

Survey of the Coleman Slave Cemetery (23SL2333) in Wildwood, St. Louis County, Missouri



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The City of Wildwood

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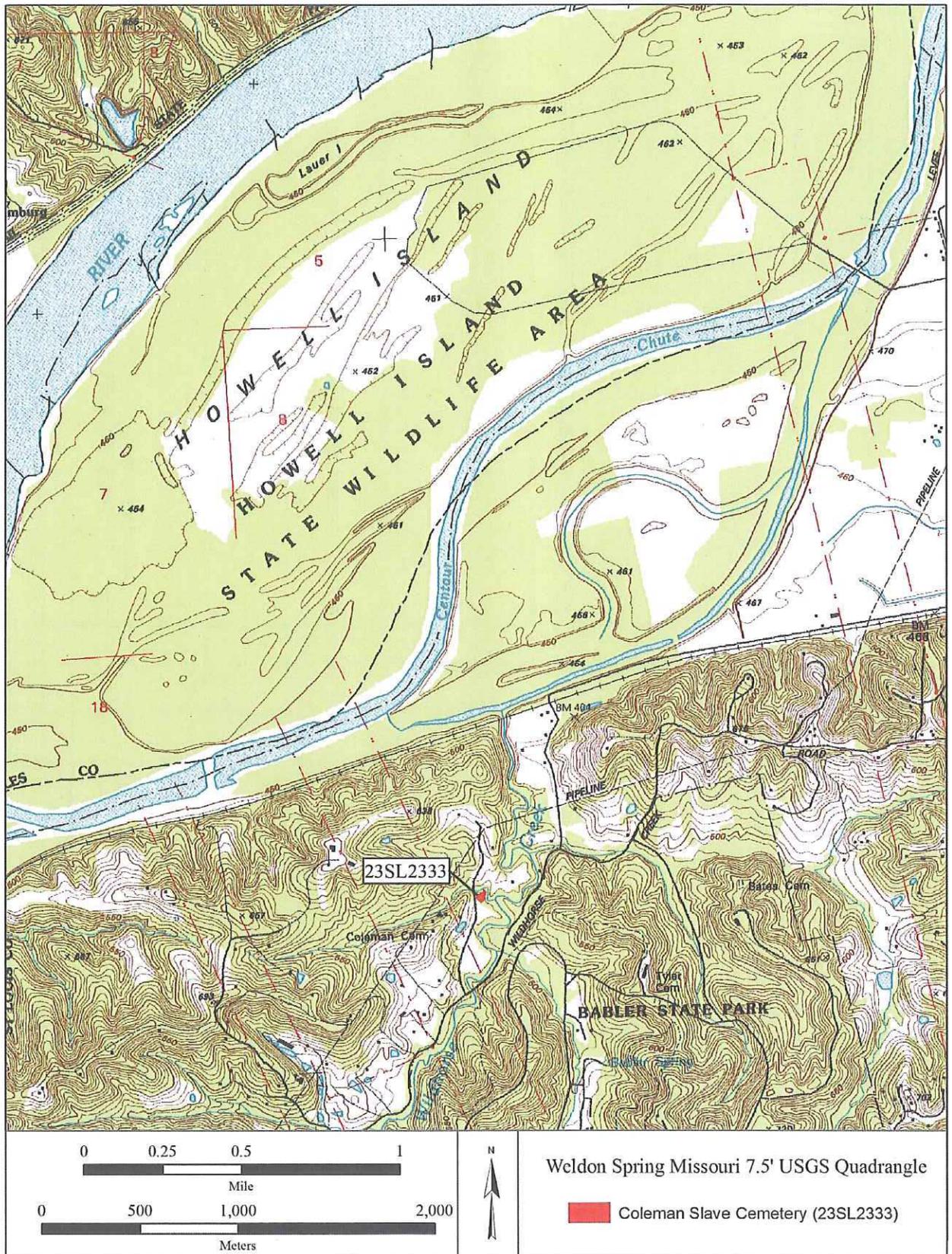
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INTRODUCTION

The City of Wildwood has requested that archival research, a survey and documentation be conducted of a reported slave cemetery located along Old Slave Road in St. Louis County, Missouri. Overall, the project area covers approximately 0.6 acres. It lies in Landgrant 1956 of Township 45N, Range 3E as depicted on the Weldon Springs 7.5' USGS quadrangle (Figure 1). The landowner graciously granted access and allowed for documentation of the visible grave markers on January 11, 2013.

The suspected slave cemetery was confirmed during the January 11th field investigations. It was situated on a terrace bordered on the north and east by an intermittent stream that empties into Wildhorse Creek, about 60 meters further to the east. A total of 61 upright limestone slabs marked the graves; however, some of these stones may have been placed at the foot of the grave as well as at its head so this may not represent the total number of actual graves at the site. In addition, the burial area was in a wooded setting covered with fallen leaves and undergrowth; therefore, more markers may be present. Further there likely exist unmarked graves. No inscriptions are present on the markers so it is unknown whom is buried at the location, but the cemetery was probably used by the slaves of the Reverend Robert Coleman, and later those of his sons William and Robert G. The cemetery would have been utilized during the latter part of the Antebellum Period (the time before the Civil War) and may have continued to be used, at least for a short time, after the war.

Figure 1: Location of Coleman Slave Cemetery



PREVIOUS CULTURAL RESOURCE INVESTIGATIONS

A search of the records of the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in Jefferson City, Missouri was completed on January 15, 2013. The search revealed that one archaeological survey (SL-128) has been conducted, and no archaeological sites have been recorded, within the current project area (Figure 2). However, two additional surveys were conducted and 25 sites have been recorded within one mile of the current tract (Figure 2). These sites and surveys are summarized on Table 1.

Survey SL-128 was conducted of the Wildhorse Creek drainage basin in 1988-89 by University of Missouri-St. Louis (UMSL) Archaeological Survey (Harl et al. 1990). The reconnaissance survey was conducted to determine prehistoric and historic use of the area and to create a data base to be used for the planning of future development in the Wildhorse Creek basin. During the survey, 10 previously recorded archaeological sites were revisited and 71 new sites were identified. Of these, 14 were historic sites, 56 prehistoric and 11 were determined to have both a historic and prehistoric affiliation. The SL-128 survey area included the current project tract and local folklore indicated that a slave cemetery was present. The landowner at that time, however, denied access to the area so the claim could not be verified.

Figure 2: Archaeological Sites and Surveys in and Within One Mile of Project Area
(State Historic Preservation Office 2013)

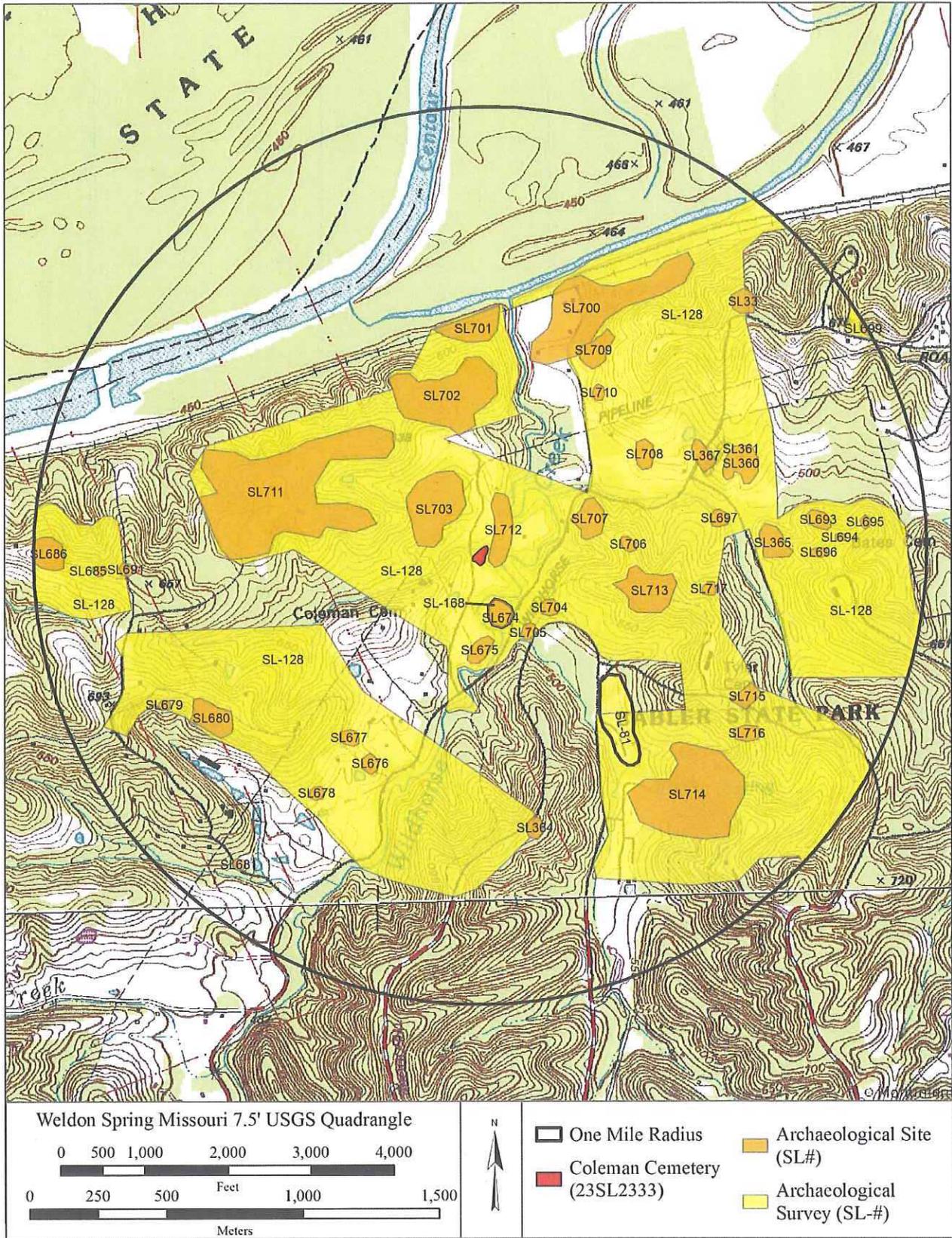


Table 1: Archaeological Sites and Surveys within One Mile of the Coleman Slave Cemetery

