ANNOTATED
BIBLIOGRAPHY ON
BLACK SETTLERS OF WASHINGTON COUNTY, ARKANSAS
(2015)

Compiled by John Erwin and
The Black Settlers Committee of the
Washington County Historical Society

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This bibliography is an ongoing work with updates expected as future projects are researched.

INTRODUCTION

In July 2014, the Black Settlers Committee (now known as the Diverse Settlers Committee) was created and chaired by Dr. Margaret Clark, Professor Emeritus of the University of Arkansas and long-time member of the WCHS Board of Directors. Dr. Clark and the committee sought to create a bibliographic source of material about Black citizens and their history in Fayetteville and Washington County.

At that time, there were very few known bibliographic listings for Black history in our area. The committee worked to correct this oversight by creating not just a more thorough and accurate bibliography but an annotated one as well.

Working as a team, the group hired John Erwin to be the compiler and annotator of the bibliography. Committee members added articles, books, newspaper references and audio and video recordings to the growing list. The bibliography was published in *Flashback*, Volume 65, Number 3, Fall 2015.

In the next issue of *Flashback*, Winter 2015, Eric Johnson, from Fayetteville and now living in Iowa, contributed an article about local Black History titled "Before Spout Spring: African American voices, mobility, and public memory in the landscape of Fayetteville, Arkansas 1870-1900."

Other highlights of the bibliography, which is also available on the WCHS website at https://washcohistoricalsociety.org/, include the following listings: Green, V.H. (1940). *The Negro Motorist Green Book*. New York: Victor H. Green & Co. This book is a "national guide listing which tourist businesses would serve black customers. It included such businesses as hotels, restaurants, service stations and barber and beauty shops." The *Green Book* includes listings for Fayetteville.

Another entry of interest is Lankford, G. E., & Federal Writers' Project (2003), *Bearing witness: memories of Arkansas slavery: narratives from the 1930s WPA collections.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. Also included in the bibliography is a newspaper entry from out in Washington County: Robinson, D. (n.d.) "Bob" Kidd Lake. *Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville]. This is the story "about a lake outside of Lincoln, Arkansas and its renaming to Bob Kidd Lake. Bob was the man's actual given name, an ex-slave who had worked and owned land near the lake." This article was found in the Fayetteville Public Library vertical files.

Because a number of years have elapsed since the original bibliography was put together, naturally there are new entries to be added. Among these are: Gordon D. Morgan, *Black Hillbillies of the*

Arkansas Ozarks, Fayetteville: Department of Sociology, University of Arkansas, 1973; Mike Pierce, *The Nelson Hackett Project*, 2022, website at: https://nelsonhackettproject.uark.edu/; David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the *Green Book*: A 'Knit Community'" (2019), *Flashback*, Volume 69(3); and Obed Lamy, "Once Forgotten," a documentary about racial lynchings in 1856 Fayetteville, Arkansas, in connection with the Community Remembrance Project of 2021.

As noted near the beginning of the Annotated Bibliography document itself: "This bibliography is an ongoing work with updates expected as future projects are researched." When new sources are discovered or created, the bibliography will be updated as soon as practicable.

J.B. Hogan, 2024

Annotated Bibliography

AccessFayetteville. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.accessfayetteville.org/government/parks_and_recreation/documents/misc/Walker_Park_Mural_Key.pdf

Located off 15th Street in Walker Park is a mural painted on the exterior walls of the handball court. It represents South Fayetteville dating back to the early 1800s. The Access Fayetteville website explains the stories of the citizens depicted on the mural including African Americans Willis Pettigrew (freed slave), the Black Diamond Serenaders, Jesse Bryant, Lodene Deffebaugh, Ruth Joiner Carr, George Ballard and Otis Parker. Also found on the mural is St. James Baptist and Methodist churches and the Webb House.

Adams, Julianne Lewis & Thomas A. DeBlack (1994). *Civil Obedience: An Oral History of School Desegregation in Fayetteville, Arkansas, 1954-1965.* Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press.

Provides a survey of school integration in Fayetteville, AR, from 1954 to 1965. Includes an introductory overview by University of Arkansas professor Willard B. Gatewood and interviews with local school administrators and teachers, including superintendent Wayne H. White, students like Preston Lackey, Jr., and community leaders such as Jessie B. Bryant. Appendix 1 provides student reactions to integration of the schools and Appendix 2, done by the Washington County League of Women Voters (1964), offers suggestions for successfully completing integration throughout the Fayetteville school system.

"Adeline Blakely" (1987), *Flashback*, 37(4), 1-7.

As told in Blakely's own words, her memories of time with the Hudgins and Blakely families. Pages 6-7 include Ann Wiggans Suggs' "Adeline Blakely, Remembered," her memories of Blakely's importance to the Hudgins and Blakely families. Adeline Blakely died in 1945 and is the only known Black person buried in Fayetteville's historic Evergreen Cemetery.

Alison, Charles Y. (2012), "Betty Davis: Building a board from splinters," *Flashback,* 62(3), 122-141.

A biography of Betty Hayes Davis.

In this interview, Betty Hayes Davis tells about her enslaved great-grandparents William Taylor and Tabitha Marshbanks and their role as early parishioners at St. James Methodist Church and as owners of a home on Olive Street not far from the historic Henderson School. Davis attended Henderson School and its follow on, Lincoln School, which was dedicated in May 1936. She also discusses three areas of town with Black residents: the Hollow (Spout Spring area); the Valley (below Huntsville Road); and Red Hill (near the intersection of North Street and North College Avenue. She recalls her time as a member of the U. S. Navy's WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services). After her service time, she worked at New York University (NYU) before eventually finding her way back home to Fayetteville.

Alison, Charles Y., and Compton, Ellen K., on behalf of the Washington County Historical Society (AR) (2011). *Images of America: Fayetteville*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing.

This book is a collection of images of Fayetteville throughout its history, accompanied by contextual descriptions of said photographs. There are many relevant photographs and pieces of information, such as: many photographs of Henderson School, cited as not only the first public school in

Fayetteville, but also the first Black school in Arkansas, with names and tidbits about some of the teachers and founders of the school; information on the seven Black students to enter Fayetteville High School when it was integrated; photographs of two historically Black churches (St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church, and St. James Baptist Church); a photo and information on James Cortez Hoover, a Black, long-time janitor who worked in the Fayetteville City Hospital after WWI; a photo and a tidbit of information on Adeline Blakely, a former slave who remained with a Fayetteville family and its lines after her freedom; and finally a photo of the Manuel family growing crops to help the WWII war effort.

An Oral History of Washington County - Jessie Bryant, Washington County, Arkansas, YouTube. Accessed October 16, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p-RRgxcRuHo

In this interview, conducted by Scott F. Davis as part of the Washington County History Project, Jessie Bryant tells of her life and experience in Southeast Fayetteville and Washington County. Born during segregation in 1926, Bryant had to leave Fayetteville to attend high school in Pine Bluff. After studying at Philander Smith College in Little Rock, she eventually returned to Fayetteville to a long and productive life. She was the prime mover in the creation of the Northwest Arkansas Free Health Center and served fifteen years as a Justice of the Peace in the Washington County Quorum Court. Although recognizing that "we have a ways to go," Bryant believes that "Washington County is the best county in the state of Arkansas."

"Aunt Adeline (Blakely)," interview by Zillow Cross Peel, and "Adeline Blakely," interview by Mary D. Hudgins, Library of Congress; Library of Congress, Washington D.C.; *A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves, 1936–1938;* Volume 1-17; available on Ancestry.com.

In the Zilla Cross Peel interview, Aunt Adeline Blakely tells her history as an enslaved person and with whom she lived and stayed before and after emancipation – the Parks, Hudgins, Blakely, and Wiggins families. Blakely recalls Civil War days and the hardships of life at the time. She poignantly tells of never seeing her mother again after the war, although they communicated through friends.

Mary D. Hudgins' interview with Adeline Blakely also covers Adeline's history, born around 1850 in Kentucky, brought to Arkansas when she was around one year old. Adeline tells in more detail about life and events in and around Fayetteville during the Civil War, including how Mrs. Blakely kept soldiers from burning their house and the Masonic Lodge, just off the Square in Fayetteville. Adeline tells about her life after the war, living for a short while in Hot Springs, going to California, taking care of five generations of her families.

"Arkansas Negroes in the 1890s: Documents," (Winter 1974), *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 33(4), 311-315.

This section of the book describes the treatment of the 404 Black citizens living in Fayetteville in the early 1890s. "Afro-Americans here," the reports say, "are generally prosperous and thrifty…." (p. 311). This article portrays school superintendent Noah P. Gates in a highly positive way (p. 312), and says of Fayetteville: "…there is not a city south of the Mason-Dixon line, where the two races are getting along better and where the Negro is offered fairer play" (p. 313).

"Aunt Julia, one time slave, dies; funeral Thursday" (1931, November 25), *The Fayetteville Daily Democrat,* 1. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

An obituary for Julia Buchanan, a 90-year-old former slave. She was buried in Cane Hill, her one-time home.

