SLAVEHOLDERS AND SLAVES OF HEMPSTEAD COUNTY, ARKANSAS

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Thesis Prepared for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

May 2008

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Houston, Kelly E. Slaveholders and Slaves of Hempstead County, Arkansas. Master of Arts (History), May, 2008, 104 pages, 20 tables, 5 maps, bibliography, 61 titles.

A largely quantitative view of the institution of slavery in Hempstead County, Arkansas, this work does not describe the everyday lives of slaveholders and slaves. Chapters examine the origins, expansion, economics, and demise of slavery in the county. Slavery was established as an important institution in Hempstead County at an early date. The institution grew and expanded quickly as slaveholders moved into the area and focused the economy on cotton production. Slavery as an economic institution was profitable to masters, but it may have detracted from the overall economic development of the county. Hempstead County slaveholders sought to protect their slave property by supporting the Confederacy and housing Arkansas's Confederate government through the last half of the war.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On the eve of the American Civil War, one in four Arkansas residents lived in bondage. They toiled in every corner of the state that supported the cultivation of "King Cotton," especially in the lowlands of the Mississippi Delta. On the fringes of the frontier, Arkansas's slave society was healthy and growing when Confederate defeat brought an end to the institution in 1865. With fewer than three decades in the union as a slave state, Arkansas may have had a short history with slavery when compared to the slave states of the southeast, but the legacy of this history is no less important.[1]

However, the institution of slavery in Arkansas has received relatively little attention from historians. Perhaps this neglect is not surprising, as scholars have notoriously overlooked the Trans-Mississippi states in respect to other topics of southern history, such as the Civil War and Reconstruction. While overlooking the history of slavery in Arkansas may not be unusual, it is unwarranted, as the institution was a central factor in Arkansas's economic development.

The evolution of American slavery scholarship can be viewed in the context of three important studies—*American Negro Slavery* by U. B. Phillips, *The Peculiar Institution* by Kenneth Stampp, and *Many Thousands Gone* by Ira Berlin. While many other significant studies exist, these works appropriately represent the changes in twentieth-century understanding of American slavery, and their influence continues to guide historians of the twenty-first.[2]

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[1] United States Bureau of the Census*, Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 18.

[2] Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918);

The first comprehensive study of American slavery emerged in 1918, when U. B. Phillips published *American Negro Slavery*. Based on the thorough investigation of a wide variety of sources from all over the South, Phillips made many observations about American slavery. Perhaps most important of these was his insistence that the institution was unprofitable for individual slaveholders and the South as a whole, as well as his contention that slavery was a generally benevolent institution. Phillips established a lingering view of American slavery that remained free of serious challenges for many years.

Although some works called into question some of Phillips's ideas during the 1940s, the most crushing blow to his thesis came in 1956, when Kenneth Stampp presented a groundbreaking approach to American slavery with the publication of *The Peculiar Institution*. Stampp's conclusions were revolutionary because he attempted to describe slavery from the viewpoint of the slaves as closely as possible. He emphasized the hardships experienced by those in bondage and characterized slavery not as benign and unprofitable, but instead as exploitative and lucrative.

Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone*, published in 1988, represents the school of thought that has emerged in recent decades. By describing slavery's development in different regions of North America, Berlin demonstrated that American slavery was an interactive and evolving institution that varied with time and location, rather than a static historical event. This outlook on the peculiar institution can be found in recent slavery studies.

Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956); Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1988).

The work of historian Orville W. Taylor dominates the scholarship of Arkansas slavery. His publication of *Negro Slavery in Arkansas* in 1958 established the first and only comprehensive treatment of the subject. Taylor's interpretation was part of a growing challenge to the prevailing version of the history of American slavery that had been established by U.B. Phillips and his adherents, but it did not totally endorse the views of Kenneth Stampp. Falling between Phillips and Stampp, Taylor's analysis worked against the characterization of slavery as a benign institution and stressed slavery's profitability, but downplayed the cruelty of masters. Almost fifty years later, Taylor's work remains the only book-length study of slavery in Arkansas.[3]

The *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* has published several articles dealing with specific Arkansas slavery topics. "An Urban Slave Community: Little Rock, 1831-1862" by Paul D. Lack turned from agricultural slavery to uncover the nature of enslavement in Arkansas's capital city. John S. Otto's "Slavery in the Mountains: Yell County, Arkansas, 1840-1860" and Gary Battershell's "The Socioeconomic Role of Slavery in the Arkansas Upcountry" addressed the institution outside of its most familiar place in the Arkansas lowlands. William VanDeburg delved deeper into the social issues with "The Slave Drivers of Arkansas: A New View From the Narratives." "Arkansas Slaveholdings and Slaveholders in 1850" by Robert Walz, provides an immensely useful statewide quantitative profile of slavery in the important decade between 1850 and 1860. Finally,

[3] Orville Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1958). For a more complete discussion of how Taylor's work fits into the historiography of American slavery, see Carl H. Moneyhon's introduction to Orville Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000).

Orville W. Taylor's "Baptists and Slavery: Relationships and Attitudes" supplements his previously published research on the topic.[4]

Recent interpretations of the institution of slavery in Arkansas can be found in a 1999 edition of the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* that focused specifically on the topic. The issue includes two important articles concerning the slave family in Arkansas and the role of slavery in Arkansas's overall development. "The Slave Family in Arkansas," by Carl H. Moneyhon, characterizes the community created by Arkansas slave families, emphasizing the affection between family members in spite of their uncertain circumstances. S. Charles Bolton's "Slavery and the Defining of Arkansas" explains that although slavery may not have been as dominant and widespread as in other southern states, it was a pervasive influence in the state's development.[5]

A judicious treatment of the subject of Arkansas slavery can be found in two significant books on Arkansas history—also by Bolton and Moneyhon. Published in 1998, Bolton's *Arkansas, 1800-1860: Remote and Restless* includes a chapter entitled "Human and Chattel" that effectively provides a description of slave life in Arkansas. Incorporating WPA slave narratives into his sources, Bolton attempted to view slavery through the lens of the slaves themselves. *The Impact of the Civil War and*

[4] Paul D. Lack, "An Urban Slave Community: Little Rock, 1831-1862," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring, 1982): 258-87; John S. Otto, "Slavery in the Mountains: Yell County, Arkansas, 1840-1860," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring, 1980): 35-52; Orville W. Taylor, "Baptists and Slavery: Relationships and Attitudes," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Autumn, 1979): 199-226; Robert B. Walz, "Arkansas Slaveholdings and Slaveholders in 1850," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 12 (Spring, 1953): 38-74; William VanDeburg, "The Slave Drivers of Arkansas: A New View From the Narratives," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 25 (Autumn, 1976): 231-245; Gary Battershell, "The Socioeconomic Role of Slavery in the Arkansas Upcountry," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 58 (Spring, 1999): 45-60.

[5] S. Charles Bolton, "Slavery and the Defining of Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 28 (Spring, 1999): 1-23; Carl H. Moneyhon, "The Slave Family in Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 28 (Spring, 1999): 24-44; This issue of the Arkansas Historical Quarterly also includes: Gary Battershell, "The Socioeconomic Role of Slavery in the Arkansas Upcountry," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 28 (Spring, 1999): 45-60 and Ted J. Smith "Mastering Farm and Family: David Walker as Slaveholder," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 28 (Spring, 1999): 61-79.

Reconstruction on Arkansas, published in 1994 by Carl Moneyhon, begins with an in-depth survey of antebellum Arkansas in which the role of slavery is highlighted and well-documented.[6]

A recently published monograph on Arkansas history has done much to further the scholarship of antebellum Arkansas—Donald P. McNeilly's *The Old South Frontier: Cotton Plantations and the Formation of Arkansas Society, 1819-1861*. McNeilly argues that the development of Arkansas society was dominated by an ever-strengthening planter class supported by slavery. Focusing on the Arkansas lowlands, the chapter entitled "Slavery on the Cotton Frontier" provides an overview of slavery in the development of the region and includes insight into the daily experiences of the slaves. McNeilly emphasizes slavery as the basis of the economic and social evolution of Arkansas and demonstrates how slaveholders managed to gain and keep a firm grip on Arkansas society. While *The Old South Frontier* highlights the importance of slavery in Arkansas and employs modern research methods, it has not erased the need for further scholarship on the topic of Arkansas slavery.[7]

Thus, slavery in Arkansas has not been wholly ignored by historians in recent years, and advances have been made toward a greater understanding of slavery in the state. But more work is needed. A case study focusing on the institution in a single county in Arkansas—Hempstead County, for example—is a useful step toward giving this issue the detailed attention that it deserves. By examining slaves and slaveholders

[6] S. Charles Bolton, *Arkansas, 1800-1860: Remote and Restless* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998); Carl H. Moneyhon, The *Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on Arkansas* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994).

[7] Donald P. McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier: Cotton Plantations and the Formation of Arkansas Society, 1819-1861* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000).

in Hempstead County during the statehood period, the nature of the institution in Arkansas can be studied in microcosm.

Hempstead County is an appropriate choice for such a study because slavery had a strong presence there from an early date. Favored with fertile soil and a water route into Louisiana, the county led Arkansas counties in slave population in 1830, six years before the territory became a state. Although the southeastern riverfront counties along the Mississippi came to far surpass Hempstead County in slaveholding and cotton production, it continued as one of Arkansas's top slaveholding counties through the antebellum years.[8]

In addition to its position as an important slaveholding region, Hempstead County has a wealth of historical records for the study of the peculiar institution in microcosm. The Hempstead County courthouse has never burned, allowing for the survival of many local records, which can supplement United States Census information. Thus, the sources to support a county-level investigation of slaves and slaveholders in Hempstead County make it a prime subject.[9]

The purpose of this county-level study is to examine the institution of slavery and its economic importance during the statehood period. Understanding the growth of the institution is essential. Did the institution of slavery grow or weaken in Hempstead County? Expansion might hint at profitability and significance, while a weakening would suggest that slavery was unprofitable or unimportant. How did the growth of slavery in Hempstead County relate to the institution's development statewide? This kind of context is needed to understand the statistics of slavery in Hempstead County. And,

[8] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 26.

[9] Historical sources for Hempstead County and several other southwestern Arkansas counties can be found at the Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives, located in Washington, Arkansas.

because slavery in Arkansas was primarily part of the cotton economy, how did cotton production relate to the growth of slavery in the county?

In addition to detailing the evolution of slavery in Hempstead County, this study must explain the nature of the county's slaveholdings. Who were the slaveholders, and how many slaves did they own? Who were the planters? How large were their slaveholdings? How did these holdings change over time? By answering these questions and analyzing the answers in the context of the state and the South, a county-level study of slavery in Hempstead County can add significantly to the understanding of Arkansas's history with the institution.

It is important to note that this study is limited to what can be deemed an "outside" view of the institution of slavery in Hempstead County. This is because there is no attempt to describe the personal experiences or conditions of the slaveholders or slaves themselves. Political concerns are also omitted. The approach is instead largely statistical in nature and analyzes the institution according to "outside" sources. Information drawn from tax rolls, census reports, and court records is used to trace and explain the economic growth of slavery in Hempstead County without attention to personal papers or slave narratives. While this approach is impersonal, it is an effective way to focus on the economic importance of slavery in the county's history.

Hempstead County, Arkansas, was organized as part of Missouri Territory in 1818, taking its name from the territory's first delegate to Congress, Edward Hempstead. At its original size, Hempstead County encompassed a huge portion of southwest Arkansas, stretching south and west of the Little Missouri River, directly south to Louisiana, and west to Indian Territory. At its much smaller present size (see

Map 1), Hempstead County spans about 730 square miles. This paper will refer to the county as it was organized between 1850 and 1860, which is smaller than the earliest size because of the loss of land to neighboring counties, but slightly larger than the present-day county.[10]

Arkansas Territory was organized in 1819, and immigrants to Hempstead County were only part of the increasing flow of settlers to the region in the following decades. By keelboat and flatboat, individuals and families came to settle along the Red River at Fulton, Hempstead County's oldest settlement. In 1832, the "military road" was cut from Little Rock southwest to Washington, Hempstead's county seat. By 1838, the "raft," a dangerous and inhibiting mass of debris and driftwood, was cleared from the Red River, allowing for easier steamboat transportation of goods and people in and out of the county. Around the same time, a tri-weekly stagecoach began operation between Little Rock and Washington. These improvements in transportation helped boost the population of Hempstead County, which grew to 4,921 by 1840.[11]

Washington, the most important town in the county, served as a stopping point along the "Southwest Trail" that led into Texas. Its history begins as early as 1818 with the establishment of a tavern for travelers. The town was sparsely populated by the

[10] *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Southern Arkansas* (Chicago: The Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1890), 377-379; Gerald T. Hanson and Carl H. Moneyhon, *Historical Atlas of Arkansas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 29-31.

[11] S. Charles Bolton, *Arkansas, 1800-1860: Remote and Restless* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998) 25; *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Southern Arkansas* (Chicago: The Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1890) 384-385; Robert B. Walz, "Migration into Arkansas, 1820-1880: Incentives and Means of Travel," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 17 (Winter, 1958): 315-320; Walter Moffatt, "Transportation into Arkansas, 1819-1840," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 15 (Autumn, 1956): 192; Fifth Census of the United States, Population Schedule; Hanson and Moneyhon, *Historical Atlas of Arkansas* , 32-33.

same people who would later comprise Hempstead County's slaveholding and planter class.[12]

Washington firmly established itself as the county seat by the 1830s and served as the site of many intriguing historical events—both real and imagined. Two popular figures of Texas history have made their marks on the area. Legend has it that General Sam Houston spent time at the tavern in Washington in the 1830s, surrounded by other mysterious personalities who were looking to gather support for a mission to stir revolution in Texas. Historian Francis Irby Gwaltney went so far as to refer to Washington as the "birthplace of the Texas Revolution." In addition to Sam Houston's cameo appearance in the folk history of Hempstead County, the "Bowie Knife" is also a favorite among many locals who believe that the legendary knife was first forged in a blacksmith shop in Washington.[13]

Washington increased in importance and served as a resting place for travelers as well as a commercial center for locals. By 1863, Washington would develop into a bustling—albeit frontier—town with enough dedication to slavery to serve as Arkansas's Confederate capital for the last few years of the Civil War. How did the county get to this point? The answer may be found in the examination of slaveholders and slaves of Hempstead County. [14]

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[12] Francis Irby Gwaltney, "A Survey of Historic Washington, Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 17 (Winter, 1958): 337-394; Thomas A. Deblack, *With Fire and Sword: Arkansas, 1861-1874* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2003) 4, 202.

[13] Gwaltney, "A Survey of Historic Washington, Arkansas" *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 17 (Winter, 1958): 338-341.

[14] Gwaltney, "A Survey of Historic Washington, Arkansas," 337-394; Thomas A. DeBlack, *With Fire and Sword: Arkansas, 1861-1874* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2003) 4, 202.

Map 1
Hempstead County, Arkansas

CHAPTER 2

ORIGINS OF SLAVERY IN ARKANSAS AND HEMPSTEAD COUNTY

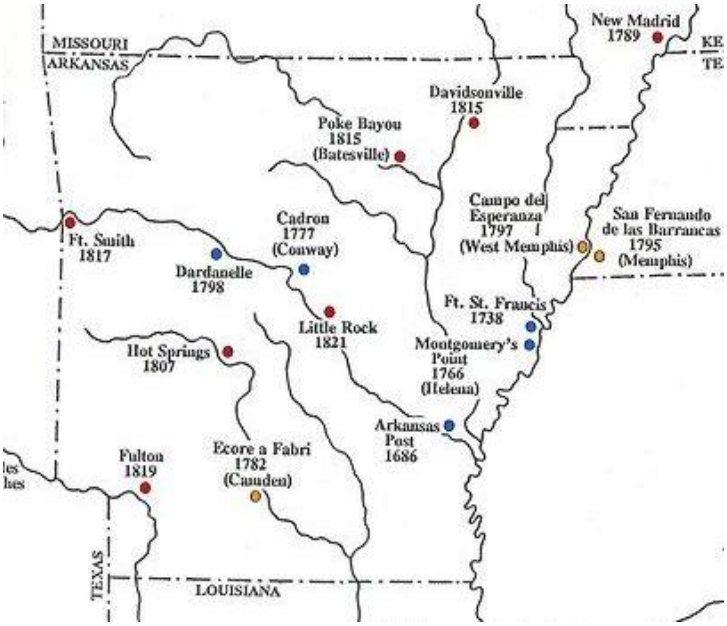
The first slaves to enter the modern boundaries of Arkansas arrived while the area was still part of French Louisiana. Orville Taylor wrote that they came with settlers recruited by a stock enterprise called the Western Company, chartered in 1717. A group of Germans, who were recruited to settle along the Arkansas River, brought slaves to the area near Arkansas Post in 1720 (See Map 2). This early settlement, called Law's Colony, was short-lived because the community was too distant from a steady source of supplies, and the Germans deserted the area in favor of settlements closer to New Orleans.[15]

In recent years, the above story has been disputed. According to research by legal historian Judge Morris S. Arnold, the Germans never arrived to Law's concession, and the settlement never amounted to more than a small group of Frenchmen and indentured servants. By April of 1723—whether the Germans actually arrived or not—Law's concession was deserted, although a few settlers with slaves remained in the vicinity of Arkansas Post.[16]

[15] OrvilleTaylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 6-12; Donald P. McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier: Cotton Plantations and the Formation of Arkansas Society, 1819-1861*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 46.

