

Archaeological Investigation of the Winters-Jackson Cemetery (41BX2245), San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas

by
Sarah Wigley



REDACTED

Principal Investigator
Paul Shawn Marceaux

Prepared for:
San Antonio African-American
Community Archive and Museum
430 North Cherry Street
San Antonio, Texas 78202



Prepared by:
Center for Archaeological Research
The University of Texas at San Antonio
One UTSA Circle
San Antonio, Texas 78249-1644
Archaeological Report, No. 468

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Abstract:

In April 2018, the Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) at The University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA) conducted archaeological investigations at the Winters-Jackson cemetery (41BX2245). The work was at the request of Mr. Everett Fly acting as a representative of the San Antonio African-American Community Archive and Museum (SAAACAM) and with the cooperation of the property owner's representative, Arthur Zuniga of Fasken Oil and Ranch, Ltd. The cemetery consists of 0.66 acres located within a 69.155-acre private tract of land owned Fasken Oil and Ranch, Ltd. This tract is located at the northeast corner of Nacogdoches Road and State Loop 1604 in San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas. The project did not require a Texas Antiquities Permit from the Texas Historical Commission, and as no development is planned, it does not fall under the City of San Antonio Unified Development Code. The work was conducted by CAR staff Jason Perez, Megan Brown, and Sarah Wigley. Sarah Wigley served as the Project Archaeologist, and Dr. Paul Shawn Marceaux, CAR Director, served as Principal Investigator.

The cemetery was in use from at least 1876-1937, according to the dates inscribed on the current gravestone at the Holy Cross Cemetery. In 1986, the previous landowner, Morton Southwest, arranged for the non-permitted relocation of human remains and headstones to the Holy Cross Cemetery on Nacogdoches Road. The purpose of the archaeological investigation was to determine whether or not any remains or grave goods had been left behind in backdirt piles left on the northern portion of the site after the relocation. CAR staff walked the property in order to identify any surface remnants of the cemetery, screened as much of the backdirt as possible in order to recover any remains or grave goods left behind, and excavated four backhoe trenches around the boundary of the property in order to explore the potential for graves outside the known cemetery boundaries. No subsurface testing was conducted within the cemetery boundaries.

Human remains, mortuary hardware, and personal items were recovered from the backdirt. Potentially diagnostic artifacts are consistent with the time period that the cemetery was known to be in use, ranging from approximately 1890-1920. Notes, photographs, and records generated by the project are on file at the CAR, and the artifacts and human remains will be returned to the landowner and/or to the SAAACAM. No graves were located outside the cemetery boundaries. The site has been designated as a Historic Texas Cemetery (BX-C313). In addition to the cemetery, the CAR also recorded the presence of a prehistoric site within the APE. Lithic tools, cores, debitage, and burned rock were recorded, but no temporal diagnostic or prehistoric features were observed. The CAR recommends that the area be protected and a buffer zone established. CAR also recommends that any ground disturbing activities in the cemetery should be avoided until the presence or absence of articulated human remains within the site boundaries is established.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA) Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) contracted with the San Antonio African-American Community Archive and Museum (SAAACAM) to provide archaeological services for the investigation of the Winters-Jackson cemetery. Mr. Everett Fly, Landscape Architect, served as the primary point of contact. The Winters-Jackson cemetery (41BX2245) is a private cemetery located in San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas, that was in use from at least 1876 to 1937. Human remains and headstones were relocated by a previous landowner without permit in 1986 to the Holy Cross Cemetery on Nacogdoches Road. The current work was conducted at the request of the SAAACAM with the agreement of the property owner's representative, Mr. Arthur Zuniga of Fasken Oil and Ranch, Ltd., in order to identify

potential human remains and associated material still on the site. The work did not require a Texas Antiquities Permit from the Texas Historical Commission. As no development is currently planned, the project does not fall under the City of San Antonio Unified Development Code. Dr. Paul Shawn Marceaux served as Principal Investigator, and Sarah Wigley served as the Project Archaeologist. The work was conducted by CAR staff Sarah Wigley, Jason Perez, and Megan Brown.

The project area is a cemetery on a private tract of land located at the northeast corner of the intersection of Nacogdoches Road (FM 2252) and the access road of State Loop 1604, in northeastern San Antonio (Figures 1-1 and 1-2). The cemetery is located on 0.66 acres within a 69.155-acre tract

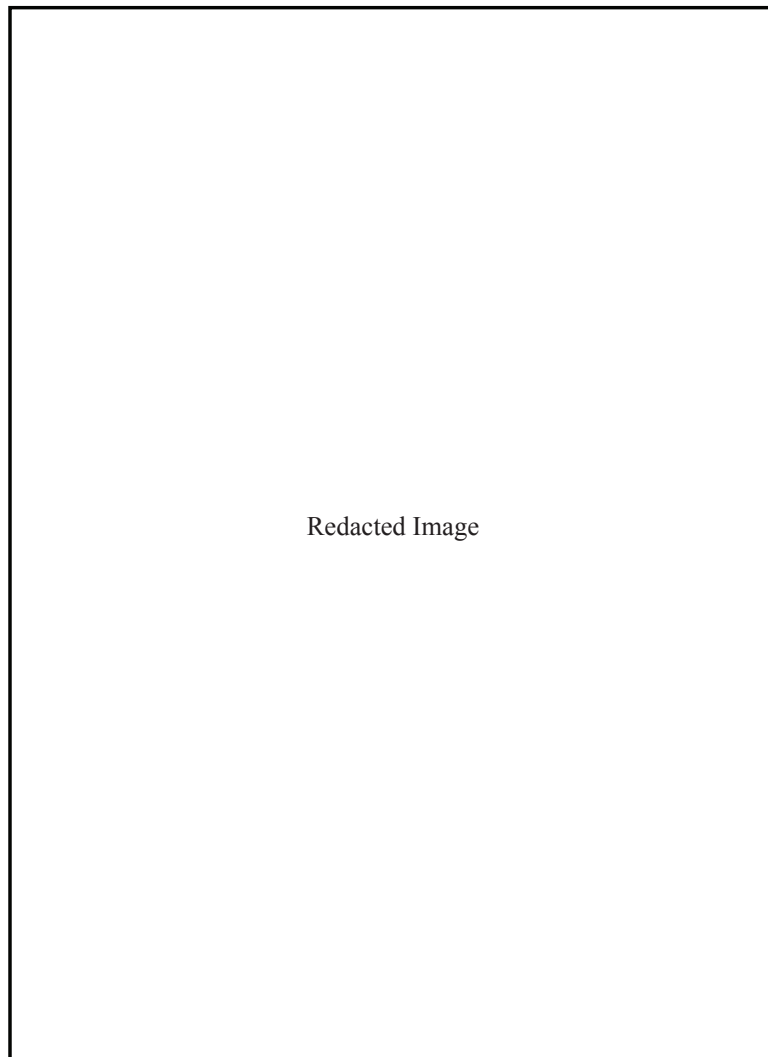


Figure 1-1. Project Area on aerial map.

