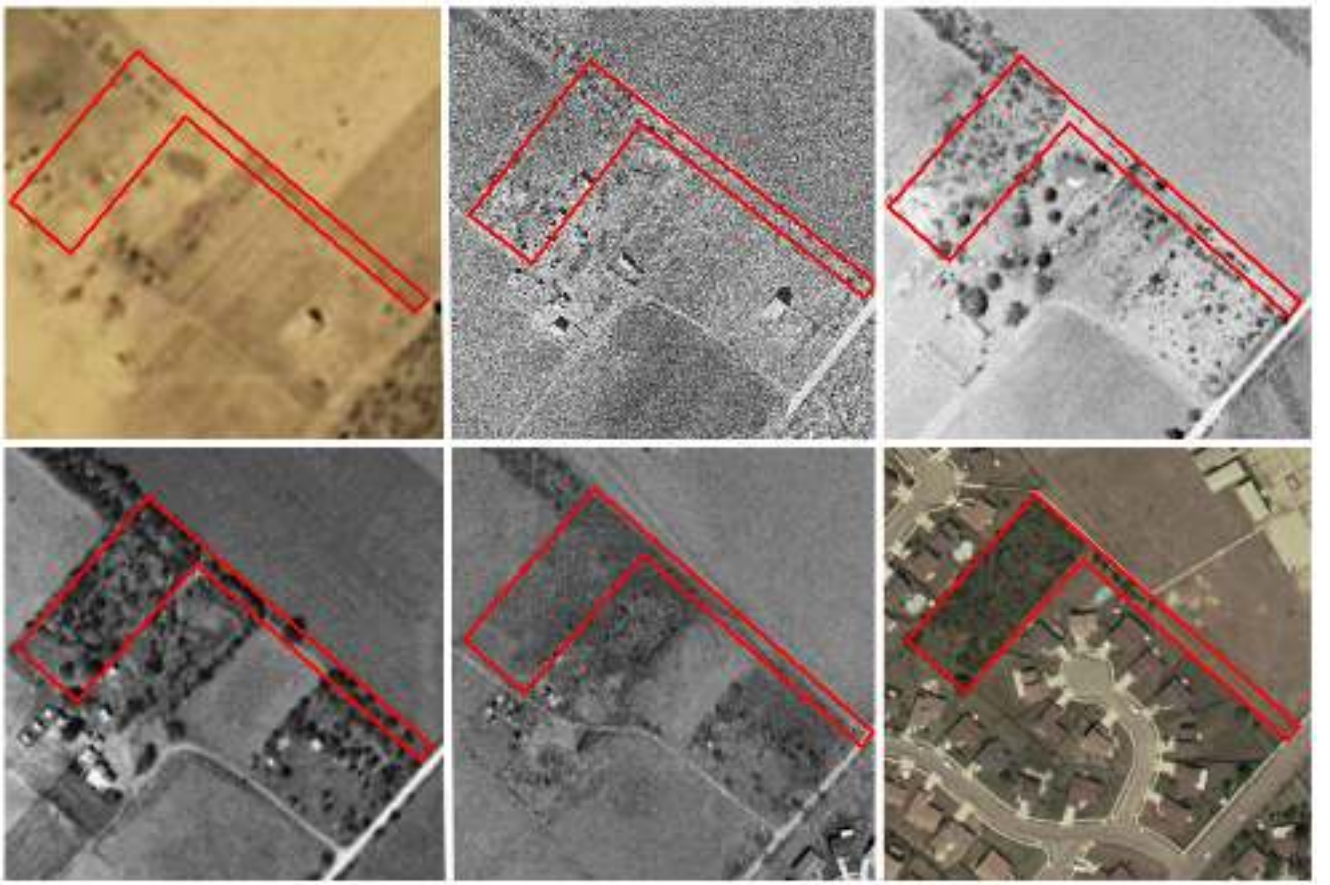
Investigation of the Hockley Cemetery, 41BX911, an African American Family of the Wetmore Community in Northeast San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas



by
Clinton M. M. McKenzie
with contributions by
Everett L. Fly, FASLA

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
Archaeological Report, No. 473

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Abstract:

On December 17, 2018, the Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) at The University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA) conducted archaeological investigations at the Hockley Cemetery, 41BX911, in northeast San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas. Archival research on the subject property was conducted intermittently between November of 2018 and March of 2019. 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 assent of Mrs. Joyce Carrington Harvey, Hockley Family Representative, on behalf of the Hockley Family Cemetery. The cemetery consists of 1.262 acres located within the Northern Hills neighborhood. A Texas Antiquities Permit was not required, and as no subsurface impacts or other development is planned, the City of San Antonio Unified Development Code requirements governing archaeological impacts did not apply. Clinton McKenzie performed the archival research and served as the Project Archaeologist, and Dr. Paul Shawn Marceaux, CAR Director, served as Principal Investigator.

The cemetery, dedicated in 1908, was used until 1971. The purpose of the archival investigation was fourfold: 1) to determine who is buried in the Hockley Cemetery and when; 2) to ascertain additional burials that have a likelihood of being interred in the cemetery based on archival records and family oral histories; 3) to obtain the full chain of title for the property; and 4) to determine if the cemetery had been reduced in size from its initial dedication.

The purpose of the archaeological field investigations was to document grave markers, monuments, or physical indications of a cemetery on the surface of the subject property and to document other historic or potentially historic features and artifacts. Following the efforts of SAAACAM to clear the site of dense brush and debris, CAR staff walked the property and used a Total Data Station to locate current boundaries, historic fence lines, and all potential cemetery artifacts and historic features and artifacts. No subsurface testing was conducted.

One definitive and three potential grave markers were identified. The historic fence line and cemetery entrance on the north end was documented along with the remains of a historic limestone cistern or well The complete survey of the property was not possible at the time of the fieldwork as a portion of the southern end of the cemetery has been encroached upon by residential properties.

No specific graves nor in place monuments or markers were found. The site has been designated by the Texas Historical Commission as Texas Cemetery BX-C308. In addition, a single prehistoric artifact was found. The CAR recommends that the cemetery is eligible for nomination and inclusion on the Texas Historic Cemeteries Register. CAR also recommends that the original boundaries of the cemetery be re-established and that the presence or absence of graves be determined prior to any ground-disturbing activities within the property. Notes, photographs, and records generated by the project are curated and on file at the CAR. No artifacts were collected.

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Acknowledgements:

The authors would like to thank Cindy Muñoz and Dr. Raymond Mauldin for their professional work in the field with the TDS unit. Thanks are also given to Dr. Jessica Nowlin for her GIS and graphical support in the production of the figures for this project and to Dr. Kelly Harris, who edited this report. Thanks are also offered to the San Antonio African American Community Archives and Museum and Mr. Michael Wright for their work in locating the cemetery and the trove of archival materials provided to the CAR to support the writing of the report. Thanks is also given to Dr. David Carlson, Archivist, Bexar County Archives, for his assistance. Thanks are given to the countless number of volunteers who assisted SAAACAM in the clearance of the underbrush and thickets that had grown over the site as only with the ground clearance could the CAR have completed the fieldwork.

The work of the report was facilitated by the prior assistance of the Kronkosky Charitable Foundation who provided the major funding for the cemetery clean up and recovery planning. Also instrumental in the success of the Hockley Cemetery clean up, documentation, and this report, was City of San Antonio District 10 City Councilman, Clayton Perry, and his staff who provided assistance in coordinating with municipal officials and district residents. The City of San Antonio Office of Historic Preservation staff helped with interpretive assistance of municipal ordinances and the locations of both physical and archival resources. The City of San Antonio Department of Solid Waste Management staff provided logistical assistance in removing the high volume of brush cuttings from the cemetery site. Thanks is also given for the support and assistance of the Northern Hills Home Owners Association in coordinating with neighborhood residents, and in particular to Mr. Michael Gallagher, HOA President. The Northern Hills Elementary School administration and staff and the Northeast Independent School District assisted with access to the site. Texas Nursery and Landscape Association Region 1 provided logistics assistance in removing brush cuttings. Mission Landscape Supplies and Republic Services of San Antonio both assisted through donations of logistics services. Gibbons Surveying and Mapping provided a certified topographic and boundary survey of the cemetery and surrounding properties. The San Antonio Conservation Society provided funding support for the initial research on the Hockley Cemetery. Thanks are also extended to Texas A&M University-College Station, specifically Dr. Kevin Glowacki and his graduate assistants at the Center for Heritage Conservation and Dr. Mark Everett and students with the Department of Geology and Geophysics.

A final acknowledgement is given to the Hockley Family descendants for their contributions to this report and for all of those who, documented or undocumented, are buried in the Hockley Cemetery. The CAR is grateful for the opportunity to assist with the archaeological and archival documentation and hopes that this report provides additional clarity on the long association of the Hockley Family and their descendants with this African American cemetery and its place in the history of the City of San Antonio.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA) Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) under contract with the San Antonio African American Community Archive and Museum (SAAACAM) provided archival and archaeological services for the investigation of the Hockley Cemetery. Mr. Everett Fly, Landscape Architect, served as the SAAACAM point of contact. The Hockley Cemetery (Texas Cemetery BX-C308) is a private cemetery located in San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas, that was in use from 1908 to at least 1971. The current work was conducted at the request of the SAAACAM with the approval of Mrs. Joyce Carrington Harvey, Hockley Family Representative, on behalf of the Hockley Family Cemetery. The work did not require a Texas Antiquities Permit. 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 Clinton McKenzie served as the Project Archaeologist.

Project Description and Project Area

The project area is a cemetery on a private tract of land consisting of 1.262 acres located within the Northern Hills neighborhood, which surrounds the property on east, west, and south (Figures 1-1 and 1-2). The tract is accessed via a dedicated flag road off the west side of Uhr Lane and immediately south of Northern Hills Elementary School located on the northwest corner of the intersection of Higgins Road and Uhr Lane. The land is a deeded and dedicated cemetery, and the Hockley Family Cemetery Corporation provided written right of entry through the SAAACAM for CAR to access and investigate the site.

CAR examined archival documents related to the cemetery and Hockley Family ownership as well as the property history and use. The archival investigations took place between November 2018 and March 2019 using Bexar County deed records, Stewart Title Collection records, United States Census records, State and Municipal Vital Statistics records, period newspapers, historic maps, and aerial photography. Additional historical records and oral interview data were supplied by the SAAACAM, Mr. Michael Wright, Mr. Everett Fly, and from Dr. David Carlson, Bexar County Archivist.

The archival investigation addressed four issues: 1) use primary archival documents to determine all known burials in the Hockley Cemetery; 2) ascertain the likelihood of additional burials interred in the cemetery using both primary and secondary archival records and family oral histories; 3) provide the full chain of title for the property including the Hockley Family ownership history; and 4) determine if the cemetery had been reduced in size from its initial dedication in 1908.

The archaeological field investigation took place December 17, 2018. The purpose of the field investigations was to 1) document grave markers, monuments, or physical indication of a cemetery present on the property and 2) to document any other historic or potentially historic features and artifacts. Following the efforts of the SAAACAM to clear the site of dense brush and debris, CAR staff walked the property and used a Total Data Station to record current boundaries, historic fence lines, and all potential cemetery artifacts and historic features and artifacts. No subsurface testing was conducted.

The CAR pedestrian survey did not locate any monuments or grave markers in their original location. A single definitive grave foot marker was found on the surface, but it was not clearly associated with a grave. Three other possible markers were identified and consisted of angle-iron crosses that may have served as grave markers. The crosses, if grave markers, were not in their original locations. An alignment of two creosoted pine gateposts and a series of five cedar posts were identified forming the historic northern boundary line separating the cemetery from the access road. Two similar alignments of cedar posts were identified along the western (n=3) and eastern (n=2) boundary of the cemetery. The CAR documented several concentrations of large natural limestone rocks or slabs that were apparently associated with the entry gate area on the north end of the cemetery. A circular stacked irregular limestone cistern or well was identified on the southern end of the cemetery. Several fragments of historic fire brick may represent residential artifacts associated with the historic Hockley Family farm that was just south of the cemetery. All artifacts and features were photographed and left in place. No human remains were found.

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 maintained in accordance with the Texas Health and Safety Code (THSC), Title 8, Death and Disposition of the Body, Subtitle C, Cemeteries and Crematories, Chapter 711, General Provisions Relating to Cemeteries. In the State of Texas, a property is considered dedicated as a cemetery if there are one or more burials present and/or the property is recorded as a cemetery in the county deed records (THSC Section 711.035). The Hockley Cemetery meets both of these requirements as there are burials present and the property was specifically set-aside as a burying ground by Jane Warren by

Figure 1-1. Project area on an Esri aerial map.

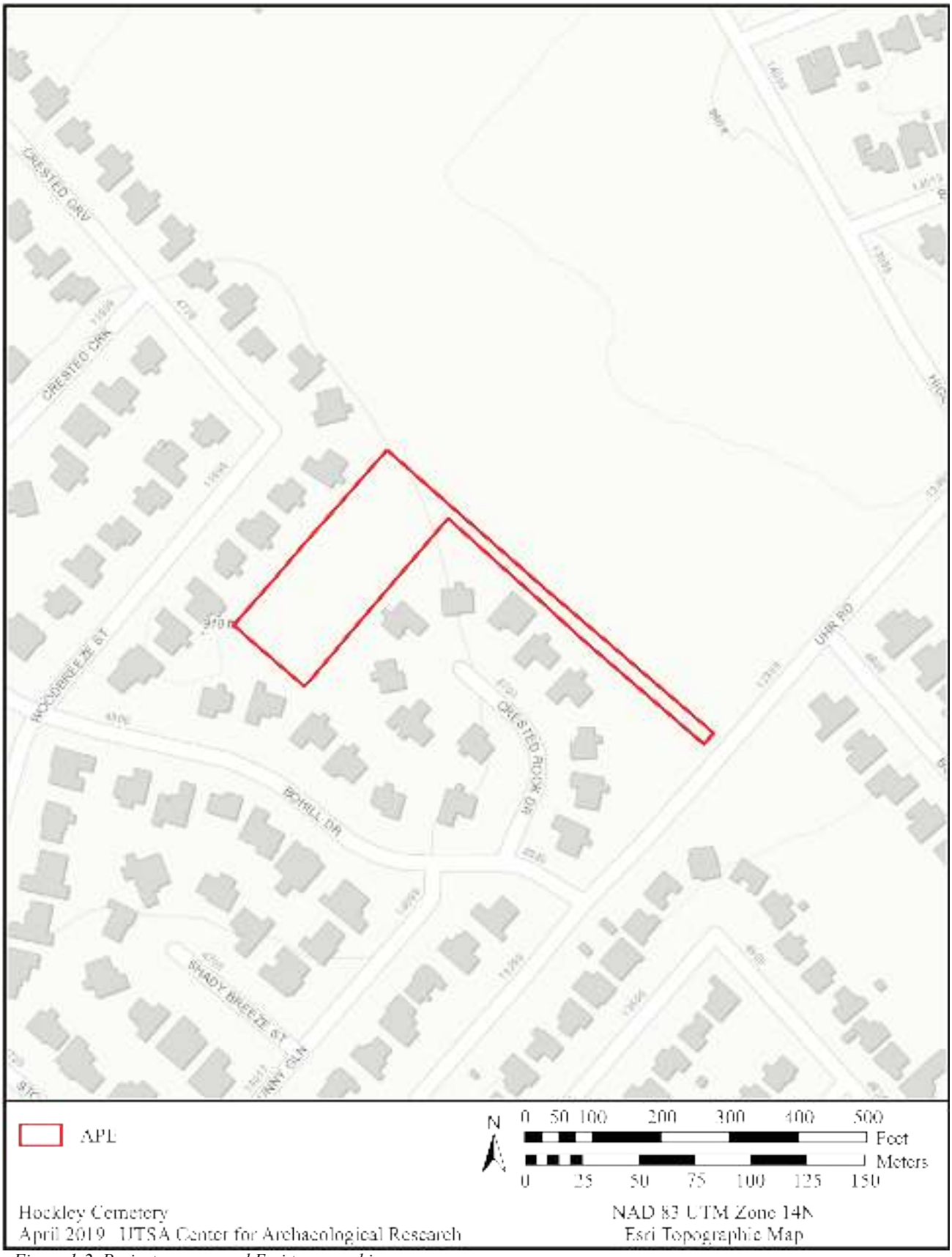

Figure 1-2. Project area on and Esri topographic map.

recorded deed in 1908 (Bexar County Deed Records [BCDR] 286:199-200). A dedicated cemetery cannot be used for any other purpose unless the dedication is removed by court order or the cemetery is abated or enjoined as a nuisance (THSC 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 (THSC 711.041). Access should continue to be maintained for descendants for purposes of visitation, maintenance, or inhumation. The site is recorded as Texas Cemetery BX-C308 and meets eligibility for designation as a Historic Texas Cemetery. An archaeological investigation should be carried out in advance of ground-disturbing activities in order to determine if burials are present.