Bain, C. (2006, May 21). "Antics of Dick Bain and Charlie Wilson." Can be found in a vertical file titled "Fayetteville – History – Black community" at the Fayetteville Public Library, Fayetteville, AR.

A story about Charlie Wilson, the only Black citizen of Prairie Grove at the time of the author's childhood. Contains amusing anecdotes about how Wilson would take odd jobs, and tricks would be played on him. He eventually shot the town bully and went to prison.

Bedell, Conaly (1966). *The terror of Fayetteville*. Unpublished manuscript, located at Mullins Library Special Collections Department, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

A fairly comprehensive manuscript on Fayetteville's role in the Civil War. It gives a brief overview of the political issues surrounding the war and Fayetteville's positions, but mostly consists of anecdotes revolving around the usually horrific, but often humorous, actions of the soldiers who passed through the town during wartime. Mostly useful to those wishing to learn about Fayetteville's war history, it gives a pretty good idea of what wartime felt like here but has questionable merit in terms of its interest to Black history specifically. It does mention Fayetteville former slave owners by name, such as David Walker, who owned 31 slaves, and William Wilson.

"Big Crowd Attends Sunday" (June 6, 1940), *Northwest Arkansas Times*, 6.

Local Black horseman and cowboy Otis Parker thrilled a local rodeo crowd of some 2,000 with his "riding of a pitching horse." For many decades, Parker, a self-taught veterinarian, kept and handled horses in South Fayetteville.

"Black Fayetteville – 1915" (1978, May 3), *Grapevine* [Fayetteville]. Found in a vertical file titled "Fayetteville – History – Black community" at the Fayetteville Public Library. Fayetteville, AR.

This is an article about the Fayetteville City Beautiful League and their county fair booth where they showed photographs of homes in various categories. One category called "Best Showing Under Unfavorable Circumstances" had the first-place winner as Tom Rogers, "colored." The award- winning photo is re-printed and biographical information on Rogers and his wife, Jennie, are given.

Bridenthal, Alfred C. (1994), "Afro-American Community Tales," *Flashback*, 44(3), 11-22.

Tells the stories of Elmyra Cooper and Susie Manuel, both of whom were cleaning ladies, and of Nelse, a porter at the Palace Drug Store on Dickson Street in Fayetteville.

Brill, Andrew Price (2006), " Brown in Fayetteville: peaceful southern school desegregation in 1954," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 65(4), 337-359.

This article describes the implementation of desegregation at Fayetteville High School in 1954. The author concludes that Fayetteville's location, racial history, and culture of education laid important groundwork for integration. He then describes how the school board and community were able to do it right by limiting press coverage, using local organizations like churches, and involving student groups to help the Black students become part of their new high school.

Brill, Andrew Price (Summer 2006), "Three Women Speak: Integration at Fayetteville High School." *Flashback* 56(3), 83-108.

This article provides interviews with three women connected to the integration of Fayetteville

High School in 1954. Peggy Taylor Swift and Nancy Cole Mays were both among the original seven students who integrated Fayetteville High. Also interviewed is Feriba T. McNair who taught physical education at the time and for whom a school was later named – McNair Middle School on Mission Boulevard in Fayetteville.

Blye, Mrs. Russell [Pearl]. "History of St. James Baptist Church." June 26, 1977, Church Anniversary. (Found in Vertical File: St. James Baptist Church), Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

Written for the anniversary of the historic St. James Baptist Church, Blye recounts the founding of the church by former enslaved man Squire Jehagen. She gives a history of the many beloved pastors who served the church, including the Reverend J. W. Webb who served the congregation for more than 30 years. Also given are the difficulties and triumphs in building the physical church itself from a small frame building right after the Civil War, through fires and other difficulties, to recent improvements on the building in use in 1977.

Brown, Kent R. (1982). *Fayetteville: a pictorial history*. Norfork, VA: Donning Pub.

This book is a general history of Fayetteville, which heavily relies on photographs, accompanied by their explanations. Several relevant references to Fayetteville's former Black community, such as: a brief mention of George Ballard and his literary success, naming him alongside other poets contemporary with him such as Rosa Marinoni, Charles J. Finger, William Lighton, and Charles Morrow Wilson; a fairly useful catalog of the Black population at the time of the Civil War, during which there were 1,500 Blacks in the county, 300 of whom were in Fayetteville, at the outbreak of the war. Claims an 1860 law made it illegal for any free Black man to remain in state. At the end of the war, he claims that many freed slaves returned to Fayetteville, working at their old households; others worked in town as laborers, or as waiters or hotel porters; and others joined the army or had houses built by their former owners and worked the land. There are two photos of Henderson school, p. 32-33, with a good, but brief, write-up detailing its founder, teachers, and fate. Also a photo of Black laborers who helped build Old Main; a photo titled "The Old South," which was apparently very famous in its day and which shows Willis Pettigrew, Sam Van Winkle, Charlie Richardson, Squire Jehagen and Nick Clemmons, who were all former slaves; and a photograph of Black Fayetteville citizens outside a church, with a blurb about where Black Fayetteville residents used to live.

Campbell, Denele (Winter 2023), "Part I: The Story of Fayetteville's Black Diamond Orchestra," *Flashback* 73(4), 162-172.

This article traces the origin and history of the Black Diamond Orchestra, a popular local band formed in the early part of the twentieth century playing ragtime music. Among its early members were Dick Douglass, Steve Stone, Nelson Thompson, and Jeff Cooper. During its thirty-plus year run, the Black Diamond Orchestra played local venues like Monte Ne, Coin Harvey's oasis in Northwest Arkansas, and even performed as far afield as New York. Some later members of the band included Odie Wright (Director), Embus Young, and Sam Young, Jr.

Campbell, Denele (Spring 2024), "Part II: The Story of Fayetteville's Black Diamond Orchestra Continues with 'The Jazz Age,'" *Flashback* 74(1), 11-23.

As time passed, musical tastes changed and the Black Diamond Orchestra moved with them, moving from ragtime into the Jazz Age. Still mostly centered in Northwest Arkansas, the band now included Clara Hays, Thaddeus Young, and Cornel Payne, among others. The Black Diamond Orchestra played their last performance in 1935. The article then covers local musicians among whom are Clifford

"Half-Pint" Thompson, his son Jo Jo Thompson, and Buddy Hayes who influenced Rock and Roller Ronnie Hawkins and his band the Hawks – who gained later fame as The Band. The information in this and the previous article can also be found in Campbell, Denele, *The Music Men of Turn-of-the-Century Fayetteville* (2022), Fayetteville, AR, 119-163.

Campbell, W. S. (1928). *One hundred years of Fayetteville, 1828-1928*. Fayetteville, AR: Washington County Historical Society.

This book is a general history of Fayetteville, written during the city's centennial year of 1928. There are several relevant references, such as a mention of slavery in the form of slave quarters. The text claims many white Fayetteville residents once had slave quarters built in their backyards, but by 1928, they were "all gone." These former slaves, claims the author, spawned Fayetteville's Black population. There are also a condescending reference from the author, in which he claims, "There is a superior type of negro here"; a reference to a "black school"; a claim that Fayetteville Blacks have left to become "leaders of their race," specifically mentioning Henry Sutton, a professor at a "big Negro college in Birmingham" and later at Booker T. Washington's school in Tuskegee; a claim that Tin Cup had two churches, names not given, and had a population of around 200 at the time of the writing; a mention of George Ballard as the "poet laureate" of Tin Cup, and his book *Ozark Ballards*; the results of the 1840 census, recording the population at 425 total, with 292 white, 123 Black, with 120 of the Black population being slaves; and finally, a photograph of a few former slaves on page 7.

Cantrell, Andrea (2003), "WPA Early Settlers' Personal Histories of African Americans in Arkansas."

Online transcriptions of seventeen interviews from the Works Progress Administration Early Settler Personal History project with an introduction. See http://libinfo.uark.edu/specialcollections/wpa/

Cantrell, Andrea (2004), "WPA Sources for African-American Oral History in Arkansas: Ex-Slave Narratives and Early Settlers' Personal Histories," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 58(1), 44-68.

Discusses positives and drawbacks of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938. Also provides additional sources for slave narratives and other resources documenting histories of early Black Settlers. Gives examples of tables listing personal history interviewees. Also has the complete list of sixty questions from the April 9, 1941, interview with ex-slave Pate Newton of Johnson County, Arkansas.

Connell, F.M. (1965), "History of the Middle Fork," *Flashback*, 15(2), 15.

Contains a segment about Reese Cemetery, where it mentions the death of a former slave named Mary Ann. A wedding gown was donated for her to be buried in. Gives other details about her life.

"Courts and Crime" (1956), (taken from Goodspeed's 1889 *History of Washington County*), *Flashback*, 6(1), 24.

This is a selection of circuit court cases in the years 1829-1860. Included is the death of John Work who enticed an unnamed enslaved man with promises of freedom to help him commit crimes. The enslaved man helped authorities find Work who was killed in a confrontation. This article also relates the 1856 death of Dr. James Boone which resulted in the lynching of two enslaved men, Aaron and Anthony, and the conviction and hanging of a third enslaved man, Randall. A third story tells of the 1860 killing of a man named Mullis by an enslaved man said to be intimate with Mullis's wife. The unnamed man, enslaved by Jacob Funkhouser of Cane Hill, was then lynched.