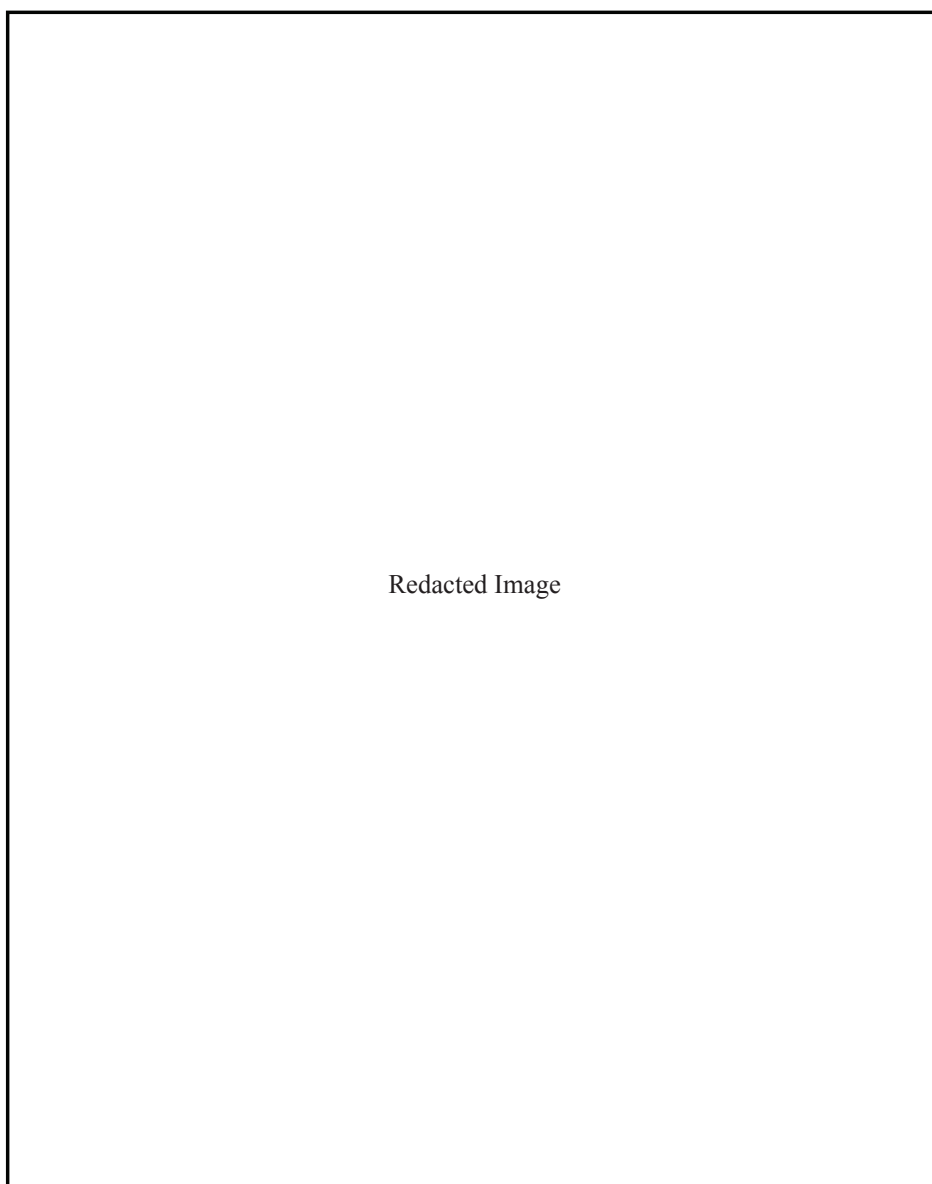


Figure 1-2. Project Area on topographic map.

of undeveloped land. The land is currently owned by Fasken Oil and Ranch, Ltd., who provided written right of entry to access and investigate the site.

The archaeological investigation took place April 2-5, 2018. The goals of this investigation were to identify 1) whether any human remains or grave goods were left in the backdirt from the cemetery relocation, 2) whether any cemetery-related remnants were still present on the surface of the site, and 3) whether any graves lay outside the cemetery boundaries. Mr. Fly and the SAAACAM are conducting extensive archival work relating to the cemetery; therefore, it is not included in this report. CAR staff conducted a pedestrian survey of the property to identify possible cemetery remnants, such as

gravestones or boundary markers, on the surface. The only markers located were the previously identified cedar post at the northwest corner of the site and a cut stone marker at the northeast corner of the site. In addition, a cedar post and barbed wire fence, which matches the description of the original fence given by one of Mr. Fly's informants (Fly, personal communication, 2018), runs along the northern portion of the site.

Eight piles of backdirt that had been left in the northern portion of the cemetery were screened for potential human remains or associated artifacts, such as mortuary hardware or personal items. All of these items were found to be present. Three bone fragments positively identified as human were

recovered from the backdirt piles, indicating the continued presence of human remains at the site. The temporally diagnostic mortuary hardware, including a nearly complete handle, matching handle fragments, thumbscrews, and an escutcheon, falls within the period the cemetery was known to be in use, approximately 1890-1920. The hardware do not all match, suggesting more than one grave was represented in the finds. Four backhoe trenches were excavated around the perimeter of the site in order to identify potential graves outside the cemetery boundaries. These backhoe trenches did note some areas of disturbance, but none exhibited the characteristics of grave shafts. No subsurface testing was conducted within the cemetery boundaries in order to avoid disturbance of any remains that may still be present in the cemetery. During the course of pedestrian survey and screening of backdirt, the presence of a prehistoric site component was also documented. Prehistoric materials, including lithic tools, debitage, cores, and burned rock, were present on the surface and in the screened backdirt. No temporally diagnostic prehistoric artifacts or features were documented.

While no plans for development exist at this time, the CAR recommends that the area be protected as a cemetery and access for family members and members of the public be maintained, in accordance with the Texas Health and Safety Code (Section 711). In the state of Texas, a property is considered dedicated as a cemetery if there is one or more burials present or if the property is recorded as a cemetery in the deed record (Health and Safety Code Section 711.035). A dedicated cemetery cannot be used for any other purpose unless the dedication is removed by a court or the cemetery is abated or enjoined as a nuisance (Health and Safety Code 711.035). Any person who wishes to access a cemetery must

be permitted access, even across private property, in order to visit, ornament, and protect the graves (Heath and Safety Code 711.041). The presence of human remains and mortuary hardware in the backdirt piles that remain on site suggests that these remains may also have been present in any backdirt used to fill grave pits uncovered by the removal, and thus may still be buried on the site. In addition, the Holy Cross Cemetery records indicate that 72 individuals were relocated there. However, Mr. Fly's interviews with family members about the Winters-Jackson cemetery indicate that over 100 individuals were buried there, suggesting that burials may still be present at the site. In order to avoid further disturbance of any remains present, the area should be protected and a buffer zone should be established. Access should be maintained for descendants and members of the public who wish to visit and maintain the site. The site has been designated as a Historic Texas Cemetery (BX-C313) to ensure that it is recorded and that its boundaries are documented for the information of government entities, researchers, and any future landowners. If any ground-disturbing activities are planned, subsurface testing should be carried out in order to determine the presence or absence of intact burial features at the site.

This report includes five chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 will discuss the project background, including the project area environment, culture history, and previous archaeology conducted in the area. Chapter 3 explains the field and laboratory methods that were employed by the CAR during the completion of this project. Chapter 4 discusses the details of the findings of this project, including descriptions of the human remains and associated material recovered during the project. Chapter 5 summarizes the work conducted and provides the CAR's recommendations for the site.

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Chapter 2: Project Area and Previous Archaeology

This chapter discusses the environmental background and culture history of the project area, as well as previous archaeological investigations.

Environmental Background

The project area is located in northeastern San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas, at the northeast corner of the intersection of Nacogdoches Road (FM 2522) and State Loop 1604. The tract of land where the Winters-Jackson cemetery is located is bordered at the west by the Loop 1604 access road and to the north by Nacogdoches Road. Subdivision developments lie to the east and south. The Winters-Jackson cemetery is located approximately 450 ft. (137 m) to the north of the access road and 400 ft. (122 m) east of Nacogdoches Road.

Bexar County has a subtropical-subhumid climate (Long 2017). The geology of Bexar County is dominated by the Balcones Escarpment, a geological fault zone several miles wide that crosses the county. The Edwards Plateau lies to the northwest of the escarpment, with the Blackland Prairie zone to the south and east (Long 2017). The nearest drainage is the Cibolo Creek, located approximately 1.55 miles (2.5 km) to the east.

