PARTS I AND II CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT

ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

GILLETT, ARKANSAS



View of Post Bend from Arkansas Post National Memorial, September 2003



CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT

Arkansas Post National Memorial Gillett, Arkansas December 2005

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Arkansas Post National Memorial

GILLETT, ARKANSAS

Cultural Landscape Report

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1. INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Scope of the Report

The purpose of this Cultural Landscape Report is to guide treatment and use of the above-ground resources associated with the Arkansas Post National Memorial (APNM). To do this, an investigation and evaluation of the historic landscape has been conducted, using National Park Service and National Register of Historic Places guidelines. The documentation of historic significance and evaluation of integrity of the cultural landscape serves as a framework upon which treatment recommendations are based. The report provides park managers with a comprehensive understanding of the physical evolution of the historic landscape, and guidance for future management of the site.

The report is organized in the following manner:

Part I:

- <u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u> Documents the scope of the report, location and description of the property, identifies project consultants, and describes the methodology used.
- <u>Chapter 2: Management Issues</u> Provides a list of management issues to be addressed throughout the project.
- <u>Chapter 3: Site History</u> Presents a historic narrative of the physical evolution of the site. Historic period plans support the historic narrative that addresses the major time periods identified for the site. These periods have been defined as pre-contact, the Colonial/Revolutionary War, settlement and early statehood, the Civil War, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century development, twentieth century and state park development, and NPS development.

Part II:

- <u>Chapter 4: Existing Conditions</u> -- Provides a narrative and graphics addressing the existing landscape features, vegetation, and the archeological resources present at the site.
- <u>Chapter 5: Analysis</u> Compares findings from the site history and existing conditions information to analyze the landscape characteristics and features of the APNM landscape. The historic integrity assessment has focused on determining if the characteristics and features that defined the landscape during the historic periods are still present and if they retain the ability to physically represent the site's history.
- <u>Chapter 6: Treatment Recommendations</u> Overall preservation treatment recommendations as well as specific implementation guidelines are provided. Includes a treatment plan.
- <u>Chapter 7: Implementation Guidelines</u> Includes general recommendations for phasing the treatments recommended in Chapter 6. Also includes future Project Management Statements and "Class C" cost estimates for implementation.

Methodology and Project Staff

The methodology used for preparation of Chapters 2 and 3 of this Cultural Landscape Report is based on a multidisciplinary approach that combines narrative and graphic research with field investigations. The project team members met with APNM staff to discuss the site and its resources and to direct both research and fieldwork. Land and Community Associates project staff included J. Timothy Keller, FASLA, historical landscape architect; Genevieve Keller, cultural landscape specialist and preservation planner; Matthew Tucker, cultural landscape specialist; Harold L. Reem, historian; and Ann Wanner, editor and research assistant. The team developed an integrated approach for the development of the CLR with the work of each individual discipline and project team member addressing and balancing the work of the others. The LCA team prepared drafts of Part I and Part II through the August 2000 submission.

Quinn Evans | Architects made revisions and additions to the CLR based on requests made by the National Park Service.¹ Project staff included Steven Jones, historical architect for project coordination; Brenda W. Williams, historical landscape architect; and Mary Orlich, scanning and administrative assistance.

Location

Arkansas Post National Memorial (APNM) is located in the Mississippi-Arkansas Rivers Delta region of southeast Arkansas in Arkansas County. The site is accessed by Arkansas State Highway 169 (SH 169), and is 11 kilometers south of Gillett, Arkansas, and 32 kilometers northeast of Dumas, Arkansas. The total acreage of the site is 389.2 acres and includes open lawns, wooded areas, and several bodies of water.

Background

Indian groups, including the Quapaw tribe, inhabited the landscape that is now within APNM's boundaries. The first European Arkansas Post settlement, founded by the French in 1686, was located six miles southeast of the APNM near the Quapaw village of Osotouy. APNM's newly authorized Menard-Hodges or Osotouy unit encompasses the site of Osotouy and may include the site of the 1686 French post. The present-day site of APNM was first used by the Europeans from 1749-1756, before the Post was moved twice to other locations. In 1779 the Spanish, who assumed control of the post from the French in 1763, returned the Post settlement to present-day APNM and it did not move again. The Post's various locations on the Arkansas River were critical for the French and their Spanish successors because the river was heavily used to transport both people and goods.

¹ A summary of the agreed-upon revisions is outlined in a letter from Brenda W. Williams, Quinn Evans | Architects, to Sherda Williams, Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, dated 17 September 2003. Conversion of the LCA MAC formatted document into Microsoft Word resulted in formatting problems that, despite tremendous efforts, could not be resolved. These have been minimized as much as possible.

Following the Post's cession to the United States in 1804, its periods of significance included its time as Arkansas' territorial capital from 1819 to 1821, and its use as a Confederate Civil War stronghold, which culminated in the January, 1863, Battle of Arkansas Post. The Quapaws, who ceded the area surrounding the APNM to the United States in 1818, have recently identified the site as part of their original homeland. Therefore, the site is now considered a culturally significant area for the Quapaw.

The site was established as an Arkansas State Park in 1929 and received support in development from Depression-era work-relief programs. Congress authorized the addition of the Post to the National Park Service (NPS) in 1960. The site's purpose as a National Memorial is to "commemorate a series of events important in American history," especially those typical of the settlement of the Mississippi River Valley.² APNM currently contains known archeological remains and above-ground artifacts from a number of its occupied time periods, including the Spanish colonial era, the nineteenth century town development, the Civil War, and more recent Arkansas State Park and NPS development.

Brief Historical Overview

APNM's topography and wealth of natural resources have made the site a prime location for human habitation for thousands of years. The site, which lies above the frequently flooded Arkansas River lowlands, is the first high ground encountered when ascending the Arkansas River from the Mississippi River. Although no prehistoric Indian village sites or structural traces have been identified on the APNM site, materials from nearby sites indicate that Native Americans from several cultures ranging from the Dalton or Archaic through the late Mississippian and early Quapaw periods

²Arkansas Post National Monument Provision: Indefinite Quantities Delivery Order. July 23, 1997.

periodically used the area for hunting, gathering and possibly other activities for almost 10,000 years. Both the relatively limited archeological investigations and the likelihood that periodic flooding and shifts in the course of the Arkansas River may have been eroded away many artifacts and structural remains may explain this relative dearth of Indian cultural materials found at the site.

In 1686, following the initial 1673 encounter between the Quapaws and the French, the latter established Arkansas Post as one of the first European settlements in Louisiana. For 65 years the Post, which provided the French and later the Spanish with a strategic and economic presence on the Arkansas, was intermittently located at sites on the river below present-day APNM. The French did not build their first settlement on the high ground at APNM site until 1749, when the Post was moved upriver to be closer to the main villages of France's Quapaw allies. This settlement, which consisted largely of Captain Paul de La Houssaye's impressive square fort, occupied the site for only seven years until 1756 when the Post was again moved downstream. Twenty-five years later in 1779 Captain Balthazar de Villiers again moved Arkansas Post back upstream to APNM's bluffs, where it has remained ever since. De Villiers' Spanish post, which may have been built on the site of de La Houssaye's fort, consisted of a number of hastily constructed houses for the Post's French residents. The houses occupied lots along two intersecting streets (the probable predecessors of nineteenth-century Main and Front streets). There were also small American and Quapaw residential suburbs. The settlement's first fort, Fort San Carlos III, was built in 1781 and attacked by British Loyalist and Chickasaw forces in the April, 1783, Colbert Raid. By 1790, however, both Fort San Carlos III and much of the Post's early French residential area eroded into the Arkansas River. The Spanish built Fort San Esteban to replace Fort San Carlos III in 1791. Equally extensive changes occurred almost simultaneously in the Post's residential quarter. Surviving houses from the late 1770s and early 1780s were probably upgraded or replaced, and a large number of additional new dwellings were built. In ca. 1800 on the eve of its transfer to the United States, the village of Arkansas Post stood approximately 100 yards south (upstream) of Fort San Esteban. It consisted of approximately thirty Louisiana-French, colonial, vernacular houses with many relatively sophisticated architectural features, including covered galleries, raised floors, and high, steeply-pitched, wood-shingled, hipped roofs. The houses, moreover, stood on lots along the streets platted by de Villiers in a pattern that anticipated the organization of the early nineteenth-century American Post.

During the first half of the nineteenth century after the United States assumed control of Louisiana, the Post of Arkansas respectively served as a fur-trading center, the county seat of Arkansas County (1813-1855), the territorial capital of Arkansas (1819-1821), and an *entrepot* of the Arkansas River cotton trade.³ Four groups of buildings occupied the Post's landscape during this half-century period: Fort Madison (old Fort San Esteban) and the U.S. Trading Factory on the grounds of the United States Military Reservation; the buildings comprising the Post of Arkansas; the structures that were built or already existed in the towns of Rome and Arkansas; and clusters of farm buildings on several of the Spanish land grants. With only a few exceptions, including Fort Madison and the possibly the structure that housed the Arkansas Post branch of the Arkansas State Bank, all these buildings were vernacular structures that reflected the traditional French, Upland and Lowland South, and other ethnic building vocabularies of their owners and builders. The sites of Fort Madison and the U.S. Trading Factory eroded into the

³During the first half of the nineteenth century, the term Post of Arkansas was often used to describe the American frontier village located in the southeastern part of present-day APNM. The term is a literal English translation of the French name *Poste des Arkansas* or *Post aux Arkansas*. When used in the text, Post of Arkansas specifically refers to this American frontier settlement. The term Arkansas Post, on the other hand, is a more general term. Among other things, it can describe the French and Spanish colonial Arkansas Post settlements, the American frontier Post of Arkansas and/or its immediate hinterland, and the post-Civil War Arkansas Post settlement located approximately one-half mile to the north of the old Post of Arkansas between the 1870s and the 1950s.

continually encroaching Arkansas River by the 1820s and 1830s, and the speculative towns of Rome and Arkansas, their prospects doomed by removal of the capital to Little Rock in 1821, never fully developed. Throughout most of the period, however, the Post of Arkansas village continued to exist as a small settlement of about thirty or so houses and commercial buildings located on lots along Front and Main streets—the same two streets platted by de Villiers in 1779. Nevertheless, by the time the county seat was transferred to DeWitt in 1855, the Post's prospects, never completely bright since 1821, had dimmed. The town, in the words of an 1856 visitor, was going "to decay."

In the late 1850s and early 1860s Arkansas Post continued to exist as a small rural settlement consisting of several dozen inhabited and abandoned houses and outbuildings and possibly a few businesses located in the southern part of the Post of Arkansas and on several surrounding farmsteads. As in the past, most of these buildings and their surrounding vernacular landscapes continued to embody the traditional building vocabularies of the various ethnic groups comprising the Post's population. During the Civil War, from 1862 to 1863, Confederate forces built Fort Hindman and other works on the Post's strategically located bluffs to guard against a feared Union invasion of Arkansas and Little Rock via the Arkansas River valley. Union forces attacked the southern fortifications in January, 1863, and destroyed not only the works, but all the buildings comprising the Post of Arkansas. When the war ended, the Post's population had to start over and build anew.

Arkansas Post never recovered from the effects of the Civil War. In 1865 the Post's planters and farmers were penniless, their buildings and properties were devastated, and their slave labor force had been freed. The arrival of the railroad magnified the Post's problems by undercutting the Arkansas cotton shipping trade that contributed to the Post of Arkansas' prosperity as a river port in the decades before the war. In the

early 1900s, moreover, the small remaining portion of the river trade disappeared forever when the Arkansas River changed its channel. Nevertheless, by the early 1880s the Arkansas Post at least partially recovered from its postwar slump and once again consisted of a small farming community of about 100 inhabitants. Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, three major groups of buildings and structures were located on the site's landscape. These groups included the scattered ruins of the Post's pre-1863 structures and Civil War-era fortifications; the farmsteads, stores, hotel, and post office comprising the white settlement at Arkansas Post in the north; and the houses and farms comprising the African-American community to the south, in and around the old Post of Arkansas. All or most of these structures continued to reflect the building traditions of the Upland South, and they probably no longer included Frenchstyle vernacular buildings.

Until the late 1930s, the population of the Post's crossroads village and adjacent area hovered around 100, and the settlement continued to include farms, residences, and several stores as well as an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church. Soon thereafter, however, the settlement began to decline, and twenty years later the Post, like so many rural Arkansas communities, was largely deserted. Most of its residents, presumably pushed off the land by the Depression and agricultural consolidation and mechanization, or attracted by better opportunities elsewhere, had departed. The Post's vernacular houses, AME church, and other buildings, abandoned by their owners and occupants, were left to deteriorate.

Arkansas Post State Park was established and became a popular tourist and recreational attraction at about the same time that the Post's farming community was declining. In 1929 the Arkansas legislature, responding to a popular campaign to preserve and commemorate the historic Post of Arkansas site, created the park and placed it under

the jurisdiction of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission. During the next several years the Commission, following a plan framed by Pine Bluff landscape architect and nurseryman P. C. Howson, developed the site both using private and state funds. In 1934, the Commission transferred responsibility for the park to the Arkansas State Park Commission. The site was managed as part of the overall Arkansas state park system for the next thirty years, and park development was completed using federal Depression-era Works Progress Administration (WPA) and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) relief funds.

Facilities at the landscaped park included an eight-acre lake; a caretaker's lodge; overnight tourist cabins; picnic, swimming, and fishing areas; a few restored ruins; and several historical monuments and markers. The park attracted more than 25,000 visitors per year in the mid-1950s. Despite the park's popularity, by the late 1950s at least part of its infrastructure was beginning to deteriorate because of the state's policy of deferred maintenance.

In 1956 the Arkansas Congressional delegation began a campaign to establish Arkansas Post as a national historic site. Four years later Congress and President Dwight D. Eisenhower authorized the creation of Arkansas Post National Memorial as a site commemorating European exploration and settlement of the lower Mississippi valley. In 1964 the park was formally established on the site of Arkansas Post State Park and other lands donated to the federal government by the State of Arkansas. Since that date, the memorial has been administered and interpreted as a unit of the National Park System.

The NPS has developed the memorial, which is bordered on its eastern and western sides by the waters of the Arkansas River Navigation Pool 2, in two phases. During the

first phase of development, which lasted through the mid-1970s, the NPS constructed about one-fourth of the facilities required for proper interpretation and protection of the site. It cleared away the Post's deteriorating post-Civil War non-historical buildings and structures; improved roads and landscaping; and constructed a temporary, combined visitor center and maintenance building, a new picnic area, and a new interpretive trail and markers. Equally important, NPS developed land use classifications and other guidelines to complete development of the site.

These plans were implemented in the second development phase, which began in 1975 and transformed the park into its current form. In the "General Outdoor Recreation Area," located northeast of the park's lake, the NPS built a new visitor center. NPS also expanded the network of interpretive trails and exhibits explaining the history of the French, Spanish, and American Post of Arkansas settlements and the Post's role in the Civil War. These interpretive trails and exhibits were developed in the portions of the memorial classified as "Historic Areas" located north and south of the visitor center. The remainder of the park has been developed and preserved as a "Natural Environment Area" and wildlife refuge.

The Arkansas Post CLR includes the first comprehensive effort to identify, consolidate, and analyze historical landscape information concerning the APNM from the earliest known period through NPS ownership. The site history, combined with the preliminary identification of issues that relate to cultural landscape resources and concerns, makes several contributions to the ongoing challenge of documenting, evaluating, and treating the APNM landscape.

Although the site history builds on earlier studies and investigations, it makes new contributions to existing scholarly knowledge about the Post, specifically in terms of Post layout during the Colonial/Revolutionary period, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the state park period. Its major contribution, however, is the chronological compilation of research data in a comprehensive historical narrative that addresses the development and redevelopment of the Arkansas Post landscape through successive periods. It also details the changing land-to-water relationship that has characterized the site throughout its history.

A major contribution of the CLR has been preparation of the first-ever series of equally scaled historic period plans that are referenced to APNM's boundaries and that include all phases of the Post's development. Previous historic period plans have had different map scales, have generally not been referenced to APNM's boundaries, and have only covered discrete periods of development, primarily the territorial/early statehood period and the Civil War period.

The historic period plan exhibits developed as part of this CLR include the following:

- the first known Pre-1673 plan of the site;
- the first known 1673-1803 plan of the site that references current APNM's boundaries and depicts the locations of the Arkansas River, the French village, Fort San Carlos III, and Fort San Esteban;

Quertermous (ca. 1929), Edwin C. Bearss and Lenard F. Brown (1963 and 1971), and John W. Walker (1971); corrects errors on those previous plans; and depicts the locations of Fort Madison (old Fort San Esteban) and John Treat's United States Trading Factory;

• a comprehensive 1804-1855 plan that builds on the previous plans of F. M.

- an 1856-1865 plan that references current APNM boundaries and corrects minor errors and omissions in Edwin C. Bearss' 1971 plan of the Civil War-era Post;
- the first known 1866-1928 plan of the site that references current APNM boundaries and shows the detailed evolution of the site during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including representations of cultural resources such as the African American dwellings that existed on the site prior to development of the Arkansas Post State Park;
- a 1929 1963 plan of the site that references current APNM boundaries and identifies the locations of the area's AME church and of major structures in Arkansas Post State Park and in the Arkansas Post crossroads community north of the park; and
- a 1964 through ca. 1980 plan systematically depicts the various phases of NPS development.

2. MANAGEMENT ISSUES

MANAGEMENT ISSUES

Preliminary Management Issues

Introduction

Several management issues related to the Arkansas Post National Memorial landscape have been identified and discussed in this chapter. These issues primarily concern the absence of most cultural features associated with the site history periods identified for this landscape. The landscape has experienced significant and enduring changes that have altered land/water relationships for a site that was first occupied and developed for its strategic river-accessible location. Significant cultural sites have been lost to natural river meanders, erosion, and to flood control engineering projects. The site has also experienced major devastation as a result of military action during the Civil War. Virtual abandonment related to changing rural economies and outmigration, development first as a state park, and subsequently as a national park have also altered the landscape. The challenge for the Arkansas Post National Memorial landscape is to protect any significant cultural features, characteristics, or qualities that remain on site and develop interpretive programs that convey known information concerning the history of the site's landscape while continuing to offer and expand existing recreational and educational programs.