Demirel, Evin (2017), *African-American Athletes in Arkansas*. Lowell, AR: ED Productions, 202 pages.

This book includes stories of nearly forgotten Black athletes, teams, and events that played a significant role in Arkansas sports history. Among them are sections on Black Razorback teams of the 1930s, the relationship between hall of fame pitchers Dizzy Dean and Satchel Paige, Muhammad Ali's controversial 1969 trip to Arkansas, and the hall of fame induction of University of Arkansas basketball coach Nolan Richardson.

Demeroukas, Marie (2020), "Spout Spring – A Place Where People Live," Shiloh Museum of Ozark History webpage, https://shilohmuseum.org/spout-spring/. Accessed October 15, 2020.

This online article discusses a plan proposed by the City of Fayetteville, AR, that if implemented would have essentially destroyed the historic Black residential area of Fayetteville called at different times Spout Spring, Big Spring, Tin Cup, or East Fayetteville. The city plan officially known as the "Six Year Public Works Program and Master City Plan, 1945" – but also called "A City of Homes, A Place Where People Live" – would have adversely impacted the Spout Spring neighborhood, including routing what would become Archibald Yell Boulevard (now Nelson Hackett Boulevard) right through the heart of the neighborhood. The plan was never implemented.

Donat, Pat (October 6, 1971), "Fayetteville Cowboy Still Breakin' 'Em at 82," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, 1, 20.

A feature story about Otis Parker, local Black horseman and cowboy. Page 1 of the article has a photo of Parker. The story and more photos appear on page 20. In the article, Parker discusses his techniques for training and breaking horses, dangers involved in such work, and his time performing in rodeos. Parker was born March 24, 1889, in Harris (now part of Elkins), AR, and died in Fayetteville on June 5, 1996. For many years he kept his horses in a large field behind a small house at 350 S. Combs in Fayetteville. He is buried in historic Oaks Cemetery next to his wife Anna.

Doolin, James (1980), "Conditions of Slavery in Washington County," *Flashback*, 30(1), 5-8, 30-34.

Covers the following topics: "Slave Work," "Slave Diet and Slave Health," "Slave Trade and Reproduction," "Politics and Free Men of Color."

Edmark, David (2019). "Fayetteville in the *Green Book*: A 'Knit Community,'" *Flashback*, 69(3), 125-132.

This article covers the creation of *The Green Book* and Fayetteville listings within it over the years. *The Green Book*, lasting from 1936 to 1967, gave Black travelers information on where to stay and eat as they traversed the segregated nation. Several local residents are interviewed including Jessie Bryant, Emma Conley, and Carlos Carr.

Elliott, RoAnne, and Valandra (2020), "Re-presenting Aaron, Anthony, and Randall: Victims of Racial Terror Lynching in Washington County," *Flashback*, 70(4), 164-173.

This article details the lynchings of Aaron, Anthony, and Randall, three enslaved men who were killed by a mob in Fayetteville in 1856. The work of the Community Remembrance Project is also described. This project was an effort by a diverse group of local citizens to honor the three men and to bring their story into the public consciousness so that people today might know and understand Aaron, Anthony, and Randall and appreciate their humanity.

"Ex-slave's home burned last night on Huntsville Road" (1928, April 26), *The Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, p.1. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

A news story about the partial destruction by fire of the home of "Aunt" Malindy Walker, an ex-slave, who had apparently left a lamp burning while she visited the grocery store. Walker was thought to be one of the oldest former slaves in Fayetteville at the time, estimated at nearly 100 years old. Her home was located on Huntsville Road, near historic "Tin-Cup."

"Fayetteville history: Fayetteville vote set integration in motion across South" (2014, September 1). FayettevilleHistory.com (website). Retrieved from http://www.fayettevillehistory.org/2014/09/fayetteville-vote-set-integration-in-motion-across-south.html

An article on the integration of Fayetteville High School and includes photos of the students and how the school handled activities such as football. The article also discusses both Henderson and Lincoln schools, Fayetteville's schools for African Americans.

"Fayetteville history: the book of lists" (2010, February 9). Retrieved from fayettevillehistory.typepad.com/listing/page/2/

A list of graves is found under the heading: Names on Markers at Oak Cemetery. "Variously also referred to as Twin Oaks Cemetery or African Cemetery, Oak Cemetery is on South Dunn Street, immediately south of National Cemetery. The cemetery has been used by the black community of Fayetteville since the latter part of the 19th century."

"Fayetteville history: the book of lists" (2010, July 7). Retrieved from http://fayettevillehistory.typepad.com/ listing/

Under the heading: Slave Owners in 1860, there is a list of people owning slaves in either Fayetteville or the surrounding Prairie Township. It includes the name of the head of the family and the number or slaves owned.

"First episode of M.E. Centennial to reproduce services held here at Lodowick Brodie Home in 1832," (1932, September 2), *The Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, p. 6. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

This is a story about the reproduction of 1832 church services for their centennial, in the form of plays of sorts. The article mentions that several roles were to be played by members of the local Black community, such as the role of a cook, nurse, and yard boy.

Foley, Larry (2012), *Up Among the Hills,* one-hour documentary video. Accessible at https://www.fayettevillehistory.org/2015/05/up-among-the-hills.html

In this video on the history of Fayetteville, AR, Foley covers many topics including segments on formerly enslaved resident Adeline Blakely, an interview with Betty Hayes Davis, and an extended segment about Ralph "Buddy" Hayes (Davis' brother), shoeshine man, and legendary musician, whose work impacted and influenced many local individuals and bands.

Ford, Dora to *American Missionary Magazine.* November 18, 1869, American Missionary Association Archives. Amistad Research Center. Tulane University, Box 6, No. 4132-4134. Note the letter is not

digitized, and access to a pdf of it must be requested.

Handwritten letter from Dora Ford, a white missionary woman, to the American Missionary Association, dated November 18, 1869, reporting on the school for Black children in Fayetteville, which has been sponsored by the missionary association. Ford states the numbers of children attending the school, and the Sabbath school as well, and notes the attentiveness of the students. She describes the poor condition of the school building. In addition, she recounts stories about the students and her trip journeying through St. Louis to Fayetteville.

Ford, Dora to *American Missionary Magazine.* November 24, 1869, American Missionary Association Archives. Amistad Research Center. Tulane University, Box 6, No 4135. Note the letter is not digitized, and access to a pdf of it must be requested.

This second handwritten letter from Dora Ford, was sent on November 24, 1869, to Rev. E. P. Smith, who is apparently with the American Missionary Association. She thanks him for the check sent to her to help with the school. She reports on attendance numbers.

"Former slave dies at home on Rock Street" (1945, May 12), *The Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville], 4. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

Basically, an obituary for former slave Adeline Blakeley who was a slave or servant for five generations of the Parks family. It gives a brief biography of Blakeley and the family (daughters who married a Blakely, a Hudgens, and a Wiggins) she worked for during the rest of her freed life.

Foster, B.F., contributor; Foster, H.D., contributor; Van Hoose, J.N., contributor (2013), "Reports about Henderson School from *The American Missionary,*" *Flashback,* 63(1), 42-48.

Several brief reports from *The American Missionary,* magazine of the American Missionary Association, dated from December 1882 through 1891, discussing the organization's support for Henderson School in Fayetteville, as well as the school building's use for educational and religious activities. The association had supported the school from its creation in 1868, withdrawing that support in 1891 for reasons that are discussed in a report.

Froelich, J., Hartman, P., Sampson, J. R. (2000). KUAF (radio station: Fayetteville, AR), Arkansas Humanities Council & National Endowment for the Humanities. "Arkansas Ozarks African Americans [sound recording]: 1820 to 1950." Fayetteville, AR: KUAF Public Radio, J. Froelich.

The recordings profile the recently discovered Black history of Carroll, Benton and Boone counties, with the existing documented history of Washington County to illuminate the significant contribution by African Americans to Arkansas Ozarks culture. Three distinct areas are examined: slave settlements of the early-to-middle 19th century; post-emancipation and the rise of Ozark African-American communities; and – with the exception of Washington County and Benton County – the disintegration of those communities. Two sound discs (135 min.): digital, stereo ; 4 3/4 in.

"Funeral for former Negro slave held" (1945, January 15), *The Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville], 5. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

Obituary for former slave L. Myra Cooper, who had resided in Fayetteville since 1872. She was

not only the second to last former slave living in Fayetteville at the time, but also the daughter of Willis Pettigrew, of "The Old South" photograph, who was himself a former slave to the Fayetteville family of Z.B. Pettigrew.

Gatewood, Willard, Jr, editor (1974), "Arkansas Negroes in the 1890s: Documents," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 33(4), 293-325.