[16] Morris S. Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas, 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press,1991), 9-17; Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 12.

Arkansas Post, located in southeastern Arkansas, was the first important white settlement in Arkansas and quickly became the region's population nucleus. Therefore, it is no surprise that the first accounts of Arkansas slavery originate there. Although it was only sporadically maintained after its founding in 1686, the site was Arkansas's only such military post, trading center, and seat of government for many years. The post was moved twice, but all three locations it occupied were near the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers.[17]



Map 2
Military Posts of Eighteenth-Century Arkansas

The white population of the Arkansas district of Louisiana grew slowly during the eighteenth century. The region was still a home to French hunters, trappers, and traders who shipped furs, deerskins, bear oil and buffalo meat to New Orleans and had little need for slave labor. Approximately sixty slaves lived in the area of Arkansas Post in the

[17] Jeannie M. Whayne et al, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2002), 46-48.

1780s, but it is impossible to know exactly how many slaves were in Arkansas during the colonial years. It is known that holdings were generally small.[18]

The slaves of eighteenth-century Arkansas worked in agriculture, as artisans, shipping laborers, and Indian fighters. They were held accountable under the "Black Code" of Louisiana, which provided severe punishments for running away or acts of violence. The key to the code was the idea that slaves were movable property that was to be protected from theft or destruction. Because enforcement of the code depended on settlers spread over a large area who were often distanced from officials, and slaves who ran away usually escaped to neighboring Indian tribes, the implementation of the Black Code varied. Cultural traditions often remained the most important guide to the administration of bondsmen.[19]

In 1803, the Louisiana Purchase placed Arkansas into the possession of the United States. At this time less than a thousand slaves inhabited Arkansas. The ownership of these slaves was undisturbed as the treaty purchasing Louisiana provided for the protection of the property of the inhabitants. Once the district had fallen under the jurisdiction of the United States, American settlers came to Arkansas in greater numbers and brought their slaves with them.[20]

In 1804-1805, Arkansas was part of the District of Louisiana, which then became the Territory of Louisiana until 1812, when the state of Louisiana entered the union. The

[18] Whayne et al, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, 54, 70; Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 12.
[19] Mathe Allain,"Slave Policies in French Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 11 (Spring, 1980): 137; Carl A. Brasseaux,"The Administration of Slave Regulations in French Louisiana, 1724-1766," *Louisiana History* 11 (Spring, 1980): 140; Whayne et al, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, 71-72, 99; Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 13-15.
[20] Whayne et al, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, 78-79; Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 24-25; McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 33.

remaining area was known as Missouri Territory, from which Arkansas Territory was formed in 1819 upon Missouri's application for statehood.[21]

The security of slavery in Arkansas was threatened during the process of organizing territorial government. The question of whether slavery would be allowed in the new territory was, according to Orville Taylor, a "forecast of the Missouri Compromise." Debate on the status of slavery in Missouri and the territory of Arkansas began around the same time, but the question was settled first for Arkansas.[22]

An amendment to the bill creating Arkansas Territory was proposed by New York Representative John W. Taylor (an amendment similar to the Tallmadge amendment concerning the state of Missouri, which had been presented five days earlier), with a section that would prohibit the further introduction of slaves into the territory, and another section that would provide for the emancipation of all slaves born there in the future at twenty-five years of age. The amendment, which would have eventually eliminated slavery in the territory of Arkansas, was defeated when a tie was broken by Speaker Henry Clay. Taylor went on to propose another amendment to the Arkansas Territory bill that would bar slavery and involuntary servitude north of the line 36° 30' N. Taylor's line was aggressively defeated, but later ironically proposed and passed as part of the Missouri Compromise.[23]

Thus, the institution of slavery in Arkansas narrowly escaped a slow death in 1819. However, slavery was not that important to the region yet. Although the slave

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[21] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 6-12; Charles S. Bolton, *Territorial Ambition: Land and Society in Arkansas, 1800-1840* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993), 23-24; Charles S. Bolton, *Arkansas, 1800-1860: Remote and Restless* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998), 24-25.

[22] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 18.

[23] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 21-22; Robert Pierce Forbes, *The Missouri Compromise and Its Aftermath: Slavery and the Meaning of America*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press), 45-47.

population of Arkansas increased from 136 in 1810 to 1,613 in 1820, the white population grew faster and slaves as a percentage of the total population actually decreased. However, because slavery was now secured there, the new territory of Arkansas would attract southern immigrants and experience a dramatic growth in slave population in its first decade.[24]

Slaves constituted approximately one-ninth of the population in 1820, and their numbers would continue to grow. The total population of Arkansas rose from 14,273 in 1820 to 30,388 in 1830. The slave population during those years rose from 1,617 (11 percent of the total) to 4,576 (15 percent of the total). The bulk of Arkansas's settlers came from southern states such as Tennessee, Mississippi, the Carolinas, and Virginia. These newcomers sought to recreate the type of economy with which they were familiar—slave-supported cash-crop agriculture.[25]

Travel by settlers and their property into territorial Arkansas was slow and uncomfortable. Immigrants were dependent on water transportation because the region lacked good roads, offering only crude paths for those who chose to travel overland. Thus, small ferries, flatboats and keelboats that crept upstream on the Arkansas and Red rivers provided the best means of travel. [26]

The earliest population centers of Arkansas Territory were located on the banks of the Arkansas River and in northwest Arkansas where the land was less prone to flooding and disease-causing mosquito infestation. Soon, however, the southwest

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[24] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 21-23; Bolton, *Arkansas, 1800-1860: Remote and Restless*, 25; Whayne et al, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, 93.

[25] McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 35, 53-56; Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 48; Moneyhon, "The Slave Family in Arkansas" *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 28 (Spring, 1999): 27-28; Hanson and Moneyhon, *Historical Atlas of Arkansas,* 37.

[26] Robert B. Walz, "Migration into Arkansas, 1820-1880: Incentives and Means of Travel," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 17 (Winter, 1958): 315; Mattie Brown, "River Transportation in Arkansas, 1819-1890," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 1 (December, 1942): 292-308; Bolton, *Territorial Ambition*, 29.

(including Hempstead County) quickly became a popular destination because farmland there was on higher ground than that of the southeast, and was more fertile than the lands of the northwest. By 1820, the population of the southwestern corner of Arkansas numbered 2,200 people. While Arkansas did grow quickly, its growth was dwarfed by Missouri and Louisiana, possibly because of its reputation as a wild frontier plagued by lawlessness and Indian attacks.[27]

Arkansas Post remained the territory's most important hub for trading in imported manufactured goods and foodstuffs from New Orleans. Upriver from the post, settlements were more scattered, and commodities like sugar and coffee became more expensive. Thomas Nuttall, a contemporary observer, described the post as an "infant settlement of the poor and improvident" but noted that the inhabitants had been industrious enough to construct two cotton gins.[28]

In the southwestern region, the inhabitants of Hempstead County clustered along the Red River at Fulton and around the settlement of Washington, which served as a commercial and trading center. In 1828, there were 26 town lots owned in Washington, with an average value of $211 per lot. The 1830 census enumerated 1,987 free white persons and 3 free blacks in the county. The number of taxpayers in Hempstead County between the years of 1828 and 1832 remained less than 500.[29]

Early on, Hempstead County distinguished itself as a strong slaveholding county. In 1820, Hempstead County had 481 slaves out of a total population of 2,284—making

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[27] McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 17-21, Bolton, *Territorial Ambition*, 29; Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 25; Gerald T. Hanson and Carl H. Moneyhon, *Historical Atlas of Arkansas*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 32.

[28] Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels Into the Arkansas Territory* (Ann Arbor University Microfilm Facsimile, 1966), 73; Bolton, *Arkansas, 1800-1860: Remote and Restless*, 19.

[29] McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 15, 23; Hempstead County tax rolls 1828, 1829, and 1832.

it second in slave population among the counties of Arkansas Territory. First was Lawrence County with 490 slaves, the county which also led in total population. Hempstead County came to lead in slave population among all Arkansas Territory counties in 1830—522 out of a total population of 2,512. Hempstead County's slaves made up 20 percent of the total population, while slaves amounted to 15 percent of the total population of the entire territory.[30]

Hempstead County began as, and remained, Arkansas's only large slaveholding county that was not part of the southeastern Mississippi River block of counties, which Orville Taylor referred to as "the true lowland group." This was partly due to the county's convenient access to the Red River, which provided a direct route to Shreveport, Louisiana. In addition, the development of the Mississippi River delta counties of southeast Arkansas was delayed by the difficult process of clearing the swampy, unhealthy region for settlement. While the southeast lowland counties quickly approached and surpassed Hempstead County's slave population, it continued as a major slaveholding Arkansas county.[31]

As the territory of Arkansas grew in population, it also developed agriculturally as more land was acquired, cleared, and planted. Settlers were drawn by the United States' newly liberalized land policies that made frontier land cheap and easy to acquire. Speculators bought up many acres to sell to newly arrived families, and some chose to simply squat on the land and informally claim it as their own. Many were drawn by the 1814 Preemption Act that allowed squatters to purchase land that they had already occupied at low prices, but sales records show that many settlers preferred to

[30] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 48, 51.
[31] McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 16-17; Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 25-26, 51.

squat on public land rather than attempt to purchase it. Southerners who were trapped by depleted land or those who simply wanted a fresh start headed west.[32]

Unfortunately, the territorial tax rolls available for Hempstead County include only the names and total taxes owed, with an appended list of landowners including their acreage, original survey information. This does not include the value of the land and improvements, or assessments of personal property such as slaves or livestock. But what is available is worth analyzing.

Hempstead County's taxpayers owned 10,191 acres in 1828, an average of 137 acres per landowner. Of the 454 people listed, only 74, representing 16 percent of the total, held taxable land. Perhaps a majority of Hempstead County's farmers rented or worked as farm laborers, but a comparison to historian Charles Bolton's analysis of Arkansas County tax lists for 1825 suggests that, as in Arkansas County, much of Hempstead County's territorial population simply squatted on the public domain. Present-day Hempstead County covers approximately 480,000 acres—much less than the county's acreage would have been in the 1820s. The taxable land listed in Hempstead County's 1828 tax rolls makes up only 2 percent of the present county. The fact that taxes were paid on such a small percentage of the county's acres suggests that many people were living on public land—a common practice for all of Arkansas's plantation counties well into the 1850s.[33]

Lands taxed in 1829 amounted to 10,532 acres, bringing the average acreage up to 144 acres per owner. The percentage of landowning taxpayers remained 16 percent.

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[32] Bolton, *Arkansas, 1800-1860: Remote and Restless*, 15-16; McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 23.

[33] Hempstead County tax rolls, 1828; Bolton, *Territorial Ambition*, 51; McNeilly, *Old South Frontier*, 23-24.

In 1832, the number of acres owned increased to 11,210, bringing the average acreage owned by landowners up to 167. In this year, 20 percent of taxpayers owed taxable land. Although many apparently remained squatters, Hempstead County's citizens were slowly but surely increasing their landholdings.[34]

Arkansas's earliest farmers produced corn and cotton above all other crops. They first and foremost focused on subsisting, but became increasingly concerned with marketing their yields as time went on. Corn was the key food source for Arkansans and their livestock, but surplus corn or cornmeal was shipped to sell for food to other places. More important, by the mid 1820s, cotton had infatuated the minds of many Arkansas planters. The *Arkansas Gazette* heralded cotton as the staple of the territory, and reported in 1825 that hundreds of bales from several counties were being shipped to New Orleans or sold for cash at Arkansas Post.[35]

The farmers of Hempstead County enthusiastically embraced cotton culture. In fact, most of the territory's early cotton came from Hempstead and neighboring Lafayette County. In April 1822, the *Arkansas Gazette* boasted that the planters of Hempstead County had sent 400 bales of cotton by keelboat to New Orleans at the previous year's harvest, and that farmers were eager to continue to concentrate on cotton. In 1823, Thomas Eskridge, a Superior Court judge and Hempstead County planter, published praise for the fertility of Arkansas's soil, especially the land along the Red River.[36]

[34] Hempstead County tax rolls, 1828, 1829, and 1832.
[35] McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 13-15; Bolton, *Territorial Ambition*, 39-40, 46.
[36] McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 15; *Arkansas Gazette*, April 16, 1822; Bolton, *Territorial Ambition*, 38-39.

Cotton production required labor, and for white southerners that meant slaves. At an early date, the territory established a code of laws dealing with slavery. Slaves were allowed to petition courts for their freedom and could also be emancipated by wills. Freedmen who failed to pay taxes were to be hired out until the amount due was paid, but there were no restrictions concerning where free blacks could live or travel. However, neither blacks nor mulattoes could serve as witnesses against whites in territorial courts. Slaves were unable to leave their master's residence without a pass, and those caught "strolling" by the patrols could be immediately whipped. The assembly of slaves was monitored closely—groups of slaves could not gather for longer than four hours at a time and suspicious or riotous groups were to be disbanded and punished. Slaves caught inciting insurrection were to be punished with death. Interestingly, slaves and free blacks living on or near plantations were allowed to keep and use guns, if they obtained licenses for firearms and ammunition from officials or masters. Masters were responsible to a certain degree for the behavior of their bondsmen and could be punished for allowing slaves to trade unlawfully or hire themselves out.[37]

Punishment for slave crimes was generally in the form of "well laid on" whippings for men and women. But whippings were not reserved strictly for slaves and free blacks. Whites who were connected with unlawful slave gatherings or who illegally traded with slaves were fined. If fines went unpaid, the violator was to receive "on his or her bare back" twenty to thirty lashes "well laid on." According to the law, whites could actually be

[37] *Laws of Arkansas Territory, Compiled and arranged by J. Steele and J.M'Campbell, under the direction and superintendence of John Pope, Esq., Governor of the Territory of Arkansas* (Little Rock: J. Steel, 1835), 268, 329, 521-530.

put to death “without benefit of clergy” for knowingly placing a free black person into slavery through theft or sale.[38]

By the early 1830s, as the population of Arkansas Territory increased and the agricultural economy developed, leaders began to think about statehood. The population was nearing the 40,000 needed for admission, and politicians touted their ability and willingness to bring Arkansas out of her territorial status as soon as possible.[39]

Because of the difficulty involved in the formation of Arkansas Territory as a slave region, however, Arkansas’s leaders anticipated a struggle in Arkansas’s admission as a slave state. No slave state had attempted to enter the union since Missouri in 1821; however, the Missouri Compromise was of some comfort. The balance of twelve slave states to twelve free states secured the harmony of the Senate when Arkansas requested consideration for statehood in 1835.[40]

Among Arkansas’s territorial leaders, perhaps its delegate to Congress, Ambrose Sevier, pushed hardest for statehood. He was born in Tennessee, the son of John Sevier, the state’s first governor. He moved to Missouri in 1820 at age nineteen, and then relocated to Arkansas in 1821 where he became involved in territorial politics. Sevier was a member of “the Family,” a political faction of territorial Arkansas held together by family ties of blood and marriage. He served in the territorial legislature, and

[38] *Laws of Arkansas Territory*, 521-525.
[39] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 33.
[40] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 35; Cal Ledbetter, Jr., “The Constitution of 1836: A New Perspective,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 41 (Autumn, 1982): 221.

was elected territorial delegate to Congress after the sitting delegate was killed in a duel.[41]

As Arkansas's congressional delegate, Sevier recognized the benefits of remaining in territorial status, but argued that as soon as Arkansas had the appropriate population and a treasury free of dangerous debt, it should apply for statehood. When Michigan applied for consideration in 1834, Sevier saw statehood as a more immediate need.[42]

If Michigan was admitted, the balance between the free and slave states in the Senate would be upset. It was expected that free and slave states would enter in pairs, as Missouri and Maine had done in 1821. Florida was getting ready to apply for admission as a slave state, and if it succeeded, Arkansas would have to wait indefinitely for a sister state—the next probable free state would likely be Wisconsin, and this territory was far from ready.[43]

Sevier recognized this situation as an emergency. Arkansas needed to apply for statehood quickly with Michigan in order to be considered in the near future. Because anti-Jackson congressmen feared the admission of two new pro-Jackson states, the measures concerning both Michigan's and Arkansas's statehood were left on the table until after the presidential election of 1836.[44]

Pro-statehood Arkansans decided to be ready. They initiated the process of electing a constitutional convention in order to have a state constitution prepared to

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[41] Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography, Under the Auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies Volume VVI*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935).

[42] Marie Cash, "Arkansas Achieves Statehood" *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 2 (December, 1943): 292-294; Whayne et al, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, 105.

[43] Ledbetter, "The Constitution of 1836," 221; Cash, "Arkansas Achieves Statehood," 294.