Major Issues

Significance and Integrity

There is no doubt that Arkansas Post has been associated with significant events in national, state, and local history and a nomination to the National Register of Historic Places is currently underway. However, there have been substantial losses of the cultural features associated with those events.

The site history implies that the site would represent multiple periods of history. In reality, the landscape rarely reflects the layers of its history. This occurrence is largely the result of the abrupt site changes that have occurred on this landscape. While sites at other locations often reflect a gradual landscape evolution of growth and gradual decline, perhaps with one or two dramatic periods or incidences of marked change, the Arkansas Post site has experienced episodic change throughout its history. Some of this change has been as a result of the natural forces of erosion; some has been related to military actions; and other changes have been related to political decisions such as moving the capital of Arkansas away from Arkansas Post to Little Rock. The destruction of much of the above ground physical fabric during the Civil War eradicated most colonial-era landscape resources that would be expected to represent the Post's significant early history. Subsequent rebuilding was followed by another period of decline, followed by two periods of sequential park development, first as a state park, and finally by the NPS. This legacy of almost cyclical physical change has created today's landscape — a landscape that is not a landscape of multiple layers that are visibly apparent. The existing landscape does not represent the Post's French and Spanish heritage in a compelling way, its role as a defensive post, its development as an early Arkansas capital and thriving river port, its involvement in the Civil War, or its rural and agrarian traditions. Its character as a state park, while it established the basis for the APNM's development, has been subsumed by more recent NPS actions. What remains is not a layered cultural landscape reflecting the dynamic and multi-cultural phases discussed in the site history, but instead a collection of fragmented landscape remnants that are not apparent in the tranquil, memorial setting that has been created to impart a park-like feeling.

It is possible that future archeological investigations may reveal or confirm information concerning historic landscape features. Consequently, there remains an ongoing need for continued archeological studies and investigations. These investigations would be expected to reveal information that could be useful in interpretation and in making site management and treatment decisions.

Archeological Investigations and Resources

Few visible above ground physical traces of Arkansas Post's early colonial and American frontier periods remain at APNM. However, past excavations have demonstrated that a rich and extremely significant subsurface archeological record of both of these and later periods exists at the memorial. Therefore, since it is probable that continued archeological studies and investigations will reveal the presence of archeological resources or information that will increase understanding of the site and its development, potential archeological sites need to be identified and protected. The site history and the period plan exhibits developed for Chapter 3 of this CLR document features associated with the development of the site through consecutive periods as well as the locations of some known features. Remnants of some of these features have been revealed through archeological investigations. Others may remain undiscovered. The Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) undertaken by the NPS Midwest Systems Support Office in March 1997 also has identified extant cultural landscape features and feature locations.

Because many features were constructed of vulnerable building materials, such as wood and rammed earth, there are few remnants from the colonial period. Documenting and protecting what remains of the Post's colonial period appears essential. Continuing archeological investigations would be helpful in locating features from all other periods as well, such as historic cemeteries and burial grounds and other landscape features that would provide information about land use, spatial organization, design, and cultural traditions at Arkansas Post. Used in conjunction with the CLR site history and the CLI, the results of such investigations would be likely to increase the understanding of the site's landscape development and its designed and vernacular traditions.

There are known historic remnants and fragments of the landscape, such as roads, walks and paths, portions of wire fences and brick walls, house and corral sites, a dipping vat for cattle, cement pillars, dumps and refuse, plant materials, wells, and cisterns that warrant consideration in the planning process. Decisions need to be made concerning their preservation. NPS managers have expressed concern about knowing which resources to protect. The current NPS policy toward historic landscape management has been described by staff as essentially benign neglect. NPS personnel are concerned that there are remnants of the cultural landscape that are not visited or interpreted. A decision needs to be made concerning which of these features are desirable and appropriate to protect, interpret, propagate, relocate, remove for storage, document more fully, or continue to manage "as is." Some remnants and fragments in

the landscape present hazards that may be injurious to visitors or staff who may trip, fall, or become entangled in overgrown vegetation. In addition, there are no safeguards to prevent site looting. Currently there appears to be unlimited site access without any restrictions or warnings that there may be safety or security concerns.

Both the CLR and the CLI can provide the basis for a systematic evaluation of extant resources as the first step in developing prioritized protection, retrieval, and interpretive strategies. Recognizing these identified locations as sensitive is a major issue. At present, few of these sites are monitored on a daily basis. Periodic inspections and security may help to protect culturally significant sites and resources.

Archeological resources located outside the existing interpreted area are especially vulnerable.

Extant archeological resources from virtually all periods of the Post's occupation are likely to be found in APNM's currently interpreted areas. These areas include the site of the Spanish colonial village and the American frontier Post of Arkansas, as well as the Confederate 1863 trench line. In addition to a scattering of Native American artifacts, the Spanish colonial and American frontier site almost certainly contains high concentrations of artifacts and vernacular structural remains from the Post's late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century, multi-ethnic and socially diverse population. Union and Confederate artifacts from the Civil War period as well as vernacular

American community are likely to be found. The site also encompasses the subsurface remains of cabins and other structures built at Arkansas Post State Park. APNM's second interpreted area — the 1863 Confederate trench line — almost certainly contains a significant concentration of Civil War-era artifacts as well as a sprinkling of artifacts from most other periods of the Post's history.

Similar archeological resources are probably found in APNM's uninterpreted areas, although most likely in lower concentrations. Uninterpreted zones encompass the sites of the failed towns of Rome and Arkansas, the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Arkansas Post settlement, and most of the Post's historic farmsteads. These areas probably contain artifacts and/or vernacular architectural remains associated with most of the many ethnic and social groups that shaped the Post's history. In addition, the tracts on the northern and western margins of Park Lake almost certainly harbor structural remains from the State Park period.

Landscape Interpretation

The major cultural landscape issue remains how to treat and interpret a site known for its historical associations but largely bereft of the above-ground features that would best help to tell the story of Arkansas Post. The site has a rich, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic story as well as significant early settlement and military associations that would enrich the educational experience of site visitors. Currently visitors have no sense of the

lost cultural landscape character of the historic Arkansas Post. State-of-the-art landscape interpretation rather than landscape treatment appears to have the most potential for conveying the story of the development and decline of Arkansas Post. Using advanced technologies such as virtual presentations based on documented cultural landscape information could make the site come "alive" in a way that the static types of interpretation used currently cannot. Cultural landscape topics and information to convey through such interpretation would include but not necessarily be limited to the following:

- Addressing the change and evolution of the site's water-related resources, including the navigation channel, Park Lake, and the Post bayou, and the interrelationship to the historic river that was a major character-defining feature of the historic Post;
- Portraying a sense of a large river port, town site, and agrarian settlement area;
- Using increased information concerning the town site to enhance visitor understanding and reduce current confusion and misrepresentations, such as the current circulation system;
- Incorporating physical resources into interpretation; and
- Undertaking a more comprehensive and holistic approach to site interpretation that allows the visitor to understand the cyclical nature of growth and destruction or decline that has characterized the site and the

internal and external forces — both natural and cultural — that have influenced the site through multiple periods.

Contemporary Management Issues

There are a number of contemporary site management issues that are directly or indirectly related to the cultural landscape. One of the most critical is the potential conflict or negative public reaction to landscape maintenance changes that could result from landscape treatment decisions. The staff has indicated that most visitors, particularly those from the vicinity and repeat visitors, expect the park "to look really nice." Current managers, however, have expressed a desire to reduce some of the current landscape maintenance burden and expense by reducing mowing operations. Any departure from the current manicured parklike setting in the current interpretive area could be unpopular with visitors. Similarly many visitors come for outdoor recreational activities; reducing the amount of woodland or limiting or eliminating fishing or other activities in any areas would also be likely to be met with public opposition.

Another related concern is insect control measures and the effect of control measures on landscape ecology. Currently mosquitoes are especially plentiful in July and August and affect the quality of the visitor experience and enjoyment. Visitors receive warnings—in both brochures and through posted, printed notices—that there are potential dangers from poisonous snakes and from ticks and chiggers. Visitors are advised to dress appropriately for these conditions and to take precautions. These conditions may influence the NPS to consider opportunities for interpretation that would allow visitors to experience the cultural values of the site in relative comfort and

security. The Post's current natural character – complete with certain hazards and annoyances – could be maintained for outdoor recreationists and naturalists who enjoy the site for fishing, boating, bird watching, and other activities.

Other related concerns include making decisions concerning forestry practices such as cutting cypress in the bayous and fire and wildlife management. NPS personnel are concerned about developing an appropriate burning policy that will be effective as a prairie management tool and will foster desired and/or beneficial ecological processes. At the same time they are concerned that there not be a negative effect on other vegetation, including forest oak species and historic plant material. Identifying the appropriate locations and extents for controlled burns is a priority issue related to the cultural landscape.

Wildlife contributes much to the character of the APNM and its visitor appeal. Visitors enjoy observing eagles and other rare wildlife species in a largely natural setting. There are staff concerns about the ecological balance and environmental effects of some species, including nutria, beaver, and armadillo, that have increased in the absence of predators. Nutria populations (nutria are not indigenous and were introduced from Latin America) have increased to a point where their burrowing into banks has caused significant damage, especially to the land/water edge. Evidence of substantial beaver activity is also apparent. Other wildlife species have created hazardous conditions in some wooded areas. Alligator populations have also increased; it is possible that APNM has the largest concentration of alligators in the state. Alligators were reintroduced by the State of Arkansas in the 1980s.

There are similar concerns related to vegetation. Vegetation plays a significant habitat role and contributes to landscape character. Critical habitats, such as that of the Trails Flycatcher, an endangered species first observed and referenced on site by Audubon, may be vulnerable.

Another complex issue relates to the recently established experimental prairie in a formerly wooded area of the site. The issues of historic plant material, exotic species, and invasive vegetation will need to be addressed within a cultural landscape framework once a comprehensive evaluation of contributing features has been made.

NPS staff members have also indicated through the CLR process that there are land use issues that need to be considered and resolved. Some areas of the APNM may be suffering damaging effects as a result of over use. The area near Park Lake, for example, may be experiencing increased soil compaction as a result of overuse related to fishing from the banks of the lake. There are also concerns about erosion of the interior lake shoreline.

Treatment Philosophy

The publication *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* provides professional standards and guidance for treatments to cultural landscapes. The document defines four types of treatment philosophies including preservation, restoration, reconstruction, and rehabilitation.⁴

⁴ Birnbaum, Charles A. and Christine Capella Peters, 1996. The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes. (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service), pp. 3-5.

Treatment decisions address remnant landscape features. Recommendations address the treatment of remnant structures, artifacts, and vegetation, particularly historic plant material specimens. For instance, the APNM is considering modifying the extent and schedule of its current mowing practices. Future mowing modifications are considered within a cultural landscape framework.

appears to possess high quality natural resources and recreational value.

The NPS will also need to address which examples of historic vegetation to protect and preserve since examples of vestige plant material are known to survive from the various historical periods. Historic trees remain from the town site era. In addition, the site contains examples of osage orange, privet hedge, boxwood, periwinkle, and other plants at house sites. Some vegetation is also related to the state park era. Some plant materials have been identified in the CLI process that may be rare or unusual and may

require special protection measures, either on or offsite. These issues affect treatment decisions to regenerate, prune, fertilize, or remove plant material.

3. SITE HISTORY

SITE HISTORY

Historical Periods

The site history for Arkansas Post National Memorial (APNM) has been divided into the following eight historical periods associated with the site's development and management.

• Pre-1673: The period prior to extended European contact. During this period, the site was part of the territories claimed by the Quapaws and other American Indian tribes.

• 1673 - 1803: The period of initial European settlement and the American Revolution.

This period began with the Quapaws' encounter with French explorers Louis Joliet and Father Jaques Marquette and ended with the French transfer of the site to the United States as part of the Louisiana Purchase. During this period the site was part of the French and and Spanish North American colonial empires. Both the French and Spanish established early European military outposts and settlements in Arkansas on the property.

• 1804 - 1855: The period of Euro-American settlement and Arkansas' early development as a territory and state. During this period the Quapaws sold their title to the Arkansas Post property and the surrounding region to

the United States. Large numbers of Euro-American settlers immigrated to the site, largely supplanting the existing French population. The village of Arkansas Post briefly served as the capital of Arkansas Territory, and subsequently developed as an *entrepot* (commercial warehouse center) of the Arkansas River cotton trade and as the seat of Arkansas County.

• 1856 *-* 1865:

The period of the Civil War. During this brief but significant ten-year interval Arkansas Post was devastated. The village, already in decline following the removal of the Arkansas County seat to Dewitt in 1855, was virtually destroyed in the January 1863 Union attack on the Confederate fort and entrenchments built on the site.

• 1866 - 1928:

The period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period Arkansas Post unsuccessfully struggled to recover from the ravages of the Civil War. The coming of the railroad and a permanent change in the course of the Arkansas River further weakened the Post's already tenuous economic base. By the early twentieth century Arkansas Post had become a small agricultural community centered around the post office located north of the site of the colonial and American frontier village.

• 1929 - 1963:

The period of state park development. During this period, the State of Arkansas acquired 41 acres of the site, including part of the colonial and frontier village, and developed the property as a unit of the Arkansas State Park System. The small Arkansas Post farming community continued to stand on the site to the north of the state park.

• 1964 - Present:

The period of National Park Service (NPS) development.

During this period the State of Arkansas donated the land comprising Arkansas Post State Park and the remainder of the site to the federal government, and the site was designated the Arkansas Post National Memorial. After acquiring the land, the NPS demolished or removed all existing structures on the property, commenced site interpretation, initiated natural resource conservation projects, and planned and implemented building, road, and other infrastructure construction programs. Following completion of its development program, the NPS continued to interpret the site, its cultural history, and its remaining resources as a unit of the NPS system.

Methodology

Phase I began with a visit to APNM headquarters by Land and Community Associates' (LCA's) project team, including the project historian. The team reviewed archival research materials available for the project at park headquarters with NPS cultural

management personnel and conducted a physical reconnaissance of the site. NPS personnel provided the consultant team with an orientation to APNM's in-house archival collections, identified areas of research and specific primary and secondary sources, and posed questions to address during project research and analysis.

Phase II consisted of research using primary and secondary materials identified in Phase I. During the initial site visit, brief preliminary research was conducted at the APNM in-house archives and at the neighboring Arkansas Post Museum. On a subsequent research trip, the project historian conducted additional in-depth research at the Arkansas History Commission and Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism in Little Rock, at the University of Arkansas-Little Rock library, and at the Arkansas Archeological Survey in Fayetteville – the temporary repository for APNM's historical archives while they were being catalogued and microfilmed. Further research was accomplished at the National Archives and Library of Congress. Materials examined included observers' published and unpublished primary accounts of Arkansas Post's development over a two hundred-year period, land records, census records, historic and current maps, historic illustrations of the site, historic and current ground and aerial photographs of the memorial, archeology reports, APNM's administrative history files, and a wide range of published and unpublished secondary sources.

Documentary research was supplemented with several personal interviews. The project historian interviewed Judge Morris S. Arnold, the foremost contemporary historian of colonial Arkansas and Arkansas Post; Mr. Richard W. Davies, the Executive Director of the Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism; Ms. Lille Fuhrman, the Director of Arkansas Post Museum; and several members of the Arkansas Archeological Survey, including Mr. Robert Mainfort, the Survey's Research Administrator; and Ms. Kathleen H. Cande, the Senior Project Archeologist for the Survey's Sponsored Research Program. The historian's initial conversations with Judge Arnold, Museum Director Fuhrman, and Archeologist Cande were followed up with subsequent telephone interviews.

Phase III consisted of analysis and interpretation of the Phase II research materials.

Analysis focused on answering specific historic cultural landscape questions for each period of the site's development, including questions regarding historic geomophological and vegetation patterns, the locations of historic roads and streets, and the locations of historic structures and building clusters, fence lines, fields and orchards, and other cultural features. The land use and spatial patterns revealed in these features' locations, moreover, were assumed to be the products of a variety of

interrelated factors, including but not necessarily limited to the natural environment, economics, technology, and cultural traditions.⁵

Answers to these cultural landscape questions, moreover, were predicated upon several assumptions about the site. First, between the mid-eighteenth century and 1912, the Arkansas River permanently changed course to a new channel located approximately one-half mile east of the site. At this time, it was assumed that the river's hydrodynamics operated like those of a typical meandering stream. The ground on the eastside of the Post stood at the edge of a river bluff, on the outside bank of a meander curve. This earth was therefore continually eroded by the centrifugal force of the fastermoving water, moving along the outside of the expanding bend. Opposite the Post, on the inside bank of the meander curve, slower-moving water deposited silt eroded from the outside bank of the previous curve in a gradually accreting "point" bar. In contrast, the topography of the bluffs on the southwest side of the Post, which were not subjected to active river forces, changed minimally during the 150-year period.⁶ This evolving geomorphological pattern at the Post is depicted in two nineteenth-century Army Corps of Engineers river surveys – Sheet 17 of Lieutenant T. S. Brown's "Nineteen Sketches

⁵ For a detailed discussion of these cultural landscape characteristics and the factors shaping them see Linda Flint McClelland, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Z. Melnick, *National Register Bulletin 30, Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service; Interagency Resources Division, Interagency Resources Branch, U.S. Government Printing Office), pp. 3-8.

⁶ Eberhard Czaya, *Rivers of the World* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1981), pp. 181-185; Laurence Pringle and the Editors of Time-Life Books, *Planet Earth: Rivers and Lakes* (Alexandria, Virginia: Time-Life Books, 1985), pp. 63-66.