The site contains Heiden-Ferris complex soils (HoD3). These soils are located on ridges with 5 to 10 percent slopes and are severely eroded. They are deep, well-drained clay soils (NRCS 2018).

The project area is located at an elevation of 400-1,000 ft. (121.9-304.8 m; Natural Resources Conservation Service [NRCS] 2018) in the Blackland Prairie Ecoregion (Texas Parks and Wildlife Department [TPWD] 2018). The mean annual precipitation is 28-42 in. (71.12-106.68 cm), and the area averages 225-275 frost-free days (NRCS 2018). The project area is located in an ecological site described as Southern eroded Blackland Prairie. Historically, this ecological site is a true tall grass prairie dominated by big bluestem, Indiangrass, switchgrass, eastern gramagrass, and little bluestem. Midgrasses and forbs are also abundant. Tree species include live oak, hackberry, eastern red cedar, cedar elm, and honey locust. Junipers are a common invasive species. An example of the current vegetation at the site is provided in Figure 2-1. Prior to European settlement the prairies were maintained by natural fire frequencies of 5-10 years. Precipitation is highly variable. Lack of fire disturbance can result in a more midgrass-mixed shrub plant community (NRCS 2018). Wildlife species include small game animals and white-tailed deer (TPWD 2018).

Culture History

Prehistoric Texas

The Paleoindian period in Texas occurs near the end of the Pleistocene epoch, spanning 13,000-9000 BP. Temporally diagnostic artifacts from the period include Folsom, Clovis, and Angostura projectile points. Paleoindian people were



Figure 2-1. Modern vegetation at the Winters-Jackson cemetery.

highly mobile. Their subsistence is often characterized as dependent upon hunting of megafauna, but a wider range of faunal remains has been recovered from sites such as Lubbock Lake (41LU1) and Wilson-Leonard (41WM235), suggesting a broader diet (Bousman et al. 2004).

The Archaic Period in Central Texas spans more than 7500 years (9000-1200 BP) and is often divided into Early, Middle, and Late periods. The period is characterized by increased diversity of material culture and use of heated rock technology such as burned rock middens (Collins 2004). Hard and Katzenberg's (2011) isotopic study of the Texas Coastal Plain suggests an overall pattern of stability in hunter-gatherer diets, with variation based on locally available resources. Temporally diagnostic artifacts from the Early Archaic include Martindale-Uvalde points and Guadalupe tools; from the Middle Archaic include Bell-Andice and Nolan-Travis points; and from the Late Archaic include Bulverde, Pedernales, and Castroville points (Collins 2004). A number of large prehistoric cemetery sites are known from this time period, including Loma Sandia (41LK28) and Olmos Dam (41BX1; Munoz et al. 2011).

The Late Prehistoric period spans 1200-350 BP and is characterized by a shift to bow and arrow technology, evidenced by arrow points such as Scallorn and Perdiz. The Toyah style interval of this period also includes the adoption of ceramic technology (Collins 2004). Bison may have more intensively exploited toward the end of this period (Lohse et al 2014).

Historic Texas

The Historic period begins in Central Texas with the first documented arrival of Europeans. Although early interactions were infrequent, the indigenous population was affected by disease and the arrival of Native American groups from other parts of North America fleeing Spanish occupation (Foster 1998; Kenmotsu and Arnn 2012). In San Antonio, some Native Americans sought refuge within the missions, which required some adaptation to Spanish Colonial customs as well as changes in mobility patterns (Cargill 1996).

The area that would become San Antonio was first explored in 1691 by a Spanish expedition led by Domingo de Teran (Cox 1997). The city of San Antonio was founded in 1718 (Jasinski 2018) with the founding of the San Antonio Bexar Presidio, intended to provide a way-station between the Rio Grande and east Texas missions (Cox 1997). Five Spanish missions were located along the San Antonio River during this time period. The city expanded with Spain's charter of the villa san Fernando de Bexar in 1731 (Jasinski 2018). In 1773, the city was the capital of Spanish Texas. During the Texas Revolution, San Antonio was the site of numerous

battles, including the Battle of the Alamo, at the site of the Mission Valero. The population of the city was decimated by the warfare. The number of people living in San Antonio grew rapidly after Texas became part of the United States in 1845, and in 1860, it was the largest city in Texas. The state joined the Confederacy in 1861 and San Antonio served as a Confederate depot during the Civil War (Jasinski 2018). Confederate forces in Texas surrendered on June 2, 1865 (Wooster 2018) and Union forces arrived and declared freedom for all slaves on June 19, 1865 (Acosta 2018).

After the Civil War, San Antonio served as a cattle, military, and mercantile center due to its proximity to the border and the southwest (Cox 1997; Jasinski 2018). The arrival of the railroad in 1877 further increased growth in the city. San Antonio was once again the largest city in the state in 1900, 1910, and 1920 (Jasinski 2017) and was known for its unique mix of cultures due to Mexican and German immigration. The city did not expand beyond its original Spanish charter until 1940 (Jasinski 2018).

African-American History in San Antonio

San Antonio was founded as a racially mixed settlement, including racially mixed Spaniards, Native Americans, and Africans. The arrival of the Canary Islanders, who themselves were of racially mixed heritage, introduced a strong sense of class system to San Antonio that was similar to the plantation system of their homeland (Mason 1994:3). San Antonio's free African American population continued to increase until 1824, due to migration of escaped slaves and free African-Americans from the United States (Mason 1994:9). However, as the slave system was increasingly adopted in San Antonio, hostility towards free African-Americans increasingly pushed them out of the city. In 1840, the Texas Republic attempted to expel all free African-Americans, and the City of San Antonio placed significant restrictions upon their economic pursuits (Mason 1994:16). The intensification in hostility towards free African-Americans was associated with an increase in the slave population of the city (Mason 1994). Bexar County never had the significant numbers of slaves found in the eastern parts of the state (Torget et al. 2007), but the institution still significantly impacted social organization in San Antonio.

Emancipation of slaves after the Civil War led to significant urban migrations of African-Americans, including to San Antonio, where the African-American population more than doubled (Mason 1994). African-Americans in San Antonio avoided working for plantation owners, due to their reputation for mistreatment and unfairness, and some previous farm workers went to work for German immigrants instead. Many African Americans went to work as cowboys,

became self-employed in a variety of skilled trades, or worked in domestic trades (Barr 1996; Mason 1994:83). Some joined the military, although San Antonio was initially hostile to African-American troops, and from 1870-1873, the African-American soldiers were deployed further west where they became known as “buffalo soldiers” who were known as a particularly honorable group, with the lowest desertion rate in the army (Barr 1996; Mason 1994:265).

After Emancipation, an outbreak of violence towards newly freed African-Americans occurred in Texas (Barr 1996; Mason 1994). The state and local governments enacted a myriad of laws intended to enforce segregation policies and limit African-American freedoms (Barr 1996; Mason 1994). These laws included limits on voting, segregation of public transportation, segregation of schools, and limitations on public funding of African-American education (Barr 1996).

In contrast with Texas cities like Dallas or Houston, the African-American population in San Antonio until approximately 1880 was evenly distributed throughout the city, mostly in neighborhoods in proximity to their place of employment (Mason 1994:34). The development of the business district and public transportation at this time led to the rise of African-American communities in the east and west of the city. African-Americans faced housing discrimination in many parts of the city, which contributed to demographic shifts. The rise of African-American communities in San Antonio was associated with a proliferation of church building on the east side, in particular Baptist and Methodist churches, which helped to anchor the strong sense of community in these neighborhoods. The church served as a cultural center which provided community services and assistance where other institutions failed (Mason 1994).