[44] Ledbetter, "The Constitution of 1836" 221; Cash, "Arkansas Achieves Statehood," 294.

submit with the bill asking for consideration statehood. Some opposed this initiative, declaring it as illegal, but the states of Vermont, Kentucky, and Maine had all entered the union in the same fashion—as one historian has described it, "constitution in hand."[45]

Again slavery was to dictate the politics of Arkansas's statehood process. More people agreed on Arkansas's right to begin writing a constitution than agreed on how the writers should be chosen. The territory of Arkansas was geographically and economically divided between the northwestern highlands and the southeastern lowlands. In the northwest, slaves were present but much fewer in number, and farming was done in smaller operations. The southeast was dominated by larger cotton-producing operations with large slave populations. The white population was higher and poorer in the northwest, in contrast to the richer, lower white population in the southeast. Although Hempstead County is located in the southwestern half of the state, its geography, economy, and politics matched closely to that of the southeast, putting it on the southeastern side of the line dividing Arkansans. [46]

The social and political divisions along this same line made themselves evident as Arkansas's leaders debated the entrance of Arkansas into the union. Understandably, the northwesterners wanted representation in the convention to be based on free white population alone, while southeasterners sought to include slaves in the population count for apportionment. After all, southeasterners argued, the inclusion of the slave population helped make statehood possible in the first place. Because the

[45] Ledbetter, "The Constitution of 1836," 222; Cash, "Arkansas Achieves Statehood," 300; Whayne et al, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, 106.

[46] Hanson and Moneyhon, *Historical Atlas of Arkansas*, 39; Cal Ledbetter, Jr., "The Constitution of 1836," 224; McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 4-5.

county was on the southeastern side of the debate, a leading Hempstead County planter, James H. Walker, was chosen to represent southeastern interests in the dispute over convention delegates in the legislature. In the end, delegates to the convention were chosen almost exactly evenly from the southeastern and northwestern counties, but controversy was destined to continue as the constitutional committees debated the issue of legislative representation in the future state of Arkansas.[47]

The institution of slavery in Arkansas indeed had an indirect effect in the convention because it was at the heart of the apportionment debate. It had to be dealt with more directly during the writing of the constitution. Apparently the delegates were in agreement that the institution of slavery should be permitted and protected—their only conflict concerning slavery dealt with the slave population as it applied to representation in the legislature.[48]

Only a few provisions of the constitution deal with the institution, but they were important. While historian Orville Taylor suggested that the 1836 Arkansas constitution was more aggressively protective of slavery than other southern constitutions, historian Cal Ledbetter interpreted the document as very similar to other southern states on its position concerning slavery. Arkansas's state constitution granted the general assembly the authority to prevent the entrance of slaves into the state who had committed crimes in other states or the entrance of slaves "for the purpose of speculation, or as an article of trade or merchandise." [49]

[47] Whayne et al, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, 106-107; Ledbetter, "The Constitution of 1836," 224.

[48] Ledbetter, "The Constitution of 1836," 233; Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 41.

[49] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 42-46; Ledbetter, "The Constitution of 1836," 244.

The emancipation of slaves was forbidden without the consent of the owner, and it was directed that slaves be treated humanely. In addition, the constitution guaranteed the right of slaves to an impartial jury and state-appointed counsel when on trial, and instructed that slaves convicted of capital offenses were to receive the same punishment as whites for the same offense. The constitution also protected slaveowners who brought their human property into the state with them, and did not ban freed slaves from the state.[50]

Cal Ledbetter has hypothesized that the presence of slavery in Arkansas may have induced constitution writers to change the phrase "That all men are born equally free and independent and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights" to "That all free men, when they form a social compact are equal, and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights."[51]

Ledbetter has described Arkansas's 1836 constitution as a near carbon copy of the constitutions of the various other southern states, except Mississippi, whose constitution provided for frequent popular elections of judges and public officials. This view contrasts with Taylor's interpretation. Taylor pointed out that each new southern state's constitution drew heavily from those of older southern states—and Arkansas was no exception. However, Taylor showed that many other southern constitutions that were effective at the time Arkansas's was written were without direct references to slavery: Maryland (1776), North Carolina (1776), South Carolina (1790), Louisiana (1812), and Virginia (1830).[52]

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ledbetter, "The Constitution of 1836," 233.
[52] Ledbetter, "The Constitution of 1836," 244; Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 46.

When the proposed Arkansas constitution reached Washington, enough contemporary congressmen viewed Arkansas's constitution as non-controversial to approve it in 1836. Proposed amendments that would have limited the institution were defeated, including a proposal by Representative and former president John Quincy Adams that the state's power to limit emancipation be stricken from the document. On June 15, 1836, President Andrew Jackson signed the bill admitting Arkansas into the union.[53]

The right of Arkansans to own and control human property had remained secure during the eighteenth century. Slavery survived the organization of Arkansas as a territory, even though Congress's ability to restrict slavery in territories was more accepted than the right to restrict it in incoming states. Consequently, immigrants took advantage of the opportunity to bring bondsmen into the region's developing frontier. Entering the union secured the greatest security for Arkansans' slave property because the United States Constitution made each state the judge of its own domestic institutions. In the following three decades of Arkansas's existence as a slave state, the institution of slavery thrived and became increasingly important across most of the state, especially in Hempstead County.

[53] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 44; Cash, "Arkansas Achieves Statehood," 308.

CHAPTER 3

GROWTH AND EXPANSION: SLAVERY IN ARKANSAS AND HEMPSTEAD COUNTY FROM STATEHOOD TO SECESSION

Arkansas's status as a state ensured that the slavery question would no longer plague its citizens so long as it remained part of the union. The security provided by statehood encouraged newcomers to enter Arkansas with their bondsmen, developing the region's cotton frontier. Consequently, the institution of slavery in Arkansas and Hempstead County underwent a period of rapid growth and expansion that would continue until emancipation.

The United States Census of 1840, taken four years after Arkansas entered the Union, provides the first detailed statistical view of the new state. (See Table 1) This first census enumeration showed that Arkansas's slave population had reached 19,935 (20 percent of the total population of 97,574). Then, new settlers poured into the state rapidly enough to raise the population by more than 100 percent during each of the next two decades, bringing the total to 209,897 in 1850 and 435,450 in 1860. These migrants brought with them or acquired enough bondsmen to increase the slave population by 136 percent between 1840 (19,935) and 1850 (47,100). And by 1860 the rapid rate of growth brought the total number of bondsmen to 111,115, another increase of 136 percent in a single decade. The number of slaves grew slightly more rapidly than the free population, so that bondsmen amounted to 20 percent of all Arkansans in 1840, 22 percent in 1850, and 26 percent in 1860. Arkansas had relatively few slaves when compared to an Old South state such as South Carolina, where bondsmen were 57 percent of the total population in 1860, but it compared closely to its southwestern

neighbor Texas, where slaves constituted 30 percent of the total.[54]

Table 1
Total, Free, and Slave Populations of Arkansas and Hempstead County, 1840, 1850, and 1860 [55]

	1840	1850	1860
Arkansas Total	97,574	209,897 (115% increase)	435,450 (107% increase)
Arkansas Free Population	77,639	162,797(110% increase)	324,355 (99% increase)
Arkansas Slave Population	19,935	47,100 (136% increase)	111,115 (136% increase)
Arkansas Slave as Percentage of Total	20%	22%	26%
Hempstead County Total	4,921	7,672 (56% increase)	13,989 (82% increase)

(Continued on page 29)

[54] *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and the Statistics of the United States, as obtained…from the returns of the Sixth Census* (Washington: Thomas Allen, 1841), 92-94; J. D. B. DeBow*, Statistical View of the United States...Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1854), 194, 200; Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 12-13, 503-504.

[55] *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and the Statistics of the United States, as obtained…from the returns of the Sixth Census*, 92-92; DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States...Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 194, 200; Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census*, 12-13.

Table 1 (Continued from page 28)

	1840	1850	1860
Hempstead County Free Population	2,985	5,212 (75% increase)	8,591 (65% increase)
Hempstead County Slave Population	1,936	2,460 (27% increase)	5,398 (119% increase)
Hempstead County Slave as Percentage of Total	40%	31%	38%

Population changes in Hempstead County between 1840 and 1860 were somewhat less dramatic than those for Arkansas as a whole, but slavery continued to occupy a more important place there than it held statewide. (See Table 1) Increases in the county's total population and number of slaves did not quite match those for the state. The number of slaves rose from 1,954 in 1840 to 2,408 in 1850 (a gain of 23 percent compared to the 136 percent growth of the slave population statewide) and then to 5,342 in 1860 (an increase of 122 percent, which still did not quite match the comparable statistic – 136 percent – for all of Arkansas during the last antebellum decade). Nevertheless, bondsmen, who constituted 40 percent of the county's total population of 4,921 in 1840, only fell to 31 percent in 1850, a proportion still notably higher than slaves amounted to statewide. The decline in slaves as a part of the whole between 1840 and 1850 probably resulted from the especially rapid increase of the free

population (75 percent between 1840 and 1850) rather than from any decrease in the importance of slavery; an explanation attested to by the fact that in 1860, following a decade of more rapid growth in the proportion of bondsmen, slaves made up 38 percent of the county's total population. While Hempstead County did not always keep up with the rate of increase in slaves for Arkansas as a whole, slaves in Hempstead County constituted a higher proportion of the population of Hempstead County than they did in Arkansas as a whole.[56]

Migrants from other southern states accounted for the rapid growth of slavery in Arkansas from 1840 to 1860. The bulk of the state's settlers came from southern states such as Tennessee, Mississippi, the Carolinas, and Virginia and sought to recreate the type of economy with which they were familiar–slave-supported cash-crop agriculture. While the newcomers arrived from all over the South, the most common state of origin was Tennessee. Hempstead County's population mirrored that of the state as a whole. In a random sample of 170 Hempstead County heads of households in 1850, 90 percent were natives of the South–with Tennessee (27 percent) and North Carolina (17 percent) providing the largest numbers.[57]

The distribution of slaves among Hempstead County's growing population did not fit the pattern that might be expected. In 1840, 229 of the county's 457 households held at least one slave, an ownership rate of 50 percent. Then, although the number of households owning slaves increased in 1850 (292) and 1860 (435), slaveowners as a

[56] *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and the Statistics of the United States, as obtained…from the returns of the Sixth Census*, 92-92; DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States...Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 194, 200; Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census*, 12-13.

[57] McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 53-56; Moneyhon, "The Slave Family in Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 28 (Spring, 1999): 27-28; Hanson and Moneyhon, *Historical Atlas of Arkansas,* 37; Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants).

proportion of all households declined to and remained at approximately 30 percent of the total. It appears that households using slave labor to establish farms and plantations pioneered Hempstead County and then were joined in large numbers by nonslaveholders. In any case, by the last decade before the Civil War, slaveholders in Hempstead County, like their counterparts across the state and the South accounted for only a little more than one in four households.[58]

Paired with census enumerations, Arkansas tax assessments allow a deeper look into the growth of slavery in Hempstead County. In 1841, Hempstead County residents paid taxes on a total of $1,260,025 of property. The assessment included 1,021 taxable slaves (those over eight and under 60 years old), constituting 42 percent ($530,350) of property taxed in 1841. Six years later, a total of $1,546,633 of property was assessed, including 1,492 slaves (those over 5 and under 60 years old). The slaves were valued at $631,686—41 percent of property taxed.[59]

In 1850, tax lists assessed the value of 1,764 slaves at $745,095. This was 44 percent of the total value of property assessed ($1,696,037). The 1856 tax year accounted for 2,320 slaves, worth a total of $1,237,669—49 percent of the total value of all property taxed. The number of slaves had increased by 130 percent, while the total value of slaves taxed had increased by 166 percent from 1850. In 1860, assessors

[58] Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 224; United States Bureau of the Census, Sixth Census of the United States; Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants); Some discrepancies exist concerning the statistics on slaveholders in the U.S. Census. The compiled and published U.S. Census of 1860 lists 447 slaveholders for Hempstead County, Arkansas, while the microfilmed slave schedule for the county indicates only 434 individual holdings. I will rely on the microfilmed slave schedule for my calculations here, but will present the published census data in later tables.

[59] Hempstead County Tax Rolls, 1841 and 1847. Because of the sometimes limited availability of tax rolls for Hempstead County and my desire to gather information over several years, there are often uneven gaps between the tax years examined.

counted 3,213 slaves valued at $2,120,925. The total value of slave property in this year amounted to 49 percent of the total value of all property assessed. Thus, by 1860, half of the wealth of Hempstead County was in slave property.[60]

The number of slaves continued to increase throughout the tax years—more than 200 percent from 1841 to 1860. Perhaps more significantly, the percent of total property value held in slaves increased by 284 percent, and then remained steady at almost half the value of all property assessed. Tax rolls may also suggest the average value of individual slaves. According to the assessments, the mean value for a single slave was $423 in 1847, $422 in 1850, $533 in 1856, and $660 in 1860—a steady increase over time. This rise in values suggests the increasing importance of slavery for Hempstead County. [61]

Most slaves came into Arkansas and Hempstead County with their masters, many of whom later increased their holdings by purchasing additional slaves. An examination of the first appearances of some of Hempstead County's slaveholders in early county tax assessments suggests that many already owned slaves when they arrived.[62]

Who were Hempstead County's slaveholders? The 229 owners of 1840 grew to 292 in 1850. By the 1860 census enumeration, the ranks of slaveholders in Hempstead County came to include 435 people—making up 4 percent of the state's 11,481

[60] Hempstead County Tax Rolls, 1850, 1856, and 1860.

[61] It should be noted that the state of Arkansas only taxed owners for slaves between five and sixty years of age in that period. While this creates a discrepancy between census and tax roll slave statistics, it does not necessarily affect the usability of tax assessments when discussing the growth of holdings.

[62] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 60; Hempstead County tax rolls, 1839-1850. Tax assessments were made at the beginning of the year. It is possible that newcomers arriving in the months before the new year bought slaves after their arrival but before the tax assessment. However, the recorded ownership of slaves at the first tax year in which a slaveholder appears suggests that the person arrived with slaves.

slaveholders. Hempstead County's slaveholding class was mostly from the South. In a random sample of 100 Hempstead County slaveholders of 1860, more masters were born in Tennessee than in any other state. (See Table 2) Most were middle-aged men—the mean age of slaveowners in the same sample was 42. An overwhelming majority of slaveholders were farmers, but the second most frequent occupation from the random sample was merchant. (See Table 3) [63]

Table 2
Places of Birth Listed of 100 Hempstead County Slaveholders, 1860

Place	Number	Percent
Alabama	3	3
Arkansas	7	7
Connecticut	1	1
Georgia	7	7
Illinois	2	2
Kentucky	4	5
Mississippi	2	2
Missouri	3	3
New York	1	1
North Carolina	19	19
Ohio	1	1
South Carolina	14	14
Tennessee	23	23
Virginia	10	10
Ireland	1	1
Russia	1	1
Total	99	100

[63] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants), Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants), Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants).

Table 3
Occupations of 100 Hempstead County Slaveholders, 1860

Occupation	Number	Percent
Merchant	6	7
Physician	5	5
Lawyer	3	3
Farmer	70	77
Carpenter	1	1
No Avocation	1	1
Overseer	1	1
Owner Steam Mill	1	1
Teacher	1	1
Clergyman	1	1
Hotel Keeper	1	1
Tailor	1	1
Total	92	100

The majority of Hempstead County masters were small slaveholders–few could be called planters. In 1840, 75 percent of slaveholders owned fewer than ten bondsmen, a percentage that declined slightly to 73 percent in 1850 and, more notably, to 64 percent by 1860. (See Table 4) Even then, holders of fewer than ten slaves

constituted a smaller percentage of all masters in Hempstead than they did statewide (8,341 of 11,481 holders or 73 percent). These small slaveholders, although a majority of masters, owned a steadily decreasing share of all slaves in the county. Owners of fewer than ten slaves held 34 percent of all slaves in 1840, 29 percent in 1850, and 19 percent in 1860. (See Table 5). The reason for this decline was simple. Hempstead County, although home to numerous small slaveholders, attracted an elite group of planters–defined as masters owning twenty or more slaves–whose ranks grew steadily after statehood, especially during the 1850s. In 1840, there were only twenty-six planters, 11 percent of all slaveholders in the county. (See Table 5) By 1850, this group increased only by three to twenty-nine masters (10 percent of all owners), but during the next decade significant growth allowed the county to boast sixty-six planters, 15 percent of the slaveholding population of the county.