Using examples from the African-American newspaper the Indianapolis *Freeman*, this article documents evaluations of how different towns in Arkansas treat their Black communities during the years 1890-1898. Among the towns included are Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Searcy, and Helena. Pages 311-315 are specifically focused on Fayetteville and describe, in generally favorable terms, its treatment of the local Black community.

Gearhart, Gretchen (2006), "The Murder of James Boone," *Flashback*, 56(4), 159-166.

Provides a summary of the 1856 crime and accounts of it in local newspapers and in county records. Also includes family recollections of Dr. Boone's death, purported to have been perpetrated by three enslaved men – Aaron, Anthony, and Randall. Aaron and Anthony were not convicted but were lynched by Boone's sons. Randall was convicted and hung on August 1, 1856.

Good, W. J. (1958), "A story my mother told me," *Flashback,* 8(03), 25-26.

Remembering a former slave who moved from Alabama to Prairie Grove. This is a somewhat rambling tale of a white lady discovering a former slave to her family living years later in Prairie Grove. Alex Gamble moved from Alabama to Benton County, AR, in 1836 with his family and several slaves. He sold Miriah in the 1840s and knew she had married at the end of the Civil War but hadn't seen her since. His daughter discovers her in Prairie Grove in 1896, with the name Miriah Brown.

Green, Victor H. (1940). *The Negro motorist's* Green Book. New York: Victor H. Green & Co.

A national guide listing which tourist businesses would serve Black customers. It included such businesses as hotels, restaurants, service stations, and barber and beauty shops.

Hamilton, H. C. (1929, November 26), "Old ex-slave found in Colorado longs to visit his former home in Fayetteville before he dies," *The Fayetteville Weekly Democrat,* 1. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

This article is from the perspective of the author, Harriet Hamilton, and her meeting with a former Fayetteville slave, Frank Pearson. He was working as a porter at the Acacia Hotel in Colorado Springs when she spoke with him. Pearson noticed that Fayetteville, AR, was written next to her reservation and volunteered that he had lived on the John Pearson plantation, a few miles from Fayetteville, where he was born in 1857. He asked about his friends and family. He then gives the details of his purchase and the various masters his family had belonged to, as well as telling a story about how he had worked for Jesse James's family. The article ends with him, as the title suggests, longing to return to Fayetteville one more time before his death.

"Henderson School – then and now" (1977), *Flashback,* 27(03), 47-48.

A short history of Henderson School from its first inception about 1866 as Mission School through its adoption by the Fayetteville School District in 1895 and its name change in 1907.

Henry Harold Sutton. Arkansas Department of Vital Records; Little Rock, AR; *Death Certificates*; Year: 1945; Roll: 3, accessed via Ancestry.com.

Henry Harold Sutton was a student at Henderson School in Fayetteville in the late nineteenth century. He became a teacher and eventually worked at Philander Smith College in Little Rock as a professor of education, director of teacher training and certification, and as registrar – among other positions. See *The Historic Black Community of Southeast Fayetteville Historic Context Statement*, City of Fayetteville, November 2024, pp. 21-22.

Historic Fayetteville: a guide to places of historic interest in Fayetteville, Arkansas. (1950) Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Department of Journalism.

This is a pamphlet giving an overview of, as the title suggests, places of historic interest in Fayetteville, such as blocks, homes, or cemeteries. An article about Lafayette Gregg mentions that he had "three servants [who] helped the Greggs care for their beautiful home." There is also an anecdote about the home possibly having "slave running tunnels" beneath it, though it was built post-Civil War.

There is also a segment on the Fayetteville National Cemetery, where the article claims, "one Negro interred there and several women are buried beside their husbands."

"History up to Date" (1954), *Flashback*, 4(6), 1.

The second half of this article discusses the integration of Fayetteville High School in the Fall of 1954 and gives the Black population of Fayetteville and Washington County before and after the Civil War. It suggests that many local Black people migrated to Kansas after the war. It also provides additional demographic information based upon 1950 census figures.

Hogan, J. B. (2006), "Tragedy in Tin Cup," *Flashback,* 56(3), 121-126.

The article's title refers to an event from 1928, in which Lem McPherson, a local police officer, was shot and killed by Everett "Eb" Williams, and the following trial and conviction of Williams. Williams had been released from jail for bootlegging charges briefly before the murder, and pursued McPherson under the assumption that he had slept with his wife during his jail time. McPherson was shot twice with a shotgun in Tin Cup, and after evasion, capture and re-capture, Williams was finally tried and convicted of second-degree murder. Both McPherson and Williams were Black citizens who lived in Tin Cup.

Hogan, J. B. (2008), "From the Lyric to the UArk: Fayetteville's old movie houses," *Flashback*, 58(4), 165-195.

This article tells the history of Fayetteville's old movie houses, as the title suggests, but contains a few pieces of relevant information. There was an event in 1908 at The Pastime Electric Theater, where a musical troupe from Kansas was booked to perform illustrated songs and a female piano player from the theater refused to play for the group because one of the Kansas singers was Black. The event forced the theater out of business, though it is unknown if the cause of the uproar was that they booked Black performers, or from the fact that the piano player, and by extension the business, was intolerant to Black citizens.

Hogan, J. B. (2009), "Fayetteville's old schools," *Flashback*, 59*(*2), 43-52.

This is an article about many of Fayetteville's "firsts" in education, in particular the construction of various schoolhouses, and contains relevant information about Black-only schools. The first public

school to be built in town was Henderson School, a Black-only elementary school, later replaced in 1935 with the new Lincoln School, at the base of "Tin Cup," the district where Fayetteville's Black population historically lived. Lincoln's first principal is mentioned by name as Herman Caldwell. Lincoln provided public education until the desegregation of Fayetteville public schools was completed in 1965 and was later demolished in the 1970s.

Hogan, J. B. (2012), "History of Collier Drug," *Flashback*, 62(2), 51-66.

This article is, for the most part as it suggests, a history of Collier Drug. However, there is a brief segment about the company's long-term deliveryman, Louis Bryant Jr., transcribed here in its entirety: "Bryant worked as a deliveryman at Collier's for 'nearly 60 years,' becoming a virtual fixture there. Bryant, who passed away in 2007, was thought of so highly by the Collier family that they had a 'one-day store closing to celebrate and honor his life.'"

Hogan, J. B. (2013), "George Ballard: Forgotten poet of the Hollow," *Flashback*, 63(4), 147-159.

This article gives a brief history of Fayetteville poet George Ballard's life and work. Many of his poems are mentioned by name and extrapolated upon. These include "Woodrow Wilson – A Tribute," for which Ballard gained his original recognition; "A Toiler Speaks," which alongside the Wilson tribute was also published in a local newspaper; and "Centennial," a poem Ballard wrote to commemorate Fayetteville's centennial in 1928. The latter half of the article focuses on Ballard's book, "Ozark Ballards," which contains a very condescending and heavily qualified foreword by Lessie Read. Also of note are the mentions of the following: the unknown burial place of Ballard; the library at the former Henderson/Lincoln school holding Ballard's name; brief information on Tin Cup; and brief mentions of other historic Black citizens of Fayetteville, such as Lem McPherson, Lewis Bryant Jr., and James Hoover.

Hogan, J. B. (2021; updated 2023), "Oaks Cemetery," *Encyclopedia of Arkansas* entry. Accessed at https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/oaks-cemetery-16676/

This entry details the history of Oaks Cemetery, Fayetteville's traditionally Black cemetery, including the sequence of land purchases over the years. It also lists current caretakers and some caretakers from the past, noted persons buried here, and the cemetery's inclusion on the Arkansas Register of Historic Places.

Hogan, J. B. (2022), "Lynchings and Racial Terror in Pre-Civil War Washington County," *Flashback*, 72 (1), 16-19.

Although not widely known, prior to the Civil War, Washington County had lynchings and incidents of racial terror. This article documents a number of these incidents and provides sources for learning more about the topic.

Hogan, J. B. (2023), "Residency and Work Patterns of the Black Community in 1904 Fayetteville," *Flashback*, 73(2), 61-70.

Looking back at conditions leading up to those in 1904, this article lists some prominent enslavers in Fayetteville in 1860, including David Walker, Alfred Wilson, and William Wallace. It also includes demographic material in Fayetteville and Washington County from 1830 to 1880. It then provides a list of all known 1904 Black residents of Fayetteville with their addresses and occupations.

Huggard, Christopher J. and Moore, Jerry Harris (2021), "Rock Van Winkle: Black Builder of Northwest Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 80(1), 1-37.

Tells the story of Aaron Henderson "Rock" Van Winkle and his remarkable life journey from enslavement to highly skilled, well-known, and admired lumber man. Van Winkle's work and life "paralleled the rise of Northwest Arkansas from a frontier society" to a more modern one. Among his many accomplishments, in the mid-1870s, he provided the lumber and supervised its use in the building of "Old Main" on the University of Arkansas campus in Fayetteville.