Site #	Topography	Size (m2)	Component Function	Function	Citation
<i>Archaeological Sites:</i>					
SL33	Bluff Top	595	M Woodland or Mississippian	Mound	Harl et al. (1990)
SL360/361	First Terrace	25,200	M-L Archaic, L Woodland, or Emergent Miss	Village	Harl et al. (1990)
SL364	Ridge Top	2,400	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL365	Base of Ridge Slope	14,000	L Woodland/Historic, M 1800s-1900s	Lithic Scatter/Farmstead	Harl et al. (1990)
SL367	Base of Ridge Slope	200	Historic, E 1900s	Residence and Store	Harl et al. (1990)
SL674	Floodplain	10,000	Historic, L 1800s-Present	Residence	Harl et al. (1990)
SL675	First Terrace	3,000	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL676	Pleistocene Terrace	4,000	Prehistoric	Lithic Scatter	Harl et al. (1990)
SL677	Base of Ridge Slope	100	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL678	Base of Ridge Slope	600	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL679	Base of Ridge Slope	100	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL680	Base of Ridge Slope	15,000	Prehistoric	Chert Quarry	Harl et al. (1990)
SL681	Floodplain	200	Historic, E 1900's	Mount Carmel Church	Harl et al. (1990)
SL685	Bluff Top	100	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL686	Bluff Top	12,000	Prehistoric/Historic, L 1700's-Present	Lithic Scatter/Farmstead	Harl et al. (1990)
SL691	Bluff Top	100	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL693	Base of Ridge Slope	3,200	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL694	Ridge Top	100	Historic, 1872-1902	Cemetery	Harl et al. (1990)
SL695	Ridge Top	3,600	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL696	Ridge Top	2,400	Prehistoric/Historic, L 1800s-Present	Camp/Road and CCC Building	Harl et al. (1990)
SL697	Base of Ridge Slope	2,400	Historic, E-M 1900s	Farmstead	Harl et al. (1990)
SL699	Bluff Top	3,000	Historic, E 1900s	African Baptist Church & Cemetery	Harl et al. (1990)
SL700	First Terrace	120,000	Historic, 1885-Present	Centaur	Harl et al. (1990)
SL701	Base of Ridge Slope	16,800	Prehistoric/Historic, L 1800s-1900s	Lithic Scatter/Residence and Bridge	Harl et al. (1990)
SL702	Bluff Top	120,000	Prehistoric	Lithic Scatter	Harl et al. (1990)
SL703	Pleistocene Terrace	39,600	Prehistoric	Lithic Scatter	Harl et al. (1990)
SL704	Pleistocene Terrace	1,600	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL705	First Terrace	2,400	Prehistoric/Historic, E 1900's	Camp/Residence	Harl et al. (1990)
SL706	Ridge Top	2,400	Historic	Outbuilding	Harl et al. (1990)
SL707	Ridge Top	21,600	Prehistoric	Lithic Scatter	Harl et al. (1990)
SL708	Pleistocene Terrace	7,200	M-L Archaic	Lithic Scatter	Harl et al. (1990)

Table 1, Continued

Site #	Topography	Size (m2)	Component Function	Function	Citation
SL709	Pleistocene Terrace	10,000	Emergent Miss. Or Mississippian	Village	Harl et al. (1990)
SL710	Pleistocene Terrace	600	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL711	Bluff Top	329,000	Prehistoric/Historic 1830s-Present	Village/Coleman Plantation	Harl et al. (1990)
SL712	Base of Ridge Slope	12,000	Prehistoric	Lithic Scatter	Harl et al. (1990)
SL713	Ridge Top	28,800	Archaic	Lithic Scatter	Harl et al. (1990)
SL714	Base of Ridge Slope	90,000	Prehistoric/Historic, E-M 1900s	Lithic Scatter/CCC building	Harl et al. (1990)
SL715	Ridge Top	200	Historic, 1849-1905	Cemetery	Harl et al. (1990)
SL716	Ridge Top	2,400	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
SL717	Ridge Top	3,000	Prehistoric	Camp	Harl et al. (1990)
<u>Archaeological Surveys:</u>					
Survey #	Title	Description	Cultural Resources Located	Citation	
SL-81	An Addendum to "An Intensive Cultural Resource Survey of the Proposed Picnic Shelter Construction Site, De. Edmund A. Babler Memorial State Park, St. Louis County, Missouri" by Ken Cole	Survey for a picnic shelter at Babler State Park, St. Louis County, Missouri.	None	Grantham (1984)	
SL-168	Preliminary Testing at the David Green Site (23SL674) A Multicomponent Site Within the Dr. Edmund A. Babler Memorial State Park Western St. Louis County, Missouri	Testing of Site 23SL674, the remains of the residence of freed slave David Green.	Remnants of Green residence and Late Woodland occupation	Harl and Naglich (1994)	

LANDOWNER HISTORY

The Coleman Slave Cemetery is located in Wildwood, St. Louis County, Missouri, within Survey #1956. The city of Wildwood was not incorporated until 1995, but the area carries a long history in the development of St. Louis County (Taylor 1995). James MacKay (also spelled McKay), one of the earliest European American settlers in the vicinity, was the original land claimant of Survey 1956 (Figure 3).

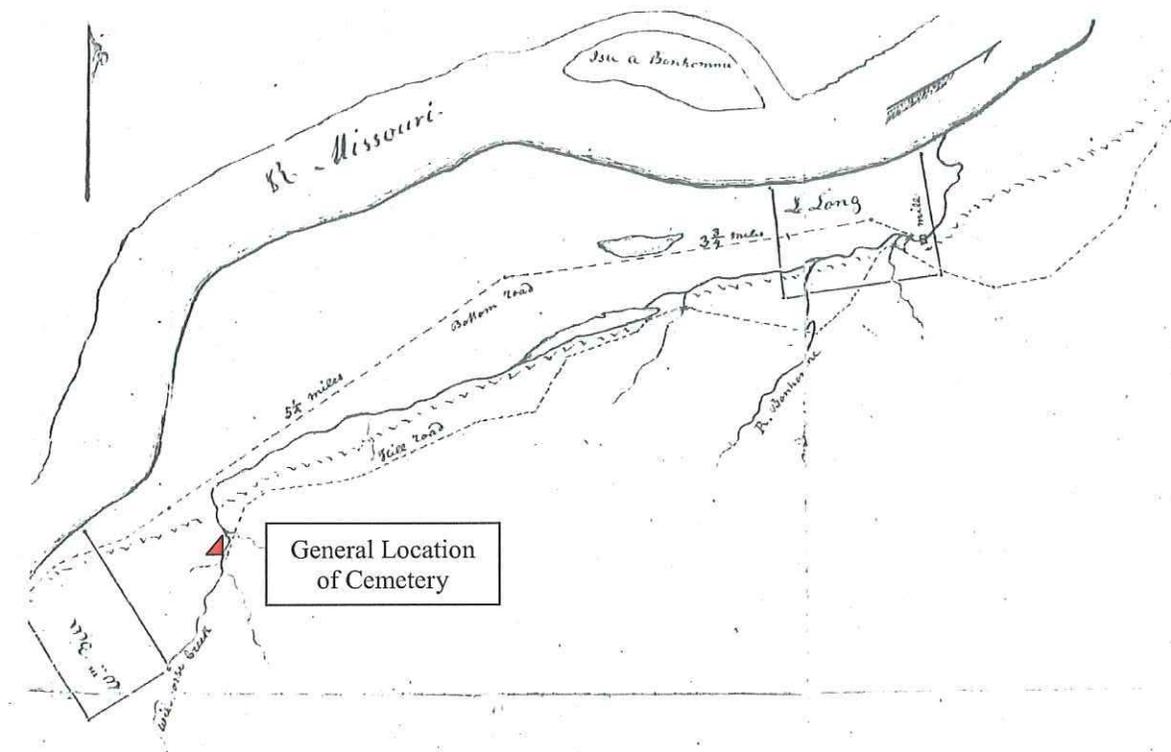
MacKay was originally from Scotland, and came to St. Louis about 1792. Shortly thereafter he headed a trading expedition to the Indian lands along the upper Missouri River. It was upon his return from that expedition that he founded St. Andrews, a village comprised primarily of emigrants from the United States into what was then Spanish territory. Some of the houses clustered about a gristmill Mackay built on Bonhomme Creek, but most lived in scattered farmsteads within the Missouri River bottoms or nearby bluff tops. St. Andrews attained a population of 380 in 1800, before many of the homes were destroyed several years later as the result of a change in the channel of the Missouri River (Primm 1981:63, 66-67).