Exibiting [sic] the Course of the Arkansas River from Fort Gibson to Its Mouth With the Channel, Sand Bar, etc., etc.," (Map 18), which was prepared in 1833; and Sheet 16 of Captain Charles E. Taft's "Map of the Arkansas River from Little Rock, Arkansas to the Mouth Consisting of 22 Sheets" (Map 34), which was prepared in 1886.

A second assumption regarding the site concerns the accuracy of existing maps of Arkansas Post. As archeological surveys note, comprehensive and accurate maps of APNM and the surrounding area do not exist. Current base maps are not "tied to . . . on-the-ground benchmark[s] or reference point[s]" and omit key features, while historic maps, which depict "vastly different" landforms, are often "not drawn to scale or lack any reference point." This problem is especially critical with respect to Spanish Land Grant boundaries and corners, which are used as references for surveying property lines in the Arkansas Post vicinity. The current United States Geological Survey (USGS) map of the Arkansas Post area (Map 44) presumably depicts the land grant boundaries in their correct locations. However, one older map, the NPS's 1960 plan, "Boundaries, Arkansas Post National Memorial Project" (Map 43), shows the grant boundaries in different locations than the positions depicted on the USGS charts. These older and

⁷ Kathleen H. Cande, "Arkansas Post (3AR47): Archeology, History and Prospects, Narrative to Accompany a Cultural Resources Base Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas" - AAS Project 961 Draft Report (Fayetteville, Arkansas: Arkansas Archeological Survey, September 30, 1997), p. 59 (source of quotations); Patrick E. Martin, "An Inquiry into the Locations and Characteristics of Jacob Bright's Trading House and William Montgomery's Tavern," Arkansas Archeological Survey Publications on Archeology, Research Series No. 11 (Fayetteville, Arkansas: Arkansas Archeological Survey, 1977), pp. 86-87.

probably incorrectly-surveyed grant boundaries include several "monumented" boundary markers in the southeastern portion of the park in the vicinity of the site's oldest cultural resources. They were almost certainly used to demarcate property lines on the site's landscape throughout much of the nineteenth as well as the first half of the twentieth centuries. Indeed, in the southeastern part of the park, the postulated locations of several APNM cultural features closely correspond to the land grant lines in the 1960 NPS plan when these boundaries are shifted slightly to the southeast. These features include those depicted on NPS historian Edwin C. Bearss' and archeologist John W. Walker's reconstructed plans of the site (Maps 14 and 15) and those depicted on Thomas Strode's map of the excavations (Map 42). The latter shows several accurately identified features, including the Arkansas State Bank and its southwest (Main Street) lot line (Map 22) and the trench lines discovered by archeologist Preston Holder in 1956-1957.8 Consequently, in this area as well as some other portions of the park, these older adjusted grant boundaries rather than those shown on the USGS map

⁸ Edwin C. Bearss and Lenard E. Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas, 1804-1863, and Civil War Troop Movement Maps, January 1863" (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, April 1971), pp. 176-178, 208-210.

have been used to calculate the approximate locations of many of APNM's cultural resources.9

Another assumption about the site pertains to two of the maps used to prepare *Exhibit* 4: the 1856 - 1865 Historic Period Plan. This plan depicts detailed topographical information on portions of the Civil War-era site based upon contemporary maps (Maps 28-33), two chronological troop movement maps prepared by NPS historian Bearss (Maps 25 and 26), and the accounts of Union and Confederate troops who fought in the January 10-11, 1863, Battle of Arkansas Post. Many of the historic cultural features depicted on the plan, particularly vegetation patterns and fence lines, were largely determined by plotting the positions of features that battle participants identified in their contemporary and post-Civil War writings. If participants were positioned where the Bearss troop movement maps indicate they were, the locations of these features should be correct. On the other hand, if the Bearss maps erroneously depict Union and

⁹ The discrepancy between the Spanish Land Grant boundaries and the known and projected locations of the Post's cultural resources was first identified by archeologist Patrick E. Martin in his report on the 1971 excavations conducted at the sites of Jacob Bright's trading house and Montgomery's tavern. Martin, after noting inconsistencies in the land grant boundaries on Strode's and other presumably correct NPS maps, prepared a new overlay of the grant boundaries using his own calculations. He superimposed his recalculated land grant overlay on another overlay of the Post's projected nineteenth-century lot boundaries, and superimposed both overlays onto a 1971 topographic map of the site. "In shifting these overlays about," he concluded, "it became apparent that 1) the Spanish Land Grant boundaries corresponded closely to the shape and size of the 19th century lot boundaries, and 2) both of these sets of boundaries corresponded almost perfectly to some of the archeological features identified by Holder." Based on this analysis, Martin believed that the Spanish Land Grant corners on the maps he was using should be shifted "more than 100 feet to the southeast." In contrast, review of the current USGS map indicates the boundaries should possibly be shifted at least 150 feet to the north-northeast. The conclusion, however, is the same – the grant boundaries depicted on many if not all maps are probably incorrect, but when they are shifted they closely correspond to known and projected cultural features at

Confederate units' positions, these features' projected locations could be incorrect.

APNM management specialists, however, have not identified any problems with the maps.¹⁰

The final assumption about the site pertains to vernacular architectural traditions. Between the late eighteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, members of many cultural groups, including the French, Euro-Americans from the Lowland and Upland South, and African-Americans, built fortifications, houses, agricultural structures, and commercial and industrial buildings at Arkansas Post. Surviving and often sketchy descriptions indicate that with the exceptions of the Arkansas State Bank and possibly the French, Spanish, and Confederate fortifications, few, if any, of the Post's major buildings were high-style or "scientifically" inspired structures. Rather, they were vernacular structures that reflected the traditional building vocabularies of the ethnic groups that constructed them. Given this almosttotal predominance of vernacular buildings, it can be assumed that both residences and other major structures at the Post bore the mark of their builders' and owners' various cultural heritages. These traditions influenced the site's entire landscape, including the architecture of subordinate outbuildings, the arrangement of clusters and groups of

APNM. For a complete discussion of Martin's analysis see Martin, pp. 86-87.

¹⁰ Harold L. Reem, Conversations with APNM Management Specialists, APNM, March 1998.

buildings, the patterns of fields and fencelines, and the configuration of the Post's little-known small-scale elements.¹¹

Phase III concluded with the preparation of a draft site history for NPS review and comment. The site history focuses on both the history of the 389.2-acre unit currently administered by the NPS as well as on the history of the immediately adjacent areas. These areas include portions of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French, Spanish, and American Arkansas Post settlements. Previously eroded by the Arkansas River, these adjacent areas are currently inundated by the waters of the navigation pool created by the Arkansas River Navigation System's Lock and Dam Number 2.

Phase IV consisted of preparation of a final site history that incorporated NPS review comments. It also included review of additional secondary materials, an additional telephone interview of Judge Arnold, and a telephone interview of Dr. John House, Arkansas Archeological Survey Station Archeologist at the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff Station. A final site visit was made by an LCA project team member to validate the conclusions in the site history.

¹¹ Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), pp. 13-40; Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp. 33-39, 64-124; D. W. Meinig, Continental America, 1800-1867, Vol. 2 of The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 231-236.

Pre-1673 (Exhibit 1: Pre-1673 Historic Period Plan)

Historic Context

Indians periodically occupied the APNM site and the surrounding area of eastern Arkansas for over 11,000 years before the beginning of extended contact with Europeans in the late seventeenth century. The earliest prehistoric Indian inhabitants, who roamed the area from ca. 9500 B.C. - 8500 B.C., were small bands of nomadic hunters from the Clovis and Folsom Paleo-Indian cultures. These peoples possibly hunted mammoths, mastodons, giant ground sloths, and other now-extinct large mammals throughout Arkansas' mixed deciduous forests and grasslands. These initial inhabitants were succeeded by the Dalton hunting and gathering culture, which lasted for approximately 1,000 years. This culture was characterized by more sophisticated tools and complex social behavior, including semi-permanent camps as well as burials in the first-recorded cemetery in the Americas.

The Dalton period was followed by the Archaic period, which began in ca. 7500 B.C. This period endured for about 7,000 years until the advent of the Woodland period. Major cultural developments during the Archaic period included improved stone and wood tools, especially the atlatl (spear-thrower); possible construction of permanent winter villages with substantial houses; and by the end of the period, the practice of simple agriculture to supplement the fruits of hunting and gathering activities. Crops produced included gourds and squash, which had been introduced from Mexico, and possibly locally-domesticated native plants.

Around 500 B.C. the Archaic period graded into the Woodland period, which lasted for over 1,000 years until ca. A.D. 700. The three salient characteristics of Woodland Indian culture were the use of clay pottery, increased farming activities, and burial mounds. Arkansas Indians probably lived in permanent villages; indigenously developed fired earthen pottery to replace impermanent baskets; expanded horticulture through the introduction of the sunflower and other varieties of squash; and constructed Hopewellian burial mounds to entomb the dead of their increasingly stratified societies.¹²

The final prehistoric Indian society present in the vicinity of APNM was the Mississippian culture. Present in northeastern Arkansas in all its basic facets by the ninth century, the Mississippian culture was characterized by a number of factors that represented technological and political advances. These developments included the dominance of maize-based agriculture, which sparked population growth but caused tooth decay and resulted in an unbalanced diet; the use of flint hoes; the building of dispersed villages of wattle and daub houses on or near good flood plain farming lands; the introduction of the bow and arrow; and the use of shell-tempered pottery. The most conspicuous Mississippian characteristic, however, was construction of flat-topped

¹² Deirdre T. Bevington et al, *National Geographic Society Historical Atlas of the United States*, Revised Edition (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1993), pp. 30-32; Michael B. Dougan, *Arkansas Odyssey: The Saga of Arkansas from Prehistoric Times to Present* (Little Rock, Arkansas: Rose Publishing Company, Inc., Publishers, 1994), pp. 12-15; Dan F. Morse, "On the Possible Origins of the Quapaw in Northeast Arkansas," in Hester A. Davis, ed., *Arkansas Before the Americans* (Fayetteville, Arkansas:

platform mounds where the chiefs and priests of a hierarchical society exercised political and ceremonial authority.

Mississippian culture peaked in both eastern Arkansas and throughout the Mississippi valley in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries before being staggered by a major cultural disruption in ca. A.D. 1400. This disruption, which was characterized by open warfare among nascent Indian states and the concomitant concentration of the population in central fortified towns, may have been precipitated by a number of factors. Among the major mutually-reinforcing suspect causes are resource depletion caused by excessive population growth; climatic change, which resulted in cooler, drier summers and shorter growing seasons that decreased corn production and increased population stresses; and competition among the incipient Mississippian chiefdoms that may have been driven by resource pressures. According to one historian, still another factor contributing to this disruption could have been indigenous Native American epidemic disease. Whatever the genesis of the crisis, however, Arkansas Mississippian society had already sustained a major blow when Hernando De Soto's Spanish entrada entered the state and initiated the first documented contact between Europeans and Native American groups in eastern Arkansas.¹³

Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series No. 40, 1991), pp. 40-42.

¹³Bevington et al, pp. 32-33; Cande, p. 15; Dougan, pp. 15-17; Roger G. Kennedy, *Hidden Cities: The Discovery and Loss of Ancient North American Civilization* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), pp. 19-20; Claudia Gellman Mink, *Cahokia: City of the Sun* (Collinsville, Illinois: Cahokia Mounds Museum Society, 1992), pp. 20-22, 66-67; Morse, pp. 42-43.

De Soto's entrada (1539-1543) – a persistent armed military reconnaissance of the American interior in pursuit of Native American riches – crossed the Mississippi River into Arkansas in June, 1541. For most of the next two years the expedition roamed across Arkansas from Indian town to Indian town in a quest for treasure and food. Although the expedition's route through the state has been and continues to be the subject of debate, the consequences of the march are not.14 De Soto's entrada decimated the populations of the surviving Mississippian Indian towns, as well as other towns it passed through.

The main causes of this demographic cataclysm, which one writer calls "the Great Dying," were not Spanish depredations and confiscation of Indian food supplies, although these factors played their roles. Instead, the Indians of eastern Arkansas were probably the victims of devastating epidemics caused by smallpox and other European diseases that may have killed more than 90% of the population in some villages. The Mississippian elites were most likely to have contact with the Spanish invaders and were probably particularly hard hit by diseases. Cultural disintegration soon teamed with population loss, warfare, and other already-endemic problems to virtually

¹⁴Cande, p. 19; Dougan, pp. 17-22; Morse, pp. 43-49; Ian K. Steele, Warpaths: Invasions of North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 13-16 (source of the term entrada); David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 49-55. John Swanton contended in the Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission (1939) that De Soto's entrada crossed the Mississippi into Arkansas near present-day Helena, Arkansas, and followed a southerly route through the state, while more recently (1985) Charles H. Hudson has argued that the expedition crossed the river further north in the vicinity of present-day Memphis, Tennessee, and

complete the demise of Arkansas' Mississippian civilization. Gerald T. Hanson's map, "Indian Tribes of Arkansas, 1690" (Map 3), illustrates the findings of the French at the time of their arrival in the early 1670s, near the close of the protohistoric period (1500 - 1700). Their observations ended a 130-year silence in the written record, which followed the Spanish arrival in the area. French accounts note that the sparsely-populated eastern Arkansas and APNM vicinity were occupied by the Quapaws—a tribe not readily identified as possessing Mississippian antecedents.¹⁵

Questions of who are the Quapaws and what is their ethnogenesis have vexed historians and archeologists and animated their dialogue. Indeed, perhaps the only points of agreement among scholars place the Quapaw as a branch of the Dhegila Sioux, who lived in villages comprised of long, rectangular, bark-covered lodges, and who combined agriculture with gathering, fishing, and hunting. These activities, especially the all-important buffalo hunting, supplemented their extensive cultivation of corn, beans, squash, and other crops. ¹⁶

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followed a more northerly route through Arkansas. For a discussion of these alternative routes see Dougan, pp. 17-23, 33; and Morse, pp. 43-49.

¹⁵Dougan, p. 22; David H. Dye and Ronald C. Brister, eds., "The Protohistoric Period in the Mid-South, 1500 - 1700: Proceedings of the 1983 Mid-South Archeological Conference" (Jackson, Mississippi: Mississippi Department of History and Archives, 1986), p. xii; Kennedy, pp. 20-22 (source of phrase "the Great Dying"); Morse, pp. 49-51.

¹⁶W. David Baird, *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 7-11.

Beyond this basic information, there are several interpretations. One uses information drawn from historical data, Quapaw architectural and religious practices, and the tribe's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century oral tradition telling of a recent drift downstream. This interpretation concludes that the Quapaws, whom the Iroquois had driven southwest from their original Ohio River valley homeland, were recent arrivals in a nearly-empty eastern Arkansas. Another hypothesis holds that the Quapaws were descended from the collapsed Mississippian chiefdoms of the post-De Soto era – a scenario bolstered by alleged continuity between Mississippian artifacts and pottery found in the so-called Menard complex and supposed Quapaw assemblages.¹⁷ A third scenario – the so-called "shreds and patches" interpretation – contends that the Quapaws were a collection of peoples who originated in northeastern Arkansas. They then migrated south to the Arkansas River valley in the face of Algonquin (Illinois)

17The Menard complex is associated with Arkansas County's Menard site, which was formally renamed the Menard-Hodges site in 1985. Menard-Hodges, recently authorized as a new APNM unit, is located six miles southeast of the memorial. The site of Osotouy – the late eighteenth-century Quapaw village where Henri de Tonti established France's first Arkansas Post settlement (1686-1699) - is encompassed within the Menard-Hodges' boundaries. The site of de Tonti's Post is also within or near the Menard-Hodges unit's limits. According to Dr. John House of the Arkansas Archeological Survey, artifacts found in the Menard complex should chronologically overlap with this French presence at the site. There is no connection between the Menard complex and Osotouy and the "Three Villages of the Arkansas (or Quapaws)" shown on Balthazar de Villiers' plan "Establishment of Arkansas Post at Red Bluffs on 17 March 1779" (Map 6). Harold L. Reem, Oral Telephone Interview of Dr. John House, February 8, 1999.

pressure and reassembled the shattered remains of the mid-sixteenth-century, Siouanspeaking, Mississippian cultures.¹⁸

This debate is not likely to be resolved in the near future. As Kathleen H. Cande of the Arkansas Archeological Survey cogently states, "It seems that as more archeological and historical data on the seventeenth century Quapaw villages are gathered and interpreted, the less that is certain about them." Nevertheless, she concludes, "additional archeological research at the Menard-Hodges and nearby sites has the potential to address these questions with fresh insights." 19

Site Chronology

Geomorphology and Vegetation Patterns

APNM's evolving geomorphology has been a critical determining factor in the site's history and development. The site is located at the far southeastern end of the Grand Prairie ridge or terrace. The prairie appears on the Arkansas Archeological Survey's recent map of the Lower Mississippi River Valley (Map 1). It is depicted as a broad plain—between 4 and 20 miles in width—and lying between the courses of the

¹⁸For various aspects of the ongoing academic debate on Quapaw ethnogenesis see: Baird, pp. 3- 20 (the most thorough summary of the scenario that the Quapaws were recent arrivals from the Ohio River Valley); Cande, pp. 15-16, 23-24; Michael P. Hoffman, "The Protohistoric Period in the Lower and Central Arkansas River Valley in Arkansas," in Dye and Brister, pp. 24-34; Michael P. Hoffman, "Quapaw Structures, 1673-1834, and Their Comparative Significance," in Davis, pp. 55-68; John H. House, "The Mississippian Sequence in the Menard Locality, Eastern Arkansas," in Davis, pp. 6-9; Marvin D. Jeter, "Tunicans West of the Mississippi: A Summary of Early Historical and Archeological Evidence," in Brister and Dye, pp. 38-58; Morse, pp. 53-54.

Arkansas and White rivers, approximately 10 to 25 feet above these streams' bordering lowlands.²⁰ The plain is comprised of clays and silty clays deposited by the Arkansas River between 80,000 and 100,000 years ago. It is subject to erosion along its edges, particularly at locations like Arkansas Post where the force of the Arkansas River has actively diminished its southeastern margin.