Goodspeed's 1889 Arkansas history. [Reprinted Siloam Springs, AR: J. Roger Huff, 1978]

The book as a whole ignores the existence of historic Black citizens and is instead mostly a basic catalog of Arkansas "firsts." There are very, very minimal references to anything relevant, though they are listed here (all taken from the Washington County/Fayetteville sections): mention of a newspaper called *The Arkansian*, which had a stated "anti-abolitionist" agenda; mention of another newspaper called *The Radical* (described as "radically Republican") from 1867, which was later renamed to *The Mountain Echo*; and finally, there is reference to a "colored" school (most likely Henderson school), which was built "many years ago." Does give the number of students in Fayetteville at the time (602 white, 139 Black), and mentions that there was a Black teacher employed there.

Jimmye Whitfield, Interview by Patti Williams, June 7, 2023, transcript, Historic Cane Hill Museum, Cane Hill, AR.

In this interview Jimmye Whitfield talks about growing up Black in predominantly white Fayetteville during the 1940s, '50s, and '60s. Born in 1943, she was one of the first in her generation of her family to be born in the hospital. Her family's house was in "the Hollow" near Spring Street. She tells the story of how local women activists drew her mother into civil rights activism, and how Jimmye herself experienced the integration of the Wilson Park swimming pool and of Fayetteville schools. Her life was further involved in racial justice issues as her husband was a member of the Black Panthers, and the couple lived in Africa for about 25 years.

Johnson, Eric. (2005; revised by author 2015). " Before Spout Spring: African-American voices, mobility, and public memory in the landscape of Fayetteville, Arkansas, 1870-1900." Unpublished graduate school paper for course on "Gender and Race in the 19th Century United States," University of Iowa, December 2005.

In this paper, Johnson describes the physical parameters and population of the Spout Spring neighborhood, where most of Fayetteville's Black citizens lived prior to, and even after, integration. Fayetteville's schools integrated between 1954 and 1965. Johnson's paper is concerned with Black history being "largely excluded from an otherwise expansive and well documented local storehouse of public memory." To show the "elision" of the local Black experience relative to the overall community, two memorials are compared. The first is that of well-known and popular musician Ralph "Buddy" Hayes. A small park dedicated to him and with little adornment is shown in contrast to the local Confederate Cemetery with its tall soldier monument looking down over the land where the descendants of slaves still live. Much of the latter part of the paper discusses cases from the WPA former slave narratives from the 1930s, particularly those collected by local author Zillah Cross Peel. Here Johnson stresses the gap between Mrs. Peel's privileged world with the interviewees who often seem to be relating what they think the interviewer wants to hear rather than how things really were.

Johnson, Eric. (2017), "Spout Spring in Memory and History," *Flashback*, 67(1)), 3-16.

In this article, Johnson focuses on the "notions of collective and cultural memory" as it applies to the traditionally Black Spout Spring neighborhood. Often referring to a 1970 "anthropological

monograph" by Peter S. Kunkel and Sara Sue Kenard, which uses invented names for the people and locales of Fayetteville. Johnson's article suggests people, places, and events that when remembered make Fayetteville's "cultural memory more inclusive" and a way for the town to live up to its image of itself as providing "a more peaceful and tolerant (if rigidly hierarchical) racial climate for its African-American citizens.

Jones, Kelly Houston (2017), "Doubtless Guilt: Lynching and Slaves in Antebellum Arkansas," in Lancaster, Guy, editor, *Bullets and Fire: Lynching and Authority in Arkansas, 1840-1950*, Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 17-34.

This book consists of essays written by various authors and provides information about lynchings and racial terror in Arkansas during the peak years of 1840-1950. The article by Kelly Houston Jones (cited above) provides details on such cases in Northwest Arkansas. See pp. 22 and 27-28 for specific local material.

Jordon, T. E. (1993), "The Federal Writers' Project in Washington County, Part Two," *Flashback*, 43(3), 39-44.

Discusses six ex-slave narratives from Washington County, five done by local writer Zillah Cross Peel of the Federal Writer's Project. Includes excerpts from the narratives of "Doc" Flowers and Aunt Jinney Flowers of Lincoln, AR; Aunt Susie King from near Cane Hill; Gate-eye Fisher from near Lincoln; Seaba Tuttle from near Richland; and Adeline Blakely of Fayetteville.

Kunkel, Peter, Kennard, Sara. S. (1971). *Spout Spring: a Black community.* New York & London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

A case study in cultural anthropology. As stated in the Foreword, this book is "a case study of a kind of Black community in the United States about which relatively little has been written." In order to preserve the anonymity of the community and write about the citizens within it, Kunkel and Kennard use an elaborate renaming technique to partially hide the fact that the study is about the African-American community located in the Tin Cup, Hollow, or Spout Spring area in Fayetteville, AR.

Without going into the many re-namings in the book, Kunkel and Kennard present a structured look at the Black community in the city of Sequoyah, which is, as stated before, a thinly disguised Fayetteville. The book covers many areas of life for African Americans in "Sequoyah," including sections on Sequoyah and the Black Community, Making a Living, Families and Households, Non-Kin Groups, Leadership and Culture, among other topics. Even for those who are familiar with the real town behind the invented Sequoyah, *Spout Spring* is a worthwhile read, giving many insights into the history and heritage of the Black community in this small southern town.

Lamy, Obed (2021). *Once Forgotten*, documentary, racial lynchings in 1856 Fayetteville, AR, Community Remembrance Project.

This documentary covers the work of the Community Remembrance Project, a local, diverse coalition of people working to honor the memory of three young, enslaved men who were lynched in 1856. Charges against two of the young men had been dropped, but they were lynched by a local mob. The third man was denied an appeal to his conviction and was summarily hanged, without further recourse, by the state.

Lankford, G. E. and Federal Writers' Project (2003). *Bearing witness: memories of Arkansas slavery: narratives from the 1930s WPA collections*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press.

Starting in 1936, the Federal Writers' Project began collecting narratives from former slaves. Lankford has put together the narratives from Arkansas in a very readable format in this book. He has arranged them by county. There are six from Washington County: Aunt Adeline Blakely, Joe Bean, John A. Holt, Susie King, R.C. Smith, and Seabe Tuttle.

"Last local slaves" (1936, June 11), *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*. Can be found in a vertical file titled "Fayetteville – History – Black community" at the Fayetteville Public Library, Fayetteville, AR. It is also available online: go to https://5158.lucideahost.com/argus/final/Portal/Default.aspx?lang=en-US and search for "The Old South."

This photo was made ca. 1910 by Burch Grabill. It depicts Fayetteville's last surviving ex-slaves: Willis Pettigrew, Sam Van Winkle, Charlie Richardson, Squire Jehagen, and Nick Clemmons. It gives brief stories for each of the men, such as the type of work they sought after their freedom. It also appeared in the WCHS's *Flashback*, October 1958, p. 55.

Leflar, Robert A. (1972). *The first 100 years: centennial history of the University of Arkansas.* Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Foundation.

This is a very detailed book about the first one hundred years of the University of Arkansas. There is a long and comprehensive chapter on the history of Black colleges affiliated with the university, and an account of the long, bureaucratic, and legally complicated road to allow Blacks on the main campus, which was finally resolved when Silas Hunt was admitted into the Law School in 1948. A few other Black students would follow him that year, and after Hunt's death due to tuberculosis, would become the first Black students to graduate. There is a great deal of information on other "firsts" associated with the subject of Black students and Black culture, and many interesting and humorous anecdotes about the integration of the university, such as the circumstances of the disappearance of the railing the Black students were required to sit in during their instruction.

Mary Lucile Lewis Yoe, Interview by David Edwards, June 5, 2001, transcript, Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

In this two-part, twenty-four page interview, Mrs. Yoe tells about life in Fayetteville primarily during the 1920s, '30s, and '40s. She mentions the small number of Black families living in town and discusses the limitations they had in work and residences due to segregation. She recalls the integration of Fayetteville High School in 1954 and notes the lack of hostility to desegregation on the part of local families and students. She makes a brief reference to a small Black community on North Highway 71 (just to the south of what would become North Street) – this being the small Red Hill neighborhood that was essentially wiped out by the widening of the highway in the late 1920s.

Matthews, Margaret Dutton (1991), "Fond Memories of Sarah Morton," *Flashback*, 41(1), 26-30.

Provides a brief history of formerly enslaved woman Sarah Morton, who was an important part of several families before and after emancipation. Among these families were those of William Morton, Tandy Kidd, William M. Sherman, and Hobart (Harry) Dutton. Also discussed, on page 29, are possible origins of the name Tin Cup – used to describe the historic Black section of Fayetteville.

McConnell, Lloyd (1966), "Free Slave" in "Old Circuit Court Records," *Flashback*, 16(4), 14.

Provides court information from November 7, 1851, when Peter Mankins, Sr., set free the enslaved man, Phillip (about 60 years old). This process was known as manumission. Also in the records is the July 7, 1851, manumission of William, aged 55, by Peter Mankins, Jr.

McConnell, Lloyd (1968), "The Boones of Washington County," *Flashback*, 18(4), 25-27.

This article gives a brief history of Dr. James Boone, an immigrant from Tennessee, and his family, including sons Benjamin and Lafayette. Pages 25 and 27 also have passing references to the death of James Boone, purportedly at the hands of the enslaved men Aaron, Anthony and Randall.