Segregation in historic San Antonio continued after death. African-Americans were excluded from the city cemetery, and no alternative was established until 1876 (Mason 1994:299). Due to the limited space provided, overcrowding was a problem, and in 1899, the city council finally allowed African-American burials in a designated section of the city cemetery. Prior to this, churches and fraternal orders pooled resources in order to provide alternative burial locations, frequently small private cemeteries like the Winters-Jackson cemetery, for African-American citizens.

In the 1950s, desegregation began in Texas, including in education, transportation, and voting. This paved the way for African-American Texans to expand their role in state and local politics and to establish themselves in the state, despite persistent limitations (Barr 1996).

Previous Archaeology

There are two previously recorded sites within 0.3 miles (0.5 km) of the Winters-Jackson cemetery (Figure 2-2). Site 41BX2150 lies approximately 0.25 miles (0.4 km) to the southeast of the project area. It is described as a demolished mid-century farmstead recorded by SWCA in 2013. The site lacked standing structures, but it included concrete structure remnants as well as trash deposits (THC 2018). The other site, 41BX564, lies approximately 0.3 miles (0.5 km) across 1604. It is a prehistoric site recorded by Daniel E. Fox in 1982. Cultural material observed included lithic debitage and cores observed on the surface. The site was revisited by the CAR in 2006 (Thompson et al. 2008). No cultural material was observed during the revisit, on the surface, or in shovel tests (THC 2018; Thompson et al. 2008).

Redacted Image

Figure 2-2 Sites within 0.3 miles (0.5 km) of the APE.

Chapter 3: Field and Laboratory Methods

The CAR completed a systematic walkover of the cemetery site, screened backdirt already present on the site, and conducted backhoe trenching around the perimeter of the cemetery.

Three north-south transects spanning the cemetery were surveyed to identify any other cemetery features remaining on the surface, including gravestones or boundary markers. No previously unknown features were identified. However, prehistoric material, including a large biface, was observed and recorded. The cemetery boundary markers previously identified by Mr. Fly, a cedar post and a cut stone marker, were photographed and documented with a Trimble Geo XT GPS unit.

No subsurface excavation was conducted within the cemetery borders, to avoid further disturbance to any remaining burials. In total, eight backdirt piles of varying sizes, left behind from the relocation of the cemetery in 1986, were screened through ¼-inch hardware cloth for potential human remains and grave material over the course of four days. The center points of each screened backdirt pile were documented using a Trimble Geo XT GPS Unit. Soil samples were collected from representative backdirt piles for color and texture analysis.

Four backhoe trenches were excavated around the perimeter of the cemetery in order to investigate the potential for graves lying outside the cemetery boundary. The trenches reached a depth of 23.6 in. (60 cm below the surface; cmbs) and were 29.5 in. (75 cm) in width. In some places, excavation of the complete perimeter was not possible due to thick vegetation and large trees. The beginning and ending points of trenches were documented with a Trimble unit. This work took place concurrently with screening of the backdirt. No grave shafts outside the boundaries of the cemetery were identified.

Potential human remains and associated artifacts were collected and temporarily housed at the CAR laboratory for further analysis. Non-mortuary and non-diagnostic material were documented and left at the site. Collected materials were checked in at the CAR laboratory, removed from plastic field bags, cleaned, and air-dried. Depending on their condition, delicate bone and metal materials were dry-brushed and air-dried. All notes, photographs, and records are on file at the CAR. Artifacts and human remains will be returned to the landowner and reburied at the site.

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Chapter 4: Results

This report does not include an extensive archival review due to the fact that Mr. Everett Fly and the SAAACAM is currently engaged in conducting that work. However, some background will be given in order to provide context for the results of the archaeological investigations. The Winters-Jackson cemetery is a small family cemetery that was in use from at least 1876 to 1937, according to information recorded on the grave marker at the Holy Cross Cemetery. At the time it was established, no public burial ground was open to African-Americans in San Antonio (Mason 1994). The cemetery was established by the Winters, Jackson, and Anthony families, who were interrelated and owned land in the area (Allen 2018). The families also donated land to establish a school and an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church, across the modern Loop 1604 from the cemetery (Fly, personal communication, 2018; Figure 4-1). These institutions served the small community that was established in San Antonio

after the Civil War. Examination of historic aerial maps provided by the SAAACAM and modern aeriels indicates that the school and church are gone. An expanded Loop 1604, a Jim's Restaurant, and what appears to be a plowed field are in their place.

A gravestone installed by the Holy Cross Cemetery after the cemetery relocation (Figure 4-2) records 72 re-interments. However, Mr. Fly's interviews (personal communication, 2018) indicate that over 100 individuals were buried in the cemetery. This gravestone records six names: Amos Jackson, died December 18, 1920; Duckles Franklin, died March 4, 1898; Lizzie Conley, October 12, 1936 (not noted if death or birth); Antonio Anthony, 1894 (not noted if death or birth); James Mures, May 15, 1876 (not noted if death or birth); and Reany Mures (no date). It seems likely these names

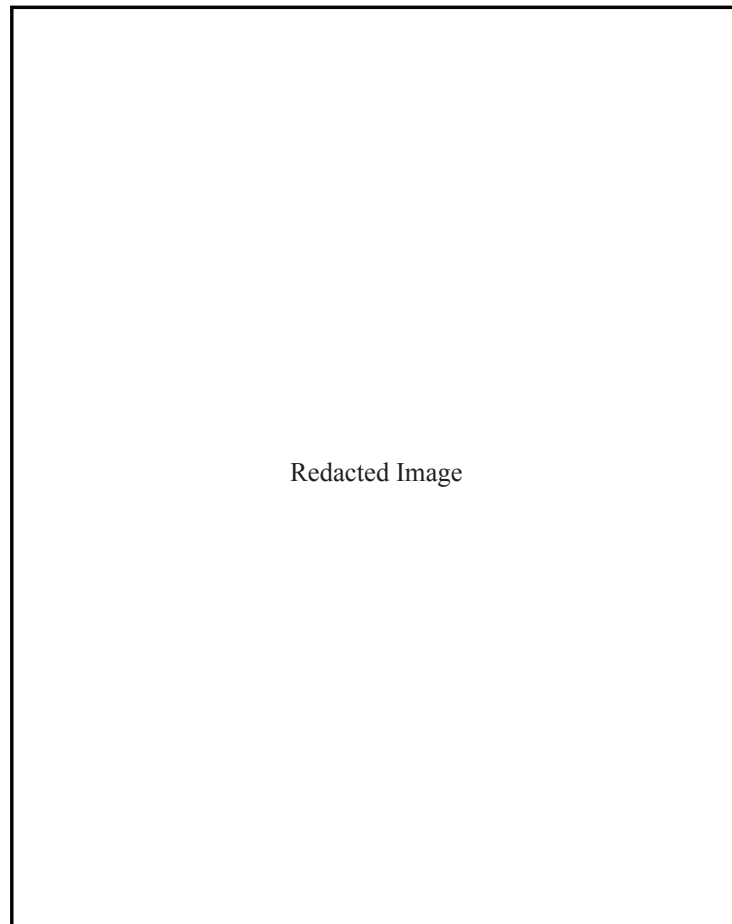


Figure 4-1. Map showing locations of previously owned church and school in relation to cemetery.



Figure 4-2. Marker for burials relocated from Winters-Jackson cemetery at the Holy Cross Cemetery.

represent the burials that included legible markers at the time of the relocation. Amos Jackson is known to have served as a buffalo soldier in the U.S. Army, and Mr. Fly's interviews indicate that his headstone was the largest in the cemetery, standing at least 4-ft. (1.2-m) high. A statement given to the San Antonio Express-News by the Holy Cross Cemetery in 2018 indicates that the headstones were buried with the remains (Allen 2018). The burials were relocated in 1986, and at that time the land was owned by Morton Southwest (Allen 2018). The descendants of the individuals who were buried in the Winters-Jackson cemetery were not contacted, and it appears that no legal permit was obtained for the relocation (Allen 2018). After the relocation, the cemetery disappears from deeds related to the land after that time (Fly, personal communication, 2018; Allen 2018).