MacKay became the largest original land claimant along Wildhorse Creek, eventually receiving from the United States land commissioners all of Survey 1956 which totaled 3794 acres (Figure 3). According to historian Louis Houck, MacKay built a horse powered mill on Wildhorse Creek in 1797 (Houck 1908:2-70). Its probable location is indicated on a road report written in 1806. By September of that year, the citizens of the St. Andrews area petitioned the St. Louis District Court of Quarter Sessions for "...a public road or highway to be opened and Made Sufficiently Good and passable for Carriages" from a point west of Wildhorse Creek through St. Andrews east to St. Louis (McCourtney et al. 1806). Pursuing this objective, the court appointed Andrew Kinkead and James MacKay to survey existing roads. In their report submitted the following December, they discussed the need to clear and straighten the "Old or Hill Road" which:

Begins on a ridge west of Wild Horse Creek - Thence running Easterly through the settlements toward St. Louis, crossing said Wildhorse Creek on James Mackay's land below the Mill Dam - Thence across Butler's valley to the Missouri Hills & Continuing on said Hills by Bonhomme Mills (Kinkead and MacKay 1806).

Kinkead and MacKay submitted a map with their report (Figure 4) and the two documents taken together seem to locate the mill dam on Survey 1956 or Survey 459 about a half mile south of the present site of Centaur. That a mill remained in the vicinity for some time thereafter is confirmed by Herman Steines who upon approaching Wildhorse Creek from the east in May, 1834, noted in his diary that, "We ate dinner with old Mr. McKennon at the horse mill" (Bek 1920:436).

Figure 4: 1806 Road Map
(Kinkead and Mackay 1806)



By the 1830s, several farmsteads existed in the Wildhorse Creek Valley. Included among these early settlers were families of Virginian origin, who settled in the lower reaches of Wildhorse Creek. This included Robert Coleman, who came from Spotsylvania County, Virginia, in 1837, with his wife and children. Coleman purchased land stretching south from the Missouri River and along Wildhorse Creek, which includes the current project area (Scharf 1883:1938). Here he created a plantation worked by 54 slaves (US Census 1840:267). Following Robert Coleman's death in about 1842, the property was divided between two of his sons, Robert G. and William H. Coleman (Scharf 1883:1938; Figures 5-7).

In 1850, Robert G. Coleman resided within his father's home, located on the Missouri River bluff top, west of the Coleman slave cemetery. His real estate was evaluated at \$6,000. Only Henry Tyler, whose plantation was on the east side of Wildhorse Creek, was evaluated higher at \$10,000 (US Census 1850a). Robert held 36 slaves who raised a diversity of crops, but the main cash crop was hemp (US Census 1850b; 1850c). Hemp, used to make rope, was a very labor intensive plant to grow and to process. By 1860, Robert operated a 440 acre farm worth \$39,800 and he owned another \$30,835 in personal assets, including the values of his slaves

(US Census 1860a). At that time, the farm was run by 40 slaves, who resided in 8 homes (US Census 1860b). They continued to grow a diversity of crops, but 12 tons of hemp were produced annually (US Census 1860c).

William's inheritance included the Coleman Slave Cemetery. He, like his brother, operated a successful farm consisting of about 400 acres that in 1850 was worth \$6000 (US Census 1850a, 1850c). He owned 23 slaves who farmed the land (US Census 1850b). William grew substantial amounts of wheat, corn, and oats on his farm, but, similar to his brother, the most important cash crop was hemp, with some 20 tons of hemp produced in a single season (US Census 1850c). Ten years later, William owned 29 slaves, who resided in six houses (US Census 1860b). The operation continued to prosper, with real estate evaluated at \$27,000 and personal assets at \$20,037, although hemp production had decreased (US Census 1860a; 1860c).

The cultivation of hemp in the Wildhorse Creek Valley ceased with the abolition of slavery. The Colemans, however, successfully adapted to the post war economy and remained the wealthiest family in the valley, both Robert and William raised a successful combination of wheat, corn, oats, and livestock, according to the 1870 census (US Census 1870a). The portion of the land that contains the cemetery was owned by William Coleman's descendants until at least 1940, all of whom farmed the land.

William was born in Virginia in 1815 and came to Missouri with his father in 1837. He married Hardenia Goodwin of Lexington, Kentucky in 1839. They established a home on the next ridge top, south of his brother's home and southwest of the slave cemetery. They first built a log cabin on their land but by 1848 he had built a substantial brick mansion on his property, calling it Mount Comfort (Scharf 1883:1938; Figures 6, 8). By 1850 William and Hardenia were the parents of six girls; Carolina 11, Maria (Mary) 9, Elizabeth (Lizzie) 7, Hardenia 5, Arabella 3 and Virginia 1 (US Census 1850a). By 1860, three more daughters were added to the household; Jessie 8, Nannie 5 and Lillian 1 (US Census 1860a). Carolina had evidently married and was now listed as Carolina Monroe with a son, Levi 1; both living in William's household. By 1870, only Elizabeth, Hardenia, Virginia, Nannie and Lillie were still at home (US Census 1870b). In addition, a house servant, Edward Cawdifer, of European descent, also had been added to the household. This was likely necessitated by the loss of slave labor after the Civil War. However, Richard Hughes, an African American farm laborer with no real estate, along with his wife and two children, was listed immediately after William Coleman and may have worked for William or sharecropped part of his land. By 1870, William's real estate still was evaluated highly at \$18,000, more than his brother's land which was evaluated at \$14,800. William also had \$2,000 in personal assets, but the drop was most likely due to slaves no longer being listed as part of these assets (US Census 1880).

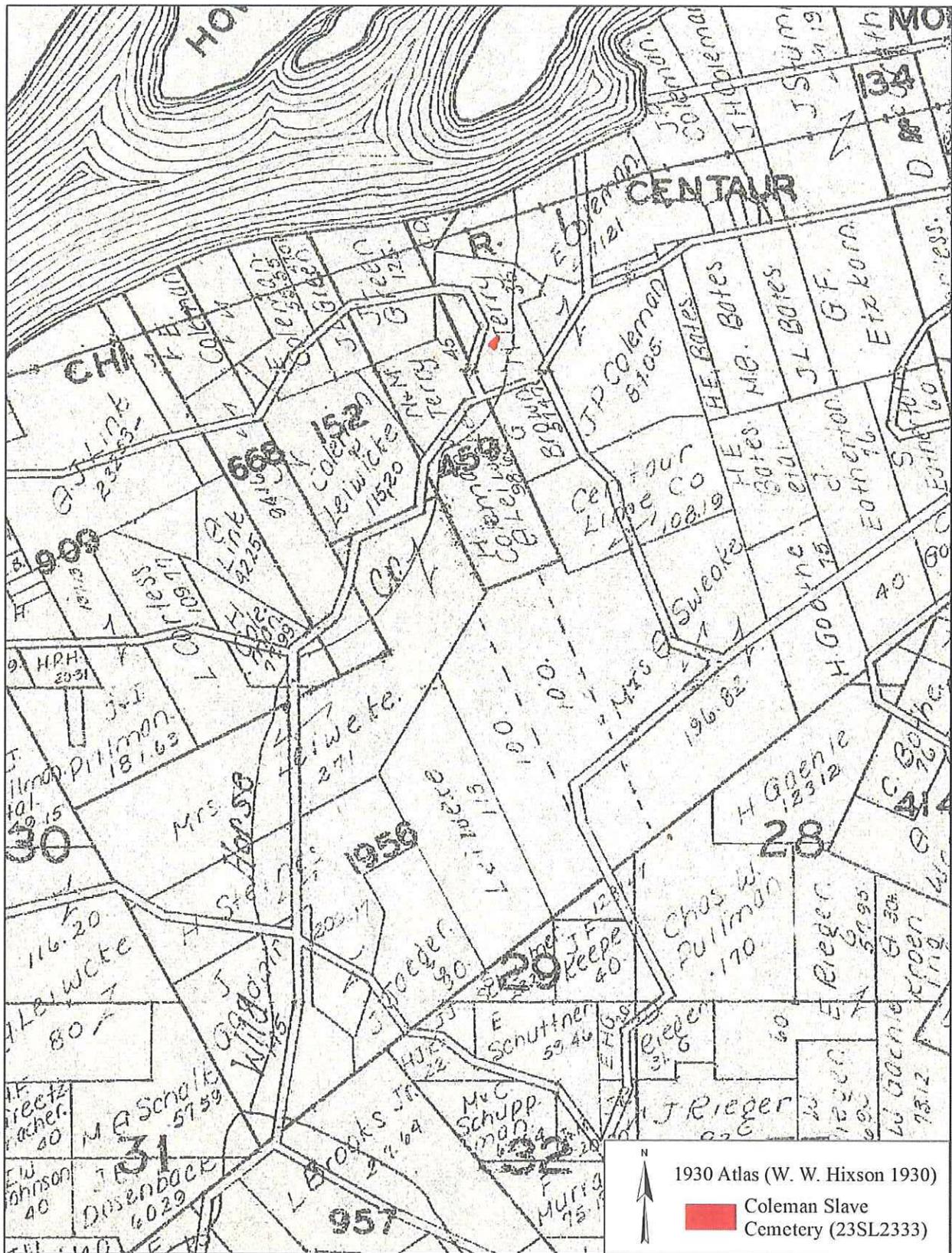
By 1880, Nannie Coleman had married Frank Terry and both were living in William's home. Three of her sister also remained, Elizabeth (Lizzie) now 38, Hardenia 25 and Lillie 19 (US Census 1880). William Coleman died in 1895 leaving his land to his daughter, Nannie, and granddaughter, Maud (Death Record 1796-2010; Figures 8-9). By 1900, the household consisted of Frank and Nannie Terry, their daughter Maud age 18, Nannie's mother Hardenia now 80 and her sister Elizabeth, 59 (US Census 1900).

