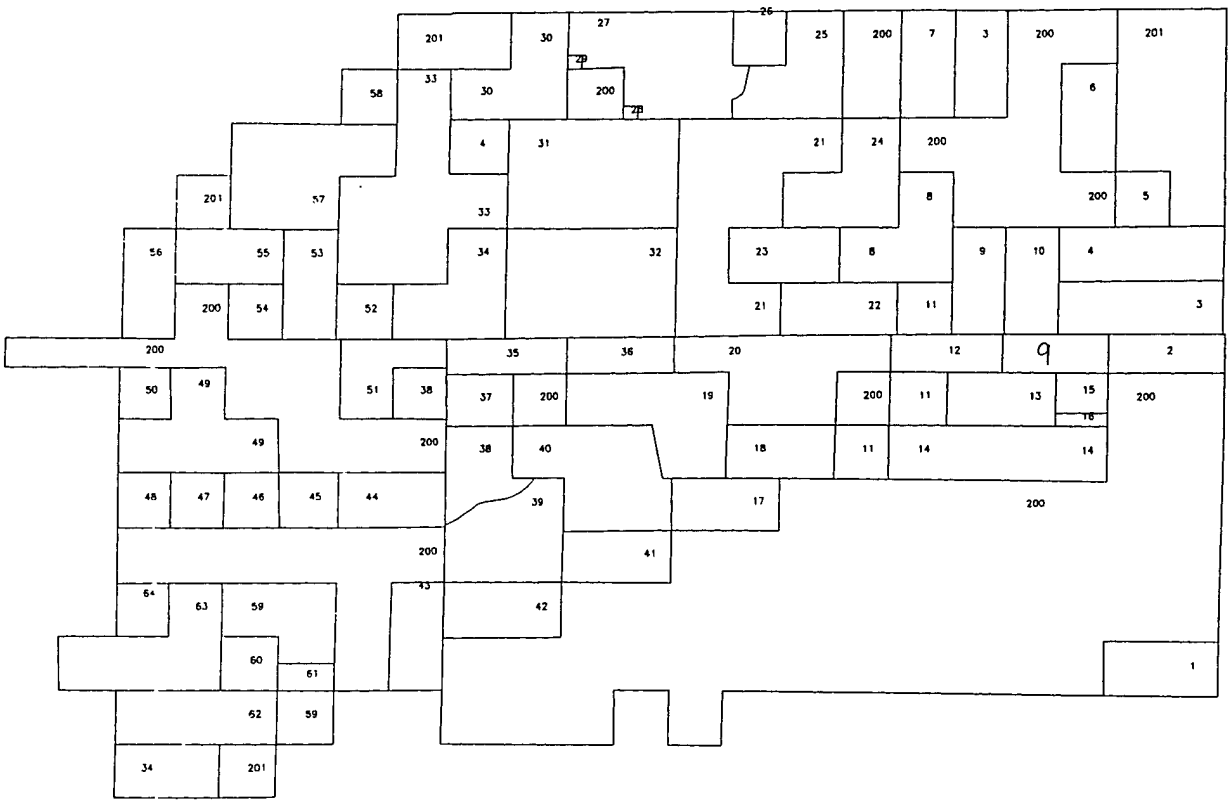
USA	Arkansas	Corporate	Unknown	Private	Number of Farms
3,323	49	0	450	6,468	63

In 1880 there was still a considerable amount of public land not yet purchased; although it appears that there may have been several families living on these lands in preparation for their purchase. The Jeptha Crossland family who will settle in the southeastern portion of the area and remain there for several decades is a case in point.

There are three farms which contained less than 35 acres. About 57% of the farms are about 80 acres or smaller; about a third of the acreage in private hands. Eight farms contained about 200 acres or more which accounts for about 13% of the owners and 29% of the privately-held acreage.

Farm Size	Farms	% of Farms	Acres	% of Acreage
<35 acres	3	4.84%	63	0.97%
36-45 acres	11	17.74%	446	6.90%
46-75 acres	6	9.68%	325	5.02%
76-85 acres	16	25.81%	1280	19.79%
86-115 acres	1	1.61%	92	1.42%
116-125 acres	5	8.06%	601	9.29%
126-155 acres	5	8.06%	680	10.51%
156-165 acres	3	4.84%	482	7.45%
166-195 acres	4	6.45%	606	9.37%
196-205 acres	3	4.84%	566	8.75%
>206 acres	5	8.06%	1327	20.52%
Total Farms	62			
Total Acreage	6468			

Farm Ownership 1880



1	Bateman, James	28	Steele, William H.	56	Gann, Adam A.
2	Bridges, NathanW.	29	Edna Lodge	57	Gann, Robert, estate
3	Speegle, GeorgeW.	30	Paddock, Ethelbert	58	Owenby, F. W.
4	Willburn, Francis D,. estate	31	Steele, John R., estate	59	Cahoon, Alexander M.
5	Rainey, W.F.	32	Wright, Reuben	60	Cahoon, Ellis
6	Wilkin & Jones	33	Owenby, P.M.	61	Williams, G. B.
6	Wilkin & Jones	34	Been, Llewellyn	62	Coleman, Fredrick
7	Kidd, Nathan J.	35	Partin, Maliciah	63	Stewart, J. F.
8	Morrris, John	36	Jones, Josephus	64	McAlister, J. J.
9	East, Martin A.	37	Arkansas, State of	200	USA
10	Burris, John	38	Ball, Harrison	201	Unknown
11	Jones, Enoch M.	39	Ball, William		
12	Lairamore, Obadiah	40	Langston, John P.		
13	Treadaway, Caroline Dial	41	Wooten, Jephthah		
14	White, W. O.	42	Kersey, George W.		
15	Sampson, A. S.	43	Dunn, James M.		
16	Lairamore, Milton L.	44	Menzi, Jacob		
17	Kersey, Elizabeth	45	Carnall, Wharton		
18	Fisk, William	46	Ferguson, Mattie		
19	McNatt, Mary	47	FergusonWilliamJ.		
20	Pinnell, Peter	48	Gee, Laurel		
21	Webb, William J., estate	49	Cardin, DavidN.		
22	Neal, Jehu	50	Oldham, Joel K.		
23	Phillips, Israel	51	Durden, J. P.		
24	Jackson, Solomon	52	Puckett, W.R.		
25	Frye, Newell C.	53	Hearn, Joseph A.		
26	Roose, Franklin	54	Thames, Harmon		
27	Peninger, T. P.	55	Patterson, William, estate		

Community Composition and Social Statistics. From the enumeration list of the Federal Census, it appears that the census-taker began enumeration in the southwestern part of Bates Township and then went up the western side of the study area before returning to the Greenwood-Chismville Road and passing through the heart of the study area. Then, from the northeastern point of the township, the census-taker went west to pick up the remaining residents within the study area. After enumerating the northwestern part of the township, the census taker returned to the southeastern part of the township and completed his task. By matching owners with the order on the census, we suggest that the following 75 people were heads of household within the study area in June 1880.

Census Number	Head of Household	Status
22	John Stewart	Owner
23	Jasper McCalister	Owner
24	John Hearn	Owner
25	Jane Ferguson	Owner
26	David Carden	Owner
27	Joel Oldham	Owner
34	Harmond Thames	Owner
35	Hezekiah Mercer	Non-Owner
36	George Northius	Non-Owner
37	Elizabeth Ownbey	Owner
38	Joseph Hearn	Owner
39	Llewellyn Been	Owner
40	Benjamin Been	Non-Owner
41	James Partin	Owner
42	Emanuel Golden	Non-Owner
43	John H. Kirby	Non-Owner
44	Richard Stinson	Non-Owner
45	Isaac Kirklin	Non-Owner
46	Thomas Coleman	Non-Owner
47	Fred Coleman	Owner
48	Alexander Cahoon	Owner
49	Ellis Cahoon	Owner
50	James Dunn	Owner
51	Derasa Dunn	Non-Owner
52	Adolphus Dillahunty	Non-Owner
53	Joseph Williams	Non-Owner
54	William Ball	Owner
55	Henderson Ball	Non-Owner
56	Harrison Ball	Owner
57	John P. Langston	Owner
58	George W. Kersey	Owner
59	Thomas S. Hunt	Non-Owner
60	Jephth Wooten	Owner
61	George W. Gilliam	Non-Owner
62	Louis Meritt	Non-Owner
63	Peter Pinnell	Owner
64	William Fisk	Owner

65	Hampton Jones	Non-Owner
66	Enoch M. Jones	Owner
67	Obadi Laramore	Owner
68	Pleasant Buckner	Non-Owner
69	James Todd	Non-Owner
70	Thomas Cape	Non-Owner
71	Alonzo East	Owner
72	Carol Tredaway	Owner
73	Samuel House	Non-Owner
74	William C. White	Owner
75	John G. Carden	Non-Owner
76	John Burris	Owner
77	John Weaver	Non-Owner
78	Charles Miller	Non-Owner
79	Sarah E. Jones	Non-Owner
80	Jehu Neal	Owner
81	Sylvester Shaver	Non-Owner
82	Israel Phillips	Owner
83	Solomon Jackson	Owner
84	Elizabeth Gregg	Owner
85	John Stubblefield	Non-Owner
86	Nathan Kidd	Owner
97	Jackson Speegle	Non-Owner
98	George Speegle	Owner
105	Thomas O. Gann	Non-Owner
106	James Wolverton	Owner
107	Olie Pennington	Owner
108	George Gann	Non-Owner
109	Rachel Gann	Owner
110	Frank Ownbey	Owner
111	Laural Gee	Non-Owner
112	William McBride	Non-Owner
113	Ethelbert Paddock	Owner
114	Asa Douglas	Owner
115	Robert C. Barnes	Non-Owner
116	Taylor Penninger	Owner
117	Frances Thompson	Non-Owner
118	Frank Roose	Owner

By this reconstruction, there were 405 residents (75 households) in the study area, living in 75 different houses. Of these, 203 were male and 202 were female. There were 95 adult females (over 21, married, or widowed) and 83 adult males (over 21 or married), 63 unmarried female children between the ages of 6 and 20, 66 unmarried male children between the ages of six and 20, 44 female children six or under and 54 male children six and under. While women still appear to marry at a younger age than men, with some dying soon thereafter at childbirth, this does not appear to skew the sex/age ratios as it apparently did in 1870. Now the data are skewed in favor of older women, a few widows but also by many unmarried adult female children. It appears that males married and left the study area while unmarried females stayed on at home.

In 1880 the eldest residents of the study area were the widow Mary Hawkins, 79, who lived with her daughter, Elizabeth Hawkins Webb Gregg, and widower John Morris, 78, a retired doctor who still worked as a farmer and lived with his step-son Martin Alonzo East. In 1880 all adult females kept house. All adult males were farmers except for one land agent, one carpenter, one M.D., and one with no occupation. Six people had some medical condition and all were different: broken leg, blind, rheumatism, consumption, asthma, and neuralgia. For the year ending 1 June 1880 the following persons are said to have died.

> Eliza Kirklin aged five, a daughter of Isaac and Louiza Kirklan who had been born in Missouri;
>
> Adason Cahoon aged 21, a son of Alexander and Charlotte Cahoon who was a farmer and died in June of spinal fever after an illness of nine months that was treated by Dr. Solomon Jackson;
>
> James Buckner aged one, a son of Pleasant and Margaret Buckner who died in May of jaundice after an illness of one month that was treated by Dr. Cockrell; and,
>
> Wesley Buckner, also one year and a son of the same parents, who died in November of an unknown cause after treatment of one month by Dr. Turner.

Starting in 1880 the Federal Census recorded the birthplace of one's parents so that at this time it is possible to trace the place of birth for three generations.

Female children

Arkansas - 81
Texas - 7
Alabama - 5
Illinois - 4
Tennessee - 2
North Carolina - 2
Georgia - 1
Missouri - 1
Mississippi - 1
Indiana - 1
Ohio - 1
Kansas - 1

Male children

Arkansas - 77
Texas - 9
Illinois - 7
Alabama - 6
Tennessee - 4
Kentucky - 4
Ohio - 4
Indiana - 3
Missouri - 2
Mississippi - 2
Indian Territory - 1
North Carolina - 1

Adult females

Tennessee - 20
Arkansas - 19
Georgia - 10
Missouri - 10
Alabama - 9
Ohio - 5
Illinois - 4
North Carolina - 4
Mississippi - 3
Virginia - 3
Indiana - 3
Texas - 2
Iowa - 1
Pennsylvania - 1
Maine - 1

Adult males

Tennessee - 17
Arkansas - 13
North Carolina - 8
Ohio - 8
Alabama - 7
Missouri - 6
Georgia - 5
Mississippi - 4
Illinois - 4
Indiana - 3
Virginia - 2
New York - 2
Pennsylvania - 1
Germany - 1
Kentucky - 1
New Jersey - 1

Although generally southern the community included one distinctive cluster of northerners from the Ohio who settled in the northeastern part of Center Valley. These were William Fisk, Samuel House, William White, John Burris, John Weaver, Sarah E. Jones, Israel Phillips, and Solomon Jackson. According to the 1880 Census only Frederick Coleman (Prussia) is a foreign born resident but Jehu Neal, who listed Ireland as his birthplace in 1870 and 1860 (Joshua) still lives in the study area, but does not list Ireland as his place of birth.

Parents of the adults had the following distribution with an attempt made not to double count the parents of siblings. This can be very difficult and no doubt unidentified cases of siblings were missed.

Parents of female adults

Tennessee - 37
Georgia - 19
North Carolina - 18
Kentucky - 12
Missouri - 10
Arkansas - 7
Virginia - 7
Pennsylvania - 5
Ohio - 5
Illinois - 4
South Carolina - 3
Maryland - 3
Alabama - 2
Indian Territory - 2
Mississippi - 2
Ireland - 2
Indiana - 2
Louisiana - 1
Massachusetts - 2
Connecticut - 1

Parents of male adults

Tennessee - 28
North Carolina - 20
Georgia - 13
Ohio - 13
Kentucky - 11
Virginia - 11
Alabama - 5
Illinois - 3
South Carolina - 2
Pennsylvania - 2
Germany - 2
Missouri - 2
Wales - 2
New York - 2
England - 1
Delaware - 1
Arkansas - 1

Literacy and education can be calculated based on the available data, but these data must be treated with caution. Accordingly, 26 of 63 school age female children went to school during the previous year while 31 of 66 school age male children so attended. Since some of the older children did not attend school, yet could read and write, basic literacy for children must have been relatively high. For the adults, 20 of the 95 females are listed as being unable to read and 28 as unable to write, and of 83 males eight admitted to being unable to read and 13 to being unable to write. Thus, 78.9% of the adult females claimed to be literate and 90.3% of the adult males made the same claim.

Of the 75 houses listed on the census, it can be assumed that all were on or attached to farms. Of these 75 households, 42 were farm owners and 33 were non-owners (renters or pre-emptors). Not counting estates for whom ownership may not be clear and properties for whom ownership is otherwise unclear, only Wharton Carnall (Fort Smith), the McNatts (Texas), Jacob Menzi (?), and Reuben Wright (Oklahoma and later Virginia) are not living on or near their properties in 1880. For Carnall and Wright the lands are clearly investments. The McNatts had farmed their land before moving to Texas and were apparently renting it to Pleasant Buckner. We have been unable to learn anything further about Menzi. Thus, absentee land owners were rare in 1880. Of the non-owners we know little, but it is clear that some were renting land they subsequently bought or were in the process of purchasing properties from the government and in a literal sense should be viewed as pre-emptors.

The landowners in 1880 were investigated within the personal property tax assessment books. In total 41 land owners were listed (38 males paying poll tax, two widows, and one child's estate). Within this group total personal property ranged from $50 to $895 with the median being $233. For the entire county there were 2,869 men 21 and older paying poll tax, 4,377 horses valued at $128,452 ($29.35/horse), 15,921 neat cattle valued at $98,153 ($6.17/cow), 1,551 mules and asses valued at $67,622 ($43.60/mule), 6,280 sheep valued at $6,430 ($1.02/sheep), 28,226 hogs valued at $27,041 ($0.96/hog), 1,000 pleasure carriages valued at $35,412 ($35.41/carriage), 143 gold and silver watches valued at $2,084 ($14.57/watch), 15 pianos valued at $47,080 (this must be wrong $3,138.67/piano), $2,310 worth of manufactured goods, $48,595 in cash, $50 in bonds, and other goods valued at $124,035; totalling $588,991.

The values assigned to the farm commodities within the study area fit well within the overall county parameters, but cash and manufactured goods, while common in Fort Smith and Greenwood, are rare in the county. Regarding farm animals, most families in the study area had horses, usually between one and four, but two had seven. All but two families had cattle; both of which were headed by young men without families. Between five and 15 cattle was common, but one owned 38, one 33, one 30, two 28, and one 26 which suggests that limited dairy or livestock production already was present by 1880. Only ten families had mules or asses, and never more than three were owned; one was the norm. Only 15 of 41 families owned sheep. If sheep were owned either some number between four and ten or between 30 to 80 were common. Again, the distinction may be personal versus commercial. Virtually everybody owned hogs in the community. For those owning them the average number was about 16.5 per family, but most had between eight and 15. The higher average is based on large quantities owned by Fred Coleman (60) and other individuals with 41, 40, 34, and three with 30. Twenty families owned carriages and two owned pocket watches. Three held cash, one was a child's estate ($105), a second was the carpenter who probably worked at least partially for cash ($400), and the third was an older farmer who appears to have sold land to one of his sons ($125). Thus, it appears that significant quantities of cash were unusual.

Individual Farms

Families and Farms. The following listing contains data on 40 farms and families drawn from the Population and Agricultural Schedules of the Federal Census. These individuals were chosen because we were confident that they were residents in the area and because there was a maximum amount of comparable data for these families and farms.

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILDREN AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES	IMPROVED ACRES	FARM VALUE
Ball, Harrison	39	m	1	13	2	120	34	$800.00
Ball, William	64	m	1	17		145	27	$1,000.00
Been, Benjamin	37	m	5	3-11	1	80	0	$200.00
Been, Llewellyn	30	m	4	2-7		120	15	$1,000.00

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILDREN AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES	IMPROVED ACRES	FARM VALUE
Burris, John	45	m	3	6-11		40	10	$600.00
Cahoon, Alexander	65	m	0		2	145	39	$1,000.00
Carden, David	47	m	6	7m-21		158	35	$800.00
Coleman, Frederick	47	m	7	1-16		120	53	$1,200.00
Coleman, Thomas	23	m	2	9m-2	2	40	11	$500.00
Dillahunty, Adolphus	31	m	4	1-7		80	32	$300.00
Douglas, Asa	49	m	2	16-18	4	240	42	$1,000.00
Dunn, James	27	m	2	4-6		80	45	$600.00
East, Martin A.	41	m	8	9m-18	1	134	39	$2,000.00
Ferguson, Jane	40	w	2	11-2		76	14	$400.00
Fisk, William	32	m	1	1	1	81	31	$600.00
Gann, Rachel	46	w	2	18-21		197	31	$1,000.00
Gee, Laurel	52	m	5	2-13		80	12	$600.00
Golden, Emanuel	26	m	2	3-5		80	14	$300.00
Gregg, Elizabeth	44	w	1	18	3	320	35	$800.00
Hearn, Joseph	30	m	1	1		140	39	$600.00
Jackson, Solomon	36	m	2	2-3		120	8	$600.00
Jones, Enoch	48	m	3	5-24		119	35	$600.00
Kersey, George W.	34	m	4	1-10		92	42	$600.00
Kidd, Nathan	43	m	5	1-7		79	32	$800.00
Langston, John P.	58	m	7	9-28		185	57	$1,000.00
Lairamore, Obadiah, Sr.	72	m	1	12		93	39	$800.00
Neal, Jehu	49	w	6	8-20	2	82	38	$1,000.00
Oldham, Joel	40	m	6	3-13		117	23	$500.00
Ownbey, Elizabeth	53	w	3	17-23	2	140	48	$1,000.00
Ownbey, Frank	30	m	3	2-5		150	52	$1,200.00
Paddock, Ethelbert	47	m	2	3-12		86	14	$1,000.00
Peninger, T. P.	32	m	3	3m-6	1	190	51	$1,600.00
Pennington, Ollie	30	m	0			160	20	$1,000.00
Phillips, Israel	58	m	3	13-33		83	11	$600.00
Pinnell, Peter	45	m	4	2-8		187	50	$1,600.00
Roose, Franklin	44	m	1	20		80	30	$1,000.00

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILDREN AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES	IMPROVED ACRES	FARM VALUE
Stewart, John	43	m	5	6-17		140	30	$1,000.00
Thames, Harmond	66	m	3	19-41	1	80	29	$600.00
Treadaway, Caroline	52	w	1	21	3	81	17	$400.00
Wooten, Jeptha	45	m	5	5-14		77	17	$600.00
Total						4817	1201	

Children are present in all but one of these farms. Ten of these families have five or more children in residence. The age range for children runs from less than one year to 41 years and several families have children 15 years or more apart. Thirteen families have persons living with them. In most of these cases, these persons are members of the extended families; mothers, mothers-in-law, grandchildren, as well as nieces and nephews. Some, like the Asa Douglas farm, contains two families as Martha Douglas, Asa's wife, has her son (William Steele) by a previous marriage, his wife and two children. Two farms have "live-in" male farm laborers and two have "live-in" housekeepers.

Three of these farms are headed by males in their twenties and four by males older than 60. Four farms are headed by widows. All of these have lived in the area for a decade or more. Jane Ferguson was married to Elijah Ferguson, Rachel Gann was married to Robert Gann, and Elizabeth Ownbey was married to David Ownbey.

There is considerable difference in the value placed on the farms, ranging from $2,000 for the M. A. East farm to two farms valued at $300, the Adolphus Dillahunty and the Emanuel Golden farms, and to $200 for the Benjamin Been farm. Twenty one are valued at $1,000 or more. All of the farms, except one, report improved acreage and 24 of them report 30 acres or more of improved land. Thus, our sample contains a large number of mature, well-developed farms.

Crops, Commodities, and Livestock. Information about the types of crops grown and commodities produced on these farms was gathered from the Agricultural Schedules which, by this time, have become quite detailed. While we believe the crops, commodities, and livestock listed in the census and tax records represent the major crops and commodities in the community, in all likelihood, these do not include all the items grown or produced, nor all the different types of livestock. The following lists show examples of crops produced, acreage cultivated for particular crops, commodities, and livestock as listed on the census and tax records.

NAME	CORN	OATS	WHEAT	COTTON	IRISH POTATOES	SWEET POTATOES	SHORGUM	TOBACCO	APPLES	PEACHES
Ball, Harrison	300	0	223	11	0	0	0	0	20	20
Ball, William	200	20	60	3	0	0	0	0	0	0

NAME	CORN	OATS	WHEAT	COTTON	IRISH POTATOES	SWEET POTATOES	SHORGUM	TOBACCO	APPLES	PEACHES
Been, Benjamin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Been, Llewellyn	200	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Burris, John	150	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	200	0
Cahoon, Alexander	300	150	25	6	0	0	0	0	100	20
Carden, David	175	75	8	4	25	35	60	0	10	30
Coleman, Frederick	500	200	115	2	0	0	0	0	100	40
Coleman, Thomas	175	10	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dillahunty, Adolphus	200	0	4	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
Douglas, Asa	400	0	21	10	0	0	60	0	40	0
Dunn, James	400	40	16	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
East, Martin	200	25	0	20	0	0	10	0	0	0
Ferguson, Jane	125	22	0	2	0	0	42	0	40	0
Fisk, William	350	80	0	9	0	0	40	0	0	0
Gann, Rachel	250	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gee, Laurel	150	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Golden, Emanuel	150	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	0
Gregg, Elizabeth	80	50	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hearn, Joseph	200	15	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jackson, Solomon	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jones, Enoch	360	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kersey, George W.	500	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kidd, Nathan	100	150	240	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Langston, John	300	250	12	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laramore, Obadiah, Sr	300	0	0	18	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neal, Jehu	500	0	0	4	25	0	0	0	0	0

NAME	CORN	OATS	WHEAT	COTTON	IRISH POTATOES	SWEET POTATOES	SHORGUM	TOBACCO	APPLES	PEACHES
Oldham, Joel	150	15	25	0	0	0	60	0	0	0
Ownbey, Frank	500	50	126	7	0	0	0	0	8	0
Ownby, Elizabeth	155	50	25	9	15	30	0	0	50	40
Paddock, Ethelbert	450	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peninger, Taylor	400	50	40	12	0	0	0	0	50	0
Pennington, Olie	250	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	2
Phillips, Israel	100	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pinnell, Peter	800	50	0	13	0	0	0	0	20	80
Roose, Frank	200	30	37	8	0	0	0	0	20	0
Stewart, John	400	30	0	0	20	30	0	0	0	0
Thames, Harmond	300	30	0	7	0	25	30	0	0	80
Tredaway, Carol	150	20	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wooten, Jephth	200	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	15	0

Corn was produced at 38 of our 40 farms; only the Benjamin Been and Solomon Jackson farms failed to report corn. Apparently the Benjamin Been farm was just getting started. Solomon Jackson was also a physician. Peter Pinnell reported the production of 800 bushels of corn and of the others only Elizabeth Gregg produced less than 80 bushels. Of the other grain crops, 22 farms produced oats (four over 100 bushels each with John Langston reporting 250 bushels) and 15 raised wheat with Harrison Ball producing the most.

Sweet potatoes (four farms), Irish potatoes (four farms), and shorgum (7 farms) were grown in the study area, but no farms reported the production of tobacco. Sixteen of the farms produced either peaches or apples or both.

By 1880 cotton had become well established. Thirty-six of the forty farms in our samples raised cotton, presumably as a cash crop. Only the Benjamin Been, Emanuel Golden, Joel Oldham, and John Stewart farms did not report cotton production.

The following listing presents the relative amount of acreage devoted to the various crops being produced in the study area.

LASTNAME	CORN	OATS	WHEAT	COTTON	IRISH POTATOES	SWEET POTATOES	SORGHUM	APPLES	PEACHES
Ball, Harrison	12	0	11	13	0	0	0	1	1
Ball, William	10	4	9	4	0	0	0	1	0
Been, Benjamin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Been, Llewellyn	9	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
Burris, John	6	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0
Cahoon, Alexander	12	8	10	9	0	0	0	2	2
Carden, David	12	7	8	6	0.5	0.5	1	3	8
Coleman, Frederick	18	16	16	3	0	0	0	1	2
Coleman, Thomas	7	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Dillahunty, Adolphus	18	0	25	15	0	0	0	0	0
Douglas, Asa	22	0	4	15	0	0	1	1	0
Dunn, James	16	4	9	16	0	0	0	0	0
East, Martin	15	2	0	9	0	0	2	2	1
Ferguson, Jane	7	3	0	3	0	0	1	4	0
Fisk, William	11	8	0	11	0	0	1	1	0
Gann, Rachel	18	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0
Gee, Laural	5	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
Golden, Emanuel	8	0	0	6	0	0	0	8	0
Gregg, Elizabeth	8	7	0	20	0	0	0	0	0
Hearn, Joseph	15	3	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
Jackson, Solomon	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
Jones, Enoch	15	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	0
Kersey, George W.	30	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0
Kidd, Nathan	1	15	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
Langston, John	15	30	6	5	0	0	0	1	1
Laramore, Obadiah, Sr.	14	0	0	25	0	0	0	0	0
Neal, Jehu	30	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
Oldham, Joel	7	2	6	7	0	0	1	0	0
Ownbey, Frank	20	6	16	10	0	0	0	4	0
Ownby, Elizabeth	15	8	9	15	0.5	0.5	0	1	1
Paddock, Ethelbert	12	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Peninger, Taylor	24	6	9	14	0	0	0	1	0
Pennington, Olie	12	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	1
Phillips, Israel	5	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
Pinnell, Peter	25	5	0	20	0	0	0	3	1
Roose, Frank	12	3	7	14	0	0	0	2	0
Stewart, John	16	4	0	8	0.5	0.5	0	0	0

LASTNAME	CORN	OATS	WHEAT	COTTON	IRISH POTATOES	SWEET POTATOES	SORGHUM	APPLES	PEACHES
Thames, Harmond	15	4	0	9	0	0.5	0	0	1
Tredaway, Carol	10	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Wooten, Jephth	10	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	0

The farms in the sample also produced a variety of commodities. All but five report the production of butter. The Peter Pinnell reported the production of 400 pounds of butter and we believe that this was aimed at the cash market. All but three of the farms report egg production, eight report the production of honey, and 17 reported various amounts of wool.

NAME	BUTTER	HONEY	CHEESE	WOOL	EGGS	HONEY
Ball, Harrison	150	0	0	30	60	15
Ball, William	50	0	0	0	150	0
Been, Benjamin	0	0	0	0	0	0
Been, Llewellyn	150	0	0	24	50	0
Burris, John	150	20	0	0	100	20
Cahoon, Alexander	200	0	0	25	150	150
Carden, David	300	0	100	0	150	0
Coleman, Fred	500	0	0	50	150	30
Coleman, Thomas	40	0	0	0	50	150
Dillahunty, Adolphus	20	0	0	0	20	0
Douglas, Asa	300	0	0	0	200	0
Dunn, James	200	0	0	0	150	0
East, Martin A.	200	0	0	8	100	0
Ferguson, Jane	200	20	0	30	100	0
Fisk, William	0	0	0	0	100	0
Gann, Rachel	150	0	0	0	200	0
Gee, Laurell	0	0	0	0	0	0
Golden, Emanuel	85	0	0	0	35	0
Gregg, Elizabeth	100	35	0	35	50	35
Hearn, Joseph	100	0	0	4	75	0
Jackson, Solomon	150	0	0	95	50	0
Jones, Enoch	100	0	0	4	75	0
Kersey, George W.	150	0	0	0	100	0
Kidd, Nathan	50	35	0	38	80	55

NAME	BUTTER	HONEY	CHEESE	WOOL	EGGS	HONEY
Langston, John P.	200	0	0	0	50	0
Laramore, Obediah, Sr.	120	0	0	6	120	0
McCalister, Jasper	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neal, Jehu	250	0	0	0	205	0
Oldham, Joel	150	0	0	0	150	0
Ownbey, Frank	100	0	0	8	100	0
Ownby, Elizabeth	150	0	0	0	50	0
Paddock, Ethelbert	100	0	0	0	50	0
Penninger, Taylor	200	0	0	14	250	0
Pennington, Olie	50	0	0	12	0	0
Phillips, Israel	200	0	0	0	250	0
Pinnell, Peter	400	70	0	56	80	70
Roose, Frank	150	0	0	0	250	0
Stewart, John	200	0	0	10	100	0
Thames, Harmond	150	0	0	0	100	0
Tredaway, Carol	150	0	0	0	100	0
Wooten, Jephtha	0	0	0	0	50	0

Milch cows and horses were present at almost every farm and all but three farms raised chickens and/or turkeys. Mules (or asses) were used by 19 farms, all of which also had horses. All but three of the farms raised cattle and 18 had sheep; the Peter Pinnell farm reported raising 100. Swine were also present at nearly every farm.

NAME	HORSES	MULES/ ASSES	MILCH COWS	CATTLE	SWINE	SHEEP	CHICKEN/ TURKEYS
Ball, Harrison	1	1	4	13	0	28	20/
Ball, William	1	1	4	3	11	0	30/
Been, Benjamin	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Been, Llewllyn	6	0	4	17	34	20	50/
Burris, John	1	0	4	7	8	0	25/
Cahoon, Alexander	3	0	2	3	10	19	40/
Cardin, David	4	0	9	14	25	0	60/
Coleman, Frederick	3	0	7	25	75	50	30/
Coleman, Thomas	0	0	1	3	39	0	22/

NAME	HORSES	MULES/ ASSES	MILCH COWS	CATTLE	SWINE	SHEEP	CHICKEN/ TURKEYS
Dillahunty, Adolphus	2	0	1	2	10	0	25/
Douglas, Asa	10	0	9	24	25	4	20/
Dunn, James	1	1	1	2	14	0	18/
East, Martin	2	3	5	10	21	6	25/
Ferguson, Jane	2	0	3	0	15	15	50/
Fisk, William	2	0	3	22	7	0	24/
Gann, Rachel	6	2	5	7	50	0	50/
Gee, Laurell	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Golden, Emanuel	1	0	2	4	12	0	25/
Gregg, Elizabeth	4	1	14	26	40	50	30/30
Hearn, Joseph	4	0	3	9	8	4	75/
Jackson, Solomon	0	1	4	8	20	80	13/
Jones, Enoch	2	5	4	4	12	4	20/
Kersey, George W.	2	0	2	28	13	0	12/
Kidd, Nathan	6	1	4	6	20	40	20/
Langston, John	2	1	4	12	23	0	20/
Laramore, Obadiah, Sr.	3	1	4	6	33	8	18/
Neal, Jehu	6	2	5	25	11	30	25/19
Oldham, Joel	3	0	3	2	10	0	25/
Ownbey, Frank	2	1	2	6	10	12	5/
Ownbey, Elizabeth	2	0	7	4	19	0	25/
Paddock, Ethelbert	3	0	6	12	10	0	53/
Pennington, Ollie	2	3	2	13	20	20	0
Peninger, Taylor	2	3	10	18	35	10	50/
Phillips, Israel	2	0	5	4	6	0	30/
Pinnell, Peter	5	3	11	39	50	100	12/
Roose, Frank	3	0	9	8	20	0	50/
Stewart, John	1	2	5	2	25	7	125/
Thames, Harmond	2	0	2	7	30	0	30/
Tredaway, Carol	1	1	3	4	20	0	20/
Wooten, Jeptha	5	0	4	4	80	0	12/

The following is a listing of items for 31 families taken from the Sebastian County Personal Property tax records. These show some discrepancies with the number of particular animals reported on the census.

NAME	MULES/ ASSES	HORSES	NEAT COWS	SWINE	SHEEP	CARRIAGES	TOTAL VALUE
Ball, Harrison	0	2	5	5	0	0	$88.00
Ball, William	0	2	12	15	0	1	$450.00
Bateman, James	0	2	11	33	0	1	$308.00
Been, Llewellyn	0	4	11	34	22	1	$306.00
Burris, John	0	1	11	8	0	0	$123.00
Cahoon, Alexander	0	3	5	12	15	1	$179.00
Coleman, Frederick	0	3	38	60	47	1	$601.00
Dillahunty, Mrs. E. P.	0	0	2	0	0	2	$260.00
Dunn, James	1	1	2	10	0	0	$97.00
East, Martin A.	0	1	7	8	0	0	$99.00
Fisk, William	0	1	26	9	0	1	$279.00
Gann, Rachel	0	3	5	2	0	0	$99.00
Gee, Laurel/ Sarah?	1	1	1	4	0	0	$196.00
Hearn, Joseph	0	2	6	15	6	0	$147.00
Jackson, Solomon	0	2	12	15	82	0	$245.00
Jones, Enoch	1	7	11	25	0	1	$370.00
Kersey, George W.	0	2	33	11	0	1	$399.00
Kidd, Nathan	0	7	11	12	44	0	$361.00
Lairamore, Obadiah, Sr	0	0	2	9	8	0	$87.00
Langston, John P.	1	2	11	41	0	1	$336.00
Neal, Jehu	2	3	30	5	30	1	$895.00
Oldham, Joel	0	2	8	25	0	0	$145.00
Ownbey, Frank	1	2	9	10	12	1	$362.00
Paddock, Ethelbert	0	3	15	10	0	1	$250.00
Peninger, Taylor	3	0	16	25	7	1	$293.00
Phillips, Israel	0	2	10	8	0	0	$115.00
Pinnell, Peter	0	3	23	20	50	1	$425.00
Roose, Franklin	0	2	10	24	0	1	$229.00
Steele, William	0	1	6	20	0	0	$110.00

NAME	MULES/ ASSES	HORSES	NEAT COWS	SWINE	SHEEP	CARRIAGES	TOTAL VALUE
Thames, Harmond	0	4	7	30	0	0	$297.00
Wooten, Jephtha	0	3	8	40	0	1	$238.00

These figures show some considerable variation in the amount of value claimed for the personal property at these 31 farms; almost half of which (14 of 31) possess carriages. The highest reported personal property value was $895 by Jehu Neal (a figure which may reflect both his and Elizabeth Gregg). The lowest value was $87 by long time resident Obadiah Lairamore, Sr. Five of these families reported personal property valued at less than $100. These were Harrison Ball ($88) who is the son of William Ball, James Dunn ($97), Martin A. East ($99) who owned one of the most valuable farms in the area, and the widow Rachel Gann ($99). Four families reported more than $400 in personal property. These include Jehu Neal ($895), William Ball ($450), Frederick Coleman ($601), and Peter Pinnell ($425).

Summary

By the early 1880s the Center Valley area had recovered from the traumatic Civil War and its aftermath and, in a very real sense, had begun again. The community is about to enter its most prosperous period. It is during this decade that the pattern of settlement is established which will last until the community was dispersed in 1941.