In order to investigate the possibility that human remains, associated burial artifacts, surface cemetery features, or graves outside the cemetery boundaries may still be present on the site, a pedestrian survey, screening of remaining backdirt, and perimeter backhoe trenching were conducted by the CAR. This chapter presents the results of those investigations.

Pedestrian Survey

CAR staff walked three north-south transects running the length of the cemetery property. Ground visibility was minimal due to thick vegetation, including grasses and brush, across the surface of site. No new features associated with the cemetery were observed, but two boundary markers, previously identified by Mr. Fly, were documented. These features were a cedar post (Figure 4-3) at the approximate northwest corner of the property and a cut stone marker (Figure 4-4) at the northeast corner. The southern corners were identified and marked based on property dimensions recorded by a previous land survey. A barbed wire fence with both cedar and metal posts is present along the northern boundary of the site (Figure 4-5). This is consistent with the information recorded during Mr. Fly's oral interviews about the use of the cemetery, which describe the entire boundary as surrounded by such a fence. The presence of newer, uncorroded barbed wire together with older, rusty lines on the fence indicate that this portion has been maintained fairly recently.



Figure 4-3. Cedar post marking the northwest corner of the cemetery boundary.



Figure 4-4. Cut stone marker used to identify the northeast corner of the cemetery boundary.



Figure 4-5. Existing fence along the northern boundary of the cemetery.

In addition, a number of bones were observed on the surface, and all identified as faunal remains, including deer, very large mammal (likely cow or horse), opossum, and canine. A partially decomposed deer carcass with the antlers sawed off at the skull was also present near the center of the cemetery site, indicating that hunting had occurred in the area fairly recently.

While no previously unrecorded features or artifacts associated with the Winters-Jackson cemetery site were observed on the surface, a number of prehistoric lithic artifacts, including bifaces, cores, debitage, and burned rock were documented, indicating the presence of a prehistoric component at the site.

Backdirt Screening

In total, eight piles of backdirt were identified and screened for burial remains left at the site during the relocation (Figures 4-6 and 4-7). Two backdirt piles, Pile 1 and Pile 6, produced all of the mortuary hardware, human remains, and personal items that were recovered from the site, with minimal recovery from other piles. The remaining piles produced plain ferrous screw, nails, and glass fragments, which are potentially but not definitively associated with burials. Nine pieces of mortuary hardware and three bone fragments positively identified as human were recovered

from the backdirt piles, indicating the continued presence of burial remains at the site. The bone was highly fragmented, and the mortuary hardware significantly weathered, likely due to being exposed in the backdirt piles for more than thirty years and subject to disturbance, such as animal burrowing. In addition, lithic tools, debitage, cores, and burned rock were present in the backdirt, indicating the presence of a prehistoric site in the area.

The backdirt piles were located near the northern boundary of the site. All of the piles showed distinct differences in soil color and texture, similar to the differences shown in soil stratigraphy during the backhoe trenching. The very dark gray (10YR 3/1), clayey soil in Pile 3 was similar to the top layer in all four backhoe trenches around the cemetery, while the gray (10YR 6/1), caliche-dominated mottled soil in Pile 2 was similar to the deeper, caliche soils observed in the backhoe trenches. The soil from Pile 1, which did produce burial material, was grayish brown (10YR 5/2) clumpy clay with some carbonates, similar in nature to the third stratigraphic layer observed in the eastern backhoe trench. This rough stratigraphic separation of backdirt piles suggests that when the burials were removed, the entire site may have been scraped down in layers. If individual burials had been excavated, it would be expected that stratigraphic layers would become mixed, creating a more mottled soil appearance. This may have been done in order to locate unmarked burials, and



Figure 4-6. Initial screening of backdirt.



Figure 4-7. Piles 3 (background) and 6 (foreground) in process of screening.

it may also explain why burial materials were only located in a few piles. These piles may have been associated with the soil layers the burials rested within, while piles with no burial materials may represent stratigraphic layers above and below the grave level.

The piles also show significant disturbance by animal burrowing activity, and a number of artifacts were recovered from within these burrows. Identifying the termination of the backdirt piles was somewhat challenging, due to the fact that the piles have been left on the site for more than thirty years. Termination was identified by a significant increase in compactness. Every effort was made to screen all of the backdirt without excavating below the ground surface level. However, it is possible that some lower levels of backdirt were left unscreened or that some below surface soils were inadvertently excavated using this method.

The three fragments of bone positively identified as human were recovered from Pile 1. These fragments were identified as a rib fragment, a fragment of manubrium (upper portion of the sternum), and a complete distal phalange (toe). These

finds indicate that human remains are still present on the cemetery site, and that the burials were not relocated in their entirety to the Holy Cross Cemetery in 1986. Unfortunately, because the remains were recovered after being disarticulated and scattered within the backdirt, the remains cannot be associated with specific burials at this time.

The nine pieces of coffin hardware recovered from the backdirt piles were all recovered from either Pile 1 or Pile 6. These pieces include a nearly complete double-lug swingbail coffin handle, two fragments of handle mounting hardware, two decorative thumbscrews, one decorative thumbscrew with attached escutcheon, and a possible fragment of corrugated fastener. Three personal items, all clothing fasteners, were recovered from Pile 1.

Backhoe Trenches

Four backhoe trenches were excavated around the perimeter of the cemetery using a small Bobcat excavator (Figure 4-8). The trenches extended around the entire perimeter



Figure 4-8. Map showing locations of backdirt piles, cemetery boundary markers, and backhoe trenches.

of the cemetery, except where thick brush and large trees made trenching impossible (Figure 4-9). The trenches were excavated in order to identify potential grave shafts outside the cemetery boundaries. They measured 29.5 in. (75 cm) across and reached a depth of at least 23.6 in. (60 cmbs), though some sections extended deeper. The terminating depth was determined by the appearance of significant soil change that allowed the CAR staff to recognize cuts in the profile demarcating grave shafts.

No grave pits were identified during the course of backhoe trenching. This is consistent with Mr. Fly's interviews concerning the site boundaries, which indicated no graves were located outside the cemetery fence. Some disturbances were observed along the west and northern boundaries, but these were irregular and not consistent with grave pits. The disturbances may be the result of the burial relocation. A distinct caliche layer was present, particularly along the northern and eastern boundaries, which when excavated revealed a distinct change in the profile. Notably, no obvious outside fill was observed in the trench profiles, indicating that the relocation excavation was likely backfilled with soil from the site.

Two sections of the east and south trenches were profiled in order to characterize the stratigraphy of the site. The southern profile contained three layers (Figure 4-10). The first (Layer

1) extended 0-20 cmbs and contained loose, silty, very dark gray (10YR 3/1) soil. Layer 2 was a more compact dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay extending 7.8-17.7 in. (20-45 cmbs) and containing large quantities of roots and flecks of carbonates. Layer 3 extended 17.7-23.6 in. (45-60 cmbs) and contained mottled dark gray (10YR 4/1) clay soil with white (10YR 8/1) caliche.

The eastern profile contained four layers (Figure 4-11). Layer 1 extended 0-10 cmbs and was a very dark gray (10YR3/1) loose, silty clay. Layer 2 was a very dark gray (10YR 3/1) clay that extended 3.9-11.8 in. (10-30 cmbs), but it was distinguished by increased compactness, as well as increased roots and carbonate inclusions. Layer 3 was a compact grayish brown (10YR5/2) clumpy clay with carbonate inclusions that extended 11.8-23.6 in. (30-60 cmbs). Layer 4 was a white (10YR 8/1) powdery caliche that extended 23.6-27.5 in. (60-70 cmbs).