Maud had married Walter Ferguson by 1910 and they had three children; Clinton age 5, Nannie age 3 and Mary age 1 (US Census 1910). The Ferguson's were living in the Terry household at that time. However, by 1920 there had evidently been a second residence built on the land as the census lists two households, one with Frank and Nannie Terry, which they owned, and one rented by the Fergusons. Two additional children had been added to the Ferguson family; Lillian age 8 and Wilson age 3 (US Census 1920). Frank Terry died in 1928 (Missouri Death Certificates 1928) and Nannie moved in with her daughter's family (US Census 1930). The Ferguson residence again changed by 1940. Only the youngest son, Wilson, remained in the household but he had added a wife, Mary, and a daughter, Barbara Ann, a year old at the time. Nannie continued to live with her daughter and son-in law and remained there until her death in 1945(US Census 1940; Missouri Death Certificates 1945).

Figure 8: 1909 Atlas of Project Area



Figure 9: 1930 Atlas of Project Area



RESULTS

The reported Coleman Slave Cemetery (site 23SL2333) was documented on January 11, 2013 by Robin Machiran, Meredith Hawkins Trautt and Joe Harl, who were assisted by the landowner. The cemetery was situated in a wooded area, with the ground cover consisting of forest undergrowth and fallen leaves (Photos 1 & 2). It was bounded on the west by Old Slave Road, to the north and east by an unnamed tributary of Wildhorse Creek and just north of the landowner's residence (Figure 10). Local lore has it that slave quarters were present in the vicinity, but no evidence of this was found during the current survey. The presence of the slave cemetery, however, was confirmed by the presence of limestone slab markers throughout the tract (Photo 3).

Photo 1: Wooded Area Containing Coleman Slave Cemetery
(Facing Northeast)



Photo 2: Markers 2 & 3 Showing Ground Cover at Coleman
Slave Cemetery



Figure 10: Coleman Slave Cemetery Location (23SL2333)



Photo 3: Center of Coleman Slave Cemetery, Limestone Slabs Marked by Red Tape (Facing Northwest)



The fieldwork consisted of a pedestrian survey of the grounds. When a limestone slab was encountered, it was flagged and numbered (Photo 3). A site grid was set with a handheld Delorme GPS unit based on UTM readings in NAD83, Zone 15N. A total station was used to produce an accurate map of each marker's location and to show the relationships of the various stones. Photographs also were taken of each slab marker with its number noted in a log so the location of each photograph could be tied to the total station shots. The total station shots were incorporated into ArcView 10.1 to produce detailed maps of the cemetery (Figure 11).

A total of 61 upright limestone slabs were identified. The limestone slabs varied in size and shape, and were likely collected from the nearby creek bed or exposed portions of the bedrock on the ridge slopes (Photos 4-7). These stones would not naturally occur on this terrace formation and the fact that most of the stones had been placed upright would indicate that they were used as markers, most likely indicating the location of graves. None of these stones exhibited any inscriptions, so graves could not be attributed to a particular person. Because of the undergrowth and the leaf debris at this location, it is possible more limestone markers are present. It also is likely that unmarked graves are present within the burial area. Although 61 markers were identified, some of the stones may have been placed at the foot of graves. For these reasons, it is difficult to definitively ascertain the actual number of burials present within this graveyard.

Figure 11: Markers within the Coleman Slave Cemetery

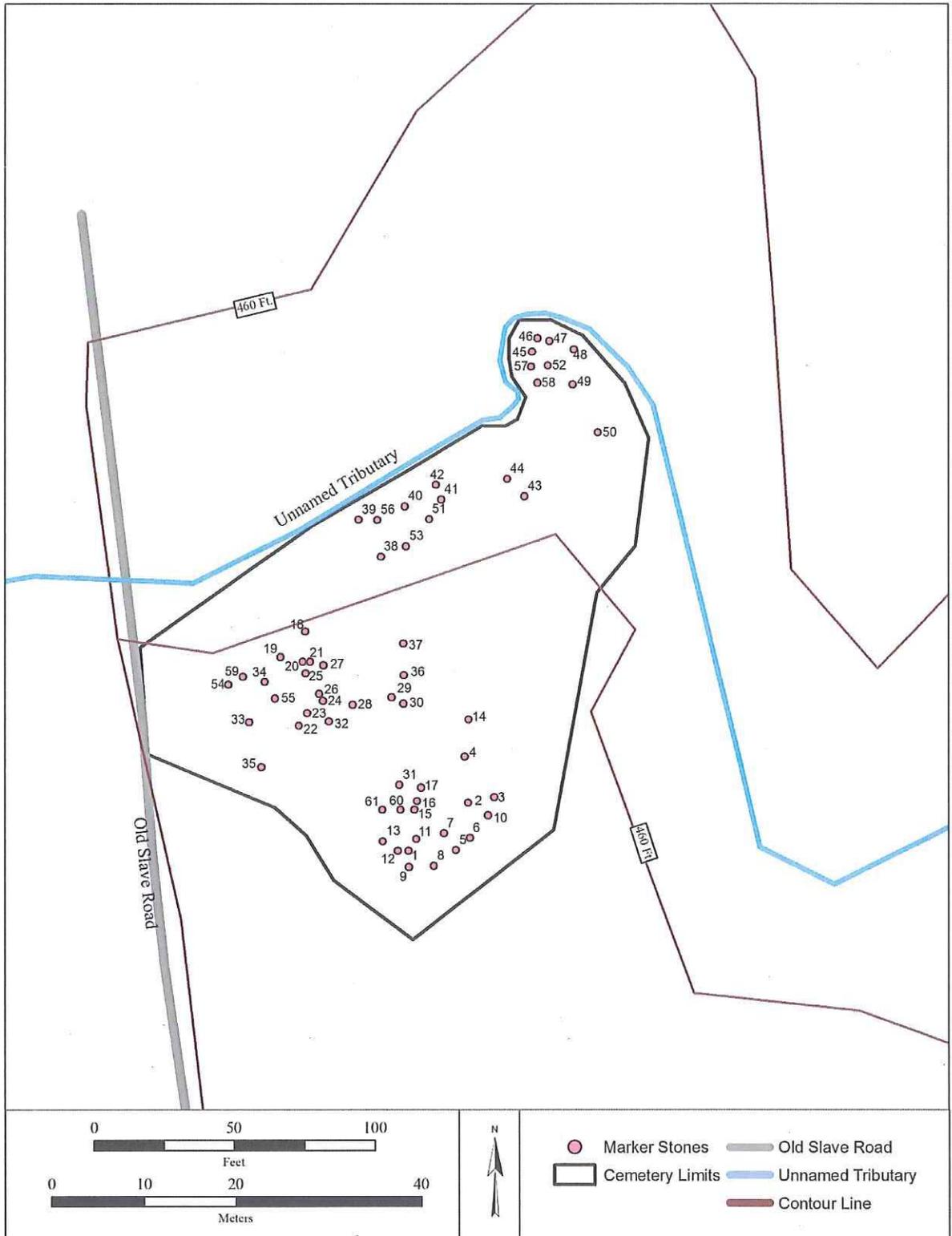


Photo 4: Marker 2 at Coleman Slave Cemetery
(Facing East)



Photo 5: Marker 14 at Coleman Slave Cemetery
(Facing Southeast)



Photo 6: Marker 43 at Coleman Slave Cemetery
(Facing East)



Photo 7: Marker 49 at Coleman Slave Cemetery
(Facing Southeast)



DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

The Coleman Slave Cemetery, like many slave burial grounds, has been almost forgotten. Thanks to the efforts of the concerned citizens of Wildwood, in particular the current landowner, who allowed documentation of the area, the cemetery is now on record with the Missouri SHPO office as site 23SL2333. Few cemeteries of this type are known in Missouri and this presents a unique opportunity to study and understand the burial practices of Antebellum (1806-1860) African Americans living under the constraints of slavehood.

The Coleman Plantation was an anomaly in Missouri during the Antebellum Period. Population studies cite 114,509 black slaves in the state in 1860. Large plantations were not the norm, and the typical slave owner had 4-5 slaves (Baumann 1995: 56-60). The Coleman's large plots of land, cash crop farming and number of slaves are more similar to their Upper South roots than to their new home. In his Master's Thesis, Baumann (1995:60) notes that after the Louisiana Purchase was completed, a large number of European Americans from the Upper South (Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina) came to Missouri. He postulated that African American archaeology in Missouri would reveal similar findings as those seen in the Upper South States. The Coleman Plantation and slave cemetery bears out this hypothesis.

What is more typical is the role the slaves played in the everyday running of the Coleman Plantation. Similar to other rural slaves, they likely were responsible not just for the farming of the fields but also maintenance of the farm, such as the clearing of forests and splitting of rails for fencing (Baumann 1995). Raising and processing of hemp, the main cash crop, required a great deal of work by the slaves, but its value was "nearly double that of tobacco" (Valley Farmer 1850). Other slaves were responsible for cooking foods for the Coleman family and other domestic duties.

For enslaved African Americans, religious beliefs played a big role in the formation of their cultural identity (Baumann 2005). A part of those beliefs was their burial practices which were "... one of the few areas that were not completely controlled by white masters" (Baumann 2005:1). As such this type of resource reflects the slave's point of view.