Although the Arkansas River formed the Grand Prairie, the river has occupied its present meander belt at the prairie's southern edge for only about 1,000 years since the early part of the Native American Mississippian period. Prior to that time, the river was located to the southwest of its current location for several millenia. Within the portion of the present meander belt that lies adjacent to Arkansas Post, moreover, the river's exact course and meanders can be reconstructed for only about 220 years based upon site plans, survey maps, and historical accounts (Exhibit 8). Nevertheless, despite the continuous meandering of the river, the characteristics making the Grand Prairie's southeastern bluffs at APNM an attractive location for human habitation for several thousand years have survived unchanged. The site still lies above the frequentlyflooded Arkansas River lowlands. In the thousand years since the river has followed its

¹⁹Cande, p. 24.

²⁰These 25-foot bluffs delineating the site's eastern and southwestern boundaries are no longer a readilyvisible feature of APNM's landscape. Since the lowlands bordering the memorial were flooded by the navigation pool created by the Arkansas River Navigation System's Lock and Dam Number 2 in 1956, the bluffs have lost both their original prominence and part of their original form.

approximate present course, the site has remained the first high ground encountered when ascending the Arkansas from the Mississippi River.²¹

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries during the final phase of exclusive Indian habitation, two vegetation patterns dominated APNM and the immediate surrounding area. There were forested areas along the margins of the Arkansas River and its tributaries and open grassland on the Grand Prairie to the north of the site. The wooded areas, which encompassed all or most of APNM's acreage, were largely lowland deciduous forest (Exhibit 1). The United States General Land Office (GLO) surveyors made notes on the lowland deciduous forest in the townships surrounding Arkansas Post and its adjacent Spanish land grants. Since they were surveying during the first decades of the early nineteenth century, conditions at the site were not significantly different from those found during the late pre-contact period. According to these notes, the forest contained almost forty species of deciduous trees, including the ash, black oak, cottonwood, cypress, elm, maple, post oak, red oak, sycamore, and white oak. Common woodland shrubs and undergrowth species

²¹The geomorphology of APNM is discussed in various archeological reports on the site. See: Cande, pp. 1-4; Preston Holder, "Archeological Field Research on the Problems of the Locations of Arkansas Post, 1686-1804" (Richmond, Virginia: The National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Region One, September 15, 1957), pp. 2-3; Martin, p. 1; John W. Walker, "Excavation of the Arkansas Post Branch of the Bank of the State of Arkansas" (United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, Division of Archeology, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 1971), p. 1; William A. Westbury, "Archeological Assessment of Arkansas Post" (Southern Methodist University Archeology Research Program - Research Report 96, 1976), pp. 3-4; William A. Westbury, "Investigations at Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas" (National Park Service Archeology Research Program, November 1975), pp. 4-5.

included greenbriers, giant cane, locust vines, sumac bushes, privey vines, black willows, and oak, hickory, and pecan shrubs. Big bluestem, broomsedge, and other tallgrasses dominated the treeless grassland of the Grand Prairie.²²

These forested and prairie areas were home to a broad range of wildlife species, many of which could be found in both ecosystems. Large mammal game and fur-bearing species included substantial numbers of deer, numerous black bears and buffalo, and occasional elk. Small mammal game and fur-bearing species consisted of squirrels, cottontail and swamp rabbits, raccoons, opossums, beaver, river otter, mink, and muskrat. Panthers, bobcats, red and gray foxes, red wolves, and coyote made up the feline and canine predator population. In addition to these numerous mammalian species, birds, fish, and reptiles abounded. Waterfowls included swans, cranes, and ducks, while turkeys, passenger pigeons, and other game birds were found in the uplands. The river, its tributaries, and their bordering swamps were home to giant catfish, gars, and a large number of turtle species. Alligators, which are common at APNM and the surrounding area today, are not mentioned in GLO surveyors' and other early European and Euro-American observers' narratives. However, alligator

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²²Cande, pp. 4, 10-11; Westbury (1975), pp. 5-6. According to Judge Morris S. Arnold, there are no field notes describing Arkansas Post's Spanish land grants that are similar to those available for United States General Land Office Surveys. The judge states, however, that some information on the types of vegetation found on the Post's late eighteenth- and early nineteenth century Spanish grants may possibly be contained in a book titled *Spanish Land Grants* located in the Land Commissioner's Office at the Arkansas Capitol Building in Little Rock. Harold L. Reem, Oral Telephone Interview of Judge Morris S. Arnold, February 5, 1999.

teeth and bones have been uncovered in recent archeological investigations, suggesting that they were present during at least a portion of the site's history.²³

Historic Background and Indian Artifacts

Although APNM's topography and wealth of natural resources made the site a prime location for human habitation, little is known about the prehistoric occupants of the site. No Indian village sites or structural traces from the early Quapaw era or any other period have been identified, and only a relatively small collection of Native American artifacts have been found. Nevertheless, this dearth of evidence does not necessarily mean that the location was largely unoccupied. Rather, it may be a result of relatively limited extent of archeological investigations as well as the likelihood that natural forces have removed many artifacts and structural remains from the site. Periodic flooding and the continuing shifts in the course of the meandering Arkansas River have obliterated large parts of the European colonial, early Euro-American, Civil War-era, and late nineteenth century Arkansas Post settlements. The River may have also eroded away remains typical of riverfront village sites.

The scant handful of Indian artifacts that have been collected offer some brief insights into APNM's prehistoric past. They indicate that Native Americans at least periodically

²³Cande, pp. 4, 10-12; Westbury (1975), p. 6.

used the site for hunting, gathering and possibly other activities for thousands of years. The materials are associated with several Indian cultures ranging from the Dalton or Archaic through the late Mississippian and early Quapaw periods, and span an almost 10,000-year interval (ca. 8,000 B.C. - ca. A.D. 1700).²⁵

The Mississippian connection is particularly tantalizing. Virtually all scholarly accounts of the De Soto *entrada* concur that the expedition probably passed through the Arkansas Post vicinity and the neighboring Mississippian town at the Menard-Hodges site. The accounts, however, disagree on the date of De Soto's passage and the events that occurred. According to John R. Swanton and the U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission, who posit a southerly route through Arkansas for the *entrada*, Menard-Hodges was the large town of Quiguate visited by De Soto in August 1541. Charles Hudson and other scholars who believe that the expedition took a more northerly route offer a different explanation. They identify Menard-Hodges as the site of the town of Anilco whose inhabitants were slaughtered by the Spanish and their Indian allies in April, 1542. Nevertheless, regardless of which interpretation is correct, neither the events at

²⁴The presence of a mound just west of the park, identified in recent archeological surveys, increases the likelihood that there may exist Native American archeological resources of which we are currently unaware. Reem, Harold L. Oral Telephone Interview of Dr. John House, Station Archeologist, University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff Station, Arkansas Archeological Survey, February 8, 1999. ²⁵Westbury (1975), p. 6.

Menard-Hodges nor the Mississippian and other prehistoric artifact collections found there have been directly linked to developments at the APNM site.²⁶

Period Summary

APNM's topography and wealth of natural resources have made the site a prime location for human habitation for thousands of years. The site lies above the frequently-flooded Arkansas River lowlands, and it is the first high ground encountered when ascending the Arkansas from the Mississippi River. No prehistoric Indian village sites or structural traces have been identified at APNM. However, Native Americans from several cultures ranging from the Dalton or Archaic through the late Mississippian and early Quapaw periods periodically used the site for hunting, gathering and possibly other activities for almost 10,000 years. The relative dearth of Indian cultural materials may be attributed to the relatively limited extent of archeological investigations and the likelihood that periodic flooding and the shifting course of the Arkansas River have eroded away many artifacts and structural remains.

²⁶Cande, pp. 19, 49-59; House, pp. 8-9; Morse, pp. 43-49; Westbury (1975), pp. 6-7.

1673 - 1803 (Exhibit 2: 1673 - 1803 Historic Period Plan)

Historic Context

Arkansas Post's prehistoric period ended in July, 1673, when French explorers Louis Joliet and Father Jaques Marquette entered the area. They encountered the Quapaws, who were living in the village of Akansea (Arkansas), and three other settlements near the mouth of the Arkansas River (Map 2). The French explorers, who were voyaging down the Mississippi from Canada, were searching for the Pacific Ocean, an interior North American fur-trading empire, and souls. Although Marquette and Joliet did not find the Pacific, they learned that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, and in concert with the St. Lawrence River, formed a virtually all-water route from Quebec to the Gulf. Marquette's and Joliet's discovery spurred Robert Cavalier de La Salle, Henri de Tonti, and thousands of other French explorers, traders and settlers to develop Louisiana. The area came to be an immense, loosely-organized province that extended along the Mississippi and its tributaries from New Orleans to the western Great Lakes. The French traded with the region's Indian tribes from Saint Genevieve, Kaskaskia, Arkansas Post, Ouachita Post, and other Louisiana frontier settlements shown in Arnold's "Map of the Arkansas Region in Colonial Times" (Map 4). In concert with the

Quapaws and other Native American allies, the French contested with their Spanish and English imperial rivals for control of the North American interior.²⁷

French political dominance in Louisiana ended in 1763 when France, which was losing the Seven Years' War (The French and Indian War, 1756-1763) to Britain, ceded the western part of province, including APNM, to her then-ally Spain. The cession compensated the Spanish for the loss of Florida and jettisoned a strategic and financial liability since the Louisiana colony routinely lost money. Despite the fact that Louisiana promised to remain a fiscal burden, Spain accepted the cession for strategic reasons. For the next four decades, the Spanish attempted to transform the province into a buffer to counter British and later Euro-American threats to New Spain. Spanish techniques for exercising imperial control remained virtually identical to those used by the French. These techniques included construction of military outposts at Arkansas Post and other sites, cultivation of trade and alliances with the region's Indian tribes, and participation in great power conflicts, including the North American and European war spawned by the American Revolution.

²⁷For discussions of French colonial rule in Louisiana see Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 3-23, 53-107, 125-141, 171; Baird, pp. 21-40; Cande, pp. 15-21; Roger E. Coleman, *The Arkansas Post Story: Arkansas Post National Memorial* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Division of History, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Southwest Region, National Park Service Department of the Interior, Professional Papers No. 12, 1987), pp. 3-46; D. W. Meinig, *Atlantic America*, 1492-1800, Vol. 1 of *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 194-202, 208-211, 224.

The colony prospered under Spanish rule, but despite its best efforts Spain's control of Louisiana was in many respects superficial. The province's European population remained largely French in ethnicity and culture. French merchants and traders continued to dominate Louisiana's economy. Even the colonial government's leavening of Spanish officialdom included many former French officers who had enlisted in Spanish service. Moreover, Louisiana continued to cost more than it generated in revenues. By the 1790s Spain faced a fresh challenge—the aggressive expansionism of the newly created United States.

Consequently, Spain retroceded Louisiana to resurgent Napoleonic France in the 1800

Treaty of San Idelfonso in the hope that the French would serve as a barrier between the Euro-Americans and the rich provinces of northern Mexico. However, Napoleon's dream of a new American colonial empire perished in the Haitian slave rebellion.

Three years later in 1803 France sold and transferred Louisiana to the United States.²⁸

Site Chronology

Geomorphology

As was the case during the prehistoric era, Arkansas Post's geomorphology determined its development during the Spanish and French colonial period. The site's resources

and location on the first high ground above the Arkansas River flood plain continued to make it a prime location for human habitation. During this period, moreover, the river assumed the rough meander configuration it would occupy until 1912. By the mideighteenth century the river, which flowed northward out of a probable bend to the south of the site, formed an oxbow or horseshoe to the east-southeast of the present-day memorial.

In 1779, based upon calculations derived from Spanish Captain Balthazar de Villiers' plan (Map 6) and archeological and historical information, the river was about 690 feet (106 French *toises* – one *toise* equals about six-and-a-half English feet) wide opposite the Post. Its western bank was located approximately 260 feet east of the southeastern tip of APNM's boundary (Exhibit 2).²⁹ The shoreline's position, however, did not remain constant. For the last twenty-five years of the colonial period, the western bank of the river continued to migrate to the west-northwest. This movement was caused by the

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²⁸For discussions of Spanish colonial rule in Louisiana see Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 23- 24, 108-112,115-124, 141-170, 173-176; Baird, pp. 39-51; Coleman, pp. 46-76; Meinig, *Atlantic America*, pp. 282-283, 288, 334, 337-338, 416-417, 424-425; M. Carmen Gonzalez Lopez-Briones, "Spain in the Mississippi Valley, Spanish Arkansas, 1762-1804" (Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, May 1983), pp. vi-vii, 4-19, 238-273; Weber, pp. 198-203, 266-267, 279-280, 290-292, 337-339.

²⁹De Villiers' scaled plan, "Etablissement du Poste des Akansas aux Ecores Rouges de 17 Mars 1779" ("Establishment of Arkansas Post at Red Bluffs on March 17, 1779"), provides a wealth of information about late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Arkansas Post. The map, its scale, and its probable correlation with known features on APNM's landscape are analyzed in detail below in the section of this history discussing Fort San Carlos III, Fort San Esteban and the Post of Arkansas Settlement between 1779 and 1803.

energy of the fast-moving water on the outside of the oxbow meander curve constantly eroding the bluffs at the Grand Prairie's southeastern extremity.³⁰

Historic Background

In 1686 Henri de Tonti, a French officer in La Salle's expedition, established the first Arkansas Post settlement on the Little Prairie in present-day Arkansas County. The Post was located near Osotouy, a Quapaw village located at the Menard-Hodges site about 35 miles above the mouth the Arkansas River. The Post was one of the first European settlements in Louisiana, and for most of the next 115 years it served as an outpost of French and Spanish colonial rule on the Arkansas. During this time, however, Arkansas Post consisted of several successive settlements located at three different locations that were determined by the necessities of geography and changing economic, political, and military requirements (Map 5). From 1686 to 1699 the Post was located on the Little Prairie – a site originally selected for economic reasons because of the promise of trade with the neighboring Quapaws. In 1721, more than two decades after the French abandoned this first Post, John Law reestablished the Post near the site of de Tonti's 1686 trading settlement. The Post remained at this location on the Little Prairie until 1749 when First Ensign Louis-Xavier-Martin Delino de Chalmette relocated the settlement, which had been attacked and partially destroyed by the English-allied

³⁰Holder, p. 6. The river's continuing west-northwesterly migration between 1779 and 1903 is documented in detail in both the narrative portion of this study and in the accompanying maps and historic period plans.

Chickasaws. The new site was upstream on the high ground at *Ecores Rouges* (Red Bluffs) at the present-day APNM site. As a result of the relocation, the French were closer to what were then the major villages of their Quapaw allies.

Seven years later in 1756 the Post was moved again, this time downstream to a site about 10 miles above the mouth of the Arkansas. This location nearer to the Mississippi made it a more convenient *entrepot* for river convoys travelling between the Illinois Country and New Orleans. Presumably, it also offered strategic advantages during the Seven Years War. The Post built at this location, however, flooded every year. Therefore, in 1779 Captain de Villiers moved the Post, which was by then a Spanish outpost, back upstream to the APNM *Ecores Rouges* site where it has remained ever since.³¹

Although Arkansas Post performed duty as a French and Spanish commercial and military outpost on the Arkansas for more than a century, the settlement's existence was extremely tenuous until the late eighteenth century. As Morris S. Arnold states, during "the period of French domination, and well into the Spanish epoch as well, the tenacious little Post community barely managed to survive the Indian attacks, floods,

³¹Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 5-24, 177; Morris S. Arnold, "The Relocation of Arkansas Post to Ecores Rouges in 1779," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Winter 1933), pp. 317 - 331; Morris S. Arnold, *Unequal Laws Unto a Savage Race: European Legal Traditions in Arkansas*, 1686-1836 (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1985), Appendix II, "The Locations of Arkansas Post, 1686-1985," pp. 212-217; Cande, pp. 24-32; Coleman, pp. 12-14, 19-23, 33-49, 59-60, 141-148. This Post came to be known later as "Fort Desha." Colonel Desha was an early nineteenth century settler.

famines, and epidemics that constantly threatened its existence."³² The Post served its strategic roles of guarding the route to Santa Fe and preserving the critical French and Spanish alliance with the Quapaws. Its population, however, never numbered more than about 125 through the mid-1770s; the settlement did not begin to prosper until after its final move to *Ecores Rouges* in 1779.

Indeed, the survival of the Post continued to be uncertain throughout the Revolution. A joint British Loyalist-Chickasaw force attacked the Post unsuccessfully in the April, 1783, Colbert Raid, one of the final battles of the American Revolution and one of two engagements fought west of the Mississippi. The population of the Post did not begin to increase significantly until the late 1780s. Between 1788 and 1798, the date of the final Spanish census before the Post's March, 1804, transfer to the United States, the population jumped by more than 300% from 119 to 393 residents. The increased population, moreover, was a multiethnic and multi-class mixture comprised of large numbers of French hunters, traders, and merchants, many of whom had Indian wives; several French officers and their European families; a few Spaniards, German farmers, and Americans; and a significant number (56) of free and enslaved blacks. These residents, many of whom were of mixed blood, together with the neighboring Quapaws, formed a society where French values predominated. However, their society

³²Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, p. 171.

also contained significant elements of a cosmopolitan multicultural "middle ground" where various vernacular cultures mingled and mixed on an equal basis.