No artifacts or cultural features were documented during backhoe trenching. Backhoe trenching did not reveal any grave shafts outside the cemetery boundaries, suggesting that no burial features were located outside the known area of the cemetery. The trenches did provide a stratigraphic context in which to interpret the soil differences observed in the backdirt piles. The apparent rough stratigraphic separation



Figure 4-9. Partially excavated backhoe trench along the western perimeter of the site.



Figure 4-10. Southern backhoe trench profile.



Figure 4-11. Eastern backhoe trench profile.

of the backdirt piles provides potential insight into how the cemetery excavation occurred. The rough correspondence of soil types and backdirt piles appears to suggest that the entire site was scraped down in layers. The lack of outside fill also suggests that after the burial relocation, the excavation was filled in with soil from the site.

Artifacts Recovered

The artifacts documented from the Winters-Jackson cemetery included mortuary hardware, human remains, personal items, and lithic material from a prehistoric component. The coffin hardware and personal items both include temporally diagnostic elements. Table 4-1 summarizes all potentially temporally diagnostic mortuary hardware recovered from the site. The presence of human remains and grave material is evidence of the fact that portions of burials were left behind at the site after the relocation. The weathered nature of the coffin hardware made identification of design details difficult in many cases, but where possible date ranges of similar designs were noted.

Mortuary Hardware

Mortuary, or coffin, hardware includes both internal and external components used in the manufacture and decoration of burial containers. Mortuary hardware was not necessarily specialized, and often it was produced by furniture manufacturers, with stylistic shifts often mirroring shifts in furniture style (Springate 2015.) Coffin hardware includes items such as coffin handles, which can be stylistically divided into swingbail and the later period short bar types,

and decorative thumbscrews, which were utilized as coffin closures from approximately 1870 into the twentieth century (Davidson 1998). These were sometimes accompanied by decorative escutcheons, or screw plates, which date from 1850 to post-1920. Escutcheons and thumbscrews often had matching motifs and were sold as sets (Davidson 1998). Typically, handles were sold in sets of two, and most adult coffins include six to eight handles in total (Springate 2015). Decorative coffin hardware in North America is most commonly made of “white metal,” a material with variable composition that includes tin, antimony, arsenic, and lead (Springate 2015:13). Other decorative items include ornamental tacks, engraved plaques that often included the name of the deceased, viewing windows, (both sliding and static), caplifters, white metal coffin screws (associated with burials ranging from 1850-1900), and a number of more utilitarian items including iron fasteners, coffin latches, nails, and glazier points for viewing windows.

Other items such as wood and coffin lining can be difficult to identify due to preservation issues (Davidson 1998). Burial aspects, such as casket shape (octagonal or rectangular) and the practice of vaulting burials, can be temporally diagnostic, but they are not included in this report because the nature of the project did not allow them to be observed. Grave vaulting has a long history in the United States (Davidson 2000), but it is especially common in African-American cemeteries (Springate 2015).

The mass-production of coffin hardware became common in North America in the mid-nineteenth century (Springate 2015). Changes in transportation infrastructure, industrialization, economic shifts, and attitudes towards

Table 4-1. Mortuary Hardware Recovered from Winters-Jackson Cemetery.

Provenience	Description	Time Period
unknown	thumbscrew, ferrous, double loop design	ca. 1895
Pile 1	thumbscrew (flat bodied, curving design) with escutcheon (raised “V”)	Unknown
Pile 1	handle lug fragment, trefoil cross design (same design as Pile 6)	ca. 1890-1912
Pile 1	possible glaziers’ point	If associated with viewing window; 1848-ca. 1920
Pile 1	corrugated fastener	Post 1900
Pile 1	unidentified fastener, white metal	Unknown
Pile 6	double-lug swingbail handle, trefoil cross design	ca. 1890-1912
Pile 6	thumbscrew, flat bodied, floral motif	1906-1907
Pile 6	handle lug fragment, trefoil cross design (same design as Pile 6)	ca. 1890-1912

death all contributed to the development of the industry (Springate 2015). Mass-production of mortuary hardware lowered the cost making it was more affordable to those of low socioeconomic status. For example, hardware could be purchased from the general store and attached to handmade coffins (Hacker-Norton and Trinkley 1984). Coffin hardware was considered important enough that it was included in some pauper burials (Springate 2015).

Investment in patents concerning both utilitarian and design aspects of mortuary hardware jumped significantly between 1865 and 1870, and patents related to utility aspects of coffin hardware continued to increase throughout this period until 1900, while design patents dropped after 1880 (Crow 2004). Elaborate mortuary hardware is associated with the “beautification of death” movement, which portrayed a more romantic, idealized concept of death than had been common previously (Bell 1990; Springate 2015). Natural and biblical motifs replaced more death-focused motifs such as depictions of skeletons with scythes that were common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Bell 1990). Shifts in stylistic motifs can be associated with temporal changes, but different motifs can also be tied to age at death (certain types of symbolism, such as lambs, are associated with children), religion, and association with fraternal orders. The cross is associated with the Christian concept of salvation, while an open book symbol can represent either a “Book of Life” or the Bible. Floral and vegetation motifs are common. Elaborate, curving designs are often associated with the Rococo revival which occurred from approximately 1840 to 1870 (Springate 2015). Styles became simpler post-1900 (Hacker-Norton and Trinkley 1984). The hardware industry declined after 1920, when burials became more austere (Springate 2015).

Prior to 1870, burials in Texas were often very plain. The practice of using locally made coffins, but outfitting them with mass-produced hardware, was common in Texas much later than elsewhere in the United States, well into the late nineteenth century, due to lack of transportation for large mass-produced items (Crow 2004). Family cemeteries persisted well into the twentieth century in Texas as well (Crow 2004). Rural areas sometimes experienced stylistic “lag” in which older styles were in use for longer periods of time, while the coffin hardware used in urban areas tended to be more up-to-date (Hacker-Norton and Trinkley 1984).

At the Winters-Jackson cemetery, the first piece of recovered coffin hardware occurred prior to the commencement of fieldwork. During a preliminary meeting at the site, a small thumbscrew was identified in one of the backdirt piles in an animal burrow. Because the piles at this time were not numerically identified, a pin flag was left behind to mark the

location. Although the pin flag was gone by the time fieldwork commenced, the thumbscrew was found in the area including backdirt piles that would later be designated as Piles 1 and 6. The thumbscrew is ferrous with a simple double-loop shape and bears a strong resemblance to a thumbscrew depicted in an 1895 catalogue from Kregel Casket Company (Springate 2015:20).

Three items identified as coffin hardware were recovered from backdirt Pile 6, including a nearly complete coffin handle. These items include a double-lug swingbail handle, a thumbscrew, and a handle lug fragment that shares a motif with the handle recovered. The swingbail handle is constructed of white metal and has lugs in the shape of trefoil cross, which has raised edges and a floral motif within the cross arms. The pin housing resembles an open book resting on a surface, decorated with a sunburst pattern. The bail is U-shaped, and while it appears that a design was once present, in its current state it is too corroded to identify. One of the screws used to attach the handle to the coffin is still present. This item, as well as stylistically matching lug mounting fragments which were also recovered, is depicted in Figure 4-12. The handle resembles a handle recovered from the Court Street Cemetery in Tucson, Arizona, which is similar to, but not an exact match for, a handle in the 1908 Mound Coffin Company catalogue (Thiel et al. 2013:73). Thiel and colleagues (2013:73) note that similar handles are present in a number of catalogues spanning 1890-1912. The lug fragment recovered from Pile 6 is very similar in pattern but less corroded, and it likely represents either a broken fragment of the same handle (though it does not refit) or a fragment from a set of matching handles. This fragment has a much clearer floral motif with a pattern of three dots extended outward, and more clearly shows a pattern of dots and lines in the body of the cross. The thumbscrew, while corroded, bears a strong resemblance to Davidson’s Type 7 from the Freedmen’s Cemetery in Dallas, Texas (Davidson 1990: 487). This type was commonly associated with burials that occurred in late 1906 and early 1907 at Freedmen’s (Davidson 1990:364) and depicted in the 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co. catalogue (Davidson 1990: 533).