One of these beliefs involves the use of white stone at burial sites, similar to the white limestone marking graves at the Coleman Slave Cemetery. The use of white stone could be symbolic of shell grave offerings common in the South and in Africa. In African ideology, the sea is where people come from and then return in death. The shell, since it comes from the sea, represents this important transitional place between life and death. The use of white limestone in the Midwest could be a substitute for shells. In addition, the local limestone does have fossilized crinoids or brachiopod shells also reflective of the sea. The color white, itself, could be the sole reason for using limestone. In West African beliefs, white is a symbol of purity and water. It is believed that the underworld is located beneath bodies of water, so water becomes the means of transport in death (Baumann 2005). Also associated with this worldview would be the location of the cemetery. While it can't be certain if the slaves had a say in the location of their burial area, if they did, this type of location bordered by a stream on two sides would be ideal. The combination of white markers next to a stream would ensure that the dead would have a safe journey to the afterlife.

Grave orientation also is important within the African American traditions. For example, the graves at the Nathan Boone slave cemetery are arranged in two, north/south rows, one containing Burials 3-7 and one with Burials 1 and 2 separated by a pile of limestone slabs, possible covering an eighth burial (Figure 12). Four of the graves have both head and footstones indicating that the burials had an east/west alignment. This orientation of the graves is common at slave burials. Wright and Hughes (1996:19) cite the "Importance of being buried feet facing east: to allow raising at Judgment Day; otherwise the person is crossways of the world." This shows the merging of Christian ideals with traditional African beliefs. At another site in Wake County, North Carolina, during the development of a proposed high school a slave burial ground was discovered that is very similar to the Boone and Coleman slave cemeteries (Figure 13). The burials are marked with plain, limestone slabs of varying sizes and shapes. Although a plan of the site could not be found, the pictures indicate a linear arrangement of the graves

Figure 12: Slave Burials at the Nathan Boone Site (Yelton and Bray 1994:94)

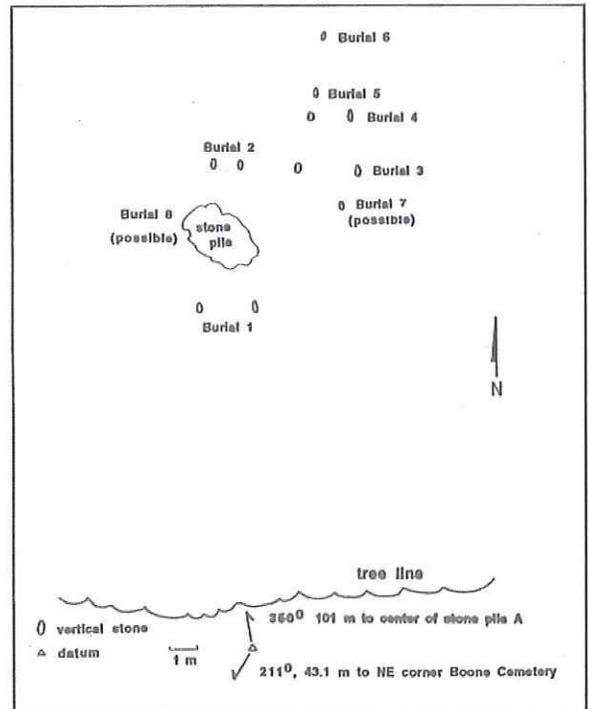


Figure 7. African-American cemetery.

Figure 13: Pictures of Wake County, North Carolina Slave Cemetery (Save the Slaves 2008-2013)



Although some possible rows of graves could exist at the Coleman Slave Cemetery (Photo 8), the placement of limestone slabs suggest that the graves may have been placed in at least four clusters (Figure 14 and 15). This clustering could be due to the topography of the terrace. Group A is placed on a narrow finger of the terrace that is surrounded by the stream on three sides. Group B is placed on a natural levee formation that extends roughly southwest, from Old Slave Road, to northeast, along the edge of the stream. These two groups are separated from Groups C and D by a low depression that could represent an older channel of this stream or possibly a channel that cut through this area as the result of flooding. No graves were found within this depression, but if this depression formed after the cemetery was used, the graves at this location would have been destroyed. This depression also could represent an old trail providing access to this cemetery or possible the main trail leading to the Colemans' houses, with the graves placed north and south of this access.

Another possibility for the cluster of graves is that they resulted from the temporal use of this cemetery. As one area was filled a new one was used.

A third possibility is that the clusters could represent family groupings. During the 1840s and 1850s, an overall change in how burial grounds were organized took place due to the new influence of Victorian ideas and the Rural Cemetery Movement (Linden-Ward 1989; Bender 1988). Prior to this time, graves were placed in a row or grid pattern, which reflected the ways that cities (for the living) were organized. The use of a grid design in urban planning was introduced early by Europeans, but after the Revolutionary War the grid pattern took on "near-mystical qualities as models of urban form so near to divine wisdom that they would make believers out of atheists" (Brissot de Warville 1792:243 as cited in Upton 1992:54). The grid allowed urban designers to develop order and unity, yet at the same time individual liberty could still be expressed. Within burial grounds, this pattern reflected the belief that "Everyone is equal in the eyes of the Lord". By 1850, however, with the influence of Victorian ideology, which stressed the family (Upton 1992), graves were no longer placed in rows, but in clusters reflecting family plots. This influence may be indicated by the clustering at the Coleman Slave Cemetery.

Within these groupings, many of the graves appear to have been placed in rows extending north/south, but some of the graves, such as those in Groups B, C, and possibly the southern row of Group D, appear to be placed at a slightly southwest/northeast angle (Figure 15). Some the limestone slabs could represent a headstone and a footstone marking a single grave. This also became a common practice after 1850, preventing a grave from being inadvertently dug into by later burials (Dethlefsen 1981). Using a criterion of spacing of between 3-7 feet between stones, nine pairings emerged. Interestingly, all pairings suggested that the graves were oriented east/west, none were oriented north/south (Figure 15).

Photo 8: Showing Possible Row of Graves (Facing West)