In comparing the individual farms in our sample we again see that there is some considerable diversity but diversity which relates more to the economic level of the various farms. On the one hand we see the farms of the Benjamin Been, Laurel Gee, and Ollie Pennington families which appear to be just starting. On the other, there are the large, mature farms like that of Peter Pinnell which are producing significant quantities of goods for the cash market. It appears that the difference between these farms is to be measured not so much in the nature of the activities being conducted at these farms, but the scale at which these operations are taking place.

Chapter 9. Center Valley 1890

Overview

The decade of the 1880s is the first for which we have a complete set of courthouse records. This is also the decade in which the first county-wide atlas was prepared and the Center Valley School District (SD 69) was formed. It is also a decade of growth, but now probably more from population growth from within although certainly new families, such as the McLellans, first appeared in the study area during this period. The period is still before living memory, but is well within the oral record passed on to children in the 1910s and 1920s. The tragic loss of the 1890 Federal Census records which burned in Washington, D. C., prior, to being copied does, however, create a major gap in our data sources for this year.

One of the defining features of a community is its school. Prior to 1885, there was no school within the study area and, apparently, many of the students went to Lone Star (Eppler School - SD 18), to the south of the study area. In the mid-1880s, the number of schools in the county probably doubled and by 1890 there was a school in Center Valley (SD 69) and one at Sulphur Springs (SD 43), both within the study area, as well as schools at Marietta, Auburn, and Lone Star, just beyond. Of these districts only the Center Valley School was entirely within the study area. It was originally located in the SW corner of Lot 4 in Section 5, Township 6N, Range 29W. Sulphur Springs school was located at the edge of the study area, in the SE corner of Lot 5, Section 2, Township 6N, Range 30W but later moved to a location just south of the cemetery.

According to County Court Book records, on 11 July 1885, Lone Star School (SD 28) had 137 pupils (B p. 22) and on 12 July 1886 it had 139 pupils (B p. 187). On 3 January 1887, J. P. Langston petitioned the Court to establish a new school, SD 69, by subdividing SD 28, to include Sections 4, 5, and 6, and the north halves of Sections 7, 8, and 9 of Township 6N, Range 29W. This proposal was accepted and the Center Valley School District was established. By the summer of 1887 SD 69 had 58 students and SD 28 now had 91 (B p. 361). By 3 October 1887, the school directors were John Burris, Alfred S. Sampson, and Harrison Ball. They were elected for three year terms and they established a school tax of six mills (B p. 373). By August 1888, there were 73 students in the district (C p. 3), by October 1888, 78 students (C p. 34), by August 18989, 69 children (C p. 153), and by August 1890, 80 children (C p. 281). Thus, in only three years, the school exhibited almost 40% growth. This dramatic growth represents a massive increase in school age population (either maturation or new arrivals).

A second defining feature of a community is a commercial center. In the late 1870s, J. P. Langston established his post office in Center Valley, but soon Ethelbert Paddock appears to have established the village of Auburn just to the north of Center Valley, about midway between Charleston and Greenwood. In his 1886 application to create a Post Office at what was to become Auburn, Ethelbert Paddock wrote,

The people of this vicinity are very anxious to have the Post Office called Edna from the fact there is a village starting here with a store, church and school house that is know as Edna all about the country.

Apparently the name Auburn was judged more appropriate than Edna and soon (1886) the Post Office moved there. A masonic hall (Edna Lodge) was established at the edge of town and Ames Chapel was located just two miles to the east.

Although never linked into the national network directly, in the mid-1880s train service reached Greenwood, Booneville, and Waldron, coming south from Fort Smith. This act produced two immediate impacts. First, it brought this region nearer to the national economy. Goods (like cotton) could now be taken directly to gins near depots for sale and immediate shipment. Fewer middle men or haulers were needed. Likewise goods (like coffee and sugar) could be shipped to depots and collected by local storekeepers. No doubt this had an effect. The second impact is far clearer. The train system passed the coal fields of central Sebastian County which up to this point had only been utilized for local consumption where veins were exposed at the surface. With transportation available, coal mines developed rapidly. Sales of mineral rights and then entire farms began as soon as the railroads reached the area. By the early 20th Century, the south-eastern part of the study area had become part of a large commercial coal interest. The road to commercialism here began with the trains of the 1880s.

While land had been lost for non-payment of taxes before, especially during and soon after the Civil War, probably the most spectacular bankruptcy in the region occurred in the mid-1880s when, early settler and large land-owner, Peter Pinnell lost his farm. On 18 April 1885, a consortium of creditors initiated legal action against Pinnell in Chancery Court, Sebastian County (Case 96 as re-indexed in 1941), claiming total non-payment of notes secured by his property. In fact, Pinnell had even failed to pay property taxes on the lands. Judgement in favor of the creditors cost Pinnell all his property. Pinnell and family immediately left the region and moved to the vicinity of Waldron, Scott County, where they established a new farm. It does not appear that land speculation cost Pinnell his Center Valley lands since he had acquired most of them years earlier. For whatever reason, Pinnell was mortgaged to the hilt and he failed.

A final point to be made is in the events of the late 1880s and the early 1890s with respect to the sole Afro-American resident of the study area, Phyllis Hawkins. Hawkins spent most of her life after emancipation working for a member of the family that formerly had owned her, Elizabeth Hawkins Webb. In 1860, Elizabeth Hawkins married William Webb. He died in 1869 and Elizabeth Webb immediately married Mr. Gregg. In 1870, Phyllis Hawkins lived with them as a nanny, raising the one child William Webb, Jr. Phyllis Hawkins remained with the family into the 1880s, even after Elizabeth Hawkins Webb Gregg married Jehu Neal. When William Webb, Jr., married Cora Stambeck in 1885, she appears to have moved in with them becoming a nanny for the one child of this marriage, Ethel Webb. William Webb died in 1889, and the following year Elizabeth Hawkins Webb Gregg died. At this point litigation began over aspects of the estates of both William Webbs. The Neals and, apparently, reconstructionist Northern lawyers sided with Phyllis Hawkins, against Cora Stamback Webb and her soon-to-be husband and executor of the estate of William Webb, Jr.,

J. R. Norvell. In the end, Phyllis Hawkins won a small settlement and, at the behest of relatives in the east moved back there and later died. Oral tradition has it that her relatives took her money and that she regretted ever having left Arkansas. A truly surprising aspect of this latter story is that Phyllis Hawkins learned to read and write late in life, no doubt after emancipation and while living with the Webb family. Thus, she was able to write the Webbs later in the 1890s and describe her sorrow at ever having moved. With the departure of Phyllis Webb about 1894, the study area lost its sole Afro-American resident and, apparently, never had another who lived there on a permanent basis.

Figure 19. William J. Webb, Jr., and Cora Stamback Webb

A crucial data source for this period was produced between 1885 and 1887. In 1887, E. L. Hayes and Company of Fort Smith published the *Atlas of Sebastian County, Arkansas*. The goal of this atlas was to show ownership (as of about 1886), but it also shows the road system, rivers, and the location of major structures or house-lots on farms. It also shows cemeteries and schools and, in places, orchards and unimproved lands. In our attempt to reconstruction the landscape and environment of this period the, *Atlas* is invaluable. Figure 20 is a composite constructed from various pages of the *Atlas* which shows the houses and roads noted in the mid-1880s.

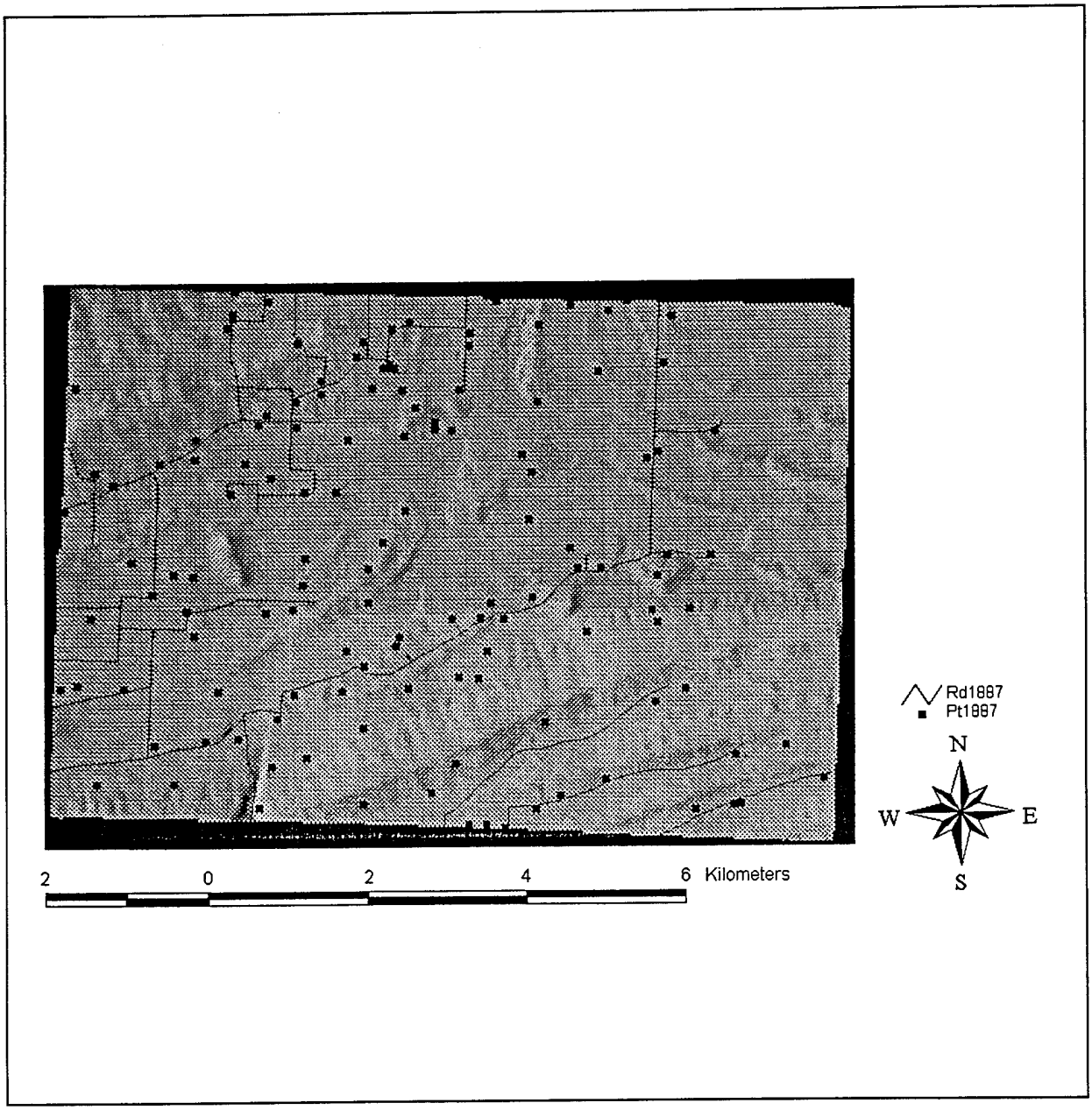
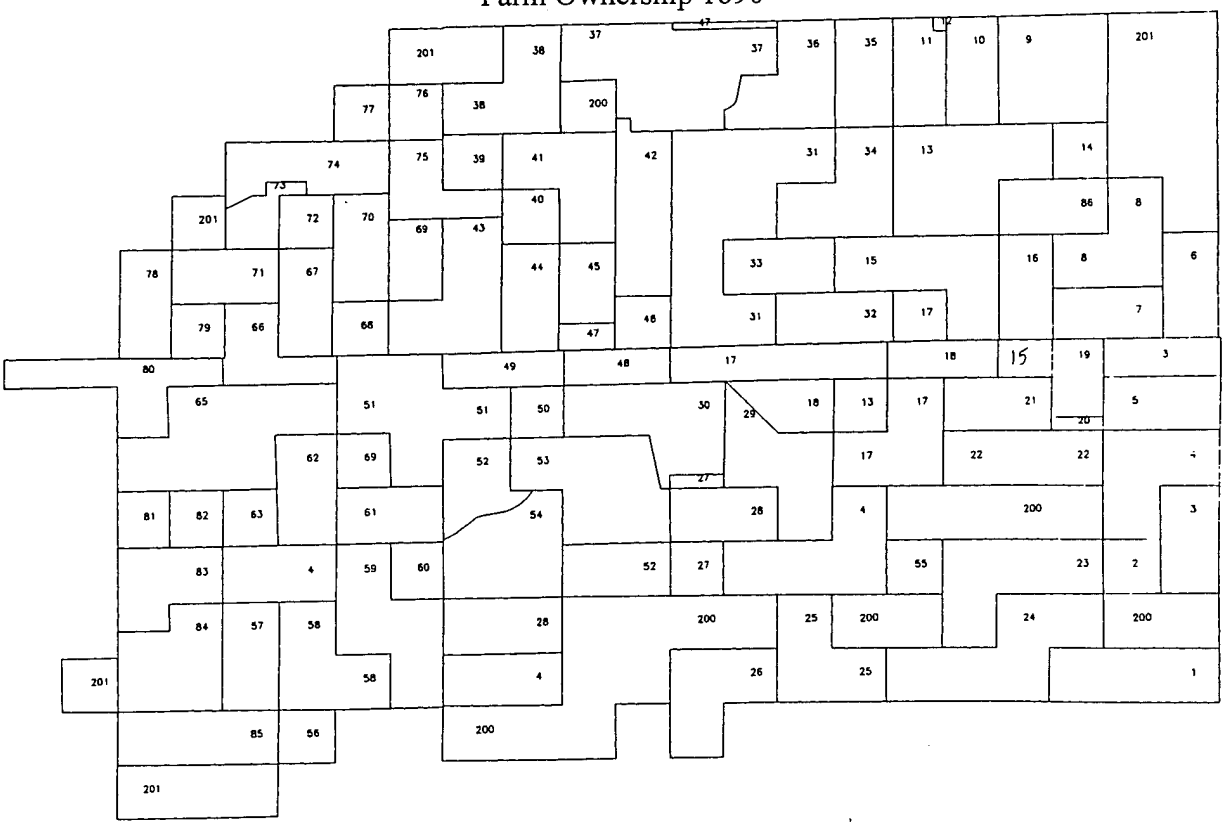


Figure 20. Roads and Houses in 1887

Property Ownership and Farm Size. By 1890 the amount of publically held land had been reduced dramatically; in part, replaced by land now held by large corporations. The schematic representation on the following page illustrates the size and distribution of farms in 1890.

USA	Arkansas	Corporate	Unknown	Private	Number of Farms
735	10	663	715	7927	81

Farm Ownership 1890



1 Simmons, David H.
2 Crossland, J. H.
3 Unknown
4 Little Rock Fort Smith Railroad
5 Frye, Quin J.
6 Rainey, J. H.
7 Speegle, George W.
8 Rainey, W .F.
9 Jones, J., E.
10 Weaver, J. M.
11 Kidd, Nathan J.
12 Chapel Ames
13 Davis, I. V.
14 Jones?, Anita
15 East, Martin A.
16 Burris, John
17 Jones, Enoch M.
18 Nobles, J. W.
19 Sampson, A. S.
20 Arkansas, State of
21 Treadaway, Caroline Dial
22 White, E.
23 Crossland, Jephthah E.
24 Little Rock Memphis Railroad
25 Gilliam, John F.
26 Williams, John M.
27 Nobles, J. R.
28 Kersey, George W.
29 McLellan, Tobias E.
30 Buckner, Pleasant
31 Webb, William J., estate
32 Neal, Jehu
33 Phillips, A .A.
34 Jackson, Solomon
35 Weaver, M. L.
36 Frye, Newell C.
37 Peninger, T. P.
38 Paddock, Ethelbert
39 Jones, Rebecca E.
40 Douglas, Asa
41 Nichols, Pink Victoria
42 Steele, William H.
43 Been, Llewellyn
44 Been, Benjamin F.
45 Roose, Emery
46 Merritt, Louis
47 Roose, Mary L.
48 Jones, W. E.
49 Partin, Maliciah J.
50 Norvell, Elbert T.
51 Epley, Samual J.
52 Ball, Harrison
53 Langston, John P.
54 Ball, William
55 Beach, Larkin L.
56 Lalley
56 Phillips
57 Cahoon, Ellis
58 Williams, J. B.
59 Dillahunty, Adolphis
60 Norvell, W. R.
61 Menzi, Jacob
62 Ferguson, Amy J.
63 McAlister, Mattie Ferguson
64 Golden, Emanuel M.
65 Cardin, David N.
66 Thames, Harmon, estate
67 Wickoff, E. W.
68 Throan, S. P.
69 Ferguson
69 Owenby
70 Been, Z. H.
71 Patterson, John
72 Wolverton, J. T.
73 Penington, O. P.
74 Gann, George W.
75 Gee, S. J.
76 Holley, W. F.
77 Lockridge, D. P.
78 Griffin, W. H.
79 McAlister, T. H. B.
80 Oldham, Joel K.
81 Gee, Laurel, estate
82 Ferguson, William J.
83 McKelvey, W. H.
84 Stewart, J. F.
85 Coleman, Fredrick
200 USA
201 Unknown

Slightly less than half the farms present in 1890 are 80 acres or less but this is less than 30% of the acreage in private hands. About 40% of the farms are over 120 acres. There are seven farms of 200 acres or more (8.6%), making up about 16% of the private acreage.

Farm Size	Farms	Percentage of Farms	Acres	Percentage of Acreage
<35 acres	1	1.23%	31	0.39%
36-45 acres	17	20.99%	702	8.86%
46-75 acres	6	7.41%	315	3.97%
76-85 acres	17	20.99%	1375	17.35%
86-115 acres	6	7.41%	581	7.33%
116-125 acres	10	12.35%	1210	15.26%
126-155 acres	9	11.11%	1091	13.76%
156-165 acres	5	6.17%	802	10.12%
166-195 acres	3	3.70%	547	6.90%
196-205 acres	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
>206 acres	7	8.64%	1273	16.06%
Total Farms	81			
Total Acreage	7927			

Community Composition and Social Statistics. Virtually all schedules of the 1890 Federal Census were destroyed by fire in Washington, DC, prior to being microfilmed. Therefore, this invaluable source of data is unavailable for 1890. Aspects of the census data can be extrapolated based on the 1880 and 1900 Federal Census, the 1890 Sebastian County Personal Property Tax Rolls, Real Estate Tax Rolls, the 1887 *Sebastian County Atlas*, deeds, and abstracts. The effort required to make such reconstructions is considerable and can never match the original 1890 census data.

To reconstruct who lived in the study area in 1890, we began with the deeds and abstracts and identified who owned property here. The entire School District 69 (Center Valley) is located within the study area as well as well as parts of School Districts 9, 28, 43, and 49. Thus, it is possible to go through the tax lists and search for all known owners as well as all residents of SD 69. Jointly, such lists should identify all owners except those non-owners who lived outside of SD 69 but within the study area.

For those who appear as residents of SD 69 and not on the deeds, they must be residents who were either renters, laborers, or adult children. For those on the title list but not on the tax list, they must be absentee owners, or live in Franklin County, or are living with a second husband. According to this analysis, we have records describing 76 households that must have lived in the study area in 1890. Within SD 69 there were 28 households, 17 owners and 11 renters. If that ratio is extended to lands beyond SD 69, then as many as 26 renting families may not be included in this enumeration. If that is the case, then about 100 families lived in the study area in 1890.

By combining data preserved on the 1880 and 1900 Federal Censuses with tombstone data and then extrapolating, it is possible to arrive at an estimated population:

Head of Household	**Estimated Residents***
Harrison Ball	49M, 40W, 6F
William Ball	74M, 70F, 27F
Larkin L. Beach	
Benjamin F. Been	47M, 45F, 21F, 19M, 15F, 12F, 11M, 8M
Llewellyn Been	41M, 44F, 17F, 15M, 13M, 11M, 9F, 5F, 2M, 0F
Z. Houston Been	32M, 27F, 6M, 2M
Pleasant Buckner	45M, 43F, 20M, 15F, 13M, 11M, 6M, 4F, 2F, 0M
John Burris	55M, 55F, 19M, 16M
Ellis Cahoon	40M, 39F, 19M, 16M, 13M, 9M, 4M, 1F
S. P. Campbell	50F, 21M
David N. Carden	57M, 50F, 15F, 13F, 10F
W. B. Clay	
Fred Coleman	58M, 49F, 20M, 19F, 17F, 6M, 5F, 3F, 1M, 0F
John F. Coleman	22M, XF
Jephthah E. Crossland	49M, 39F, 19M, 17F, 16M, 15F, 13M, 10M
Ireton V. Davis	51M, 32F, 5F, 4M, 0M
Jno. T. Dial	
Adolphus Dillahunty	41M, 35F, 17F, 16F, 15M, 11M, 7F, 5F, 4F, 2M, 0M
Asa Douglas	50M, 57F
Martin A. East	51M, 48F, 19F, 18M, 16F, 14F, 12M, 10F, 8M, 6M, 0F
Martin L. East	22M, 21F, 2F, 0F
James Edwards	51M, 50F, 20F, 19M, 14M, 14F, 12M
Sarah Edwards	
Jane Ferguson	50F, 23M, 22F
George W. Gann	37M, 35F, 14M, 12M, 7F, 4M, 1F
Sarah J. Gee	49F, 19M, 17F, 16F, 12M
Emanuel M. Golden	36M, 39F, 15F, 13M, 9M, 8F, 6M
W. H. Griffin	43M, 46F, 19M, 18F, 11F, 8M, 7F, 6M
Mrs. Solomon Jackson	37F, 13F, 12M, 8F, 5F, 5F
Enoch M. Jones	60M, 52F, 21M, 15F
Monroe Jones	26M, 24F, 1M
Rebecca E. Jones	50F, 20F, 18M
W. E. Jones	
George W. Kersey	44M, 40F, 20F, 14M, 13F, 11F, 6M
Nathan J. Kidd	52M, 47F, 17F, 16F, 14M, 13M, 11F, 9F, 6F
John P. Langston	60M, 56F, 21F, 19F, 26M, XF, 3M, 1M, 28M, F18, M0
D. P. Lockridge	

Mattie F. McAlister	45F, 23M, 19M, 17F, 13M, 12M
T. H. B. McAllister	
W. H. McKelvey	
Tobias E. McLellan	45M, 28F, 2M
H. A. Meadows	
William K. Meeks	19M, 21M
Lewis Merritt	35M, 34F, 14M, 10M
Jehu Neal	59M, 54F, 23M, 20F, 18M, 55F
P. V. Nichols	
(Mrs. J. A. Nichols)	XM, 25F, 0F
J. W. Nobles	39M, 39F, 15F,
Mary Nobles	
(Mrs. J. R. Nobles)	
Elbert T. Norvell	40M, 36F, 8F, 7F, 5M, 5M, 3M, 3M, 1F
J. R. Norvell	44M
Joel K. Oldham	52M, 43F, 21M, 18M, 16M, 16M, 13M, 4F, 1M
Ethelbert Paddock	57M, 49F, 22F, 13M
Maliciah James Partin	54M, 47F, 20F, 17F, 13F
O. P. Pennington	48M, 42F
Rachel Peninger	35F, 16F, 12M, 10M, 5F
Israel Phillips	68M, 66F, 23M
J. H. Rainey	
W. F. Rainey	
Emery W. Roose	30M, 27F, 8F, 6F, 5M, 3M
Mary L. Roose	54M, 53F
David H. Simmons	
Sarah Smith	
George W. Speegle	41M, 34F, 12F, 8F, 5F, 3M, 1F
William H. Steele	36M, 28F, 6M, 2M, 0M
John F. Stewart	53M, 50F, 20M, 19F, 16F, 12F
J. R. Sumpter	
James T. Thames	29M, 21F, 6M, 3F, 1M
Simon P. Throan	58F, 48F, 19M
Caroline Treadaway	62F
H. D. Walten	
Cora Webb	23F, 60F, 3F
Sarah E. White	68F, 24F ch. G. W. White
Ephraim W. Wickoff	60M, 54F, 20M
Joseph B. Williams	34M, 33F, 7F, 5F, 3F, 0M
John M. Williams	68M
J. T. Wolverton	35M, 30F, 10F, 8F, 6M, 3M, 1M

* M = male, F = female, 0 = infant under one year old, X = age unknown

If we take these known people and add five for each family with no data, the suggested population for the study area is 393, which, in itself, is probably an underestimate. If we then consider the estimated 26 other families not listed (renters), and also multiply by five, we add 130 more people. A population around 500, therefore, is likely for the study area.

One way to check these data comes from the 1890 school census which lists 80 students in SD 69. If one totals the known school-age children in SD 69 families, one gets 40. This suggests that our

estimates of population are a bit short and that the estimate five as an average family size and 26 missing families may be a bit short. If that is so, a population in the 500s can be suggested.

Our best estimates of economic condition are also derived from the tax records. For the county as a whole in 1890, 3,934 adult males paid poll tax. Items enumerate included 5,058 horses worth $188,413 ($37.25/horse), 18,717 neat cattle worth $96,988 ($5.18/cow), 2,166 mules and asses worth $109,021 ($50.33/mules), 3,137 sheep worth $3,010 ($0.96/sheep), 23,232 hogs worth $25,002 ($1.08/hog), 2,201 carriages and wagons worth $48,270 ($21.93/ vehicle), 575 gold and silver watches worth $5,962 ($10.38), 86 pianos worth $5,270 ($61.28/piano), good and merchandise worth $101,175, $475 in manufactured goods, $12,610 in cash, $104,307 in investments, $870 in bonds, and $217,993 worth of other items; totalling $919,377. The prices in the study area seem representative of the county.

Seventy-two families were listed on the tax assessment records for the study area. The largest estate was $788 and the minimum was $30. The median was $206.50 and the average was $234.50. A total of 168 horses were owned by the 72 families, most families having between one and three, but two owned ten and one owned seven. Seventy of the seventy-two families owned cattle, usually between two and ten, but as many as 22 were owned. Twenty-five of the 72 families owned mules or asses, usually owning one or two; only one family owned as many as three. Eight of the 72 families owned sheep, but these families owned 191 sheep with one family owned 75 and another 70. One might suggest that up to ten sheep would be for the family's use, but that the two owning 70 and 75 sheep were commercially held. Sixty of the 72 families owned hogs, usually less than 20 per farm, but one owned 40, one 33, and two 30. Even the largest numbers could probably be explained as for personal consumption. Fifty-four carriages and wagons were held by the families, almost inevitably one per family.

Few residents held anything but unreported amounts of cash. Harrison Ball is listed with $500 in cash as was his father, William Ball. The widow Sarah Elizabeth While had $183; John P. Langston held $100. J. B. Williams and I. V. Davis each held $100 in stock investments. David H. Simons held $100 worth of bonds, about 12% of the county's total. Oddities noted in the assessment records include a $60 piano owned by S. Campbell and a $40 watch owned by Joel Oldham. David N. Cardin held $120 in other goods, and Martin A. East and George W. Kersey each held $100; all three are above the norm.

Individual Farms

In an attempt to identify individual farms for examination we developed a sort of reconstructed 1890 census from the 1880 and 1900 censuses and property records. The ages of heads of households have been taken from the 1880 and 1900 Federal Census. These served as the basis for our estimate of the number and ages of children in the individual families, as well, While we believe that the estimates presented here are quite reasonable, it is possible that they overstate slightly the number of children resident in the individual families.

Another set of statistics that has been very helpful in describing the individual farms is the production of crops and commodities which was listed on the Agricultural Schedules of the Federal Census. Like the rest of the 1890 census these were lost to fire. Even more unfortunately, in later years, these data which continued to be collected as part of the census effort were summarized and then destroyed without being copied. Evaluations for these various items, e. g., cotton, corn, and butter production, are not part of the tax reporting. Later in the 20th Century, these statistics were collected by a variety of agencies within the Department of Agriculture, but, as far as we have been able to determine, these local records have been destroyed. So from 1880 onward, it is no longer possible to say with any certainty what crops are being grown on which farms.

Farms and Families. Using the reconstructed census we identified 38 farms and families which we are confident were active at this time in the study area. The acreage is derived from the property abstracts.

NAME	AGE	MARRIED	CHILDREN	CHILDREN'S AGE	TOTAL ACRES
Ball, Harrison	49	m	1	6	158
Ball, William	74	m	1	27	145
Been, Benjamin	47	m	1	21	86
Been, Llewellyn	40	m	8	<1-17	154
Been, A. Houston	32	m	2	2 - 6	82
Buckner, Pleasant	43	m	8	<1 - 20	158
Burris, John	55	m	2	16 - 19	80
Cahoon, Ellis	40	m	6	1 - 19	83
Carden, David	57	m	3	10 -15	238
Coleman, Frederick	57	m	8	<1 - 20	120
Crossland, Jepthah	49	m	6	1 - 10	163
Davis, I. V.	51	m	3	<1 - 5	243
Dillahunty, Adolphus	41	m	7	4 - 17	161
Douglas, Asa	50	m	0		43
East, Martin A.	51	m	9	<1 - 19	190
Gee, Sarah	39	w	4	12 - 19	83
Golden, Emanuel	36	m	5	6 - 19	80
Jackson, Mrs. Solomon	37	w	5	5 - 13	130
Jones, Enoch	60	m	2	15 - 21	269

Kersey, George W.	44	m	5	6 - 20	172
Kidd, Nathan	53	m	7	6 - 17	76
Langston, John	60	m	?		185
McLellan, Tobias	45	m	1	2	140
Neal, Jehu	59	m	3	18 - 23	82
Nichols, Pink Victoria	25	w	1	<1	129
Nobles, John	39	m	1	15	50
Oldham, Joel	50	m	6	4 - 21	123
Paddock, Ethelbert	57	m	2	13 - 22	127
Peninger, Rachel	35	w	4	5 - 16	235
Pennington, Olie	40	m	0		44
Roose, Emery	30	m	4	3 - 8	62
Speegle, George	41	m	5	1 - 12	78
Steele, William	41	m	3	<1 - 6	129
Stewart, John	53	m	4	12 - 20	137
Thames, James T.	29	m	3	1 - 6	84
Throan, Simon P.	58	m	1	19	42
Wickoff, Ephriam	60	m	1	20	80
Wolverton, James	35	m	5	1 - 10	39

This list includes farms in all our farm sizes. Thirty four of these have married males as the head of household. Four have widowed females as heads of household; all of whom are under 40 years of age. Only two of our farms are headed by males 30 years old or younger and only one by an individual who was over 65; William Ball - 74.

Two of the families have no children living with them. The largest estimate for resident children is nine for the Martin A. East farm. The children there ranged from less than one year to 19 years old. We also think that the Pleasant Buckner farm had children ranging in age from less than one year to 20 years old.

Livestock and Value. The listing of livestock presented below is for 57 farms. These include those listed on our reconstructed census as well as persons listed on the tax rolls as paying taxes within School District 69. Persons listed in both for whom no livestock, property, or tax are listed did not appear on the tax list, even though we are confident they were living in the study area at this time.

NAME	MULES/ ASSES	HORSES	NEAT COWS	SWINE	SHEEP	CARRIAGES	TOTAL VALUE	TAX
Ball, Harrison	0	2	4	9	0	1	$788.00	$11.82
Ball, William	1	1	2	15	0	2	$725.00	$11.28
Benne, Benjamin	0	4	16	28	0	1	$488.00	$7.32
Been,, Llewellen	0	5	17	23	75	2	$645.00	$9.67
Been, Z. H.	1	4	11	28	0	1	$310.00	$4.65
Buckner, Pleasant	2	1	10	20	6	1	$303.00	$4.54
Buckner, W.	0	1	3	5	0	0	$52.00	$0.77
Burris, John	0	3	4	0	0	1	$190.00	$2.95
Cahoon, Ellis	0	3	9	17	0	0	$204.00	$3.06
Campbell, S.	1	3	20	40	0	1	$530.00	$7.95
Carden, David	1	0	0	20	4	0	$294.00	$4.41
Clay, W.	0	1	5	1	0	0	$66.00	$0.99
Coleman, Frederick	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Crossland, Jephtah	1	3	15	30	6	1	$566.00	$8.49
Davis, I. V.	2	10	15	12	0	2	$512.00	$7.68
Dillahunty, Adolphus	0	1	9	8	0	1	$243.00	$3.64
East, Martin A.	0	3	4	4	0	1	$134.00	$2.01
Edwards, James	1	1	11	11	8	1	$208.00	$3.27
Edwards, Sarah	1	7	4	2	0	1	$129.00	$1.93
Gee, Sarah	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Golden, Emanuel	0	2	3	7	0	1	$167.00	$2.05
Jackson, Mrs. Solomon	0	3	10	0	0	0	$135.00	$2.02
Jones, Enoch	0	10	17	15	0	1	$550.00	$8.25
Jones, Monroe	0	0	4	0	0	0	$30.00	$0.45
Kersey, George W.	0	4	6	11	0	1	$281.00	$4.21
Kidd, Nathan	0	5	10	9	70	0	$479.00	$7.19
Langston, C. P.	0	2	5	9	0	1	$119.00	$1.79
Langston, F.	0	1	2	7	0	1	$97.00	$1.45
Langston, John	2	1	6	10	0	1	$442.00	$6.63
McLellan, Tobias	3	3	22	30	0	2	$400.00	$6.00
Meadows, H.	0	3	4	0	0	1	$205.00	$3.07
Meeks, J.	0	2	2	0	0	0	$50.00	$0.75

Meeks, W. E.	0	3	4	0	0	1	$205.00	$3.07
Merritt, Lewis	2	0	10	10	0	1	$345.00	$5.17
Neal, Jehu	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Neal, S. D.	0	2	0	0	0	0	$30.00	$0.45
Nichols, Pink	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Nobles, J.	1	1	6	3	0	1	$143.00	$2.14
Nobles, Mary	0	1	6	8	0	1	$103.00	$1.53
Norvell, E. T.	0	1	4	5	0	0	$140.00	$2.10
Norvell, W. R.	0	2	6	5	0	1	$120.00	$1.80
Oldham, Joel	0	4	5	6	0	1	$268.00	$4.02
Paddock, Ethelbert	0	2	13	9	0	1	$285.00	$4.27
Peninger, Mrs. R. A.	2	1	14	2	0	1	$379.00	$5.68
Phillips, Israel	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Phillips, W.	1	0	2	3	0	0	$73.00	$1.09
Roose, Emery	1	1	8	10	0	1	$287.00	$4.30
Smith, Sarah	0	2	2	10	0	0	$68.00	$1.02
Speegle, George	0	3	10	0	17	1	$337.00	$5.05
Steele, William	1	2	6	10	0	1	$315.00	$5.62
Sumpter, J.	0	0	4	3	0	0	$30.00	$0.45
Thames, James	2	0	3	9	0	1	$159.00	$2.38
Throan, Simon P.	0	6	11	14	0	1	$303.00	$4.64
Walten, H.	0	1	2	2	0	0	$52.00	$0.88
White, mrs. Sarah E.	0	1	3	3	0	1	$251.00	$3.75
Wickoff, Ephriam	0	3	9	11	0	1	$228.00	$3.32
Wolverton, James	1	1	6	8	0	1	$168.00	$2.52

All but two the farms which appear on the tax rolls reported owning one or more draft animals, either horses or mules, and carriages are common. Two families reported large numbers of horses; I. V. Davis and Enoch Jones each reported owning ten horses. All but two reporting families also list cows and cattle. While we cannot be certain, it would appear that those owning only a few cows are using these primarily for dairy products consumed by the family and those who report several have these as cattle. All but seven reporting families also list swine in numbers upward to 30. Four farms list sheep and two of these have considerable flocks which we believe were raised for their fleeces; Llewellyn Been - 75 and Nathan Kidd - 70.

Summary

The 1880s can best be seen as a decade of growth and development. Settlers still arrived and we believe it likely that population increased. Nearby railroads, a local village with a Post Office (Auburn), local school districts, and the beginnings of a mineral industry all influenced the growth. While these are certainly important factors, in an agrarian community during a period of national growth and favorable climate the story of growth should really be an expanding agricultural base.

Clearly the study area contained farms of widely divergent economic status, ranging from renters who pay less than $1.00 per year in personal property taxes to well-established landowners who had put down roots in the area more than two decades before. Two such families are that of Martin A. East (Figure 21) and George W. Kersey (Figure 22).

Figure 21. The Martin A. East Family, ca. 1885

Martin A. East, whom we met during the Civil War period, settled in Center Valley in 1870 and became a well-respected member of the community. He served as a Methodist minister for several years. Members of his extensive family inter-married with other Center Valley families, so that many descendants of this family are still in the area.

Figure 22. The George W. Kersey Family

We also met the Kersey family during the Civil War period. George W. Kersey was the son of George M. Kersey, one of the very earliest of the Center Valley residents. He was also a nephew of Thomas Kersey. As a boy he lived on his father's farm and later established one of his own less than a mile from his mother's farm. George W. Kersey had extensive political ties throughout Sebastian County and served as a Justice of the Peace for Bates Township .

Chapter 10. Center Valley 1900

Overview

The decade of the 1890s started as a continuation of the growth of the 1880s, reached a zenith in the mid-1890s, but, by 1900, had begun to decline. The economic condition of the inhabitants was little different in 1900 from that of 1890, but that difference was there and it was negative in terms of worth. The population became increasingly native and the educational system now encompassed virtually all of the school-age children. It was the dawn of a new era.