This late eighteenth-century vitality, however, was at least partially undermined by the Post's perennial Achilles heel—the weakness of its agricultural sector. Despite numerous Spanish land grants to farmers and other residents, the Post never produced enough wheat and corn to feed itself, and imported flour from the Illinois country and Natchez to meet its needs.³³ John B. Treat, the American government factor at the Arkansas Post fur trading house, wrote in 1805 that although the Post's land was fertile, "agriculture here is yet in its infancy." He described the fields as having "been

³³The Spanish colonial government made numerous land grants at *Ecores Rouges* between the early 1780s and early 1800s. Most grants, which encompassed former Indian lands, were made to attract permanent European settlers, particularly farmers, to Arkansas Post. The Post's commandants, however, received lands in return for service. Few, if any, of these grants were confirmed during Spain's tenure. After the United States assumed control of the Post, the previous Spanish grants were adjudicated, confirmed, and surveyed between 1812 and 1820. For a discussion of Spanish land grant regulations and procedures, see Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 161-168; and Harold L. Reem, Oral Telephone Interview of Judge Morris S. Arnold, February 5, 1999.

constantly sown with the same kind of grain, only half cultivated, and never to have received any kind of manure."34

The Post's late eighteenth-century growth was accompanied by the decline of the neighboring Quapaws. The Quapaws population has been variously estimated at between 2,500 to 3,500 and 6,000 to 15,000 in the early 1680s. In the 1700, the Quapaws allied with the French and later the Spanish to obtain firearms and military support to fight their traditional enemies – the Osages and the English-allied Chickasaws. They cleaved to this allegiance for more than a century, but by the 1790s the tribe was a numerically and culturally decimated ghost of its former self. The tribe's population was reduced to some 700 in the late 1700s as a result of casualties incurred while serving as French auxiliaries in colonial wars, the large number of Quapaw women lost to whites as wives, and especially smallpox and other fatal European epidemic diseases.

³⁴Arkansas Post's late eighteenth-century development is discussed in detail in a number of sources. The most comprehensive account is Morris S. Arnold's Colonial Arkansas, especially pp. 53-124, 171-181 (the quote from John B. Treat is on p. 61). Other sources discussing various aspects of the Post's history during this period include Edwin C. Bearss, Special History Report: The Colbert Raid, Arkansas Post National Memorial (Denver, Colorado: Denver Service Center, Historic Preservation Team, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, November 1974), entire report; Coleman, pp. 3-75; Gilbert Din, "Arkansas Post in the American Revolution," Arkansas Historical Quarterly 39 (Spring 1981), pp. 3-30; Gilbert Din, "Spanish Fort on the Arkansas, 1763-1803," Arkansas Historical Quarterly 42 (Autumn 1983), pp. 271-293; Dougan, pp. 35-51; Stanley Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: French Domination, The Louisiana Historical Quarterly 26, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 633-721; Stanley Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly 27, No. 3 (July 1944), pp. 629-716; Gonzalez L. B., pp. 50-273; and Ray H. Mattison, "Report on the Historical Investigations of Arkansas Post, Arkansas" (Omaha, Nebraska: National Park Service, Region Two, September 25, 1957), pp. 1-73. The term and concept "middle ground" is taken from Richard White's The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), which discusses the formation and demise of a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French-Indian multicultural society in the Great Lakes area.

Similarly, the partial abandonment of agriculture in favor of hunting to obtain European-produced goods, the simultaneous loss of many indigenous craft skills, and the socially-disruptive effects of alcohol gutted many facets of traditional Quapaw culture.³⁵

De La Houssaye's Fort at "Ecores Rouge" and Arkansas Post, 1749 - 1756 With the possible exception of ephemeral Indian settlements or European structures, whose remains have been eroded away or remain unfound, the first structures built at the APNM site were the work of the French. Under the command of Lieutenant Pierre Augustin Le Pelletier de La Houssaye, a fort was constructed at *Ecores Rouges*. De La Houssaye, who succeeded Delino de Chalmette as Post commandant in 1751, probably began construction of the work in the autumn of that year and supervised its construction over the next several months or years. The location of the fort is not known. Archeologist Preston Holder believed that the "trench complex" (Maps 42 and 45) uncovered during his 1956-1957 excavations in the extreme southeastern portion of present-day APNM was related to the fort. In fact he believed that the trenches were not only "the remains of de La Houssaye's French fort of 1752-1755 [sic]," but also quite likely those of the "Spanish fort San Carlos III of the early 1780s." Nevertheless, subsequent analysis, which has benefited from more recent study of French colonial vernacular architecture, has interpreted the trenches more convincingly as the

³⁵Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 98-124, 177; Baird, pp. 21-51; Dougan, pp. 28-29.

"remnants of palisade-type fences outlining lots" dating from the late eighteenthcentury period of Spanish occupation.³⁷ It is possible that the remains of the fort exist in a part of the APNM that has not been excavated. A detailed March, 1755, description of the fort certified and probably prepared by Bernard Deverges, the chief engineer in Louisiana, indicates that the works were of substantial size and made a significant imprint on the Post's landscape. However, it is likely that the fort was located relatively close to the edge of the Arkansas River bluffs, as were its three successors at APNM (Forts San Carlos III, San Esteban (Fort Madison), and Hindman). In this case, the site has probably eroded away and will never be found.³⁸

Historic Land Use and Site Arrangement

The first major change to the Post's landscape would have involved clearing a site for the works on the Grand Prairie bluffs. The fort was sizable; it enclosed a tract of one arpent (approximately 0.85 acres). As a result, the cleared area would have been correspondingly large. It would have encompassed not only the ground occupied by

³⁶Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, p. 32; Holder, pp. 23-25 (source of quotations).

³⁷Martin, p. 87 (source of quotation "remnants of palisade-type fences"); Westbury, "Archeological Assessment of Arkansas Post," p. 51.

³⁸A translation of this document, which is contained in the "Fort Papers" file at the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis, is included as Appendix A in Mattison, pp. 99-113. Arnold notes, however, that this translation "is not entirely reliable." The translation, moreover, does not identify Deverges by name, and states only that "I, the undersigned, Chief engineer in Louisiana, certifies genuine this present estimate of the work of the fort and buildings which have been made fifteen leagues from the Arkansas River [sic], but Mr. Delahaussaye." Deverges is identified as French Louisiana's engineer-in-chief (1751-1762?) by Samuel Wilson, Jr., in his study of French colonial military architecture in the Mississippi River Valley. See Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, pp. 190-191, Note 34; and Samuel Wilson, Jr., "Colonial Fortifications and Military Architecture in the Mississippi Valley," in John Francis McDermott, ed., The French in the Mississippi Valley (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 118-122.x

the fort, but also the surrounding terrain within several tens or hundreds of yards to provide the defending garrison with unobstructed fields of fire.³⁹ A large portion of the harvested timber from the cleared area presumably would have been used to build the fort's stockade, bastions, and buildings.

Historic Buildings and Associated Features

Arnold describes de La Houssaye's fort as "the most elaborate military structure" built in Arkansas during its colonial period. The walls, which formed a square about 30 toises (195 feet) on a side, were constructed of two rows of overlapping stakes set in a backfilled three-foot-deep trench. The outer row of stakes stood eleven feet above ground level, and the inner row five feet above ground level. Three of the fort's four corners were protected by log or timber bastions that mounted cannon, and two of these bastions supported sentry boxes constructed of tar-covered planks. A log, possibly lunette-shaped, outwork stood in front of the entrance gate. Indeed, as one historian notes, all of France's Mississippi Valley forts "from the simplest stockade to the greatest fortresses and fortified towns," reflected the military engineering genius of Marshal Sebatien de Prestre Vauban and his French army corps of engineers. The early 1750s works at Arkansas Post were no exception to this rule.

³⁹Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, p. 36 (source of information on the area enclosed by the fort).

⁴⁰Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, p. 32.

There were seven buildings inside the fort's walls, three of which were a combination commandant's quarters and chapel (a 72- by 17-foot four-room structure with two bedrooms, a hall, and chapel); a combination officers' and soldiers' quarters (a 96-by 17-foot structure that included two separate officers' bedrooms); and a combination hospital/storehouse (a 64- by 18-foot structure that contained spaces for the interpreter, the storekeeper, the supply storehouse, and the hospital). These three buildings were of vernacular, poteaux en terre, post-in-the-ground construction (vertical posts set in a trench with their tops tied together on wall plates supporting the roof's rafters). The interstices between the posts were filled with bousillage – a mixture of mud, lime, and Spanish moss. The basic construction technique was derived from traditional French colombage (half-timber) framing, but the bousillage nogging was borrowed from the Native American building vocabulary, and perhaps reflected a continuation of Mississippian construction technology. Other features of the three buildings included plank floors, shuttered windows, mud or clay fireplaces constructed of a wood-framed dirt and straw mixture (bousillage?), and steeply-pitched gable roofs covered with tarred clapboard or staves. There are no indications that the structures had either hipped roofs

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₄₁Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, p. 32; "Description of Arkansas Post Constructed 1751-1755," Appendix A to Mattison, pp. 99-100.

⁴²Wilson, pp. 103-104.

or galleries – two subsequent signature features of French Louisianan and Arkansan colonial vernacular architecture.⁴³

The four other structures enclosed by the fort's stockade included a bakehouse, a powder magazine, a jail, and a latrine. The 18- by 16-foot bakehouse was a plank- or stave-covered, probably gable-roofed, *poteaux en terre* structure with a dirt floor and a mud oven covered by an exterior, bark, lean-to shed. The powder magazine was surrounded by a seven-foot high, palisade fence. It was an eight-and-a-half feet square structure of vernacular, *pieux en terre*, stake-in-the-ground construction (vertical stakes set in a trench with their tops tied together on wall plates supporting the roof's rafters). Its floor was made of heavy timbers covered with three inches of dirt and a layer of bark. The 8- by 7-foot, dirt-floored prison, located under a cannon platform in one of the three corner bastions, was constructed of strong, heavy stakes. The dirt-floored, 9-by 5-foot latrine was covered with bark and surrounded by a stake enclosure. The Louisiana chief engineer's description of the Post does not mention a well, cistern, or other source of water located inside its walls, although the fort may have had one.⁴⁴

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⁴³Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 32-36; Jay D. Edwards, *Louisiana's Remarkable French Vernacular Architecture*, 1700-1900 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: The Fred B. Kniffen Cultural Resources Laboratory, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, 1988), pp. 2-7; "Description of Arkansas Post Constructed 1751-1755," Appendix A to Mattison, pp. 100-108; Charles E. Peterson, "The Houses of French St. Louis," in McDermott, pp. 19-24, 26-29.

⁴⁴Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, p. 36; Edwards, p. 3; "Description of Arkansas Post Constructed 1751-1755, Appendix A to Mattison, pp. 109-112.

This fortification and its interior buildings, which Arnold describes as "provincial military Spartan," were possibly not the only cultural features on the site.⁴⁵ The cleared area and forests surrounding the fort may have been dotted with additional structures, including temporary Quapaw dwellings as well as a few French-style houses and

outbuildings. Other features probably included gardens, fences, and paths.

Amazingly, Arnold states, the Quapaws may have left a "relatively realistic" picture of the styles of French vernacular buildings found at the mid eighteenth-century Post. In Paris' *Musee de l'Homme* (Museum of Man) there is a painted Quapaw buffalo hide that depicts, among its myriad of details, four French buildings at Arkansas Post (Figures 1 and 2). The four buildings shown are almost certainly those comprising the lightly fortified Post located on the Little Prairie in the 1730s and 1740s. However, Arnold notes the slight possibility that "the skin deals with a time after 1748, when, on account of flooding, the Quapaws moved their villages above the fort to *Ecores Rouges*."

Regardless of the date the hide was painted, however, it provides an excellent snapshot of early French colonial building practices in Arkansas. The gable-roofed building on the left in the detail from the skin (Figure 2) distinctly shows the vertical log *poteaux en terre* and *bousillage* construction found in the commandant's quarters and other major structures at de La Houssaye's fort. Architectural features depicted in the other steeply-

⁴⁵Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, p. 36.

gabled structures include a chimney and the apparent use of *colombage* half-timber framing.⁴⁶

Fort San Carlos III, Fort San Esteban and Arkansas Post, 1779 - 1803 After abandoning de La Houssaye's fort in 1756, Europeans did not permanently reoccupy the Ecores Rouges site until 1779.47 In that year Captain Balthazar de Villiers, a French officer in Spanish service, moved the Post back upstream to the *Ecores Rouges* high ground to escape the annual flooding at "Fort Desha," which was built on the Arkansas River lowlands. De Villiers began construction of this new Post in early 1779, and over the next quarter century it developed into the growing multicultural frontier settlement transferred to the Americans in March 1804. Unlike the site of de La Houssaye's fort, the remains of a portion of this settlement, including two forts and a number of houses, have been found. They were excavated during Preston Holder's aforementioned 1956-1957 archeological excavations in the extreme southeastern portion of present-day APNM. The challenge is to interpret correctly what these remains represent, and to locate the buildings, structures, and other elements of the late eighteenth-century settlement with respect to known cultural features on the presentday APNM landscape.

⁴⁶Morris S. Arnold, "Eighteenth Century Arkansas Illustrated," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1994), pp. 119-136 (source of all quotations); Cande, p. 21; George P. Horse Capture et al, *Robes of Splendor: Native American Painted Buffalo Hides* (New York: The New Press, 1993), pp. 11, 28, 54-57, 136-137.

⁴⁷Some accounts note a hunting village that stood on or near the site for some years between 1756 and 1779. See Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," p. 688.

Historic Land Use and Site Arrangement

As was the case with the 1751 fort, de Villiers' first step in laying out the 1779 Post at *Ecores Rouges* would have been clearing a site for the fort and settlement. Assuming the location of de La Houssaye's Post had not eroded into the Arkansas River, de Villiers might have incorporated the previously-occupied area, which would probably have been covered with low second-growth trees and shrubs, into the plan of the new Post. If he did, it would have been encompassed by the approximately 300 by 400 yard cleared area on the far southeast corner of the Grand Prairie bluffs where he built the new settlement. This tract, which is shown on his 1779, scaled map of the site (Map 6), was most likely bordered by partially-cleared woodland near the edge of the prairie on the west and north. Northeast of the settlement several small creeks carved gullies as they flowed into the Arkansas River – a harbinger of future erosion. To the south were the periodically flooded Arkansas River lowlands (*Pais bas Inonde aux Eaux hautes* lowlands flooded during high water) along the larger tributary known in the future as Post Bayou (bayou etendent des Prairies – bayou extending from the prairies). To the east across the 690-foot-wide river (*Lackancas es a 106 toises de longues devant le fort* — the Arkansas is 106 toises [690 feet] wide in front of the fort) stood the forested terrain on the interior of the stream's continually migrating horseshoe bend.

De Villiers laid out the settlement along two approximately 40-feet-wide *Rues* (streets) platted in an "X" or cross in roughly the center of the cleared area (Exhibits 2-1 and 2-2). These two streets, as Arnold has speculated, probably closely or even exactly

correspond to Main and Front streets in the early nineteenth-century American Post. The future Main Street was the northwest-to-southeast *Rue*, and the future Front Street was the southwest-to-northeast *Rue*. The southwestern, northwestern, and northeastern quadrants of the "X" formed by the streets were divided into long residential lots (Exhibit 2-3) approximately 65 feet wide and 350-450 deep. A rhombus-shaped tract in the southeastern quadrant was reserved for a fort (*Emplacemt du fort*—site of the fort) with sloping glacises (*Glacis* is a slope that runs downward from a fortification) on its most vulnerable northeastern and northwestern sides.

Multiple pieces of evidence support this interpretation and reinforce each other as well. First, the streets form a 105-degree obtuse angle where they intersect at the northeastern corner of the southwestern quadrant on de Villiers' plan. This is the same angle formed by Main and Front streets at the point of their intersection. They intersect at the northeastern corner of an 1821 Arkansas Post lot sold by Alexis Jordelas and mapped in a plat in the Arkansas County deed books (Map 21). This tract is respectively depicted as Lot XV/XVI/XVII and Lot 6A/B/C on Bearss' and Walker's provisional plans of the ca. 1818-1840 American Post (Maps 14 and 15).⁴⁹ It is highly unlikely that the congruence of these two features is coincidental, especially when other evidence is considered, including Main and Front streets' orientations and locations on the site's landscape, and Spanish land grant boundaries.

⁴⁸Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, p. 41.

The western portion of the northwest-to-southeast *Rue* on de Villiers' map ran south 57 degrees east along a line between 300 and 400 feet to the northeast of the southwestern bluff line. Main Street followed an identical or virtually identical compass course as documented in three places: an 1818 plat of two lots sold by James Scull [(Lots VII and VIII on Bearss' plan and Lots 4 and 7 on Walker's plan) (Maps 14 and 15)]; the Jordelas lot plan (Map 21); and the 1840 plat of the Arkansas Post State Bank lot [(lot XIX on Bearss' plan and Lot 27B on Walker's plan) (Map 22)]. Furthermore, Main Street's trace, as shown on both Bearss' and Walker's provisional site plans, was located between 300 and 400 feet northeast of the southwestern bluff line in almost the same position as de Villiers' *Rue*. This continuous, two-centuries-long coincidence of landscape features seems to indicate that de Villiers' Rue and Main Street were one and the same. Moreover, it also provides hard evidence supporting the methodological assumption that the bluffs on the southwest side of the Post, which were not subjected to active river forces, have eroded very little in the last 200 years.

⁴⁹Bearss and Brown, pp. 204-206; Walker, pp. 209-210.

⁵⁰Bearss and Brown, pp. 188-190, 204-214; Walker, pp. 208-210, 219-220. The narrative description of the 1821 Jordelas lot contained on p. 204 of Bearss and Brown states that the northern boundary of the 1821 Jordelas lot ran north 27 degrees west rather than north 57 degrees west. This is a probable erroneous transcription of the lot description on pp. 249-250 and 439 of Arkansas County Deed Book B. The northern boundary shown on the lot plat runs north 57 degrees west and is parallel to the southern boundary, which runs south 57 degrees east in both the description and on the lot plat.

Similar evidence correlates early nineteenth-century Front Street with de Villiers' southwest-to-northeast *Rue*. On de Villiers' map this *Rue* ran north 18 degrees east—the same compass course followed by the south part of Front Street as depicted in the 1821 Jordelas lot plan (Map 21). This course is only slightly different from the route of Front Street shown on the 1818 plat of the two lots sold by James Scull (Map 20).⁵¹ Furthermore, the trace of this 1779 *Rue* almost certainly has been located at APNM, and it corresponds almost exactly to the projected course of the southern part of Front Street on Bearss' and Walker's provisional site plans.