McColloch, Lacy P. (1969), "Ex-Slave Visits the Lacy Family," *Flashback*, 19(4), 27-29.

This story tells of the 1904 visit of Fannie Hill to the Lacy families in Cane Hill, AR, and Santa Ana, CA. Hill had been enslaved to the Lacy families before emancipation. The article includes photos of her with different members of the families and provides a list of 44 family members who turned out to welcome and visit her.

Moneyhon, Carl H. (2024), " Slavery," *The encyclopedia of Arkansas history and culture*. Retrieved November 2014, from http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net. [Note: Updated, March 15, 2024.]

Gives a general overview of slavery in Arkansas, from its origins to legal protection and economic implications, as well as information on the average life and culture of a slave, and population/census.

Moneyhon, Carl H. (1999), "The slave family in Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly,* 58(1), 24-44.

The article begins with general history on slave families – that they were rare because in larger plantations, members of would-be families were often separated and traded. In Arkansas, however, since slaveholdings of one owner were smaller, family units were more distinct, with children living together with their parents. Researchers think these families usually formed from not only the master's desires, but from the slaves' own interests. Marriages were performed with owners and members of slave communities. Slave families were, according to the author, "one of the most important survival mechanisms for slaves" as they provided "companionship, love, sexual gratification, and sympathetic understanding of his suffering."

Morgan, Gordon D. (1973). *Black Hillbillies of the Arkansas Ozarks*, Fayetteville, AR: Department of Sociology, University of Arkansas.

Tells the story of Black country people living in the northern Arkansas Ozarks. Morgan provides several highly informative charts showing living patterns in the area and compiles data from several counties in the north of Arkansas. (See other entries for Morgan, G. D., below)

Morgan, Gordon D., & Kunkel, Peter. (1973), "Arkansas' Ozark Mountain Blacks: an introduction," *Phylon* (1960-2002), 34(3), 283-288. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/274187

This article includes population statistics for Arkansas' Ozark counties from1840 until 1970. Of the counties studied, Washington County had the largest African-American population. There is also discussion about the major cultural differences between the communities of white and Black hill people. Although there is little specifically on Washington County, the information on the characteristics of African -American people living in the mountain areas of the Ozarks provides good background.

Morgan, Gordon D., & Preston, Izola M. (1978, July 16), "History of black community interwoven with city's," *The Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville], sec. E : 39. Can be found in a vertical file titled "Fayetteville – History – Black community" at the Fayetteville Public Library, Fayetteville, AR.

The article, from the sesquicentennial edition of the paper, is a fairly comprehensive history of African Americans in Fayetteville. It claims that they were among the original immigrants to the area, be they former explorers with de Soto, or runaways hiding out in one of the area's many caves and caverns.

The Ozarks never had a large number of slaves, but Washington County had among the largest population in the state, at 1,500 in 1850. After the Civil War, many freed slaves left the area, but some stayed with their former families or got jobs, though jobs were not very good or abundant.

Before the Black population became centered in Fayetteville, there were populations in Cane Hill, Lincoln, Summers, Cincinnati, and Harris. Before 1930, the Fayetteville Black population may not have always been centered in Tin Cup, but instead north of North Street, towards Lake Fayetteville. The article goes on to give lots of cultural information about things such as church life, recreations, and trends for all ages. It also mentions the effects of WWI and the Great Depression on the Black community.

Morgan, Gordon D. (1994), "Lincoln: An Un-Gray Town in Washington County," *Flashback*, 43(4), 20-30.

Tells the story of a lost Black community in Lincoln, AR. Includes the story of Billy Barker, the last Black citizen of Lincoln.

Morgan, Izola Preston and Morgan, Gordon D. (1999), "Henry Harold Sutton: Northwest Arkansas' First Black Educator," *Flashback,* 49(3), 24-38.

Sutton was born in Fayetteville and was the first graduate of Henderson School. A lifelong educator, he graduated from Philander Smith College in Little Rock. He taught at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama as well as back home at his alma mater Philander Smith College.

Morgan, Marian B. and Preston, Izola (1993). *The Arkansas African-American Quizbook*. Cane Hill, AR: Arc Press.

This 37-page pamphlet presents 133 questions about Black life in Arkansas. Questions are offered in eight areas: Names, Definitions & Acronyms; Education in Arkansas; Laws, Bills, Cases & Codes; Organizations, Commissions & Groups; Events & Milestones; Famous Arkansas Places; Arkansas History Makers; and Newspapers, Books & Other Publications. Answers to the questions are provided in a back section, as well as an Index and a Selected Bibliography.

Morgan, Gordon D., & Preston, Izola M. (2010), "Oak Cemetery inventory," *Flashback,* 60(3), 85-90.

An inventory of the Oak Cemetery, where the article notes some former slaves are buried.

The Morning News, compiler (1996). *Washington County: A pictorial look at our past*. Springdale, AR: *The Morning News.*

This book is a compilation of historic photographs from around Washington County compiled by *The Morning News*. There is a photograph of an old slave quarters house in Tuttle, AR, and many photographs depicting a post-Civil War Washington County, but not much else of relevance.

"Moving picture man leaves by request" (1908, September 18). *The Springdale News*, Springdale, AR.

This is an article about a Fayetteville man, C. G. Krause, who ran an open-air motion picture show. Krause fired his white piano player and hired a Black man to take her place. The incident incited a mob and caused Krause to leave town on advice from the city businessmen.

Neal, James C. (1989). *History of Washington County*. Springdale, AR: Shiloh Museum of Ozark History.

This is a comprehensive history of Washington County. There is a section in Chapter 3 titled "Black People," and a segment in Chapter 5 called "Black Schools." There's a segment called "Unique Black Cultural Heritage" in Chapter 6, which has information on Tin Cup, Fayetteville's prominent Black citizens such as George Ballard, and details about Black life including schools, churches, movie theaters,

the war, organizations, and migration. The book also has an extensive surname index.

"Negro spends night at Springdale first time in history of the county" (1931, September 5), *The Fayetteville Weekly Democrat,* 1. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

A somewhat humorous report about the first time a free Black person spent the night in Springdale, which at the time, like Rogers, had an unofficial "rule" that people of color were not allowed to spend a night in the city, or even work as a servant, for that matter. The man's name was Rector Buchanan, of Van Buren, and he was picked up by a police officer after he was discovered sleeping near a railroad. The officers let him stay the night in the city jail, believing it to be the safest place for him, and he was charged with no crime.

The Negro travelers' Green Book (1956). To access, go to https://sc.edu/about/offices_and_divisions/university_libraries/browse/digital_collections/index.php and search digital collections for "Green Book."

The *Green Book* was published in 1936-1964. This searchable edition includes two places in Washington County: Mrs. S. Manuel Tourist Home (313 N. Olive) and N. Smith Tourist Home (259 E. Center). It is available through the University of South Carolina's digital library.

"Negro's skull found here but excitement fades as 'No Foul Play' reported" (1941, February 6), *The Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville], 6. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

A strange report of a skull, believed to be that of a Black person's, which was found in "the water" by children. It was later found that the skull was one used for medical research that had somehow found its way into the creek.

The Northwest Arkansas Times, compiler (2010). *The northwest Arkansas memories: Northwest Arkansas Times celebrates 150 years*. Battleground, WA: Pediment Publishing.

This book is a collection of photos compiled by the *Northwest Arkansas Times*, accompanied by brief annotations. There are a few relevant photos, such as a photo of Henderson school children and their teachers, and a photo of Silas Hunt, the first Black student to attend the University of Arkansas Law School, with tidbits of information on both.

"Only Yesterday: Arrest of Runaway Negroes" (1975), *Flashback*, 25(1), 39.

From the July 2, 1859, issue of the *Fayetteville Arkansian*, this article tells the story of three men who escaped their enslavement but were found in a thicket in the Mount Comfort area. In the ensuing confrontation, one of the men, named Bob, was shot dead. The other two enslaved men, one of whom was named Cameron, were also wounded and then jailed. The story does not tell of their ultimate fate.

Pierce, Michael (2022). *The Nelson Hackett Project*, website, accessed at the following location: https://nelsonhackettproject.uark.edu/. (Also see entry below.)

This website documents the life of enslaved man Nelson Hackett who escaped from Arkansas only to be tracked to Canada and extradited back to the United States in a case that became an international incident. According to the website: "The Nelson Hackett Project presents Hackett's story not only to document a single man's incredible struggle but also to explore how that one man activated a trans-Atlantic and biracial network of activists working to undermine the institution of slavery.

Hackett's struggle demonstrates how the actions of enslaved individuals forced officials throughout the entire Atlantic world to confront the very thing that most of them wanted to ignore—the institution of chattel slavery." (See also Zorn, R. J., below.)

Pierce, Michael (2021), "UofA's Nelson Hackett Project: One Man's Struggle for Freedom," *Flashback*, 71(1), 41-47.

Pierce's article is a preliminary report on *The Nelson Hackett Project*, which he uploaded to the internet in 2022.

"Policeman Provided Colored Community" (September 6, 1923), *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, 1.