This report includes six chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 discusses the project background and previous archaeology conducted in the area. Chapter 3 presents the results of the archival research. Chapter 4 reviews the archival, field, and curation methods used during the project. Chapter 5 discusses the project results including descriptions of artifacts and features. Chapter 6 summarizes the work and provides the CAR's recommendations for the site. Appendix A consists of an abbreviated Abstract of Title for the property. Appendix B is a copy of the Texas A&M Ground Penetrating Radar Survey performed by Dr. Mark Everett within the footprint of the Historic Hockley Cemetery. The survey results are referenced in the discussion and summary, and the full results are supplied in Appendix B.

Chapter 2: Historic Background

This chapter briefly reviews the general history of African Americans in San Antonio to provide context for the discussion of the cultural and historic setting of the Hockley Cemetery. More importantly, it provides context for the story of the families who lived in the community of Wetmore and played a part in the history of San Antonio for the past 150 years. The presentation is chronologically ordered from the mid-sixteenth century into the twentieth century. The chapter closes with a brief discussion of previous archaeology related to the Hockley Cemetery.

African Americans in San Antonio History

Ever since the first Spanish explorers came to Texas in the sixteenth century there have been Africans in Texas. The first recorded encounters between Spaniards and Native Americans in what is now Texas was in 1528 when Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and a number of other men who were part of the Panfilo de Narvaez expedition became shipwrecked on Galveston Island, a place they referred to as la Isla de Malhado (Island of Ill Fate; Castañeda 1936a:54-66). Cabeza de Vaca and the other survivors became prisoners of local coastal tribes. After nearly six years of captivity, Cabeza de Vaca and three other men managed to escape and, after walking across nearly the entire desert southwest, reached the Sea of Cortez and returned to Spanish lands (Bannon 1972:xvi-xvii). One of the three other survivors was an enslaved African Moor named Estavanico (Little Stephen; Bannon 1972:xii).

The first major settlement of the eighteenth century was the Ramon Expedition of 1716 that traversed Texas to Spanish Louisiana to found multiple Franciscan missions, two presidial garrisons, and their attached communities. In Ramon's personal diary account of March 27, 1716, he listed the 75 people who accompanied him, and on that list, he included "one negro named Juan de la Concepción" (Castañeda 1936b:45-47).

Founding of San Antonio

San Antonio was in the second wave of Spanish settlement and was founded in 1718 in an expedition by Governor Martín de Alarcón. Governor Alarcón was charged with levying the soldiers and civilians necessary for the establishment of a presidio and town. Alarcón clashed repeatedly with the leader of the missionaries, Father Olivares, because Olivares insisted that Alarcón only bring Spaniards:

> He [Father Olivares] called Alarcón's attention to the fact that most of the men he had enlisted as soldiers were not married…and that many of them were not of Spanish blood. This exasperated Alarcón, who…replied that unfortunately he did not have an Apostolic College from which to recruit his men, that in the Province of Coahuila there were only Mulatoes, Lobos, Coyotes, and Mestizos [Castañeda 1936b:86-87].

Father Olivares opposed Alarcón's efforts to raise the required number of men and settlers from individuals of Spanish and African ancestry (mulato), Spanish and Indian ancestry (mestizo), and African and Indian ancestry (lobo). Olivares even complained to the Viceroy of New Spain that "It is with this sort of people, Your Excellency, that he wishes to settle the new site on the San Antonio and the Province of the Tejas" (Olivares 1718). Hampered in his recruitment, Alarcón was not able to meet his desired number of settlers, and his expedition to San Antonio included only 72 persons according to his diary, which, unlike Ramon's from 1716, did not include a list of persons (Castañeda 1936:91).

1718-1731: Africans in San Antonio in the Eighteenth Century, Soldiers, Settlers, and Slaves

During this period, the San Antonio community consisted of the soldiers of the Presidio de San Antonio de Bexar as well as the Franciscan fathers and Native Americans at Mission San Antonio de Valero (de la Teja 1995:18-19). Archival documentation is available in the parochial records of Mission Valero because the San Antonio community collectively utilized the mission as their place of worship. The burial registers of Mission Valero show that several members of the presidial garrison were of Spanish and/or African ancestry (Leal 1975). The earliest surviving burial record for Mission Valero is from April 1, 1721, and it records the death of Juan Blanco "…a negro and soldier of the Texas troops, who was killed by the Apache Indians, and brought here to be buried" (Rodriguez de Jesus Maria 1721). These burial registers contain the names of four mulattos and one lobo who received last rights and Christian burial at Valero in the 1760s and 1770s (Dolores 1762; Garza 1773, 1776; Salas 1776, 1781).

1731: Arrival of the Canary Islanders

The arrival of the Canary Island settlers in 1731 may have included individuals with some North African and/or Sub-Saharan African genetic material in their ancestry. The Canary Islands had indigenous populations when they were

first discovered in the thirteenth century and genetic analysis of archaeological remains of these early pre-conquest peoples from all seven of the Canary Islands supports a North African Berber origin for the indigenous Canarian people (Fregel et al. 2019:2/24). Berber genetics have a great variety of Eurasian DNA and also include Sub-Saharan African DNA.

The ancestral North African contribution to Canarian genetics is ascribed to three different Haplo-subgroups based on their mitogenomic analysis. One group dates to around 3,400 Years Before Present and represents an ancient migration as the primary origin, a second group appears to have an indigenous Canarian origin as it is not found elsewhere in North Africa, and a third includes North African with admixtures of Eurasian as might be expected based on North African mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA; Fregel et al. 2019:13-14/24).

After Spain's final conquest of the islands in 1498, enslaved Sub-Saharan Africans and Native Americans were imported for labor. Modern Canarian genetics include contributions from Europe that derive from Post-Conquest population mixing as well as from Sub-Saharan African and Native American populations. The European contribution is predominantly Spanish, and the African and Native American contribution are a result of the slave trade (Fregel et al. 2019).

It is possible that some portion of the original 1731 Canary Islanders may have carried any number of genetic traces indicative of indigenous Canarian origins with Berber antecedents, as well as Spanish, Sub-Saharan Africa, and/or Native American DNA. While in route to San Antonio in 1730, particular descriptions of the individuals making up the 15 families were made at Cuatitlan, Mexico. Among these descriptions, that of Joseph Cabrera stands out as potentially indicative of some African ancestry: "Son of Manuel Cabrera and Maria Rodriguez, native of Lancerota, about 50 years old, medium height, broad shoulders, dark complexion, round face, flat nose, pitted with small-pox, grey eyes, chestnut hair and eyebrows, blobber-lipped" (Austin 1905:336). Two others, father and son Juan and Miguel Leal, are also described as having a dark complexion and being blobber-lipped (Austin 1905:332-333). However, while these terms are suggestive, they are descriptive terms and not de facto evidence for or against any particular ancestry. The historic period Canary Islanders self-identified as Isleños (Islanders) and/or as Españoles (Spaniards).

1731-1822: Parish of San Fernando Archival Records

The parochial records of the Parish Church of San Fernando include the names of members of the community identified in the registers as either African or partial African ancestry. San Fernando was the only civilian church in San Antonio in the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period, and the settlement was universally Catholic. These church records document all baptisms, marriages, and burials and capture important demographic information. In a review of the records from 1744 to 1808, 85 individuals were listed as African or of mixed-African ancestry (Leal 1975, 1976). The African and African descendant populations of Spanish and Mexican San Antonio (1718-1822) consisted of freedmen and slaves, and the archival records generally make this distinction. The African population appears relatively low from a review of the parochial burial records San Fernando. There are only 83 burials out of 2,177 for San Fernando from 1744-1808, or just under four percent of all interments (Leal 1975, 1976). The primary archival evidence shows San Antonio was a racially mixed community of Spaniards, racially mixed Spaniards, Native Americans (including tribes local to South Texas, Texas, and Central Mexico), and Africans.

1820-1846: Spanish and Mexican Policies on Slavery and the Texas Revolution

One less discussed cause of the Texas Revolution from Mexico was the role of slavery in the American Colonies in Spanish and Mexican Texas. The Spanish and succeeding Mexican governments instituted a colonization policy for Texas that encouraged Anglo-American settlement. The most famous was the Austin Colony, which was established during the politically fractious period of Mexico's transition from an empire to a constitutional monarchy to a constitutional republic in the period 1820-1824 (see Castañeda 1950:186-197). The Imperial Mexican Congress (September 1821 to March 1823) was opposed to slavery, and governmental discussions of American Colonies in Texas were contentious because colony leaders, such as Moses Austin and Stephen F. Austin, specifically petitioned to allow for institutional slavery. The Mexican colonization law of January 1823 was a victory for the Austin Colony in that it allowed for the importation of slaves provided that "After promulgation of this law, there shall be neither sale not purchase of slaves who are brought to the Empire; their children born in the Empire shall be free at the age of 14" (Barker 1928:49-73; Castañeda 1950:194).

Following the ratification of the law and confirmation of his land grant in April 1823, Austin returned to Texas and began the process of awarding some 297 grants by the close of the year to American settlers, which became known as Austin's Old Three Hundred (Castañeda 1950:196). The final overthrow of the Mexican monarchical government in mid-1823 came after the approval of Austin's grants to the Old Three Hundred (Barr 1990:8). However, the Mexican

Republic's National Law of July 13, 1824, prohibited, on paper, the slave-trade throughout the Mexican Republic with no exceptions. The actual effect on Texas was minimal for despite the law the colonists and their supporters continued as before without sanction (Castañeda 1950:236). It was only in 1827 that the Legislature of Coahuila y Texas banned the importation of slaves that had been permitted de facto since award of Austin's grant in March 1823.

Mexican President Vicente Guerrero, of African descent himself, abolished slavery and declared emancipation of all enslaved Africans in September of 1829 but allowed an exception for Texas where slavery was "an indispensable economic necessity" (Barker 1928:78-79). Against this backdrop, José Maria Antonio de Santa Anna came to power in 1834, abolished the liberal constitution of 1824, and assumed dictatorial powers. The close relationship between the Mexican State Legislature and the American Colonists was threatened by Santa Anna's position as an unchecked executive. Through a combination of fears and missteps by the Mexican Federal and State governments and by the American Colonists, the rebellion against Santa Anna became the Texas Revolution by October 1835 (Castañeda 1950:266). The outcome of the Revolution stripped all legal opposition to the institution of slavery, and the Republic of Texas permitted the buying and selling of slaves. Following its annexation to the United States in 1846, Texas became another slave state.

1846-1900: End of Slavery and the Growth of the African American Community

The 1850 and 1860 U.S. Census documents indicate the tremendous numbers of free Anglo Americans and enslaved African Americans migrating to Texas. The 1850 census shows a total population of 212,592, and by the 1860 census, the total population had increased to 294,215 (U.S. Census 1850, 1860). Slightly over a quarter of the state's total population were enslaved African Americans: 27.36 percent in 1850 and 26.3 percent in 1860 (U.S. Census 1850, 1860). Following the outbreak of the Civil War, Texas declared for the Confederacy and in the ordinance of secession stated:

> She [Texas] was received as a commonwealth holding, maintaining and protecting the institution known as negro slavery--the servitude of the African to the white race within her limits--a relation that had existed from the first settlement of her wilderness by the white race, and which her people intended should exist in all future time. Her institutions and geographical position established the strongest ties between her and other slave-holding States of the confederacy [Texas Ordinance of Secession, February 2, 1861].

The emancipation of African slaves following the Civil War and the economic opportunities afforded by the arrival of the railroads in San Antonio in 1877 led to significant increases in the African American population in the city as well as population as a whole (U.S. Decennial Census 1870, 1880). San Antonio's population in 1850 was approximately 3,500 (U.S. Decennial Census of 1850). Forty years later, and just thirteen years after the arrival of the railroads, San Antonio's population had grown to nearly 20,000 (U.S. Decennial Census of 1890).

The 1897 City Directory of San Antonio (Appler 1897) contains some 22,000 entries, and African Americans are the only group of citizens discriminated in the directory by the addition of the abbreviation C for colored (Appler 1897). African Americans comprise some 12 percent (2,622) of the city's total population (22,006) in 1897 according to the directory (Appler 1897). Using GIS, CAR mapped the addresses of African Americans on a georeferenced 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of the city (Appler 1897; Sanborn 1896). The map shows where African American resided. Figure 2-1 is a close-up view of what is now downtown San Antonio together with the near east, west, north, and south sides of the city. The red dots on the map show the distribution of African American households within this area in 1897. While there is a definitive concentration on the east side, and within specific blocks and block groups, African American households are present in all sectors of the map.

The concentration of African American residences, particularly on the near east side is close to major African American employment areas, chiefly the Southern Pacific Railroad yards, depot, and freight stations, as well as such related services as Pullman Porter, freight hauling and transportation, and machine and engine repair shops.