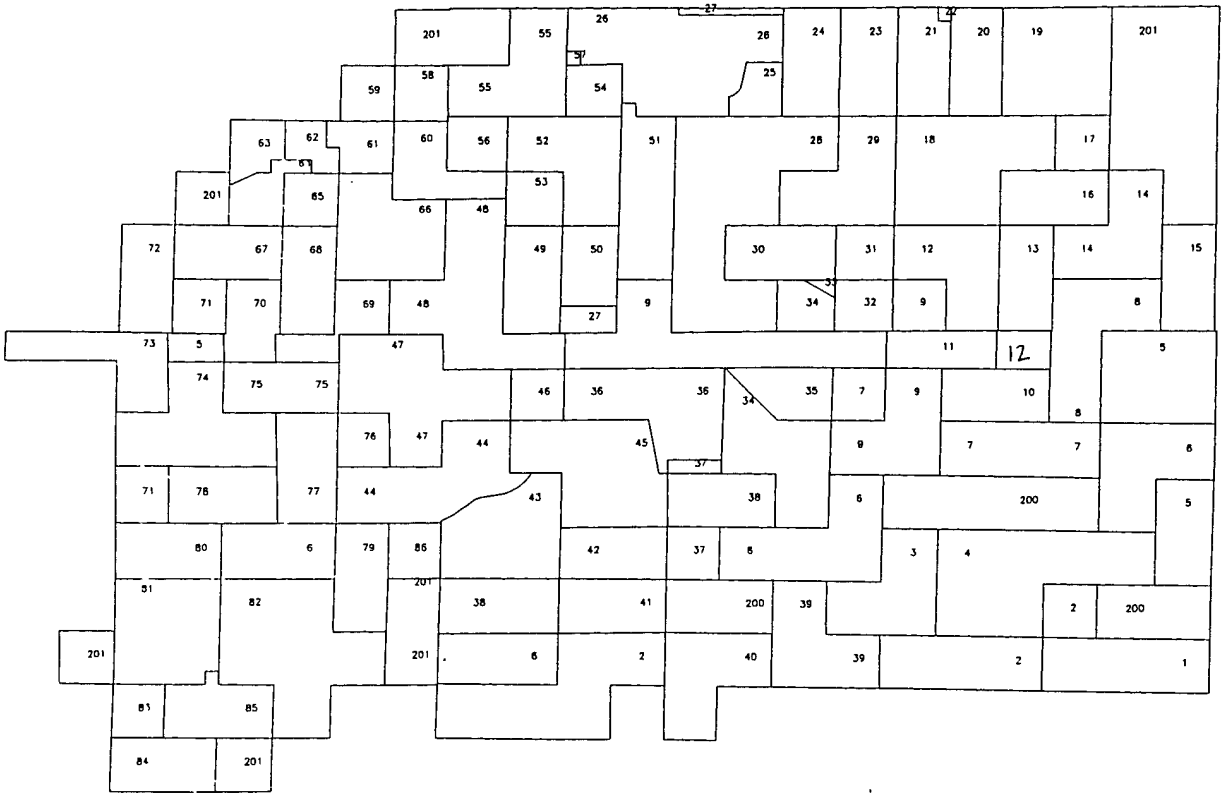
While the 1870s and 1880s saw new families arriving that became prominent in the region, no such families appear to have come during the 1890s. The region was more-or-less closed to new settlement and all but the most marginal lands were taken. The marginal lands were certainly not good enough to support a farm and those that were taken from this point onwards tended to be additional acreage attached to neighboring farms; probably pastures and woodlots on steep hillslopes.

Our oldest informants were born during this decade, none in the study area *per se*, but within a few miles of it. Many more informants were born during the following decade and these informants were born within the study area. Most of the informants come from established families in the region. Very few were new to the region at this time. Thus, it is about this time period where our photographic record begins to be an important source since popular photography was beginning at this time. Stories, family Bibles, newspaper clippings, and even letters from this time period abound as a source to describe life.

Property Ownership and Farm Size. By 1900 almost all of the public land had been taken. The State of Arkansas, however, now begins to control lands, most likely as a result of failure to pay taxes. The schematic presented on the following pageillustrates the size and distribution of property as reconstructed from the title abstracts.

USA	Arkansas	Corporate	Unknown	Private	Number of Farms
327	162	462	823	8704	81

Farm Ownership 1900



1	Brown, Amos L.	31	East, J. B.	63	Gann?, George W.
2	Hoode, Parke J.	32	Neal, Samual D.	64	Penington, O. P.
3	Beach, Larkin L.	33	Meeks, Belle	65	Wolverton, J. T.
4	Crossland, Jephthah E.	34	McLellan, Tobias	66	Been, Z. H.
5	Unknown	35	Nobles, John W.	67	Boone, T. W. M.
6	Little Rock Fort Smith Railroad	36	Buckner, Pleasant	68	Wickoff, E. W.
		37	Hampton, W. L.	69	Throan, S. P.
7	Arkansas, State of	38	Kersey, George W.	70	Golden, Emanuel M.
8	Speegle, George W.	39	Gilliam, John F.	71	Gilliam, W. H.
9	Jones, Enoch M.	40	Williams, J. M.	72	Gilliam, W. H.
10	Dial, J. T.	41	Smith, Sarah J.	73	Oldham, Joel K.
11	Edwards, James	42	Williams, James	74	Cardin, David N.
12	East, Martin A.	43	Ball, William	75	Durden, Laura
13	Burris, John	44	Ball, Harrison	76	Thames, J.T.
14	Rainey, W. F.	45	Langston, John P.	77	Ferguson, Amy J.
15	Carter, AnnieE.	46	Stewart, Harmon	78	Oldham, Albert
16	Vance, W. B.	47	Epley, Samua lJ.	79	Dillahunty, Adolphus, estate
17	Williams	48	Been, Llewellyn	80	Pryor, T. B.
17	Jones	49	Been, Benjamin F.	81	Stewart, N. C.
18	Davis, I. V.	50	Roose, Emery	82	Williams, J .B.
19	Jones, J. E.	51	Steele, William H., estate	83	Floyd, John
20	Kidd, W. W.	52	Nichols, PinkVictoria	84	Carnell, T. B.
21	Kidd, Nathan J.	53	Douglas, Asa	85	Coleman, Fredrick
22	Chapel Ames	54	Holley, W. F.	86	Norvell, Sarah
23	Weaver, M.L.	55	Paddock, Ethelbert	200	USA
24	Frye, William P.	56	Jones, Rebecca E.	201	Unknown
25	Frye, Newell C., estate	57	Edna Lodge		
26	Peninger, T. P.	58	Gann, J.C.		
27	Roose, Mary L.	59	Thompson, F. M.		
28	Webb, William J., estate	60	Gee, Sarah J.		
29	Jackson, Solomon	61	Gann, GeorgeW.		
30	Craig, H. L.	62	Whidbee?, R.		

Well over 50% of the 81 farms for this period consist of about 80 acres or less. Only about 10% of the farms are 200 acres or more, although such large farms make up a bit over 25% of all the privately owned land.

Farm Size	Farms	Percentage of Farms	Acres	Percentage of Acreage
<35 acres	4	4.94%	97	1.11%
36-45 acres	15	18.52%	616	7.08%
46-75 acres	7	8.64%	500	5.74%
76-85 acres	22	27.16%	1778	20.43%
86-115 acres	3	3.70%	278	3.19%
116-125 acres	5	6.17%	609	7.00%
126-155 acres	9	11.11%	1247	14.33%
156-165 acres	4	4.94%	642	7.38%
166-195 acres	3	3.70%	534	6.14%
196-205 acres	1	1.23%	204	2.34%
>206 acres	8	9.88%	2199	25.26%
Total Farms	81			
Total Acreage	8704			

Community Composition and Social Statistics. The 1900 Federal Census enumeration was completed between 18 and 27 June 1900. Martin Alonzo East served as the census enumerator. In other censuses the enumerator followed a path through the township. East, of course followed a path, but what he did was go out in a different direction each day from his house and then return that evening. Thus, regarding who lived within the study area, the census data is far less certain than it might be. On the other hand, the 1900 Sebastian County Personal Property Tax Assessment rolls lists most of these people along with their school district so it is possible to combine the two lists and establish a fairly accurate estimate of who lived within the bounds of the study area.

Head of Household	Status	School District
James Edwards	Owns Free Farm	69
Emma Langston	Rents Farm	69
Charles S. Edwards	Rents Farm	69
Joseph M. Magee	Rents Farm	69
Enoch M. Jones	Owns Free Farm	69
John C. Nobles	Owns Free Farm	69

William Meeks	Owns Free Farm	69
Monroe Jones	Rents Farm	69
Henry S. Craig	Owns Free Farm	9
George W. Sloss	Rents Farm	9
Sarah Jackson	Owns Free Farm	9
Wallace Jackson	Owns Free Farm	9
Robert Norvell	Owns Free Farm	9
Robert Carter	Rents Farm	?
Rachel Penninger	Owns Free Farm	49
Edward McKinney	Rents Farm	?
Bell Neal	Owns Free Farm	9
Pink V. Nichols	Owns Free Farm	49
William Holly	Owns Free Farm	49
Samuel D. Neal	Owns Free Farm	9
Richard Whedbee	Rents House	?
Asa Douglas	Owns Free Farm	49
Mark W. Waggoner	Rents Farm	?
William P. Fry	Owns Free Farm	49
Elizabeth Carden	Owns Free Farm	?
Nancy C. Paddock	Owns Free Farm	49
Emma Dillahunty	Owns Free Farm	43
Marshall Lowe	Rents Farm	?
Tobias E. McLellan	Owns Free Farm	69
Sarah Jones	Rents Farm	69
Joseph M. Williams	Owns Free Farm	43
John Henry	Rents House	?
John Gilliam	Rents House	?
Pheba Carden	Owns Free Farm	?
Samuel D. Norvell	Rents Farm	?
James Thames	Owns Free Farm	43
James Fergusson	Owns Free Farm	?
Andrew J. Lamb	Rents Farm	?
Manuel Golden	Owns Free Farm	43
James Wolverton	Owns Free Farm	43
Frank Roose	Owns Free Farm	43
Emery Roose	Owns Free Farm	43
Benjamin F. Been	Owns Free Farm	49
Joel P. Phillips	Rents Farm	69
Martin A. East	Owns Free Farm	69
Oliver Pennington	Owns Free Farm	43
George Gann	Owns Free Farm	?
Luke Gann	Rents Farm	?
John Griffin	Rents Farm	?
William Griffin	Owns Free Farm	43
Joel K. Oldham	Owns Free Farm	43
Thomas O. Gann	Owns Free Farm	?
William Gilliam	Owns Free Farm	43
Wallace McAlister	Owns Free Farm	?
Henry Hocott	Rents Farm	?
Elizabeth Stewart	Owns Free Farm	43
Albert Oldham	Owns Free Farm	?
John Gann	Owns Free Farm	49
Francis Thompson	Owns Free Farm	49

Sarah Gee	Owns Free Farm	?
Ollie Rippy	Rents Farm	?
Llewellyn Been	Owns Free Farm	49
Houston Been	Owns Free Farm	49
Ephraim Wickoff	Owns Free Farm	43
Simon P. Throne	Owns Free Farm	43
Clint Carden	Rents Farm	69
Thomas Haley	Rents Farm	69
George W. Davis	Rents Farm	69
Elbert Norvell	Owns Free Farm	69
John P. Langston	Owns Free Farm	69
John Davis	Rents Farm	69
Francis M. Langston	Rents Farm	69
Lewis Ledbetter	Rents Farm	69
Sarah Cahoon	Owns Free Farm	69
Sarah J. Kersey	Owns Free Farm	69
Sarah Bibey	Owns Free Farm	69
Nathan Raney	Rents Farm	69
Pleasant Buckner	Owns Free Farm	69
Grant Fry	Rents Farm	9
Nathan Kidd	Owns Free Farm	9
John D. Neal	Rents Farm	69
John Burris	Owns Free Farm	69
General W. Speegle	Owns Free Farm	9
Ireton Davis	Owns Free Farm	9
Fred C. Coleman	Owns Free Farm	?
Amos L. Brown		
Jephthah E. Crossland		
John Floyd		
N. C. Stewart		
T. B. Carnall		

The estimated population for the study area is something over 437 since we assume that we did not identify all of the renters who lived beyond SD 69 but within the study area. The population can be broken down into 95 adult males (over 21 or married) and 99 adult females (over 21 or married). This is relatively even, but that may be deceiving. There were a few older females widows and few older male widowers. On the other hand, there were unmarried males between the ages of 21 and 30, but many fewer unmarried females in that age group. In these two groups the eldest resident was John M. Williams aged 78, born in 1822. It is clear from the census that males in their 20s and older widowed males were marrying females in their late teens. Surprisingly this does not show up in the children of school age statistics, where there were 82 females (six to 20 and not married) and 67 males (six to 20 and not married). For some reason the school age child population was weighted toward females. On the other hand, the pre-school children population had 52 males and 42 females, weighted the other way.

Birth-state data show that the population is becoming increasingly local.

Female Children

Arkansas - 115
Texas - 4
Kansas - 2
Alabama - 2
Mississippi - 1

Male Children

Arkansas - 113
Alabama - 3
Texas - 2
Kansas - 1

Adult Females

Arkansas - 38
Tennessee - 13
Alabama - 11
Georgia - 11
Texas - 6
Mississippi - 5
Missouri - 4
Ohio - 4
Illinois - 3
Michigan - 1
Pennsylvania - 1
Kentucky - 1

Adult Males

Arkansas - 45
Tennessee - 14
Alabama - 9
Mississippi - 5
Illinois - 5
Ohio - 4
Texas - 4
Missouri - 3
Indiana - 1
North Carolina - 1
New York - 1
Georgia - 1
Kentucky - 1
Germany - 1

Parents of Adult Females

Tennessee- 39
Arkansas - 25
Georgia - 22
Alabama - 19
Ohio - 12
North Carolina - 10
Missouri - 9
Mississippi - 8
Kentucky - 6
Illinois - 6
Virginia - 5
Texas - 4
Pennsylvania - 3
Indiana - 2
South Carolina - 1
Maine - 1
New York - 1
Florida - 1
Maryland - 1
Germany - 1

Parents of Adult Males

Tennessee - 51
Arkansas - 22
Alabama - 18
Georgia - 13
Ohio - 11
Virginia - 6
Illinois - 5
North Carolina - 5
Mississippi - 4
Missouri - 3
Illinois - 3
New York - 3
Kentucky - 3
South Carolina - 2
Texas - 2
Indiana - 2
Maryland - 2
Germany - 2
England - 1
Pennsylvania - 1
Ireland - 1

The population is still quite agriculturally based. All the adult males were either farmers or farm laborers except for one house carpenter, one blacksmith, and three younger men who were school teachers. The women were housewives except for two who were dressmakers, one dairy farmer, one Post Mistress (Auburn), and one younger woman who was a school teacher.

School attendance records for School District 69 (Center Valley) show a fairly constant school age population until about 1897 when it started to drop.

August 1890	80 children
July 1891	66 children
August 1892	76 children
September 1893	70 children
August 1894	64 children
October 1895	65 children
October 1896	70 children
August 1897	51 children
December 1898	48 children
August 1899	# not given
September 1900	40 children

Since area remained constant, and, as will be shown in the next section, since virtually all school age children attended school, this may well indicate a declining fertility rate among child-age families or an increasingly aged population.

Literacy is still hard to determine, but more confidence can now be placed in the data. Four school teachers lived in the study area, Viola E. Jackson (SD 9), George W. Brown (SD 49), Arnes A. Oldham (SD 54), and Martin T. Been (SD 69). Of the 82 school age female children, 79 were in school and the three not in school were 19 or over and could read and write. Of the 67 school age male children, 63 were in school and two were 19 or over. The other two, who were 13 and 11, could read and write. It appears that their mother had recently died and they may well of been forced to quit school temporarily to help the family. Of the adults, 92 of the 95 males could read and write and of these one may have been retarded. Of the 99 females, 16 could neither read nor write. This statistic probably represents a bias in the educational system a few decades earlier whereby females did not receive the same schooling as men.

Census data also preserves property ownership, whether it was owned without encumbrances or was mortgaged, or was rented. Of the 84 households, 55 owned farms, 26 rented farms, and three rented houses. It is particularly interesting to note that of the 55 owned farms all were called free and clear, meaning none were mortgaged. Although the county as a whole entered a depression in the 1890s, this was not reflected in the land ownership data.

The effects of the depression appear in the tax records. Of the 71 households for which we have data, the greatest amount of personal property was $1,015 and the least $15, with $155 as the median. This is down dramatically from 1890. The average was also down, now to $206.55. For the county as a whole, the average was $228.74.

In the county as a whole, 3,636 adult males paid poll tax and 91 taxables did not pay poll tax. There were 5,154 horses worth $123,125 ($29.35/ horse), 6,402 neat cattle worth $136,235 ($21.28/cow), 2,152 mules and asses worth $63,175 ($29.35/ass), 3,087 sheep worth $3270 ($1.06/sheep), 19,424 hogs worth $19,195 ($0.99/hog), 2,635 carriages and wagons worth $44,705 ($16.97/vehicle), 292 gold or silver watches worth $6,065 ($20.77/watch), 89 pianos worth $24,990 ($280.79/piano), merchandise worth $44,190, $800 worth of manufactured goods, $100,205 in cash, and other property worth $236,567; totalling $852,522. Comparing this with 1890 we see that the number of adult males paying poll taxes was down 8.1% and that total value of personal property was down 7.8%. Thus, the number of households probably diminished and the average net value remained about constant over the decade, not adjusted for inflation. The depression of the mid-1890s is also apparent in that investments and bonds are no longer held while the amount of cash held has risen over 700%. Confidence in the non-governmental economic infra-structure seems to have dropped and people held cash instead.

The observations for the county as a whole stand up for the study area as well, where 71 families were investigated. The value of livestock within the study area seems on a par with that for the county as a whole. Most families owned horses, usually between one and three, but six owned no horses and some families owned as many as seven horses. Most families owned between two and ten cattle, probably for personal use; however, four owned no cattle. Five families owned between eleven and 23 cattle. Could some of these families also be producing some commercial milk, butter, or beef? It is possible. Twenty-six families owned between one and three mules or asses, none owned more. Fourteen families raised sheep. Nine families raise 15 or less sheep, again probably mostly for personal use, but five families raised more: 65, 50, 45, 22, and 20. Here again we think it likely that not mutton, but fleeces were being produced for sale. Nineteen families owned no hogs, a dramatic increase from a decade earlier, and no family owned more than twenty hogs. Fifty-nine vehicles, carriages or wagons, were owned between the 71 families. Six owned pocket watches.

Cash on hand becomes the interesting statistic. Of these 71 families, 12 held cash, $1,855 in total, ranging in amounts from $600 to $15. This is a dramatic increase in the number of individuals holding cash and in the total amount. While it only represents about 1.8% of the county's cash reserves, the heads of family represent about 1.9% of the county's total. Thus, even though the families of Center Valley and the study area must be viewed as rural, their stated cash reserves fit the average for the county, including the City of Fort Smith.

Individual Farms

Families and Farms. We were able to identify 42 individual farms and families which we are confident were living within the study area at this time. These include examples of all our farm sizes. Of this sample seven families are headed by widows and three by widowed males. Four heads of household are males aged 30 or younger, of which three are children of parents who also live in the study area. Six heads of household are over 65 years old and most have lived in the area for several decades. Seven of the households had no children in residence.

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILDREN AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES
Been, Benjamin	57	m	4	18-29		86
Been, Llewellyn	51	m	7	5-23	1	213
Been, Z. H.	42	m	3	9-16	1	143
Buckner, Pleasant	55	m	5	6-16		158
Burris, John	65	m	1	31	3	80
Coleman, Frederick	68	m	5	9-21	1	83
Crossland, Jephtah	59	m	4	10-16		245
Davis, I. V.	51	w	3	14-21		204
Davis, John	27	m	3	1-5		
Dillahunty, Emma	45	w	8	8-25		80
Douglas, Asa	60	m	0			43
East, Martin	61	m	4	10-20		147
Edwards, Charles	22	m	1	11m		
Edwards, James	61	m	2	24-24	4	57
Frye, William	57	w	1	14		84
Gann, George	47	m	6	1m-17		45
Gann, J.	23	m	3	1m-3		41
Gee, Sarah	49	w	2	22-29	2	83
Gilliam, W. H..	47	m	7	2-21		79
Golden, Emanuel	46	w	2	16-18	1	60
Haley, Tom	55	m	4	6-24		
Holly, William	37	m	1	11		40
Jackson, Sarah	47	w	4	15-23		130
Jones, Enoch	70	m	0			362
Kersey, Sarah	50	w	3	16-24		172
Kidd, Nathan	62	m	2	16-19		76
Langston, Emma	28	w	5	4-10		
Langston, John	70	m	0			185
Ledbetter, Lewis	25	m	3	1-5		
McLellan, Tobias	55	m	2	2-12		177
Meeks, William K.	29	m	5	2m-7		
Neal, John	27	m	0			

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILDREN AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES
Neal, Samuel D.	38	m	2	3-6		41
Nichols, Pink	35	w	4	1-10		129
Nobles, John	49	m	1	25	2	59
Norvell, Elbert	50	m	11	1-18	1	
Oldham, Joel	62	m	5	11-28		101
Paddock, Nancy	60	w	1	22	2	126
Peninger, Rachel	45	w	2	15-20	1	232
Penington, Olie	54	m	0			44
Phillips, Joel P.	38	m	5	2-16	1	
Raney, Nathan	24	m	1	1		
Roose, Emery	40	m	5	1-18		62
Roose, Mary	63	m			1	31
Speegle, George	51	m	4	11-18		144
Thames, James	39	m	7	1-16	0	40
Throan, Simon	68	m	0		2	66
Wickoff, E.	70	m	1	30		80
Wolverton, James	45	m	5	11-20		39
Wright, Harvey	27	m	3	7m-5		

By 1900 we not only have older residents who originally came to the area and established their farms such as the Martin A. East family (Figure 23) and the Simon P. Throne family but we also have second generation residents like the George W. Gann (Figure 24) and Thomas O. Gann (Figures 25 and 26).

Figure 23. The Martin A. East Family, ca. 1895

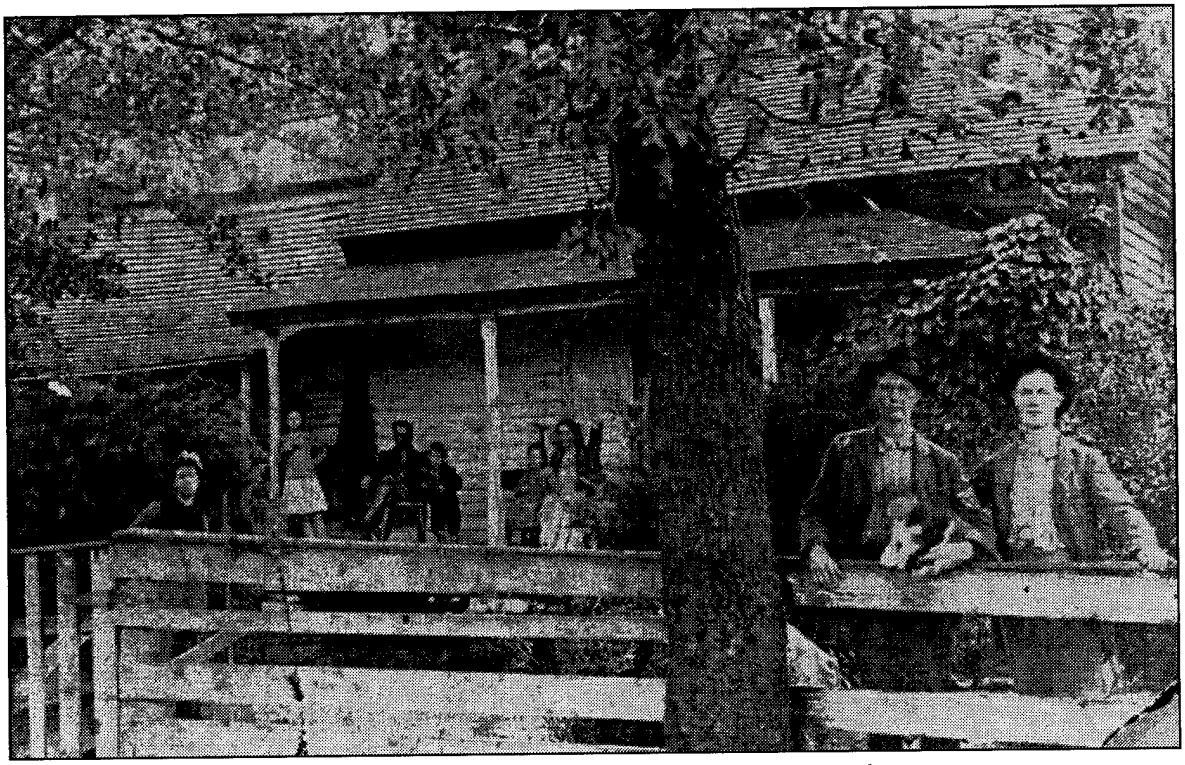


Figure 24. The George W. Gann Farmstead

Figure 25. The Thomas O. Gann Family

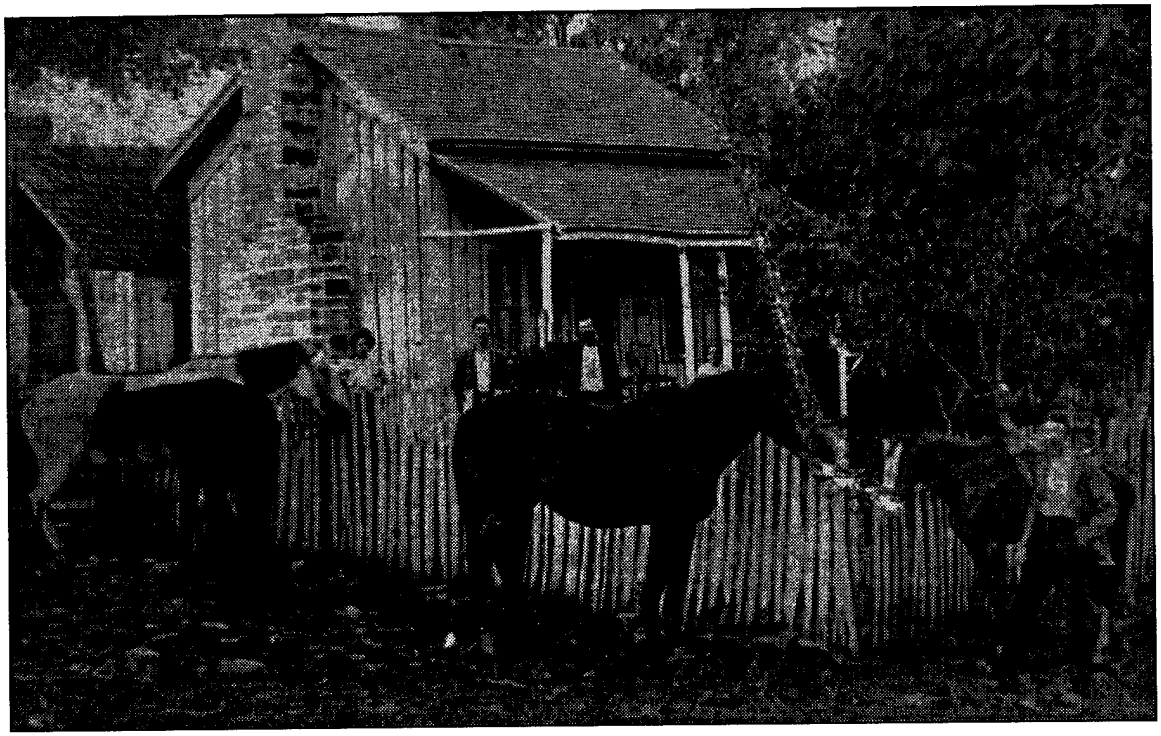


Figure 26. The Thomas O. Gann Farmstead

Livestock and Value. We have recovered 48 families from the tax rolls by expanding those identified on the Federal Census with individuals listed on the Sebastian County Tax rolls as paying taxes within School District 69. All but three of the families who are listed on the tax rolls stated that they owned either horses or mules. Many families also claim to own more than one carriage. Every family on the tax rolls except one list cows or cattle and 35 families list swine. Eleven families own sheep; some in substantial numbers.

NAME	MULES/ ASSES	HORSES	NEAT COW	SWINE	SHEEP	CARRIAGES	TOTAL VALUE	TAX
Been, Benjamin	1	3	6	15	0	0	$220.00	$4.07
Been, Llewellyn	3	3	20	20	45	2	$1,015.00	$18.79
Buckner, Pleasant	2	2	6	20	20	2	$260.00	$4.81
Burris, John	0	2	4	6	0	1	$130.00	$2.40
Crossland, Jephtah	3	1	7	20	10	1	$345.00	$6.38
Davis, I.V.	0	2	2	10	0	2	$150.00	$2.77
Davis, John	1	1	1	5	0	0	$75.00	$1.38
Dillahunty, Emma P.	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Douglas, Asa	2	0	8	10	0	2	$190.00	$3.51
East, Martin	0	7	8	11	4	2	$420.00	$7.77
Edwards, Charles	0	1	1	6	0	0	$65.00	$1.20
Edwards, James	0	1	5	5	7	0	$130.00	$2.40
Gann, J.	0	2	2	3	0	1	$85.00	$1.57
Gilliam, W .H.	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Golden, Emanuel	0	2	2	11	0	1	$120.00	$2.22
Haley, Tom	0	3	4	0	0	1	$160.00	$2.96
Holley, William	2	1	4	0	0	2	$170.00	$3.14
Jackson, Mrs. S. A.	0	3	3	0	8	1	$140.00	$2.59
Jones, Enoch	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Kersey, John	0	2	9	10	0	0	$185.00	$3.42
Kersey, Mary J.	0	2	6	5	0	1	$210.00	$3.88
Kidd, Nathan	0	6	2	0	0	2	$155.00	$2.86
Langston, Emma	0	1	2	0	0	0	$65.00	$1.20
Langston, John	2	0	3	5	0	2	$405.00	$7.49
Ledbetter, Lewis	0	1	2	0	0	0	$85.00	$1.57
McGee, Joe	0	2	0	5	0	1	$55.00	$1.01

NAME	MULES/ ASSES	HORSES	NEAT COW	SWINE	SHEEP	CARRIAGES	TOTAL VALUE	TAX
McLellan, Tobias	2	1	17	20	50	1	$430.00	$7.95
Meeks, W. K.	0	1	8	0	0	0	$100.00	$1.85
Neal, John	2	1	4	16	0	1	$200.00	$3.70
Neal, Samuel D.	2	0	6	5	65	1	$245.00	$4.53
Nichols, Pink	0	4	4	9	0	1	$105.00	$1.94
Nobles, John W.	2	2	9	10	0	1	$320.00	$5.92
Norvell, E. T.	2	2	4	16	0	1	$315.00	$5.82
Oldham, Joel	0	3	4	10	5	2	$155.00	$2.86
Paddock, Ben. G.	0	3	18	8	0	1	$405.00	$7.49
Peninger, Rachel	1	2	3	10	22	1	$220.00	$4.07
Penington, Olie	0	2	3	4	0	2	$155.00	$2.86
Phillips, J. P.	0	4	9	12	0	1	$290.00	$5.36
Raney, N. A.	0	0	11	7	0	0	$135.00	$2.49
Roose, Emery	0	5	9	0	0	1	$265.00	$4.90
Roose, Mary	0	3	10	0	0	2	$395.00	$7.30
Speegle, George	0	3	6	20	13	2	$335.00	$6.19
Thames, James	2	1	6	9	0	0	$215.00	$3.97
Throan, Simon P.	0	2	4	10	0	2	$240.00	$4.44
Wickoff, Ephraim	0	3	2	8	0	1	$165.00	$1.75
Wolverton, James	0	4	4	15	0	0	$180.00	$3.33

Summary

The decade of the 1890s is when the study area probably reached its peak in terms of economic well being. Growth was still prevalent in 1890 but by 1900 the decline had begun. Some of the decline can certainly be attributed to the larger economic national depression of the mid-1890s which became part of the larger gold and silver debates of the time. Median family worth was down by 1900, but still all the farms were reputedly owned free and clear and people had some amounts of cash. Thus, a transition had occurred. Population was high, possibly not as high as 1890, but high nonetheless. Now for the first time, children had been overwhelmingly born in Arkansas; their parents were most likely born in Arkansas; and there was a good chance that their grandparents were born in Arkansas. Thus, the population was becoming more and more indigenous and new settlers were rare.

Chapter 11. Center Valley 1910

Overview

The first decade of the 20th Century saw a recovery from the depression of the 1890s, but this recovery reflects a different economic valuation scheme than that used previous to the depression and appears to have had an effect on the physical assets owned by farmers. Even with these changes, the farm population appears to have remained fairly constant, with few new arrivals and some departures as adult children moved away.

Just as the 1887 *Atlas of Sebastian County* is a key document recording farm boundaries and house lot locations, the 1903 *Plat Book of Sebastian County, Arkansas* updated the earlier work and provided similar data. A quick perusal of the two shows that for this region a new generation owned much of the land and that additional lands had been taken and new house lots built (Figure 27).

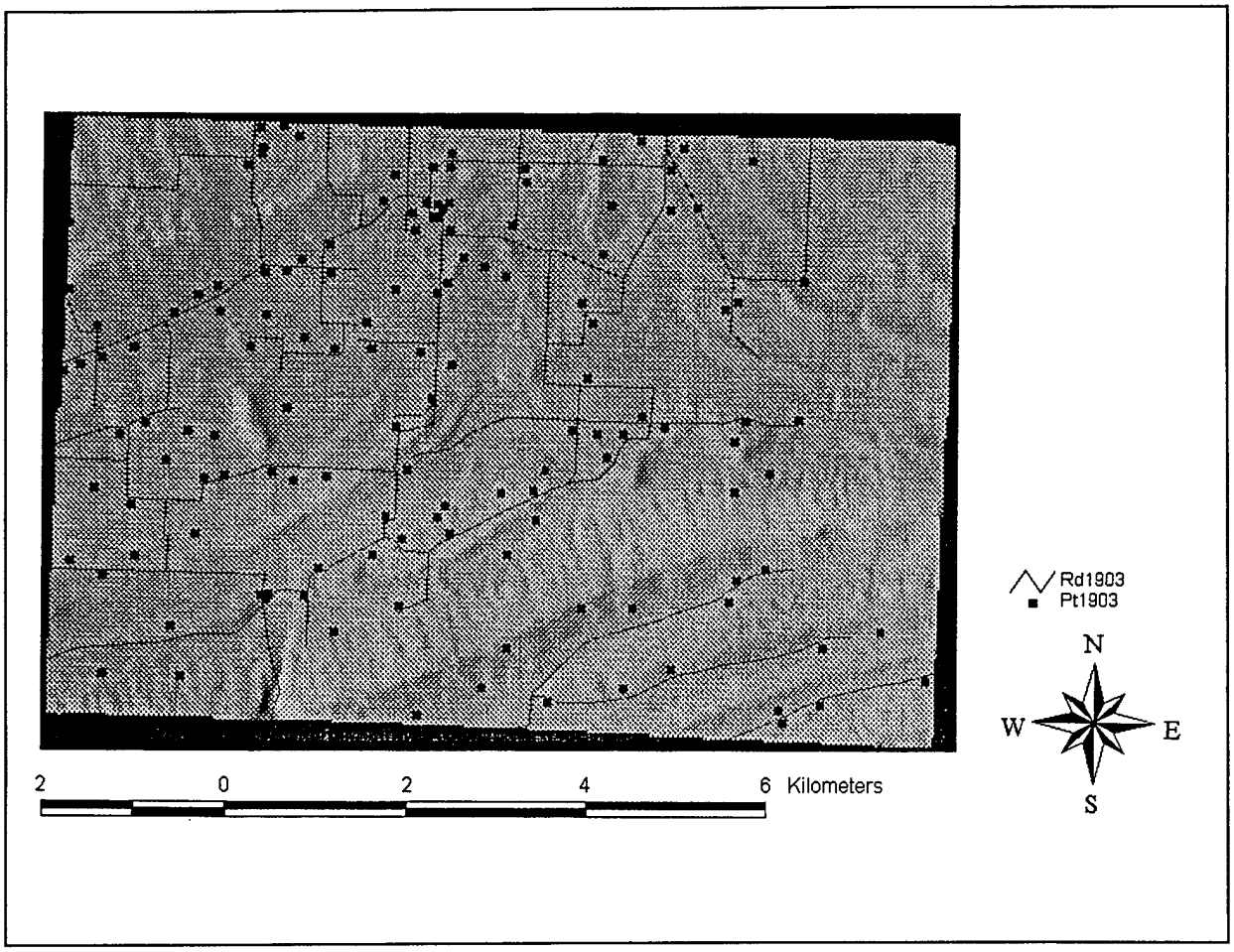


Figure 27. Houses and Roads in 1903

A second new item preserved in the 1903 *Plat Book* is a series of family and house lot photographs grouped at the back of the *Plat Book*. These photographs, while small, record what are now priceless views of the life, people, and buildings in this region in the first years of this century (Figures 28 - 33). Figures 28 through 30 illustrates homes and families within the study area (Thomas J. Coleman was the son of Frederick Coleman). Figures 31 through 33 show the J. F. Williams farm which was partially in the study area and the cotton gin near Big Creek Narrows.