Table 4
Distribution of Hempstead County Slaveholdings, 1840, 1850, and 1860

Size of Slaveholding	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100+
1840						
Number of holdings	109	64	30	22	4	0
Percentage of holdings	47	28	13	10	2	0
1850						
Number of holdings	153	61	49	26	2	1
Percentage of holdings	52	21	17	9	.7	.3
1860						
Number of holdings	182	98	85	49	16	4
Percentage of holdings	42	22	20	11	4	1

Table 5
Distribution of Hempstead County Slaves According to Size of Slaveholding, 1840, 1850, and 1860

Size of Slaveholding	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100+
1840						
Number of slaves	243	429	402	613	267	0
Percentage of slaves	12	22	21	31	14	0
1850						
Number of slaves	312	396	661	752	136	151
Percentage of slaves	13	16	27	32	6	6
1860						
Number of slaves	389	634	1,179	1,488	1,038	614
Percentage of slaves	7	12	22	28	19	11

Most of Hempstead County's slaves were owned by planters. (See Table 5) Collectively, the planters of Hempstead county owned 880 slaves in 1840—45 percent of the county's slaves. In 1850, they held 1,039 slaves, making up 42 percent of the total. In 1860, this number had increased to 58 percent, as planters owned a total of 3,063 slaves. The total number of slaves owned by planters had increased by almost 300 percent in a decade. And, although planters were a minority of the population, they came to hold the majority of the county's bondsmen.[64]

Most Hempstead County planters owned moderately-sized plantations. The mean number of slaves owned by Hempstead County planters in 1840 was thirty-four. The average had only grown to thirty-five by 1850, but increased to forty-five for 1860.

[64] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants), Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants), Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture).

The county's largest slaveholding in 1840 was eighty-one. In 1850 the largest holding was 151, and in 1860 the largest holding in the county amounted to 205 slaves. Some of the plantations of Hempstead County reached impressive size by the close of the antebellum years.[65]

Almost all of Hempstead County's planters were from the South. Only one, a native of Massachusetts, was born outside of the southern states (if Missouri is considered a southern state). (See Table 7) Virginia was the most frequent place of birth for Hempstead County planters in 1850; in 1860 most were listed as having been born in South Carolina. While most from the planter class were men, the county had one female planter in 1840 and 1850, and seven in 1860—about 10 percent. Most planters were middle age—the mean age of Hempstead County planters was 41 in1850 and 44 in 1860. Most listed farming as their occupations, but a few were professionals who supplemented their incomes by growing cotton. The second most frequent occupation listed by planters was that of physician.[66]

Table 6
Occupations of Hempstead County Planters, 1850

Occupation	Number	Percent
Merchant	2	8
Physician	3	13
Lawyer	1	4
Farmer	18	75
Total	24	100

[65] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants).

[66] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants).

Table 7
Places of Birth Listed for Hempstead County Planters, 1850

Place	Number	Percent
Alabama	1	4
Arkansas	2	8
Georgia	1	4
Kentucky	5	20
Massachusetts	1	4
North Carolina	2	8
South Carolina	2	8
Tennessee	5	20
Virginia	6	24
Total	25	100

Table 8
Occupations of Hempstead County Planters, 1860

Occupation	Number	Percent
Physician	6	10
Lawyer	1	2
Farmer	44	78
No Avocation	1	2
Overseer	1	2
Clergyman	1	2
State Senator	1	2
Register Land Office	1	2
Total	56	100

Table 9
Places of Birth Listed for Hempstead County Planters, 1860

Place	Number	Percent
Alabama	6	10
Arkansas	7	12
Georgia	1	2
Kentucky	4	7
Mississippi	1	2
Missouri	1	2
North Carolina	9	15
South Carolina	16	28
Tennessee	6	10
Virginia	7	12
Total	58	100

The planter class of Hempstead County was substantially wealthier than other Hempstead County residents. The average value of real property held by planters in 1850 was $8,465.30, which was much greater than the $966.24 mean value of real property held by 170 randomly selected Hempstead County households in 1850. In 1860, the mean real property value among 250 randomly chosen Hempstead County households was $4,580.27, and average personal property value was $5,599.36. For

planters in this same year, the average value of real property was $19,469.24 (3 times greater), while the mean personal property value was $46,761.13 (8 times greater). [67]

As their wealth expanded, the planter class of Hempstead County expanded the institution of slavery. The county's slaveholdings in 1840 averaged 9 slaves, the largest holding being 81 slaves. By 1850, the mean holding rose to 11 slaves, while the largest holding was of 151. By 1860, the average slaveholding had grown to 12 bondsmen, and 205 slaves made up the largest holding in the county. Slaveholders across Arkansas increased the state's average slaveholding by 23 percent—from eight slaves in 1850 to 10 in 1860, slightly less than the South's average of 10 slaves per holding.[68]

Tax assessment lists of Hempstead County property holders between 1850 and 1860 demonstrate the fluid nature of slaveholdings. (See Table 10) Fifteen of Hempstead County's 1860 planters can be found in the tax assessments of 1850, 1856, and 1860. Although this group is small, tracing their property value through the years before 1860 can help illustrate the change experienced by Hempstead County's larger slaveholdings through time.[69]

[67] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants).

[68] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants); Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 56-59.

[69] Hempstead County Tax Rolls, 1850, 1856, 1860.

Table 10
Taxes Paid by Fifteen Hempstead County Slaveholders, 1850, 1856, and 1860

Name	Taxable Slaves in 1850	Value of Taxable Slaves in 1850	Amount as Percentage of Total Value of Taxable Property in 1850	Taxable Slaves in 1856	Value of Taxable Slaves in 1856	Amount as Percentage of Total Value of Taxable Property in 1856	Taxable Slaves in 1860	Value of Taxable Slaves in 1860	Amount as Percentage of Total Value of Taxable Property in 1860
Elijah Ferguson	4	$1,700	56%	7	$4,900	73%	20	$14,000	70%
Joel Hannah	25	$12,500	73%	22	$12,000	61%	26	$18,200	65%
John W. Jones	0	$0	0%	29	$14,500	81%	29	$14,500	79%
E. Johnson	56	$25,200	71%	24	$12,000	65%	27	$16,200	67%
Charles B. Mitchell	7	$3,000	48%	18	$9,000	57%	19	$9,000	67%
James McDaniel	2	$1,000	48%	4	$2,000	67%	36	$21,600	57%
G.D. Royston	28	$11,200	33%	40	$20,000	44%	40	$24,000	54%
Alfred O. Stuart	7	$3,150	71%	13	$6,500	78%	30	$18,600	77%
James W. Smith	15	$5,000	72%	21	$12,600	72%	30	$30,000	78%
James W. Scoggins	12	$3,600	71%	25	$12,500	75%	35	$17,500	68%
H.W. Smith	23	$10,200	72%	29	$15,000	59%	37	$22,200	75%
Thomas C. Smith	9	$3,000	61%	32	$16,000	58%	36	$18,000	57%
G.W. Stuart	8	$2,400	66%	14	$8,000	81%	4	$2,000	71%
James H. Walker	88	$40,000	85%	90	$45,000	80%	110	$74,000	75%
D.T. Witter	30	$10,000	68%	23	$12,500	65%	37	$34,000	78%

Of the fifteen slaveholders, nine experienced a continued increase in their slaveholdings year by year. Thirteen had more slaves in 1860 than in 1850. These statistics suggest that large slaveholders generally continued to increase their slave property wealth over time. Slaves constituted an average of $8,796 (49 percent) of the value of individual property assessed in 1850, $9,666 (58 percent) in 1856, and $15,053 (59 percent) in 1860. The value of slaves became an increasingly important part of the property held by these fifteen slaveholders between 1850 and 1860.[70]

By 1850, the slaveholding class would become even more greatly entrenched as the slave population increased and cotton production expanded. Arkansas in 1850 was still a rugged frontier, but already had the makings of a "slave-grown monoculture." The amount of improved farmland multiplied as farmers sought to increase production of cotton, the crop that drove the agricultural economy of the state. Cotton production in Arkansas and Hempstead County expanded greatly during this period—as did the slave population—illustrating the role of slavery in the process.[71]

There were 32,618 acres of improved farmland in Hempstead County in 1850, 4 percent of Arkansas's 781,530 improved acres. In 1860, Hempstead County contained 65,548 improved acres—3 percent of the state's total of 1,983,313. Hempstead County increased the number of improved acres by 100 percent between 1850 and 1860, compared to the statewide increase of 154 percent in the same decade. This expansion

[70] Because Arkansas tax assessments in this period did not enumerate slaves under 5 or over 60 years of age, this illustration is not perfect. The actual increase of slaveholdings experienced by slaveowners may have been very different than what was reported in the tax assessments, especially if the slave population had many new births.

[71] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 49-51, 92-93; S. Charles Bolton, *Territorial Ambition: Land and Society in Arkansas, 1800-1840* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993), 92; McNeilly, *The Old South Frontier*, 53-56; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture).

of agriculture was made possible by slave labor. And, as Hempstead County farmers cleared new land for farming, cotton production boomed.[72]

A total of 65,344 four-hundred-pound bales of cotton were produced by the state of Arkansas in 1849 (as reported in 1850)—a number that increased to 367,393 for the next census year harvest. This boom in cotton production was reflected by Hempstead County, where production increased from 2,552 bales to 16,548 bales in the same decade (a 548 percent increase). In this decade, Hempstead County produced between 3 to 5 percent of the state's cotton.[73]

Hempstead County's cotton production levels were meager in comparison to Arkansas's most important cotton county—Chicot County—which listed 12,192 bales in the 1850 census and 40,948 in 1860. However, Hempstead County's percent increase was more than double that of Chicot County in the same time frame. The importance of the growth of slavery in this process is clear—Arkansas's major cotton-producing counties were also those with the highest slave populations.[74]

[72] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture).

[73] Ibid. The dramatic difference in cotton production between these two census years may mean that 1849 was a much better crop year than 1859, as was the case in Texas. See Randolph B. Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County, Texas, 1850-1880* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1983), 66.

[74] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture), Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture), Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants). The U.S. Census was enumerated before the year's cotton crop had matured for harvesting, therefore, the listed bales were from the previous year's harvest; the census of 1850 described production of 1849, while the 1860 census was referring to bales actually produced in 1859.

Table 11
Hempstead County Agriculture, 1850 and 1860

Year	Improved Acres	Slaves	Cotton (bales)
1850	32,618	2,460	2,552
1860	65,548	5,398	16,548

The largest slaveholders of Hempstead County produced a significant portion of its cotton. The 1,051 bales grown by the planter class in 1849 made up 41 percent of the county's cotton harvest that year. In 1859, Hempstead County planters produced 9,108 bales—55 percent of the county's cotton. The average harvest made by the planter class of the county rose from 42 bales in 1850 to 157 in 1860.[75]

Arkansans revised their legal framework to manage the expanding institution of slavery. The laws of the land indicated a need to handle slaves as any other property, but showed the complications that accompanied the ownership of humans. The law considered slaves first and foremost chattel property of the owner's personal estate to be managed fairly. Laws made sure that the ownership of slaves was documented properly and that slave property was not damaged or lost. It defined slaves as chattel property of the owner's personal estate. Slave property was recognized as extremely valuable. The maximum prison sentence for "negro-stealing" was longer than that for horse stealing. Most property laws concerning slaves dealt with the proper distribution of bondsmen to the heirs of deceased owners.[76]

[75] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture); Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture). These statistics are less than completely accurate because the agricultural production information of some Hempstead County planters was absent or illegible in the microfilmed census records.

[76] *Revised Statutes of the State of Arkansas* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, and Company Publishers, 1838), 359-360, 281-282, 604, 713-757; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Yeardin and

Statutes to control the activities of slaves became a priority. Slaves had some rights that remained guaranteed—at least in theory—throughout the period. For example, slaves accused of crimes were by law to receive a trial by an impartial jury. Masters were prohibited from forcing slaves to work on Sundays, and had to allow slaves to use the Sabbath for personal labor, such as working their gardens.[77]

Although they had some rights under the law, bondsmen faced far more restrictions. They could not carry weapons without written permission or hire out their own time. They could not freely assemble—gatherings that seemed "riotous" or "seditious" were illegal. They could not travel without a pass and county-appointed patrols were to ensure that slaves did not "stroll" without a pass or unlawfully assemble. Blacks—slave or free—were forbidden from testifying in court against a white person.[78]

An Arkansas Supreme Court case originating in Hempstead County illustrates the important role of the law in slave control. James Martin, an overseer for Hempstead County slaveholder Robert A. Brunson, shot and killed a slave named Nathan in 1853. Martin claimed that Nathan had threatened him, but evidence indicated that Martin had been drinking and coercing the slaves. Brunson fired the overseer and withheld his pay. The decision, later upheld by the Arkansas Supreme Court, was that Martin had done nothing to warrant the denial of his wages. As Orville Taylor has pointed out, it was

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Garritt, 1848), 337, 944-952; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1858), 335-386, 1027-1033.

[77] *Revised Statutes of the State of Arkansas* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, and Company Publishers, 1838), 276, 281; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Yeardin and Garritt, 1848), 370, 379; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1858), 374, 386.

[78] *Revised Statutes of the State of Arkansas* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, and Company Publishers, 1838), 282, 604, 731,734, 947, 951-952; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Yeardin and Garritt, 1848), 379, 944-945; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1858), 379, 1033.

essential for whites to maintain the authority of overseers over slaves under their management.[79]

As a unique form of chattel property, slaves could break the law and be held accountable for their actions. By 1846, slaves were to be punished just as whites for felonies, but were subject to a death penalty when convicted of serious crimes, such as murder, manslaughter, horse-stealing, or rape. Two convictions for stealing valuable property (such as horses or mules) were to be punished by death, as was the rape or attempted rape of a white woman. However, runaway slaves did not necessarily face legal punishments under the law—they were simply detained until claimed or sold.[80]

Slaves were held accountable for their own behavior in the case of serious crimes, but often masters were held responsible for the actions of their slaves. Masters were accountable for property damages caused by slaves. In the case of trespasses, the owner was as responsible "as if he had committed the trespass himself." When the slave of Thomas Hubbard of Hempstead County illegally removed trees from reserved land, the Arkansas Supreme Court deemed Hubbard completely responsible. Whites could be punished for engaging in unauthorized trade with bondsmen, and by 1843, they could be imprisoned for inciting insurrection among slaves.[81]

Perhaps the most serious way in which whites were held accountable for engaging in wrongdoing with slaves was expressed in a law forbidding free whites, free

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[79] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 109.

[80] *Revised Statutes of the State of Arkansas* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, and Company Publishers, 1838), 713; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Yeardin and Garritt, 1848), 330-331, 944-945 ; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1858), 335, 1027.

[81] *Revised Statutes of the State of Arkansas* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, and Company Publishers, 1838), 281, 735, 757; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Yeardin and Garritt, 1848), 345, 379, 950; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1858), 1032; Clyde W. Cathey, "Slavery in Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 3 (Spring, 1944), 69.

blacks, or free mulattoes from illegally gathering with slaves for such activities as drinking or gambling. The very presence of a free person among illegally assembled slaves warranted a fine *and* a whipping—for whites and blacks. Not until 1854 was the law changed to provide for both the fine and lashes for free blacks, but limited the whites' punishment to the fine only.[82]

Masters could legally manumit slaves during their lifetime, or free them in their wills. In the early statehood period, freed slaves could be re-enslaved in order to pay debts of their former masters. Free black minors over seven years old were to be hired out until they reached age twenty-one. Generally free blacks or mulattoes were not seriously restricted in what they could do or where they could go—as long as they paid their taxes.[83]

As slavery became more important, however, the laws passed by Arkansans reflected an increasing uneasiness concerning the presence of free blacks. The 1838 legislature passed an act preventing any new free blacks or mulattoes from settling in the state and requiring all free blacks to register with their county's officials. In 1859, a groundbreaking act passed by the state General Assembly stated that as of January 1st 1860, free blacks and mulattoes could no longer reside in the boundaries of Arkansas. Free blacks who disobeyed the act were to be sold into slavery. An even more important provision of the law prohibited the emancipation of slaves.[84]

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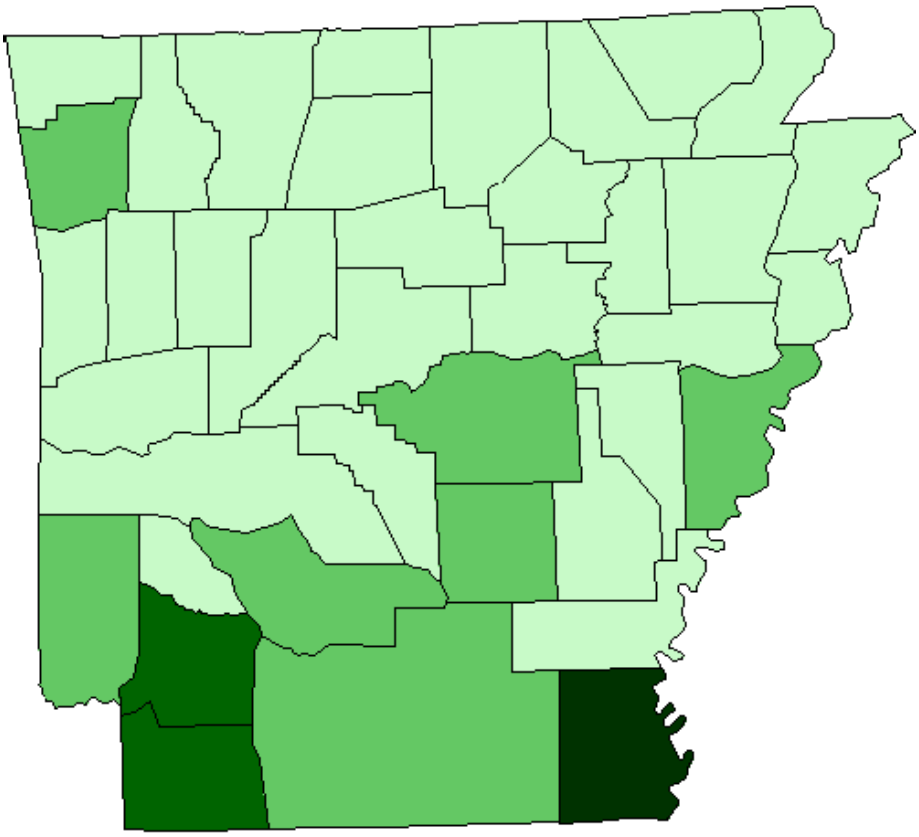
[82] *Revised Statutes of the State of Arkansas* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, and Company Publishers, 1838), 604; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Yeardin and Garritt, 1848), 952; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1858), 1034.