1900-1950: Bureaucratic Racism as Constraints on African American Choice

Between 1900 and 1910 the number of buildings of all kinds (an indicator of population increase) in San Antonio rose from approximately 2,400 to nearly 5,200 by 1910, and nearly 20,000 structures by 1920 (Caine et al. 2007:2/16, Table 1). The majority of this growth was in early suburban residential development. The increase in numbers of structures was accompanied by a rise in bureaucratic racism

in the 1920s and 1930s that resulted in dramatic shifts in minority residential distribution patterns (Welsh 2018:131-132). The chief stratagem constraining minority-housing choice was the inclusion and imposition of restrictive covenants on property tied to plats and individual property deeds, prohibiting, under penalty of the law, the sale or lease of property to African Americans and other communities of color (Majumdar 2007:1095). The filing of these covenants was retroactive and could be attached as a rider (effectively a new portion added to the deed for the property). In filing such riders to existing deeds, a property owner could change a house or apartment block overnight from minority neutral to exclusionary—requiring existing minority tenants to vacate the property (Welsh 2018:134-135). The inclusion of such terms in the sale of new property was a proscriptive and proactive means to prevent African Americans, Mexican Americans, Jewish, and other minority communities from owning property in exclusive white neighborhoods on the basis of skin color or religion (Jones-Correa 2000:541-544). Likewise, the retroactive imposition of restrictive covenants was used to accomplish the same thing by barring minorities from moving into existing neighborhoods or housing that had been built without such a covenant originally in place. This inherently racist abuse of the legal covenant system was struck down and declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1948, wherein the Court concluded that "the state may not accomplish indirectly through the courts what it cannot constitutionally do directly through the legislature" (*Shelley v. Kraemer* 334 US 1).

During the period (1910-1948) when such covenants were used and enforced in San Antonio, the distribution of African American residential occupation shifted from the wide dispersion shown in Figure 2-1 to three specific geographic areas of concentrated African American residential areas. Figure 2-2 is a color-enhanced image of a Federal Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC; Federal Home Loan Bank Board 1935) map for 1935 with yellow indicating those areas in which African Americans predominate, those in pink where Mexican Americans predominate, and the uncolored areas those with restrictive covenants preventing African Americans or Mexican Americans from living in those locations. The larger eastside community corresponds with the historical self-selected concentration shown in Figure 2-1. These were neighborhoods where African Americans congregated for access to work, social institutions, and places of worship (Cox et al. 1997:94, 98-100). The two joined, albeit off-set, areas in north-central San Antonio are essentially neighborhoods of convenience to permit African American domestic and day laborers access to the homes they served in the affluent white dominate enclaves of Olmos Park, Alamo Heights, and Monte Vista. The 1935 HOLC map demonstrates how the restrictive covenant process resulted in the concentration of minority communities in specific areas. Before restrictive covenants, minority communities were self-selected places of residence and work, and minorities lived across the city as both tenants and neighbors. The racially segregated policies of the early to mid-twentieth century changed how minorities and non-minorities lived, worked, and interacted.

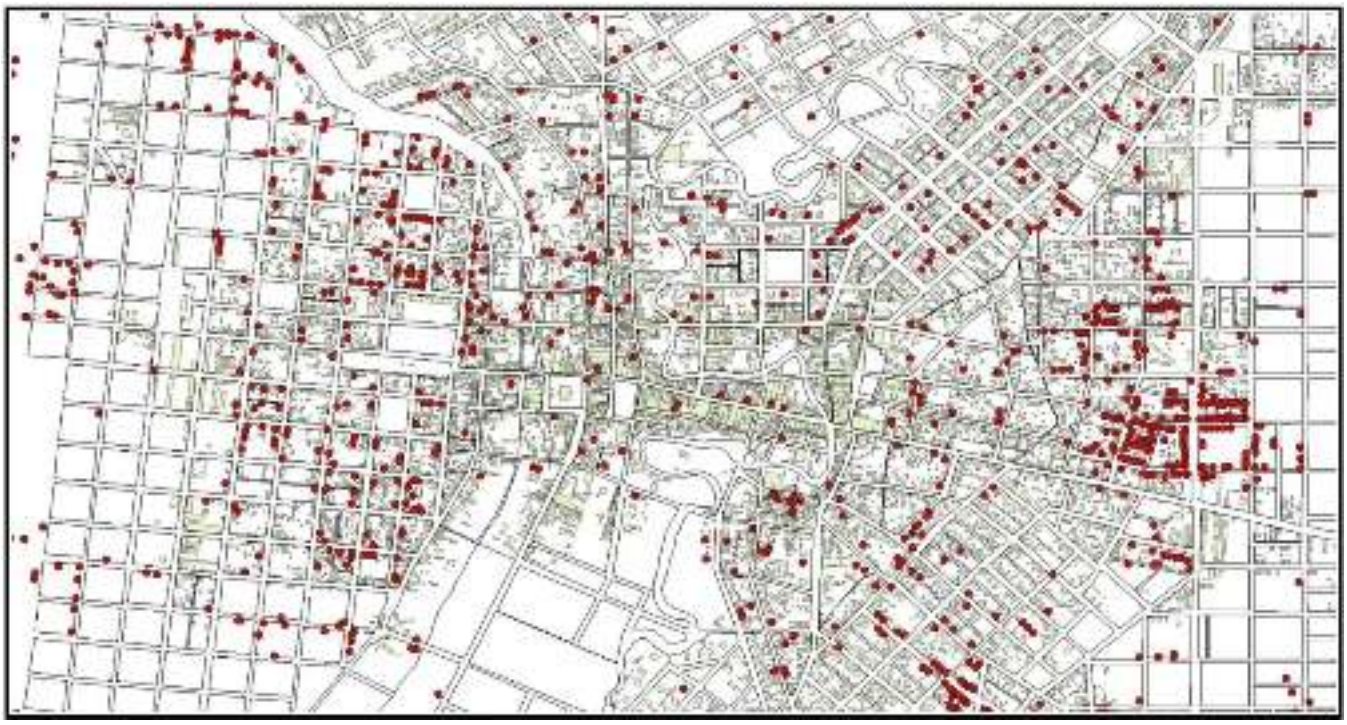

Figure 2-1. 1897 African American residences (red dot) in San Antonio based on information from the 1897 City Directory (Appler 1897) overlaid on an 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (Sanborn 1896).

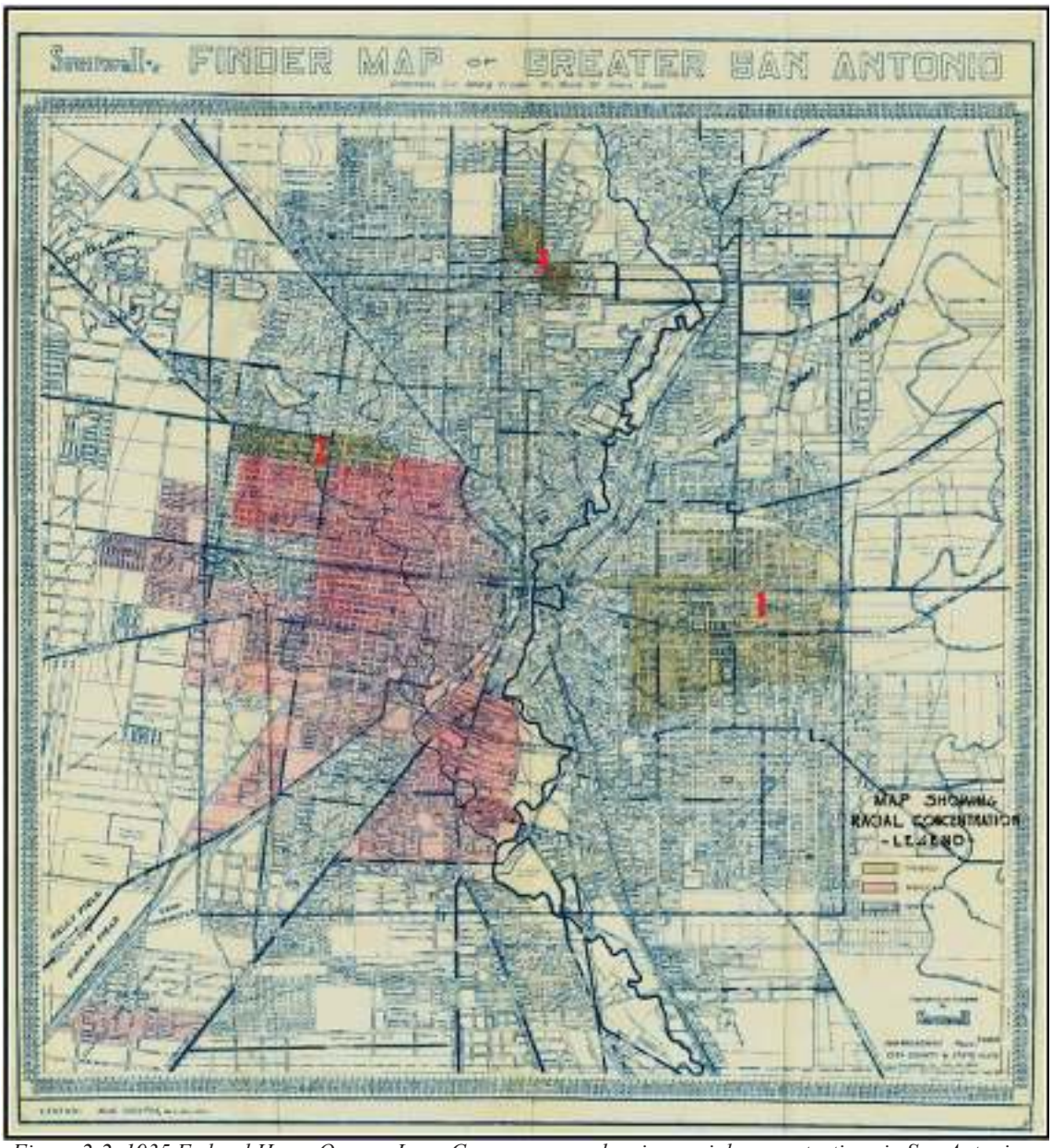

Figure 2-2. 1935 Federal Home Owners Loan Company map showing racial concentrations in San Antonio. African American racial concentrations are in light yellow and number in red 1, 2, and 3 (Federal Home Loan Bank Board 1935; image courtesy Special Collections, John Peace Library, UTSA).

1950-1970: Social, Political, and Economic Reform

Following World War II, American social, political, and legal institutions began moving toward a more free and equal society, culminating in the Civil Rights Movement between 1954 and 1968. Desegregation began in Texas in the 1950s and ultimately included public education, public transportation, and poll access and voting rights. The goal of desegregation was to create new social, economic, and political opportunities for African American Texans to more fully participate in a society that previously had constrained them (Barr 1996).

History of Segregation of Public and Private Cemeteries

While the lives of rural African Americans were substantially different in many ways from their urban counterparts, they still were confronted with the incumbent constraints and structures of institutional racial segregation. Rural African Americans sent their children to segregated schools, participated in segregated churches, and buried their dead in segregated cemeteries. However, just as African Americans faced segregation in their daily lives, they also faced segregation in death. The only exclusion for common

burial was practiced by the Catholic Church in the Spanish Colonial and Mexican period, and it is clear from the San Fernando burial records that racial distinctions were no bar on burial in the church yard and Campo Santo (Leal 1975, 1976). African Americans were excluded from other public and private cemeteries for most of the nineteenth and well into the twentieth centuries.

The City of San Antonio did not dedicate an official cemetery until 1848, in what is now Milam Park (City Council Minutes 1848:A:135-137; Giraud 1848:V1:3). The City opened an entire complex of new cemeteries on the east side beginning with a 20-acre plot in 1853 (City Council Minutes 1853:B:201-204). By the close of the nineteenth century, the complex of public and private cemeteries had grown to encompass 103 acres. Despite the cemeteries being ostensibly public, African Americans were excluded from burial until the City dedicated a portion for their use. Many religious, social, and charity organizations offered dedicated burial as a benefit of membership, and many of them purchased and developed private dedicated cemeteries for their members use. One of the more prominent African American fraternal benefit bodies was the Mosaic Templars who were founded in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1882-1883 fto provide funeral and life insurance benefits for African American families (Mosaic Templars Cultural Center 2019). A large number of fraternal benefit cemeteries are a part of the complex of eastside cemeteries and include six private cemeteries for African Americans. St. Peter Claver Catholic Church, St. Elmo Lodge No. 25 of the Knights of Pythias, Beacon Light Masonic Lodge No. 50, the United Brothers of Friendship, the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, and San Antonio Lodge No. 1 all had dedicated cemeteries within City Cemetery No. 3.

For African Americans living in rural settings, burial grounds were a result of family and/or community decisions to dedicate small private cemeteries. The purpose of the Hockley Cemetery was not merely a convenience for the Hockleys and their related families. The cemetery was immediately adjacent to the Hockley Farm and home, and it was a part of the wider community of Wetmore, located in northeast Bexar County and later incorporated into San Antonio. At the time the cemetery was established, there was no public burial ground open to African Americans in Wetmore. The private Wetmore Cemetery, located 1 km (0.6 mile) west of the Hockley Farm on the northeast corner of the intersection of Higgins and Stahl roads, barred African American interment. There were two other African American cemeteries in the area, the Winters-Jackson Cemetery (Wigley 2018) and the Griffin Cemetery (Fly 2018); however, these were 5.5 km (3.4 miles) and 2.6 km (1.6 miles) away, respectively, and were private family cemeteries (Allen 2018).

Previous Archaeology

The Hockley Cemetery itself was recorded by the author in October of 1990 and assigned the trinomial 41BX911. The author's family lived in Northern Hills from 1978 until 2017, and he recorded the site in 1990 based on his personal recollection of seeing portions of cemetery monuments on the property sometime between 1978 and 1980 (THC 2019a). The 1990 form stated that the site was enclosed by residential fences and overgrown with brush and immediately south of Northern Hills Elementary School. There are no other previously recorded archaeological sites within 1 km (0.6 mile) of the Hockley Cemetery (THC 2019a).

Chapter 3: Archival Review

by Clinton M. M. McKenzie and Everett L. Fly

This chapter addresses the four archival tasks beginning with the abstract of title. A discussion on the size of the cemetery is next, followed by a review of archivally documented burials and suspected burials. The chapter closes with an overview of the land use history of the APE and the African American presence in the unincorporated community of Wetmore, Texas. A table of the property abstract is provided in Appendix A.

Abstract of Title for the APE

The APE is part of what was originally a square league (4,428 acres) granted by the State of Texas to Levi (Louis) Kneipp on September 15, 1846 (BCDR K1:116-117). Figure 3-1 shows the APE in relation to the original boundaries of the one-league grant. The narrow side of the flag-shaped lot fronts the southeastern boundary line of the original grant, which aligns with modern-day Uhr Lane.