Figure 28. The J. B. Williams Farm

Figure 29. The Llewellen Been Farm

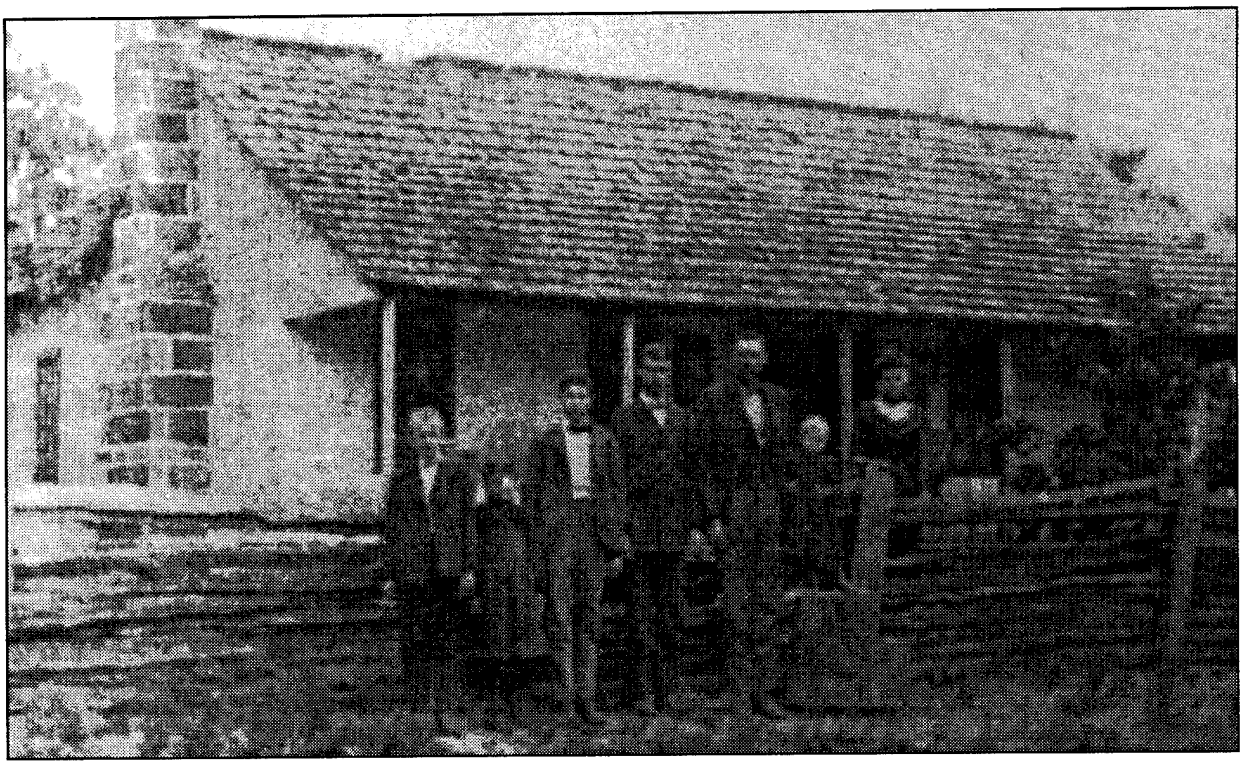


Figure 30. The Thomas J. Coleman Farm

Figure 31. The J. F. Williams Farm

Figure 32. The J. F. Williams Farm; Potato Harvest

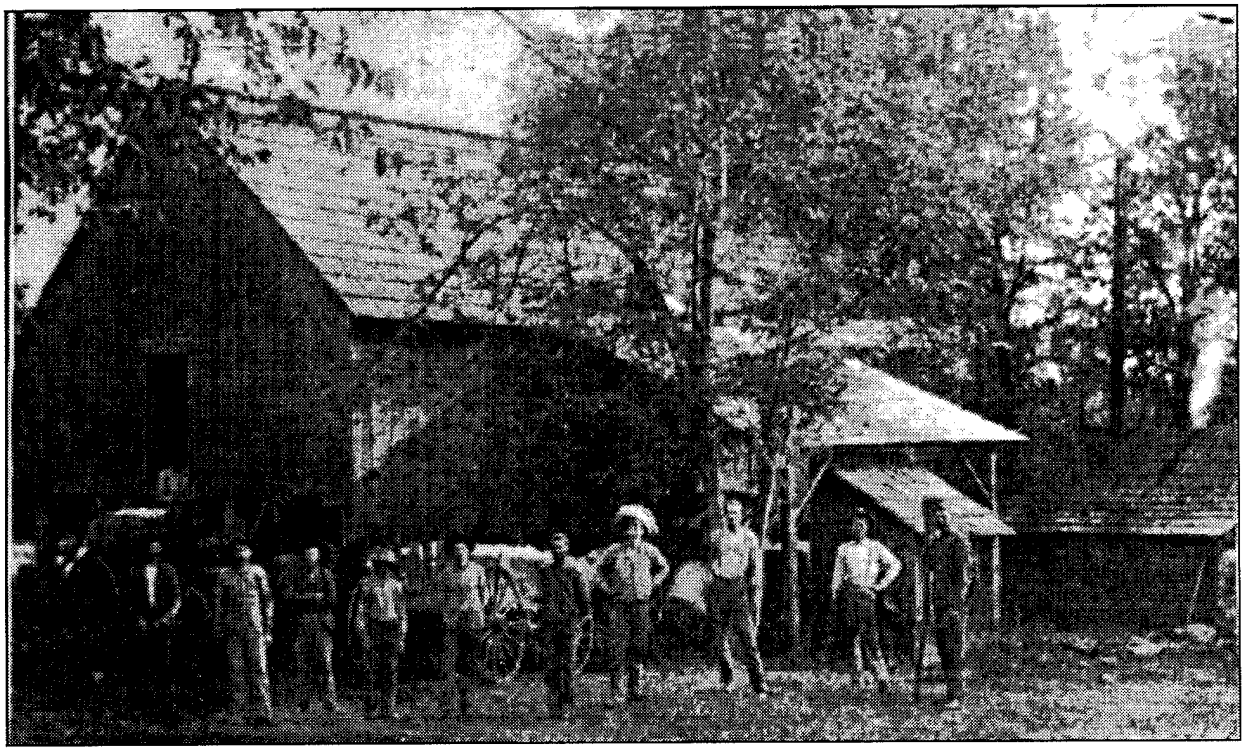


Figure 33. The Floyd and Williams Gin

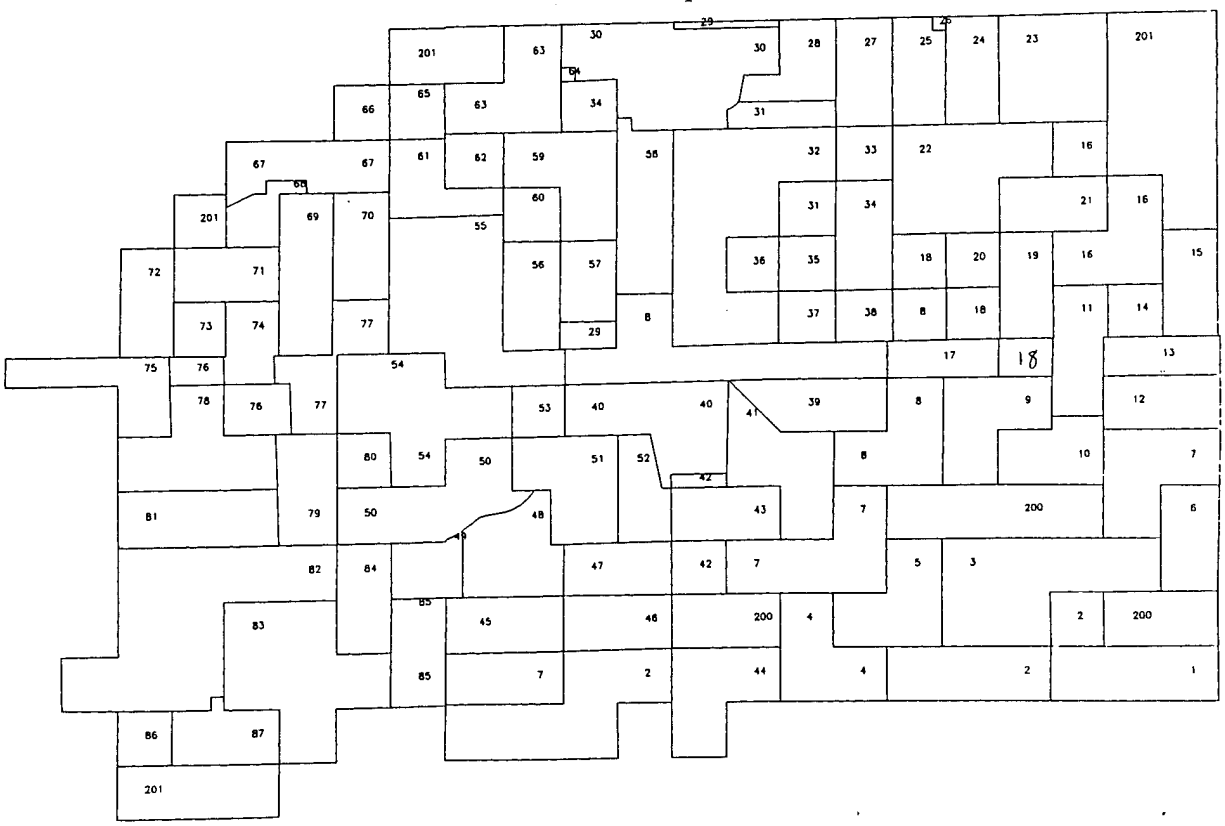
Only one major new family appeared in the study area, the family of Robert McPhetridge who arrived immediately prior to the census of 1910. Other than that family, the population was very similar to that in 1900 modified primarily by some of the younger adults moving away from the land.

Property Ownership and Farm Size. The year 1903 was a turning point in the economic development of this region. It has been noted previously that the railroads opened up central Sebastian County to mineral exploitation, specifically coal production. Starting in the mid-1880s B. W. Green, Trustee, started buying options on lands suspected to have mineralogical potential. Green did this all around the region, and possibly in other counties as well. Not much is known of Green at this point other than that he lived in Little Rock. In 1903 he exercised his land options and acquired lands in the southwestern portion of the study area. On 3 August 1903, B. W. Green, Trustee for Charles and Henrietta A. S. Ingersoll of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, sold these lands to the Cherokee Construction Company of Muskogee, Oklahoma for $1 (DB 31 pp. 394-99). Apparently Cherokee Construction Company spent the remainder of the decade developing the land as a coal mine. Then on 1 October 1910 the Cherokee Construction Company of Muskogee, Oklahoma, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, sold these lands to the Sebastian Coal and Mining Company, based in Camden, New Jersey, but with offices in Sebastian County. The sale was for $250,000 in stock and $1,250,000 in bonds (DB 45 pp. 245-65). It must be noted that Charles Ingersoll was president of Sebastian Coal and Mining Company. Once this land became property devoted to mining and went out of private hands, it ceased to be part of the community and, therefore, no additional study of this company and its successors has been undertaken. It must be noted, however, that this property was initially leased by Camp Chaffee in 1942, not purchased, and it was not until that late 1970s that the federal government actually acquired title to this land. Whether the surface lands were farmed or grazed by the coal company is unknown.

USA	Arkansas	Corporate	Unknown	Private	Number of Farms
327	0	1,110	612	8,547	81

The schematic shown on the following page illustrates the size and distribution of the farms in the year 1910.

Farm Ownership 1910



1 McCartney, J.D.
2 Rock Island Improvement Company
3 Crossland, Jephthah E.
4 Glass, Robert Lee
5 Glass, C. C.
6 Unknown
7 Saint Louis Iron Mountain Railroad
8 Jones, Enoch M.
9 Meeks, William K.
10 Meadows, R. C.
11 Speegle, George W.
12 Meadows, B. H.
13 Carter, Anna E.
14 Crossland, General P.
15 Cheney, Thomas C.
16 Rainey, W. F.
17 Edwards, James
18 East, Martin A.
19 Burris, John
20 East, William W.
21 Burris, W. E.
22 McPhetridge, R. F.
23 Jones, H. A.
24 Kidd, Elizabeth
25 Williams, Joseph
26 Ames Chapel
27 Remy, J. A.
28 Jetton, D.
29 Roose, Mary L.
30 Peninger, T. P.
31 Norvell, J.R., estate
32 Webb, William J., estate
33 Remey, H. M.
34 Brown, Ezra
35 Rainey, A. S.
36 Jones, Rufus
37 McLellan, W. E.
38 Neal, Samuel D.
39 Cooper, J.T.
40 Buckner, Pleasant
41 McLellan, Tobias E,. estate
42 Nobles, Mary
43 Felton, Thomas
44 Crossland, D. H.
45 Kersey, George W., estate
46 Smith, Sarah J.
47 Gilliam, W. H.
48 Wright, H. D.
49 Griffin, J. H.
50 McLellan, Benjamin W.
51 Langston, John, estate
52 Langston, George W.
53 Crow, H. W.
54 Rivers, W. W.
55 Been, Llewellyn
56 Been, E. R.
57 Roose, Emery
58 Steele, William H., estate
59 Nichols, Pink Victoria
60 Ibison, G.B.
61 Martin, J. N.
61 Martin W.
62 Gann, T. O.
63 Paddock, B. G.
64 Edna Lodge
65 Gann, J. C.
66 Jackson, Wallace
67 Gann, George W.
68 Reading, C. J.
69 Wolverton J. T.
70 Been, J.T.
71 Griffin, J.C.
72 Griffin W .H.
73 Comer, J. W.
74 Golden, Emanuel M.
75 Oldham, JoelK.
76 Rush, Jesse
77 Throan, I. F.
78 Cardin, David N.
79 Ferguson, Amy J.
80 Thames, J. T.
81 Oldham, Arnes
82 Cherokee Construction Company
83 Williams, J. D.
84 Dillahunty, Adolphus, estate
85 Coleman, T. J.
86 Williams, Benjamin J.
87 Coleman, Fredrick
200 USA
201 Unknown

As the figures listed below indicate, farms of about 80 acres make-up the single largest group of farms and farms of about 80 acres or less constitute a bit over 50% of all of the privately owned farms. About 10% of the farms are larger than 200 acres and these make-up slightly more than 22% of the privately owned lands.

Farm Size	Farms	Percentage of Farms	Acres	Percentage of Acreage
<35 acres	1	1.23%	31	0.36%
36-45 acres	15	18.52%	612	7.16%
46-75 acres	9	11.11%	529	6.19%
76-85 acres	18	22.22%	1645	19.25%
86-115 acres	11	13.58%	1059	12.39%
116-125 acres	8	9.88%	976	11.42%
126-155 acres	6	7.41%	778	9.10%
156-165 acres	5	6.17%	806	9.43%
166-195 acres	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
196-205 acres	1	1.23%	204	2.39%
>206 acres	7	8.64%	1907	22.31%
Total Farms	81			
Total Acreage	8547			

Community Composition and Social Statistics. The 1910 Federal Census enumeration was completed between 19 April and 1 May 1910. As in most censuses the enumerator followed a path along roads throughout the township. We are fortunate that the enumerator annotated the census schedule with the roads he followed. Thus, for each entry we know upon which or at least near which road the family lived. In addition, the 1910 Sebastian County Personal Property Tax Assessment rolls list most of these people along with their school district so it is possible to combine the two lists and establish an accurate assessment of who lived within the bounds of the study area. We note that with the acquisition of land by Cherokee Construction Company and its successor Sebastian Coal and Mining Company that 320 acres were removed from habitation within the study area. We believe the following families lived within the study area in 1910.

Name	Status	Census #	School District
Greenwood and Auburn Road near Auburn			
W. Jackson	Owns Free Farm	31	49
G. W. Gann	Owns Free Farm	32	49
W. G. Lamb	Rents Farm	35	49?
A. G. Lamb	Rents Farm	36	43?
J. C. Griffin	Owns Free Farm	37	43
M. H. Wolverton	Rents Farm	38	43?
J. T. Wolverton	Owns Free Farm	39	43
Nancy J. Martin	Owns Free Farm	41	43
A. L. Allstatt	Rents Farm	42	?
J. C. Gann	Rents Farm	43	49
G. W. Wolverton	Rents Farm	44	?
Cornish and Auburn Road			
Charley L. Jones	Rents Farm	48	69
Auburn and Charleston Road			
Emra Roose	Rents Farm	55	49
Frank Roose	Owns Farm	57	49
Ephraim Newhart	Owns Free Farm	66	69
George C. Ibison	Owns Free Farm	67	49
Center Valley Road, leading SE from Auburn			
Don Jetton	Owns Mortgaged Farm	73	9
Robt. F. McPhetridge	Owns Free Farm	74	9
Edwin P. Stelle	Rents Farm	75	69
Sidney A. Rainey	Owns Free Farm	76	69
Martin A. East	Owns Free Farm	77	?
Jim B. Craig	Rents Farm	78	69
Burl Gilbert	Rents Farm	79	?
Sam D. Neal	Owns Free Farm	80	69
Henry M. Remy	Owns Mortgaged Farm	81	9
Clinton R. Carden	Rents Farm	82	?
Cora Norvell	Owns Free Farm	83	69
Rufus M. Jones	Owns Free Farm	84	?
Ben. G. Paddock	Owns Free Farm	85	49
John I. Craig	Rents Farm	86	?
Ida Steele	Owns Free Farm	87	49
Charlie Harp	Owns Free Farm	88	?
Ed B. McLellan	Owns Free Farm	89	?
Henry L. Craig	Owns Free Farm	90	?
Walter L. Raney	Rents Farm	91	?
Ben Wolverton	Rents House	2	?
Will F. Holley	Owns Free Farm	92	?

Greenwood and Auburn Valley Road

Henry B. Williams	Rents Farm	101	?
Joseph B. Williams	Owns Free Farm	102	28
John W. Morgan	Rents Farm	103	?
William J. Been	Rents Farm	104	43
Joel K. Oldham	Owns Free Farm	107	43
Van Fuller	Rents Farm	108	?
Dee H. Perry	Rents Farm	109	?
Tom O. Gann	Owns Free Farm	110	43
Manuel E. Golden	Owns Free Farm	112	43
Narcissa J. Norvell	Rents Farm	113	?

Greenwood and Chismville Road

Jesse W. Rush	Owns Free Farm	114	43
Effie Ball	Rents Farm	115	?
Harmon Stewart	Rents Farm	116	?
Houston Griffin	Rents Farm	117	?
Judson Thames	Rents Farm	118	?
Van Rust	Rents Farm	119	?
John H. Griffin	Owns Free Farm	120	69
Harvey D. Right	Owns Mortgaged Farm	121	69

North from Greenwood Chismville Road

Ben W. McLellan	Owns Free Farm	122	69
Harvey Crow	Owns Free Farm	123	69
Leonard Purdon	Owns Free Farm	124	?
James T. Thames	Owns Free Farm	125	43
James Fergusson	Owns Free Farm	126	43
Jane Carden	Owns Free House		43
Maurice Carden	Rents House		43
Eurlyason G. Elmore	Rents Farm	127	?
Frank Throne	Owns Free Farm	128	43

Greenwood and Chismville Road

Elza A. Porter	Owns Free Farm	129	69
Alvine Goff	Rents Farm	130	?
Albert A. Oldham	Owns Free Farm	131	69
Wiley Carter	Rents Farm	132	69
Geo. W. Langston	Owns Free Farm	133	69
Mary J. Nobles	Owns Free Farm	134	?
Pleasant Buckner	Owns Free Farm	135	69
Andrew J. Hunt	Rents Farm	136	69
Mary E. McLellan	Owns Free Farm	137	69
Mark W. Wymer	Rents Farm	138	69
Henry S. Johnson	Rents Farm	139	69
William K. Meeks	Owns Free Farm	140	69
Daniel W. Crow	Rents Farm	141	?
James T. Cooper	Owns Free Farm	142	69

Benjamin J. Williams	Owns Mortgaged Farm	161	?
Frederic Coleman	Owns Free Farm	162	43
Thomas C. Johnson	Rents Farm	163	?
Thomas J. Coleman	Owns Free Farm	176	?
Josiad C. McCartney	Owns Free Farm	199	?
Will McCartney	Rents Farm	201	?
Enoch Tucker	Owns Farm	202	?
Lize M. Clark	Rents Farm	204	?
Marvin C. Crossland	Rents Farm	205	?
Jeff E. Crossland	Owns Free Farm	206	?
Lee Glass	Owns Free Farm	207	?
Dunk Crossland	Owns Mortgaged Farm	208	?
Thomas Hannah	Rents Farm	209	?
Mrs.E. P. Dillahunty	Owns Free Farm	218	28

We estimate the population of the study area to have been 483 people in 1910. Purportedly, the eldest resident was Jane Ferguson, who claimed to be 79 although she was probably 71. In reality, the eldest resident was probably Enoch M. Jones, aged about 78. To break the population down into smaller groups, we note 216 adults (those 21 and over or married), 102 males and 114 females. In absolute terms the number of males and females over 21 was probably about equal, but the earlier age of marriage of females raises the number of adult females to more than the adult males. In the age group 6 to 20, school age children, there were 81 males and 63 females; males being the greater number since older females were removed through earlier marriage at an earlier age. In the pre-school age group (infant to six), there were 55 males and 48 females.

Birth-state data shows that the population has continued to become local. Of the 136 male children, 131 were born in Arkansas, three in Tennessee, one in Texas, and one in Missouri. Of the 111 female children, 106 were born in Arkansas, four in Tennessee, and one in Colorado. One family, who moved to the study area about one month before enumeration, was the Robert McPhetridge family, and their 7 children account for all of the children born in Tennessee. The adult birth-state data are more diverse, but still overwhelmingly Arkansas.

Female Children

Arkansas - 106
Tennessee - 4
Colorado - 1

Male Children

Arkansas - 131
Tennessee - 3
Texas - 1
Missouri - 1

Adult Males

Arkansas - 55
Alabama - 11
Tennessee - 8
Illinois - 4
Ohio - 4
Mississippi - 4
Georgia - 3
Indiana - 3
Missouri - 2
Texas - 2
Kentucky - 1
Iowa - 1
Kansas - 1
North Carolina - 1
Germany - 1
Unreported - 1

Adult Females

Arkansas - 80
Tennessee - 8
Georgia - 6
Alabama - 6
Ohio - 3
Illinois - 3
Texas - 2
Mississippi - 2
Missouri - 1
Oklahoma - 1
Kentucky - 1
Indiana - 1

Parents of Females

Tennessee - 46
Arkansas - 30
Alabama - 19
Georgia - 16
Mississippi - 9
Ohio - 8
South Carolina - 7
North Carolina - 7
Illinois - 6
Texas - 5
Missouri - 3
Pennsylvania - 2
Indiana - 2
Kentucky - 1

Parents of Males

Tennessee - 37
Arkansas - 27
Georgia - 18
Alabama - 18
Ohio - 9
Mississippi - 7
Illinois - 6
Missouri - 5
Kentucky - 5
Germany - 3
North Carolina - 3
Indiana - 3
England - 1
New York - 1
Michigan - 1
Pennsylvania - 1

Taken together these data show that immigration to the study area had slowed by the late 1800s and that the population was becoming increasingly native Arkansan.

Literacy appears to have climbed. In the adult population, two males could neither read nor write, and one of these may have been disabled in some fashion. One female could not write. This increase was, more than likely, through attrition and the deaths of older non-literate members of the community. In the school age children, all those over seven could read and write, but only 68 of the 81 males and 52 of the 63 females were in school. Some of these non-attendees were in their late

teens or 20s and certainly had completed their education, but some were in the lower teens and may be drop-outs, a phenomenon not seen previously.

Again the census recorded the ownership/rental status of each household. For the study area there were three houses, two rented and one owned free and clear by Phoebe Carden, the elderly widow of David N. Carden, an early settler. Thirty-seven farms were rented and 52 farms were owned. Of those 52 farms, 47 were owned free and clear and 5 were mortgaged. This compares with none mortgaged in 1900.

An odd data set collected by the census taker was for soldiers of the Civil War, asking them on which side they fought. For the study area the following men claimed Civil War service:

Martin Alonzo East	Union
Joel K. Oldham	Union
Pleasant Buckner	Confederate
Enoch M. Jones	Union
Jephthah E. Crossland	Confederate

We note that none of these men were residents of the region in 1860, and none moved to the area until the very end of the Bushwhacking War when East and Jones moved to the region.

Another person to note on the census rolls was Sarah Porter, wife of Elza A. Porter, She was 55 and had been married to Porter for 8 years; Porter, however, was her fourth marriage. On the land abstracts she was known as Sarah J. Smith.

The Personal Property Tax records for the region shows that some recovery from the depression of the 1890s had occurred, but the recovery was only marginal. For the 56 families tracked in the tax record, the median taxable personal property was $222.50 with the highest being $585 and the lowest $40. The average was $249.73. For the county as a whole the average was $265.85.

Once again the tax records include a summary tax record for the county. Here we see 5,788 households (5,670 adult males paying poll tax and 118 other households). In 1910 there were 5,373 horses worth $224,055 ($41.70/horse), 12,370 neat cattle worth $116,935 ($9.45/cow), 2,465 mules and asses worth $126,120 ($51.16/mule), 285 sheep worth $685 ($2.40/sheep), 8,245 hogs worth $24,505 ($2.97/hog), 3,190 carriages and wagons worth $61,315 ($19.22/ vehicle), 683 gold and silver watches worth $5,150 ($7.54/watch), 757 pianos worth $31,775 ($41.97/piano), merchandise worth $202,405, manufactured goods worth $1,405, $178,640 in cash, $600 in bonds, and other goods worth $565,040; totalling $1,538,779. Real estate was valued at $3,434,761, for a total valuation (land and personal property) of $4,973,540.

Valuations within the study area fit within the county-wide norms, but there is a significant drop in worth of cows, from $21.28 in 1900 to $9.45 in 1910, and significant increases in values of mules and asses, from $29.35 to $51.16, sheep, $1.06 to $2.40, and hogs, $0.99 to $2.97. As the prices of these animals changed, so did the number held. In 1900 there were 6,402 cows and in 1910 12,370,

but sheep dropped from 3,087 in 1900 to 285 in 1910, and hogs from 19,424 in 1900 to 8,245 in 1910. Clearly a relationship between supply and demand is born out when one compares 1900 with 1910, but the economic or environmental factors causing these changes are unclear.

Within the study area itself, 65 vehicles were owned between the 56 farms, over one vehicle per farm. Such a ratio had never before been reached. But at the same time only about one in two households owned a vehicle. This discrepancy is probably explained by the agrarian nature of the study area and the growing urban nature of Fort Smith, now probably with street cars, trains, and busses. Since something was needed to pull the vehicles, most households possessed either horse or mules and asses, or both. Of the eight households owning no horses, all but one owned at least one mule or ass, and that household was the elderly widow Phoebe Carden who lived adjacent to her son. Most farms had one to four horses and no farm had more than five. Twenty-seven of the 56 households had mules or asses, usually one to four, but again one family had five. Every farm had at least one cow. Most had between two and 16, but one had 25, one 24, and one 20; again raising the question of commercial milk or beef production for cash. Only one household held sheep, E. L. Brown, a landowner, who was also a storekeeper in Auburn. He held 50, just under 20% of the county's total. This is likely commercial ownership selling fleeces or mutton, or both. In 1910, ten households no longer owned hogs, and none owned as many as nine, with one owning seven and one eight. Three is the most common number.

In more uncommon categories, four watches were owned as were 14 pianos, almost twice what would be expected based on the county average. This may testify to the extent and popularity of country singing schools. In 1910 only three households held cash, Mrs. Mary L. Roose held $200, James Ferguson held $100 (although this may have belonged to his mother who lived with him and did not appear on the tax list), and J. T. Been who held $50. This is a significant drop from 1900.

Taking these physical assets together, we see that while net personal worth may have increased, this may be the result of increased values on those assets held while the absolute numbers of many of those assets decreased. Were the people better off in 1910 than 1900? It is impossible to tell.

Individual Farms

Families and Farms. From the Federal Census we have been able to identify 32 families which we are confident are living within the study area in 1910 for which we have tax data.

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILDREN'S AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES
Been, Jesse	33	m	0			82
Buckner, Pleasant	64	m	2	16-18	2	158
Carter, Wiley	35	m	5	3-14		
Cooper, J.T.	63	m	2	9m-3		98
Craig, Jim B.	28	m	2	2-5		

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILDREN'S AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES
Crossland, Dunklin	32	m	0			120
Crossland, Jephtah	69	m	2	19-26		244
Crow, H. W.	60	m	0			37
Dillahunty, Emma P.	56	w	3	19-25		?
East, Martin A.	71	m	2	20-30		107
Gann, T. O.	56	m	2	15-30		46
Golden, Emanuel	56	m	2	3-4		60
Griffin, J. H.	39	m	3	2-15		56
Hunt, A. J. (T?)	42	m	0			
Ibison, G. B.	28	m	1	3		43
Jetton, D.	38	m	4	2-16		77
Jones, Charley L.	29	m	3	2m-4		
Jones, Rufus	28	m	2	2-3		40
Langston, George W.	54	m	2	17-21	1	
McLellan, Benjamin	40	m	4	4m-13		164
McPhetridge, R. T.	38	m	7	1m-12		204
Meeks, William K.	38	m	8	7m-17	2	123
Neal, Samuel D.	42	m	4	5-16		41
Newhart, Ephraim	50	m	4	18-23		?
Oldham, Joel	72	m	1	39		101
Paddock, Ben	33	m	3	5-10		126
Roose, Mary/Frank	73	m	0		1	31
Rush, Jesse	51	m	3	5-11		69
Steele, Ida	48	w	2	19-22		?
Thames, J.	49	m	8	2-19		40
Wolverton, James	55	m	1	23		119
Wright, H. D.	37	m	6	3-15		120

Farms of all sizes are contained within this grouping. Thirty of these farms lists married males as heads of households; two list widows. Three of the heads of household are males thirty years or younger. All of these are the sons of families which live in or very near the study area. Four households are headed by males over 65 years. Of the four families who list persons living with them other than head of household, wife, and children, all are family members. Grandchildren are living with Mary and Frank Roose (Figure 34). The Emanuel Golden family includes his mother-in-

law. Enoch Jones and his wife are listed as living with his son-in-law William K. Meeks. The others in residence at the Pleasant Buckner farm are his niece and nephew.

Figure 34. Emory and Everett Roose Peddlar Wagon

Twenty-nine families report children in residence ranging in age from less than one year to 39 years old. The 39 year old is a retarded son. Thirteen families have children in residence that are in their late teens or older. The largest age spread is in the William K. Meeks family. Seventeen families have children under six years old (Figure 35).

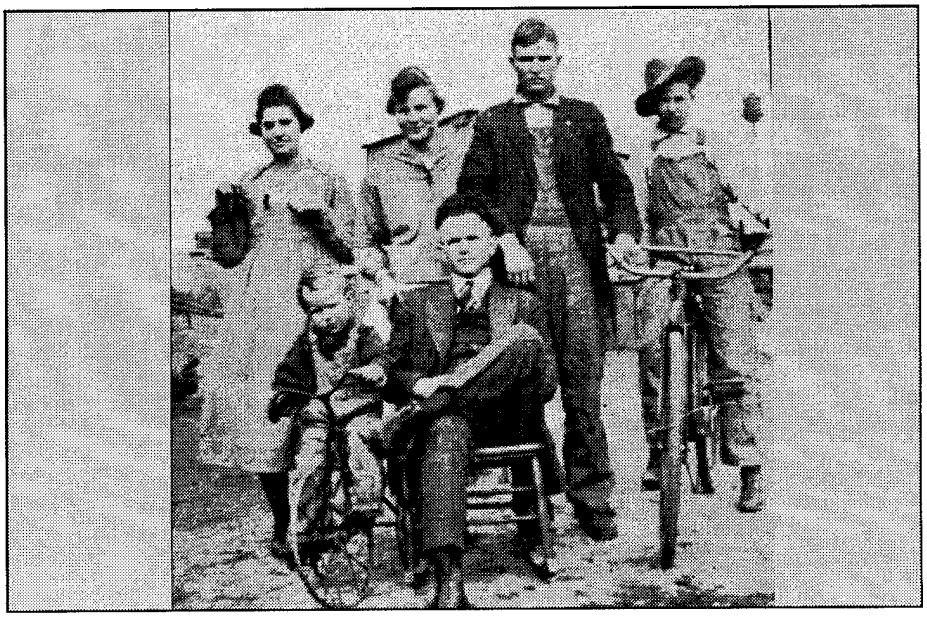


Figure 35. The Samuel D. Neal Family

Livestock. By combining individuals listed as paying taxes in School District 69 to the families extracted from the Federal Census we get a sample of 36 families in the study area. All the families listed on the tax rolls claimed either horses or mules and claimed ownership of cows and/or cattle. All but four have swine, but no one has large numbers, which may be caused by recent range laws which now require all stock to be penned. None of these farms report owning sheep.

NAME	MULES/ ASSES	HORSES	NEAT COWS	SWINE	SHEEP	CARRIAGE	TOTAL VALUE	TAX
Been, Jesse	1	2	5	3	0	2	$370.00	$8.05
Buckner, Pleasant	0	4	10	3	0	1	$315.00	$6.86
Carter, I. W.	0	2	5	6	0	1	$170.00	$3.70
Cooper, J. T.	1	1	5	6	0	0	$245.00	$5.33
Craig, James	0	2	2	1	0	1	$125.00	$2.72
Crossland, Dunklin	0	2	2	3	0	0	$140.00	$3.05
Crossland, Jephtah	0	2	6	5	0	1	$190.00	$4.14
Crow, H.	2	0	2	2	0	1	$185.00	$4.03
Dillahunty, Emma P.	1	2	2	5	0	2	$260.00	$5.66
East, Martin A.	0	2	2	3	0	1	$250.00	$5.44
East, William W.	0	1	1	2	0	1	$110.00	$2.40
Gann, T. O.	2	0	12	3	0	1	$245.00	$5.33
Golden, Emanuel	1	2	7	5	0	2	$380.00	$8.27
Griffin, J. H.	0	3	10	4	0	1	$235.00	$5.12
Hunt, A. T.	0	1	1	0	0	0	$110.00	$2.40
Ibison, G. B.	0	2	1	2	0	0	$110.00	$2.40
Jetton, D	1	0	10	1	0	1	$195.00	$4.24
Jones, C. L.	0	1	4	0	0	1	$80.00	$1.74
Jones, Enoch	0	2	4	0	0	2	$170.00	$3.70
Jones, Rufus	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Langston, George	0	4	13	8	0	2	$535.00	$11.64
McLellan, Benjamin W.	2	1	15	9	0	2	$450.00	$9.79
McLellan, W. E.	2	0	2	6	0	0	$85.00	$1.85
McPhetridge, R. T.	0	2	4	4	0	2	$215.00	$4.68
Meeks, William K.	0	2	8	3	0	2	$240.00	$5.22
Neal, Samuel D.	0	4	6	5	0	1	$370.00	$8.05
Newhart. Ephraim	5	0	24	6	0	2	$565.00	$12.29

NAME	MULES/ ASSES	HORSES	NEAT COWS	SWINE	SHEEP	CARRIAGE	TOTAL VALUE	TAX
Oldham, Joel	0	1	2	2	0	1	$155.00	$3.38
Paddock, Ben	4	3	14	4	0	3	$585.00	$12.75
Roose, Mary L.	0	4	7	5	0	2	$510.00	$11.10
Rush, Jesse	1	3	6	4	0	1	$190.00	$4.14
Steele, E. P.	0	1	1	0	0	1	$150.00	$3.27
Steele, Ida	2	2	2	6	0	2	$305.00	$6.64
Thames, James	0	4	6	3	0	1	$355.00	$7.73
Wolverton, James	1	0	6	3	0	2	$190.00	$4.14
Wright, H. D.	0	3	8	6	0	3	$310.00	$6.75

Summary

The first decade of the 20th Century witnessed mounting changes in agrarian life. Changed market values correspond to changes in livestock held with fewer more valuable animals being held and more less valuable animals being held. The population became increasingly mobile as more vehicles were owned (possibly even the first cars), and the dichotomy between the urban and the agrarian is apparent. One can wonder to what extent the Fort Smith hinterland supported the city's need for farm produce.

Chapter 12. Center Valley 1920

Overview

The decade of the 1910s is the decade in which many of our informants were born. It is also the decade for which we have our last census data. Thus, it is the last time for which we have more-or-less complete written data and can couple that with actual memories of the period from multiple individuals. Changes were occurring, brought on by world-wide socio-political changes, invention, economy, environment, and agricultural methods. Many of these factors will be described in the following sections.