[83] *Revised Statutes of the State of Arkansas* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, and Company Publishers, 1838), 359-60; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Yeardin and Garritt, 1848), 378; *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1858), 384.

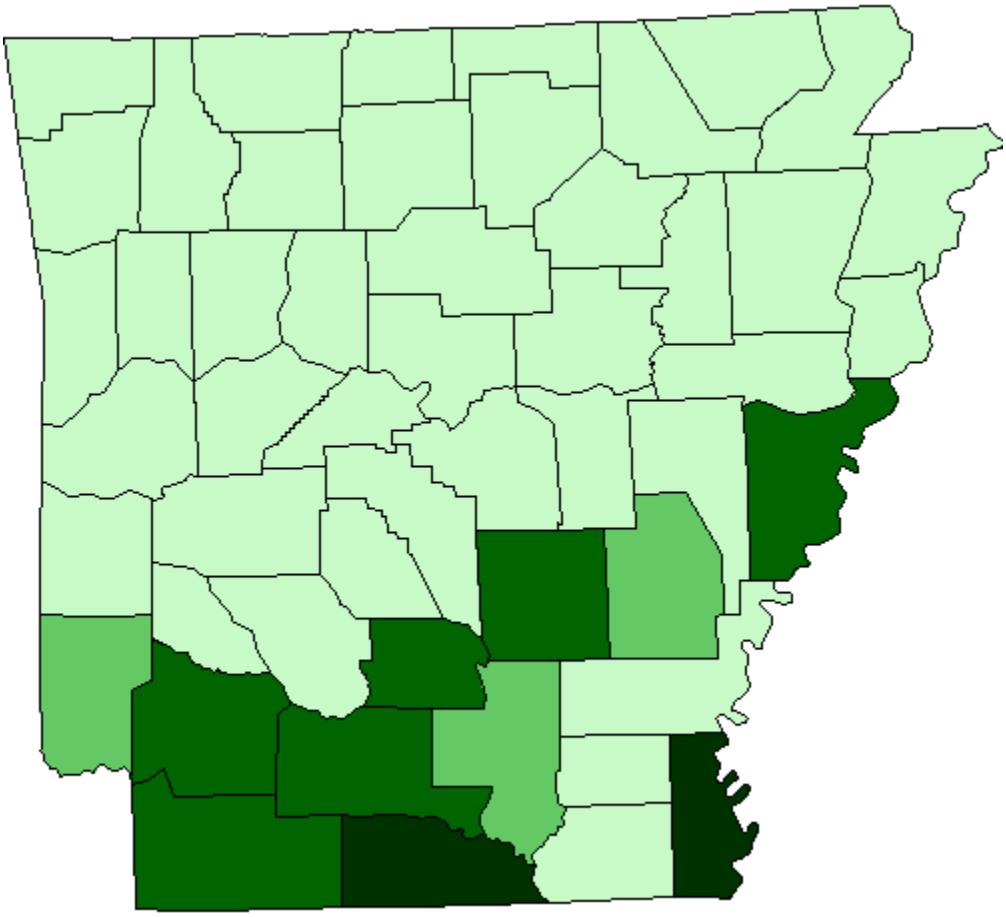
[84] "How Arkansas Deals With Her Free Negroes," *DeBow's Review* (May, 1859): 604-605; Cathey, "Slavery in Arkansas," 72-73.

The institution of slavery in Hempstead County strengthened between 1840 and 1860, and its growth there was comparable to the statewide expansion and entrenchment of the institution. “Typical” slaveholders in Hempstead County were generally middle aged, southern born, married men with small holdings. Planters in Hempstead County, though a minority, constituted a key element of antebellum society. They held three times more than the average personal property value and produced more than half of the county’s yearly cotton harvest. This group owned 57 percent of the county’s slave property by 1860. Planters averaged smaller slaveholdings than those of their class in other states, but these holdings generally grew at a high rate. Finally, as the slave population more than doubled, the county’s cotton production boomed during the decade between 1850 and 1860.



Map 3
Slave Populations of Arkansas Counties, 1840

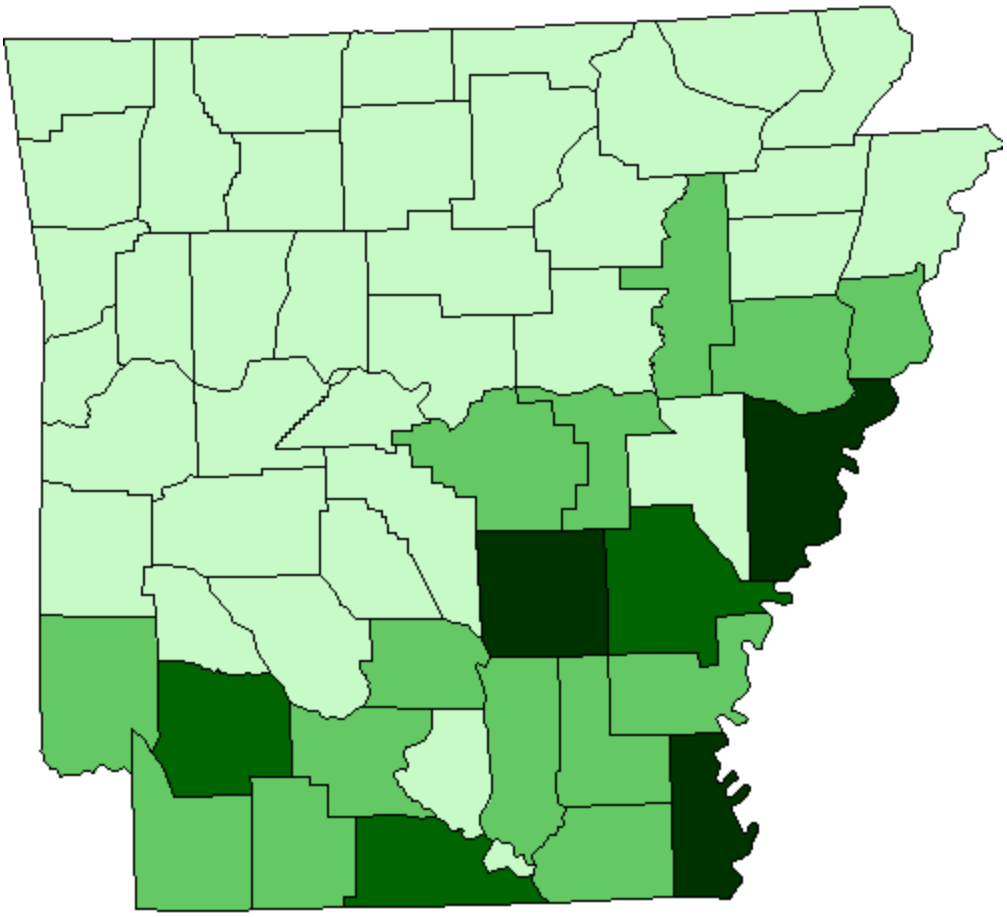
Retrieved from the University of Virginia Library
Historical Census Browser
Geospatial and Statistical Data Center
http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.htm



Map 4
Slave Populations of Arkansas Counties, 1850

15 - 1203
1203 - 2391
2391 - 3579
3579 - 4767
Missing Data

Retrieved from the University of Virginia Library
Historical Census Browser
Geospatial and Statistical Data Center
http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html



Map 5
Slave Populations of Arkansas Counties, 1860

Retrieved from the University of Virginia Library
Historical Census Browser
Geospatial and Statistical Data Center
http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html

CHAPTER 4

THE ECONOMICS OF SLAVERY IN HEMPSTEAD COUNTY

As the institution grew and expanded, slavery became economically vital for antebellum Hempstead County. It made possible plantation production of cotton, which was the driving force of the county's agricultural economy. The most valuable farms with the most acreage were those that held the most slaves and produced the most cotton.

The issue of slavery and profitability is an important one. It seems logical to assume that owning slaves must have been profitable for farmers or they would not have invested in slave property to the extent that they did. However, historians have debated the point. Writing in the early twentieth century, U.B. Phillips insisted in *American Negro Slavery* that the use of slave labor was mostly unprofitable for the South, and that only slaveholders who kept a close eye on their expenses actually benefited economically from its use. Historians following Phillips supported this contention, basing their arguments on high slave prices and expensive maintenance costs. An Arkansas historian of the same generation, David Thomas, insisted that the institution of slavery was unprofitable for Arkansans.[85]

In contrast, Kenneth Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution*, published in 1956, asserted that slavery was indeed profitable for southerners. Stampp explained that a slaveowner's most significant expense was the cost of supporting of his labor force, which was relatively small in comparison to the income received from the sale of the cash crop—a return that was supplemented by the food crops and land improvements

[85] Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 391-392; Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 118.

that resulted from the labor of slaves. Stampp concluded that slave labor could always be more cheaply employed than free labor.[86]

By the time Orville Taylor published *Negro Slavery in Arkansas* in 1958, many historians were in agreement that slavery was profitable for the South. Taylor sought to bolster the profitability argument for Arkansas by following the finances of Arkansas planter James Sheppard, who "owned practically nothing in 1847, but was a wealthy man by any standard in 1863." Taylor explained that Sheppard represented the many Arkansas planters who amassed wealth with the help of slave labor.[87]

The fact is that a great many Arkansans invested in slave property—111,115 by 1860—and sought to increase their holdings. Included were many farmers of Hempstead County. By 1860, 30 percent of Hempstead County households owned at least one slave. Although most Hempstead County residents were not owners of slaves, many may have aspired to acquire slaves to multiply their crop production or to gather prestige in the community.[88]

But, was slavery actually a profitable economic institution for Hempstead County? The answer can be found by examining the following indicators: rising slave values, the ability to hire out slaves for cash, easy liquidation of slave property, natural reproduction of slave property, and most important, the relationship between slave labor and cotton production.

Rising slave values could mean considerable profits for slaveowners. Changes in slave values over time were documented in county probate records. When an estate

[86] Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution*, 383-418.
[87] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 127.
[88] Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 224.

went through probate, generally the first step was to appraise the value of the estate. The probate minutes of Hempstead County in the 1840s through the 1860s reported the values of hundreds of slaves appraised at the request of the court. The appraisers were local men who knew the value of all forms of property in the area.[89]

The estate of one of Hempstead County's early planters, Robert Carrington, went through the appraisal process in 1845. Fifty-six slaves were documented and appraised at a total value of $17,650—a mean value of $315 per bondsmen. From the appraisal it can be seen that women and men appraised at close to the same value until they reached an age at which the physical advantage of men caused them to be valued more highly than women in the same age group. According to the appraisal, the most valuable slaves were men between the ages of 30 and 50.[90]

Table 12
Appraised Value of Slaves of Robert Carrington Estate, 1845[91]

Name	Age	Value	Name	Age	Value
Mary	30	$550	Lewis	12	$350
Peggy	47	$300	Isaac	7	$250
Phebe	45	$300	Scott	5	$200
Nancy	29	$500	Chan	4	$200
Fanny	20	$550	Stephen	5	$250
Annabella	7	$250	Hannah	53	$100
Molly	3	$150	Isabel	50	$100

(Continued on page 55)

[89] Hempstead County Probate Record Books B-G were used. These can be found on microfilm at the Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives, Washington, Arkansas, or at the Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock.

[90] Hempstead County Probate Records, Book B, 300.

[91] Estate of Robert Carrington, Hempstead County Probate Records, Book B, p. 300.

Table 12 (Continued from page 54)

Name	Age	Value	Name	Age	Value
Julia	3	$150	Molly	35	$350
Essere	52	$350	Maria	30	$450
Billy	41	$300	Betsy	28	$450
Albert	44	$400	W?y	24	$400
Horace	40	$1000	Henrietta	16	$400
Oliver	14	$450	Sally	13	$300
Nick	12	$250	Ana	11	$300
Peter	9	$300	Silvia	9	$300
Burwell	5	$200	Lavinia	4	$200
Harrison	4	$150	Patsy	6	$225
Iverson	8	$200	Margaret	6	$225
Washington	30	$250	Samantha	1	$100
Aaron	40	$600	Caty	12	$350
Jim	50	$300	Lucy	6	$225
William	36	$600	Clarissa	4	$200
P?	40	$550	Davy	2	$125
Rob	32	$550	Lavinia	1	$100
LittleCharles	30	$550	Sarah	2	$200
Boy Charles	50	$300	John	1	$100
Hank	13	$300	Joe	10	$350
Old Sam	42	$150	Nabam	12	$350

After being appraised, slaves were sometimes grouped into “lots” of roughly equal value, so that the estate could be fairly divided between heirs. One such example is the estate of Edward Johnson, whose estate went through probate in 1844. The slaves owned by the estate were separated into eight lots, each valued between $4,200 and $4,475, and were divided among Johnson’s heirs.

Table 13
Appraised Value of Slaves of Edward Johnson Estate, 1844[92]

To James F. Johnson—Little Steve, Agatha, Cobb, Dick, Cass, Lila, Henry, Roll, Ned, Emily, Mark, Elijah, Jack.
Total Value: $4,275

To Catherine Cheatham—Charles, Judy, Little King, Caroline, Wash, Silas, Wiley, Queen Ann, Mary, Jam, Little James, Polith, Savannah, Barton.
Total Value: $4,200

To Mary Ann Brunson—Big Suze, Warren, Elias Hill, Hester, Artimina, Gabilla, Nathan, Big Nelly, Martha Jam, Angelou, Pat, Little Henry, Daniel, Augustus Johnson.
Total Value: $4,475

To Augustus Johnson—Peter, Nina, Fin, Little Nell, Mary, Milly, Ben, Hancock, Lawrence, Martha Ann, B?, Wesley.
Total Value: $4,250

To Rebecca Johnson—Bill, Phillis, Big Henry, Walker, Pheby, Clara, Queen, Eliza, Willis, Sarah, Joshua, M?.
Total Value: $4,250

To William Johnson—H?, Mandy, Susan, Smith, Lloyd, Francis, Pleasant, Mary, Royston, Bob, Priss, ?, Hannah.
Total Value: $4,250

To John Johnson—Big King, Little Suze, Naressa, Suzan, Dan, Adaline, Mary Francis, Wilmoth, Elsy, Washington, Jackson, Ramsey, America.
Total Value: $4,450

To Edward Johnson—Big Lewis, Candy, Henry, Old Maria, Margaret, Sarah Jam, Laura, Milton, Ellen, John, Parthina, Jim, Salius, Pate.
Total Value: $4,175

According to Hempstead County estate appraisals, the value of slaves appreciated from the 1840s to the 1860s. The average value of a slave regardless of age or sex was $340 during the 1840s, $458 in the 1850s, and $812 by the early 1860s. This means that slave values rose by 35 percent from the 1840s to the 1850s, then by

[92] Estate of Edward Johnson, Hempstead County Probate Records, Book B, p. 243.

77 percent from the 1850s to early 1860s. The entire period witnessed a 139 percent increase in slave values. Therefore, according to available estate appraisals, the value of slave property rose significantly in Hempstead County from the 1840s to the early 1860s.[93]

The 1860s witnessed the highest slave values. An appraisal of the estate of Jacob Powell in 1863 shows values that were much higher than those of the 1840s. The slaves of Powell's estate were divided into nine lots worth around $2,000 each. The significant rise in slave values over time indicates the practicality of Hempstead County farmers' investments in slave property, because the property appreciated value in a matter of time.[94]

Table 14
Mean Value of Slaves in Hempstead County, 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s[95]

Decade	Number of Slaves	Total Value	Average Value
1840s	197	$67,005	$340
1850s	69	$31,623	$458
1860s	51	$41,425	$812

[93] Hempstead County Probate, Books B-G.
[94] Estate of Jacob Powell, Hempstead County Probate Records, Book G, p. 566.
[95] Hempstead County Probate Records, Books B-G.