Kneipp's original grant described the property as Survey 11, Section 2, on the headwaters of the Salado Creek. Kneipp sold the lower southwestern half (2,214 acres) of his one-league grant to J. H. Devine for $10,000 in September of 1852, and Devine added the Kneipp half league to his existing one league (Survey 10) to form the Devine Ranch (BCDR K2:324-325). Kneipp conveyed a 400-acre portion that includes the present APE to John Coker in November of 1852 (BCDR P1:411). Figure 3-2 shows the Kneipp's original one-league (Survey 11) grant in light blue and the 400-acre tract he sold to Coker in green.

Following Coker's death in 1865, his properties were inherited by his brothers, James and Joseph, who divided the properties equally with each taking 200 acres of the land their brother purchased from Kneipp in 1852 (BCDR T1:312-313). The current APE is located in the 200 acres obtained by Joseph Coker (BCDR T1:318-319). He subdivided the property and sold a 50-acre tract containing the APE to W. A. Hayden and wife for $53.25 in December 1870 (BCDR V1:577-578). The Haydens retained the property for less than one year before selling it the following September to Henry Jackson for $350.00 (BCDR W1:367).

Henry Jackson and his wife Judith were the first African Americans to own the property that comprises the APE, and the property remained in the hands of the Jacksons and their relatives by marriage, the Hockleys, for the next 100 years. Henry and Judith Jackson executed a deed and bond for title with A. L. Bueche for the sum of $300 on consecutive days, September 14 and 15, 1881 (BCDR 19:315-316, 20:297-298). However, Bueche only used the property for three years before choosing to forfeit the $300 bond in exchange for quitclaiming the deed back to Henry Jackson on September 10, 1884 (BCDR 34:409-411).

Only three days after A.L. Bueche quitclaimed the property back to Henry and Judith Jackson, they sold the 50 acres to Alonzo and Mary Hockley for $700 on September 13, 1884 (BCDR 95:125). There is a brief gap in the title history for the 50 acres, and the next recorded transaction did not take place until May 27, 1908, when Alonzo Hockley's mother, Jane Warren, is listed as the grantor in a deed of conveyance to her children:

> Henry Jackson, Aron [sic] Freeman, Alonzo Hockley, Monroe Hockley, and Adeline Denight [sic] for $1.00 and love and consideration…all that certain tract or parcel of land lying and situated in the County of Bexar and State of Texas, about 12 miles north east of the City of San Antonio, Texas, on the Bihl Road and more particularly described as follows, to wit: beginning at the northeast corner of Louis Kneipp League and the East corner of Survey No. 11, Thence N. 48 1/2°W at 240 varas to a stone, Thence S. 41 1/2° W. 122 varas to a stone. Thence S. 48 1/2° E. 48 varas a stone, Thence S. 41 1/2° E. at 115 varas a stone, Thence 48 1/2° E. at 192 varas to a stake, Thence N. 41 1/2° E. at 7 varas to the place of beginning, and it is understood and agreed that the above described property shall be used as a burying ground and graveyard – and a road leading to the same the road being on the east side and being several feet in width and that they, the above named grantees shall have at all times the right of ingress and egress into and upon said above described property for the purposes aforesaid [BCDR 286:199-200].

The conveyance indicates that after Alonzo Hockley purchased the property from Henry Jackson in 1884 he conveyed the 50-acre tract to his mother, Jane Warren. Furthermore, it shows that Warren set aside, by deed declaration, a small portion of that 50-acre parcel for use as a cemetery in May 1908.

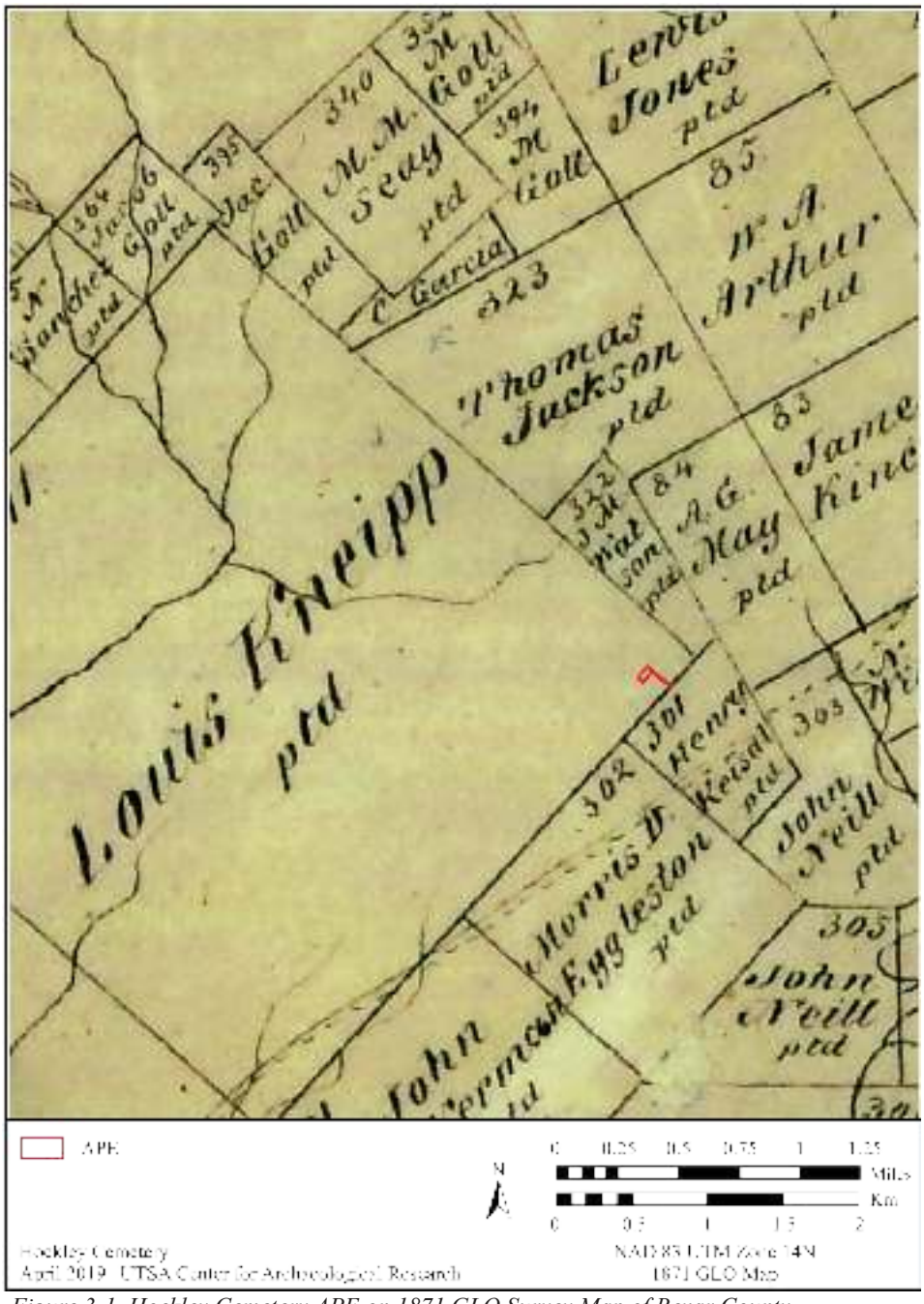

Figure 3-1. Hockley Cemetery APE on 1871 GLO Survey Map of Bexar County.

On November 7, 1913, following Jane Warren's death, the remaining portion of the 50 acres was partitioned between her two sons, Henry Jackson and Aaron Freeman, with the cemetery portion being a part of the tract inherited by Freeman (BCDR 427:541-543). Aaron Freeman and his wife Lou lived on the property, and in May 1918, they executed a warranty deed with Mary Hockley wherein, for the consideration of $500, the Freemans retained the use of 20 acres and that "… Mary Hockley take immediate possession of five acres of land lying along Biel Road" (BCDR 531:555-556). The 1918 deed made the stipulation that the size of the full tract was 27.25 acres of which "a cemetery and lane or road leading to the same embrace 2.25 acres which are not included in this sale…" (BCDR 531:555-556). This 1918 deed is the first to mention a specific size for the cemetery at 2.25 acres.

The next transaction recorded for the property is a Deed of Trust executed by Mary Hockley on September 9, 1922:

> …unto the said County, Judge of Bexar County, Texas, in Trust, for the use and benefit for Bexar County School District No. 7 of Bexar County,

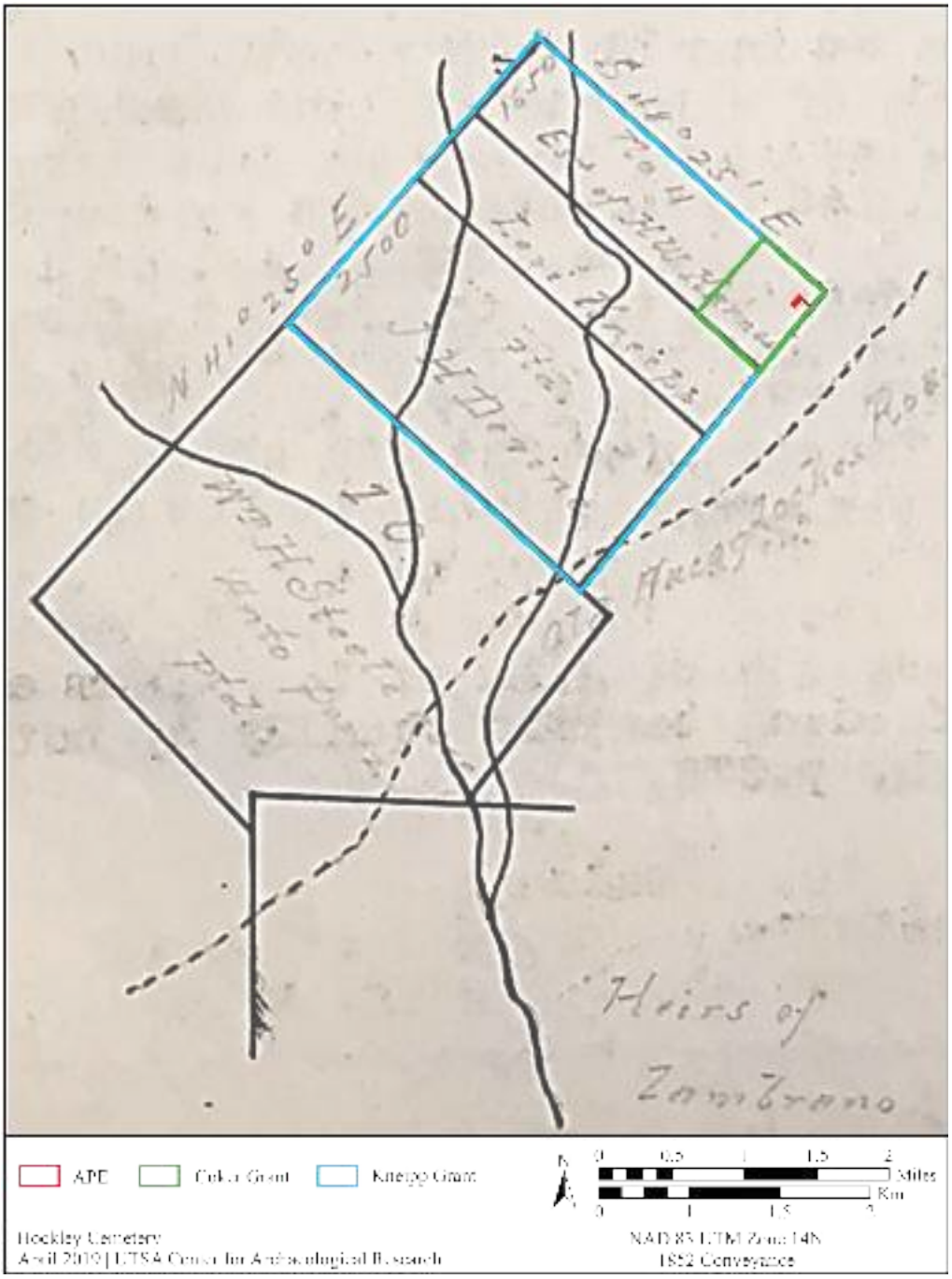

Figure 3-2. Kneipp conveyance to John Coker of November 1852 (BCDR P1:411).

> Texas, and for any and all religious organizations, of colored people living in and adjacent to the land. with the County Judge of Bexar County where in she set aside a one acre square parcel of land for use as a negro school, church or other house of worship…[BCDR 712:66-67].

The 1922 Deed of Trust does not mention the balance of the 20 acres set aside in the 1918 conveyance for the continued use of Aaron and Lou Freeman. Since only the five acres are mentioned, it is probable that either Aaron and/or Lou Freeman were still residing on the 20 acres in 1922. However, on November 29, 1924, all of Mary Hockley's heirs quitclaimed the balance of the Freeman acreage to Easter Clay under the terms of Mary Hockley's Last Will and Testament. Easter Jane Hockley Clay was born in 1880-1881 and was the eldest child of Mary Hockley. The 1924 deed describes the property as: "27.25 acres of which a cemetery and lane or road leading to the same embrace 2.25 acres which are not included in this sale…leaving 25 acres sold

to Mary Hockley by Aaron and Lou Freeman and willed to Easter Clay by Mary Hockley" (BCDR 1135:7273). This deed makes clear that Mary Hockley had gained use of the balance of the 25 acres from the Freemans and that the size of the cemetery and road were listed as 2.25 acres.

The next transaction was a March 1968 right-of-way easement between Easter Clay and the City Public Service Board for an electrical easement (BCDR 5939:300-304). Easter Clay kept title to the property until May 24, 1971, when she sold 25.129 acres to G. J. Condos, William T. Rhame, and Dan Oppenheimer for $35,500.00 (BCDR 6561:693-697). The cemetery was not included in the 25.129 acres conveyed. The sale of the property marked the end of the ownership by the inter-related-by-marriage families of Jackson, Hockley, Freeman, and Clay from September 1871 until May of 1971.

The property that Easter Clay sold to G. J. Condos, William T. Rhame, and Dan Oppenheimer was platted and then replatted for suburban residential use with the final plat being filed on September 16, 1980, as Northern Hills, Unit 13 (BCDR 9000:31). This 1980 plat provided for the survey boundary lines for all the streets and lots in Unit 13, including survey boundary for the 1908 cemetery parcel and access road, and it gave the size of the cemetery and road as 1.262 acres.

Cemetery Size: Discrepancies in the Archival Record

As shown in the property transactions, the size of the cemetery and access road given in the documents has varied. To better understand how and, perhaps, why these differences in size have been used over the years, the CAR compared the references to the size of the cemetery and road from the six of the transactions. Briefly, the comparison shows that:

1. When first dedicated by deed as a cemetery in 1908 by Jane Warren no size of the parcel is mentioned. Only survey calls in degrees and varas are given (BCDR 286:199-200).