The decade of the 1910s brought dramatic changes to the country. First, World War I put the younger male population into the military in greater numbers than any period since the Civil War, and many of these young men left the region for a year or two of training or of military combat in Europe. This broadening experience was coupled with the development of the automobile. The automobile made the populace far more mobile, now trains and cars could take people to different regions of the country or on a visit to their neighbors. Both factors must have opened society.

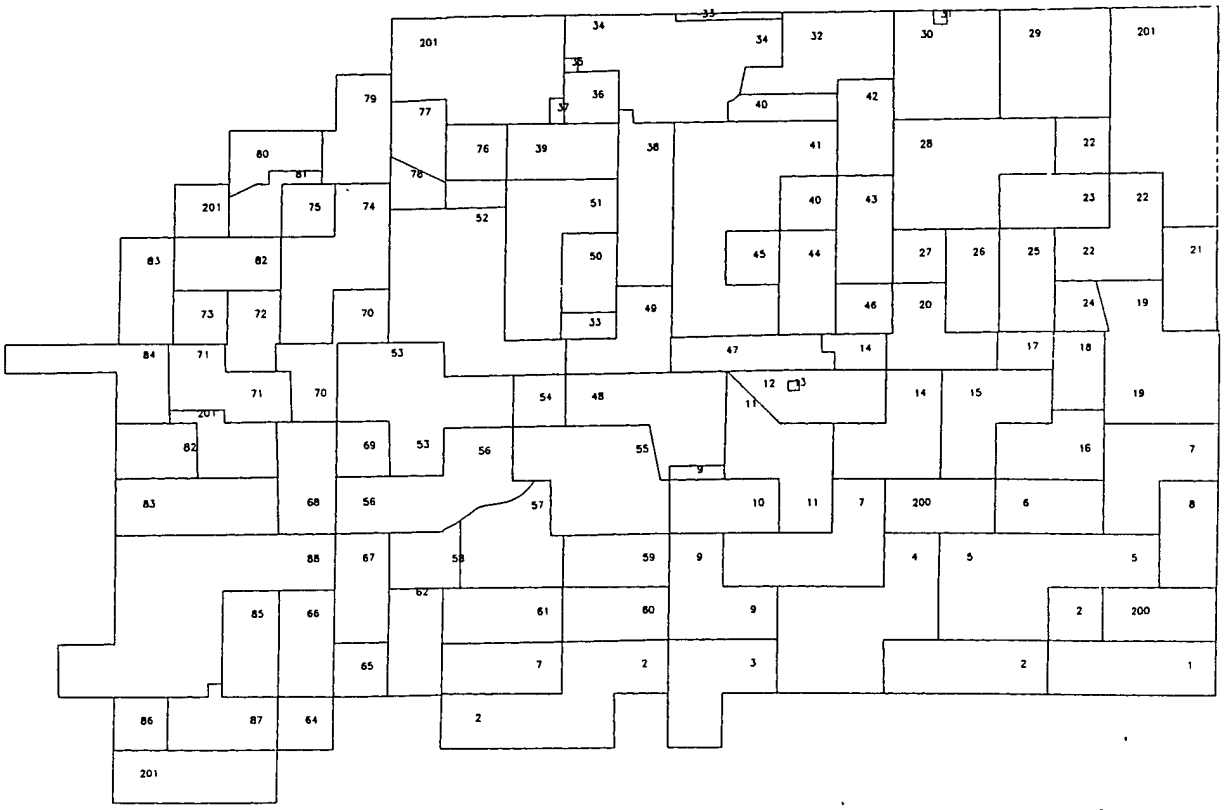
Informants have told us that in the 1910s the primary cash crop, cotton, was becoming more and more infested with bugs. Whether this was solely an entomological issue or the result of degraded fields yielding weaker cotton which could be attacked is an open question. Certainly marginal crop land was being exploited. The decade of the 1910s was the last period with adequate rainfall for as the 1920s began a drought set in that resulted in the dust bowl. Thus, about the year 1920 another economic peak was hit and decline began. Declining cotton caused searches to be made for other cash crops. Garden crops, beef, and milk were common alternatives that enjoyed increasing popularity as cotton failed. Informants also describe turkeys and mohair being raised for cash at this time. These changes may also reflect an alteration of the relationship between the farm and the city of Fort Smith. Formerly with cotton as the cash crop, cotton sales were not local, thus bringing cash into the region; cash used to buy supplies from Greenwood, Charleston, and Fort Smith. With produce as the cash crop, Fort Smith became the main consumer and, consequently, the source of cash as well as the main recipient of cash. The economic impact of this change is unclear.

At the same time, however, the study area became ever more closed. Virtually all younger people were born in Arkansas and were probably raised within the study area. Middle aged adults were probably from the region and even some of the grandparents now were natives. Thus, the land was in full use, people only moved out, very few new families entered.

Property Ownership and Farm Size. The schematic on the following page illustrates the size and distribution of farms during in 1920. Perhaps the most noticeable element in the general ownership pattern is the sizable portion of the study area now in corporate hands.

USA	Arkansas	Corporate	Unknown	Private	Number of Farms
167		1,101	824	8,639	80

Farm Ownership in 1920



1 Morgan, William H.
2 Rock Island Improvement Company
3 Crossland, D. H.
4 Glass, Audie
5 Crossland, Jephthah E.
6 Crossland, C. M.
7 Missouri Pacific Railroad
8 Unknown
9 Nobles, Mary J.
10 Amos, E. L.
11 McLellan, B. D.
12 Cooper, J. T.
13 Center Valley SD 69
14 Jones, Enoch M.
15 Meeks, William K.
16 Carruthers, Elmo
17 East, Martin A., estate
18 Craig, James
19 Crossland, General P.
20 Dillahunty, Francis M.
21 Rainey, Sid
22 Rainey, E. A.
23 Burris, W. E.
24 Speegle, George W.
25 Burris, Charles T.
26 East, William W.
27 Chaney, H. C.
28 Rice, T. E.
29 Jones, H. A.
30 Williams, Joseph
31 Ames Chapel
32 Jetton, D.
33 Roose, Mary L.
34 Peninger, T .P.
35 Edna Lodge
36 Steele, Ida
37 White, R.
38 Steele, WilliamH., estate
39 Oldham, Albert
40 Norvell, J. R., estate
41 Webb, William J., estate
42 Hewett, T. A.
43 Brown, Ezra
44 McLellan, W. E.
45 Jones, R. M.
46 Neal, Samuel D.
47 Mitchell, G. L.
48 Buckner, Pleasant
49 Ibison, G. B.
50 Emery, Roose
51 Been, E. R.
52 Been, Llewellyn
53 Rivers, W. W., estate
54 Crow, H .W.
55 Langston, George W.
56 McLellan, Benjamin W.
57 Wright, H. D.
58 Griffin, J. H.
59 Carter, R. C.
60 Smith, Sarah J.
61 Kersey, George W., estate
62 Coleman, T. J.
63 Martin, J. S.
64 Douglas, Susan
65 Martin, Lela M.
66 Williams, E. A.
67 Dillahunty, Adolphus, estate
68 Ferguson, Amy J.
69 Thames, J. T.
70 Throan, I. F.
71 Rush, Jesse
72 Golden, Emanuel M.
73 Bowdoin, J. T.
74 Been, J. T.
75 Gann, Hatt
76 Gann, T. O.
77 Wolverton, J. T.
78 Wolverton, Montgomery
79 Lamb, Ira
80 Rippy, E .B.
81 Reading, C. E.
82 Griffin, J.C.
83 Griffin, W. H.
84 Oldham, Joel K.
85 Williams, H. E.
86 Williams, Benjamin T.
87 Johnson, Clyde
88 SebastianCoal & Mine Company
200 USA
201 Unknown

Of the 80 farms in the area in 1920, the largest percentage (20%) are about 80 acres. Farms of about 80 acres or less make-up a bit over 50% of the total farms in the area. Farms of about 200 acres or more make up 10% of the total number of farms; although they comprise nearly 22% of the total acreage.

Farm Size	Farms	Percentage of Farms	Acres	Percentage of Acreage
<35 acres	5	6.25%	130	1.50%
36-45 acres	11	13.75%	437	5.06%
46-75 acres	9	11.25%	538	6.23%
76-85 acres	16	20.00%	1292	14.96%
86-115 acres	12	15.00%	1220	14.12%
116-125 acres	4	5.00%	488	5.65%
126-155 acres	7	8.75%	1220	14.12%
156-165 acres	5	6.25%	809	9.36%
166-195 acres	3	3.75%	577	6.68%
196-205 acres	2	2.50%	409	4.73%
>206 acres	6	7.50%	1519	17.58%
Total Farms	80			
Total Acreage	8639			

Community Composition and Social Statistics. The 1920 Federal Census enumeration was completed between 16 and 30 January 1920. As in most censuses the enumerator appears to have followed a path along roads throughout the township. Unfortunately, the 1919, 1920, and 1921 Sebastian County Personal Property Tax Assessment rolls are missing from the Sebastian County Courthouse. Thus, in order to investigate personal property held by residents we have used the 1922 Sebastian County Personal Property Tax Assessment rolls. Inevitably movement and death between 1920 and 1922 occurred and identification of all residents and locations is difficult. Since the lists locate these people by their school district significant amounts of correlation are possible nonetheless. We believe that the following families lived in the study area in 1920.

Head of Household	Status	School District
E. P. Dillahunty	Owns Free Farm	69
J. H. Griffin	Owns Free Farm	43
H. D. Wright	Owns Free Farm	69

B. W. McLellan	Owns Free Farm	69
E. H. McLellan	Rents	69
H. W. Crow	Owns Free Farm	69
J. T. Thames	Owns Free Farm	43
James Ferguson	Owns Free Farm	43
W. H. Berkshire	Rents	43
J. W. Rush	Owns Free Farm	43
J. K. Oldham	Owns Free Farm	43
Alois Oldham	Rents	?
C. L. Jones	Rents	?
R. M. Morrison	Rents	?
A. Oldham	Owns Free Farm	49
E. R. Been	Owns Free Farm	43
J. T. Wolverton, Jr.	Owns Free Farm	?
N. J. Miller	Owns Free Farm	?
J. B. Amos	Rents	?
G. W. Wolverton	Rents	?
G. W. Langston	Owns Free Farm	69
G. M. Sargent	Rents	?
C. H. Sharp	Owns Free Farm	?
Loyd Been	Rents	?
R. C. Carter	Owns Free Farm	69
S. J. Porter	Owns Free Farm	69
E. L. Amos	Owns Free Farm	69
M. J. Nobles	Owns Free Farm	69
G. L. Michel	Owns Free Farm	69
R. W. Jones	Rents	69
G. B. Ibison	Owns Free Farm	69
Rufus Jones	Owns Free Farm	69
Ralph Norvell	Rents	69?
E. E. McLellan	Owns Free Farm	69
J. B. Martin	Owns Free Farm	69?
E. A. Thames	Rents	69?
M. A. Buckner	Owns Free Farm	69
J. T. Cooper	Owns Free farm	69
E. M. Jones	Owns Free Farm	69
J. D. Nicely	Rents	69?
W. W. East	Owns Mortgaged Farm	69
W. K. Meeks	Owns Mortgaged Farm	69
H. C. Chaisy	Owns Mortgaged Farm	69
C. T. Burris	Owns Mortgaged Farm	69
J. E. Craig	Rents	69?
S. B. Speegle	Owns Free Farm	9?
T. E. Rice	Owns Mortgaged Farm	9
T. A. Hewitt	Owns Free Farm	9
J. H. Payne	Rents	69
W. E. Meeks	Rents	69
Douey Jetton	Owns Mortgaged Farm	9
Grant Stell	Rents	49
Frank Steele	Rents	49
Ida Steele	Owns Free Farm	49
M. L. Roose	Owns Free Farm	49
W. P. Steele	Owns Free Farm	49?

E. W. Roose	Owns Free Farm	49
B. F. Hewitt	Owns Free Farm	49
J. T. Wolverton	Owns Free Farm	49
J. L. Newman	Rents	49
M. H. Wolverton	Owns Free Farm	49
Ira Lamb	Owns Free Farm	49
C. A. Berkshire	Rents	69
O. H. Rippy	Owns Free Farm	?
Frank Shular	Rents	?
C. E. Reding	Owns Mortgaged Farm	?
E. B. Rippy	Rents	43
M. L. Johnson	Rents	?
C. S. Williams	Owns Free Farm	?
J. H. Williams	Rents	?
L. Nichols	Rents	?
E. M. Golden	Owns Free Farm	43
J. C. Griffin	Owns Free Farm	43
J. T. Been	Owns Free Farm	43
H. J. Inman	Rents	?
Jeptha A. Crossland	Owns Free Farm	28
Willie M. Morgan	Owns Mortgaged Farm	28
Jo. D. McCartney	Owns Free Farm	28
Rube Jones	Rents	28
Mrs. Audie Glass	Owns Free Farm	28
Marvin C. Crossland	Owns Free Farm	28
Charley Clark	Rents	28
Dunkin A. Crossland	Owns Free Farm	28
Susie Douglas	Owns Mortgaged Farm	?
Mrs. J. B. Williams	Owns Free Farm	?
Clide Johnson	Owns Free Farm	?
Ben J. Williams	Owns Free Farm	?

A population decline is visible for the study area, with 381 residents living there in 1920. This includes 100 adult females (21+ or married) and 82 adult males (21+ or married). If one discounted the married females 16 to 20 this ratio would decline, but it would still show more women than men. This probably represents the longer life expectancy of females although the eldest resident was 88 year-old Enoch M. Jones (Figure 36). Of the school age children (6 to 20), there were 69 female and 65 males. While these two numbers are about equal, if the married females 16 to 20 were added back in it would show a definite advantage to females. On the other hand, in the infant to six year old population there were 36 males and 29 females.

Figure 36. Enoch and Mary Jones

Except for one family, all children under the age of 21 were born in Arkansas, 98 males and 97 females. The one family had 3 sons and 1 daughter born in Tennessee. The majority of adults were born in Arkansas. Each decade, therefore, the population became more and more native born Arkansan. In 1920, for the first time, a plurality of the parents of the adults were born in Arkansas.

Parents of Adult Males

Tennessee - 33
Arkansas - 31
Georgia - 16
Alabama - 11
Mississippi - 7
Indiana - 6
Ohio - 6
Kentucky - 5
Illinois - 5
South Carolina - 4
Missouri - 3
Virginia - 2
Texas - 2

Parents of Adul Females

Arkansas - 48
Tennessee - 40
Alabama - 16
Illinois - 9
Ohio - 9
Mississippi - 6
Texas - 6
Georgia - 5
North Carolina - 4
Missouri - 4
Kentucky - 3
South Carolina - 3
Virginia - 2
Indiana - 2
Germany - 1

The school and literacy data preserved in the 1920 census records appear to be unreliable. For example, a considerable number of people could write but not read, and few children were listed as going to school when clearly this had to be the case. We do note a middle age male who was listed as "Not Bright." In previous census listing he was recorded as being unable to read or write. This statement tends to confirm this evaluation.

For people of working ages, all males were farmers and all females were housekeepers of farm operators except for one male retail merchant and one young male school teacher, and for one young female school teacher and one "Fine Wife."

Since tax data for Sebastian count for 1919 through 1921 are missing, we are presenting here data from 1922. In that year 4,977 adult white males paid poll tax as did 51 adult colored males; the total number of households not paying poll tax was not recorded. There were 4,513 horses worth $103,800 ($23.00), 13,551 neat cattle worth $136,875 ($10.10/cow), 4,241 mules and asses worth $165,330 ($38.98/mule), 325 sheep and goats worth $465 ($1.43), 7,060 hogs worth $29,160 ($4.13/hog), 1,237 autos worth $128,710 ($104.05/auto), 2,072 carriages and wagons worth $46,860 ($22.62), 197 watches and jewelry worth $1,800 ($9/13/watch), $670 in diamonds and gems, 899 pianos worth $46,620 ($51.66)/piano, $189,230 in household goods, $228,305 in merchandise, $113,055 in banks, manufactured goods worth $159,505, $157,815 in cash, bonds worth $9,935, $7,030 in plated silver, and other goods worth $63,285; totalling $1,588,450. In addition, corporations were worth $325,874 and the coal district power company was worth $113,864; totalling $2,028,188 excluding all real estate. In 1922 the county's real estate was valued at $4,775,419. Thus the total value of land and personal property in Sebastian County in 1922 was calculated to be $6,803,607.

For the 56 households evaluated in the personal property tax record in the study area, the median value was $202.50 and the average was $286.52. Compared with 1910 the median is lower and the average is higher. Between these 56 families, 44 owned wagons or carriages and eight owned automobiles. We note, however, that none of the automobiles was valued as high as the median value of automobiles for the county. This may reflect the difference between farm pickup trucks and, probably, tractors, and more luxurious sedans or touring cars seen more often in cities. At the same time, horses were becoming less popular. In 1922, 15 of the 56 families did not own a horse, and of the remaining families all owned between one and four, except one owning six. Mules and asses seem to be the complimentary animal; all but three who did not own horses owned mules or asses. In all, 18 families did not own mules or asses, all owning between one and five with one owning six. Thus, as agriculture changed, tradeoffs between horses, mules, asses, tractors, and pickup trucks were being made.

In 1922, all but two of the 56 families owned cattle. Virtually all owned between two and 20 cattle, but one did own 40 and one owned 30. Thus, some commercial milk or beef production appears to have occurred. Of the two farms owning sheep, one owned four and one 50; the latter was probably commercial. Hogs again increased in value, but nobody owned more than 12 and eleven owned no hogs. Thus it appears that except for a few singular farms, all livestock was for local farm use or

consumption and that few livestock, or their products, were sold in any quantity based on farm production in the study area.

Other items owned in 1922 included 13 pianos and one watch. Ten held cash: $1,000, $600, $500, $500, $350, $300, $200, $100, $100, and $100; $3,750 in total. Most of the people holding cash were retired farmers or their widows and the cash was probably acquired from selling real estate. In addition, two households held bank notes for small amounts, one $35 and one $5.

Individual Farms

Families and Farms. From the Federal Census we were able to identify 28 families which we are confident were living in the study area at this time and for which tax data were available.

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILDREN AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES
Amos, E.	27	m	0			80
Been, J. T.	43	m	0			161
Burris, Charles	48	m	3	9m-14		80
Carter, R. C.	49	m	11	4m-21		77
Cooper, J. T.	74	w	2	10-12		97
Crossland, Dunklin	42	m	2	7-8		120
Crossland, Jephtah	79	m				245
Crow, H. W.	72	m	0			38
Dillahunty, Emma.	66	w	1	35		81
East, William	36	m	3	5-15		78
Golden, Emanuel	65	m	2	13-14		60
Ibison, G. B.	37	m	2	3-13	1	93
Jetton, D.	48	m	2	11-13	1	130
Jones, Enoch	88	w	0			153
Jones, Rufus	37	m	6	4m-13		
Lamb, Ira	28	m	1	7m		91
McLellan, Benjamin	49	m	4	8-20		164
Meeks, William K.	48	m	7	4-18		123
Oldham, Joel	82	m	1	48		101
Payne, J. H.	50	m	3	11-22		
Rice, T. E.	45	m	6	8-17		204
Roose, Mary	82	w	0			31

NAME	AGE	M	CHILDREN	CHILDREN AGE	OTHERS	TOTAL ACRES
Rush, Jesse	61	m	3	15-21		97
Steele, Ida	58	w	0			
Thames, James	59	m	4	7-16		40
Wolverton, James T.	64	m	0			75
Wolverton, Montgomery	31	m	2	8-11		30
Wright, H. D.	46	m	5	7-20		120

These farms fit all our different size categories. Twenty-three one of these farms list married males as heads of household, three list widows, and two list widowed males. Two of the farms are operated by males aged 30 years or younger and seven families are headed by males 65 or older. Twenty of the farms have children in residence. Seven farms have children under six years old and seven farms have children in their late teens or older.

The three farms which list additional household members all have additional family members living with them. G. B. Ibison has a nephew. D. Jetton has a niece and the two persons living with the Emery Roose family are his grandchildren.

Livestock, Value, and Taxes. Of the 28 families taken from the tax roles, all but two reporting list the ownership of either mules or horses. All those reporting list cows or cattle with several farms now reporting ownership of more than ten head. While we cannot be absolutely certain this may indicate the beginnings of small dairy-type operations. Only two of these families are raising sheep, but one, Rufus Jones, has a very large herd. Since this family also has the largest cattle herd listed this may indicate that, for this farm, the production of livestock, is particularly important. Six of the reporting families do not list swine.

NAME	M/A	HORSES	NEAT COWS	SWINE	SHEEP	CARRIAGE	TOTAL VALUE	TAX
Amos, E.	2	1	3	3	0	1	$195.00	$5.60
Been, J. T.	2	0	4	0	0	0	$150.00	$3.55
Burris, Charles	0	4	4	3	0	1	$245.00	$7.03
Carter, R. C.	0	4	1	8	0	1	$320.00	$9.18
Cooper, J. T.	0	1	4	2	0	1	$110.00	$3.16
Crossland, Dunklin	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Crossland, Jephthah	0	1	1	1	0	0	$170.00	$4.88
Crow, H. W.	4	1	2	1	0	1	$150.00	$4.30
Dillahunty, Emma	0	0	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00

NAME	M/A	HORSES	NEAT COWS	SWINE	SHEEP	CARRIAGE	TOTAL VALUE	TAX
East, William W.	0	4	3	5	0	1	$275.00	$7.89
Golden, Emanuel	2	2	2	6	0	1	$350.00	$8.29
Ibison, G. B.	2	0	10	0	4	1	$190.00	$5.45
Jetton, D.	5	2	7	3	0	1	$345.00	$9.90
Jones, Enoch	0	1	6	0	0	0	$560.00	$16.07
Jones, Rufus	5	3	40	1	50	1	$620.00	$17.79
Lamb, Ira	2	0	12	1	0	1	$180.00	$5.17
McLellan, Benjamin W.	2	1	15	5	0	1	$545.00	$15.64
Meeks, William K?	0	2	10	0	0	0	$115.00	$4.45
Oldham, Joel	0	1	1	0	0	1	$70.00	$1.66
Payne, J. J.	2	1	3	2	0	1	$195.00	$5.60
Rice, T. E.	2	6	12	12	0	2	$480.00	$13.78
Roose, Mary	0	0	5	0	0	1	$1,085.00	$24.68
Rush, Jesse	3	3	5	4	0	1	$310.00	$7.35
Steele, Ida	0	1	5	0	0	0	$445.00	$12.77
Thames, James	1	3	7	2	0	1	$210.00	$4.98
Wolverton, James	0	2	2	4	0	1	$125.00	$3.59
Wolverton, Montgomery	2	1	2	3	0	1	$140.00	$4.02
Wright, H. D.	3	1	13	5	0	1	$340.00	$9.76

Summary

The landscape seems to be changing in some fairly dramatic ways. It appears to be that the farms are maturing with more farms operated by older operators and fewer farms operated by younger, especially new operators.

The days of cotton as a major cash crop also seem to be coming to end. Technological changes are becoming evident in automobiles which certainly increased the ability of residents to have direct contact with the communities of Charleston, Greenwood, and Fort Smith.

Chapter 13. Center Valley 1930

Overview

The decade of the 1920s saw a continued erosion of the standard of living of the residents of the study area. This erosion began as early as the late 1890s and probably did not hit its nadir until sometime in the 1930s. Unfortunately, 1920 is the last year for which census data are available and our record base is limited to the deed and tax records. It is also unfortunate for this research program that School District 69, Center Valley, was merged with the Greenwood Special School District (SD 25) in May 1930, and separate and specific tax information for this region ends in 1929. After 1929 it is impossible to identify non-landowners for this region from the preserved historical record. Fortunately, this same time period is well attested in the oral historical and photographic records. Thus, probably more information is available for the period 1920 to 1930, but it is a different sort of information that is not quantifiable in the same manner as for previous periods.

Informants have described the decade of the 1920s as one of agricultural collapse. The first factor as the dust bowl set in was an infestation of bugs which destroyed the sole major cash crop, cotton. With its destruction, farmers turned to alternative means of obtaining the required cash, truck farming and dairy farming, with sales to Fort Smith, Barling, Greenwood, and Charleston. Alternative means of obtaining cash included employment in regional mines or in quitting the farm and moving west or to the city when cash paying jobs were available. Many left the farm, especially children reaching adulthood, never to return, and the rural population started to decline. The decline in rural population coupled with increased urban population necessitated the closing of rural schools, with many closing in 1930. No doubt this caused more families to leave the farm.

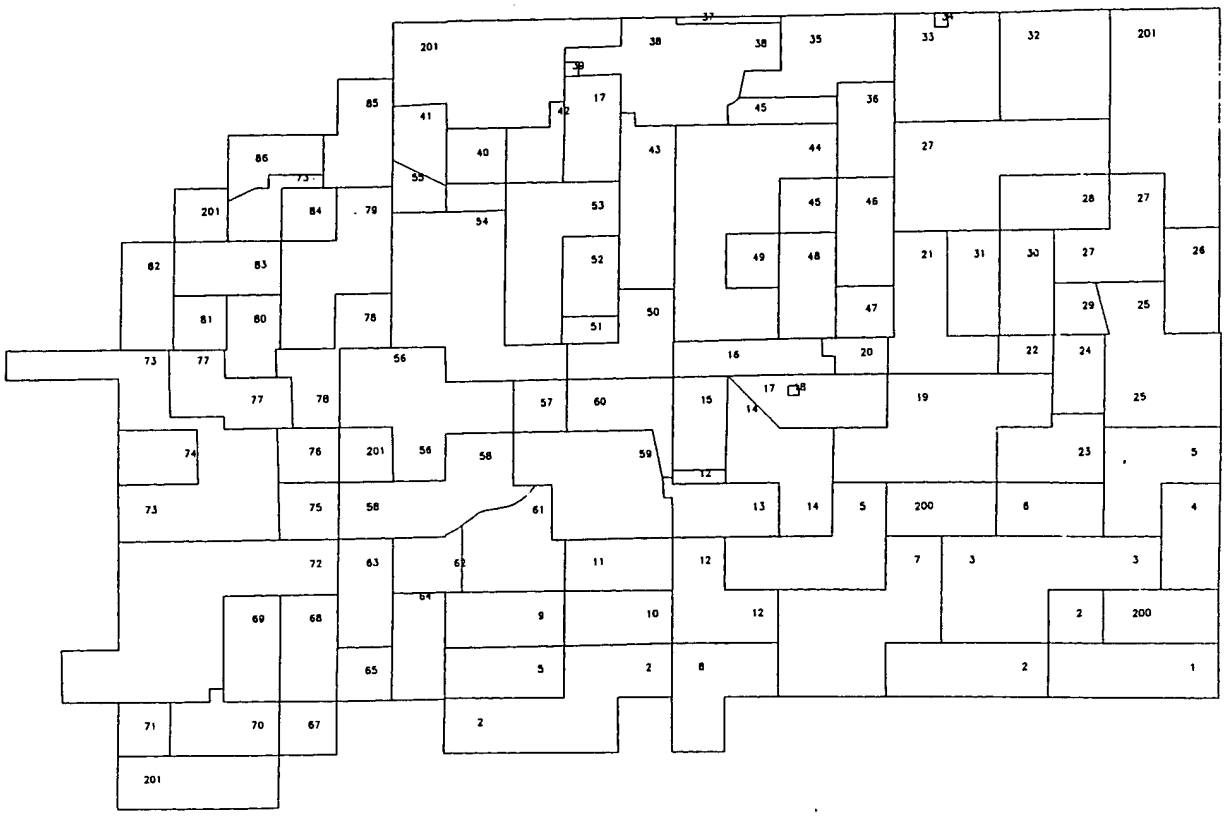
Debt increased dramatically during the 1920s. Most farms were mortgaged and by late in the decade farmers were selling out or losing their farms because they could not meet mortgage payments. This led to declining land prices and rapid turnover of properties once they hit the market, with many new buyers being unable to meet payments and the properties again reaching the market. With the stock market collapse in 1929 money became even more scarce and the declining spiral continued. It would not be until money had virtually vanished that the spiral stopped.

At the same time, however, if one's farm was not taken away, a family could survive. Gardens and livestock met the biological food needs and the community supported itself rallying around ill members and doing things collectively (baseball, singing schools, socials, dances, etc.) with no cash outlay. This bonding is certainly reflected in how these communities have stayed identifiable 50 years after they were moved off the land in 1941.

Property Ownership and Farm Size. The schematic presented on the following page illustrates the size and distributions of farms in 1930.

USA	Arkansas	Corporate	Unknown	Private	Number of Farms
0	41	1,110	84	8,026	77

Farm Ownership in 1930



1	McCartney, Harry	31	Brock, Joseph	62	Wright, R .F.
2	Rock Island Improvement Company	32	Newhart, Ephraim	63	Dillahunty, Adolphus, estate
3	Crossland, Jephthah E., estate	33	Hill, Mary	64	Coleman, T. J.
4	Unknown	34	Ames Chapel	65	Martin, Lela M.
5	Missouri Pacific Railroad	35	Vanmeter, W. A.	66	Martin, J. S.
6	Crossland, C. M.	36	Carson, Joe	67	Arkansas, State of
7	Carter, Audie Glass	37	Steele, W. P.	68	Williams, E. A.
8	Crossland, D .H.	38	Peninger, T. P.	69	Martin, J. B.
9	Treiber, Edward G.	39	Edna Lodge	70	Johnson, Clyde
10	Smith, Sarah J.	40	Gann, T. O.	71	Williams, Benjamin J.
11	Carter, R. C.	41	Wolverton, J. T., estate	72	SebastionCoal & Mine Company
12	Nobles, Mary J.	42	Roose, E. W.	73	Oldham, Arnes
13	Amos, E .L.	43	Steele, William H,. estate	74	Griffin, C.
14	McLellan, B. D.	44	Webb, William J., estate	75	Thomas, Dora
15	Buckner, G.	45	Norvell, J. R,. estate	76	Denson, Norris
16	Payne, J. H.	46	Brown, Ezra	77	Rush, Jesse
17	Steele, Grant	47	Nea,, Samuel D.	78	Throan, I .F.
17	Steele, Frank	48	McLellan, William E.	79	Been, J. T.
18	Center Valley SD 69	49	Jones, R .M.	80	Golden, Emanuel M.
19	Meeks, William K.	50	Newman, W. L.	81	Lamb, A .G.
20	Langston, Ann	51	Steele, Ida	82	Hearn, George F.
21	Dillahunty, Francis M.	52	Roose, Emery	83	Griffin, J. C.
22	East, Martin A., estate	53	Been, E. R.	84	Gann, Hatt
23	Carruthers, Elmo	54	Been, Llewellyn, estate	85	Lamb, Ira
24	Bollinger, WilliamH.	55	Wolverton, Montgomery	86	Cottingham, J. J.
25	Crossland General P.	56	Rivers, W. W., estate	200	USA
26	Steele, E .P.	57	Brown, G. W.	201	Unknown
27	Rainey, E. A.	58	McLellan, Benjamin W.		
28	Burris, W. E.	59	Langston, George W.		
29	Riley, C. E.	60	Buckner, R.		
30	Burris, Charles T.	60	Buckner, G.		
		61	Wright, H. D.		

In 1930 those farms containing about 80 acres again made up the largest percentage of the study area (23.3%). Farms of 80 acres and smaller made up slightly less than half of the privately owned farms. Farms of 200 acres or larger (9) made up over 11% of the total but included about 26% of the total acreage. A substantial percentage of the farms (nearly 8%), however, were given over to farms of less than 35acres.

Farm Size	Farms	Percentage of Farms	Acres	Percentage of Acreage
<35 acres	6	7.79%	154	1.92%
36-45 acres	8	10.39%	482	6.01%
46-75 acres	12	15.58%	797	9.93%
76-85 acres	18	23.38%	1456	18.14%
86-115 acres	8	10.39%	734	9.15%
116-125 acres	3	3.90%	365	4.55%
126-155 acres	6	7.79%	720	8.97%
156-165 acres	3	3.90%	487	6.07%
166-195 acres	4	5.19%	744	9.27%
196-205 acres	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
>206 acres	9	11.69%	2087	26.00%
Total Farms	77			
Total Acreage	8026			

Community Composition and Social Statistics. The year 1929 has been chosen as the year to describe the end of this decade since separate tax listing are still available for the Center Valley School District in this, the final, year of separate listing. The study area consists of parts of the Sulphur, Auburn, Lone Star, and Marietta School Districts, as well as all of the Center Valley School District. In 1929 21 tax payers were listed on the personal property rolls for Center Valley, SD 69. Of these, 15 can be identified as property owners while 6 must either be male children over 21 and living at home or renters. Other owners of land in Center Valley could be found elsewhere in the vicinity, but were not taxed in Center Valley. All Center Valley tax payers are listed with the Post Office address "Charleston Route 4" except for R. F. Wright, who owned the farm farthest southwest in the School District, and who is listed as "Greenwood Route 3."

E. L. Amos	Owner
W. B. Burris	Owner
C. T. Burris	Owner
George Brown	Owner
Jim Brown	
R. C. Carter	Owner
Bill Carter	

F. M. Dillahunty	Owner
Clarence Gunter	
R. E. Jones	
Rufus Jones	Owner
H. A. James	
Mrs. George Langston	Owner
Theodore Meeks	Owner's son
Mrs. B. W. McLellan	Owner?
B. W. McLellan	Owner
Mrs. J. Nobles	Owner
J. H. Payne	Owner
Joel Wilson	
R. F. Wright	Owner
H. D. Wright	Owner

For the greater study area, 77 individuals or estates owned property, as well as 8 companies, school districts, churches, fraternal orders, and the State of Arkansas. For the 77 individuals or estates, 38 owners or heirs could be identified as residents of the general vicinity; about 50 percent. This suggests that a goodly number of owners were either investors or descendants from beyond the region, or, far more often the case, had retired during the economic decline of the 1920s and moved into town, Fort Smith, Charleston, Barling, or Greenwood.

In 1929, 45 individuals who are likely to have been residents of the region were taxed for personal property. Of these the largest personal estate was $1,015 and the smallest was $1, with three only paying poll tax. The median amount of taxable property was $165 (both when counting and not counting the three paying only poll taxes). Breaking down these figures one sees: almost everybody owning cattle, most in the range of one to six, but some owning as many as 17, 17, 23, 35, and 60. These individuals (B. W. McLellan, the Steele Brothers, Rufus Jones, Ephram Newhart, and Arnes Oldham) must have been dairy farmers. Cattle were valued between $15 and $25. Many no longer owned horses, and those that did owned no more than five, and usually no more then two. Horses were valued at about $15 to $25, a dramatic drop from the past when horses were required for farming, now partially replaced by tractors. Some farms had a mule or an ass, but not many, and $15 to $25 seems to have been a fair price. Most farmers had a couple of hogs, but no more than five, with hogs valued between $2.50 and $5 each. Household goods and other property tended to be valued under $25 each. Some had automobiles, again valued somewhere under $50. The widow Anna Langston had $200 in stocks and bonds, and the widow Ida Steele had $900 in cash, both probably acquired while settling their husbands' estates or in dividing land among children.

There can be little doubt that the population dropped. A few larger farmers devoted to dairying contributed to the loss of house sites and the removal of adult children to cities and to the west probably caused the average age to increase. Thus, fewer small children would be present. One can only guess at a population, but a population for the region of about 300, matching 1870, seems a good guess.

Individual Farms

Families and Farms. The figures below are a compilation of information from the tax records, property abstracts, and the 1920 Federal Census. These farms contain examples from all the various farm sizes in the study area. For the 19 examples in which we are certain about the age of the head of household, only one is under 30 years of age and three are over 65. The age data are clearly biased toward previous residents, however, since their ages could be determined from the 1920 census. Of those paying taxes, all but four report owning either horses or mules. All but three report cows or cattle, but usually only a few per farm. Rufus Jones and Benjamin McLellan are exceptions to this. Sheep are found only on the Rufus Jones farms, but, again, there are a fair number present.