Table 15
Appraised Value of Slaves of Jacob Powell Estate, 1863[96]

Lot 1:		Lot 2:	
Charlotte	$850	Chaney	$700
Catherine	$400	Martha	$400
Elvira	$700	Hannah	$900
Total:	$1,950	Total:	$2,000

Lot 3:		Lot 4:	
Bill	$1,500	Lewis	$1,600
Sarah	$525	Frank	$500
Total:	$2,025	Total:	$2,100

Lot 5:		Lot 6:	
Jane	$800	Tom	$1,000
Elizabeth	$1,200	Caty	$1,100
Total:	$2,000	Total:	$2,100

Lot 7:		Lot 8:	
Margaret	$1,200	Henry	$1,050
Delphi	$800	Ann	$1,000
Total:	$2,000	Total:	$2,050

Lot 9:	
Dick	$1,700
Total:	$1,700

Slaves could not only be sold for high profits, they could also be hired out for cash. Such arrangements demonstrated the flexibility of human property. Slaves might be hired out, for instance, at times of the year when crops did not require constant attention. In the summer of 1856, Hempstead County's weekly newspaper, the *Washington Telegraph*, advertised the need for slave labor to clear debris from the nearby Red River. The officials in charge of this government project requested the use of thirty slaves for the duration of four months or longer. Owners were to be

[96] Estate of Jacob Powell, Hempstead County Probate Records, Book G, p. 566.

compensated $30 per month, and the temporary employers were to provide “good and wholesome food” to the hired bondsmen.[97]

In addition to serving needs of the community, slave hires commonly resulted from the management of estates. Slaves who had been owned by the deceased were often hired out in order to provide income for heirs of the estate. The executor of the estate would set up yearly hiring arrangements. In this way, widows and children could be provided for by the estate of the deceased. Selling the slaves would provide large amounts of cash immediately, but slave hires ensured long-term support for women and minors.

Orville Taylor presented evidence that Arkansas’s slave hire rates were among the highest in the South, averaging to about one-seventh of the slave’s sale value per year. This amounted to an average yearly hire rate of $170 per year for men, $108 for women, and $80 for children. According to Taylor’s statistics, only Louisiana had higher yearly rates for both male and female slaves.[98]

Hempstead County probate court minutes show many instances of slave hires, but unfortunately rarely listed the rates for which they were hired. In 1843, slaves York, Joseph and Delia were to be hired out together (presumably for one year) at the rate of $350. At times, an agreement was made in which the hirer would pay a sum and in addition was responsible for the medical treatment and food and clothing for the slaves for the period that they were in his or her temporary employment. Such was the case for a group of slaves from the estate of Joshua T. Walker, which went through probate in

[97] *Washington Telegraph*, July 23, 1856.
[98] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 88-89.

1853. The administrator of the estate hired the slaves himself, and agreed "to pay their taxes, medical bills, and furnish necessary clothing."[99]

In addition to its benefit as income from slave hires, slave property was economically advantageous to owners because it could be easily liquidated for cash. Owners could borrow money and offer slaves as collateral. If the note went unpaid, then the slaves would become the property of the lender.[100]

Slave property also naturally reproduced, which was an advantage to masters. Over time, new births and rising prices could combine to substantially boost the value of slave property. The state of Arkansas had 1,159 slave births from June 1849 to June 1850. In Hempstead County, 34 slaves were born in that year. According to estate appraisals, children less than 15 years old could be valued at as much as $450. The estate of Robert Carrington included 3 one year-olds valued at $100 each in 1845.[101]

Thus, investment in slaves proved economically valuable in numerous ways for owners in Hempstead County. Slaves appreciated greatly in value over time. They could be mortgaged for cash and could provide income through the hiring system. Slave reproduction was of added benefit to masters. However, owners did not buy slaves for the purpose of hiring them or borrowing money on them, or simply to wait until their values rose. The incentive was to make a profit by growing cotton. How profitable was slave labor when applied to the production of cotton in Hempstead County?

The rate of return per slave for Hempstead County slaveholders may be the most direct way to gauge the profitability of slave labor in cotton production for the county.

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[99] Estate of Rufus K. Garland, Hempstead County Probate Records, Book B, p. 127; Estate of Joshua T. Walker, Hempstead County Probate Records, Book D, p. 403.

[100] Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Arkansas*, 75.

[101] DeBow, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*, 547; Hempstead County Probate Records, Books B-G; Estate of Robert Carrington, Hempstead County Probate Records, Book B, p. 300.

The rate of return is simply a percentage representing the benefit received by slaveholding cotton planters in relation to what they invested into slave ownership. The formula used in order to calculate the rate of return comes from historian Randolph B. Campbell's *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County Texas, 1850-1880*. The formula, $r = a + \frac{P(y) - C}{K}$ where a = the natural percent increase in the slave population, P = the price of cotton, y = the amount of cotton produced per slave, C = the yearly maintenance cost per slave, and K = the total investment cost per slave, will be used in a way that most closely models Campbell's process.[102]

By applying the above formula to a sample of 60 Hempstead County cotton-producing slaveholders from the census of 1860, a rate of return per slave can be established for Hempstead County's slaveowning cotton farmers, and a measure of the profitability of slavery for the county's masters can be deduced.

It is impossible to determine precisely at what annual rate the slaves of Hempstead County naturally increased. Census slave population statistics are inadequate, because there is no practical way to determine how many slaves were traded into or out of the county. There is no reason that Hempstead County slaves should have naturally increased their population at a yearly rate that varied from slave populations elsewhere. Thus, the annual rate of natural increase among the slaves (a) will be set at 2.15%—a rate developed and accepted by historians.[103]

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[102] Randolph B. Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County Texas, 1850-1880* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1983), 60-68.

[103] The rate was developed by economic historians and is used in Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County Texas, 1850-1880*, p. 62, but also appears in Campbell and Lowe, *Planters and Plain Folk: Agriculture in Antebellum Texas* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1987), 164-170; and Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 74-75.

As for the prices of cotton (P), it is sensible to continue the established framework found in Campbell's calculations, and figure the rate of return for both prices of eight and nine cents per pound. The estimated prices come from the average price of 10.8 cents per pound that cotton brought at New Orleans in the decade 1849-1859. According to the *Washington Telegraph*, New Orleans was the market for Hempstead County cotton, making average prices there the most appropriate figure. After the cost of shipping down the Red and Mississippi rivers is deducted, cotton growers received an estimated 8 or 9 cents earning per pound. The rate of return for the sample cotton planter will be calculated for both 8 and 9 cents.[104]

By multiplying the bales per slave by the poundage per bale, the amount of cotton produced per slave (y), can be determined (See Table 5). Bales per slave is simply the number of slaves held by owners in the sample divided into the number of bales produced by the sample farmers for the year. The farmers in the 1860 Hempstead County sample produced 3,511 bales with the labor of 962 bondsmen. Thus, the bales per slave for the sample is 3.6. The standard poundage per bale, as recorded in the U.S. census, was 400. It is reasonable to assume that Hempstead County's bales were no bigger or smaller. The 3.6 bales per slave multiplied by the 400 pounds means that the cotton produced per slave was 1,440.[105]

[104] Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County Texas, 1850-1880*, 62.
[105] Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County Texas, 1850-1880*, 62.

Table 16
Cotton Productivity per Slave, 1850 and 1860

	Number of Cotton Producers	Number of Slaves	Number of Bales	Bales per Slave
1860	60	962	3,511	3.6
1850	39	542	712	1.3

The yearly cost to maintain each slave (C) has been set at $17.50. This estimate was developed by historians of slavery's profitability, and has been accepted as an appropriate approximation. It will sufficiently represent Hempstead County's annual maintenance cost per slave.[106]

The total investment of capital for slaveholders in the sample (K) is derived from four major components. The average price per slave, the cost of land per slave, and the investments in farm implements and livestock per slave are combined to express what slaveholders put into slave ownership.[107]

As discussed, slave value estimates are easily found in the probate records of Hempstead County. By averaging the values of a sample of appraisals from the years near 1860, the average price per slave will be set at $790 ($461 for 1850). The cost of the land per slave will be calculated as shown in Table 6. The value of the land per acre owned by the slaveholding sample cotton farmers is fixed by dividing the total dollar value of their farms by their total acreage (See Table 6). The sample farms totaled a

[106] Ibid.
[107] Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County Texas, 1850-1880*, 63.

value of $452,040, which was divided by the combined number of improved and unimproved acreage (34,143), equaling a value of land per acre of $13.00.[108]

The farms' number of acres per slave comes from the division of the total acreage by the number of slaves (See Table 6). The sample's 34,143 acres divided by its 962 slaves equals 35 acres per slave. The value of land per acre ($13.00) multiplied by the number of acres per slave (35) brings the total cost of land per slave to $455.

Table 17
Calculation of the Value of Land per Slave among Cotton Planters, 1850 and 1860

Cash Value of Farms Divided By Total Acreage, 1850 and 1860

1860	$452,040 / 34,143 = $13.00
1850	$89,892 / 18,091 = $4.96

Total Acres Divided by Number of Slaves

1860	34,143 / 962 = 35.5
1850	18,091 / 542 = 33.4

Acres per Slave Multiplied by Cash Value per Acre

1860	35.5 x $13.00 = $461.50
1850	33.4 x $4.96 = $165.67

The U.S. census provides the data needed in order to estimate the costs of farm implements and livestock paid by the sample slaveholding cotton farmers. Because the

[108] Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County Texas, 1850-1880*, 64.

purchase of farm implements was not a one-time cost, an 8 percent interest rate expressing the cost incurred by farmers to replace the implements after 15 years has been added. When the recorded value of tools used by the sample cotton farms (with the added cost of replacement) is divided by the total number of bondsmen in the sample, an estimated cost per slave of $24.18 is reached. By dividing the value of the livestock on the sample farms ($115,012) by the number of slaves, the cost of livestock per slave is calculated at $119, finishing the components needed to calculate K—the total investment cost per slave (See Table 7).[109]

Table 18
Cost of Non-Slave Investment per Slave among Cotton Planters, 1850 and 1860

	Cost of Land per Slave	Cost of Equipment per Slave	Cost of Livestock per Slave
1860	$461.50	$24.18	$119.00
1850	$165.67	$39.00	$90.00

By applying the formula and methods as established by Campbell, the rate of return for the sample of Hempstead County slaveholding cotton farmers for 1860 is calculated at 10.4 percent (See Table 8). The same process can be used for a sample of 1850 slaveholding cotton farmers as well, and amounts to a 7.6 percent return. Was this a reasonable return on the investment? Contemporaries considered 6-8 percent as a sound rate of return, making Hempstead County's rates of 7.6 in 1850 and 10.4 in 1860 more than satisfactory. The return percentages were reasonably high for

[109] Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County Texas, 1850-1880*, 66.

economic investments, but the most important part of the results may be the significant increase in return over the decade.[110]

Table 19
Rate of Return per Slave among Cotton Planters, 1850 and 1860

	Pounds per Slave	8 Cents Per Pound	9 Cents Per Pound
1860	1,460	10.4	11.4
1850	525	7.6	8.3

Hempstead County slaveholders enjoyed a favorable return on their investment in slaveholdings, but perhaps the cultivation of a cash crop by slaves took away from production of food and thus created a drain on the master's resources. Corn, potatoes, peas and beans were food sources that were grown on the plantation. In addition, the slaughter of hogs provided needed meat. Hempstead County farmers produced all of these, but was it enough to feed themselves and their slaves without importing large quantities of food from outside sources?

Corn was one of the most important food sources—for people and animals. Hempstead County reported the second most bushels of corn among Arkansas counties in the census of 1840—321,285. The largest corn producer was Washington County, with 380,490. These two counties were far ahead of the rest—the county producing the third most corn was Independence County, which reported 219,635 bushels in 1840. Hempstead County produced the most corn among southern counties

[110] Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County Texas, 1850-1880*, 66-68.

in that year—both Washington and Independence counties are located in the northern half of the state.[111]

Hempstead County farmers produced less corn in 1849 than in 1839, which may be attributed to an increased focus on cotton production. The census of 1850 recorded that 278,818 bushels of corn were produced in Hempstead County in 1849, placing it seventh in corn production. The county's slaveholders averaged 844 bushels of corn per operation. The Arkansas county that produced the most corn in the 1849 crop year was Washington County, with 557,757 bushels.[112]

The census of 1860 (reflecting the crop year 1859) recorded 563,093 bushels of corn for Hempstead County—third among Arkansas Counties. The two biggest corn producers were Washington County in northern Arkansas, and Phillips County, which, like Hempstead County, had a large slave population. Hempstead County slaveholding farms averaged 1,174 bushels of corn in 1860, constituting a 39 percent increase in average corn production by slaveholders between the 1849 and 159 crop years. [113]

As Arkansas counties intensified their efforts on cotton cultivation, the ratio of corn to cotton production changed. As Hempstead County farmers shifted from subsistence to specialization, the bushels of corn to bales of cotton ratio decreased, following the trend of Arkansas's plantation counties. Hempstead County's bushels of corn to bales of cotton ratio among small slaveholders and planters was 66:1 in 1850,

[111] *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States…From the Returns of the Sixth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1841), 324.
[112] J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States…Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1854), 197, 201.
[113] Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860, Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 7.

and 25:1 in 1860. Clearly, cotton was becoming more important. However, Hempstead County consistently produced more corn than did other slaveholding counties.[114]

While corn was the staple, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, wheat, peas, and beans, were also important sources of food for Arkansans. Hempstead County farms yielded 18,072 bushels of both kinds of potatoes in 1839. The county was second only to Washington County in potato production. In addition to potatoes, Hempstead County produced 1,777 bushels of wheat, which was about average for Arkansas counties in that year.[115]

Production of food crops increased as existing farms expanded and new settlers arrived. In 1849, Hempstead County produced 4,284 bushels of wheat, 42,233 bushels of Irish and sweet potatoes, and 28,407 bushels of peas and beans. In the 1859 crop year, farmers of Hempstead County grew 19,933 bushels of wheat, 26,466 bushels of peas and beans, 9,281 bushels of Irish potatoes, and 61,199 bushels of sweet potatoes. The production of food crops remained important even though farmers in the county placed great importance on cotton.[116]

Animals provided needed protein to the diet of farmers, and the most significant source was in hogs. Hempstead County was second in swine for 1839, with 21,529 reported in the 1840 census. Again, Washington County was first, with 35,829. Farmers also raised chickens and turkeys—Hempstead County was third in poultry for 1859 with

[114] Moneyhon, *The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on Arkansas*, 22-23.
[115] *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States…From the Returns of the Sixth Census*, 323-324.
[116] DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States…Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 197; Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860, Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, 7.

an estimated $9,108 in poultry of all kinds. However, pork was the most heavily relied upon source of meat.[117]

The value of animals slaughtered for food in a given year was recorded by the census and can be used to gauge the extent to which farmers raised their own meat. In 1849, Hempstead County farmers slaughtered animals worth an estimated $51,596, as reported in 1850. The county was second only to Union County, another large slaveholding area, which reported $66,057 of animals slaughtered in the same year. Hempstead County also closely trailed Union County in living swine numbers, reporting 35,975—just under Union County's 36,234. [118]

The value of animals slaughtered in Hempstead County amounted to $51,596 in 1849. In 1859, as reported in the 1860 census, Hempstead County farmers slaughtered over twice that value—$166,914 of animals—more than any other county for that year, including counties that had a much higher slave population.[119]

Agriculture in Hempstead County produced large amounts of food for its residents. The county often produced more food products than other counties, even those with a higher slave population. Production of corn, Irish and sweet potatoes, peas, and meat increased substantially during the decade between 1849-1859 (See Table 9). Thus, farmers were able to produce the cash crop—cotton—without suffering a decline in food production. Because they produced enough of their own food, cotton farmers did not drain their resources by purchasing necessities.

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[117] *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States…From the Returns of the Sixth Census*, 323.

[118] J. D. B. DeBow, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1853) 555.

[119] DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States…Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 199; Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860, Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, 9.

Table 20
Food and Cotton Production by Hempstead County Farmers, 1850 and 1860

	Corn (bushels)	Food Crops (bushels)	Value of Animals Slaughtered ($)	Cotton (bales)
1850	278,818	74,924	$51,596	2,552
1860	563,093 (102% increase)	116,879 (56% increase)	$166,914 (224% increase)	16,548 (548% increase)

While slaveowning profited individual farmers, the institution of slavery may be considered as unprofitable for a community if it proved detrimental to the economic development of the community. Did Hempstead County farmers focus on cotton to the extent that they failed to diversify their economy?