This newspaper story tells of the hiring of Sid Jackson as a policeman for the historically Black section of Fayetteville known as Tin Cup (it is also sometimes known as Big Spring, Spout Spring, and East Fayetteville). Jackson is the first known Black police officer in Fayetteville. He was replaced in the later 1920s by Lem McPherson who was killed in the line of duty in April 1928.

Preston, Izola (1990). *Arkansas Black Heritage: A Tour of Historical Sites.* New Scholars Press & Research.

As pointed out by Preston, this is "a descriptive and historical study of African-American people and their contribution to the culture of Arkansas." Among the counties included in this 71-page report are Washington, Crawford, Sebastian, and Garland.

Preston, Izola (1990), "Sam Young: Former Slave of Fayetteville," *Flashback*, 40(2), 32-34.

Summarizes an unspecified local newspaper article from 1903 about Sam Young, a formerly enslaved man who arrived in Fayetteville sometime after the Civil War and lived the remainder of his life in the town's "East Community." Young was a member of the St. James Methodist Church and married a woman named Martha, who had also been enslaved. The personal story and history of Sam Young and his wife Martha are given. One of his grandsons was Sherman Morgan, World War II veteran and popular tavern owner. Sam gggYoung died in 1933 and his wife Martha in 1935. They are both buried in historic Oaks Cemetery.

Preston, Izola, Ed. D. (1989), "Lost Blacks of Washington County, 1891-1901," *Flashback*, 39(3), 25-28.

Provides a list of the number of Black teachers in Washington County from 1891-1901. Notes that Fayetteville and Cane Hill were the "two main centers of Black population in the county during this time. Discusses "gray" (all white) towns in the area that were deemed to be intent on "blotting out" their Black history and population.

R. N. (only identification), "Making Our City Beautiful" (February 6, 1922), *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, 1.

The author, identified only by the initials R. N., urges "uptown citizens" to stop "dumping their rubbish and filth in Tin Cup," the historically Black Fayetteville neighborhood. "The citizens of Tin Cup," he admonishes his audience, "contain in their make up as much civic pride as some of our 'active citizens.'" He says that the residents of Tin Cup have never "been able to secure the help of the mayor, council or any city officials in improving that section."

Read, Lessie Stringfellow. (n.d.). "Clara Hayes collects glass and china." *Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville]

A story about Clara Hayes, her collection of glass and china, her home, and her garden. Gives a brief family history. (Article from vertical file, Fayetteville Public Library Fayetteville, AR.)

Read, Lessie Stringfellow (1988), "A Tribute to Adeline Blakely," *Flashback*, 38(2), 37-38.

Written around 1943 by Read, a well-known local journalist and editor, this short article recounts Adeline Blakely's move from the Blakely family to the related Hudgins family. It includes a brief description of Blakely's publicized funeral service in otherwise all white Evergreen Cemetery.

"Ridge Slaves Integrate Shiloh Church" (1965), *Flashback*, 15(3), 23-24.

In July 1856, because of their baptism, Brother Phillips and Mary, a man and woman enslaved by Sarah Ridge, were "received" by the Regular Baptist Church of Shiloh. Sarah Ridge was the widow of John Ridge, one of the signers of the Treaty of New Echota which led to the Trail of Tears and his being killed in a resulting Cherokee blood feud. In September 1856, also because of her baptism, Phyllis, a woman enslaved by James McKisick, was received by the Regular Baptist Church of Shiloh.

Riffel, B. E. (2005), "A celebration of endurance: Fayetteville's St. James United Methodist Church," *Flashback,* 55(4), 159-178.

This is an informative article about St. James Methodist, its early history, and some of its early members. It also notes how the emergence of the church coincided with the establishment of public education. Mention is made of different names for the Black areas the church served: "Red Hill District," "Tin Cup," and the Botefuhr neighborhood.

Robinson, D. (n.d.). "Bob Kidd Lake." *Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville].

Story about a lake outside of Lincoln, AR, and its renaming to Bob Kidd Lake. "Bob" was the actual given name of an ex-slave who had worked and owned land near the lake. From the vertical file, Fayetteville Public Library, Fayetteville, AR.

Robinson, D. (1995, May 16), "Research offers history of slavery in Washington County," *Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville], p. A3.

Article about the research on Washington County slavery done by University of Arkansas graduate student Ted Smith. Smith reported that the average slaveholder in the 1800s held about five slaves, but the vast majority only owned one. Slaves were most likely used to help with farming. Slaves were responsible for 40-50 percent of the county's agriculture, but not cotton; mostly corn, wheat, potatoes, and livestock were cultivated. However, there is no evidence that slaves were treated any better here than other areas, as has frequently been said.

Rothrock, Thomas (1967), "James Hoover," *Flashback,* 17(3), 15-17.

This is a biography of James Hoover, long-time janitor at Fayetteville City Hospital.

"Row between white boys and Negroes at the merry-go-round" (1896, September 25), *The Springdale News*, Springdale, AR, 1-4.

Brief report on incident.

Russell, Conrad (1975), "Bean Cemetery," *Flashback,* 25(3), 13-18.

Located at the east edge of Lincoln on Hwy 62, Bean Cemetery is a burial site for Black people of Lincoln, Summers, and Cane Hill. It is believed [in 1975, at the time of this article] to be more than 100 years old. The article includes information on the colony settlement of Summers and the Happy Hollow settlement of Cane Hill, including some of their activities and some of the families buried in the

cemetery. Some of the professions listed: farmer, horse trainer, Cane Hill Mill worker, nurse (and mid-wife), butcher, and schoolmaster.

"Sam Hawkins, over 100 years old, dies" (1949, October), *The Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville], 6.

Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

Basically, this is an obituary for former slave Sam Hawkins, as well as biographical information.

Simpson, Ethel C. (1990). *Image and reflection: A pictorial history of the University of Arkansas*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press.

This book is a collection of photographs taken throughout the history of the University of Arkansas. There are a few relevant photos, such as photos and tidbits of information on Silas Hunt, Jackie C. Shropshire, George W. Haley, and George Howard Jr., who were among the first Black students to attend the university.

Smith, Ted J. (1995). "Slavery in Washington County, Arkansas, 1828-1861." Master's Thesis, University of Arkansas.

This thesis examines slave ownership in Washington County in the pre-Civil War years. It covers the slave-owning agricultural economy, noting the differences between "upland" farming and the plantation economy of the Lower South. It focuses on slave owners and their leadership roles in developing the area, and addresses their wealth as derived from slave labor. Included are statistics on the population of immigrants to the county, on slaveholders and on enslaved people, and on agricultural production of crops and livestock as well as manufacturing. Of particular interest is one lengthy chapter devoted to describing the lives of enslaved people. The thesis includes an extensive bibliography.

Stone, Patricia (2000). "The abandonment of Happy Hollow: An African-American colony in Cane Hill, Arkansas, 1860-1950," 1-20.

This paper was written for a history class at the University of Arkansas and gives an overview of African-American history in Washington County from Civil War days forward. After the lengthy overview, Stone focuses on the Happy Hollow Colony of African Americans that existed near the community of Cane Hill in far western Washington County. Stone gives reasons why Happy Hollow eventually declined and most of its Black citizens moved to Fayetteville, the county seat. The primary reason given for this decline is the closing of railroad lines that adversely affected farming in the area. African Americans from Happy Hollow moved to Fayetteville to pursue better job opportunities and to get education for their children. (Page 13 is missing.)

Stone, Patricia (2003). "The abandonment of Happy Hollow: An African-American colony in Cane Hill, Arkansas, 1860-1950." Thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of Arkansas in candidacy for the Degree of Master of Arts (Unpublished thesis). University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

Patricia Stone expanded her 2000 paper on the same topic for her M.A. Thesis in history at the University of Arkansas from 20 to 69 pages. Nearly one half of the thesis is devoted to an overall description of the history of African Americans in Arkansas with some descriptions of the environment for Blacks in Cane Hill and western Washington County. Using case studies, Stone also expands on the themes of relocation from her earlier paper, emphasizing the impact of the demise of the railroad in the

area and the need for residents to move to Fayetteville to find work and to have educational opportunities for their children. Appendices of maps and statistics expand on the thesis topic.

"Taylor's old stable and Byrnside's Tavern" (1894, June 28), *The Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

An article in part about the construction of Isaac Taylor's new stable, which would replace the old stable described by the townsfolk at the time as an "eye sore." The article mentions Fayetteville's oldest citizen at the time, Champ Taylor, who was a former slave of James Byrnside, and his eagerness to work on the construction of the new stable. It also mentions the Byrnside Tavern, which was an inn and tavern located in town, as having many "negroes" as its workers.

Thomas, M. (1997, October 29), "Fly in the buttermilk," *The Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville]. Can be found in a vertical file titled "Fayetteville – History – Black Community" at the Fayetteville Public Library. Fayetteville, AR.

An article about Betty Hayes Davis, "the only black Wave-Women accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services – of 29 women to graduate from Recruit Training Company 8, platoon I, at the U.S. Naval Training Center in Great Lakes, III." The article interviews her and details the discrimination she faced in the services as a nurse, and her life in general. She was born in Fayetteville, sometime around the 1920s.