NAME	AGE	TOTAL ACRES	MULES/ ASSES	HORSES	NEAT COWS	SHEEP	TOTAL VALUE	TAX
Amos, E.	37	83	2	0	2	0	$150.00	$5.27
Been, Jesse T.	51	161	0	3	4	0	$110.00	$3.21
Brown, G.		38	0	0	0	0	$25.00	$0.88
Burris, Charles	58	80	0	0	2	0	$90.00	$3.16
Burris, W. E.		83	0	0	1	0	$45.00	$1.58
Carter, R. C.	59	77	3	2	6	0	$245.00	$8.61
Dillahunty, Emma P.	76	81	0	2	3		$100.00	$2.92
Dillahunty, Francis	41	135	0	2	3	0	$115.00	$4.04
Golden, Emanuel	75	60	0	2	8	0	$200.00	$5.83
Gunter, Clarence		0	0	0	0	0	$25.00	$0.44
James, H. A.		0	0	3	5	0	$195.00	$6.85
Jones, Robert E.	57	0	2	0	2	0	$130.00	$4.57
Jones, Rufus M.	47	40	1	5	23	27	$530.00	$18.63
Lamb, Ira	38	91	0	2	12	0	$170.00	$4.96
Langston, George		194	0	1	8	0	$380.00	$13.36
McLellan, Benjamin	49	164	2	1	17	0	$410.00	$14.41
Meeks, Theodore	25	0	0	2	4	0	$125.00	$4.39
Meeks, William K.	58	246	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Payne, J. H.	60	78	2	1	6	0	$225.00	$7.91
Roose, Everett W.	43	49	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Roose, Emery	67	62	0	0	0	0	$0.00	$0.00
Rush, Jesse	71	97	1	1	4	0	$145.00	$4.23
Wilson, Joel		0	2	0	2	0	$110.00	$3.87

NAME	AGE	TOTAL ACRES	MULES/ ASSES	HORSES	NEAT COWS	SHEEP	TOTAL VALUE	TAX
Wolverton, Montgomery	41	30	2	0	0	0	$110.00	$3.87
Wright, H. D.	56	120	2	1	7	0	$245.00	$8.61
Wright, R. F.		56	2	1	4	0	$220.00	$7.73

Summary

The decline in economic prosperity for the region is apparent in the oral record as well as in the tax and mortgage record. A changing economic and environmental climate eroded the economic basis of the region causing a high turnover of land as prices plummeted. A cash based cotton economy was replaced with a cash-based dairy and truck farm economy. The roll of orchards in this economy is uncertain. Schools closed and many younger adults left the region. Those that stayed certainly survived at a subsistence level as the national economy continued on its downward spiral.

Chapter 14. Center Valley 1941

Overview

The 1930s saw the worst effects of the depression, the driest year (1936) on record, and the start of economic recovery; but this all was only a prelude to the coming of the military installation in 1941 and the removal of settled life from the study area. Many of the records describing this period are less detailed (e.g., tax records) or not yet available for study (e.g., census data), forcing a greater reliance on deed and abstract data and on personal narrative. Since we are now 54 years removed from 1941, many informants remain who can describe life in the study area in the 1930s, frequently from differing perspectives, but almost always with great clarity.

As the residents of the region struggled out of the economic depression and as the climate reverted to pre-drought conditions, life improved. At the same time it was being altered dramatically from the conditions which prevailed even a decade earlier. The Center Valley School (SD 69) which had been a focal point for community cohesion closed in May 1930 and the students were now bussed to Greenwood. This simple act probably was the first step in dissembling the community. Informants have told us that especially from 1935 onwards that the newer residents simply were not part of the existing community and that the sense community was being lost. We suggest that the prime force of assimilation was lost, the school. At the same time, many of the farms long held in single families were lost to the original family. In other cases the farms were still owned by the original families and their descendants, but now were farmed by tenants with no long association with the region. Thus the now more dispersed members of the original community that went into the depression and drought together and remained intact as a community, but now not as next door neighbors. The newer residents did not form the bond and never assimilated into the community; few of the informants talk about the last years of the 1930s. For their community there was nothing to discuss. That which defined the community had ceased to be by the late 1930s; maybe the community would have become reassimilated with its new had time allowed, but in 1941 the land was taken.

On the farms themselves, life was probably only a shadow of previous times by 1941. Outwardly, no electricity, subsistence farming, and a very limited number of cash crops and commodities still defined the farms. But by 1941, tractors were commonly used, horses were rare. By 1941 cream and eggs were the main cash crops along with beef livestock and truck farming; cotton was rare. Farm laborers were now rare as the landless either rented farms as tenants or moved to the city to become day laborers. Farms were taking on new shapes as successful farmers (e.g., Arnes Oldham) and investors bought farms as they hit the market, reshaping the economic landscape. Even the physical landscape was changed starting in 1938 as the Soil Conservation Service assisted with land-management and introduced the contouring of fields in an attempt to save the soils from further erosion.

The coming of Camp Chaffee in 1941 forced all the families, both new and old, off the land. For one and all one final grand picnic was held at the Center Valley School building in the fall of 1941

to say goodbye to the land and the neighbors. The old families treasured this event in memory while the newer families both forgot and were forgotten. As they left the old owners salvaged or moved the buildings along with their belongings to begin a new life elsewhere. With the coming of Camp Chaffee some families bought new farms in the region, while others bought farms many miles away. It appears that for many of the older families who owned land, but did not live on it, that this event ended their association with the land as farmers. The children became urban dwellers, many working on Camp Chaffee, and the parents grew old and died in the urban setting of their children.

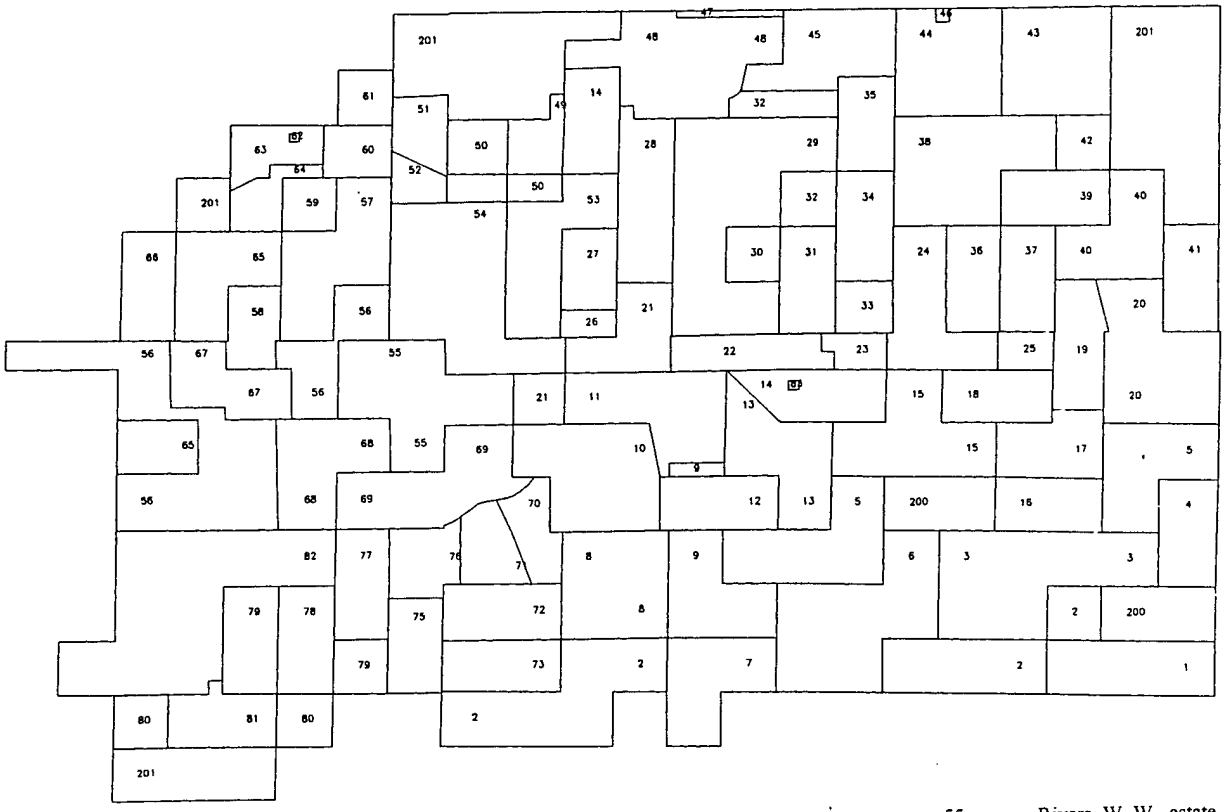
Property Ownership and Farm Size. The schematic presented on the following page illustrates the size and distribution of farms in 1941. Figure 37 is a composite created from an interpretation of the location of buildings and roads visible on the 1938 aerial photographs.

USA	Arkansas	Corporate	Unknown	Private	Number of Farms
		1,026	84	8,442	75

At the time the United States Government reacquired the land within the study area, the largest percentage of farms (20%) were about 80 acres in size. Nearly one half were 80 acres or smaller with five properties consisting of less than 35 acres. Eight farms were more than 200 acres in extent and comprised about 25% of the total acreage.

Farm Size	Farms	Percentage of Farms	Acres	Percentage of Acreage
<35 acres	5	6.67%	120	1.42%
36-45 acres	5	6.67%	203	2.40%
46-75 acres	13	17.33%	805	9.54%
76-85 acres	15	20.00%	1216	14.40%
86-115 acres	6	8.00%	544	6.44%
116-125 acres	4	5.33%	490	5.80%
126-155 acres	9	12.00%	1231	14.58%
156-165 acres	6	8.00%	998	11.82%
166-195 acres	4	5.33%	737	8.73%
196-205 acres	1	1.33%	204	2.42%
>206 acres	7	9.33%	1894	22.44%
Total Farms	75			
Total Acreage	8442			

Farm Ownership in 1941



1 McCartney, Harry
2 Rock Island Improvement Company
3 Crossland, Jephthah E., estate
4 Unknown
5 Missouri Pacific Railroad
6 Carter, Audie Glass
7 Crossland, Duncun H.
8 Carter, R. C.
9 Calef, Warner
10 Buckner, Lulu
10 McClellan, Bertha
11 Buckner, General R.
12 Carson, Elmer E.
13 McLellan, B. D.
14 Steele, Frank
14 Steele, Grant
15 Meeks, William K.
16 Crossland, Charles M.
17 Carruthers, Elmo, estate
18 Meeks, W. E.
19 Riley, C. E.
20 Crossland, General P.
21 Edgerton, P. J.
22 Payne, J. H.
23 Langston, M. A., estate
24 Dillahunty, Francis M.
25 East, William W.
26 Steele, Ida
27 Roose, Emery W.
28 Steele, William H.
29 Webb, William J., estate
30 Jones, Rufus M.
31 McLellan, W. E., estate
32 Norvell, J. R., estate
33 Henry, Talbert
34 Brown, Ezra L.
35 Engle, Pauline
36 Brock, Joseph E.
37 Burris, Charles T., estate
38 Rogers
38 Overbey
39 Burris, W.E.
40 Brazil, Thomas H.
41 Steele, E. P.
42 Overby, H. L.
43 Newhart Ephraim, Jr.
44 Hill, Mary
45 Vanmeter, W. A.
46 Ames Chapel
47 Steele, W. P.
48 Peninger, T.P., estate
49 Roose, Emery W.
50 Morgan, Minnie
50 Morgan, Roy
51 Wolverton, J. T., estate
52 Wolverton, Montgomery
53 Been, E. R.
54 Been, Llewellyn, estate
55 Rivers, W. W,. estate
56 Oldham, Arnes A.
57 Been, J. T.
58 Oldham, Alvin A.
59 Gann, Hatt W.
60 Lamb Ira
61 Lamb, Elmer
62 Fairview Baptist Church
63 Bell, Marshall V.
64 Reding, Julian E.
65 Griffin, J. C.
66 Hearn, George F.
67 Rush, Jesse
68 Smith, A. J.
69 McLellan, Benjamin W.
70 Wright, H. D.
71 Stroud, W. S.
72 Treiber, Edward G.
73 Smith, M.F.
74 Sherman, J. W.
75 Coleman, T. J., estate
76 Wright, R. F.
77 Dillahunty, Adolphus, estate
78 Williams, E. A.
79 Peirce, Albert E.
80 Dawson, Chris
81 Johnson, Clyde
82 Sebastian Coal & Mine Company
83 Center Valley SD 25
200 USA
201 Unknown

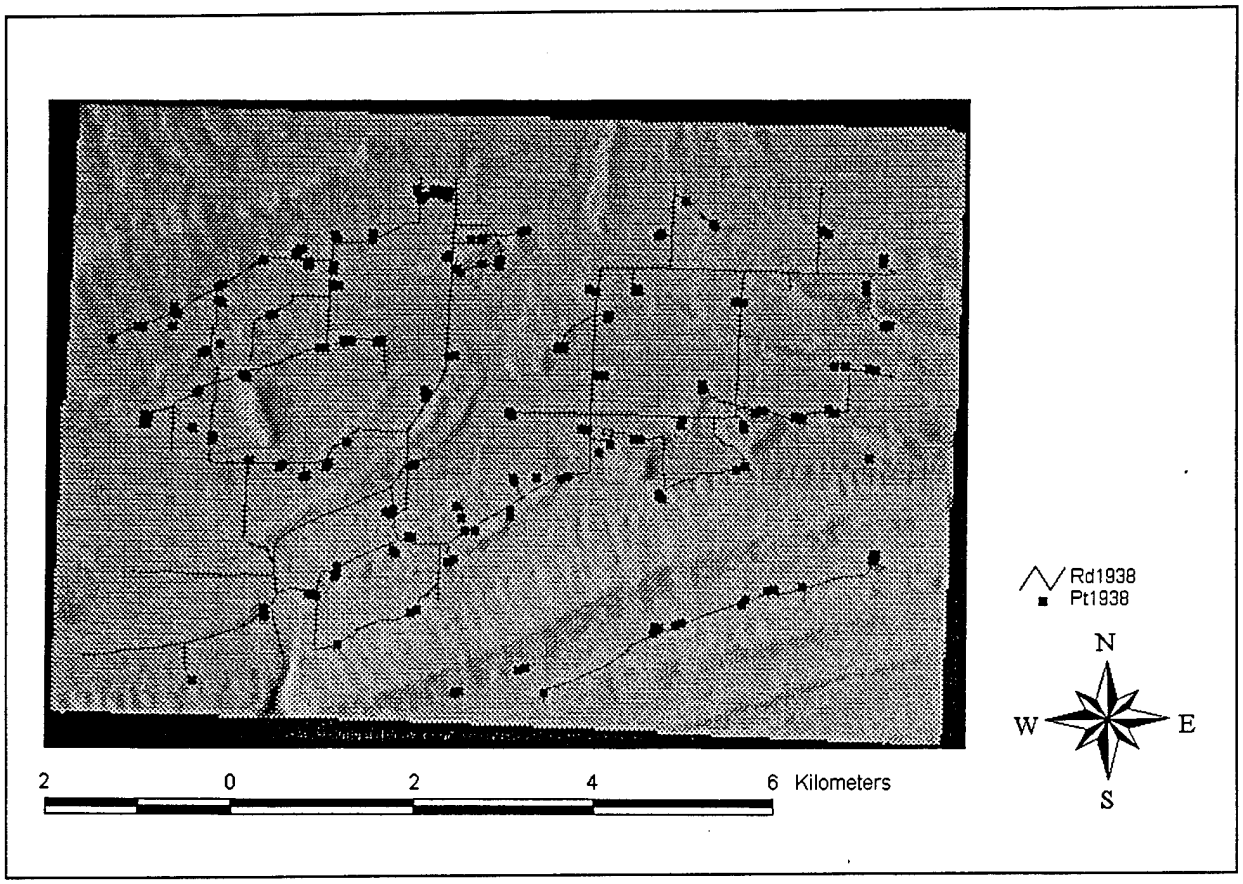


Figure 37. Roads and Houses in 1938

Community Composition and Social Statistics. Since Camp Chaffee acquired these lands starting at the end of 1941 and continuing into 1942 we have excellent records of who owned the lands and which lands had tenants. In many cases, the names of the tenants were given.

In attempting to identify those who lived within the study area in 1941 we matched ownership records with personal property tax records for Greenwood Special School District 25. As a result we identified 57 individuals or families that probably lived in the study area in 1941 as well as eight unknown renters. If we assume that eight different renters are present, then 42 owners and 25 renters can be estimated. Family sizes are not available. If we estimate 5 per family, then a population of about 325 can be estimated for the study region.

Head of Household	Status
Aften Aldridge	Renter
J. T. Been	Owner
Doyle Brown	Renter
E. L. Brown	Owner
Joe Burke	Renter
E. E. Carson	Owner

Mrs. Audie Carter	Owner
Burt Carter	Renter
R. C. Carter	Owner
Fines Clark	Renter
A. W. Crossland	Owner
Mrs. E. P. Dillahunty	Owner
Paul J. Edgerton	Owner
Pauline Engle	Owner
C. R. Foote	Renter
Webster Foote	Renter
Gay Greenfield	Renter
J. C. Griffin	Owner
Hatt Gann	Owner
George Hearn	Owner
Talbert Henry	Owner
Ralph Huit	Renter
Frank Johnson	Renter
Mrs. R. M. Jones	Owner
Rufus Jones	Owner
Webb Jones	Owner
Ira Lamb	Owner
B. D. McLellan	Owner
B. W. McLellan	Owner
E. B. McLellan	Owner
M. M. Meeks	Owner
W. E. Meeks	Owner
W. K. Meeks	Owner
A. J. and Minnie Morgan	Renter
Roy Morgan	Owner
Mrs. G. W. Moriarty	Owner
E. Newhart	Owner
Alvin Oldham	Owner
Arnes Oldham	Owner
Carl Payne	Owner
J. H. Payne	Owner
Chester Ray	Renter
W. P. Rivers	Owner
Julian Reding	Owner
C. E. Riley	Owner
Doc Riley	Renter
Emery W. Roose	Owner/Renter
A. J. Smith	Owner
Frank Steele	Owner
Grant Steele	Owner
W. S. Stroud	Owner
Elza Vanmeter	Renter
John Vanmeter	Renter
W. A. Vanmeter	Owner
Mont Wolverton	Owner/Renter
Tom Wolverton	Owner
H. D. Wright	Owner
8 unknown tenants	Renters

The 1941 personal property tax records show a range in valuation from $470 to $20, with the median at $135. Most families had a horse or two and some cattle as well as household goods and some other properties. A few had mules or hogs and some had automobiles. A number of household had more than ten cattle (J. T. Been, Elmer E. Carson, Mrs. E. P. Dillahunty, Ezra L. Brown, Talbert Henry, Rufus M. Jones, Webb Jones, B. W. McLellan, E. B. McLellan, Ephraim Newhart, Arnes Oldham, W. P. Rivers estate, Julian Reding, A. J. Smith, Frank Steele, Grant Steele, W. A. Vanmeter), with W. A. Vanmeter having the most at 43. It can be assumed that these households raised cattle either for milk or slaughter as their prime cash crops.

The best record source for this period are the records relating to the federal condemnation of the land to create Camp Chaffee. Eighty three owners (individuals, estates, schools, fraternal orders, churches, cemeteries, and corporations) were identified at this time. Clear title had to be proven, boundaries described, and a price established. The following list identifies all the owners except those where incomplete financial data was preserved. The list is organized on price per acre for each parcel after salvage value was removed, our best estimate for the values assigned to the improved lands when the government acquired the lands in late 1941 and early 1942.

5.00	Charles M. Crossland
5.09	Rock Island Improvement Company
5.30	W. E. Burris
5.50	Ida Steele
5.62	H. L. Overbey
7.59	M. F. Smith
7.78	Missouri Pacific Railroad
8.75	Warner Calef
9.58	Albert E. Peirce
9.97	Duncan H. Crossland
10.42	Emery W. Roose
12.47	W. W. Rivers estate
13.32	Marshall V. Bell
14.02	Edward G. Treiber
16.81	Arnes A. Oldham
17.11	Elmo Carruthers estate
17.84	B. D. McLellan
18.49	T. P. Peninger estate
18.78	General P. Crossland
19.59	Harry McCartney
19.62	E. A. Williams
19.79	J. R. Norvell estate
19.81	T. J. Coleman estate
20.32	M. A. Langston estate
20.56	Lulu Buckner and Bertha McLellan
21.08	Francis M. Dillahunty
22.06	Adolphus Dillahunty estate
22.07	Rogers and Overbey
22.66	William J. Webb estate
22.87	General R. Buckner
23.18	Thomas H. Brazil
23.38	R. C. Carter
23.44	Ezra L. Brown
23.75	Jesse Rush
25.14	George F. Hearn
25.32	Audie Glass Carter
25.54	W. E. Meeks
25.70	William K. Meeks
25.83	E. R. Been
26.72	J. C. Griffin
28.03	William H. Steele estate
28.32	Elmer E. Carson
28.48	Benjamin W. McLellan
28.90	P. J. Edgerton
28.93	A. J. Smith
29.51	Mary Hill
30.00	Ames Chapel
30.94	Charles T. Burris estate
31.25	Joseph E. Brock
31.47	Julian E. Reding
31.59	C. E. Riley
31.81	Llewellyn Been estate
31.88	W. A. Vanmeter
32.68	W. S. Stroud
33.54	Ephraim Newhart, Jr.
33.72	H. D. Wright
34.62	R. F. Wright
34.71	Pauline Engle
34.98	Frank and Grant Steele
35.86	Alvin A. Oldham
36.30	J. T. Wolverton estate
36.42	Elmer Lamb
37.50	J. T. Been
37.50	Hatt W. Gann
38.70	Talbert Henry
39.03	E. P. Steele
39.15	Ira Lamb
39.24	J. H. Payne
40.73	William W. East
41.12	W. E. McLellan estate
44.03	Roy and Minnie Morgan
47.50	Montgomery Wolverton
49.55	Emery W. Roose
52.72	W. P. Steele
67.25	Rufus M. Jones
470.00	Center Valley School SD 69 (Special SD 25)
1,380.00	Fairview Baptist Church

The overall average price per acre was $23.33 for these lands in the study area. Five of the parcels were excluded because incomplete data was available.

Individual Farms

Families and Farms. The listing above provides data on 19 farms and families which we are confident were living in the study area at the time the United States government reacquired the land and for whom we could acquire reliable tax data.

NAME	AGE	TOTAL ACRES	M/A	HORSE	NEAT COWS	SHEEP	TOTAL VALUE	TAX
Been, Jesse T.	61	162	1	2	12	0	$265.00	$9.28
Carson, Elmer		87	0	1	13	0	$270.00	$9.95
Carter, Audi Glass		241	2	0	4	0	$55.00	$1.93
Carter, R. C.	69	157	0	1	6	0	$115.00	$4.03
Edgerton, P. J.		131	0	1	1	0	$145.00	$5.08
Gann, Hatt		39	2	0	3	0	$85.00	$1.75
Jones, Rufus M.		40	0	10	30	0	$395.00	$13.83
Jones, Webb		0	0	3	12	0	$135.00	$4.73
Lamb, Ira	48	50	0	0	4	0	$470.00	$16.45
McLellan, B. D.		140	0	2	6	0	$110.00	$3.85
McLellan, Benjamin W.	59	164	0	3	12	0	$190.00	$6.65
McLellan, E. B.		0	0	2	12	0	$150.00	$5.25
Meeks, W. E.		81	0	2	4	0	$90.00	$3.15
Meeks, William K.	68	165	0	1	6	0	$90.00	$3.15
Morgan, Roy & Minnie		67	0	0	9	0	$95.00	$3.33
Newhart, Ephraim, Jr.		162	3	1	19	3	$360.00	$12.60
Payne, J. H.	70	78	0	1	9	0	$80.00	$2.80
Wolverton, Montgomery	51	30	0	0	2	0	$35.00	$1.23
Wright, H. D.	56	60	2	0	9	0	$135.00	$4.73

As in 1930 the age of heads of households is biased strongly toward owners who have held their land for a decade or two. In this group there are people whose families are third and fourth generation residents. These include Jesse Been, and both Rufus and Webb Jones. In fact, the Webb Jones farm is situated on the land originally acquired by (and still owned by the estate of) his great-grandfather.

Draft animals, either horses or mules, are present on all but three of the nineteen farms in this

sample. Cows and cattle are present on each farm and in numbers which are much higher than average. This increase does, we believe, reflect the interest in dairying activity; in particular, the production of milk and butter for the commercial creameries in Bloomer and Greenwood. Finally, we note that one farm still retains sheep.

Summary

The 1930s saw the dissolution of the Center Valley, and other local, school districts and the initial fragmentation of the community. People left the farms and new owners or tenants moved in. By the late 1930s many new residents lived in the area as the economy and climate began to recover. Unfortunately for these residents, time was not on the side of the community as Camp Chaffee took the land in late 1941 and the community dispersed. Of the newer residents little is known, but of the former residents, those there prior to 1930, a bond had been formed and the community survives to this day as old neighbors, best friends for 70 years in many cases, get together with regularity renewing and cherishing the bond formed by their grandparents, parents, and themselves.

Chapter 15. Landuse Patterns, 1860 to 1941

In considering landuse patterns from the beginning of Euro-American settlement of the study area until the creation of Fort Chaffee we focus on three related aspects of this settlement; landownership, the location of farms and roads, and land clearing and erosion.

Land Ownership

We begin with an analysis of the pattern of land ownership using ownership coverages developed from property abstracts. The listing below presents a summary of the changing land ownership of individual farms from 1860 until 1941. In this summary we attempted to identify both continuity and change by tracking the names of the owners of the farms in the project area at 10 year intervals. The first three columns of data represent continuity in three ways by listing the number of (1) farms whose ownership does not change at all, (2) farms owned by the same people (or estates) but which change slightly in configuration, or (3) which remain in the same family. The fourth column illustrates change by listing the number of farms with new owners. The totals in the final column vary slightly from those listed in the individual chapters due to differences in data sources.

Decade	Same Owner/ Same Farm	Same Owner/ Different Farm	Same Family/ Same Farm	New Owner	Total Farms
1860/1870	11	3		13	27
1870/1880	11	5		33	49
1880/1890	15	16		44	75
1890/1900	28	15	8	22	73
1900/1910	21	7	7	29	64
1910/1920	34	9	7	21	71
1920/1930	40	4	2	25	71
1930/1941	39	4	3	17	63

As above summary illustrates, the year 1890 represents the high point for new farm owners. After this time the number of farms bought by people either moving into the area or by acquiring property as an investment declines markedly and the number of farms which are controlled by residents (or investors) living there for more than a decade remains fairly constant.

The listing below tracks the changing size of the individual farms (or property units) at the same time intervals using the same ownership coverages based on information in the property abstracts. In order to present a more generalized picture of how farm size (measured in acres) changed, we have plotted this change using seven different incremental changes ranging from 5% to 95% of the farms; e.g., in 1860 5% of the farms contained 37.5 acres or less, 10% contained 41.5 acres or less, and only

5% were larger than 277.25 acres Thus, each row provides a summary of the distribution of farm size for each decade.

Year	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	95%
1860	37.75	41.50	79.50	119.5	164.50	245.50	277.25
1870	0.00	39.20	52.50	82.00	161.50	281.60	329.20
1880	5.10	33.80	42.00	81.00	145.00	199.40	329.20
1890	5.20	39.80	43.00	83.00	130.00	192.20	241.00
1900	14.00	38.80	45.00	83.00	145.00	216.80	293.20
1910	33.70	40.00	56.25	83.00	125.76	233.20	343.10
1920	3.90	33.70	49.25	83.50	140.00	208.60	299.75
1930	1.45	28.20	26.00	82.00	133.75	245..10	355.16
1941	11.65	32.70	61.50	84.00	157.25	232.60	315.50
Average	12.53	36.41	50.56	86.78	144.8	228.3	309.3

As the above listing illustrates, throughout the period after 1860 until 1941 about one half of all the farms in the area contain about 80 acres or less.

When these two data sets are considered together they seem to indicate that while there is change occurring in the landownership patterns of the area, this change is taking place within fairly narrow limits. It appears to us that the basic outlines for the farm units were established during the 1880s and remains stable from that point forward; that is, while the ownership of individual farms changed quite often, the basic configuration of these farms showed relatively little variation.

The Location of Farmsteads and Roads

This same pattern is also apparent when we consider the generalized pattern which appears in the following figures which illustrate changes in farmlot location and roads using data from the 1887 *Sebastian County Atlas* and 1903 *Sebastian County Plat Book* and our photo-interpretation of the 1938 aerial photographs of the area. Figures 38, 39, and 40 present a comparison of these various periods. These figures illustrate that while there are certainly changes in the road structure from 1887 to 1938, these changes are primarily related to the addition of new roads within the overall pattern established by 1887; a pattern which is no doubt ultimately dependent upon the location of section lines and, therefore, property boundaries. Clearly, there is a very strong correlation between the roads and the locations of the farmsteads. When viewing the location of the farmsteads in this manner it is clear that these tend to remain located in the same places. Once again, there is some considerable amount of change as some individual farmsteads are abandoned or created, but on the whole this variation is rather slight. Another way to look at the development of the built environment is through a consideration of the land clearing which took place.

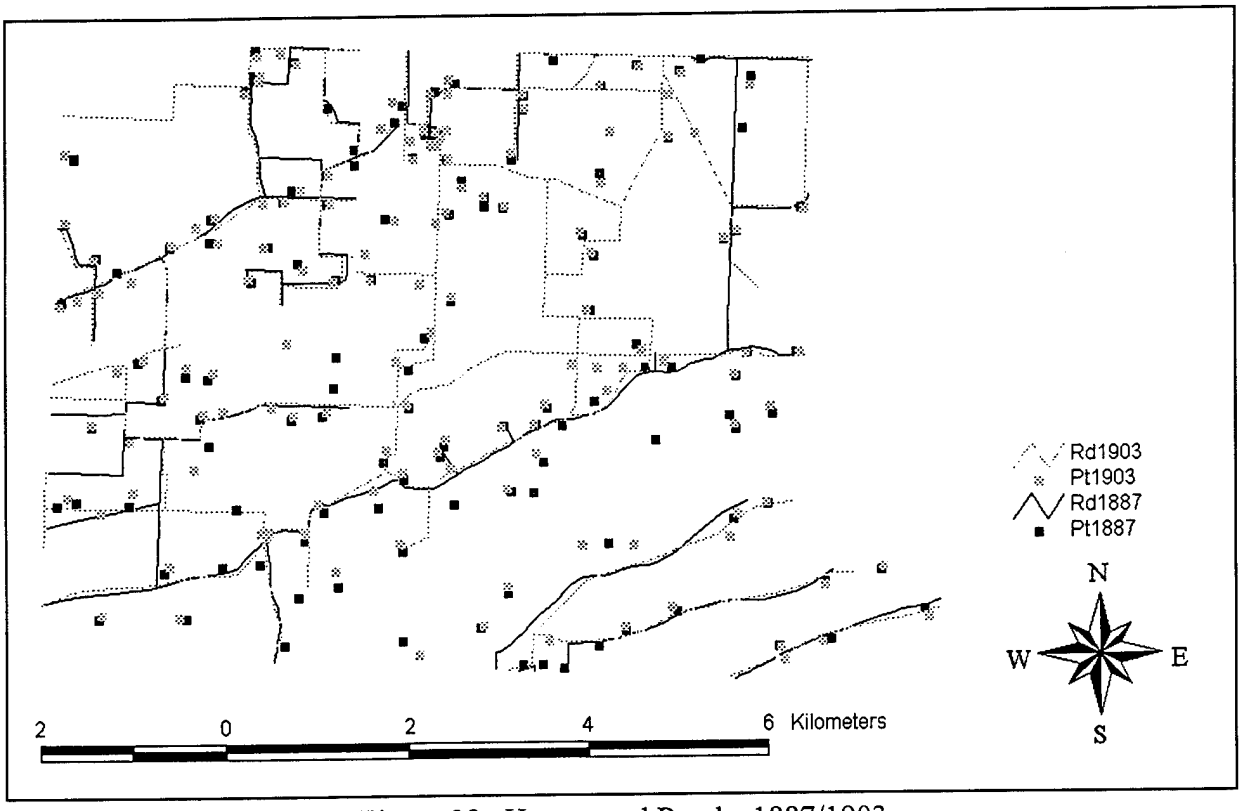


Figure 38. Houses and Roads: 1887/1903

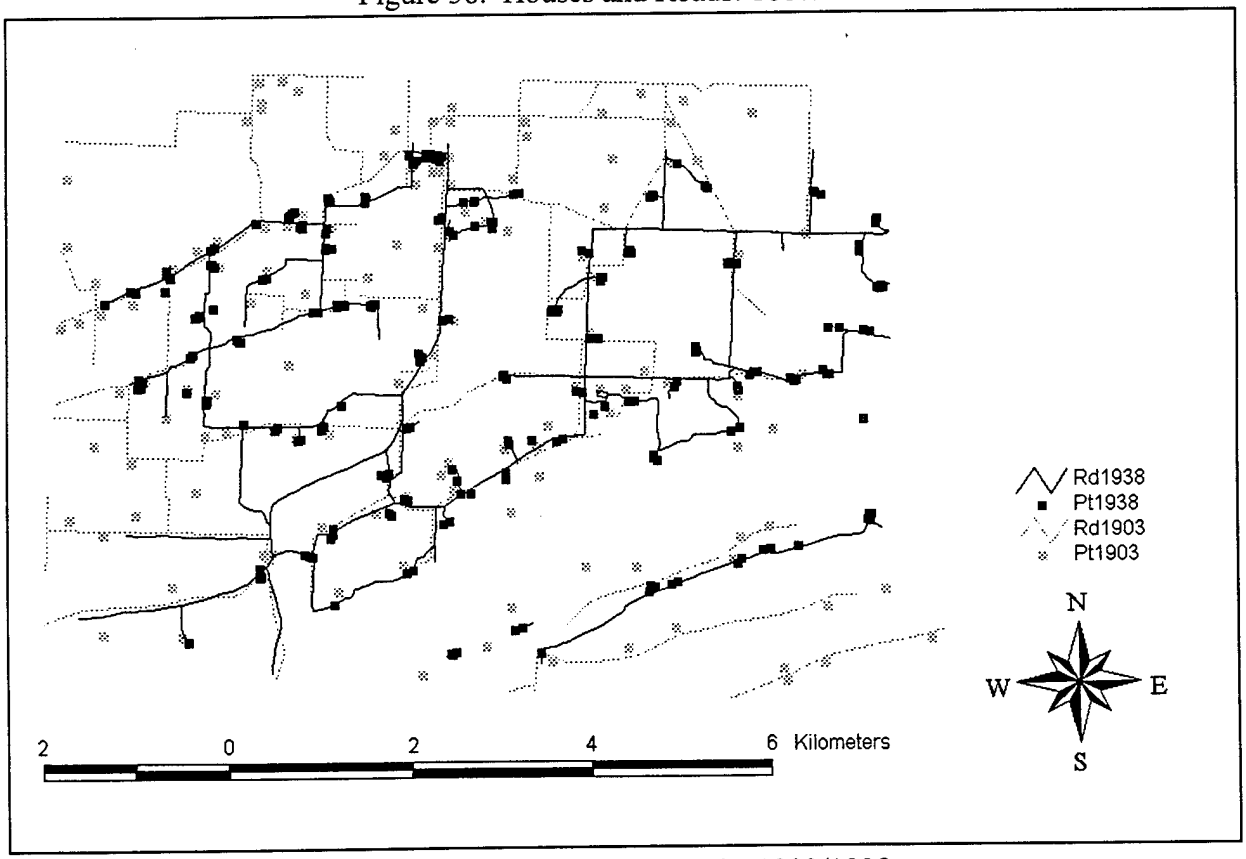


Figure 39. Houses and Roads: 1903/1938

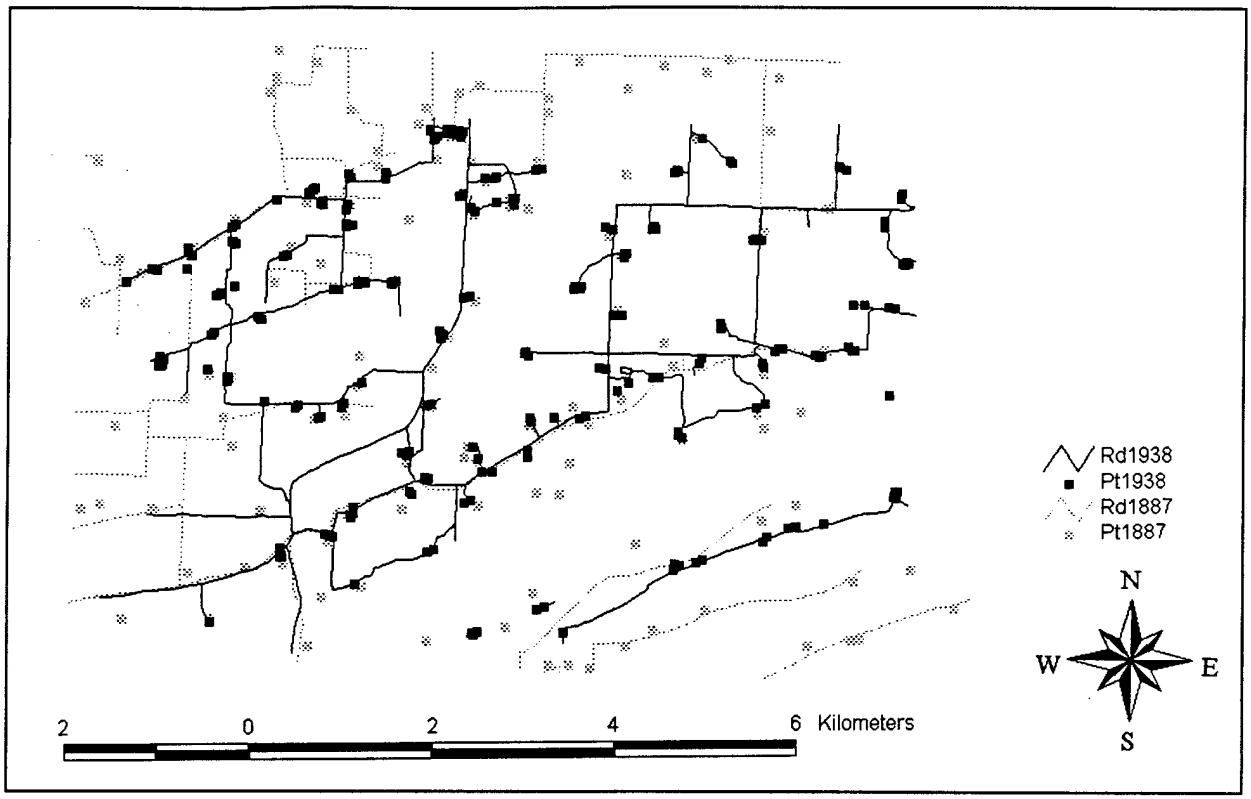


Figure 40. Houses and Roads: 1887/1938

Clearing the Land and Soil Erosion

Erosion Loss and Causes. The clearing of lands for agriculture in the Center Valley area began in the 1850s. In general, such land clearing, or deforestation, often establishes landuse patterns which are difficult to alter and which can be harmful to soils since the removal of trees and subsequent tilling causes soil erosion, especially in areas of high relief. In the United States in the 1930's, surveys of soil erosion in cropped lands demonstrated that 12% of agricultural fields were ruined by soil erosion, 12% were severely damaged, 24% lost significant topsoil, 24% lost some topsoil, and 28% were unaffected by erosion (Troeh, Hobbs, and Donahue, 1991). The erosion was caused by the devegetation and subsequent tilling of lands. The land clearing of the Center Valley area is a microcosm of land clearing activities that took place throughout the United States. The following listing presents data illustrating the amount of land cleared and in use for a number of the Center Valley farms as listed on the 1880 Federal Agricultural Schedule for Bates Township.