As previously noted, Preston Holder's 1956-1957 archeological excavations at the extreme southeastern portion of present-day APNM uncovered a complex of trenches that are currently interpreted as the remains of palisade-type fences outlining late eighteenth-century lots (Maps 42 and 45). Archeologist William Westbury quotes Ivor Noel Hume, one of the United States' most respected historical archeologists, regarding archeological remains from this time period. Noel Hume believes that "when found in North American sites in the United States," sherds of Rouen and other French faiences (earthenware decorated with opaque colored glazes) "date from a Revolutionary War

⁵¹Bearss and Brown, pp. 188-190, 204-206; Walker, pp. 208-210. The western Front Street boundary of Lot "E" in the plat of Scull's lots ran north 20 degrees east — a 2-degree difference from the course of the eastern Front Street boundary of the 1821 Jordelas lot located immediately to its west. This discrepancy indicates that property surveys in early nineteenth-century Arkansas Post were not standardized and contained minor inconsistencies caused by improperly calibrated surveying equipment or surveyor error. The eastern Front Street boundary of Lot "D" in the plat of Scull's lots ran north 25 degrees east, a larger difference indicating that the northern part of nineteenth-century front street probably ran slightly east of

context." Sherds found by Holder in the trench complex match the descriptions given by Noel Hume and Westbury. If this analysis is correct, it may indicate that the trenches were dug no earlier than the 1775-1783 period—a date that corresponds with the construction of de Villiers' Post in 1779. The trenches outlining the lots, moreover, are located in two parallel lines separated by a space, probably a street, about 40 feet wide that runs from the southwest to the northeast on a compass course of north 18 degrees east. This lot and street pattern almost perfectly matches the one created by the southwest-to-northeast *Rue* and flanking long lots on de Villiers' 1779 plan. The trench complex therefore almost certainly partially marks the location of these features on

Several factors indicate, moreover, that the excavated portion of the street trace largely corresponds to the portion of the *Rue* located south of its intersection with the northwest-to-southeast *Rue* (the precursor to Main Street). The trace, which likely includes a small part of the *Rue* to the north of the intersection, runs south of the projected course of Main Street on APNM's current landscape. In addition, its length (about 500 feet, including the portion north of Main Street) matches the length (about 60

the Due or

APNM's landscape.

the Rue originally platted by de Villiers.

⁵²Martin, p. 87.

⁵³Westbury (1976), p. 51. For Noel Hume's analysis see Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1970; reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1991), pp. 142-143. Westbury fails to note that Noel Hume's study addresses French faiences found largely if not exclusively at Anglo-American sites—not at Spanish sites in Louisiana. Therefore, it is possible that Westbury's generalization of Noel Hume's more specific analysis is incorrect.

toises or roughly 400 feet) of this feature on de Villiers' map. These two figures help in confirming the postulated minimal erosion along the site's southwestern bluff line. Finally, the trace's position almost exactly corresponds to the projected location of the part of Front Street lying south of Main Street, as shown on Bearss' and Walker's provisional site plans (Maps 14 and 15). This also indicates that the streets are the same thoroughfare. The only evidence that does not support this interpretation are the lot lines on the eastern side of the street trace, which occupy the western portion of the projected positions of the fort and glacis on de Villiers' map. This anomaly can be accounted for, however, by the fact that the fort (Fort San Carlos III – Exhibit 2-9) that was almost certainly constructed in the eastern portion of this area in 1781 completely eroded into the Arkansas River during the late 1780s.⁵⁴ If it had not already occurred, the land between the site of the former fort and the *Rue* probably would have then been subdivided into the town lots that subsequently left their archeological remains on the eastern side of the street trace.

Spanish land grant boundaries provide final confirmation that de Villiers' two *Rues* almost certainly corresponded to Main and Front streets. As depicted on three early nineteenth century maps showing Spanish grants at the Post (Maps 11, 12, and 19), the lot sold by Alexis Jordelas in 1821 (Map 21) was originally part of Spanish Land Grant 2363. Spanish Land Grant 2363 was a 550-*arpent*/468-acre tract surveyed for Mary

⁵⁴Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, p. 39; Coleman, p. 71; Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish *December* 2005

Jordelas in 1817, some 15 to 20 years after the grant was made. Two of the grant's northern boundaries, which quite logically would have been drawn along the lines formed by early existing landscape features, corresponded to the northern and eastern Main and Front street property lines on Jordelas' lot. These lines respectively ran on courses of south 56 degrees east and south 18 degrees west (north 18 degrees east) — the same or virtually the same directions as the *Rues* on de Villiers' map. In addition, according to the 1817 survey, the portion of the grant boundary corresponding to the southern part of Front Street was 6.79 chains (448 feet) long, a figure that approximately corresponds to the approximately 400-foot (60 *toises*) length of this feature on de Villiers' plan. This same portion of the boundary is shown on the 1817 survey. On this survey it strikes the southwestern bluff line on its south 18 degrees west course, and then turns southeast to run along the bluff line on a course of south 50 degrees east until

Historic Buildings and Associated Features

Although a projected rhombus-shaped fort was the centerpiece of de Villiers' 1779 plan, it was not the first structure at the Post. Initial priority went to constructing housing for the settlement's French habitan(t)s (inhabitants) and other residents. By mid-March,

it reaches the river. This is the same direction as the southeastern edge of the bluff line

Domination," pp. 699-702.

on de Villiers' 1779 plan.⁵⁶

⁵⁵Bearss and Brown, pp. 73-74, 204-206; Walker, pp. 209-210.

⁵⁶Bearss and Brown, pp. 73-74.

1779, scarcely three weeks after construction on the Post began, two rows of French houses lined the eastern ends of the lots in the Post's northeastern and southwestern residential quadrants. The first line of houses, the Habitans de la Pre Ligne, consisted of nine houses, and the second line, the *Habitans de la 2m Ligne*, consisted of four houses (Exhibits 2-4 and 2-5). No description of the architecture has survived. It is likely, however, that the thirteen houses were simple, one- or two-room, dirt-floored, French vernacular, gable- or hip-roofed structures of poteaux en terre or pieux en terre construction without exterior galleries. These houses and portions of their lots eventually would have been surrounded by the French-style, pieux en terre or pieux debout (stakes upright), palisade-type fences. Similar fences probably also enclosed sheds, privies, and other small-scale features. Archeological traces of such fences were found in the trench lines uncovered by Holder. Besides providing privacy and keeping out intruders and wild and domestic animals, these fences quite likely had another function – defense. One scholar addresses this issue in his analysis of the palisade style, domestic enclosures found in the French frontier towns of the Mississippi Valley. He notes that by "merely barricading the ends of the streets in an emergency it would be possible to have a continuous enclosure all around the village.⁵⁷

The French *habitants* living along the *Rues* adjacent to the planned fort were not the only inhabitants of *Ecores Rouges* in 1779. Other groups resided at the Post and almost

⁵⁷Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, p. 39; Coleman, p. 60; Edwards, pp. 2-3; Martin, pp. 10, 87; Peterson, pp. 24-26 December 2005

certainly lived in different types of dwellings. The Post's small garrison apparently lived on the grounds of the future fort adjacent to the *habitants'* houses. De Villiers' map depicts the *Campemt du Detachment* (encampment of the detachment or garrison) on the edge of the river bluff east of the rhombus-shaped fort trace (Exhibit 2-9). Since the map shows no buildings on the site, it may indicate that the garrison lived for a time in tents or some other form of temporary shelter.

The dwellings of seventeen Anglo-American families stood on the left bank of the river. These families, who had fled from the east to escape the American revolution, established themselves at the northern tip of the horseshoe bend, several hundred yards downstream from the French village. With the exception of one isolated American dwelling (*un habitant americain*) (Exhibit 2-6), these families' *cabanes* (huts) (Exhibit 2-7), as de Villiers describes them, stood in a line. This *Etablissemt americain* (American establishment) was a linear cluster about 200 yards (90 *toises*) long that faced the river along a sparsely-wooded bluff. Most likely these dwellings and any outbuildings were simple, one- or two-room, log or plank structures that reflected Anglo-American vernacular construction traditions of their builders. Whatever their form, however, they were almost certainly different from the houses of the French village.

⁽source of quotation).

⁵⁸Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, p. 39; Coleman, p. 60.

The Quapaws comprised another group living at the Post in 1779. As shown on de Villiers' map, their three villages (Akansas des 3 Villages — three villages of the Arkansas or Quapaws) or groups of dwellings (Exhibit 2-8) stood immediately east of the Post's Establissemt americain on a cleared or thinly-forested bluff. This Quapaw settlement may have antedated the French and American settlements. The thirty-five Quapaw houses shown on de Villiers' plan, which may portray the end elevations of these structures, are depicted as rounded or domed dwellings. This possibly indicates that the Quapaws were living in their traditional, arch-roofed, bark-covered houses. These Quapaw residences, like the neighboring Americans' cabanes, would have been bordered by fields or gardens containing corn and other crops if they remained in the locations shown on de Villiers' map for any length of time. In addition, both clusters of dwellings would have been connected to the French village by a network of dirt paths and roads.

De Villiers did not have a fort built at the Post until July 1781, more than two years after the *Ecores Rouges* settlement was established. Even then, he did not build it until the Post's *habitants* volunteered to construct it. Spain had entered the American Revolutionary War on the United States' and France's side in the summer of 1779 and, in de Villiers' words, they feared "a raid by the [English-allied] Chickasaws joined to the bandits living with them." The *habitants*, he noted, "wanted a fort capable of

⁵⁹Baird, pp. 10-11; Hoffman, pp. 55-60, 63-65, 68.

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holding their families" and "offered to make the stakes for the stockade themselves."

De Villiers took "advantage of their good will . . . to construct a fort in this Post which will cost the King little and last long." 60

De Villiers named the fort (Exhibit 2-9) San Carlos III (Charles III) in honor of the Spanish king. It was almost certainly located near the edge of the Arkansas River bluffs, in the eastern portion of the French settlement's southeastern quadrant, in the vicinity of the area marked Campent du Detachment on de Villiers' map. Although its dimensions are not known, it was a sizable structure capable of resisting the anticipated British Loyalist-Chickasaw attack that occurred some two years later during the April, 1783, Colbert Raid. If the outline of the fort depicted as the "Small Town of Traders" on an otherwise unidentified, ca. 1783, British or American map (Map 7) is accurate, it was a square work with bastions at each of its corners. De Villiers described the walls as a "reinforced stockade." The walls were built of "red oak stakes thirteen feet high with diameters of 15 or 16 inches, split in two and reinforced inside by similar stakes to a height of six feet and a banquette of two feet." This construction was reminiscent of de La Houssaye's 1751 fort at *Ecores Rouges*. "Openings for . . . cannons and swivel guns" – six cannons and eight swivels according to the annotations on the ca. 1783,

⁶⁰Events leading up to construction of the fort are covered in a number of sources including Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, p. 39; Bearss, *The Colbert Raid*, pp. 21-22; Coleman, p. 63; Gonzalez L. B., pp. 227-228; and Mattison, pp. 52-54. The text of the July 11, 1781, letter from de Villiers to Louisiana Governor Bernardo Galvez describing construction of the fort is included as Appendix B,"Description of Construction of Arkansas Post 1781" in Mattison, pp. 114-117 (quotations are on p. 115).

British or American map – pierced the walls and/or bastions. They were covered with "bullet proof . . . sliding panels." Inside the walls there were several buildings, including a 45- by 15-foot house and a storehouse of unknown dimensions, both of which served as troop barracks. There were also a few smaller buildings that de Villiers built at his own expense when he arrived at the Post. His mention of these small, ca. 1779, possibly military-related structures is another indication that the works were built in the tract annotated *campemt du detachment* on his map. 62 One of the structures may have been the commandant's house noted in 1783 and 1787 accounts of the fort. Besides these structures, all of which presumably were built in the French vernacular styles common at the Post, the stockade at one point also enclosed a so-called Indian-style lodge. The lodge, which was most likely of Quapaw design, was demolished during an April, 1783, wind storm. ⁶³ In de Villiers' opinion the fort was "a solid post capable of resisting anything which may come to attack it without cannon."64 In reality, however, the fort lacked a moat (de Villiers judged one to be too expensive) and the bluff-top terrain adjacent to the works apparently was eroded by ravines. These deficiencies allowed Colbert's attacking force to approach to within pistol range (probably 40-50 yards) without being detected.

⁶¹"Description of Construction of Arkansas Post 1781," Appendix B in Mattison, p. 115.

⁶²Bearss, *The Colbert Raid*, p. 52; "Description of Construction of Arkansas Post 1781," Appendix B in Mattison, p. 115; Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," p. 701.

⁶³Bearss, The Colbert Raid, p. 52.

De Villiers, who departed the Post in 1782, was proven correct about the fort's ability to withstand military attack. However, he underestimated its ability to combat the corrosive power of the Arkansas River's swift current. Between 1781 and 1789 repeated rises in the river and additional landward erosion totally obliterated Fort San Carlos III – a development that belies Holder's 1957 claim that he had possibly excavated the remains of the work. The process began immediately after the enclosure was completed, and by the date of Colbert's 1783 attack the distance between the fort and the Arkansas had already been cut by a third. In 1787, three years after the Spanish made extensive repairs to the stockade, the river rose greatly. The bank under the fort was eroded and the distance from its eastern wall to the edge of the bluff was reduced to a mere 18 inches. This development prompted Commandant Joseph Vallliere to remove the fort's artillery. Another February 1788 rise ripped away a bastion; the next month the wall nearest the river slid down the bank into the Arkansas, causing the garrison to abandon the fort and take quarters outside the rapidly deteriorating enclosure. The following year a small spring or creek running through the abandoned works completed what Commandant Vallliere termed the "total ruin and destruction" of the fort.65

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⁶⁴Bearss, *The Colbert Raid*, p. 53; "Description of Construction of Arkansas Post 1781," Appendix B in Mattison, p. 116.

⁶⁵Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, p. 39; Bearss, *The Colbert Raid*, p. 65; Coleman, p. 71; Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," pp. 699, 701-702; Holder, pp. 23-25; Mattison, pp. 94-96 (source of quotation "total ruin and destruction").

These erosive forces, moreover, almost certainly had a similar effect on the dwellings comprising the *Etablissemt americain*, the Quapaw villages, and the eastern part of the French village (*Habitans de la Pre Ligne*), all of which were located near the river on the outside bank of the Arkansas River oxbow. ⁶⁶ Indeed, by the late 1780s the Post probably required not only a new work to replace Fort San Carlos III—it also almost certainly needed a new residential pattern to supplant the one being undermined by the meandering river. This new pattern apparently emerged by the early 1790s, about the same time Fort San Esteban—the replacement for Fort San Carlos III— was being built.

Because the Louisiana government lacked funds, construction of Fort San Esteban did not begin until 1791. Construction began only because the Post's *habitants*, fearing renewed Indian attacks, offered to supply the stakes needed to build the "absolutely indispensable . . . little fort" they requested. Although some sources indicate that the site of the new work (Exhibit 2-10) was as much as one-half mile north or downstream from the ruined Fort San Carlos III, it was almost certainly located much closer—probably about 400 yards or one-quarter mile north of the 1781 fort. An 1807 plan of Fort Esteban (Map 8) places the fort approximately 100 yards north of a "Bayou" (probably the ravine shown on de Villiers' map) bordering the northern edge of the

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⁶⁶Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," p. 699.

⁶⁷Coleman, pp. 71-72; Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," pp. 702- 703 (source of quotation "absolutely indispensable . . . little fort").

"Town of Arkansas" (the Post of Arkansas). 69 It is almost certain that John B. Treat, the United States government factor at Arkansas Post, drew the plan which indicates that the fort was about 70 feet from the banks of the Arkansas River. This measurement, however, reflects the interval between the fort and the river after more than 15 years of continuing erosion had taken their toll, and the original distance was perhaps as much as 200-300 feet. To Besides this map, other sources also place Fort Esteban in this position rather than further northward. Two 1900 and 1907 plats of the vicinity by surveyor M. Maxwell (Maps 35 and 37) identify a "U.S. Government Reservation" or "U.S. Reservation" immediately north of the "Old Post of Arkansas" or "Former Site of Arkansas Post." As archeologist John Walker notes, this U.S. government land was almost certainly former Spanish "King's Land" that encompassed the site of Fort Esteban and became U.S. "Public Land" in 1804 following the transfer of the Post to the United States Army.⁷¹

⁶⁸Faye, for example, states on p. 702 of "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination" that the site of the new fort was "half a mile (northward) down the river bend" from the location of Fort San Carlos III.

⁶⁹Treat's "Town of Arkansas," his name for the 1807 Post, must not be confused with the subsequent "Town of Arkansas," which was platted approximately one-half mile north of the Post of Arkansas in 1819.

⁷⁰This 200–300 foot estimate has been developed by plotting the approximate location of the fort's remains (Exhibit 3-10). Both William Woodruff and Daniel T. Witter indicated that in 1819 these remains were still standing along the Arkansas River's approximately known bank as derived from government survey maps (Maps 11 and 12). This location was compared with the approximate course of the river in 1779 as derived from de Villiers' map (Map 6), and the fort's original approximate distance from the river was determined by extrapolating. For Woodruff's and Witter's accounts of the Post in 1819, which were provided to historian Robert Trimble in 1876, see Bearss and Brown, pp. 17-18. ⁷¹Walker, pp. 5-6.

Fort San Esteban, named after the Louisiana governor's given name, was completed between late 1791 and early 1792, several months after construction started. 72 Treat's map and surviving narratives provide a detailed description of the fort. Captain Pedro Rousseau of the Spanish war galiot *La Flecha* wrote in his diary that the fort was "situated in the middle of a hill," overlooking the Arkansas River. This hill may have been "forty-five feet in height" when the river was low, and "six feet" high when it flooded. Its walls consisted of an approximately 135- by 115-foot, white oak, log stockade with bastions on the southwestern and northeastern corners. These walls, which were pierced by four loopholes, mounted four 6-pound cannon and two swivel guns in their bastions. The entrances included a main gate opposite the Arkansas River and a secondary gate on the fort's rear landward side. 73 In 1804, when the United States Army Lieutenant James B. Many assumed control of the Post from Spanish Captain Francisco Caso y Luengo, several large buildings stood inside the palisade. These structures, not all of which may have been standing when Treat drew his 1807 plan, included: a 36- by 16-foot commandant's quarters with two galleries, two rooms with a "double clay chimney," and two closets in the rear, the whole of which was in "bad condition"; a 50- by 10-foot barracks with a double clay chimney and a room used as a

⁷²Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 39, 193 (Note 53); Coleman, p. 72; Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," p. 704.