Indeed, the availability of slave labor caused Hempstead County farmers to emphasize the cash crop of cotton, and intently focus their resources on its production. Hempstead County farmers produced 185,261 pounds of cotton in the 1839 harvest. This amounted to 463 bales weighing 400 pounds each. The 1849 crop year yielded 2,552 bales of cotton for Hempstead County. Cotton production increased by 548 percent, as the 1860 census reported 16,548 bales of cotton grown by Hempstead County farms. Slaveholders produced 84 percent of the county's cotton harvest (13,983 bales) in that year.[120]

The people of Hempstead County, like those across the state, focused their efforts so intensely on cotton as to refrain from investing in other economic endeavors

[120] *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States…From the Returns of the Sixth Census*, 324; DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States…Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 198; Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, 7; Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture).

like manufacturing. Only $9,600 was invested in Hempstead County manufacturing at the census of 1840. This capital was invested in furniture-making, one printing office, one distillery, and two tanneries.[121]

By the census of 1850, Hempstead County residents had invested $19,500 in manufacturing establishments, employing 34 people. Much more capital was invested in farm acreage and equipment. The 1860 census recorded $33,200 invested in manufacturing, which was slightly above the average for Arkansas counties that listed manufacturing in that year. The annual value of the products produced from Hempstead County's manufacturing was $101,019—well over the average annual value among counties that listed manufacturing.[122]

The industries that did exist in Hempstead County by 1860 consisted of twenty establishments that produced agricultural implements, blacksmithing, boots and shoes, bricks, furniture, leather, lumber, saddles, and wagons and carts. One of the state's four cotton gin manufacturers was located in Hempstead County. A total of $3,000 was invested in the establishment, and three men were employed. The biggest industry for the county was lumber, in which the most money was invested, and the most valuable product was produced. It also had the most expensive raw material and labor costs. Manufacturing was mostly limited to producing goods that could not be produced on farms. While individuals clearly benefited economically from the use of slave labor, the institution discouraged economic diversification.[123]

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[121] *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States…From the Returns of the Sixth Census*, 325-333.

[122] DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States…Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 199; *Manufactures of the United States in 1860, Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 21.

[123] *Manufactures of the United States in 1860, Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, 16.

Lastly, slave ownership and its accompanying discouragement of economic pursuits besides cotton production was compounded by the limits placed on slaves as consumers. All economies are based on the consumption of goods or services. Enslavement of a large portion of the population greatly reduced the role of those people in the cycle of consumption. Bondsmen received food and material goods from the plantation, and rarely had money or goods to trade. Thus, slavery meant profits for individuals but could produce some adverse affects on the economy of the community. Perhaps because individual profits were more immediate than long term economic lag, the people of Hempstead County chose to invest consistently in slave property.

The initial and continued investment in the institution of slavery by Hempstead County farmers was economically practical. They benefited economically from the flexibility of such property and were enriched by employing slave labor in cotton production. Although the emphasis on cotton that slavery encouraged may have impeded economic diversification, residents of Hempstead County continued to focus on slaves and cotton until the Civil War and emancipation forced an economic readjustment.

CHAPTER 5

SECESSION AND THE END OF SLAVERY IN ARKANAS AND HEMPSTEAD COUNTY

Slavery continued to occupy a place of importance for Hempstead County during the Civil War. After the census of 1860, only the tax roll of 1861 provides systematic information about the institution in the county during the war years. Although it cannot provide a full count of the slave population, the assessment of taxable slaves gives a snapshot of slavery in Hempstead County before the disruption of war. For the 1861 tax year, Hempstead County property holders were charged for 3,637 slaves over 5 and under 60 years of age. The value totaled $2,241,820—48 percent of the value of all property taxed—comparing closely to the 1856 and 1860 tax years where slaves constituted 49 percent of the value of the county's taxable property.[124]

As the sectional crisis preceding the war came to a head, most Arkansans remained in favor of preserving the Union. They voted on February 18, 1861, to have a state convention to discuss secession and elected representatives from each county. Voters decided that the issue was serious enough to warrant discussion in a state convention, but elected mostly Unionist delegates. On March 4, 1861, the delegates convened, with each county having the same representation that it normally had in the lower house of the state general assembly.[125]

The northwest-southeast division of Arkansans manifested itself once again. I. H. Hilliard, a secessionist planter from Chicot County (on the Mississippi River in the

[124] Hempstead County tax rolls, 1861.

[125] Thomas A. DeBlack, *With Fire and Sword: Arkansas, 1861-1874* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2003), 24; *Journal of the Convention of the State of Arkansas, Which was begun and held in the capitol, in the city of Little Rock, one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-one* (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1861), 4.

southeastern region) expressed his disappointment in the convention, “Unfortunately, our state is divided into two sections whose persons are totally dissimilar—the grain and stock raising portion looks with no friendly eye on the cotton planter. Indeed, in the convention, sentiments were uttered which would have fallen more fitly from Massachusetts legislators, than from southern gentlemen.”[126]

Hempstead County was represented by two of the seventy-four delegates to the state convention—R. K. Garland and A. H. Carrigan. They were two of the convention’s three delegates who were currently state legislators. Both were slaveholders, but both were initially Unionists—a fact that perhaps represents this southwestern county’s unique place in the sectional division of the state.[127]

Rufus K. Garland was a small Hempstead County slaveholder born in Tennessee. He was thirty years old in the spring of 1861, and owned nine slaves as of the census of 1860. He was married and had been in Arkansas for twenty-seven years. Garland served on the committee of resolutions and ordinances and shied away from secession. His brother, future governor Augustus H. Garland, represented Pulaski County in the convention, and was also initially a staunch Unionist. [128]

Garland promoted a cautious approach to the national crisis. When Charles W. Adams, representing Phillips County, proposed the following resolution to the convention: “That the committee on ordinances be, and that they are hereby instructed to prepare and report to this convention, at the earliest practicable moment, an ordinance, providing for the immediate and unconditional secession of the State of

[126] *Arkansas True Democrat*, April 18, 1861.
[127] *Arkansas True Democrat*, April 18, 1861; Alfred H.Carrigan, “Reminiscences of Hempstead County,” *Publications of the Arkansas Historical Association* (Vol. 2, 1908), 113-121.
[128] Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants); *Arkansas True Democrat*, April 18, 1861; Carrigan, “Reminiscences of Hempstead County,” 113-121.

Arkansas from the Federal Union, known as the United States." Garland offered an alternative. His proposed substitute resolution acknowledged the gravity of the secession crisis, but advocated caution by requesting that the committee instead "report to this convention, at as early a day as possible, their views as to the proper step for Arkansas to pursue in the present condition of national affairs." [129]

Alfred H. Carrigan, the second Hempstead County delegate to the convention, was a large slaveholder, owning twenty-five bondsmen in 1860. He was a year or two older than Garland and was married with three children. Carrigan was born in North Carolina and had been in Arkansas for nine years, serving one term as a state senator. Like Garland, Carrigan opposed immediate secession and consistently rejected proposed ordinances of secession at the convention. Carrigan served on the convention's committee of foreign relations.[130]

Garland and Carrigan were in the majority. Unionists from all over the state—not just the northwest—controlled the convention and refused to pass an ordinance of secession. One secessionist delegate, expressing his disgust at the unmovable Unionists, proposed a resolution declaring the convention a "nuisance" and proposed its dissolution. The delegates decided to reconvene in early August to hold a vote to either secede or "cooperate."[131]

Garland and Carrigan, like many Arkansans, did not necessarily see Unionism and slaveholding as contradictory interests, but they would not insist that Arkansas

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[129] Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants); *Journal of the Convention of the State of Arkansas*, 27-32.

[130] Eighth Census of the United States, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants); *Journal of the Convention of the State of Arkansas*, 27-34.

[131] Whayne, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, 163-165; *Journal of the Convention of the State of Arkansas*, 35.

remain part of the Union at all costs. The convention drew up a list of grievances endured by Arkansans at the hand of the United States government—including attacks on the right to spread slavery to territories. They declared that they would protect the right of states to secede if necessary and would consider any forcible prevention of the secession of other states an affront to Arkansas. Leaders made it clear that if they believed that the South was truly threatened, they would wholeheartedly support secession.[132]

The secession of other southern states, as well as the attack on Fort Sumter in April, finally tipped the balance. The president of the convention, David Walker, called an emergency early reassembly of the delegates in May, although they had originally agreed to reassemble in August. The delegates met with an understanding that public sentiment had shifted in favor of secession. Only five Unionist votes were cast—of which four were later changed—and an ordinance was passed on May 6th that announced the separation of Arkansas from the Union. Garland and Carrigan signed it.[133]

Arkansans sought to protect their right to slave property—a right that had remained intact for decades. Perhaps nothing expressed this sentiment more clearly than an early message from Governor Henry M. Rector to the initial meeting of the delegates:

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[132] *Journal of the Convention of the State of Arkansas*, 55; Whayne, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, 163; Carl H. Moneyhon, *The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on Arkansas: Persistence in the Midst of Ruin* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2002), 96.

[133] *Arkansas True Democrat*, April 18, 1861; Moneyhon, *The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on* Arkansas, 96-97; *Journal of Both Conventions of the State of Arkansas* (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1861), 8; "An Ordinance to Dissolve the Union now existing between the State of Arkansas, and the other states with her, United under the Compact entitled 'The Constitution of the United States of America,' Adopted May 6th, 1861," on microfilm at the University of North Texas Willis Library, J1118, Reel 34, no. 1493.

> An irrepressible conflict, says he [Lincoln], is going on between freedom and slavery. That institution is now upon its trial before you, and if we mean to defend and transmit it to our children, let us terminate this northern crusade, by forming a separate government, in which no conflict can ensue…Does there exist inside the borders of Arkansas any diversity of sentiment, as to the religious or moral right of holding negro slaves?...God and his omnipotent wisdom, I believe created the cotton plant—the African slave—and the lower Mississippi Valley to clothe and feed the world, and a gallant race of men and women produced upon its soil to defend it, and execute that decree.[134]

As the state delegation embraced secession, they drafted a new constitution, almost identical to the 1836 document, but with a few subtle yet important differences. The constitution made Arkansas part of the Confederate States of America instead of the United States of America, and declared that "all *free white men*, where they form a social compact, are equal, and have certain and inherent indefeasible rights"—a change from simply "all free men" in the 1836 version (italics added).[135]

Although Hempstead County leaders may not have initially supported secession, they threw their support behind winning the war for Arkansas and the Confederacy. Rufus K. Garland served in the Confederate Congress, and Alfred H. Carrigan became a lieutenant colonel in the Confederate army. In all, Hempstead County raised nineteen companies of Confederate soldiers, including the "Hempstead Rifles."[136]

The most significant way in which Hempstead County supported the war effort was by housing the relocated Arkansas Confederate government headquarters after Little Rock was captured by Federal forces in 1863. The Federal victories at Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove in 1862 had established Union control north of Arkansas that pressed southward, while the capture of Helena on the Mississippi River allowed Federal forces

[134] Moneyhon, *The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on Arkansas*, 97; *Journal of the Convention of the State of Arkansas*, 41-49 (quotation).
[135] *Journal of Both Conventions of the State of Arkansas*, 382.
[136] Carrigan, "Reminiscences of Hempstead County," 118-121.

to push westward. The loss of Arkansas Post threatened the upriver capital city of Little Rock. The forces defending Little Rock were undermanned and received little Confederate patriotism from residents who remained in the city. Confederate forces made a brief stand, then retreated from the advance of Federal troops. Little Rock surrendered to Union control on the afternoon of September 10, 1863.[137]

The defeat was demoralizing, and many central Arkansans quickly began taking oaths of loyalty to the Union. Southwest Arkansas, however, remained under Confederate control for a while longer, and the state's Confederate headquarters was moved to Washington. The legislative sessions of 1863 and 1864 were held there, as were sessions of the Supreme Court. The military headquarters, courts, treasury, and supply center of the state's Confederate government all relocated to Washington. The town, as the center of Confederate Arkansas operations, was inundated with refugees and soldiers.[138]

Slavery was clearly important enough and profitable enough to Hempstead County that its residents were willing to harbor the Confederate government at a time when the war had already ravaged the state and when defeat seemed imminent to some. Whether the decision was politically or sentimentally motivated, seating the state's Confederate government in Washington allowed Hempstead County slaveholders to hold onto slavery as long as possible. In the next year, Confederate loyalties suffered and Union sentiment was gathering strength across northern and central Arkansas. A meeting of the public and politicians was held in Washington, in

[137] Whayne, *Arkansas: A Narrative History*, 181-192.

[138] Whayne, *Arkansas: A Narrative History* 192; Michael B. Dougan, *Confederate Arkansas: The People and Policies of a Frontier State in Wartime* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1976), 114; Gwaltney, "A Survey of Historic Washington," 366-381; Carrigan, "Reminiscences of Hempstead County," 118-121.

which those present decided to keep fighting for the Confederacy as long as possible.[139]

As the Trans-Mississippi Confederate forces crumbled, guerilla fighting and lawlessness stretched across Arkansas. By June of 1865, the Confederacy had lost control of the state, and the government in Hempstead County disintegrated. Union troops struggled to control the chaos as refugee Arkansans returned to their war-ravaged homes. The white and black population of Arkansas and Hempstead County struggled to adjust to their new lives.[140]

Confederate defeat meant the end of slavery in Arkansas and Hempstead County. Blacks across the state clung to Federal troops, seeking aid, but many Freedmen remained near their masters or tried to locate scattered loved ones. As former Hempstead County slave Sallie Crane described the disorder following the war, "I know freedom come before 1865, because my brothers would tell me to come home from Nashville where I would be sent to do nursing by my old mistress…Finally Miss Polly found that she couldn't keep me any longer and she come and told me I was free."[141]

Freedwoman Lou Ferguson was eager and able to begin a new life when she returned to Hempstead County after being taken with her master to Texas during the war. She recollected to an interviewer, "I was around 20 when the war ceaseted [sic].

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[139] DeBlack, *With Fire and Sword: Arkansas, 1861-1874*, 96-99; Dougan, *Confederate Arkansas*, 123.

[140] DeBlack, *With Fire and Sword: Arkansas, 1861-1874*, 143; Moneyhon, *The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on Arkansas* 132-134.

[141] In the 1930s, the WPA conducted interviews of former slaves from Arkansas and the entire South. George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972), Vol. 8, 50-56.

We didn't stay with Mr. Johnson more than a month after there was peace. We come on in to Washington."[142]

The end of slavery dramatically changed every aspect of life in Hempstead County. The South's peculiar institution had been established quickly and firmly there during the 1820s, and it bolstered the continually expanding cotton economy. By 1860, slaves made up a large proportion of the county's total population—38 percent—and Hempstead County was a significant producer of Arkansas cotton, harvesting 5 percent of the state's total bales. The importance of slave labor to cotton production manifested itself as rising cotton yields coincided with the growing slave population. The institution of slavery aided the agricultural development of the region by its inhabitants. It was indeed economically profitable for Hempstead County's farmers to invest in slave labor to produce cotton. However, as in other areas of the South, the intense focus on cotton production discouraged a diversified economy. [143]

Because of the economic benefits, and the lifestyle that slavery allowed them to establish, the people of Arkansas and Hempstead County sought to protect the institution of slavery—first in the organization of the territory, next in the application for statehood, and finally during the sectional crisis that led to secession and war. Arkansans joined the South in fighting for slavery, and Hempstead County residents served the Confederacy most significantly by protecting the capital. The fall of the Confederacy and the demise of slavery signaled the end of an era.

Although Hempstead County never reached a majority slave population as in some areas of Arkansas, slavery's importance there was fundamental. By following

[142] Ibid., 276-281.

[143] Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census*, 12-13; Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*, 7.

Hempstead County slaveholders and slaves from the peculiar institution's establishment to its demise in Arkansas, a better understanding of slavery in Arkansas can be established. Although the personal lives of neither the slaveholders nor the slaves are highlighted, the quantitative information gathered here provides a useful foundation for understanding the time in which they lived.