Owner	Total Acres	Tilled Acres	Orchards, Etc.	Woodlots	Other Improved	% Acreage Tilled
Harrison Ball	120	34	2	62		28.33%
William Ball	145	27	1	52		18.62%
Llewellyn Been	210	15		105		7.14%

John Burris	40	10	1	29		25.00%
Alexander Cahoon	145	39	4	157		26.90%
David Carden	160	35	6	100	19	21.88%
Frederick Coleman	160	53	2	105		33.13%
Thomas Coleman	40	11		29		27.50%
Adolphus Dillahunty	80	32		48		40.00%
Asa Douglas	143	41	1	100		28.67%
James Dunn	80	45		35		56.25%
Martin East	300	39	3	150		13.00%
Jane Ferguson	76	14	4	58		18.42%
William Fisk	80	31	1	48		38.75%
Rachel Gann	200	31		169		15.50%
Laurel Gee	90	12		78		13.33%
Emanuel Golden	80	14		66		17.50%
Elizabeth Gregg	290	35		255		12.07%
Solomon Jackson	120	8		10	102	6.67%
Enoch Jones	80	35		45		43.75%
George W. Kersey	80	42		38		52.50%
Nathan Kidd	81	32	1	48		39.51%
John P. Langston	121	57	2	62		47.11%
Obadiah Laramore, Sr.	93	39		54		41.94%
Jehu Neal	80	38		20	22	47.50%
Joel Oldham	117	23		94		19.66%
Elizabeth Ownbey	140	48	2	90		34.29%
Frank Ownbey	90	12		78		13.33%
Ethelbert Paddock	86	14		72		16.28%
T. P. Peninger	184	51	1	132		27.72%
Ollie Pennington	160	20	2	138		12.50%
Israel Phillips	80	11		20	49	13.75%
Peter Pinnell	179	50	4	125		27.93%

Franklin Roose	80	30	2	48		37.50%
John Stewart	140	30		110		21.43%
Harmond Thames	80	29	1	50		36.25%
Caroline Treadaway	80	17		63		21.25%
Jeptha Wooten	59	17	2	40		28.81%
Total	4569	1121	42	2983	192	24.53%

The list above shows that of the farms for which detailed information is available over 25% of the acreage had already been tilled by 1880.

In order to compare this figure to the acreage of cleared lands in the Center Valley area just prior to the creation of Fort Chaffee, aerial photographs taken in 1938 were analyzed. Areas that showed vegetation scarring in the shape of a farm field were mapped on an overlay. Figure 41 shows the distribution of the historic agricultural fields in the Center Valley area at that time. Approximately 2,111 acres were cleared for agriculture. This amount constitutes 20.14% of the area examined. The fields are small and typically range from 20 to 80 acres in size and the shapes of the fields are irregular. Extrapolating from the information contained in the 1880 census, it appears to us that the clearing present in 1938 was already substantially completed by 1880.

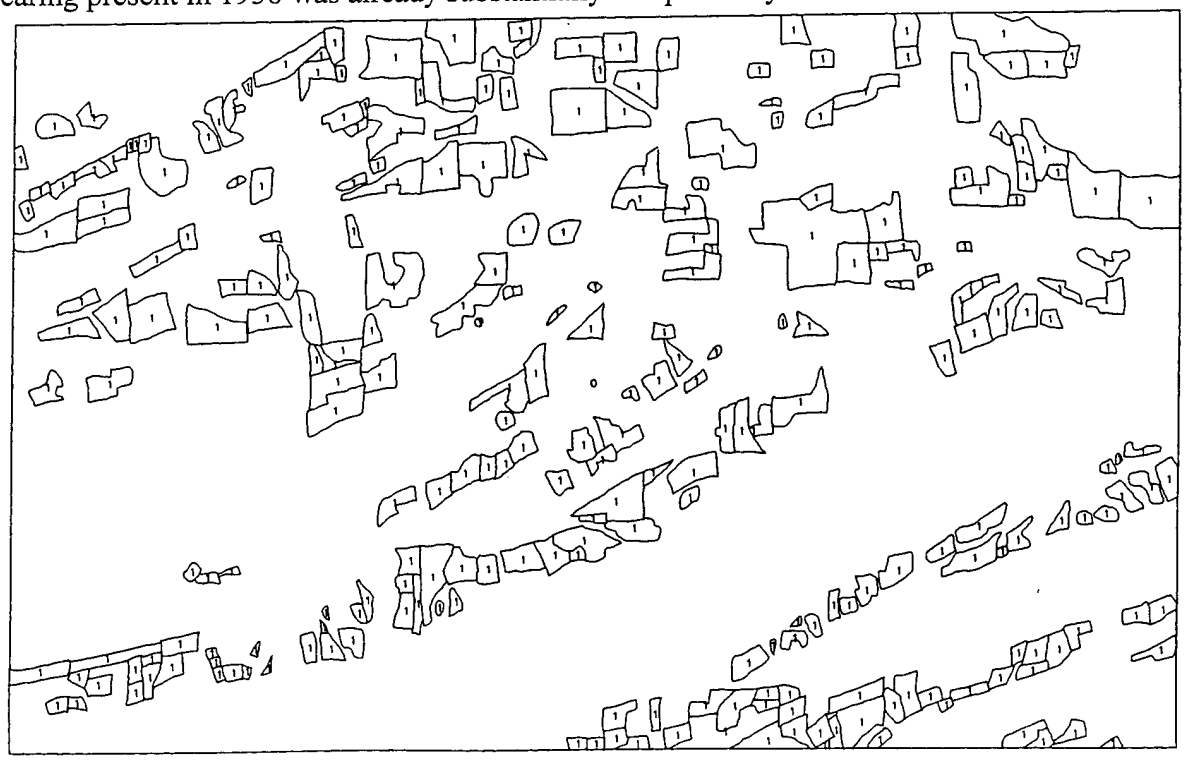


Figure 41. Historic Agricultural Fields

The deforestation of a fifth of the landscape and subsequent agricultural development enhanced soil erosion in the Center Valley area. This erosion occurred in three ways; as sheet erosion, or the removal of thin layers of soil during rainfall; as rill erosion, or the erosion of soil via streamlets on slopes; as gully erosion, or the removal of soils in small channels; or as stream-bank erosion, or the removal of soil along the banks of streams.

In general, soil erosion is enhanced after deforestation as a result of three factors. First, the impact of rainfall is greater in a deforested landscape because the energy released by raindrop impact is not deflected by vegetation. Soils erode as a result of the release of kinetic energy during raindrop impact. The energy breaks soil particles into smaller particles, causes the soil to be transported as water splashes back into the air, and reduces the infiltration capacity of the soil. Of course, rainfall intensity and wind can affect the erosion rate from raindrop impact. Second, runoff volume and intensity increases after a landscape is deforested. Runoff occurs when rainfall is greater than the rate of soil absorption. As water flows across the landscape, it carries soil particles downslope. Deforestation increases the amount of rainfall reaching the ground, enhancing runoff and soil erosion. Deforestation along slopes further exacerbates the erosion process. Third, deforestation and plowing reduces the soil's resistance to erosion. Mechanical mixing (plowing, tilling, etc.) breaks apart naturally occurring soil clods or aggregates. Once these clods are broken, they become unstable and susceptible to soil erosion. The deforestation and agricultural development in the Center Valley area caused the soil to be susceptible to soil erosion. Similar events were happening throughout northwest Arkansas and the rest of the United States. The widespread soil erosion prompted the development of erosion control measures.

Soil Conservation Efforts. The rapid deforestation and agricultural development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were major factors in a national disaster, the dust bowl in the 1930's. Severe soil erosion was recognized as a national problem during this time period. In 1933, the Soil Erosion Service (SES) began as part of the Department of the Interior. The goal of this agency was to reduce soil erosion of public and private lands by revegetation and by the construction of erosion control structures. After severe dust storms in 1934 and 1935, the Director of the SES, Hugh Bennett, urged Congress to make the SES a permanent agency within the Department of Agriculture. In 1935, the SES was renamed the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) and placed within the Department of Agriculture. The SCS was divided into conservation districts that were responsible for regional soil management. Arkansas was very active in the soil conservation movement of the 1930's. G. J. Swearingen in his *History of the Soils and Water Conservation District Movement in Arkansas*, describes the general agricultural setting of Arkansas in the 1930's and provides insight into the need for soil conservation efforts:

> *The early history of Arkansas agriculture was punctuated with a cry for "new ground". This applied particularly to the upland areas, and was the accepted solution to crop failures or soil fertility problems of any sort. Placing "new ground" into use always involved the clearing and destruction of existing timber stands or other natural ground cover. Despite the typical family of seven children of that day, no one seemed to foresee a day of increased population nor of land scarcity. It was*

a period of cut, burn, plow, wash away, and move on. Inevitably, the day came when there was no more "new ground" to be had. The same fields now had to be used, year after year, for producing corn, cotton, potatoes, peanuts, sorghum, peas, and other subsistence crops. With exception of peas, which were sometimes broadcast, these were row crops which were clean cultivated. The typical field lay barren through the winter. These were perfect conditions for soil erosion to occur, particularly on a year around basis. The most destructive period of the soil and water resources of Arkansas was during the years 1900 to 1930. During this time about the only money which farmers received was from the sale of timber and cotton. Cotton sold from 6 cents to 10 cents per pound. For four years during World War I cotton sold from 30 to 50 cents per pound. Farmers continued to grow cotton on upland rolling hill land until 1930 since it was about the only cash money that farmers received for their labors. Sheet erosion insidiously removed the fertile, more absorbent, upper layers of topsoil. This increased the rate of runoff from the field, and soon gullies appeared. Reduced fertility led to crop failures, and repeated failures led to abandoned farms in many instances. The appearance of the countryside rapidly deteriorated. Agricultural colleges of the day were teaching terracing and crop rotation, but the typical 40 or 80-acre subsistence farmer viewed these practices as being too sophisticated for his use. Because of improper construction and/or maintenance, some early terraces had produced more erosion than they cured. There was no organized program of soil conservation. Meanwhile, the stage was being set for the series of events which was to jar the nation into action. Land abuse had not been peculiar to any one state or region. Western prairie sod had been plowed under and placed into cultivation. In the early 1930's, a dual plague descended upon the American scene--a major nation-wide economic depression coupled with a prolonged devastating drouth which persisted in some areas for four years of [sic] longer. March winds blowing across the plowed up prairie lands carried billowing clouds of dust into the air which darkened the sky and deposited silt across the nation as far as the eastern seaboard. Before the drouth, devastating floods had been occurring more frequently along the nation's major rivers. Siltation had reduced the water-carrying capacity of our rivers, and the increased rate of runoff produced a greater accumulation of water in their clogged channels. (Swearingen 1970: 1-2)

The poor management described by Swearingen illustrates the significant degradation of the soils ecology of Arkansas. Figure 42 illustrates an extreme example of gullying near Booneville, Arkansas. The man in the figure is J. Alton Daniel one of the first Soil Conservation Agents in the region.

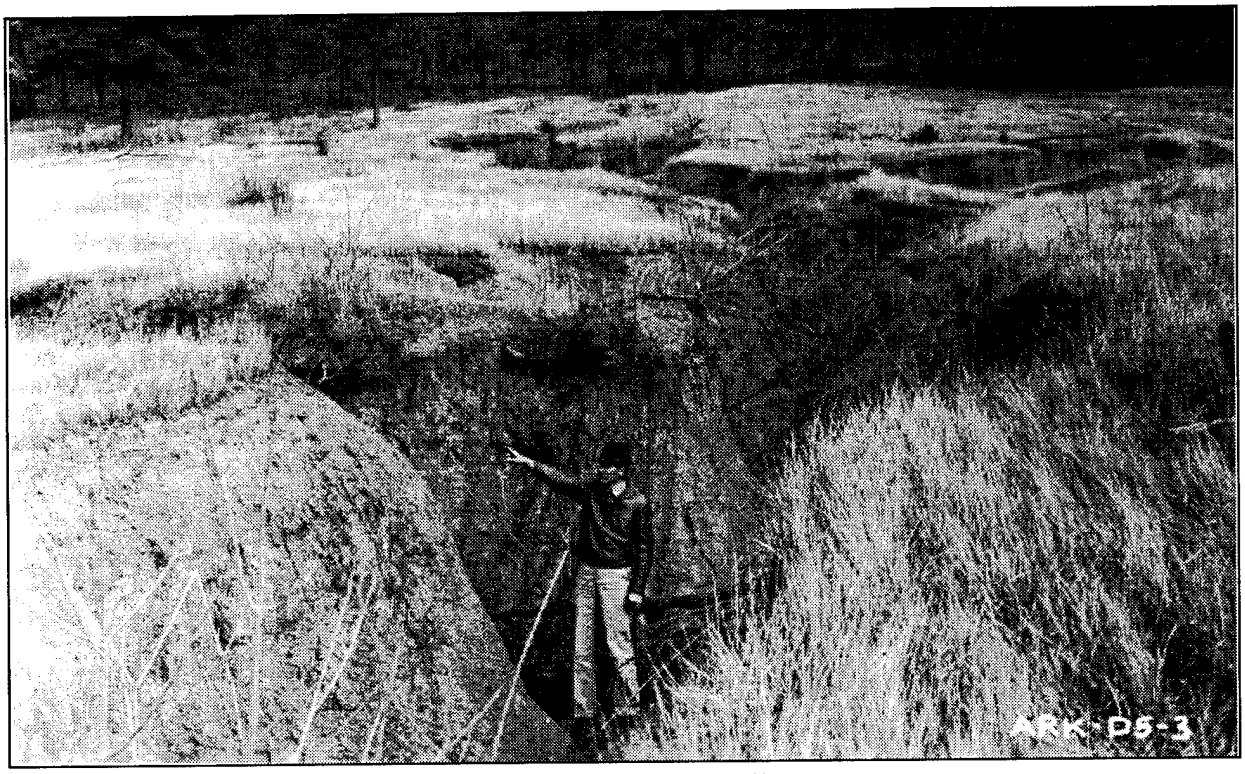


Figure 42. Erosion Gully

As a result of severe erosion problems in the Center Valley area, erosional terraces were constructed to reduce soil loss. Figure 43 shows field terraces visible on 1938 aerial photographs.

Figure 43. Field Terraces

Soil terraces are typically utilized to control soil erosion when other soil conservation methods fail or when very steep landscapes are utilized. Terracing of an agricultural landscape, which reduces the amount and velocity of soil runoff, is an effective way to control rill and gully erosion. The construction of modern terraces requires the use of heavy machinery to move dirt to create terrace berms. In

Center Valley, some of the terrace construction that took place in the 1930's was completed using farm animals pulling a skid. Figures 44, 45, and 46 illustrate aspects of terrace construction carried out near Booneville, Arkansas, at farms less than 20 miles from Center Valley.

Figure 44. Establishing Terrace Lines

Figure 45. Plowing Terrace Lines

Figure 46. Building Terraces

Terracing has some disadvantages. The amount of land that is usable for agriculture is reduced after terraces are constructed. In addition, terraces can be breached by sheet or channel flow during intense storms. This type of failure can cause severe erosion and compromise the usefulness of terrace structures. In order to determine the location and distribution of terraced fields in the Center Valley area, we examined 1938 air photos. Fields that were terraced were easily identified and mapped on an overlay (Figure 47). Approximately 250 acres of land or 2.4% of the entire study area were terraced for erosion control. Although 250 acres seems rather insignificant, this figure represents approximately 12% of agricultural land utilized in the Center Valley area and suggest that the region underwent severe soil erosion to cause the construction of the major soil conservation structures.

In order to assess the long-term impact of soil erosion in the area, air photos taken in 1967 and shown in the soil survey of Sebastian County were examined to find any portions of the landscape that display gully erosion. A map of these areas was completed (Figure 48). Approximately 778 acres of landscape display some severe gully erosion. This total area represents approximately 7.5% of the study area.

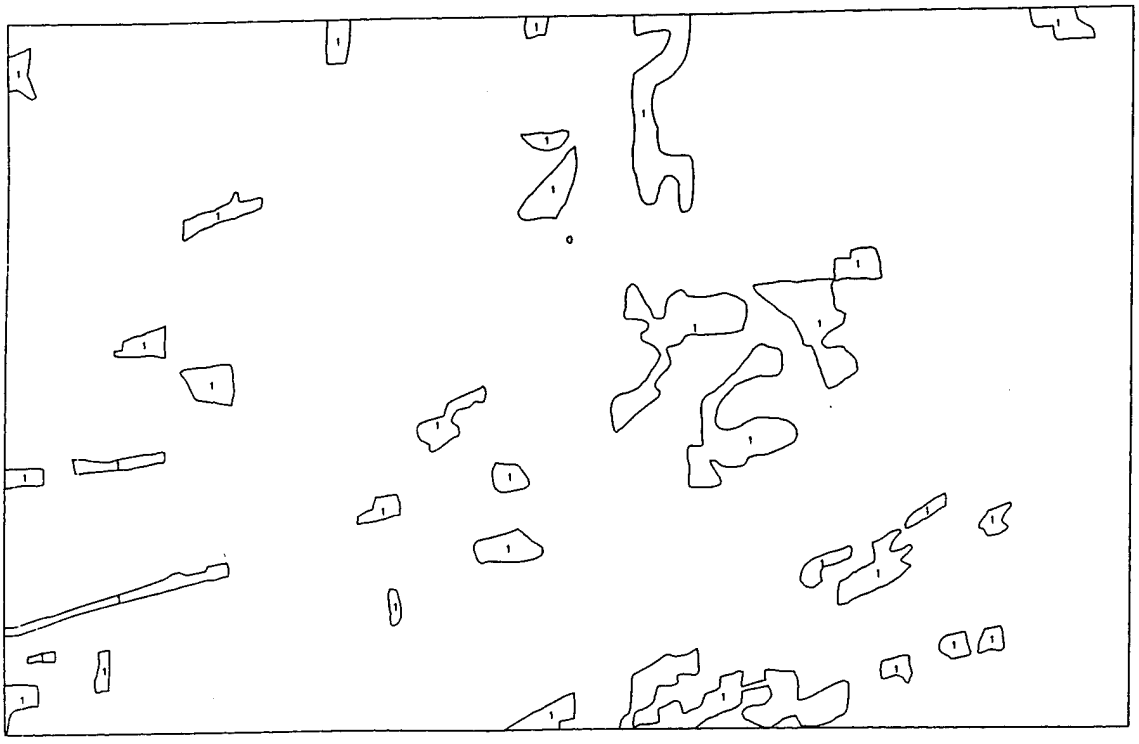


Figure 47. Distribution of Gullies

Interestingly, only about one third of the total gullied area is found in zones identified as former agricultural fields. None of the areas that were terraced display any gullying. The impact of the military activities may have caused the widespread gully erosion in zones that were not utilized for agriculture. It is clear that the soil erosion caused by deforestation and agricultural activities has not altered the land as severely as the disruption of the soil by the military operation of heavy machinery.

Summary. Overall, the study area typifies many locations in the United States in that it went through a late nineteenth and early twentieth century deforestation event followed by agricultural development. In Center Valley, the advent of agriculture occurred almost exclusively on soils mapped as soils formed on colluvial slopes. Only a small portion of the agricultural development took place on the soils formed on bedrock ridges and soils formed in alluvium. The soils formed near seeps on footslopes were not utilized for agricultural development. Agriculture on soils formed on colluvial slopes is difficult and requires fertilization that was not available to the Center Valley farmers. The soils are typically infertile. They also are underlain by a fragipan that reduces root penetration and water infiltration. The areas chosen for agricultural development, while not as steep as the higher bedrock ridges, are subject to severe soil erosion during rainfall events. Erosion control structures (terraces) were constructed to reduce soil loss. Most of these are found in sloping areas underlain by soils formed in colluvial slopes.

Interestingly, most of the gully erosion noted in 1967 aerial photographs was found in areas that were not identified as agricultural fields in 1938 aerial photographs. Military activity may well account for a significant amount of the gully erosion observed.

Chapter 16. Houses and Farms: 1860 to 1941

While we have very little in the way of direct information about the houses and farms of the earliest (pre-Civil War) residents of Center Valley, it is possible to use three sources of information to form what we believe to be a reasonable estimate of what these looked like. These include the writings of the German, Frederick Gerstaeker who described his adventures in Arkansas during the 1830s, an interview with a long time resident of the region, Henry Estes, and petitions filed by Thomas Kersey and Narcissa Jones in an effort to recover property confiscated by Federal forces during the later stages of the Civil War.

Some of the earliest descriptions of farms and farm life in Arkansas come from the narratives of Frederick Gerstaeker (Gerstaeker 1854; Miller 1991), describing his life in Arkansas in the 1830s. The following paragraphs describe a 1830s farm in northeastern Arkansas near Batesville.

> *The house was built of logs, roughly cut, it consisted of two ordinary houses, under one roof, with a passage between them open to north and south, a nice cool place to eat or sleep in during summer. Like all block-houses of this sort, it was roofed with rough four-feet planks; there were no windows, but in each house a good fireplace of clay. A field of about five acres was in front of the house, planted with Indian corn, excepting a small portion which was planted with wheat. South-west from the house stood the stable, which S. was obliged to build because he gave "good accommodation to man and horse," otherwise it is not much the custom in Arkansas to trouble one'sself about stables. A place, called a "lot" with a high fence, is used for the horses, hollowed trees serving for mangers. Near at hand was a smaller log-house for the store of Indian corn, and a couple of hundred paces further was a mill which S. had built to grind such corn as he wanted for his won use, and which was worked by one horse.*
>
> *About a quarter of a mile from the house, through the wood, there was another field of about five acres, also sown with maize. The river l'Anguille flowed close to the rear of the house; another small building at the back of the dwelling was used as a smoking house; near it was a well about thirty-two feet deep* (Gerstaeker 1854: 136, 137)

Describing the Polish settler Turoski's farm in the same region, Gerstaeker wrote,

> *The Pole's dwelling was nothing but a simple rough log-house, without any window, and all the chinks between the logs were left open, probably to admit fresh air. Two beds, a table, a couple of chairs, one of them with arms, some iron saucepans, three plates, two tin pots, one saucer, several knives and a coffee-mill formed the whole of his furniture and kitchen utensils. A small building near the house contained the store of meat for the winter. There was a field of four or five acres close to the house, and another about a quarter of a mile off on the river. He had some good*

horses, a great many pigs, quantities of fowls, and several milch cows. (Gerstaeker 1854: 89)

He also provided an account of his activities as he established a farm of his own.

On the following morning we began to build our house; we pulled down an old block-house, standing about three miles from the site we had chosen, and carted logs to our prairie where we could easily rebuild it. In the backwoods building is a very simple art. In the first place, small trees of oak, or some other good wood are felled and cut to the requisite length. Next comes the foundation; two of the largest trunks are laid parallel to each other on the ground at the proper distance, two others are laid across their ends to form the square, and fitted into each other with notches, which makes the building all the firmer, and closes the crevices. In this way the walls are run up, but without any entrance. Ours being an old house rebuilt, the logs all fitted each other, and door and chimney were already cut, which in other cases, has to be done with the axe after the walls are up. The roof is then laid and, Swiss fashion, has to be secured with weights, to prevent its being blown away; but wood being more plentiful here than stone, heavy poles, called weight-poles, or young trees are used instead.

Although the heat was oppressive, our work went on rapidly, and we soon had the house up all but the chimney, which it being summer, was not so necessary. Besides, dabbling with moist clay being dirty and disagreeable work, the chimney is generally left until it is too cold to do without it. June 10th, we began our fence, so that the cattle might not walk into the house, and also to secure the calves, that the cows might come to be milked.

The fences are formed of split logs of black or red oak, or hickory, ten or eleven feet long, and four or five inches thick, these woods splitting easily; the fences are laid zigzag and carried to a height that no horse, much less a cow, can jump over. (Gerstaeker 1854: 143, 144)

Closer to Center Valley, we have a brief description of farms and houses in the Center Valley area provided through the notes made during the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Historical Records Survey: Early Settler Questionnaires. One such questionnaire recorded an interview with Henry Estes, Greenwood, Arkansas, who was interviewed by Harrell Martin on 5 December 1940 in Greenwood. At that time, Henry Estes was a farmer who had lived on the same place (Section 29, T6N, R30W) since August 1866, a mile or two east of Center Valley. He was born on 3 June 1866 in Franklin County, Kansas, in or near Topeka, and he married Arelena Arra at Greenwood on 14 January 1897. Estes' father settled here before the Civil War and often talked of coming to Arkansas in a wagon, driving a yoke of oxen. When the war broke out, he went to Kansas and worked in some kind of a shop till after the war. He returned to Arkansas in August of 1866.

The earliest home Estes could remember was a one room log cabin with a stone fireplace. He stated that all of the earlier homes in that community were log houses. Some had a stone fireplace and chimney, while some had fireplaces and chimneys made with sticks and clay. The interiors were lit with candles made at home out of tallow. Some homes had grease lights. These were made by using a tin bucket lid or a saucer filled with grease and tallow with a rag used for a wick. The rag was placed in the grease with one end over the side of the saucer or lid and this end was lit. They next used oil lights, called brasslamps, which resembled 1940s style oil cans used around machinery. These had a spout sticking up in the center and they used a wick in the spout. Oil lights with a burner and glass chimney came into use about 1895.

According to Estes, the people cleared their land in the winter and used what wood they needed for fuel and building purposes. The remaining logs would be left where they were cut. In the spring, there would be a log rolling. Neighbors would come to help, moving the logs in large piles to be burned. These occasions were often accompanied by dances, square dance.

A third source of information consists of descriptions of property present in Civil War claims. We were fortunate in discovering extensive claims made by two persons with strong ties to Center Valley; Thomas Kersey (Claim No. 17,168 - 12 March 1873) and Narcissa Jones (Claim No. 43,767, Settlement No. 3,281 - Reported 31 March 1877).

The following account was taken from the deposition of Narcissa Jones describing the events surrounding the confiscation of several items of property.

> *...It was in the fall of 1863 I think there was ten of (sic) fifteen government wagons come to my house. There was several soldiers along as an escort and several of the wagons drove up to the corn house some twenty steps from the dwelling and loaded with corn and then left in the direction of Fort Smith. I am satisfied that as many as seven or eight wagons loaded with corn.*
>
> *The corn was slip shucked and was sound.*
>
> *They said they was taking the corn for the use of the Army. I do not know that any officer was with the train.*
>
> *I think corn was worth one dollar per bushell at that time.*
>
> *I am satisfied there was over three hundred and fifty bushell of corn in the house and I do not think there was over fifty bushell left in the house after they had loaded.*
>
> *The same train at the same time took hogs mentioned in item number three.*

The soldiers shot the hogs and loaded them on their wagons. The hogs was outside near the stable yard. I do not know how many hogs was taken. I saw them kill as many as eight of the hogs. The hogs was good sized and would make good meat....

They also took at the same time the oats mentioned in item number six. I know there was as many as two wagons loaded with oats and was large sized loads.

They took the oats from the stacks about two hundred yards from the house.

My husband at the time (John Jones, ed.) *received a receipt for all the property taken but it was burned when our house was burned by the rebels.*

The wheat in item number four and the bacon in item number five was taken in December 1863 by a train from Fort Smith Ark. The main train did not come to the house only three or four wagons come and they took the wheat from the granary some fifty yards from the house. I did not see them load the wheat but it was here before they came and when the (sic) left the wheat was all gone but 30 or 40 bushel.

I think there was two hundred bushel before any was taken out.

They drove a wagon near the smoke house and throwed the bacon in the wagon. The smoke house was about fifteen steps from the dwelling. I saw them loading the bacon. They took about all of the hams and the shoulders and most of the sides. The bacon was salted down but had not been smoked.

I think there was a thousand pounds of bacon taken and when they left they started toward the Post at Fort Smith.

From the account of these tragic events it is possible to re-create a picture of at least some of the elements of this fairly well-to-do farm, at least as indicated by data on the 1860 census. At that time John Jones reported that he owned 540 acres of which 80 acres were improved. He had five horses, ten milch cows, 22 cattle, 15 sheep, and 80 swine. He raised 75 bushels of wheat, 500 bushels of Indian Corn, 25 bushels of oats, 30 pounds of wool, 20 pounds of butter, and claimed $25.00 in slaughtered animals.

The Jones house was clearly only one of several structures in the farmstead. Although we do not know their relative positions we do know that there were two important structures fairly close to the dwelling. These were the corn crib, which, according to the deposition of Narcissa's son John, was some 16 feet square and stood ten feet tall, and the smoke house. Judging from its contents, at least a thousand pounds of bacon, this must also have been a sizeable building. The farmlot also contained a stable area, but it appears from this account that the hogs killed by the soldiers were not in but near the stable yard and, we think it most likely, the hogs were allowed to range free. They just happened to be at the wrong place at the wrong time.

At a greater distance from the house, about 50 yards, was the granary containing wheat. And beyond this, no doubt in the fields, were the stacks of oats, about 200 yards away. The picture we get from this narration is that the farmlot contained, in addition to the dwelling, at least three buildings dedicated to the storage of food; a corn crib, a granary for wheat, and a smoke house for meat. It also included at least one enclosure for animals, the stable yard, although we do not know exactly what kind of animals were kept there. While we must consider this depiction as a minimalist description (surely there was also a well nearby), it is sufficient to indicate something about the nature and organization of the John and Narcissi Jones farm during this period.

A second set of depositions associated with persons with ties to Center Valley are those submitted to support the claims of Thomas Kersey. By the 1860s, Kersey had become quite a wealthy man with extensive holdings and many businesses. Thus the descriptions which follow of his holdings depict portions of the farm of what we believe to have been one of the most prosperous farmers in the county.

Deposition of Elisah J. Bradshaw

> *The house where claimant lived in 1864, two miles east of Fort Smith, as heretofore stated by me, was a box house connected with a hewed log room. the log house was about 16 or eighteen feet square with two plank floors. the frame house was about twenty by forty feet, one story high. with one floor. a porch on each side of the loghouse extended the entire length of the building with one room inclosed on one side. there was also a smoke house a kitchen, a corn crib and a stable near the other building. I do not remember the size of these buildings. the stable would have held conveniently some four or five horses....*
>
> *There was about forty acres of land under fence on which the above described buildings stood. There were several crop fences. a horse lot - cattle lot, an orchard, a garden and I don't remember how many other lots fenced off to themselves. I should say there were about eighteen thousand rails in all of the fences. I am a farmer and think I am a pretty good judge of the amount of rails in a fence when I see it or if I knew the number of acres, there (sic) rails were about eight to eight and a half feet long. There (sic) rails were hauled to Fort Smith, and used for fuel to run a steam saw and grist mill then being operated by the Quarter Masters department of the United States Army.*

Deposition of Washington Louden

> *... where he lived in 1864 about two miles east of Fort Smith. There was also dwelling houses and out houses. a lane with double fence led up to the house. there was also several lots fenced off - a horse lot a lot for cattle - a garden, and several other crop fences run though the fields. The fence was about ten rails high of good sound rails.*

Deposition of James Pearcy

> *a dwelling house with four or five rooms with kitchen one smoke house, one corn crib, one stable on his farm about 2 miles east of Fort Smith. these buildings were all frames except one log room which was partly weatherboarded.*
>
> *I know that claimant had a good rail fence around his farm two miles east of Fort Smith there was also several crop fences and three or four lots fenced up separately of from one acre to ten acres in each lot also a lane led up to the house. the lane, I think, was a bout three hundred yards long*

These descriptions detail a well-organized farm with numerous partitioned areas. Clearly the fencing of this property had been an expensive effort. The description of the house is interesting. We believe that the log room which is mentioned here is likely to have been an original cabin, which had been expanded by the construction of a framed house. Like the Jones farm, the farmlot contained numerous other structures.

As yet it is not clear when houses ceased to be made from logs and were constructed from sawn lumber. However, there were still a number of log structures remaining in Center Valley in 1941. These were basically of two types. Some original buildings continued to be used and were recycled as "outbuildings," such as barns and storage facilities. Figure 48 shows the log corn crib still in use at the Burris farm in the 1930s.

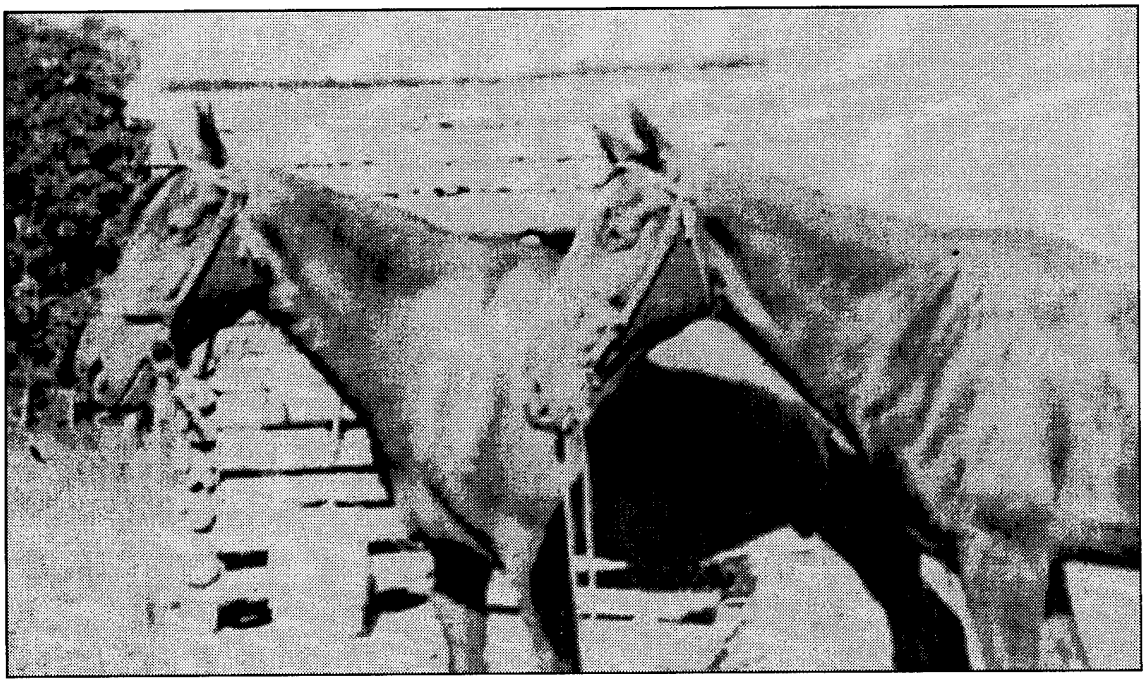


Figure 48. Corn Crib on the Burris Farm

Occasionally, these small dwellings were left standing at some distance from the main farmlot. There they would often be used as dwellings for young, newly married couples and came to be called "weaning houses." Quite often, like the Pinnell/Payne house (Figure 49), these earlier log cabins were incorporated into larger dwellings made of sawn lumber as seems to have been the case with the Kersey home discussed above.