⁷³Coleman, pp. 72-73; Francisco Caso y Luengo and James B. Many, Inventory of Fort "San Estevan [sic] Arkansas, 1804," Appendix D in Mattison, pp. 126-127; Mattison, p. 97; Diary of Pedro Rousseau, February 3, 1793, translation in Westbury, "Archeological Assessment of Arkansas Post," p. 13. Rousseau's diary entry is cited in numerous sources describing the Post. The translation contained in Westbury has been used because it is the most extensive and appears to be among the most accurate.

prison; a 20- by 12-foot commandant's kitchen or bake house; and a 45- by 20-foot storehouse "supported on props." All of these structures had shingle roofs. 4 Other cultural features associated with the fort included: "three sentry boxes in poor condition"; an "earthen oven near the fort in normal condition"; a "flag staff in good condition"; and what Luengo termed a "worthless" and "badly built" well. 55 In 1807 when Treat drew his map, a garden (Exhibit 2-11) (probably fenced) was located immediately northeast of the fort in the presumably cleared area surrounding the stockade – a feature that was quite likely duplicated during the fort's Spanish period.

Victor Collot, a French spy who reported on Fort Esteban in 1796, noted that the works were unimpressive. "Two ill-constructed huts, situated on the left, surrounded with great palisades, without ditch or parapet," he wrote, "bear the name of fort." 76 Whatever the rudimentary and ill-maintained fort lacked in military refinement, however, was balanced by its relative architectural sophistication. Indeed, Morris S. Arnold states that the "design of the commandant's house, evidently built in the late 1790s, . . . indicates that a kind of architectural maturity had overtaken the remote

⁷⁴Coleman, pp. 74-76; Inventory of Fort "San Estevan Arkansas, 1804," Appendix D in Mattison, pp. 126-126 (source of quotations); Mattison, p. 98. Treat's map depicts an officers' quarters, barracks, and contractor's store inside the palisade. The dimensions of the three buildings, nevertheless, are different from those inventoried by Many and Caso y Luengo. This indicates that the United States may have replaced the buildings after it assumed control of the fort. It is more likely, however, that the two groups of buildings are one and the same and were simply measured differently by two separate observers. ⁷⁵Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, pp. 39,196 (Note 89 - source of quotations on well); Coleman, pp. 74-76; Inventory of Fort "San Estevan Arkansas, 1804," Appendix D in Mattison, pp. 126-126 (source of other quotations); Mattison, p. 98.

⁷⁶Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, p. 39 (source of quotation).

military post of *Los Arcos*." The presumably *poteaux en terre* or *pieux en terre* house, with its apparently assymmetrical two-room *salle-et-chambre* (general purpose living/dining room-and-bedroom) floor plan, use of closets, West Indian-derived galleries, and hipped-roof (like the other structures on Treat's map), displayed many elements of full-blown, eighteenth-century, Louisiana Creole, vernacular architecture. Furthermore, this vernacular sophistication was not only found in the commandant's house and official buildings. By the late 1790s it was also evident in the homes of the *habitants*."

Captain Rousseau of the *La Flecha* provided the most comprehensive description of Arkansas Post's domestic architecture from this period, when the Post's economic importance grew and its multi-ethnic and multicultural population trebled to almost 400. He wrote in 1793 that the village, which was upstream from the fort (Fort Esteban), consisted of "about thirty houses, with galleries around, covered with shingles, which form two streets." William F. Pope confirmed Rousseau's description more than forty years later. Following his 1832 visit to the Post, Pope described the houses built during Post Commandant Vilemont's administration (1794-1802). Many of them "were still standing and were built after the French style of architecture, with high pointed roofs and gables and heavy exterior timbers, and high chimneys." Nineteenth-century

⁷⁷Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 39-41 (source of quotation); Edwards, pp. 2-13, 22-23.

⁷⁸Diary of Pedro Rousseau, February 3, 1793, translation in Westbury, "Archeological Assessment of Arkansas Post," p. 13.

⁷⁹William F. Pope, *Early Days in Arkansas, Being the Most Part Personal Recollections of an Early Settler* (Little Rock, 1895), pp. 66-67, excerpt contained in Bearss and Brown, p. 15.

Arkansas County, Arkansas, historian W. H. Halli Burton, who quoted Pope in his History of Arkansas County, added to this description. Burton notes that the majority of the structures described by Pope "had their floors from four to six feet off the ground with galleries on all sides."80 Still further architectural details were provided by Arkansas Post merchant Andres Lopez. He stated in a July, 1788, court testimony in New Orleans that his house at the Post had a "gallery" and a back yard with a palisade garden fence that may have contained "big stakes."81

These descriptions give a good indication of the appearance of the village of Arkansas Post – the successor to de Villiers' quickly-built Post of the early 1780s – during the 1790s. During this the final decade before its cession to the United States the village apparently consisted of approximately thirty Louisiana French, colonial, vernacular houses of *poteaux en terre*, *colombage*, or similar construction. Most had covered galleries, raised floors, high chimneys, and high, steeply-pitched, wood-shingled, hipped roofs. Furthermore, if Arnold's analysis is correct, the average house had a tworoom salle-et-chambre floor plan that occupied an area of approximately 625 English square feet (550 French square feet) with additional open-air living space provided by the galleries.82 Most of these houses were probably sited on individual lots, which in

⁸⁰W. H. Halli Burton, A Topographical Description and History of Arkansas County, Arkansas from 1541 to 1875 (Easley, South Carolina: Southern Historical Press, 1978 Reprint of original ca. 1903 edition), p. 105. 81 Andres Lopez, July 31, 1788, New Orleans court declaration, translation and summary contained in Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," pp. 695-697. 82 Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, pp. 49-50.

many instances were quite likely subdivisions or combinations of the original lots that were platted by de Villiers in 1779. Andres Lopez also described many cases of stake or palisade fences that enclosed entire lots or significant portions of them and left trench complexes similar to those found by Holder in his 1956-1957 excavations. If Pierre Lefevre's property at the Post, as described by Arnold, was typical, the palisade fences would have encompassed a wide range of large- and small-scale cultural features, including kitchens, slave quarters, saw and grist mills, privies, small barns, orchards, and gardens. Wells, however, were apparently an extremely rare feature. John B. Treat wrote in 1805 that because the Post's residents were "too indolent to sink Wells, one of which alone is in the whole Town," they depended entirely on water drawn from "the River for culinary and every other use."

The two dirt streets (Exhibits 2-1 and 2-2) formed by the Post's late eighteenth-century houses — the future nineteenth-century Main and Front Streets — were almost certainly the same two 40-feet-wide, dirt *Rues* that de Villiers platted in an "X" or cross in 1779. By the 1790s, however, Arkansas Post's houses quite likely lined the two streets in a significantly different pattern than they had 15-20 years before. The meandering Arkansas River probably had eroded away a large portion of the eastern half of de Villiers' original Post and village. The losses were likely to have included Fort San

⁸³ Ibid; also see Peterson, pp. 24-26.

⁸⁴Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, p. 196 (Note 89); John B. Treat Letter to Superintendent of Indian Trade Davy, November 15, 1805, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 26.

Carlos III (Exhibit 2-9), the eastern portion of the northwest-to-southeast Rue (Exhibit 2-1), and the houses occupied by the *Habitans de la Pre Ligne* (Exhibit 2-4). Consequently, by the 1790s most of the village dwellings probably faced directly onto one of the two streets in a pattern that anticipated the Post's early nineteenth-century layout (Exhibit 3). With the possible exception of the long lots immediately parallel to the western part of the northwest-to-southeast Rue, the future Main Street, which may have been subdivided initially during the 1790s, this new pattern entailed little change for properties in the western half of the village. Apparently houses in this part of the Post had always been sited at the eastern ends of their long lots and faced directly onto the southwest-to-northeast *Rue*, the future Front Street (Exhibit 2-2). In the northeastern quadrant of the village, however, the change was significant. Houses in this portion of the Post, traditionally sited on the eastern river ends of their lots, would have been completely reoriented and relocated to the western ends where they directly faced future Front Street. Additional changes in the Post's eastern half almost certainly included the subdivision of the remnant of the southeastern quadrant originally occupied by Fort San Carlos III and the conversion of future Main Street's eastern portion into a residential tract. The subdivision probably occurred during the early 1790s. The exact date of the residential development of eastern Main Street is unknown; by the early 1800s, however, the original portion of the northwest-to-southeast *Rue* east of Front Street was part of one or more town lots (Exhibit 3).

The late eighteenth-century village and its streets would have connected with both Fort San Esteban and the outlying residences and farms of the Post's other habitants by a network of dirt roads and paths. The locations of these roads and paths are completely conjectural, except for the approximate trace of a road (Exhibit 2-12) that probably connected the northern end of future Front Street with the fort's western gate. The surface road network, however, was quite likely minimal and rudimentary because the Arkansas River and its tributaries continued to serve as the settlement's primary internal and external transportation line until well into the nineteenth century. Post residents and visitors alike traveled to, from, and within the settlement in a variety of watercraft. The types of vessels included two-man canoes, pirouges (dugout canoes), keel boats, batteaux (large boats with keels), and large masted Spanish war galiots (the type of vessel commanded by Captain Rousseau). No wagon roads connected the Post with New Orleans or the Missouri and Illinois settlements, and the first four-wheeled wagon apparently did not arrive at the settlement until 1811. When it did, the "wheeled wonder" was reportedly unloaded from a keelboat and caused such a stir "that the villagers climbed to the house tops to witness the passing."85

It is unknown whether or not any of these pathways and waterways that connected outlying late eighteenth-century residences and dwellings were located within APNM's current boundaries. Rousseau mentioned several "inhabitants around the prairie who

⁸⁵ Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, pp. 8-9 (source of quotations), 182-183 (Notes 16-20).

sow wheat," and approximately a "dozen pretty houses [on plots] of four by four arpents" downstream from the fort. He also described "very beautiful fields of wheat on the highland." Rousseau noted "three villages . . . [of] savages . . . [who are] very docile and very attached to the Spanish." He did not, however, provide specific locations for any of these features. Similarly, Paul A. Lorien, who traveled to the Post in 1803, simply noted the presence of "savages" (presumably the Quapaws) who lived "on the bluffs" and traded their furs to the Post merchants. He also remarked that besides raising food crops, indigo, and cotton, the settlement's residents also reared "many hogs, cattle, and fowls." However, regardless of where they lived, these European and Indian inhabitants of Arkansas Post most likely built their dwellings and/or outbuildings and organized their lands and fields in accordance with the vernacular traditions of their respective cultures.

Period Summary

In 1686, following Joliet's and Marquette's initial 1673 encounter with the Quapaws, the French established Arkansas Post as one of the first European settlements in Louisiana. For 65 years the Post, which provided the French and later the Spanish with a strategic and economic presence on the Arkansas River, was intermittently located at sites on the river below present-day APNM. The French did not build their first settlement on the

⁸⁶Diary of Pedro Rousseau, February 3, 1793, translation in Westbury, "Archeological Assessment of Arkansas Post," p. 13.

⁸⁷Account of Paul A. Lorien, quoted in Westbury, "Archeological Assessment of Arkansas Post," p. 14.

high ground at the APNM site until 1749, when the Post was moved upriver to be closer to the main villages of France's Quapaw allies. This settlement, which consisted largely of Captain Paul de La Houssaye's impressive square fort, occupied the site for only seven years until 1756 when the Post was again moved downstream. Twenty-five years later in 1779 Captain Balthazar de Villiers again moved Arkansas Post back upstream to APNM's bluffs – the location where it has remained ever since. De Villiers' Spanish Post – possibly built on the site of de La Houssaye's fort – consisted of hastilyconstructed houses for the Post's French residents. The houses occupied lots along two intersecting streets (the probable predecessors of nineteenth-century Main and Front Streets). There were also small American and Quapaw residential suburbs. The settlement's first fort, Fort San Carlos III, was built in 1781 and British Loyalist and Chickasaw forces attacked it in the 1783 Colbert Raid. By 1790, however, both Fort San Carlos III and much of the Post's early French residential area eroded into the Arkansas River. The Spanish built Fort San Esteban to replace Fort San Carlos III in 1791. Equally extensive changes occurred almost simultaneously in the Post's residential quarter. The houses from the late 1770s and early 1780s were probably upgraded or replaced, and a large number of additional new dwellings were built. The village of Arkansas Post was transferred to the United States in 1800. At this point, it was located approximately 100 yards south (upstream) of Fort San Esteban and consisted of approximately thirty Louisiana French colonial vernacular houses along the streets platted by de Villiers.

1804 - 1855 (Exhibit 3: 1804 - 1855 Historic Period Plan)

Historic Context

Following France's 1803 sale of Louisiana, Spanish Captain Francisco Caso y Luenge formally transferred Arkansas Post and the surrounding Arkansas River region to the United States in a brief ceremony at Fort San Esteban on March 23, 1804. For the next fifteen years, the area was part of the United States territories of Louisiana (1805-1812) and Missouri (1812-1819), and it was successively included in the Districts of New Madrid and Arkansas. In 1813 the Missouri territorial legislature created Arkansas County with the Post of Arkansas (the American name for the Spanish colonial village) as its county seat. Six years later, Congress established a separate Arkansas Territory with the Post as the territorial capital. Creation of the territory was as reflective of policy-makers' desire to admit a downsized Missouri to the Union as a slave state as it was of the desires of Arkansas' Euro-American residents. Arkansas' territorial period lasted for seventeen years. By the early 1830s, when the area's population approached 40,000, the minimum number then required for statehood, slaveholding Arkansas was considered for admission as a state in order to balance the impending admission of the free state of Michigan. In 1836, in an action that once again to a large degree mirrored southern regional political requirements, Arkansas was admitted to the Union as a slave

⁸⁸This ceremony, which Caso y Luenge conducted in concert United States Army Lieutenant James B. Many, his American counterpart, is described in Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 174-176; and Coleman, pp. 74-76.

state. The capital remained at Little Rock, where the seat of government had been moved in 1821 after two years' residence at the Post of Arkansas.⁸⁹

Social and economic development did not flourish in Arkansas, which remained sparsely populated during this period. As one historian writes, even though "Arkansas went through all stages of frontier development in just twenty years, . . . [for] various reasons the state's development remained behind both regional and national levels." He continues that "the frontier, although constantly being reduced in size, continued as a factor in Arkansas history into the 1920s."90 During the first years of the American period, Arkansas' population remained similar to its composition during the Spanish era. It continued to be comprised of a multi-ethnic and multicultural mix of hunters, traders, and a few merchants who practiced small-scale subsistence farming on the side. In the late 1810s and 1820s, however, this picture changed. The territory's hunters and trappers, never large in number, were displaced by an influx of Scotch-Irish, English, and German Euro-American settlers from Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia and other regions of the Upland and Lowland South. Most of these settlers were small-scale subsistence farmers who raised corn, cattle, tobacco, and other crops, and in some cases owned a few African-American slaves. In this rural environment, towns, despite the efforts of land speculators, were small and few in number, and served mostly to meet the needs of local government and limited local

⁸⁹Dougan, pp. 59, 62-65, 67, 74, 82; Meinig, Continental America, pp. 447-454.

economic requirements. Indeed, in contrast to many other areas of the South, Arkansas did not begin to develop a mature slave-based plantation economy until the 1840s and 1850s. By the latter date, however, plantation agriculture was dominant in Arkansas County and the other rich lands of the Arkansas River delta region. The state contained more than 100,000 slaves, who constituted one-fourth of the population. A large portion of these slaves produced tens of thousands of bales of cotton for shipment to New Orleans and other ports aboard the steamboats that plied the Arkansas River and the state's other navigable waterways. 91

This Euro-American development of Arkansas may have been slow and delayed when compared to other regions of the United States, but for the Quapaws and the state's other Native American inhabitants the outcome was the same. France and Spain, the initial European claimants to the tribes' lands, did not significantly threaten Indian independence. The United States did, and after briefly toying with the idea of permanently relocating the Cherokees, Choctaws, and other displaced southeastern tribes on Arkansas' nearly-vacant lands, Washington acted to remove all the Quapaws and all other Indians from the state. As late as 1816 the approximately 600 surviving Quapaws, as shown in a map of Indian territories prepared by Auguste Chouteau (Map 9), still claimed Arkansas Post and the entire region northeast of the Arkansas River as

⁹⁰Dougan, p. 103.

their preserve. The tribe, however, had lost its transient value as an American strategic and commercial partner, and in an 1818 treaty was confined to relatively small reserve located south of the Arkansas River and west of Arkansas Post (Map 10). This 1818 treaty, nevertheless, provided the tribe with only a temporary respite. Six years later the surviving Quapaws agreed to cede their Arkansas River reserve, merge with the neighboring Caddos, and move to a reservation on Louisiana's Red River. A few members of the tribe, most of whom were subsequently relocated from Louisiana to Oklahoma Indian Territory, returned to Arkansas and eked out a tenuous existence. For all practical purposes, however, the 1824 treaty terminated the suffering tribe's presence in the homeland that bore their name. 92

Site Chronology

Geomorphology

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century the meandering Arkansas River's oxbow continued to occupy its same relative position east of Arkansas Post.

Nevertheless, even though the river made no major changes in course, its channel's location did not remain constant. The western bank of the river continued to migrate west-northwest as the energy of the fast-moving water on outside of the oxbow

⁹¹Coleman, pp. 77-101; Dougan, pp. 54-56, 103-114, 117-119, 124, 153-156, 172-173, 175- 176; David M. Tucker, *Arkansas: A People and Their Reputation* (Memphis, Tennessee: Memphis State University Press, 1985), pp. 1-8, 19-25.