APPENDIX

HEMPSTEAD COUNTY SLAVEHOLDERS AND SLAVES, 1850 AND 1860

Hempstead County Slaveholders and Slaves of the 1850 Census

Slaveholder	Slaves Owned
B.F. Hempstead	2
Daniel E. Williams	3
John Field	5
Simon T. Sanders	3
John ?	2
William H. Etter	2
Lewis Allen	2
George W. Gray	3
William W. G. Collins	6
John Brackney	3
John D. Trimble	4
John G. Gray	5
George W. Wood	1
Michael Green	1
H.D. Cobb	1
Isaac N. Jones	9
Daniel E. Alexander	7
George O. Built	12
Asa B. High	12
L. H. W. Maddox	6
Abraham Block	14
Rosina Builtin	1
Wesly King	1
James G. D. Armond	4
Benjamin P. Jett	10
Thomas Hubbard	5
Charles White	1
Richard P. Williams	3
John Arnett	4
Samuel W. Cross	1
Rebecca C. Phillips	5
Sarah Johnson	3
Minerva Lang	1
James McDaniel	4
Charles B. Mitchell	8
Elijah Ferguson	6
Michael Simmons	7
John S. Spense	1
Tilmon T. Collins	1
William B. Mason	2
George C. Prater	5
James Gibson	11

James Nance	5
Samuel L. Slack	4
William Boon	4
Benjamin F. Renfroe	7
Elias Cowilt	3
Joseph Garret	6
William C. Holt	1
Larkin Johnson	7
Margaret McDonald	8
William Gibson	2
Michael Mallon	5
John G. Campbell	3
John Yates	1
George Hooiles	1
Robert Cross	1
James W. Prim	1
Halda Clark	4
Henry Burrough	1
Hannah Alexander	4
Sarah Beard	1
Andrew L. Martin	3
Harry McClinton	1
Wesly Norwood	2
David R. Cocknaham	1
David D. Reader	2
Henry Kimball	15
Samuel Young	3
Josiah Tyner	4
Robert H. Conway	7
Joseph R. Crosby	2
Joel D. Canary	18
George F. Gilbert	1
William Sandlin	2
Isaac Anderson	1
John Wilson	8
George Walker	1
William B. Lawrence	1
Benjamin F. Ryburn	16
Ezekiel Nance	24
John Arnett	3
David A. Reeder	6
Thomas H. Arnold	5
David Tyner	1
William Crenshaw	1
William McNillian	10
John B. Sandefur	13

Thomas Christian	6
David C. Pastor	3
Henry P. Poindexter	16
James G. Edwards	3
Alfred O. Stewart	12
T. M. R. Bankhead	22
Hezekiah Smith	32
Mary Arnett	2
George Conway	10
Joanna T. Carrington	39
Thomas Williamson	21
James W. Marcherson	1
Joel W. Hannah	30
Grandison D. Royston	39
Jeremiah M. Pate	13
William Moss	22
Joshua Morrison	33
Benjamin L. Builter	2
Chester Cornelius	3
Joseph T. Cook	21
John B. Drake	1
Paris M. Drake	3
Daniel Young	1
John T. Richardson	6
James Wylie	8
Francis Allen	6
John H. Flems	13
Dempsey P. Latterwhite	1
Peter Tidwell	9
Thomas Latterwhite	14
William Cornelius	5
Lewis Bolls	3
William H. Mitchell	1
Jessie Johnson	5
James Cravens	2
Lucinda P. Arnold	6
Isham P. McCain	1
William Clark	2
George W. Sandefur	3
Sarah Duncan	1
George Mouser	1
M. D. Hall	1
William Beaty	10
Willis Wilson	3
Nancy Stephens	1
Jonathan West	16

Asalda McClellan	5
John M. Whiteside	1
Carter McClain	6
John McClain	6
W.B. McClellan	1
Richard Wilson	2
John C. Billingsley	1
George W. James	1
John L. Eads	8
Thomas Latterwhite	16
Clement Smith	1
Ruben R.Cornelius	8
Nicholas Tramell	11
Thomas C. Smith	13
William W. Cravens	2
Wiley Walker	1
Susan Watson	6
Sarah White	3
James Munn	5
Benjamin W. Yates	2
Joseph East	2
John Calhoun	10
Orange D. Bearden	5
Lewis Nance	4
Phillip T. Gronns	2
John P. Stephens	6
Francis Bittick	1
James Nolen	4
James M. Nolen	3
John A. Ely	1
Meredith W. Edwards	2
John W. Williams	13
Edward Cross	23
Josiah Rosser	1
Hugh A. Blevins	15
James H. Walker	151
Robert A. Brunson	30
Matthew V. Cheatham	25
John Landers	1
Littleton Hunt	2
William Williams	1
Greer Cheatham	8
Paul Booker	24
Gidison Cravens	2
Elijah Gibson	1
Joseph Caldwell	9

Sarah Moss	8
Abraham Hobson	27
James Norwood	1
William Reed	1
Ruben Maren	3
Leven Ainsworth	2
Simon Baird	20
George W. Shover	4
Robert M. Bailey	2
David Grounds	2
John Henderson	8
Jefferson Draper	18
John Carmon	23
Henry A. Johnson	81
Jacob Custer	35
Nancy W. Hill	3
James D. Caldwell	3
Green B. Bridgeman	2
William Watson	1
Robert Raben	7
Martha Panner	1
S.C. Johnson	6
Ephriam Merrick	42
Abner Willis	10
James H. Walker, Jr.	12
Mary Walker	15
Joseph Stewart	39
Daniel T. Witter	32
Edward Wesson	12
Jesse Aycock	9
Edward S. Johnson	45
Ezekiel Kinsworthy	12
James May	1
Catharine Crosnal	1
Abiel B. Clements	4
Joseph D. Gibson	3
Andrew Wallace	5
James H. Black	16
William Hurgate	3
William Crabtree	14
John W. Pettigrew	4
Robert F. Bradbury	5
Daniel Pross	4
Matthew Fountain	5
Wiley Bishop	1
John R. Roper	2

Moses Bishop	4
Charles Nelson	2
Josiah Patterson	2
William Donerty	1
Jessie W. Holt	2
Woodson Blasingame	1
Joel Chandler	3
Mary McCleader	4
Nathan Gill	3
James W. Scoggins	15
Isaac Rubins	8
John C. Parker	2
Thomas G. Parker	4
George Stewart	14
John T. Houston	2
Thomas Carr	6
Henry Lloyd	3
Jabez W. Johnson	7
Dudly M. Cochran	4
Peter Coulter	16
Cokeley Williams	19
George W. Waggoner	2
David Tollet	10
James Cowlin	11
Amaziah Lewis	14
John W. Jones	24
William Coulter	38
Harmon Bishop	11
William B. Vaughan	16
John Anderson	2
R? Floyd	1
Amelia Vaughan	19
Enoch Smith	55
James W. Smith	17
Mary Gatlin	1
Stephen Gatlin	3
Lazarus Gatlin	3
Thomas Reed	13
Charles Nelson	8
Anderson R. Scallion	10
James L. Hicks	1
Lawson B. Collins	2
James H. Dunn	3
Eliza H. Kay	2
David C. Reed	1
Richard F. Sullivan	6

Benjamin H. Copeland	1
Lewis Livingston	1
Robert H. Gray	5
Edward B. Fowlkes	16
George W. Foster	15
Harrison B/R? Morris	2
Jacob Powell	10
Bartholomew B. Jones	6
Peter McCain	1
Charles F.M. Robinson	7
Andrew C. Roberts	1
James W. Finley	13
James Lyon	1
W. Williams	7
C.J.H. Betts	9
Richard Pryor	21
David Roberts	21
John W. Pauss	7
Samuel H. Thomas	6
George McCain	4

Hempstead County Slaveholders and Slaves of the 1860 Census

Slaveholder	Slaves Owned
Hiram Powell	13
M. Wallace	1
Martin Adams	1
Y. R. White	2
William Durbey	5
C. T. Smith	3
William Caudle	1
A. Mitchell, Sr.	2
J. H. Campbell	1
John Davis	5
William L. Campbell	1
Charles Reynolds	1
B. W. Thomson	5
William P. Bareham	1
James S. Jones	1
William E. F. Jones	3
J. M. Scott	1
L. Rasser	1
S. R. Carman	1
Walter Scott	13
Stacy Garrett	4
C. C. Calhoun	9
O. D. Beardin	3
Moses Jones	6
Matthew Cleghorn	3
James Cantley	7
A. J. Matthews	1
Mary A. Handcock	1
Sarah Duncan	1
Joseph East	5
John S. Weaver	1
George Sandefur	1
William C. Hurgate	15
Thomas G. Books	22
Edmund T. Delong	16
Lafayette W. Delong	24
Cokeley P. Williams	38
Robert A. Crutchen	15
J. M. Greathouse	1
Peter Coulter	27
Samuel James	2
Harmon Bishop	14

James Thompson	3
Dr. John W. Jones	46
John Parker	4
Martha Coulter	43
Thomas G. Parker	6
F. M. Thomas	14
Benjamin B. Barnett	4
W. G. Gardner	5
William H. Rector	1
P. G. Stone	3
Robert C. Mitchell	3
Sarah Tuckett	12
William H. Rector	4
William C. Lypert	5
J. S. Williams	7
Eliza H. Henderson	1
Isabella Mitchell	8
Richard P. Owen	2
T. K. Whitmore	30
Simeon McCown	12
T. S. Leake	19
John Rupell	3
Chans Briggs	18
Ward C. Ferguson	1
William J. Powell	1
Dudley M. Cochran	14
Joseph J. Nelson	1
Charles Merrell	3
Jacob Standler	3
John Scroggins	4
Jael Chandler	4
Neal. G. Nael	8
Susan R. Nael	9
James May	8
Matthew Fountain	5
Wallace Estate	3
James L. Hicks	10
Lewis M. Bartin	3
J. E. Barton	1
Peter Garnell	4
Low Savage	4
Thomas Brewer	11
Daniel A. Reeder	6
Charles Nelson	4
Andrew E. Thompson	3
W. H. C. Johnson	6

Francis C. Young	4
Jessy W. Holt	6
W. G. Scroggins	2
James W. Scroggins	60
Wes Hoover	9
Thomas F. Williams	1
Wesley Norwood	16
J. R. H. Cummins	6
R. P. Williams	1
Edward Wesson	27
C. F. Fennell	4
Yelia Hartsfield	9
D. W. Hartsfield	3
James Bradbury	8
R. W. Conway	6
E. A. Stuart	5
Peter Mayberry	1
A. B. McCollum	8
H. Parlor	1
J. J. Vicars	19
Sarah Jordan	19
John E. Hill	30
Daniel Tyre	10
Christina Matlock	2
Robert Gleghorn	1
Anna Nance	5
John Vaughn	16
R. H. Garland	9
John A. Baird	1
Jonathon Black	9
Samuel Batey	2
T. Braswell	5
Thadius Gill	11
B. L. Landers	1
E. L. McGough	1
T. E. Goodwyn	1
P. D. Cobb	13
J. E. Goodwyn	1
J. W. Thompson	2
J. H. Arnold	2
William H. Baird	3
John B. Warren	1
D. C. Williams	3
Jesse Johnson	3
Henry Bonner	3
Willis Wilson	3

Henry Holcom	2
William Cravens	5
John T. Ballaird	15
Henry Bonner	6
Billingsley	1
Eliot Lindenmalk	10
Carter McClain	14
Phillip F. Graves	9
Henry McClain	2
Chester Cornelius	11
Elisha Bell	9
Joseph McIntosh	13
Joseph McKilein	15
Andrew Johnson	83
Phillips	75
B. F. Renfro	9
J. M. Norwood	1
H. H. Hannah	25
Matthew Moss	17
W. A. Carrigan	2
John M. Carrigan	10
H. W. Smith	42
Mary B. Williamson	27
Sarah J. Moss	3
Stepthen Wallace	2
T. McFadden	40
William J. Frierson	15
Eliza A. Morgan	17
George Mouser	2
Charles B. Mitchell	22
E. K. Williamson	5
Thomas C. Smith	58
William N. Johnson	3
Isaac Anderson	1
George Stuart	5
E. M. Holt	6
Allen Hobson	19
N. W. Hobson	7
John Anderson	7
Alfred Carrigan	25
James W. Smith	48
James L. Hicks	8
Simeon Briggs	6
Sam H. Stuart	8
L. Mobley	1
William Moore	2

Hannah Jones	1
J. W. Walker	2
J. M. Hughson	5
William M. Carrigan	14
John Arnolt	3
H. E. Burt	23
David Block	7
James Ware	2
Paul J. Carrington	16
John S. Turner	33
John G. McFadden	52
John W. Nelson	40
Martha A. Muldrow	71
Elam Morrison	2
Cornelius Suffer, trustee	19
Ambrose Hannegan	23
John W. Allen	6
Andrew L. Martin	3
Mary Langston	1
Mary A. Sandefur trustee of Samuel Steger	29
A. B. Pope	5
James Lowry	16
Joseph S. Lloyd	15
W. B. S. Gilmer	133
Samuel Williamson	30
Daniel Griffin	22
J. M. Killgore	1
J. R. Page	15
Thomas Hubbard	3
Thomas Hubbard trustee	6
Alsa B. Highs	9
Richard P. Williamson	11
Daniel Kirkpatrick	20
Ly Crester	2
H. Clark	2
Jael W. Hannah	33
Henry B. Warren	8
George C. Mudrow	128
William Moss	33
Milton T. Holt	14
John W. Williams	13
Winto McGill	15
A. G. Murphy	14
James H. Arnold	5
Josiah Tyree	6

E. Albright	1
George W. White	63
Susan E. Taylor	33
James K. Young	1
Edmond Gross	14
Lawson Black	1
Benjamin Maxwell	23
Eliza Spears	4
James Scott	11
Sarah Blevins	19
E. Roberson	1
James T. Spragins	11
Mathew Couch	1
John P. Stephens	16
Barkley M. Fugitt	8
James Craig	6
William Mayfield	7
James D. Gray	3
John Nolen	10
James S. Collins	2
James Nolen	8
Nelson Jenkins	10
Francis Moody	1
Robert Bruce	6
John A. Eley	1
Lawrence Britt	2
Samuel Leslie	6
Robert Baber	13
William H. Turner	54
James S. Turner	4
F. Reed	2
James H. Delong	21
John C. Stuart	4
Amons V. Walker	34
James D. Caldwell	5
Jefferson Draper	29
David Grounds	2
J. W. Garland	3
Eliza W. Johnson	7
William Hendricks	4
John W. Pedegrew	7
J. T. Johnson	4
William O. Bradley	26
C. C. Gillespie	1
R. A. Brunson	95
E. S. Johnson	15

Thomas J. Young	3
R. M. Bailey	3
James M. Robinson	5
Daniel Grounds	7
David Childers	3
Reubin Moran	4
John C. Cannon	40
Elijah Gibson	2
William Johnson	33
James H. Walker	105
G. R. Chatham	22
Edward Beard	2
J. P. Brunson	1
John W. Reed	1
Mildred Stuart	28
William Crabtree	12
Nancy W. Hill	63
E. Johnson	41
G. W. Stuart	30
John Norwood	1
Thomas Stuart	17
R. M. Willson	22
M. V. Cheatham	148
Estate of James F. Johnson, W.V. Cheatham, Administrator	68
John Johnson	50
D. T. Witler	48
John S. Gibson	6
C. M. Hervey	6
T. Reynold	1
Thomas Carr	5
William Huckaby	4
R. F. Sullivan	4
C. Anderson	1
J. W. Dobson	1
C. C. Allen	15
William A. Milton	3
Margaret Smith	1
A. S. Jackson	2
William N. Hays	2
Thomas Brandon	33
Richard Pryor	10
A. D. Fowlkes	9
S. M. Turner	1
Thomas F. Wilson	1
C. J. H. Betts	15

A. R. Banks	1
R. H. Binford	6
James W. Finley	13
B. H. Foster	10
John L. Levinson	1
B. F. Burns	1
M. R. Reeves	1
William M. Brandon	9
J. F. Erwin	2
William Tucker	5
A. J. Bundy	2
James Tucker	6
John R. Wilder	4
S. G. Carlock	3
S. C. Barnett	18
John H. Munday	33
Thomas Simmons	25
H. R. Morris	5
T. T. Batt	10
S. W. Williams	13
J. C. Condson	1
Jacob Powell	18
Rapley Curtis	2
John A. Burns	2
R. C. Burns	7
Bradford Hinton	3
William C. Bleakley	1
P. N. Drake	6
D. T. Valliant	8
J. H. Landess	4
John Raleigh	5
Henry S?net	7
James H. Dudley	10
John Wilson B	9
W. J. R. Lloyd	1
Whitsell Williams	10
W. P. Hart	1
S. Ogden	3
E. W. Garrit	5
John R. Eakin	5
W. D. Green	5
A. B. Cox	1
A. B. Williams	3
W. W. Andrews	4
John S. Jones	6
Virginia Hooks	6

Rebecca C. Phillips	10
Frances Block	6
J. S. Britt	2
J. Trimble	9
B. F. Fall	1
R. P. Moore	4
J. A. L. Purdom	6
Benjamin P. Jett	16
O. Jennings	4
S. T. Sanders	6
J. C. Arnett	2
Mary Field	11
S. W. Witherspoon	64
D. E. Alexander	11
Henry Finn	2
Joseph Graves	6
W. D. Edwards	2
T. H. Daniel	10
Jacob Custer	8
J. B. Vaughan	5
Amelia Vaughan	5
H. A. Jones	18
J. W. Hudgens	2
L. H. Lomax	16
Allen Petty	4
William D. Johnson	1
John Baird	2
Allen T. Beller	16
J. S. Burt	24
J. M. McElroy	12
Hewitt Burt	2
T. J. McFadden	20
Charles Carter	18
Harvey Young	3
W. V. King	2
Sarah B. Christian	1
W. H. Etter	6
B. F. Hempstead	5
W. B. Stuart	3
A. A. Harris	4
A. T. Delong	1
C. A. Darrs	2
L. J. Joyner	12
J. M. Simms	3
S. H. Harvey	3
W. C. Carrington	3

E. V. Collins	5
E. L. Pryor	4
J. D. Kimbell	10
James McDaniel	62
R. A. Carrigan	12
E. W. Jones	9
R. Dugger	8
Mary Arnett	1
Mary J. Conway	4
Sarah Pate	11
Elijah Ferguson	25
Ephraim Mirick	8
Daniel R. Winn	4
E. M. Holt	6
Hewitt Burt	2
G. E. Gamble	14
L. D. Gamble	16
W. V. Vaughan	10
Matthew Moss	9
G. D. Royston	68
James H. Nelson	19
Stephen Moore	30
A. O. Stuart	37
James Nance	18
James D. Morrisett	20
James W. Smith	52
William A. Carrigan	11

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