2. The 1918 warranty deed between Aaron and Lou Freeman and Mary Hockley is the first to refer to 2.25 acres as a specific size for the cemetery and road (BCDR 427:541-543).

3. The 1922 agreement between Mary Hockley and the County Judge makes no mention of the cemetery but stipulates that a one acre parcel is set aside for a school or church (BCDR 712:66-67).

4. The 1924 quitclaim by the heirs of Mary Hockley to Easter Clay uses the figure of 2.25 acres as excluded for the cemetery and cemetery access (BCDR 1135:7273).

5. The 1971 deed of sale from Easter Clay to G. J. Condos, William T. Rhame, and Dan Oppenheimer uses metes and bounds to describe the cemetery and access road, and it gives an acreage of 1.262 acres (BCDR 6561:693-697).

6. The 1980 re-plat shows the set-aside for the cemetery and road with the same acreage of 1.262 as the 1971 deed of sale (BCDR 9000:31).

The comparison also shows that different survey notation systems were used for the 1908, 1971, and 1980 transactions. To determine the actual size of the cemetery and road, the CAR recalculated and converted the measurement of each to acres and compared those measurements with the acreage given in the 1918, 1922, and 1924 documents. In addition, the CAR reviewed the land use history of the 25-acre property surrounding the cemetery by comparing historic maps and aerial photography from 1929 to 1986/1995 to see where the cemetery is in relation to its estimated plot and to see where the one-acre parcel set-aside for a school or church was located.

Calculations of Acreage under Various Survey Measurements

The three different survey measurements used for the 1908 (degrees and bearing in varas), 1971 (metes and bound), and 1980 (minutes, degrees, and seconds) surveys were converted into linear feet and the square feet to calculate the acreage for each. The measurements from all three are congruent, having nearly identical flag-shaped plots and identical acreage of 1.262 acres. The 1908 survey gives no plot-acreage, but the 1971 and 1980 surveys give a plot-acreage of 1.262 acres.

The 1918, 1922, and 1924 transactions mention 2.25 acres as the size of the cemetery and road, but none have survey notes from which to derive plot shape or acreage. The difference between the 2.25 acres and the 1.262 acres from the 1908, 1971, and 1980 transactions is a little less than one acre (0.988 acres). A review of the historical record indicates it is likely that the 1922 donation of one acre for a school or church site may account for the size discrepancy (BCDR 712:66-67). The 1918 reference to a 2.25-acre set-aside may indicate that Jane Warren, her son Henry Jackson, or her granddaughter

Mary Hockley were already contemplating the one-acre donation for a church or school that is documented in the 1922 deed (BCDR 712:66-67).

Map and Aerial Review of Cemetery Location and Extent 1920s-1990s

The CAR reviewed multiple aerial maps and photographs, including a series of combined line maps and aerial photographs referred to as the Stoner System maps (CAR collections), which are tentatively dated to the late 1920s. An aerial photograph from 1939 made by the San Antonio firm Tobin Aerials and aerial photographs from 1955, 1966, 1973, and 1986 (Historical Aerials 1955, 1966, 1973, 1986) were also used to document the relative size and location of the cemetery.

An examination of the Stoner System map, Stoner System aerial, and the Tobin aerial, is helpful in determining if the acre set-aside for a school or church can account for the missing acre. The map and aerial photographs show the relative locations of the cemetery, school/church, and the Hockley Farm. The 1929 Stoner System Map Number 1041 (Figure 3-3) shows the intersection of Higgins Road and Uhr Lane, and the 25 +/- acre parcels of Henry Jackson and Mary Hockley can be seen to the west of Uhr Lane. Below the two parcels is a 50-acre parcel labeled as the estate of Alonzo Hockley, which is not part of the current APE. On the Mary Hockley property, there are five solid squares that represent buildings. The most easterly of the solid squares is labeled "SCHOOL" and sits inside a larger square outline. Based on the map's scale, the square parcel labeled "SCHOOL" is approximately one acre in size.

Figure 3-4 is a series of six aerial photographs from taken between 1929 and 1986 showing that the footprint of the cemetery does not vary, though the vegetative cover on the cemetery parcel does appear to increase over time. The southern portion of the cemetery, nearest the Hockley Farm, remains clear throughout the nearly 50-year sequence of aerial photographs. A comparison of the maps shows a school occupying an approximately one-acre parcel fronting on Uhr Lane in both the 1929 and 1939 aerials, but the school is absent by 1955. Furthermore, the alignment of the northern fence and gate for the cemetery consistently appears in the

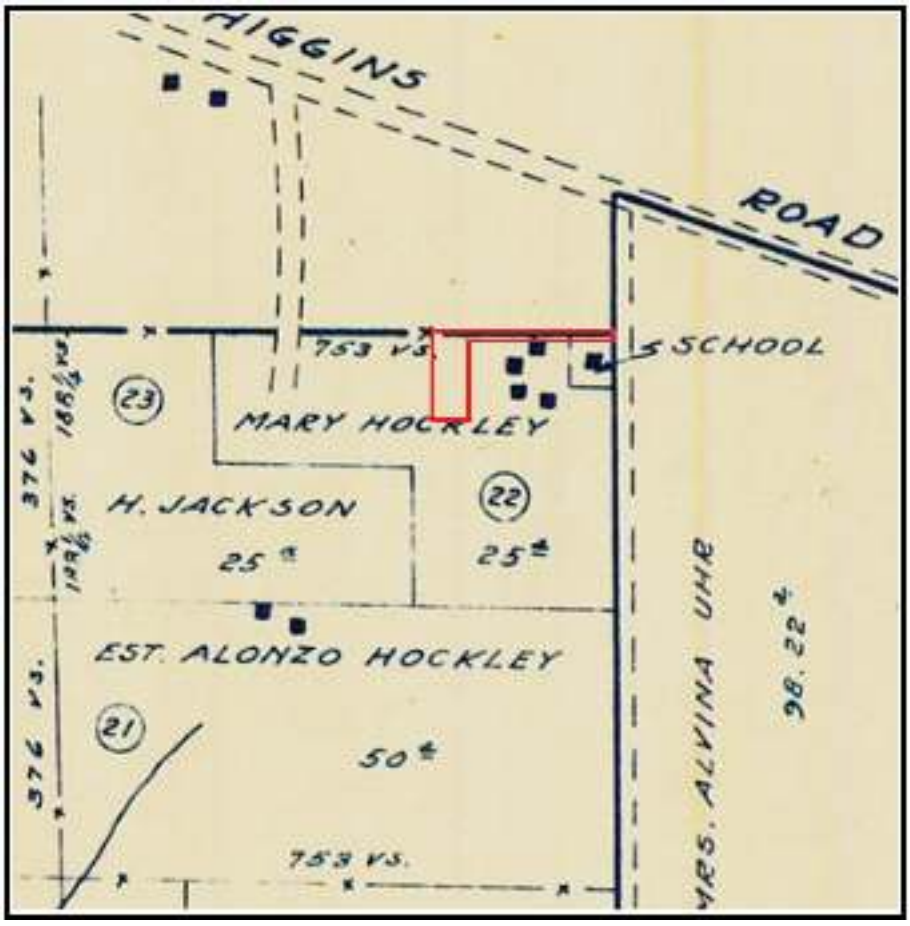

Figure 3-3. Stoner System Map Number 1041 (Stoner 1929) showing the Jackson and Hockley properties and the one-acre school site. APE outlined in red.

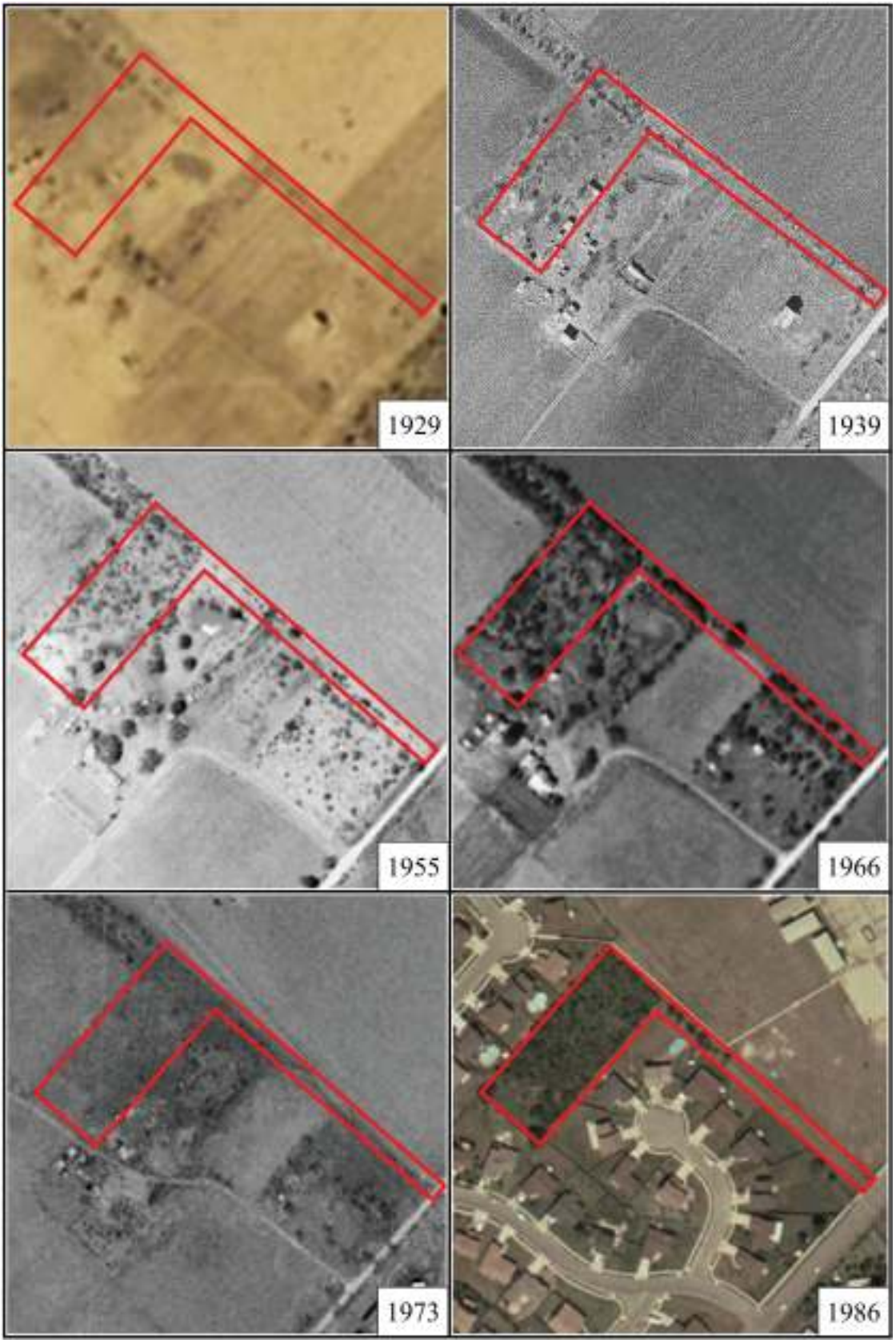

Figure 3-4. Six historic aerials of the APE: 1929 Stoner System Aerial Map No. 1041; 1939 Tobin Aerial Map, and historic aerials from 1955, 1966, 1973, and 1986 (Historic Aerials 1955, 1966, 1973, 1986).

Figure 3-5. Side-by-side comparison of 1966 (left) and 1973 (right) aerial photographs of the Hockley Farm showing the land clearance (Historic Aerial 1966, 1973).

images as a line of trees and matches the alignment plotted in by CAR during the fieldwork portion of the project (see Chapter 5).

Figure 3-5 is a side-by-side comparison of the 1966 and 1973 aerials showing that by 1973 major modification had occurred to the Hockley Farm and Cemetery. On the 1973 aerial, the Hockley farmhouse has been demolished, and only a few outbuildings remain. The entire cemetery site has been cleared and leveled. The displacement and loss of the grave markers and other related monuments likely occurred during this land clearance that followed the sale of the property by Easter Clay in 1971.

Summary of Cemetery Size Comparison

A review of the survey descriptions given in the original dedication by Jane Warren in 1908, the sale of the property by Easter Clay in 1971, and the plat of the property in 1980 shows that the cemetery and road have always been 1.262 acres (BCDR 286:199-200, 6561:693-697, 9000:31). A 1918 and a 1924 deed reference a 2.25 acre dedication that adds a full acre to the original dedication size of 1.262 acres (BCDR 531:555-556, 1135:72-73). However, these two deeds do not include surveys or survey notations that would provide a firm ground to contest the survey descriptions given in the 1908, 1971, and 1980 documents. It may be that the specific dedication of the one-acre parcel along what is now Uhr Lane accounts for the missing acre. The sale of the property in 1971 required a specific survey for both the buyer and the seller. Easter Clay wanted to make sure that the Hockley Cemetery was protected from encroachment and that her family's graves were protected. The buyers were required to respect the cemetery boundary relative to any planned development, and their funding for the purchase of the property required both a survey and a clear abstract of title so that the buyers could obtain secured funding for the purchase.

The review of maps and historic aerial photography demonstrates the cemetery and road remained the same size from the 1920s through the mid-1990s and is congruent with the survey record of a parcel of 1.262 acres. Currently, however, the size of the cemetery has been decreased due to the apparent encroachment of two residential lots, which have enclosed approximately 6,000 square feet on the south side of the parcel.

Archivally Documented Burials and Reported Burials

The Hockley Cemetery was legally and formally dedicated by Jane Warren in 1908. The purpose of the dedication is specifically stated:

> To Henry Jackson, Aron [sic] Freeman, Alonzo Hockley, Monroe Hockley, and Adeline Denight [sic]…shall be used as a burying ground and graveyard – and a road leading to the same…and

> that they, the above named grantees shall have at all times the right of ingress and egress into and upon said above described property for the purposes aforesaid [BCDR 286:199-200].

Identifying who is buried in the Hockley Cemetery is difficult because there are no longer any grave markers in the cemetery. It is likely that most of the markers were removed or buried at some point after the 1971 because the presence of graves and monuments prior to that time is attested to by the family and others (reports of oral interviews with Hockley descendants, Everett Fly, personal communication). Furthermore, it is not possible to identify all of the grave locations and the names of those interred in specific graves based solely on the archival records. Ground penetrating radar studies conducted by Texas A&M University in March and April of 2019 potentially delineate grave locations (see Appendix B). However, as Everett (2019:7; see also Appendix B:51) notes in his report, ground-truthing (i.e., excavation) would be required to confirm these returns. Likewise, careful archaeological testing across the site could identify potential grave locations. While either method could identify potential grave locations, the identity of who is buried in a particular grave would remain unknown.