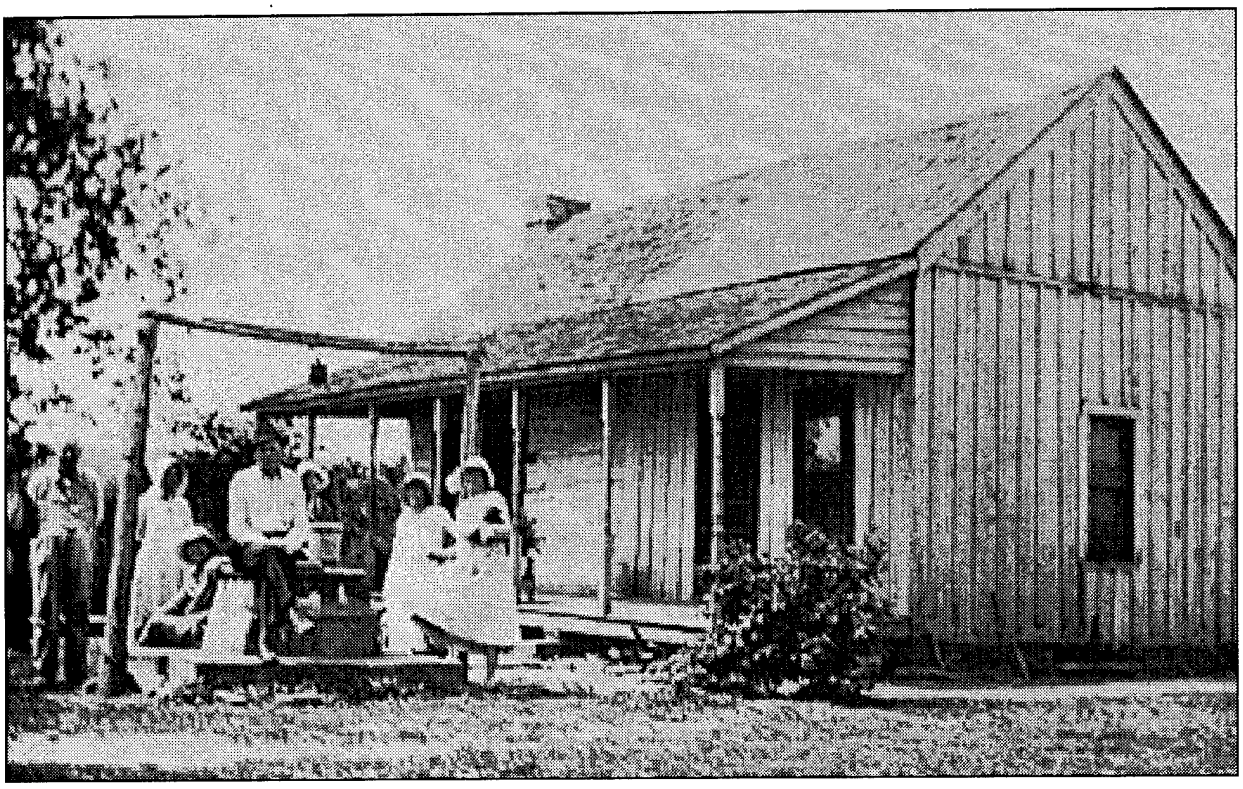


Figure 49. The Pinnell/Payne House

Architecturally, it appears that the dwellings of Center Valley were seldom very complex and were constructed as part of the "vernacular" architecture of the region. Usually the foundations were made of rectangular sandstone which elevated the structure and provided a space beneath the house which was used for storage, shelter for family pets, and hiding places for children. As far as we have been able to determine only a very few of the houses contained enclosed cellars. Kitchens often opened onto the rear of the house through a back porch. Other rooms were used for sleeping quarters. Houses seldom had more than four or five rooms so that bedrooms often also served as the location for entertaining visitors. Very few houses had rooms which would have functioned as parlors. Only a few of the houses had more than one story.

The pages which follow illustrate a series of houses known to have been in or very near the study area. Figures 50, 51, and 52 are taken from the 1903 *Plat Book* and show the variety of houses present at about the turn of the century. Figure 53 is the house on the Dial/Treadaway/Meeks farm

at the time it was home to the William E. Meeks family in the 1930s. Figure 54 is a picture of the Webb Jones farm house in the late 1930s/early 1940s. The Webb Jones house was one of the last homes built in Center Valley.

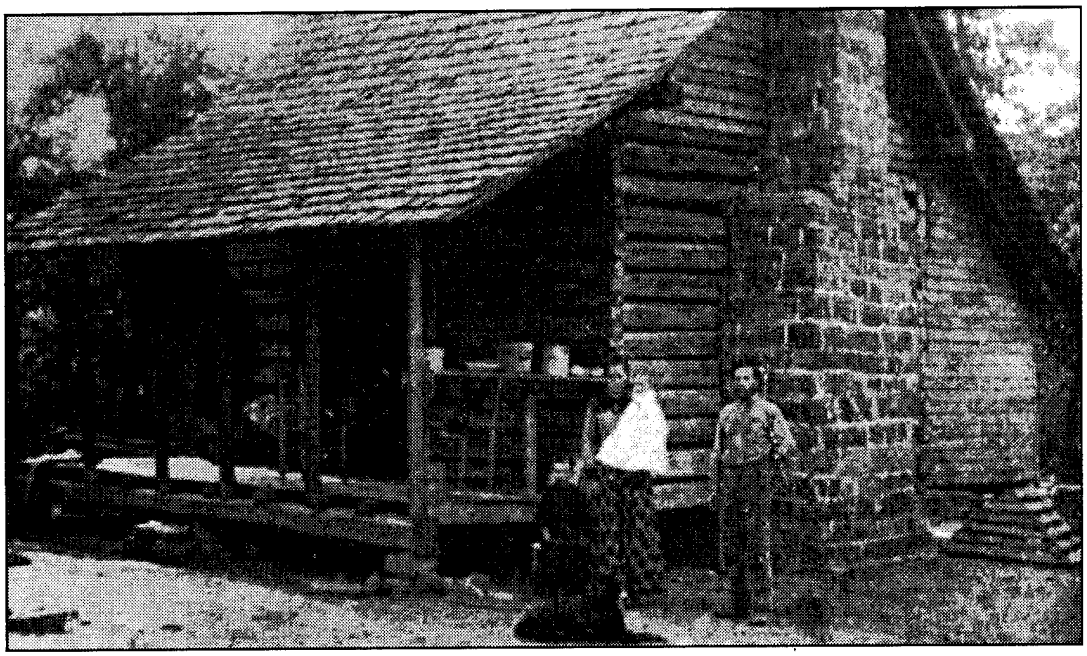


Figure 50. General P. Crossland Home

Figure 51. J. P. Durden Home

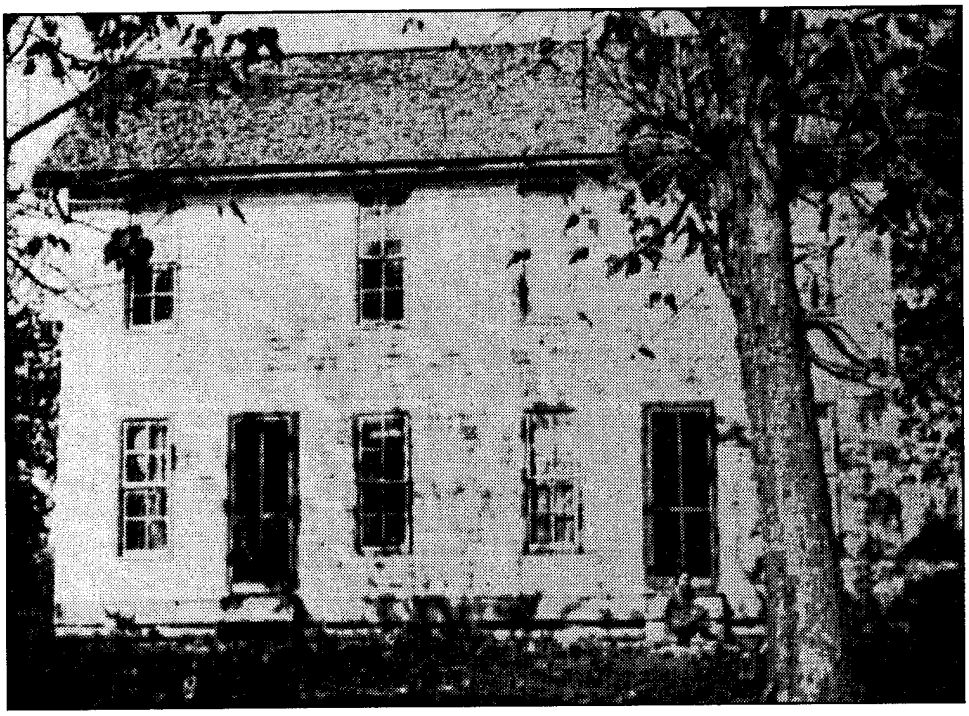


Figure 52. The Asa Douglas Home

Figure 53. William E. Meeks Home

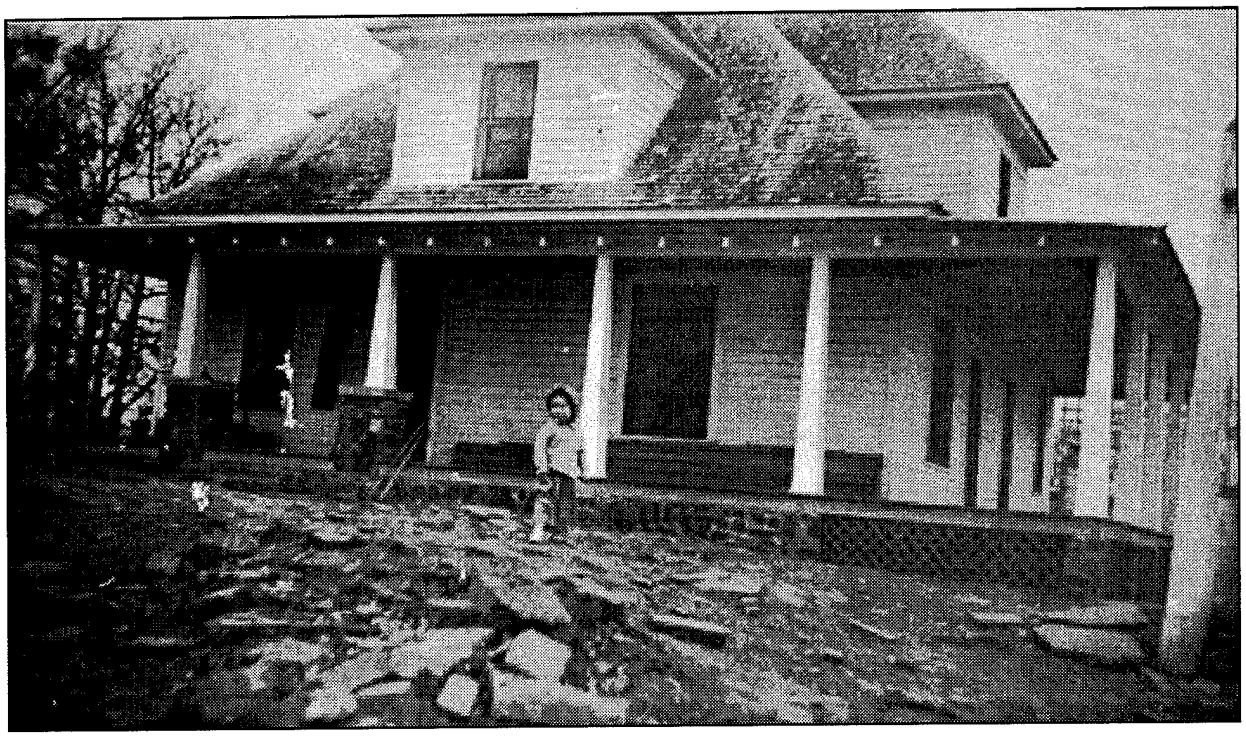


Figure 54. Webb Jones Home

Over time it is clear that the area around the farmhouse or cabin became increasingly complex. From the relatively simple pattern of a cabin, a small shelter for the milch cow and/or horse, and possibly a storage room and/or smoke house, the farmlot evolved to include a large number of buildings, facilities and spaces.

Figure 55 is a photograph of the B. W. McLellan farmhouse. This is another example of a frame structure constructed around an earlier log building. The view in this photograph is to the north. This building is in the center of the sketch of the farmstead as it was in the 1920s and 1930s as reconstructed by members of the McLellan family (particularly Ms. Juanita Greenfield) in 1994 (Figure 56).

Figure 55. B. W. McLellan Home

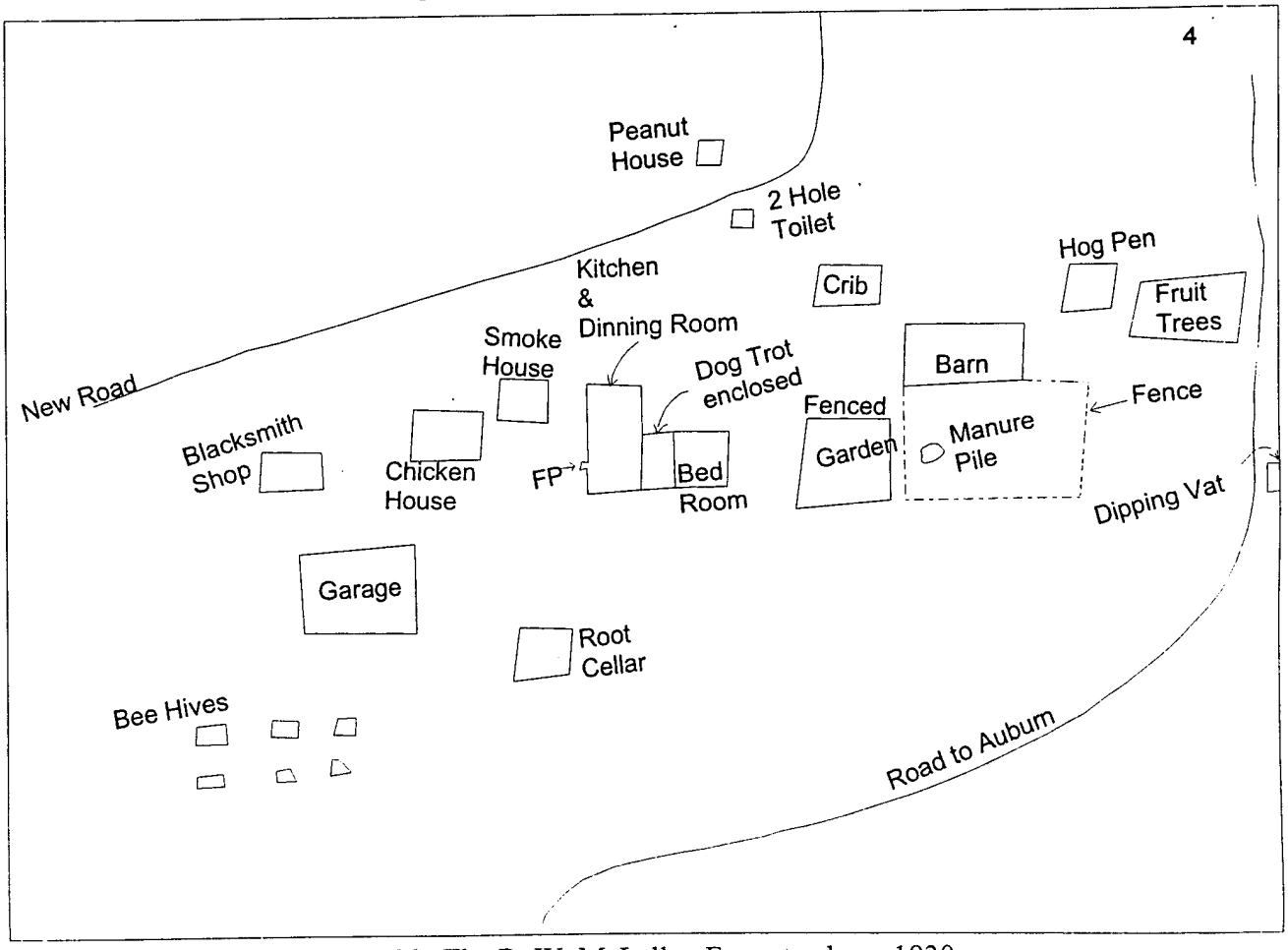


Figure 56. The B. W. McLellan Farmstead, ca. 1930

As Figure 56 illustrates, by the first quarter of the 20th Century the farmlot was quite complex. On the whole it seemed that there was very little, if any, of the kind of theoretical planning of the placement of the houselots or their various elements which is described by McMurry (1988) as being part of the Progressive Farming movement she observed taking place in the northeastern United States during the latter half of the 19th Century. Perhaps the original impetus for this development of the farm lot can be seen in the need to provide storage for the farm's produce; smoke houses, corn cribs, granaries, and the like, but it may be that much of the reason for this evolution can be attributed to the changing relationships of humans with their farm animals.

Prior to the 1880s farm animals were often left largely to forage for themselves. Fences were used to keep the animals out of unwanted places, like corn fields and orchards. There seems to have been three basic kinds of stock. Hogs provided the main meat food source and were allowed to range free and were harvested when desired. Owners often marked their hogs with distinctive ear cuts and/or brands. Those few cattle which were used as beef were treated in the same manner. Often a single cow would be used to provide milk for the family. In those cases, it was a common practice to tie up or to enclose the cow's calf and let the cow roam free to forage for itself as described by Gerstaeker. There were relatively few draft or plough animals. Clearning of fields and cultivation was done by hand. Prior to the Civil War oxen seemed to be the animals of choice for this activity when such were employed. Horses as well as mules were used for transportation.

At sometime after the Civil War, and certainly by the late 1880s, this situation was changing dramatically as animal energy and products were increasingly employed as integral elements in farm life. By the 1890s it became illegal to let stock roam free. This, coupled with the increasing us of horses and mules as working partners in cultivation and processing and a emphasis on the production of milk and butter as cash commodities, meant that it was necessary to keep ever greater percentages of a farm's livestock closer to hand. And doing this meant that the stock became increasingly dependent upon humans for their feed and water. It was, we believe, these trends which were largely responsible for the development of the structure of the farmlots as they appeared in the first half of the 10th Century. In turn, this structural development of the houselot with an increasingly large number of structures made it much less likely that the location of houselots would be changed. Individual structures might be replaced and recycled but the removal or relocation of an entire complex was a major undertaking.

The figures listed below illustrate the changing nature of the domestic animals within the Center Valley area. The figures given in this table were derived from the Sebastian County personal tax records. The figures given here show the tax figures for the years 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1941 for animals claimed by Center Valley land owners.

	Mules	Horses	Cows	Swine	Sheep	Farms
1890	32 .52/farm	145 2.3/farm	110 1.8/farm	596 9.6/farm	195 3.1/farm	62
1900	38 .62/farm	123 2/farm	310 5/farm	419 6.9/farm	227 3.7/farm	61
1910	39 .85/farm	84 1.8/farm	291 6.3/farm	159 3.5/farm	50 1.1/farm	46
1920	76 1.5/farm	78 1.6/farm	328 6.6	135 2.7/farm	58 1.2/farm	50
1930	39 .98/farm	51 1.3/farm	310 7.75/farm	63 1.3/farm	27 .68/farm	40
1941	15 .42/farm	48 1.3/farm	341 9.5/farm	7 .19/farm	0	36
	239 .81/farm	529 1.79/farm	1690 5.73/farm	1379 4.67/farm	557 1.89/farm	295

These figures dramatically illustrates the change from swine as the dominant domestic animal toward the use of the cow for dairying purposes. The care of these animals and the processing of their products were a major cause for the development of houselots. It is interesting to note that the number of mules and horses remain somewhat constant during this period.

While there was considerable change in the arrangement of the elements of the houselots over the nearly century of Center Valley's occupation, there is little to suggest that the farmlots at any one farm varied in any considerable way from their contemporaries. This should not, however, be taken to mean that there was not important variation in the intensity with which similar activities were undertaken at the individual farms as the economic needs and viability of individual farms changed through time. There was, in fact, some considerable differences in the economic production of these farms, usually reflecting the age and number of occupants. On the whole, farms populated by a married couple in their late 40s or 50s with numerous children appear to have been the most productive and economically active. Farms occupied by an elderly couple seldom carried on the full range of farming activities at the intensity they might have been performed a decade or two earlier.

Figures given below were taken from the Sebastian County Personal Property tax records for families we are confident were living in Center Valley during these years.

Year	< $1.00	$1-5	$5 -10	$10 - 15	$15-20	>$20	Total Farms
1890	7 - 11%	39 - 63%	14 - 23%	2 - 3%			62
1900	6 - 10%	42 - 69%	11 - 18%	2 - 3%			61
1910	0	23 - 50%	19 - 41%	4 - 9%			46
1920	0	22 - 45%	15 - 31%	4 - 8%	6 - 12%	2 - 4%	49
1930	4 - 10%	17 - 44%	11 - 28%	2 - 5%	2 - 5%	3 - 8%	39
1941	1 - 3%	20 - 56%	10 - 28%	4 - 11%	1 - 3%		36

The range of personal property tax payments given above shows some variation between the individual farms for any one period. However, this variation is operating within a fairly narrow set of limits. There are very few people paying taxes at the upper end of the scale. Most, usually 80% to 90% of the farms, are grouped into the $1.00 to $10.00 range and somewhere around 50% are usually in the $1.00 to $5.00 range.

Chapter 17. Center Valley: Continuity, Change, and Historic Preservation

In considering the life of this rural western Arkansas community from its beginning in the 1850s to its demise in 1941, it is clear that life in this community was marked by both continuity and change. Log cabins gave way to structures built from sawn lumber using materials from hardware and building supply stores. Dug wells gave way to drilled wells. Fields once cleared by oxen, were later plowed by mules and horses, and finally by tractors. The large herds of swine were replaced by dairy cows and cotton production gave way to dairying as the primary cash crop. Automobiles replaced the horse and carriage. Families which originally were from Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri became families whose roots were now deep in Arkansas soil. First generation families became fourth generation families. These are but a few of the changes which took place. Other, perhaps more far reaching technological changes, never came to the farms and families of Center Valley. Telephone service was a rare thing and the community was dispersed before the arrival of rural electrification.

The farms which made-up this community were almost entirely self-sufficient family farms and while the crops and livestock upon which these farms were focused changed somewhat over this period of three generations, at any given time, the vast majority of farms were engaged in the same sorts of activities. This is not to say that this rural landscape was entirely homogeneous. It certainly was not. But the variations between farms were largely variations on a single theme and could be accounted for largely by the lifecycles of the farms and families. It is possible that this was changing somewhat at the end of the community's life. It does appear that by the 1930s the population was becoming somewhat more transient. There may have been far fewer families moving into the community to acquire and develop farms and far more families simply renting dwellings for as long as they could pay the rent. It is our best judgment that far fewer fourth and fifth generation farms would be created than second and third generation farms (Figure 57).

Figure 57. Enoch Jones and Grandchildren, ca. 1910

The Center Valley community was held together by family ties; ties created by the transfer of farms from one generation to the next and by the inter-marrying of neighboring farm families. There was a community spirit which existed which prompted widespread acts of assistance and support such as that depicted on the group photograph taken at the Cooper farmstead in the 1920s (Figure 58).

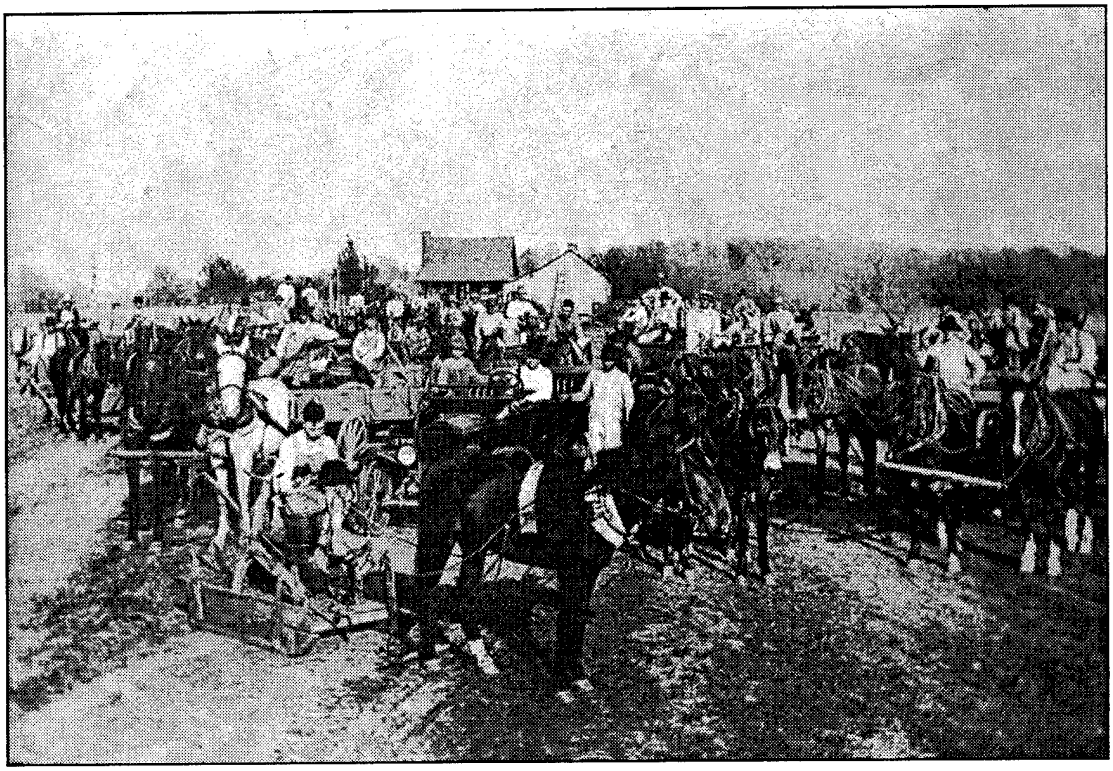


Figure 58. Friends and Neighbors at the Cooper Farmstead

On this occasion, illness had prevented the Coopers from planting their crops. In response to this situation, friends and neighbors gathered with their teams and tools to plant the farm. When this was finished, they gathered in front of the house for this photograph.

Within this network of families, friends, and neighbors, there were two institutions which served as the focal points of community life, the church and the school. and these were contained in the same building. From the 1880s onward the school was the center of the life of the community. Almost all members of the community attended the school at one time or another. In addition to the normal educational activities, the school served as the location of all sorts of community gatherings, including the singing schools and presentations which were such important elements in the community during the summer months. Figure 59 depicts the class of 1914 taught by Luther Van Meter (Figure 60). Figure 61 is a photograph made during an interview with three student members of this class (from left to right - Juanita (McLellan) Greenfield, Clora (Cooper) McConnell, and Johnnie (Burris) Brown. Figure 62 is a photograph made at the school in the 1920s when Bonnie

Figure 59. Center Valley School, 1914

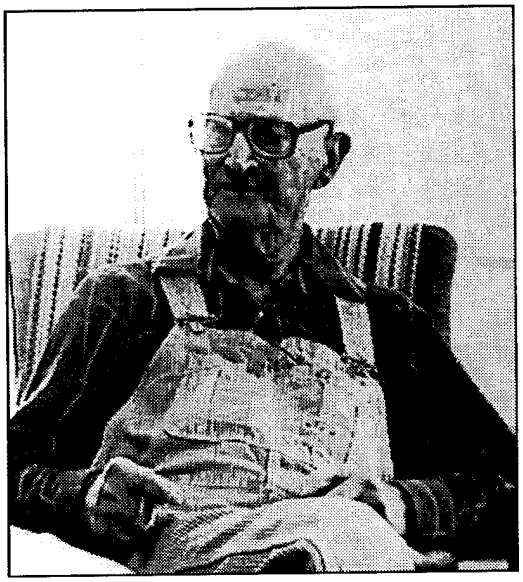


Figure 60. Luther Vanmeter, 1993

Figure 61. Three Students, 1993

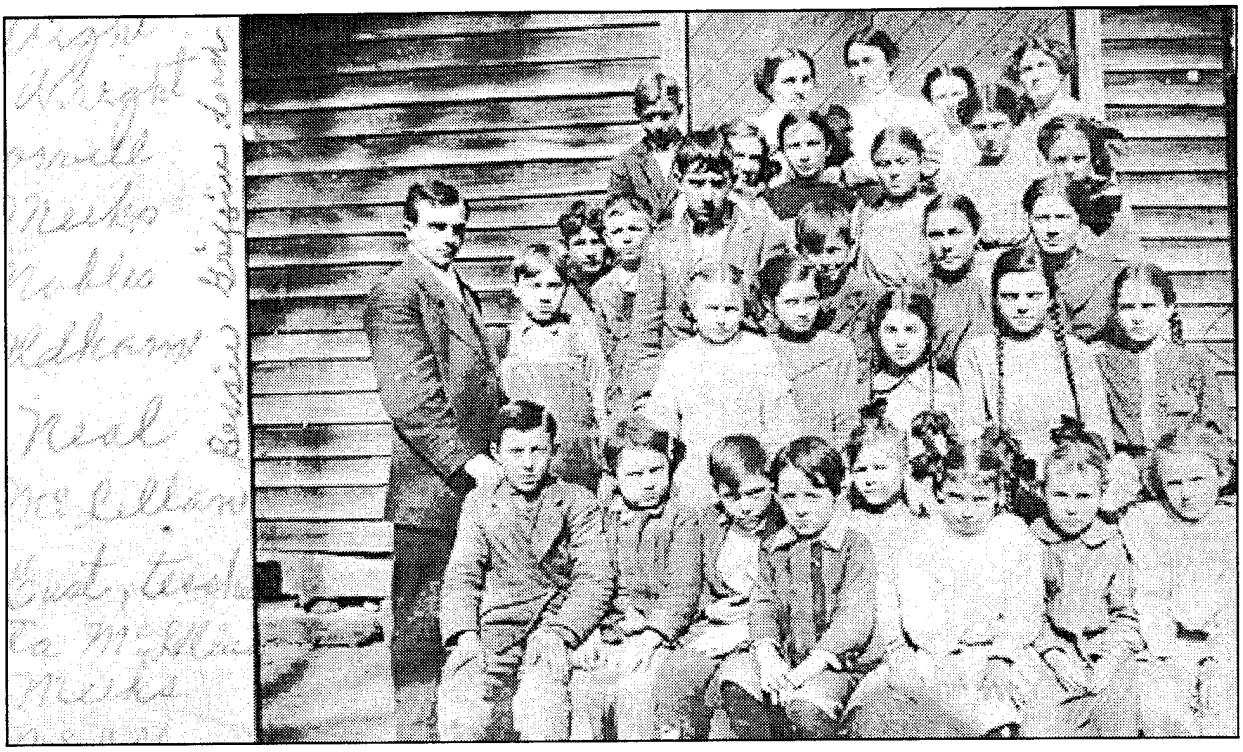


Figure 62. Center Valley School, Class of 1923

Figure 63. Singing School Class, date unknown

When the school was consolidated into a larger, more urban system the community lost one of the most important elements of its cohesiveness. Although the building was still used for church services, it was not the same. The center of the community was now the cemetery (Figure 64) which not only provided a focal point for those living in the community but also for those who had moved away. Thus, even though it has been physically removed, the Center Valley cemetery continues to serve as a gathering point for the dispersed community; members of which come each year to decorate the graves and to visit with friends, families, and former neighbors.

Figure 64. Center Valley Cemetery, date unknown

One of the last community acts conducted in Center Valley was a final gathering at the church for a farewell picnic. Here the members of the community came together to bid each other a communal good-bye as they prepared to move to their new homes (Figure 65).

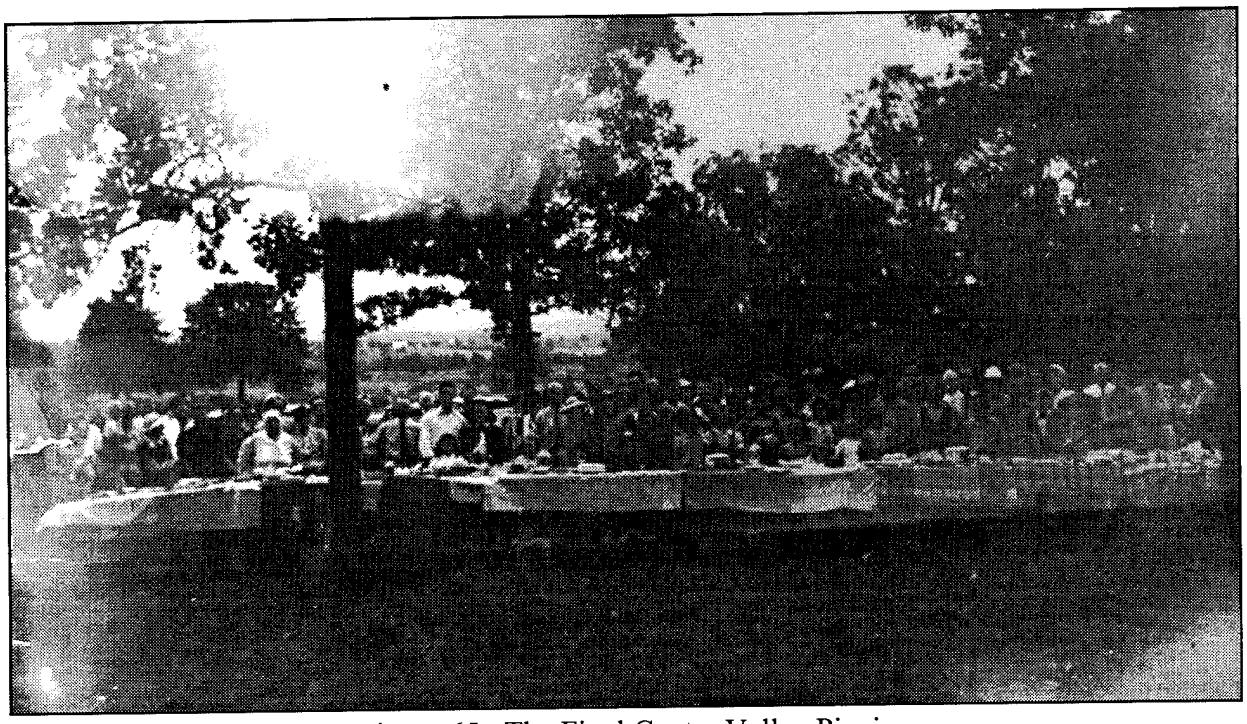


Figure 65. The Final Center Valley Picnic

In the preceding pages we have attempted to sketch out some of the major elements of community and farm life which we believe to be of importance in an effort to come to grips with the assessment of significance for individual (or groups of) farms. In doing so, we have concentrated on the issue of diversity among the numerous farms within Center Valley; both diversity present at any one time and diversity which may have occurred through time. All of this was an attempt to move toward a more appropriate understanding of the context within which these farms functioned and how they may have functioned differently. This, we believe, is the most important single step in making assessments about the types of cultural resource management activities are appropriate.

It is our hope that this study will accomplish two general and one specific goals. First of all, we hope that this treatment has been sufficiently argued to persuade other professionals and managers of the importance of understanding these individual farms within the historical communities of which they were apart and the ultimate futility of attempting to understanding them on a case by case basis; a position which was voiced earlier by John S. Wilson who has proposed an approach similar to that taken in this study (Wilson 1990: 22).

> *Farmstead sites are among the most ubiquitous Historic period sites on the North American continent, and more are identified daily in CRM studies. Therefore, it is ironic that the determination of their National Register significance, upon which hinges all efforts at preservation or substantial archaeological investigation, is still largely made on a case-by-case basis with only minimal effort to place individual sites in a regional context.*

Secondly, we hope to demonstrate something of the wealth of information about these properties which currently exists in the documentary, cartographic, photographic, and oral historical record. These sources of information, measured at the community scale, are infinitely more extensive than that contained in the archeological record. Our experience in working with these materials have convinced us that it is a mistake of the first order to begin any more than the most rudimentary recording field recording of these resources at these sites, prior to an extensive assessment of this "non-archeological" data. Having said this, we hasten to add that we believe data derived from archeological investigations to be important in formulating cultural resource management activities as well as in gaining further insight into the history and lifeways of those who once occupied these farms. The issue is how these different data are to be integrated. It is a horrible waste of time and money to try to use archeological investigations to answer questions which can be addressed much more efficiently, accurately, and comprehensively using other data. In fact, we are prepared to argue that it is only, by making effective use of documents, photographs, and oral history, that we can finally realize the potential of our archeological investigations. If we are concerned here primarily with "endangered" resources, our concern should be focused importantly on the oral historical record. While ground disturbing activities may or may not destroy a given farmstead, time will certainly remove those who carry the oral stories and information associated with these farms from our midst.

Finally, we hope that this study provides those who manage the cultural resources at Fort Chaffee with a model which can be used to develop a fuller understanding and greater appreciation of the many other communities which once existed on the installation. It is our contention that this is the most appropriate focus of our cultural resource management efforts. Not only does this approach provide a context within which professionals and managers can reach well-considered decisions about which sites to continue to manage actively, it allows for the involvement of the public, both as providers of information and as receipients of the traditions which these resources represent. If cultural resource management is ultimately to be worth the price currently expended in this endeavor, this is the public which must benefit.

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