Five items identified as coffin hardware were present in Pile 1. A thumbscrew was recovered with a fragment of a diamond-shaped escutcheon still attached. The style and temporal association of this thumbscrew has not been identified. It somewhat resembles Thumbscrew Type 15 from the Saints Peter and Paul Parish Church Cemetery in Independence, Wisconsin in its short, wide shape. This thumbscrew is associated with catalogs ranging from 1895-1905 (Roller 2016). However, the thumbscrew recovered from the Winters-Jackson cemetery is made of white metal and has a distinctly different top border design. The thumbscrew is short, wide,



Figure 4-12. Double lug swingbail handle recovered from Pile 6 and stylistically matching lug mounting fragments.

and made of white metal, with an elaborate curving design which extends along the top border. An exact match could not be located. The attached escutcheon is simple in design, diamond-shaped with a raised border and a raised “V” design in the interior. This escutcheon design could not be identified. Some of the earliest escutcheons introduced were similarly diamond in shape, but the shape itself is not necessarily diagnostic (Mainfort and Davidson 2006).

Another trefoil cross arm fragment, likely representing a fragment of the previously described swingbail handle or part of a matching set, was also recovered from Pile 1. This piece includes the floral design previously described. A fragment of likely coffin hardware which could not be identified was recovered from this pile. The fragment is made of white metal and retains a portion of the iron attachment used to secure it to the coffin. The fragment appears to be some sort of fastener or buckle. Unfortunately, the piece is too incomplete to identify as a specific type of mortuary hardware. No decorative motif is apparent. A possible glaziers’ point fragment and a fragment of a corrugated fastener were also recovered from the site. The glaziers’ point suggests that some of the coffins may have had static viewing windows. Although viewing windows were in use for coffins as early as 1848 (Bell 1990), they became more popular after the Civil War because they allowed relatives a last look at their family member (Springate 2015). The use of viewing windows declined in use around 1920 (Springate 2015). The use of corrugated fasteners post-dates 1900 (Davidson

1999). All thumbscrews recovered from the site, as well as other potentially temporally diagnostic pieces of mortuary hardware, are depicted in Figure 4-13.

Items potentially representing mortuary hardware that were observed, but not collected, in the field include flat glass (possibly the remains of viewing windows), both cut and wire nails, plain ferrous screws, and both cut and wire nails. The flat glass fragments documented may represent the remains of viewing windows, a common feature of burial containers in the mid-nineteenth century (Bell 1990). The fragmentary nature of the glass did not allow identification of potential window shapes, but the presence of a potential glaziers’ point discussed earlier would suggest the presence of a stationary window (Davidson 1998). The plain iron screws that were documented may have been used in burial container construction or as lid closures in early burials or burials associated with low socioeconomic status (Davidson 1998). The use of both cut and wire nails, sometimes in the same burial, is not uncommon during the period the Winters-Jackson cemetery was in use (Davidson 1990:155).

The fragmentary nature of the hardware and the scattering of the artifacts in the backdirt after excavation make it difficult to associate hardware items with individual burials. The recovery of a handle and two handle fragments of similar design suggest these artifacts are all likely associated with the same burial. However, none of the thumbscrews match each other in design, temporal associations, or material. This



Figure 4-13. Two decorative thumbscrews (upper left), decorative thumbscrew with escutcheon (upper right), unidentified coffin hardware fastener (bottom left), corrugated fastener fragment (bottom center), and possible glaziers' point (bottom right).

suggests that these artifacts are not the remains of a single disturbed burial, but of multiple burials relocated from the cemetery. Potentially, as few as two, but as least three, different thumbscrew styles are present, and none are an obvious match to the handle style.

Human Remains

Three fragments of bone identified as human were collected from Pile 1. These fragments include a fragment of rib, a fragment of manubrium (upper portion of the sternum), and a complete distal phalange (toe). While the fragments are small, they all appear to be the remains of adult individuals. With no other identifying characteristics present, the number of individuals represented among the remains is not known.

Personal Items

Three items personal items identified as fasteners of some type were recovered from Pile 1 (Figure 4-14). One of these is an English-rim two-hole shell button. While the use of shell buttons has a long history in the United States, utilitarian shell buttons were most commonly in use from 1898-1930 (Claasen 1994:80). A four-hole dish-shaped china button was also recovered. These types of china buttons appear in the United States in 1840 at the earliest (Sprague 2002), and are replaced with plastic in the period between World War I and II

(McGowan and Pragnell 2011). Button shape characteristics have not been found to be useful for dating (Sprague 2002). A small decorative copper buckle was also recovered, with thread still attached to one of the loops. The small size and presence of the thread suggest it is a clothing fastener of some type, potentially a pants or vest buckle (Mainfort and Davidson 2006).

Other Historic Material

Artifacts that were observed in the backdirt, but not collected, include both wire and cut nails, clear container glass, clear flat glass, ferrous screws, and a large amount of barbed wire. A large amount of cedar wood, some of which may potentially be post fragments, was also observed the in the backdirt (Figure 4-15).

Mr. Fly's interviews with descendants of individuals interred at the cemetery documented that when the cemetery was in use it was surrounded by a cedar post and barbed wire fence. Large quantities of both of these materials were encountered in the backdirt piles. It seems likely that these pieces may represent portions of the original fence, and in the case of unmodified wood possibly trees that were destroyed during the burial relocation. Large pieces of buried cedar wood were observed on the cemetery side of some backhoe trench profiles, suggesting that demolished cedar trees or cedar posts



Figure 4-14. Personal items recovered from Pile 1: Shell button (left), copper buckle (center), china button (right).



Figure 4-15. Examples of cedar and barbed wire recovered from backdirt.

may have been used to backfill excavated graves as well. A portion of cedar post and barbed wire fence is still present along the northern boundary of the cemetery. An examination of the current fence shows that some lines of barbed wire are more rusted than others, suggesting fence maintenance has occurred. The current barbed wire appears to be of the common Glidden type, still in use today (Thurgood 1972). A sample of barbed wire collected from backdirt resembles Baker's half-round barb, associated with hand-made barbed wire (Thurgood 1972); this may be a piece of the fence that was present when the cemetery was still in use, possibly maintained by family members. Both the current barbed wire and the barbed wire recovered from the backdirt are double round line with two-point barb types.

Prehistoric Material

While not the focus of this investigation, the presence of prehistoric material at the site of the Winters-Jackson cemetery was documented. Prehistoric material was identified in the backdirt piles and on the surface, indicating that the prehistoric component of the site may include buried material. A quantity of debitage (20-30 pieces), cores (5-10), and lithic tools (5-10) were recorded (Figure 4-16). No temporally diagnostic lithic tools were recovered, but multiple bifaces, including a large specimen measuring at least 7.8 in. (20 cm), were documented, as well as a perforator (Figures 4-16 and 4-17). Significant amounts of burned rock were encountered in many of the backdirt piles, indicating



Figure 4-16. Selected debitage, burned rock, and cores. Debitage (upper left and center), core (upper right), burned rock (bottom row). Scale is in cm.



Figure 4-17. Selected lithic tools (Edge-modified flake upper left, biface center-left, biface upper right, perforator bottom right). Scale is in cm.

potential burned rock features. All prehistoric artifacts were left on the site. The presence of lithic tools on the surface near the cemetery boundaries indicated that the prehistoric component might extend outside the cemetery site. While the prehistoric component within the cemetery boundary is certainly disturbed, first by the cemetery activities, and later by the burial, intact portions may remain outside the perimeter. Large cobbles of unmodified chert were numerous at the site, suggesting that it may have been a source of raw stone material.