CAR staff used archival documents, including newspaper accounts, mortuary records, and vital statistics records to identify any of the individuals buried in the cemetery. These burials are documented as being present in the cemetery. It is important to distinguish that the list of archivally documented burials is incomplete. Death certificates are a repository for such information, but their usefulness is predicated upon knowing the name of the deceased and the degree to which the information on the death certificate is either more or less specific. The review of death certificates only examined surnames known to be associated with the Hockley Family. It has been reported (Hockley Family oral interviews with Everett Fly, personal communication) that the family allowed others to use the cemetery who were not directly related to the Hockleys, but it is not possible to search in the death records without having a surname.

In many instances the location of the burial site is general and not specific. For example, Wetmore is listed as place of burial, and the name Hockley Cemetery is not used for burial location until the 1960s. There are five Hockley and five Clay family burials that all give Wetmore as the place of burial rather than Hockley Cemetery, and for that reason, they are listed as probable rather than certain. This report does not claim to be comprehensive in finding all extant burial records attributable to the Hockley Cemetery as a result.

For the purpose of the project, identification of individuals buried in the cemetery were categorized as certain, probable, and unknown. The certain and probable burials are derived from archival records and oral histories that either specifically refer (certain burials) or most likely refer (probable) to the Hockley Cemetery. Unknown burials encompass the potential for burials not noted in the archival or oral history record that nevertheless may be present within the cemetery.

Table 3-1 is a list of the 14 certain and probable burials associated with the Hockley Cemetery. Many of these records and accounts were previously discovered through the efforts of Mr. Michael Wright, Mr. Everett Fly, and others using archival research and oral interviews with Hockley Family descendants.

Land-use History of the APE

The use of the property between its 1846 grant to Louis Kneipp and the 1884 sale to Alonzo Hockley is not specifically recorded. Considering how nearby tracts were utilized, like the 1.5-league Devine Ranch that abutted the Kneipp grant, it is probable that what is now the APE was part of a ranching operation. Alonzo Hockley apparently used the property for ranching as he is listed as a seller of cattle in a Bill of Sale in August of 1885 to Schreiner and Company (BCDR 42:568-569).

The APE itself has remained a dedicated cemetery since 1908, though no burials have occurred since the 1971. The cemetery became progressively overgrown after the sale of the surrounding property in the 1970s.

Table 3-1. Certain and Probable Burials at the Hockley Cemetery

Name	Date	Document	Location of Burial
Wilson Hockley	4/16/1912	Death Certificate	Wetmore, Texas
Alandro Hockley	11/7/1921	Death Certificate	Wetmore, Texas
Mary Hockley	8/16/1923	Death Certificate	Wetmore, Texas
Dora Lee Hockley	4/5/1925	Death Certificate	Wetmore, Texas
Irene Hockley	9/9/1930	Death Certificate	Wetmore, Texas
James Clay	4/29/1933	San Antonio Register	Wetmore, Texas
Luella Clay	7/23/1935	Death Certificate	Wetmore, Texas
Corrine Kelly	7/16/1936	Death Certificate	Wetmore, Texas
Hanna Isabel Howard	1/8/1949	Death Certificate	Wetmore, Texas
Rosie Hockley Gray	7/24/1967	Certificate of Death	Hockley Cemetery
Walter Lee Clay	6/7/1968	Certificate of Death	Hockley Cemetery
Maggie Hockley Wilburn	6/10/1968	Certificate of Death	Hockley Cemetery
Louisa Hockley Clay	1/28/1970	Certificate of Death	Hockley Cemetery
Herman Clayborn Clay Sr.	12/4/1971	Certificate of Death	Hockley Cemetery

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Chapter 4: Archival, Field, and Curation Methods

To fulfill the objectives of the project, CAR staff conducted archival research and preformed a pedestrian survey of the APE. Members of the SAAACAM helped during the pedestrian survey, and through Mr. Fly, CAR staff were able to access and use information from oral history interviews conducted with Hockley Family descendants and community members.

Archival Research

CAR staff researched the Bexar County Deed Records and reviewed of the Stewart Title Collection materials to construct a transaction history for the APE parcel and the property surrounding it. These documents included Letters Patent, Deeds of Trust, Warranty Deeds, Transfer Deeds, Quitclaim Deeds, Title Bonds, Right-of-way easements, and Plats. CAR staff reviewed and compared historic maps and aerial photographs of the APE and immediate area to gain an understanding of how the land use of the surrounding area may have affected the cemetery. The comparison was also used to visually track how/if the size and shape of the cemetery altered/changed between 1908 and the present day. CAR staff researched historical documents to help identify individuals who were buried in the cemetery. These documents included newspapers, obituaries, death certificates, and Hockley Family genealogical documents.

Field Methods

CAR staff and a group of volunteers from the SAAACAM performed a pedestrian survey of the APE. The group was instructed to try and exclude modern trash. Common modern trash items included paper, plastic, aluminum, and glass bottles with paper labels. These items were to be safely picked up and discarded. The group was directed to mark the location of items associated or potentially associated with the cemetery. The marked items included ceramics, metal (other than aluminum), stone appearing to be modified (dressed or worked), stone larger than the size of softball, glass bottles without paper labels or broken glass, and any gates, gate posts, fence posts, or historic fencing.

The location of each item was marked using pre-numbered pin flags. CAR staff recorded the location of the items using a Total Data Station (TDS) unit. The TDS data includes 245 separate points, which each represent a specific pin flag number/item. A description of each item was recorded by hand in catalog format as its location was entered into the TDS unit.

Curation Methods

No artifacts were collected. All forms, documents, photographs compiled during the research for the report are archived in the Project Accession file 2172 at the CAR, together with a copy of the final report.

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Chapter 5: Field Investigation and Results

On December 17, 2018, the CAR completed a systematic pedestrian survey of the APE, and with the help of SAAACAM volunteers, the location of 215 items associated or potentially associated with the cemetery were marked and recorded. Five historic features were documented, and nine artifacts (eight historic and one prehistoric) were identified.

Ground visibility varied from 10-60 percent dependent on the amount of brush cleared. Some areas of the site remained overgrown, and ground cover and leaf litter reduced surface visibility to as low as 10 percent in several areas. Figure 5-1 is a view to the south from the northern side of the cemetery showing the variable groundcover as well as the orange pin flags and flagging tape used by the SAAACAM volunteers.

CAR staff and SAAACAM volunteers placed 245 flags within the APE. A TDS unit was used to record the location of each flag as a data point. Of the 245 points, 19 were used to mark the perimeter of the cemetery, and 11 were used as control points. The remaining 215 points were classified into eight categories based on the description of the item associated with the flag. Historic fence or gateposts document the location of the Hockley fence lines and access gates. Historic and prehistoric artifacts are points for any cultural materials that could be temporally assigned. The cistern feature points document the location of what appears to be a dry-stacked limestone cistern. The limestone class documents the locations of fragments of limestone greater than 15-20 cm (6-8 in.). Construction waste and yard waste were catchall categories to describe waste from adjacent properties that had been dumped on the cemetery grounds. Natural objects included any non-artifacts or natural materials that had been flagged but did not warrant further recordation. Table 5-1 lists the number of objects for each of the categories. Figure 5-2 shows the location of the points associated with historic or prehistoric artifacts.

Figure 5-1. Groundcover conditions at the site. View to the south from north end.

Table 5-1. Classification and Number of Flagged Objects

Classification	Number of Items
Historic fence or gate posts	16
Historic artifacts	8
Prehistoric artifacts	1
Cistern feature	10
Limestone w/historic association	18
Construction waste	77
Yard waste	31
Natural objects	54
Total Objects	**215**

Features 1-4

Four of the five historic features identified within the APE consisted of historic fence and gate posts that delineate the original western and northern property lines, as well as an enclosure fence and entry gate on the north end of the cemetery (Figure 5-3). The fence lines were of cedar posts while the gate posts were creosoted pine (Figure 5-4). This enclosure fence line and gate are visible in several of the aerial images shown in Chapter 3 (see Figures 3-3, 3-4, and 3-5).

Feature 5

The fifth feature identified is what appears to be a limestone lined cistern or well The feature consists of irregularly stacked local limestone. It is approximately 2.3 m (7.6 ft.) in diameter and appears as a sunken depression filled with late twentieth-century trash (Figure 5-5). This feature does not appear on any of the historic aerials, and it does not appear to be directly associated with either the Hockley farmhouses or with the cemetery itself. It may represent an earlier location of either the Jackson or Hockley home as cisterns are co-located with the structures from which they collect water. The presence of a cistern with the lack of a structure may indicate an earlier period of occupation on the site. The feature was photographed and measured. The feature may account for the irregularity of the privacy fence line from the abutting property as the line bends to avoid the depression (Figure 5-6).

Artifacts

Nine artifacts (eight historic and one prehistoric) were documented from the Hockley Cemetery. These included one definitive grave marker, three likely grave markers, a sheet metal panel, three fragments of twentieth-century fire brick, and one prehistoric artifact.

Grave Markers

A single definitive grave marker was recovered from the surface of the Hockley Cemetery (Figure 5-7). The object (20-x-12 cm; 8-x-5 in.) is a decorative metal nameplate that would have been placed at the foot of the grave. These types of nameplate markers were provided by funeral homes and would serve as a marker until a formal marker was installed. However, in many cases, a formal marker was never produced and the "temporary" marker was the only evidence of a grave. The post or spike that would have held it in place is missing. This artifact was recovered in the southwestern corner of the project area and indicates that this area most likely contains one or more graves.

Three additional artifacts appear to be homemade grave markers in the form of metal crosses (Figure 5-8). Each of the iron crosses (A, B, and C) is welded together, and while stylistically different, all are approximately 50-60 cm (20-24 in.) in total length. Cross A uses a piece of flat bar stock for the vertical portion, and the horizontal portion is made of thinner metal that has been folded in half. Cross B is made from two pieces of flat bar stock. Cross B has a small welded ring (see Figure 5-8) in the upper right angle where the pieces intersect. The ring may represent an attachment site for flowers or other memorial items. Cross C is made from a combination of flat bar stock and angle iron. Crosses A and C were recovered from the southern portion of the site while Cross B from the northern portion.

Other Historic Material

Historic artifacts that were observed in the field but not collected include three fragments of fire brick. Two of the fire brick fragments exhibit portions of the name "Green" indicating they are associated with the Mexico, Missouri, brick company A. P. Green and have a manufacturing date

Figure 5-2. Location of items/points by classification shown on a Google Earth image.

Figure 5-3. Features 1-4, historic fence and gate alignments, shown on a Google Earth image.

Figure 5-4. Feature 4, gate posts (flagged). View from northern entrance into cemetery.

Redacted Image

Figure 5-5. Feature 5, possible limestone lined cistern or well. Diameter is approximately (2.3 m; 7.6 ft.).

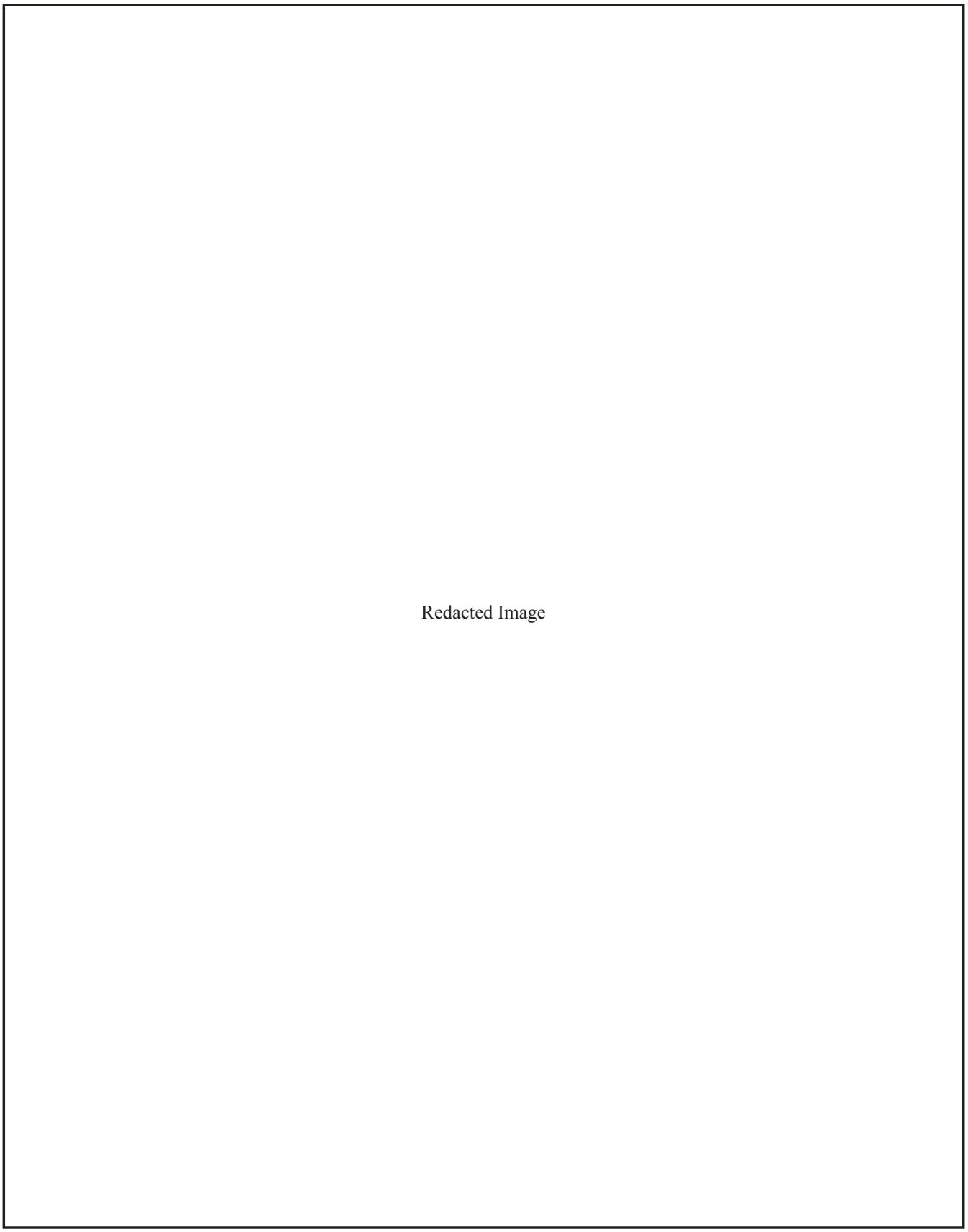

Figure 5-6. Feature 5, location on a Google Earth image.

Figure 5-7. Funeral home "temporary" grave marker (20-x-12 cm; 8-x-5 in.). Photo courtesy of Mr. Everett Fly.