"Twin Oaks Cemetery, Fayetteville" (1958), *Flashback*, 8(6), 55.

This article provides a select list of people buried in what is now known as Oaks Cemetery, including several Black military veterans and a number of older Black citizens. The article includes a photo of "Fayetteville's Last Surviving Ex-Slaves," taken in 1910 and originally titled "The Old South." These men include Willis Pettigrew, Sam Van Winkle, Charlie Richardson, Squire Jehagen, and Nick Clemmons.

"Two Dumping Grounds Given for Ashes, Cans" (April 13, 1922), *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, 1.

This is a follow-up newspaper article to a prior story about citizens dumping their trash in Tin Cup, the historically Black section of town (see "Making Our City Beautiful"). This article suggests that trash with a "small proportion of cans" may be dumped behind the house and restaurant of J. W. Webb. Another acceptable dump area was on the property of Sam Young, who himself was "equipped to do … hauling."

"Uncle Gus Lewis recalls building of oldest house" (1927, November 25), *The Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, 1. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, Transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

An article about a house frame that remained on south East Street in Fayetteville and the story of its construction in 1855. It was the oldest house left in Fayetteville in some form at the time of the article's writing. "Uncle Gus" recalls that the house was built by "…his father, Joseph Lewis, his brother, Rowland, himself, an old Negro named Alf and a small Negro boy who hewed the logs and put the house together."

"Uncle Sam Young last ex-slave, but two, passes" (1931, January 31), *The Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, 6. Can be found in the book *Selected articles from Arkansas & Fayetteville newspapers 1820s-1970s concerning Fayetteville and the surrounding area*, Transcribed and compiled by Steve Erwin, located at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

Primarily the obituary of "Uncle" Sam Young, said to be the last living former slave, except for his wife, "Aunt" Martha Young and "Aunt" Ann Barnett, in Washington County. He was said to be more than 100 years of age at the time of his passing.

Uncredited (ca. 1938-1940). "Lincoln School (colored)."

This article, found in the Lessie Stringfellow Read collection in the University of Arkansas Special Collections, was almost certainly written by Read. Lessie Stringfellow Read was a long-time editor of the *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*/*Northwest Arkansas Times*. The article is a description of the "new" Lincoln School for African Americans in Fayetteville. Constructed in 1936, Lincoln School served Fayetteville's African-American children in grades 1-6, elementary school, and 7-9, junior high school. At the time of the writing, Read tells us that Fayetteville had "99 Negro families" and that Lincoln School had an enrollment of 77 children.

Wade, Helen Freyschlag (1991), "Aunt Sarah," *Flashback*, 41(3), 21-22.

The author's memories of Aunt Sarah Morton. A brief, follow-up to the article noted above referencing: Matthews, Margaret Dutton, "Fond Memories of Sarah Morton" (1991), *Flashback*, 41(1), 26-30

Wappel, Anthony J., with Drummond, Judy, and Holcomb, Angela (2008), "Slaves and Free Men of Color of Washington County, Arkansas, 1829-1865," *Flashback*, 58(2), 83-114.

Uses county records to compile an extensive list of transfer of claimed ownership for enslaved people. The information includes names, grantor (seller), grantee (buyer), record book, and date. Covers the years from 1829 to 1865.

Wappel, Anthony J. & Simpson, Ethel C. (2008). *Once upon Dickson: an illustrated history, 1868-2000*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Special Collections Department.

A book very similar in style to *Fayetteville: A Pictorial History*, except it focuses more specifically on the history of Dickson Street. Surprisingly few relevant tidbits, but there are references to the location of "Tin Cup," as well as its historic population. There is also a very brief blurb about Lewis Bryant Jr., the long-time deliveryman for Collier's Drug.

Wappel, Anthony J. (2014), "Milley: A tribute to a Washington County pauper," *Flashback*, 64(2), 51-58.

Using Washington County Records, Wappel presents the story of Milley, a woman of color; whether she was a freed woman or enslaved is not known, although the latter is the most likely. Milley was a pauper, and records from 1843 until her death in 1848 enumerate the families she lived with and also give the amount of money or goods that were provided by the county to the families for taking care of this aged woman.

Washington County Retired Teachers Association (AR) compiler (1986). *School days, school days: the history of education in Washington County, 1830-1950*. Fayetteville(?), AR: Washington County Teachers Association.

This is a rather comprehensive book on historic schools in Washington County. The book contains a

chapter on historical all-Black schools. There is a good amount of known information on "The Mission School for Negroes Only," later re-named Henderson, including a list of its teachers, and a write up on "Yankee School Marms." This was a somewhat derogatory name for the teachers who taught in the early Black schools who had come to Arkansas from the North. There is also a good amount on Fayetteville's other all-Black school, Lincoln, which was built to replace Henderson, also including a list of its teachers. In addition, the chapter provides some information that may be hard to come by in other books or articles on the topic: the names and locations of other historic schools in the county that were thought to be all Black. Cane Hill school for Blacks was located in Cane Hill, and a fair amount of information on it is given. There was also thought to be a school in Cincinnati, in the far northwestern corner of the county, but little is known about it. Similarly, there was thought to be another school in Hogeye, but, again, little is known about it. Harris School for Blacks, Douglas School, and an all-Black school in Lincoln, AR (not to be confused with Fayetteville's Lincoln school), were said to open only for a few months a year, or when budgeting allowed. In the cases of Harris and Douglas, there are testimony from former teacher Eula Claypool and a photograph of another former teacher, Louise Black Blackburn. The chapter closes out with information on the influx/outflux of the Black population throughout these schools' histories, as well as some speculation on unknown schools and the reasons Black citizens may have moved in or out of town.

Washington County Slave Schedules. *1850 slave schedule.* Fayetteville, AR.

Slave schedule for Washington County, available in vertical file at the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

Williams, O. E. (1960), "Trial of Three Slaves for the Murder of Doctor James Boone," *Flashback*, 10(2), 7-13.

This article includes the 1856 trial transcripts of the accused killers of James Boone: enslaved men Aaron, Anthony, and Randall. Aaron and Anthony were not convicted but were lynched by Boone's sons. Randall was convicted and hung on August 1, 1856. It repeats the account of this case from Goodspeed's 1889 *History of Washington County* – the only known source to question the story of Aaron's and Anthony's lynching.

Wilson, Mrs. Lura (courtesy of) (1971), "Slave Woman's Silver Coin," *Flashback*, 21(2), p. 8.

Gives a brief history of the woman Patsy who was enslaved by and lived with the Alfred R. King family from the 1840s until her death sometime after the Civil War. She was said to be superstitious and always carried a silver half-dollar coin on her person to ward off evil. The coin was found in her stocking after her death and, as of the writing of this article in 1971, it was still in the possession of the King family.

Windon, Katrina (2022), "Solid People in Unstable Times: Tabitha and William Taylor of Fayetteville, Arkansas," *Flashback*, 72(4), 146-159.

This article tells the story of the Taylors, a couple and both formerly enslaved, who were prominent members of Fayetteville's Black community for decades. The Taylors raised five children, owned property and were members of the St. James Methodist Church. They had a restaurant on the Fayetteville Square in the 1880s. William was later the chief porter for a local drug store, and they were both active in civic and church organizations. William Taylor died in 1912 and Tabitha Taylor passed in 1930. They are both buried in Fayetteville's historic Oaks Cemetery.

Wood, Ron (2010, December 27), "Bryant lives life devoted to others." Retrieved from http://www.nwaonline.com/news/2010/dec/27/bryant-lives-life-devoted-others/?print
An article on Jessie Bryant, a long-time Fayetteville resident, her education, marriage to Louis Bryant,

and death of her son, Louis Jr., an Arkansas State Trooper. Bryant helped establish the NWA Free Health and Dental Center in 1985, served 17 years on the Quorum Court, and volunteered at LifeSource International.

Works Projects Administration (2004, October 11). The project Gutenberg EBook of "Slave narratives: a folk history of slavery in the United States from interviews with former slaves," Volume II, Arkansas narratives, Part 2. Retrieved from http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13700/13700-h/13700-h.htm

In this part of the narratives is an interview by Mrs. Zillah Cross Peel of ex-slave Doc Flowers of Lincoln.

Wright, Steve and Carter, Deane G. (1966), "Negro Cemetery at Lincoln, Arkansas," *Flashback*, 16(2), 32.

This short article gives the location of this historic and almost forgotten cemetery and lists all the burials that were identified at the time.

Zorn, Roman J. (1957). "An Arkansas fugitive slave incident and its international repercussions," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly,* 26(2), 139-149.

Tells the story of escaped slave Nelson Hackett of Fayetteville who stole a horse from his owner, Alfred Wallace, and over six weeks journeyed to a "colored refugee settlement" at Sandwich, Canada. He was later extradited from Canada. This is cited as the first-time criminal extradition had been used to retrieve a fugitive slave. The implications of this were menacing to antislavery movements as slaves could be recovered by extradition due to this precedent.