Figure 14: Groupings of Markers at Coleman Slave Cemetery

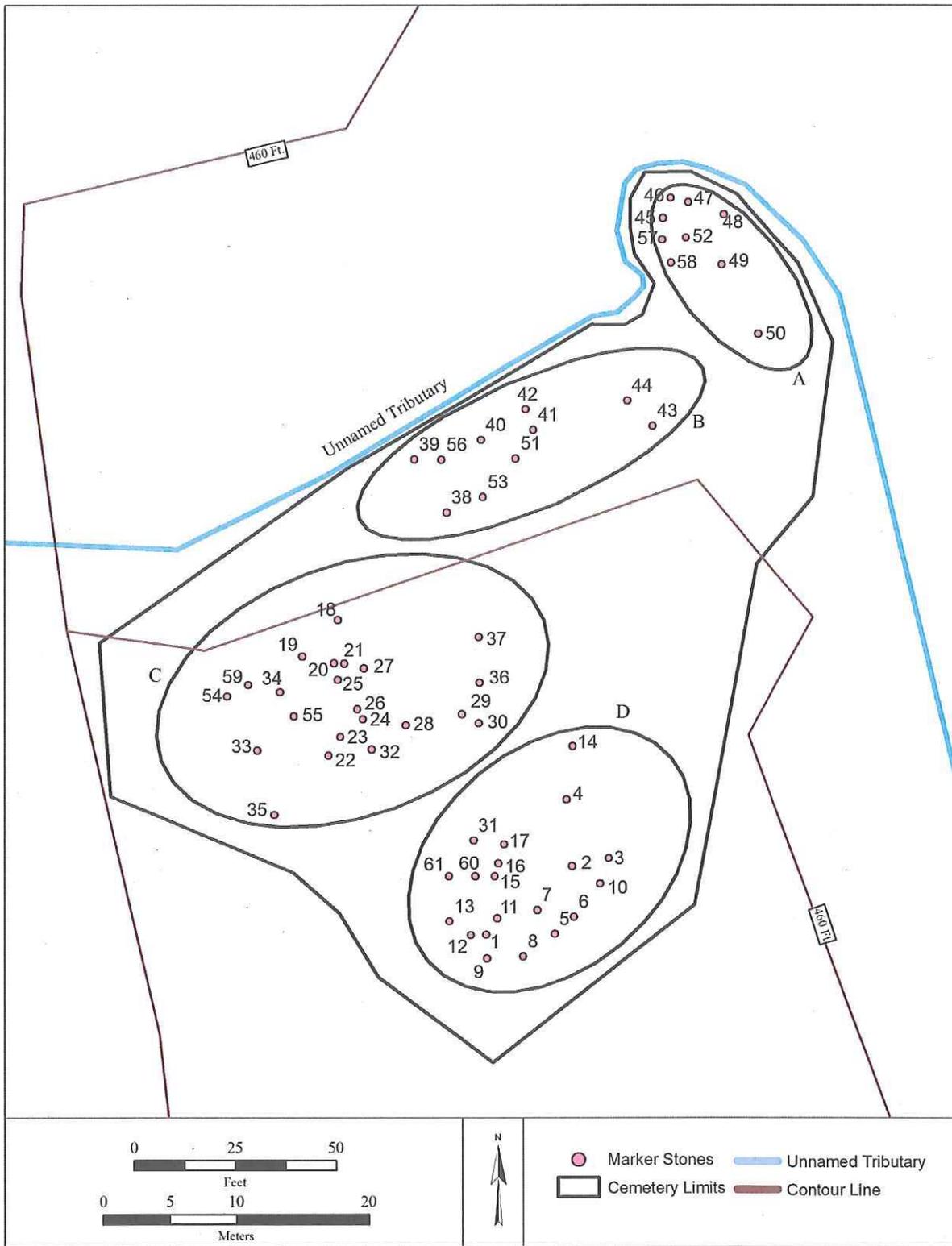
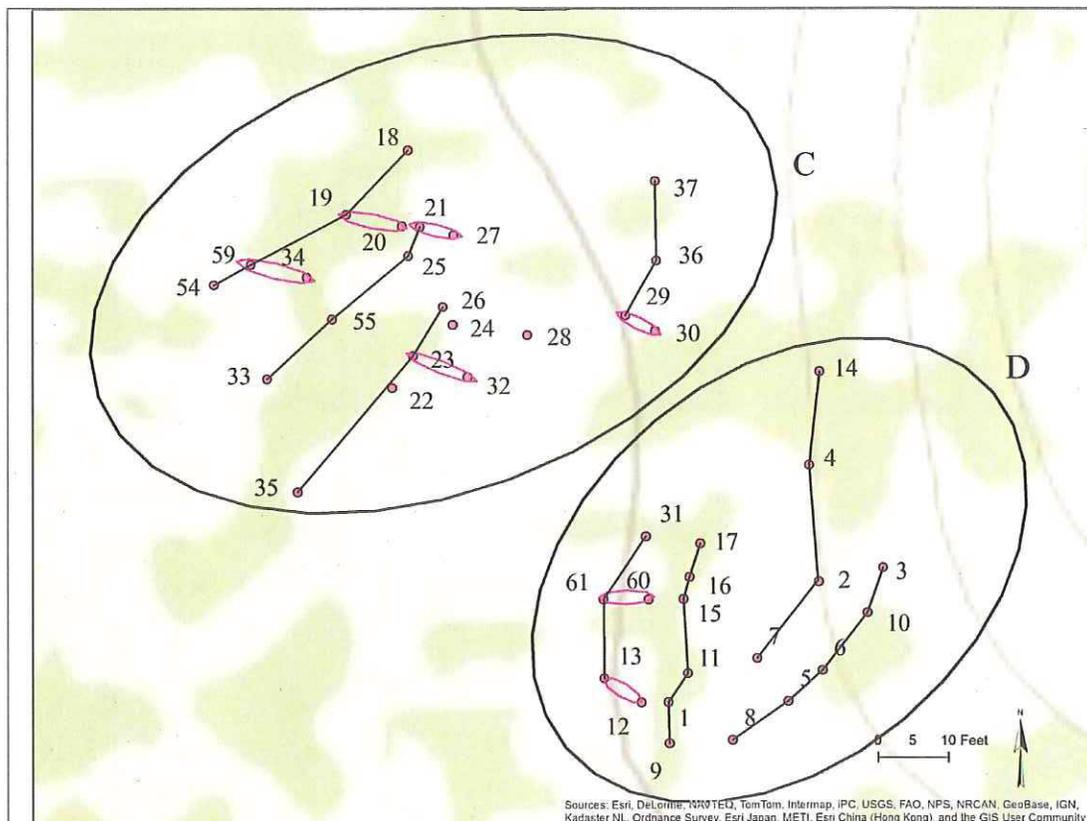
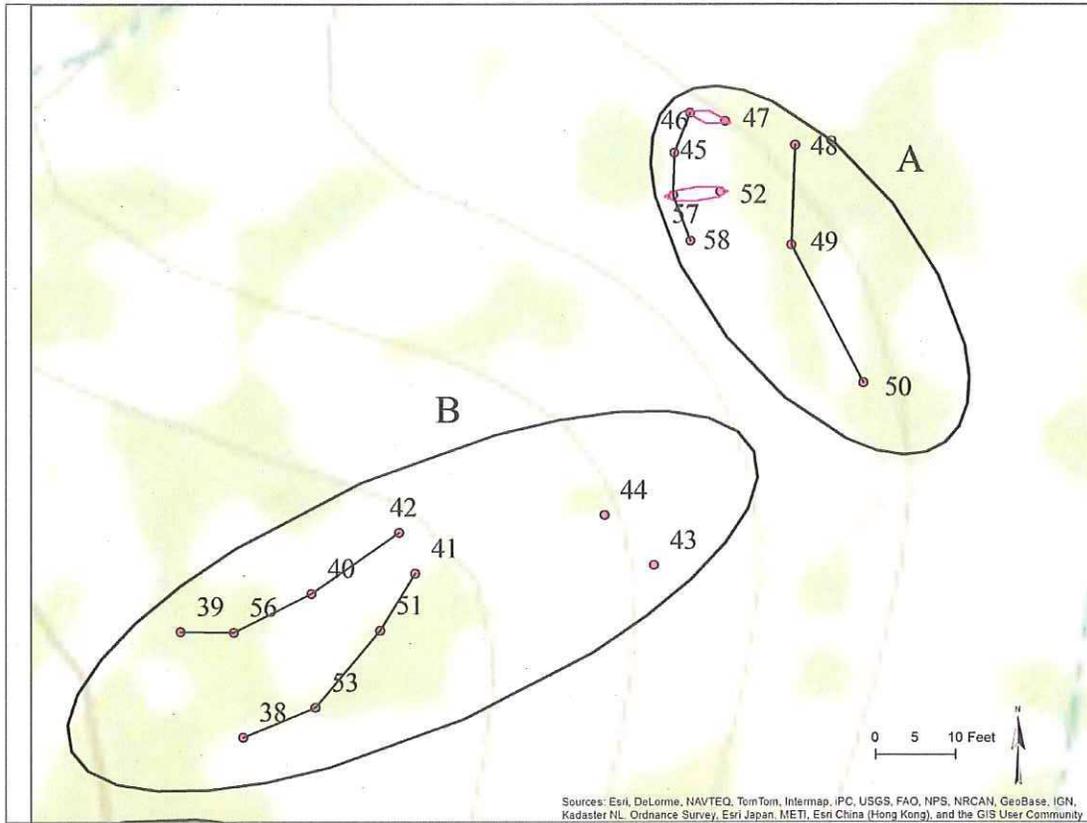


Figure 15: Possible Rows of Graves and Possible Headstone and Footstone Combinations



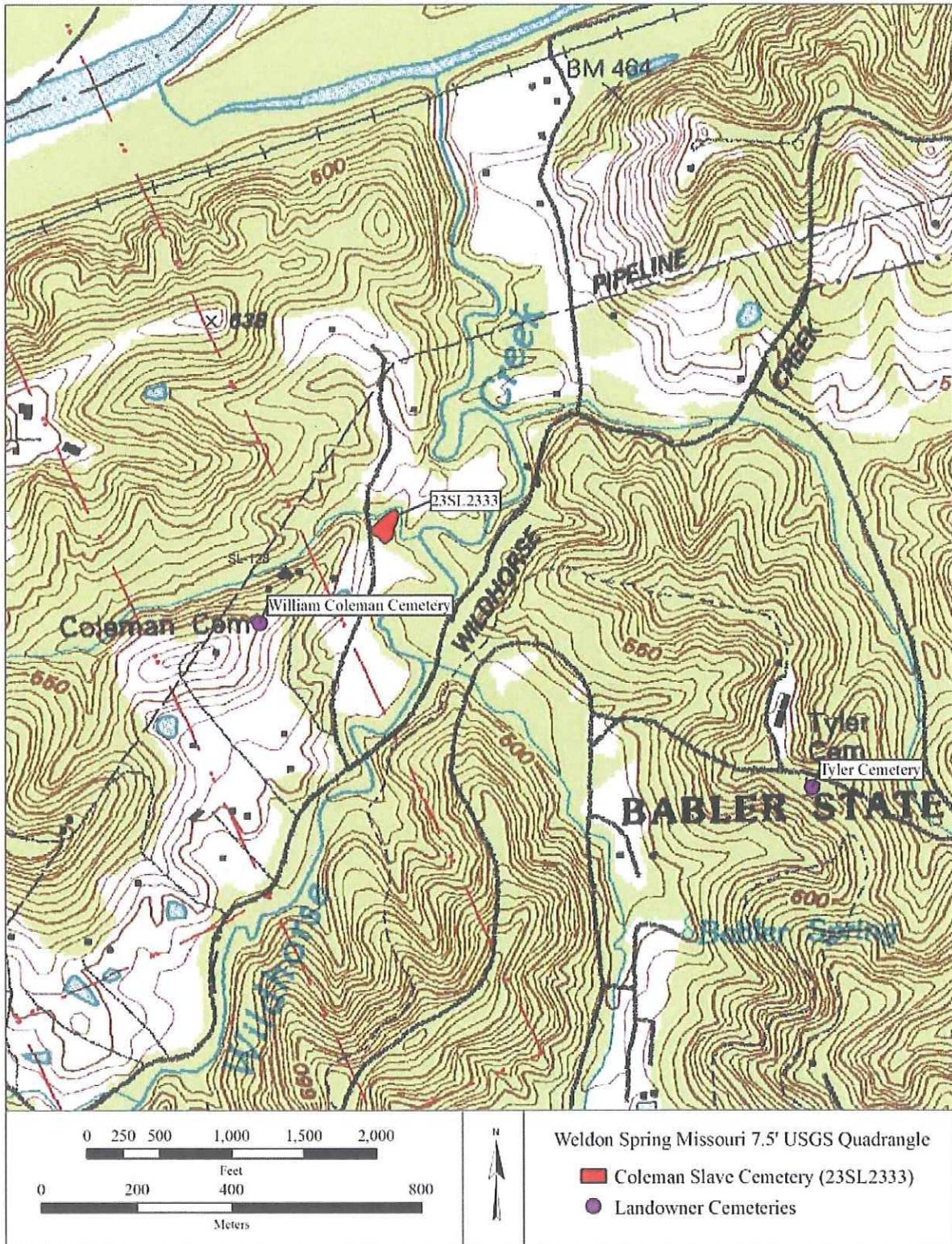
The hierarchy of slave/owner relations is revealed at the Coleman Slave Cemetery. For instance, it was located in a separate area from that of the landowners (Figure 16). This segregation of European American/African American burials was typical even after emancipation, not changing until after the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's (Baumann 2005:2). It also is seen at the Nathan Boone Site where the slave burial area is 60 meters (196 feet) away from the Boone Cemetery (Yelton and Bray 1994:93-94). Also similar is that the Boone slave cemetery rests on lower ground. A distance of approximately 250 meters (820 feet) separates the William Coleman's cemetery from that of the slaves, with the slave burials resting on a lower elevation. This placement of slave graves lower than that of the landowner would be symbolic of the owner's effort to express dominance. Even in death they deemed themselves as the "master" watching over the slaves from a "superior" position. However, the slaves may have preferred this situation of being separated in death from those who held them in bondage. Further, they may have preferred being near sources of water ensuring their journey into afterlife.