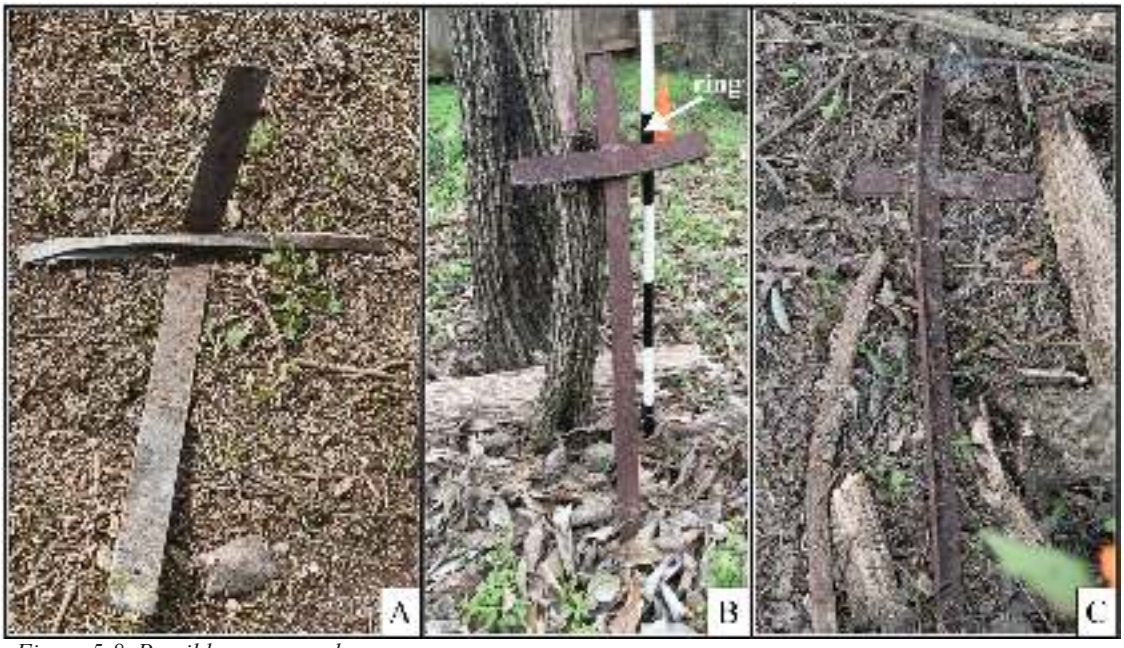

Figure 5-8. Possible grave markers.

of 1942 or later (Gurcke 1987:255-256). These fire brick fragments are temporally associated with the Hockley Family based on their manufacturing date range and may represent re-use of the bricks for edging or to demarcate a grave. It is also possible that these fragments are associated with the demolition of the Hockley Farm after 1971. A single piece of corrugated sheet metal was also identified.

Prehistoric Material

While prehistoric material was not the focus of the investigation, the presence of a single core of chert reduced from a cobble was documented. Unmodified chert cobbles are numerous at the site and in the surrounding area. Chert cobbles were a common resource in the prehistoric era for raw toolstone material. As the only prehistoric artifact observed, the core does not warrant revision of the site form to add a prehistoric component.

Results Summary

The fieldwork verified the perimeter of the Hockley Cemetery with the exception of the area of encroachment on the south side of the property. Three historic fence alignments and the northern entry gate (Features 1, 2, 3, and 4) were documented. An additional historic feature (Feature 5) is the subsurface limestone lined cistern. No action was taken with any of the five features other than documentation. One grave marker and three iron crosses, likely grave markers, were identified and left in place, although they are not in their original locations (Figures 5-7 and 5-8). The majority of objects documented (162 of the 245 points) represent post-1981 yard and construction waste or natural objects. Discounting perimeter points and control points, only 53 of the 245 points are associated with the historic cemetery itself. The site conditions and survey results conform to the land clearance shown in the 1973 aerial image that documented the wholesale removal of vegetation and any remaining grave markers.

Chapter 6: Summary and Recommendations

CAR conducted the archaeological fieldwork on December 17, 2018, at the Hockley Cemetery, 41BX911. This investigation consisted of pedestrian survey of the site and the recordation of objects with a Total Data Station. No grave monuments or tombstones remain on the site. One definite grave foot marker was observed, and three manufactured iron crosses appear to also be grave markers. None of these four items were found in their original locations. Five historic features were recorded, including four boundary fence and gate features. The fifth feature appears to be the remains of a cistern or well with irregular limestone walls. All of these items were documented in place, and no collection was made from the field. In addition, the CAR recorded a single prehistoric artifact, however, as the only prehistoric artifact observed, it does not warrant revision of the site form to add a prehistoric component.

There are 14 known burials at the Hockley Cemetery, and it is probable that there are more that have yet to be documented using the archival record to search for the surnames of individuals not related to the Hockleys. The removal of all grave monuments sometime after 1971 has made it difficult to identify the exact number and location of graves within the cemetery. As a result, it is not known how many burials are contained with the site boundaries.

The area of highest probability for grave sites and associated human remains appears to be the south end of the cemetery, including the area currently within the encroachment footprint. The single definite grave marker and two of the three possible grave markers were recovered from the southeastern portion of the site. While these artifacts were not in their original locations, it is assumed that they were displaced from within the cemetery area. Two other primary factors suggest that the southern portion of the site has a high likelihood of containing graves. The first is that, in all of the aerial photography covering some 70 years, the southern area of the cemetery appears have been consistently maintained. Second, Mr. Everett Fly's discussions with the Hockley Family descendants demonstrate that they recall accessing the cemetery from the south as the Hockley farmhouse abutted the cemetery on the south and east. This corresponds with the cleared area on the southern side of the cemetery shown in the aerial photographs between 1930 and 1966.

The Hockley Cemetery was in use from 1908 to at least 1971. Urban and rural cemeteries were segregated at the time it was dedicated, and African Americans were buried in African American designated plots in the City Cemetery or in private African American cemeteries. The Hockley Cemetery is an example of just such a private family cemetery. While the cemetery dates to 1908, the Hockley Family's association with the property dates to 1884 and through the Jackson line of the family to 1871. The family history, including the cemetery, is part of the early post-Civil War African American community in San Antonio. The Hockleys, Jacksons, Winters, Griffins, Clays, and countless other pioneering African Americans settled in this area of northeast San Antonio, and their stories are fundamental to the history of African Americans and to the wider community. The Hockley Cemetery was an integral part of African American social and cultural institutions. Jane Warren's 1908 cemetery dedication and Mary Hockley's deed to Bexar County for a school site are a testament to the leadership role of African American women to the betterment of their families and communities. Through the efforts of SAAACAM and Mr. Fly, together with the descendants of these African American pioneers, the forgotten stories of these communities are beginning to be retold, and the remaining vestiges of that history, like the Hockley Cemetery, should be afforded both the respect and protection that they deserve.

The CAR recommends that the Hockley Cemetery be designated a Historic Texas Cemetery and that it continues to be protected. No subsurface impacts of any kind should be made within the APE without prior archaeological clearance due to the high likelihood of encountering buried human remains.

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Year	Date	Volume/Page(s)	Instrument	Grantor	Grantee
1846	September 15	K1:116-117	Letters Patent	Governor A. C. Horton	Levi Kneipp
1852	November 6	P1:411	Deed	Loui Kneipp	John Coker
1865	January 12	T1:312-313	Re-conveyance	Joseph Coker	James Coker
1865	January 12	T1:318-319	Relinquishment	James Coker	James Coker
1870	December 15	V1:577-578	Deed	Joseph Coker	W. A. Hayden and Wife
1871	September 22	W1:367	Deed	W. A. H[a]yden and Wife	Henry Jackson
1881	September 14	19:315-316	Deed	Henry Jackson	A. L. Bueche
1881	September 15	20:297-298	Bond for Title	A. L. Bueche	Henry and Judith Jackson
1884	September 10	34:409-411	Quit Claim	A. L. Bueche	Henry and Judith Jackson
1884	September 13	95:125	Warranty Deed	H. and J. Jackson	Alonzo and Mary Hockley
1885	August 25	42:568-569	Bill of Sale	Alonzo Hockley	Schreiner and Company
1908	May 27	286:199-200	Deed	Jane Warren	Henry Jackson, Aron Freeman, Alonzo Hockley,

					Monroe Hockley, and Adeline De Knight
1913	November 7	427:541-543	Deed of Partition	Aaron Freeman, Alonzo Hockley, and Monroe Hockley	Henry Jackson
1913	November 7	427:541-543	Deed of Partition	Alonzo Hockley, Monroe Hockley, and Henry Jackson	Aaron Freeman
1913	November 7	427:541-543	Deed of Partition	Aaron Freeman, Monroe Hockley, and Henry Jackson	Alonzo Hockley
1913	November 7	427:541-543	Deed of Partition	Aaron Freeman, Alonzo Hockley, and Henry Jackson	Monroe Hockley
1913	November 7	427:541-543	Legacy	Aaron Freeman, Alonzo Hockley, Henry Jackson, and Monroe Hockley	Adeline DeKnight
1918	May 30	531:555-556	Warranty Deed	Aaron and Lou Freeman	Mary Hockley
1922	September 9	712:66-67	Warranty Deed	Mary Hockley	County Judge of Bexar County
1924	November 29	1135:72-73	Quit Claim	Clayburn Hockley, Hannah Howard, John Howard, Louisa Clay, Alfred Clay, Rosie Gray, Ed Gray, Bettie Clarks, Lee Clarks, Lizzie Grace (Guardian of Annie May Hockley), Carter Grace David Hockley, Maggie Wilburn, Robert Wilburn, and Amelia Edwards	Easter Clay
1968	March 3	5939:300-304	ROW Easement	Esther Clay	City Public Service Board of San Antonio
1971	May 24	6561:693-697	Deed	Esther Clay	G. J. Condos, W. T. Rhame, and Dan Oppenheimer
1980	September 16	9000:31	Vacate and Resub. Plat	Northern Hills, Unit-13	

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Appendix A: Property Abstract Table

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Table A-1. Property Abstract Table

Year	Mon.	Day	Vol.	Page(s)	Instrument Type	Grantor(s)	Grantee(s)	Consideration	Size
1846	Sep.	15	K1	116-117	Letters Patent	State Governor A. C. Horton	Levi Kneipp	Award	1 square league (5,000 varas sq.)
1852	Nov.	6	P1	411	Deed	Loui Kneipp	John Coker	$400	400 acres
1865	Jan.	12	T1	312-313	Reconveyance	Coker, Joseph	Coker, James	None	200 acres
1865	Jan.	12	T1	318-319	Relinquishment	Coker, James	Coker, James	None	200 acres
1870	Dec.	15	V1	577-578	Deed	Joseph Coker	W. A. Hayden and Wife	$53.25	50 acres
1871	Sep.	22	W1	367	Deed	W. A. H(a)yden and Wife	Henry Jackson	$350	50 acres more or less
1881	Sep.	14	19	315-316	Deed	Henry Jackson	A. L. Bueche	$300	50 acres more or less
1881	Sep.	15	20	297-298	Bond for Title	A. L. Bueche	Henry and Judith Jackson	$300	N/A
1884	Sep.	10	34	409-411	Quit Claim Deed	A. L. Bueche	Henry and Judith Jackson	$300	50 acres more or less
1884	Sep.	13	95	125	Warranty Deed	Henry and Judith Jackson	Alonzo and Mary Hockley	$700	50 acres
1885	Aug.	25	42	568-569	Bill of Sale	Alonzo Hockley et al.	Schreiner and Company	Not specified	Cattle
1908	May	27	286	199-200	Deed	Jane Warren	Henry Jackson, Aron Freeman, Alonzo Hockley, Monroe Hockley, Adeline De Knight (“named children” of grantor)	$1 plus love and affection	
1913	Nov.	7	427	541-543	Deed of Partition	Aaron Freeman and Alonzo and Monroe Hockley	Henry Jackson	Agreed division	25 acres
1913	Nov.	7	427	541-543	Deed of Partition	Alonzo and Monroe Hockley and Henry Jackson	Aaron Freeman	Agreed division	25 acres
1913	Nov.	7	427	541-543	Deed of Partition	Aaron Freeman, Monroe Hockley and Henry Jackson	Alonzo Hockley	Agreed division	28.67 acres
1913	Nov.	7	427	541-543	Deed of Partition	Aaron Freeman, Alonzo Hockley and Henry Jackson	Monroe Hockley	Agreed division	28.67 acres
1913	Nov.	7	427	541-543	Legacy	Aaron Freeman, Alonzo Hockley, Henry Jackson and Monroe Hockley	Adeline DeKnight	$150	N/A
1918	May	30	531	555-556	Warranty Deed	Aaron and Lou Freeman	Mary Hockley	$500	25 acres of 27.25 acres
1922	Sep.	9	712	66-67	Warranty Deed	Mary Hockley	County Judge of Bexar County	$10	1 acre

Table A-1. Property Abstract Table, continued....

Year	Mon.	Day	Vol.	Page(s)	Instrument Type	Grantor(s)	Grantee(s)	Consideration	Size
1924	Nov.	29	1135	72-73	Quit Claim Deed	Clayburn Hockley, Hannah Howard, John Howard, Louisa Clay, Alfred Clay, Rosie Gray, Ed Gray, Bettie Clarks, Lee Clarks, Lizzie Grace (Guardian of Annie May Hockley), Carter Grace, David Hockley, Maggie Wilburn, Robert Wilburn, Amelia Edwards	Easter Clay	No consideration - property was a bequest	25 acres of 27.25 acres
1968	Mar.	3	5939	300-304	ROW Easement	Esther (Easter) Clay	City Public Service Board of San Antonio	$10	0.198 acres
1971	May	24	6561	693-697	Deed	Esther (Easter) Clay	G. J. Condos, William T. Rhame, and Dan Oppenheimer	$35,500	25.129 acres
1980	Sep.	16	9000	31	Vacate and Resub. Plat	Northern Hills, Unit-13	N/A	N/A	24.981 acres

Appendix B: Ground Penetrating Radar Survey Results

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Ground penetrating radar survey of Hockley cemetery, San Antonio

Mark Everett, Dept. of Geology and Geophysics, Texas A&M University

Introduction

Local stakeholders have determined that the necessity for additional evidence of possible historical African-American burials beneath a plot of land in the city of San Antonio, Texas, adjacent to a built-up neighborhood and a school, has made it desirable to evaluate the capabilities of a geophysical survey to provide pertinent information about subsurface geological conditions. The purpose of this technical memorandum is to report the results of such a survey that was conducted by groups of Texas A&M undergraduate students supervised by the author, their professor, over two days April 19-20 (Friday-Saturday) 2019 in the area shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The GPR survey conducted at Hockley cemetery in San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas in the Northern Hills neighborhood of the city (29^0 34' 02.31'' N, 98^0 23' 49.30" W). The surveyed area is roughly 38 m by 72 m.

Geophysical methods offer a non-invasive technology to search for unmarked graves of historical interest. According to Dick et al. (2017), the ground-penetrating radar (GPR) method operating at frequencies in the 300-900 MHz range has met with the most success, of all geophysical methods, in locating unmarked graves that are older than ~100 years. The ability of GPR to identify unmarked-grave locations depends on a number of factors including soil type, moisture and clay content, and vegetation

cover, as discussed below. It is assumed herein that putative Hockley burials were made without caskets. This makes GPR signatures of burials extremely subtle.