Results Summary

The CAR conducted a systematic walkover of the cemetery site, screened all identified backdirt piles left behind on the property from the burial relocation, and excavated backhoe trenches around the cemetery perimeter. The walkover did not reveal any surface cemetery features that had not been previously identified, although ground surface visibility was limited due to vegetation. Mortuary hardware, human remains, and personal items were recovered from two of the eight backdirt piles, indicating that the graves were not relocated in their entirety to the Holy Cross Cemetery in 1986. These remains likely represent graves that were damaged and

disarticulated during the relocation. Considering the presence of these remains in the backdirt, it is likely that other remains may still remain buried on the site, either re-interred when the excavation was backfilled or simply left behind. Portions of what may have been the original cemetery fence were also present in the backdirt piles. The backhoe trenches did not reveal any evidence of graves outside the cemetery boundaries. Comparisons between the backdirt piles and stratigraphy revealed in the backhoe trenches, however, offers evidence of the methodology employed during the burial relocation, suggesting the entire cemetery may have been scraped down in layers.

The CAR also recorded the presence of a prehistoric component of the site. While no temporally diagnostic artifacts were present, lithic debitage, tools, cores, and burned rock were all observed. The presence of these materials in the backdirt as well as on the surface suggests that the prehistoric component may include buried material. While the site is disturbed within the cemetery boundaries, further work, including pedestrian survey with shovel testing, would be necessary in order to determine the full extent of the prehistoric component.



Figure 4-18. Large biface. Scale is in cm.

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Chapter 5: Summary and Recommendation

In 2018, on behalf of the SAAACAM, the CAR conducted an archaeological investigation to search for potential artifacts, human remains, or features associated with the Winters-Jackson Family Cemetery (41BX2245) in San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas. In 1986, burials in the cemetery were moved without legal permit or notification of surviving family members, many of whom migrated outside of San Antonio. Human remains were re-interred along with headstones and markers, where present, in a communal grave at the Holy Cross Cemetery, also located in San Antonio. Evidence left behind in the backdirt suggests that at least a portion of the boundary fence was demolished during this relocation. While most of the backdirt appears to have been used to fill the relocation excavation, some backdirt piles remained along the northern portion of the site for more than 30 years.

CAR conducted the archaeological fieldwork in April of 2018. This investigation consisted of a pedestrian walkover in order to identify any remaining cemetery features on the surface, screening of the remaining backdirt on the site, and backhoe trenching of the perimeter of the site in order to identify any potential grave shafts outside of the cemetery boundary. No previously undocumented cemetery features were identified on the surface. However, two previously known boundary markers, a cedar post and cut limestone block, were documented. In total, eight backdirt piles were screened. The backdirt screening recovered nine items of mortuary hardware, three bone fragments identified as human remains, and three clothing fasteners likely associated with the burials. These items were concentrated in backdirt Piles 1 and 6. Unfortunately, due to the disinterment of the burials and scattering of the remains in the backdirt, associating these remains with specific burials is not possible at this time. While all human remains appear to be adult, no other identifying characteristics are present, and the individuals the remains are associated with are not known.

While the three pieces of the swingbail handle appear to be associated with each other, differences in the material and style of the coffin hardware suggests that at minimum two burials, potentially more, are represented among the coffin hardware recovered. Diagnostic aspects of the coffin hardware and personal items are consistent with the period in which the cemetery was known to be in use, broadly spanning 1890-1920. The backhoe trenching did not provide evidence of any burial features outside the cemetery boundaries. However, comparison of the stratigraphy revealed in backhoe trenching and the soils of the backdirt piles did provide evidence of the manner in which the cemetery was excavated during the relocation. The

layered nature of the soil types in the backdirt piles suggests that the entire site was scraped down. If individual graves had been excavated, a more mixed, mottled soil appearance in the backdirt would be expected. No subsurface testing was conducted within the cemetery boundaries.

In addition, the CAR recorded a prehistoric component of the site. No temporally diagnostic material was present, but lithic debitage, tools, cores, and burned rock were present. Artifacts were recorded on the surface and within the backdirt, suggesting a possible subsurface component. While the prehistoric component is disturbed within the cemetery boundaries, first by cemetery activities and later by the burial relocation, there may still be intact portions of the site outside of the cemetery. The quantity of burned rock suggests potential for features. Further testing, including pedestrian survey and shovel testing, would be necessary in order to determine the extent of this site.

The CAR recommends the Winters-Jackson cemetery be protected, despite the relocation of materials to the Holy Cross. Discussions related to a preservation and protection plan are already under way between Mr. Everett Fly and the current landowner, Fasken Oil and Ranch, Ltd. It is not known if any intact burials remain at the site. Human remains and associated artifacts were found to be present in the backdirt at the site. Subsurface testing or some type of non-invasive geo-physical investigation such as ground-penetrating radar or magnetometer (Lee and Bruseh 2008) would be necessary to determine if such features are still present at the site.

CAR registered the site as a historic cemetery (BX-C313) with the Texas Historical Commission. The CAR recommends that the area be protected from development with a buffer zone established and commemorative marking provided, and the area be made accessible and available for family members and members of the public who may wish to visit and maintain the site. If any impacts to the site are proposed, the potential for intact human remains at the site should be investigated before any ground-disturbing activities occur. In addition, disarticulated human remains and associated mortuary material were likely reburied at the site during the relocation, and any ground-disturbing activity should take this into account.

The Winters-Jackson family cemetery was in use from at least 1874-1937. At the time it was established, African-Americans were not permitted to be buried in the city cemetery nor were

they provided with any alternative burial place. African-American citizens of San Antonio instead established community-based burial places, like this one, and continued to use them even after an African-American section of the city cemetery was opened in 1899. This cemetery may have served as an anchor to the early community which lived in this part of the city, along with the other institutions located nearby. The church and the school which also served this community are gone, according to aerial maps of the area. The dates given by Mr. Fly for these institutions (1879 and 1876, respectively) indicate that this community developed within ten years after Emancipation.

Mr. Fly and the SAAACAM had recently learned of the cemetery's existence and had begun conducting archival research on the cemetery, including oral interviews with descendants who remembered the cemetery when it was still in use.

If backdirt from the site were used to backfill the 1986 relocation excavation, which is likely, burial remains would have been re-interred at the site during the process. In addition, burials may have been left behind, suggested by the discrepancy of number of reburials recorded at the Holy Cross (n=72) and the number of original burials reported by Mr. Fly's interviews (n=100+). These burials may have been present below the grade excavated by the individuals who relocated the cemetery, and potentially below other burials.

Superpositioning of burials is not uncommon in historic cemeteries (Davidson 2000) and could have resulted in missed graves at the time of relocation.

In addition, the cemetery was a part of a grouping of social institutions, including a church and school, which served to ground the community that was established here. The community likely established itself soon after the Civil War and Emancipation, as early as 1876. McGhee (2008) argues that too often in Texas cultural resource management, the cultural significance of African-American sites in the historic context of local African-American communities is not taken into account. The majority of historic African-American sites post-date 1870, a time period in which most historic sites are considered not significant by the Texas Historical Commission. However, many of these sites hold cultural significance for Texan African-American communities, as these are periods in which free African-American communities began to establish themselves in Texas cities. This is also a historically and culturally significant period within the state that is understudied. The cultural and historical significance of these sites, and role they play in contributing to understanding Texas African-American history, must be considered when evaluating site significance (McGhee 2008). These sites are often located on private land and not preserved, and underrepresented in Texas archaeology. In this context, the Winters-Jackson site is potentially culturally significant as the last remnant of an early African-American community in San Antonio.

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