Another noticeable indicator of attempts by European Americans to express their dominance is the difference in the grave markers. The markers used by the slaves at both the Boone and Coleman sites consist of un-inscribed limestone slabs. The owner's markers are more formal, dressed stones. Those grave markers are usually inscribed with the names and dates of the deceased, and usually have symbols or ornate decorations. The lack of inscriptions on slave markers, however, would be expected. Laws passed during that period included ones that prohibited teaching slaves to read and write (Baumann 1995:58). Even if some were educated, it would be dangerous for them to make such an outward showing of the fact.

The Coleman Slave Cemetery was probably established during the time Reverend Robert Coleman owned the land, beginning in 1837, and continued to be used when his son William became owner. It also is likely that the slaves of William's brother, Robert G. Coleman, used this burial area. Less likely, but possible is that the Tyler Plantation slaves were buried here.

Bordering the Coleman lands on the east and southeast was the estate of Henry Tyler. A native of Virginia, Tyler moved to the Wildhorse Creek area at the same time as Reverend Robert Coleman suggesting the families were close. He purchased 1024 acres extending from the Missouri River near Lewis' Ferry south to the Missouri River bluffs, east of Wildhorse Creek (St. Louis County Deeds 1837, A-2:190). By 1840, his plantation operation included 52 slaves (US Census 1840:267). Ten years later he owned 42 slaves and his farm consisted of 853 acres, worth \$10,000. Large herds of sheep and swine were raised as well as wheat and corn, but, like the Colemans, hemp was the primary cash crop, with 18 tons of hemp being gathered in a single season (US Census 1850 a-c). Tyler's plantation thrived until at least 1860, when census figures for that year show him owning 25 slaves and the value of the farm at \$24,000 with the annual hemp production increased to 28 tons (US Census 1860 a-c). The closeness of the families was further cemented when Henry's daughter, Elizabeth, married Robert G. Coleman (Scharf 1883:1928). They are buried at the Tyler family cemetery located on a ridge top just southeast of the Tyler home. A second graveyard is shown on the 1878 map to the south (Figure 17). This second cemetery could have been used by Tyler's slaves instead of the Coleman Slave Cemetery. This area has not been surveyed, therefore, it is unknown if this place was used as a slave cemetery. It is located near the base of the ridge slope, close to the large Babler Spring, reflective of slave burial grounds.

Figure 16: Owner Cemeteries Associated with the Coleman and Tyler Plantation



It further is possible that the burial ground continued to be used by freed African American families after the Civil War. Many of the freed slaves living in the area were later buried at the African Baptist Church, Mount Pleasant, which was established along Wildhorse Creek Road to the east. However, the earliest grave at that location dated to December 31, 1906 and was the wife of Elijah Madison, Elizabeth. Tax records do suggest that an African American church was established as early as 1869. This, however, was likely a church located even further to the east. Antioch Baptist Church was dedicated in 1841 and constructed mostly through the efforts of the Coleman and Tyler families for the use of the local planters. In 1860, a new church was built and the old one was turned over "for the use of the colored members" (Scharf 1883:1930). The original church was located in Section 15 of Township 45N, Range 3E on Eatherton's property along Wildhorse Creek Road. This building was probably used until Mount Pleasant was built, just after 1900, and may have had a cemetery associated with it, although no survey has been conducted of this area to establish the presence of a burial ground.

According to local legend, it is believed that slave quarters were present in the vicinity of the current project area. No evidence of these residences was found during the current work. Previous archaeological work in the area by UMSL (Harl et al. 1990:62-65) did identify the remains of an old road (Figure 18). This road ran perpendicular to the current Old Slave Road approximately 550 feet north of the cemetery (Figure 19). It has been speculated by some of the local residents that this road led from the Robert Coleman's house to slave quarters placed in the bottoms near Wildhorse Creek. It more likely served as the main drive providing access to the house. While slave homes may have been placed within these bottoms, it is not likely for several reasons.

If the terminus of this road marked the slave quarters, it would place them almost ½ mile away from the main house. This would be an unusual configuration of a plantation during the Antebellum Period, especially in Missouri. What is typically seen is the owner's house set on a high spot within the grounds to overlook the whole plantation. Slave quarters are generally placed near this home where the owner can exert his authority directly over the slaves, or as Armstrong (1999:182) states to "maximize the return from slave labor and at the same time maximize the planter's control". Typically slave quarters are located along the side and behind the main house (Baumann 1998:6-7). The most likely place of the Coleman slave quarters would have been near the house on the ridge top to the northeast of the cemetery during Rev. Coleman's time or on the ridge top to the west of the cemetery when William took over. This pattern of plantation layout is seen at several plantation sites throughout Missouri and the Upper South, including the Nathan Boone homestead in Missouri (Yelton and Bray 1994:81), the Middleburg and the Quinby Plantations in North Carolina (Ferguson 1992). The presence of slave quarters near William Coleman's house is further suggested by the recovery of plain ironstone ceramics, typical of the mid 1800s, by a resident on a nearby ridge slope near where the William Coleman house once stood.

In addition, UMSL's survey in 1990 (Harl et al. 1990:62-65) documented only prehistoric habitations near Old Slave Road (sites 23SL703 and 712, see Table 1 on page 5, and Figures 18 and 19). The remains of slave quarters would be small and ephemeral. Generally, the houses in Missouri were single pen log cabins with dry sill cornerstone or limestone foundations (Baumann 1995:64-65). Later houses may have had brick or limestone foundations, but still

would have only been one or two rooms. Ferguson (1992:xxvii) notes the remains of slave quarters are “hidden in the soil”. He also notes that finding the quarters relies on looking in the most obvious locations, usually near the main house where slave activities could be monitored. In the case of the William Coleman Plantation, there were six slave houses in 1860, housing 29 slaves. Even if the remains of the homes are now buried, there would be abundant remains reflecting the everyday lives of the slaves, such as ceramics, tools and possibly toys. At the Middleburg Site, Ferguson (1992:xxiv) reports tens of thousands of artifacts. If evidence of 19th century habitation was present within Wildhorse Creek bottoms, it likely would have been discovered during the UMSL survey. This is especially true since small (less than half an inch long) lithic debris left thousands of years ago was identified. However, it should be noted that a complete survey of these bottoms was not conducted at that time, including the area of the slave cemetery and to the south, because the landowner denied access.

Figure 18: Map of Sites and Features Identified During The UMSL Survey
(Harl et al. 1990:64)