Method

Ground-penetrating radar (GPR) is a geophysical method (Everett 2013) that provides an image of the geological structure and buried objects in the uppermost several meters beneath an area that has been scanned by a radar system consisting of electric-dipole transmitter (TX) and receiver (RX) antennas, a pulse generator, and a data acquisition system. The TX and RX antennas are typically separated at a fixed offset as shown in Figure 2. At each acquisition point, or station along a profile, the TX sends a pulse of electromagnetic radiation into the ground. The signal propagates downward and reflects off discontinuities in the electrical properties of the soil along with any contrasts between the soil and buried objects. Part of the reflected signal propagates upward to the receiver location where it is recorded as a voltage induced in the RX antenna. The signal propagation velocity through the soil is very fast; it is an appreciable fraction of the speed of light, which travels roughly one foot per nanosecond in air. The reflected signals are recorded by the data control module and displayed as radargrams and, after processing, as depth slices. These are discussed below.

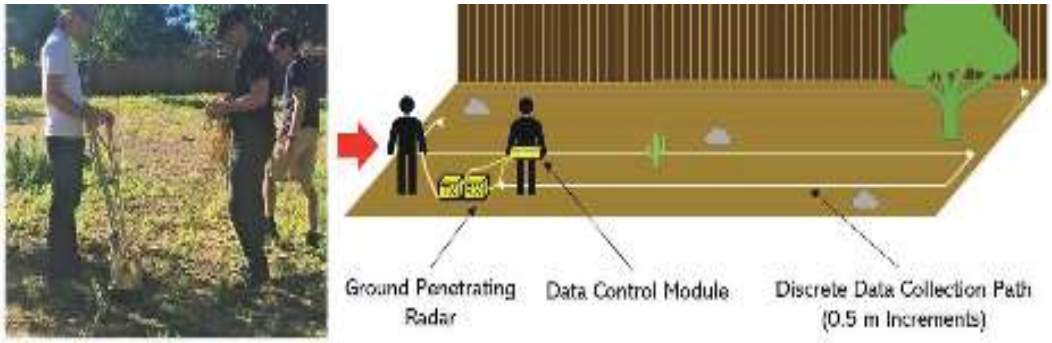

Figure 2. At *left*, photograph showing operation of the GPR system in the field. At *right*, schematic illustration of GPR data acquisition path. Figure developed by the "Friday group" of Texas A&M undergraduate students.

We used the PulseEkko Pro 500-MHz system manufactured by Sensors and Software (www.sensoft.ca). The TX-RX offset is 0.23 m. The station spacing along each profile is 0.5 m. The spacing between adjacent profiles, or lines, is also 0.5 m. We acquired a total of 144 lines each of length ~35-40 m, collected in a back-and-forth, or bi-directional mode, as shown in Figure 2. Line 1 is at the SW side of the site whereas line 144 is at the NE side (see Figure 4, below). At each station along a line, the reflected signal was sampled at 1600 evenly-spaced times spanning an interval of 80 ns after pulse initiation. To increase the signal to noise ratio, an average of 32 reflected signals was recorded at each station. The data were analyzed

in the laboratory after data acquisition using EkkoProject software available from the manufacturer.

In the field, each GPR line took about 4-5 minutes to acquire, while the initial setup and testing of the equipment took about 30 minutes. The entire survey was completed in two days using crews of 5 persons who were undergraduate students of the Department of Geology and Geophysics, Texas A&M University. Generally, one student operated the console while another student moved the TX-RX pair along the profile. The lines were set up by two other students using 100-m tapes laid on the ground. The fifth student took notes. It is possible to conduct such a survey using only a single person, but having extra persons on the crew facilitates rapid data acquisition. The data acquisition was made much easier by the clearance of vegetation prior to the survey. The GPR survey began at the SW side of the site and proceeded toward the northeast, with the lines running NW-SE.

Results

Examples of radargrams acquired during the survey are shown in Figure 3. There is one radargram for each of the 144 profiles acquired. A radargram shows a sequence of ~80 signals, or traces, arranged horizontally along the x-axis spanning a horizontal distance of ~40 m. The y-axis shows the signal strength as a function of time, which has been converted into depth using an assumed signal propagation velocity of one-tenth the speed of light in air. This is a typical value appropriate for the dielectric constant of most soils, see below. Thus it can be seen that the total depth penetration of the radar system is about 4 m. The raw data have been processed prior to display as radargrams using a gain function that suppresses signals in the uppermost 1.0 m. This is done to enhance visualization of the signal at depths 1.0 m and deeper, which is the expected range of interest for burials.

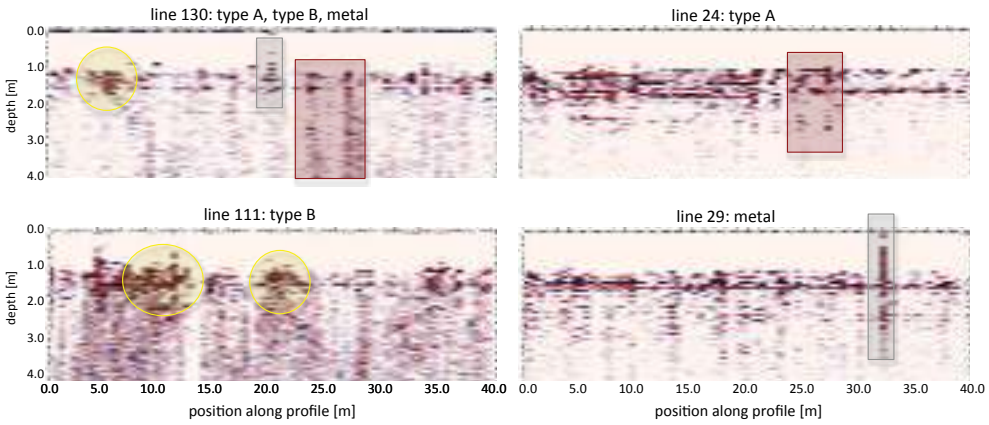

Figure 3. Sample radargrams acquired during the GPR survey. See text for details.

A glance at Figure 3 shows that a large amount of subsurface information has been recorded. There is a great deal of complexity to the radargrams that clearly resists any simple interpretation. The complexity could be caused by myriad non-burial-related geological factors including soil variations, tree stumps and roots, or the presence of artifacts such a metal debris, while some of it could be due to irregularities in topography and concomitant uneven ground coupling of the antennas to the soil surface. However, after detailed manual inspection of all the radargrams, it became apparent to the author that three main classes of anomaly can be identified by their frequent occurrence across multiple radargrams. These are highlighted in Figure 3.

The first class of anomaly is referred to as Type A. It is indicated by the red boxes in Figure 3. Type-A anomalies are characterized by two vertical bands of enhanced signal strength separated horizontally by ~1-2 m and enclosing a central zone of reduced signal strength. A typical type-A anomaly was found on line 24; it is shown on the top-right radargram in the figure. A second class of anomaly, type-B (indicated by the yellow circles), is characterized by a patch of disturbed signal resident at the 1.0-2.0 m depth range. Two type-B anomalies are shown on line 111 at the bottom-left radargram in the figure. The third type of anomaly is referred to as "metal" as it displays the well-known characteristic GPR response of metal debris. Metal anomalies are shown by the gray boxes in the figure; an example is shown on line 29 at the bottom right of the figure. Briefly, the presence of metal causes reverberations in the radar response that manifests as a high signal strength evident at the surface, sometimes extending to the maximum depth of penetration. Tree stumps may also cause a metal-like response. Note that all three classes of anomaly (type-A, type-B, and metal) occur on line 130, shown at top left of the figure. The reader should carefully note that the subdivision of radargram information into three distinctive anomaly classes is a gross simplification of the actual complexity of the subsurface geological structure at the site; however, it does provide a useful starting point for discussion.

It is convenient to arrange the radargrams side-by-side and thereby construct a volumetric "cube" of data which oftentimes illuminates the 3-D geological structure beneath the surveyed area. The cube can then be decomposed into horizontal "depth-slices" in which radar return strengths are averaged over a pre-defined depth range. A GPR depth slice visually displays the strength of radar return signals as a 2-D contour plot. An example of a horizontal depth-slice corresponding to the depth range 0.75-1.25 m, superimposed over a satellite image of the survey site, is shown in Figure 4. The depth slice is constructed using the EkkoProject software.

The depth slice in Figure 4 shows locations within the subsurface over the depth range 0.75-1.25 m at which unusually strong radar returns are observed. These locations are presumably coincident with disturbances to the typical layered background soil structure. These disturbances may or may not be associated with potentially interesting targets, keeping in mind the stakeholder objective of identifying historical African-American burials. However, many or all of the

disturbances may be associated with more prosaic causes such as metal debris, tree stumps, rocks, soil heterogeneities, or zones of water accumulation.

Figure 4. GPR depth slice (0.75-1.25 m) from Hockley cemetery. See text for details.

As described above, a manual inspection of all 144 radargrams revealed three classes of anomalies, type-A, type-B, and metal. The locations of these anomalies were recorded and are plotted in Figure 5 overlying the depth slice. This affords a direct comparison between the automatically-generated depth slice and the manual inspection of the radargrams. This is important since the depth slice does not provide an indication of the nature of a anomalous radar return, it simply records its location.

There appears to be a significant spatial correlation between the strong radar returns that are evident on the depth slice, and the locations of anomalies found by the manual inspection. A statistical analysis of this correlation is outside the scope of the present report but it would be straightforward to perform at a later date. For now, we can state that a coincidence of a manually-detected anomaly with an automatically-detected anomaly is an indicator of a significant ground disturbance at an interesting depth, and could be followed up by further investigation by stakeholders. Note that the "metal anomalies" are probably not related to burials. Furthermore, we do not make an attempt here to prioritize the anomalies in terms of likelihood that they could represent a burial.

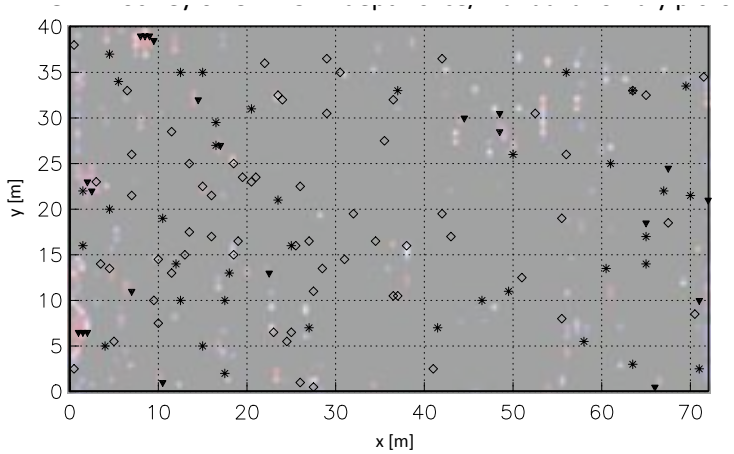

Figure 5. Locations of radargram anomalies superimposed on GPR depth slice (0.75-1.25 m). *stars:* type-A anomalies; *diamonds:* type-B anomalies; *inverted triangles:* metal anomalies.

Discussion

The soils in the area of Bexar County where the GPR measurements were made are characterized by USDA (1965) as "moderately deep and very shallow clayey soils over chalk and marl". Beneath the soils are limestone strata of Cretaceous age belonging to the Anacacho formation (Swezey and Sullivan 2004). This formation is comprised of carbonate packstones and mudstones interbedded by chalk and marl that developed within a shallow marine environment during the geological past.

The most important electrical property affecting GPR signal propagation velocity is the dielectric constant (Davis and Annan 1989), which is a measure of how easily the constituent molecules in the ground rotate in the presence of an alternating electric field. Since water is normally the most polarizable molecule present in geological materials, GPR velocity responds primarily to variations in soil water content. The propagation velocity determines the arrival time of radar returns.

The strength of the GPR signal returns is affected by soil electrical conductivity which is governed mainly by pore-water salinity and clay content (Davis and Annan 1989). The effect of clays and saline soils is to enhance the electrical conductivity. Clay and saline water attenuates the return signal strength, thereby limiting the depth of penetration at which recognizable returns can be resolved. The soils at the study site are clayey which indicates that the area should be a relatively poor environment for ground-penetrating radar. Nevertheless a maximum depth of penetration of ~4.0 m was attained which fortunately proves sufficient to address the stakeholder objectives in this case.

Figure 5 shows the main result of the GPR data analysis. Note that the manual identification of the three main types of anomalies present in the acquired radargrams is largely subjective. The depth slice is inherently less subjective since it

does not directly involve human interpretation, although the choice of depth range to display, the sequence of data processing steps used, and even the color scheme all contribute to subjectivity.

Conyers (2006) discusses some of the expected radar signatures of historical burials but it should be noted that actual observations vary greatly from site to site and depend on many factors such as land use, vegetation cover, burrowing animal activities, climate and weather, and so forth. Thus, in the absence of ground-truthing provided by excavations or borings it is not possible to unambiguously identify any given anomaly with a putative burial. The presence of multitudinous disturbances at this site indicate the great complexity of the subsurface and so it cannot be ruled out that type-A or type-B anomalies are unrelated to burials. However it cannot be ruled out that burials do not generate either a type-A or a type-B but some other kind of anomaly, or that all such anomalies were identified based on the manual inspection (in fact, only the most distinctive ones are reported here), or that there are no burials at the site, or that burials are present but they do not generate a distinct radar signatures. This would be the case in corrosive or acidic soils in which human remains would rapidly decompose. An analysis of the decomposition potential of the soil at the survey site is beyond the expertise of the author.

Conclusion

A GPR survey at 500 MHz using PulseEkko equipment has been carried out at Hockley cemetery where local stakeholders have indicated a desire to gain additional evidence about putative historic African-American burials. The survey was conducted over two days in April 2019 by two groups of Texas A&M undergraduate students supervised by the author. The acquired data were processed using EkkoProject software and displayed in the form of radargrams and a depth slice. A manual inspection of the radargrams indicated the recurrence of three main types of anomaly. One class of anomaly is likely due to metal, or possibly tree stumps. The others, type-A and type-B, are due to soil disturbances at depths of ~1.0 m. A time slice showing locations of strongest radar returns from the depth range 0.75-1.25 m is also presented. Some of the strong returns on the depth slices are coincident with manually-detected type-A and type-B anomalies. These should be of greatest interest to the stakeholders. However, positive unambiguous detection of unmarked non-casket historic burials using ground-penetrating radar is not possible at this site. Ground-truthing by excavation or boring is recommended if direct evidence is required and the present report can provide a starting point for such an investigation. It is the opinion of the author that the subsurface geological conditions at this site shows great spatial complexity at depths of about 1-2 m but it cannot be positively affirmed that the complexity is actually related to historic burials.

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