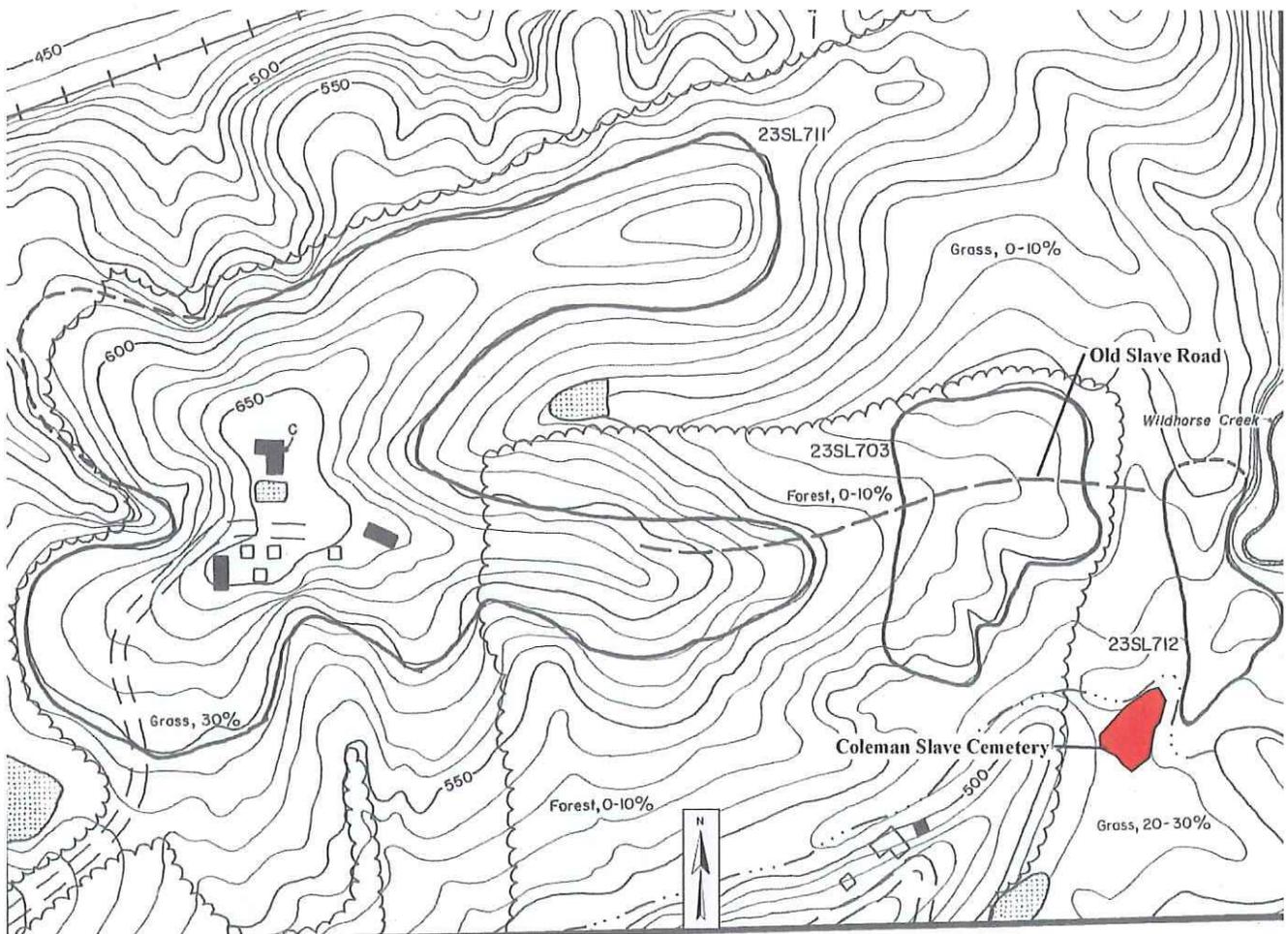
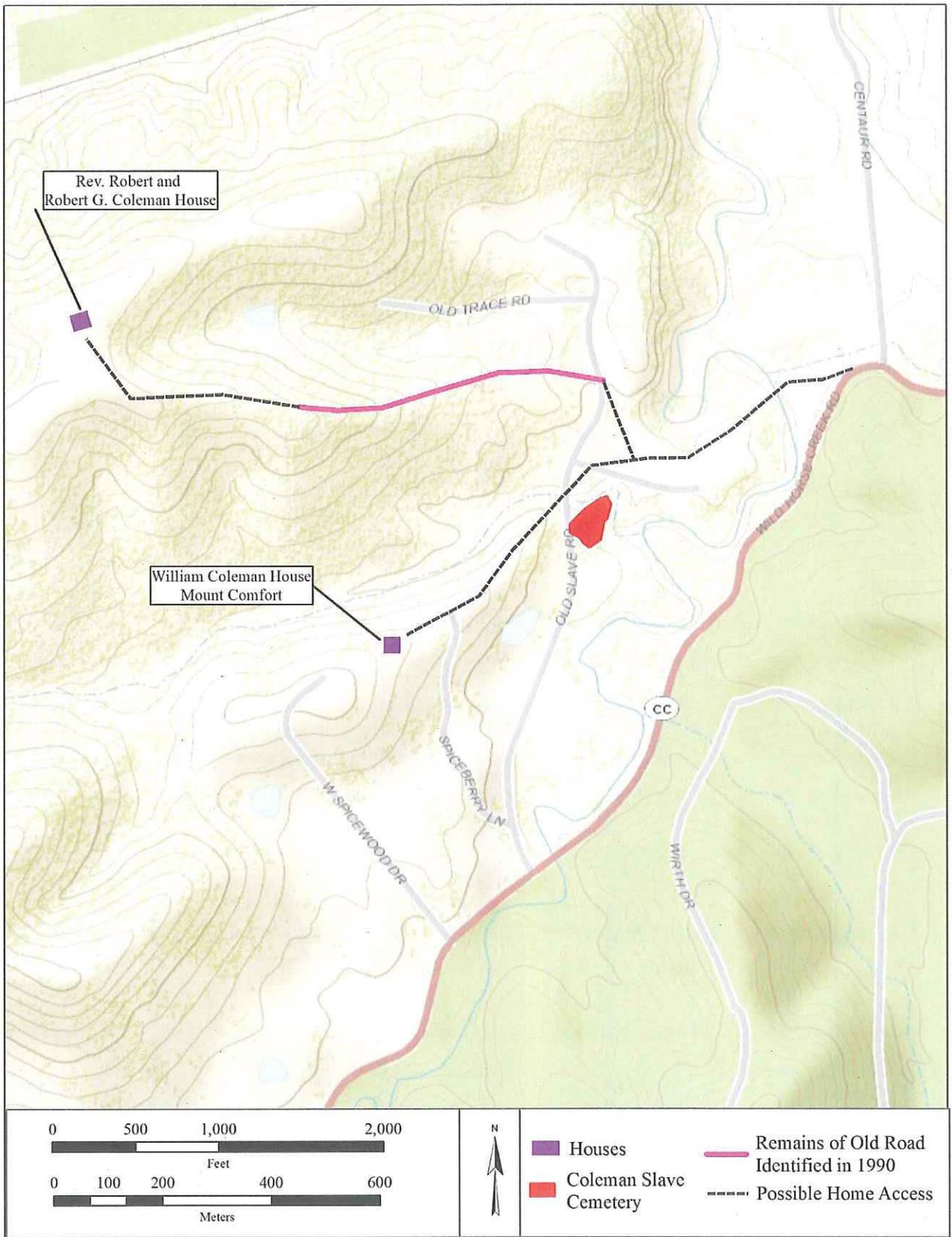


Figure 19: Location of the Likely Access to the Robert and William Coleman Homes



It is not likely that Old Slave Road as it is presently configured actually represented the main access to the Robert and William Coleman's homes. They would have received most of their supplies and crops would have been shipped either east along Wildhorse Creek Road running across the bluff top or northeast from a steamboat landing on the Missouri River. The most likely access to this area from these bottoms would have been a crossing at Wildhorse Creek just north of the Coleman Slave Cemetery, near where East Point Lane is today (Figure 19). According to the topographic map, this location would provide the easiest crossing of the creek. Further, the crossing would have been directly west of where Wildhorse Creek Road comes down from the bluff top. The Rev. Robert Coleman and his son, Robert G., home would have been accessed by continuing up the ridge slope to the west, where the remains of an old trail was identified during the UMSL 1990 survey. William Coleman's home, at Mount Comfort, was most likely accessed by a trail leading down the gradual northeast ridge slope. This would place the Coleman Slave Cemetery where the trail came off the ridge slope onto Wildhorse Creek bottoms. The cemetery also would be located near where the trails from Robert's home and William's home would have merged. This does not preclude that there was not a wagon road for hauling crops or foot trails in that portion of the Wildhorse Creek bottom, where Old Slave Road is today.

These bottoms, however, would have been the ideal location for planting hemp. The Missouri River floodplain was perceived as being a poor place to raise hemp. Instead, growers favored locations, such as the Wildhorse Creek bottoms, due to deep deposits of well drained, silty loess sediments (Holmes 1982:62). At least 44 to 50 pounds of hemp seed were used per acre. The distance of the plants was crucial. If the seeds are too far apart, the stalks would grow too large in diameter, yielding woody plants difficult to break and its lint would be of inferior quality. If the seeds are too close together then the plant would not reach the desired height. It took about 100 to 120 days to grow hemp, which could reach heights of 14 feet, but 6 to 10 feet was usually desired (Hopkins 1951:43-44). After it was cut with a curved hemp hook or scythes, which was accomplished by one person being able to clear one-half acre in a day (Holmes 1982:71), the hemp went through a series of processes to obtain lint. This lint was then sent to factories where it was turned into rope, bags for collecting cotton, or other products. The need for raising hemp within the narrow confines of Wildhorse Creek bottoms would have meant that slaves were unlikely to have lived within these desired farm lands.

CONCLUSIONS

Cemeteries are not, generally, recommendable for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) unless certain criteria are met. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservations (2008) states that cemeteries are only eligible for inclusion on the NRHP if it is: "A cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events." None of these would apply to the Coleman Slave Cemetery.

However the graves at Coleman Slave Cemetery are considered registered graves by Missouri SHPO (Judith Deel, Personal Communication January, 2013) and are therefore protected by Missouri Statute 214.131-132, which states:

214.131. Every person who shall knowingly destroy, mutilate, disfigure, deface, injure or remove any tomb, monument or gravestone, or other structure placed in any abandoned family cemetery or private burying ground, or any fence, railing, or other work for the protection or ornamentation of any such cemetery or place of burial of any human being, or tomb, monument or gravestone, memento, or memorial, or other structure aforesaid, or of any lot within such cemetery is guilty of a class A misdemeanor. For the purposes of this section and subsection 1 of section 214.132, an "abandoned family cemetery" or "private burying ground" shall include those cemeteries or burying grounds which have not been deeded to the public as provided in chapter 214, and in which no body has been interred for at least twenty-five years.

Although the presence of upright stone slabs does not definitively prove that this is a burial ground, its location and use of limestone slabs is similar to other African American burial grounds. If unmarked human graves are present within the cemetery they are protected by Missouri Statute RSMO 214.131-132.

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