⁹² Baird, pp. 51-109; Dougan, pp. 72-80; Jim Merritt, *The Arkansaw Indians in Desha County, Arkansas* (Dumas, Arkansas: Clarion Publishing Company, 1980), pp. 38-45.

meander curve constantly eroded the Grand Prairie's southeastern bluffs. Opposite the Post, as shown on Lieutenant Brown's 1833 map of the Arkansas (Map 18), the slower moving water on the inside of the curve deposited sand and dirt. These deposits formed a "point," or sandbar, that gradually accreted in a broad arc paralleling the migrating western bank. The 1779, 1820, and 1863 Arkansas River channels shown in Exhibits 2, 3, and 4 illustrate the magnitude of the river's movement. In the forty years between 1779 and 1820 the river apparently migrated between 400 and 900 feet west-northwest. In the subsequent four decades erosion apparently subsided at the far southeastern tip of the Grand Prairie in the vicinity of Front Street (Exhibits 2-2, 3-2, and 4-2). However, the river ate away an additional 400-to-1100-foot-deep swath of the Post's bluffs, including the site of Fort San Esteban [(renamed Fort Madison by the Americans) (Exhibit 3-10)].

The effects of this erosion were apparently quite dramatic. Timothy Flint remarked on the "striking red pillars" of eroded earth that he observed when passing through the Post in 1819. G. W. Featherstonhaugh, an Englishman who visited the Post in the late 1830s wrote that "the banks of the river . . . are crumbling down with a rapidity that must, more or less, attract the attention of the settlers and somewhat alarm them; the descending floods undermining them on one hand, whilst the banks, saturated with the

⁹³Timothy Flint, *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley*, Vol 1 (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1828), p. 584, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 12.

land springs and superfical [sic] waters tending to the river, become at length too heavy[,] tore [sic] their adhesion, and are precipitated in immense masses to the bottom." Moreover, he continued, the Post's flat land was "so cut by broad channels or gullies made by the rain, that even within 300 yards or so of the settlement they had been obliged to construct bridges over them. Father Edmond Saulnier, a Catholic priest who resided at the Post for seven months in 1831-1832, made a map of the town (Map 17). According to the legend on his map, the village's "Old cemetery" (Exhibit 3, Lot 12, Post of Arkansas) was being "undermined by gullies" (probably the gully located south of Fort San Esteban in Exhibit 2). The deed for a riverfront lot 200 feet north of the cemetery (Exhibit 3, Lot 14, Post of Arkansas) sold by Catharine Fagot in 1829 mentioned that the property's size was continually diminishing as a result of erosion. All in all, concluded William Woodruff, the editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, the ceaseless erosion "injure[d] the village very much."

Historic Background

Arkansas Post's development paralleled the growth of the state and territory of Arkansas during the first half of the nineteenth century, just as was the case during the French and Spanish periods. Indeed, until 1821 when the territorial capital was

⁹⁴G. W. Featherstonhaugh, Excursion Through the Slave States from Washington on the Potomac to the Frontier of Mexico with Sketches of the Popular Manners and Geological Notices, Vol 2 (London, 1844), pp. 234-235, quoted in Bearss and Brown, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁵Bearss and Brown, p. 220.

[%]William Woodruff, article in the first edition of the *Arkansas Gazette*, November 20, 1819, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 13.

transferred to Little Rock, the evolution of the Post, which remained the premier settlement in Arkansas, continued to be virtually synonymous with the evolution of the region. Between 1804 and the late 1810s the Post remained a small frontier village consisting of some sixty or seventy families of mostly French, plus a few Spanish and American, hunters, traders, farmers, and merchants. The population also presumably continued to include several tens of enslaved and free blacks. From 1805-1810 John B. Treat and his brother Samuel Treat, United States government factors, operated a United States government fur trading factory on the grounds of Fort Madison. This was part of an American government attempt to control and regulate the Indian fur trade on the White and Arkansas rivers — an effort resented by Jacob Bright and other private fur merchants who had traditionally controlled the trade. ⁹⁷

Other major, early, nineteenth-century events included the designation of the Post of Arkansas as the county seat of newly-established Arkansas County in 1813 and the first surveys of the Post's private and public lands. The latter development was particularly significant. Although the Spanish colonial government had made numerous land grants to the Post's residents, the claims, many of which were fraudulent, had never been surveyed and formally settled. Beginning in 1812 a series of American land boards reviewed and confirmed Spanish land grant titles in Arkansas. Between 1816 and 1820 each validated claim was surveyed by United States

⁹⁷Bearss and Brown, pp. 21-31; Coleman, pp. 77-79; Dougan, p. 55; Mattison, p. 70.

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government surveyors and given a Survey or Spanish Land Grant (S.G.) number. At the Post, original Spanish grant titles (Maps 11 and 12 and Exhibit 3) were awarded to Jacob Diest (S.G. 2354), John Hudsell (S.G. 2333), Peter Jordelas (S.G. 2307), Joseph L. Bougy, Senior (S.G. 2297), Mary Derusseau (S.G. 2365), Jacob Bright (S.G. 2305), Daniel Mooney (S.G. 2339), Albert Berdue (S.G. 2344), John Larquier (S.G. 2368), Joseph Dardenne (S.G. 2432), and Mary Jordelas (S.G. 2363). As the grant recipients' surnames indicate, a significant majority of them were of French background, although there were also three Anglo-Americans (Hudsell, Bright, Mooney) and possibly one German (Diest). According to an annotation on the map of William Russell's and Nicholas Rightor's 1816-1820 surveys (Map 11), the boundaries of the Post of Arkansas were also surveyed in 1812 at the start of the Spanish grant review and confirmation process.

Between 1819 and 1821 the Post of Arkansas reached its zenith when it served as the territorial capital of Arkansas. The booming frontier town's population was swelled by the arrival of government officials, doctors, merchants, mechanics, and a host of lawyers. In the words of one historian, the Post "assumed the appearance of an established community . . . with three general stores, William Montgomery's tavern, two tailor shops, a post office, Samuel Wilson's blacksmith shop, Francis Vaugine's

98Dougan, pp. 57-59, 63.

⁹⁹ Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, pp. 163-168; Dougan, pp. 57-59.

billiard parlor, a mill, and two cotton factors."¹⁰⁰ The Arkansas territorial legislature met at the Post three times in 1819-1820; journalist William Woodruff founded the *Arkansas Gazette* and published the first issue of his newspaper at the Post on November 20, 1819; and William Russell and William O. Allen, both lawyers and land speculators, respectively founded the towns of Rome and Arkansas immediately north of the Post in 1818 and 1819. Russell and Allen appeared confident, as stated in the first issue of the *Gazette*, that the "present Village will always be a place of mercantile importance, it being the first high ground above the mouth of the river."¹⁰¹

The Post's newfound prominence was short-lived. In October, 1820, the territorial legislature voted that effective June, 1821, the capital would be moved to Little Rock—a location that had more powerful supporters and was judged to be more healthful, centrally-located, and economically-promising. This action dealt a major blow to the Post. Its population plummeted with the departure of government officials, lawyers, merchants and mechanics, and William Woodruff and the *Arkansas Gazette* for Little Rock. Land values dropped, and the towns of Rome and Arkansas, which despite their boosters' optimism always had a precarious future because of their location near the already-established Post and their lack of river frontage, remained largely undeveloped.

¹⁰⁰Coleman, p. 86.

¹⁰¹Bearss and Brown, pp. 81, 113-114; Coleman, pp. 81-92; Dougan, pp. 59, 65-67; "The *Arkansas Gazette*, Saturday, November 20, 1819 (Vol I, No. 1)," excerpt published in the *Grand Prairie Historical Society Bulletin*, Vol. 11 (1968), No. 2, pp. 5-6 (source of quotation); Mattison, p. 71 (the same quotation is included in Mattison's account).

Furthermore, at about the same time, a number of the Post's French families departed the town and moved further up the Arkansas River to Jefferson County. Naturalist John J. Audubon, who visited the Post after the capital was relocated, described the town's depressed condition. The Post, he wrote, was "a poor, Nearly deserted village . . . at present, the decripid [sic] Visages of the Worn out Indian Traders and a few American families are all that give it life." Indeed, if Audubon's characterization is accurate, the Post was even smaller and more isolated that it had been at the start of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, despite this mid-1820s depression, the Post of Arkansas successfully emerged from the economic collapse in yet another incarnation—an *entrepot* of the Arkansas River cotton trade. The Post's cotton boom began in the late 1820s and lasted through the 1840s. It was fueled in part by the advent of slave-based cotton plantation agriculture on the rich delta lowlands of Arkansas County. The development of steamboat navigation on the Arkansas, which provided a fast and cheap means to ship large quantities of cotton to downriver ports, also aided the growth of the cotton trade. River boats reportedly took on and discharged cargo and passengers at the bustling town almost every day, and a new class of merchants and businessmen emerged to service the trade. Frederick Notrebe, a Frenchman who emigrated to the United States in 1809, was the Post's leading merchant, cotton planter and factor, and citizen. Notrebe

¹⁰²Bearss and Brown, pp. 81-83; Coleman, pp. 89, 93 (quotation from Audobon is on p. 93); Dougan, p. 67;

owned 71 slaves and over 3,400 acres of land. He built one of the Post's first cotton gins in 1827 and constructed a large brick store and warehouse, which was one of several brick buildings in the town in the 1830s. He also successfully worked to establish a branch of the Arkansas State Bank (an institution established to provide credit to merchants) at the Post on a lot he donated in 1839 (Exhibit 3-55 and Map 22). Once again, however, the Post's prosperity was illusory. The state bank failed in 1843 during the depression of the early 1840s, and the Post of Arkansas branch building was subsequently used to hold elections and stable horses. A final blow came in 1855 when the Arkansas County seat was transferred from the Post to neighboring DeWitt, removing the Post's most longstanding and stable generator of business activity. As one visitor remarked in 1856, "The town at the Post of Arkansas has gone to decay but a few (persons) remaining."

Arkansas Post, 1804 - 1855

Historic Land Use and Site Arrangement

Arkansas Post's early nineteenth-century patterns of land use and spatial organization built on the arrangements established during the Spanish colonial period. The Post's area of cleared land, which was originally confined to the immediate vicinity of de

Mattison, pp. 71-72.

¹⁰³Coleman, pp. 95-98; Dougan, pp. 89-93; Tucker, pp. 19-26.

¹⁰⁴Bearss and Brown, pp. 17 (source of quotation from "Diary of a Journey in Arkansas in 1856," edited by Charles S. Snydor, *The Mississippi Historical Review*, Vol. 22 (1935), pp. 421-422), 206-214; Coleman, p. 98; Dougan, pp. 91-93; Boyd W. Johnson, "Frederick Notrebe," *Grand Prairie Historical Society Bulletin* 5 (1962), No. 2, pp. 26-34; Mattison, p. 72; Walker, p. 8.

Villiers' 1779 settlement, Fort Esteban, and a narrow strip near the American and Quapaw settlements along the western bank of the Arkansas River (Exhibit 2), expanded to encompass a large tract at the southeastern end of the Grand Prairie, including a significant portion of the acreage included within the contemporary APNM boundaries (Exhibit 3). Cleared areas included most of the approximately 120 acres enclosed by the Post of Arkansas' surveyed boundaries, 105 the small northeastern portions of Spanish grants 2432 and 2363 that were located on top of the Grand Prairie bluffs, and all or most portions of adjacent Spanish grants 2344, 2305, 2339, 2368, 2307, and 2365. As G. W. Featherstonhaugh wrote when he examined the flat plain behind the Post in the late 1830s, the only thing he saw among the rapidly eroding gullies were "a few stunted trees growing here and there." 106 Other areas, in contrast, probably remained largely wooded. These tracts included all or most of Spanish grants 2354, 2297; the portions of Spanish grants 2363, 2432, 2344, 2333, and 2307 located along periodically-flooded Post Bayou lowlands; and all or most of the peninsula located inside the Arkansas River's horseshoe bend. 107

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¹⁰⁵The 120-acre figure for the Post of Arkansas is taken from the NPS November 1960 map "Boundaries, Arkansas Post National Memorial Project" (Map 43).

¹⁰⁶Featherstonhaugh, pp. 234-235, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 17.

¹⁰⁷These general patterns of forested and cleared areas are derived from several detailed descriptions of the Post's lots and land grants contained on pp. 28, 62-63, and 74-75 of Bearss and Brown, and especially from the patterns of cleared and wooded areas shown on several January, 1863, Civil War-era plans of the site (Maps 28-32), which presumably depict conditions present on the site by the 1840s and 1850s and also quite likely for some years prior to these dates.

By the 1820s an expanded network of dirt roads (Exhibit 3) criss-crossed the Post of Arkansas and the mostly-cleared plateau to its rear. 108 The Post of Arkansas' Main Street (Exhibit 3-1) and Front Street (Exhibit 3-2), both of which are depicted on Saulnier's and Brown's maps of the Post (Maps 17 and 18), were the successors to de Villiers' two 1779 Rues (Exhibits 2-1 and 2-2). These two roads served as the anchors of the system. An extended Main Street ran for approximately one-half mile on a northwest-to-southeast course several hundred feet northeast of the Grand Prairie's southwestern bluff line. Front Street continued to run from the southwestern edge of the bluff to the northeast, although its northern half was truncated by erosion and was located slightly east of the course platted by de Villiers. By the 1820s several additional streets paralleled and intersected with Main and Front streets. Many of these streets were platted during the period when the Post was Arkansas' territorial capital, and they created a street grid that outlined approximately 15 blocks and contained more than 50 lots. However, with the exception of a road apparently called Cross Street (Exhibit 3-13), which ran from the southwest to the northeast and roughly bisected Main Street, the names of these additional streets are unknown.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸Most of the information on the Post's roads and the Post of Arkansas' lots included in Exhibit 3 is derived from Bearss' and Walker's generally comprehensive and accurate ca. 1820-1840 plans of the Post (Maps 14 and 15), which have been checked for accuracy. The ca. 1929 map "Post of Arkansas, Territory of Arkansas, 1829" prepared by F. M. Quertermous (Map 16) is much less helpful. This map, among other errors, identifies Main Street as Front Street, incorrectly depicts the location of the Arkansas Post branch of the Arkansas State Bank, and shows a large European-style bastioned star fort — a structure that was never built — occupying virtually the entire southeastern tip of the site.

Streets or roads almost certainly radiated from this hub at the Post of Arkansas. To the east and/or northeast, roads led to Fort Madison and the trading factory located on the United States Military Reservation. To the northwest, they led to the clusters of farm buildings located on Spanish grants 2344, 2305, and 2339. The main road extending from the Post of Arkansas' street grid, however, was the extension of Cross Street. This road ran north through the center of the Town of Rome (where it was called Main Street) and formed the western boundary of the Town of Arkansas. From there, as shown on H. L. Tanner's map of Thomas Nuttall's travels (Map 13), Cross Street apparently crossed the Grand Prairie and terminated in Little Rock. Other minor roads paralleled and intersected with this northern road. The plats of the Town of Rome and the Town of Arkansas (Maps 23 and 24) both depict grids of such minor streets and alleys (e.g., Don Carlos Street and Alley No. 1 in the Town of Rome and Market Street in the Town of Arkansas). However, because neither town was ever fully developed, most of their projected roads probably remained paper streets and never appeared on the site's landscape. Indeed, besides the previously-discussed streets in the Post of Arkansas and the road running north to the Grand Prairie, the only other documented road on the Post's early nineteenth-century landscape was Jordelas Street. This road ran west from the western boundary of the Town of Arkansas and presumably terminated in the vicinity of the Jordelas farmstead (Exhibit 3-62) in the western portion

 $^{^{109}}$ An 1824 deed to the Post of Arkansas' Lot 26 referred to the street that bisected Main Street and ran along the property's northwest boundary as "Cross Street." See Bearss and Brown, p. 178.

of Spanish grant 2307.¹¹⁰ The existence and routes of all other early-to-mid-nineteenth century roads and paths, including those that Civil War-era maps (Exhibit 3 and Maps 28-32) show running parallel to the Arkansas River and extending from the Post's plateau west and southwest across Post Bayou, must remain conjectural.

Historic Buildings and Associated Features

Several major groups of structures were located on the site's early nineteenth-century landscape (Exhibit 3). They included Fort Madison and the U.S. Trading Factory on the grounds of the U.S. Military Reservation, the buildings comprising the Post of Arkansas, the structures that were built or already existed in the towns of Rome and Arkansas, and clusters of farm buildings located on several Spanish land grants. The buildings depicted in Exhibit 3, however, were not the only ones that existed at the Post between 1804 and the 1850s. They are simply the structures for which some geographic and/or architectural documentation has survived. In addition, many undocumented buildings probably also once stood on the Post's landscape. One example is the building or buildings of St. Ambrose's Female Academy, which were "located within the vicinity of the town, immediately on the bank of the Arkansas River" in the 1840s.¹¹¹
Nevertheless, these known buildings almost certainly provide a good cross section of

¹¹⁰The existence and location of Jordelas Street is noted several times in the nineteenth-century Spanish grant 2307 survey and property records summarized in Bearss and Brown, pp. 63-72.

¹¹¹For a discussion of St. Ambrose's Female Academy see Bearss and Brown, pp. 39-45. The quotation, contained on p. 40, is from the October 8, 1842 edition of *The Catholic Advocate*.

the types of structures that existed at the Post between 1804 and the Civil War, and their locations highlight the overall patterns of the Post's development.

United States Military Reservation

The United States Military Reservation occupied most of the northern half of the Post of Arkansas's approximately 120-acre tract. In 1806 John B. Treat wrote that the lot contained approximately fifty acres owned by the United States, about "two thirds of which is a bowling Green and the remainder covered with a fine growth of forest trees."112 Prior to that year the only cultural features located on the reservation were apparently Fort Madison (Exhibit 3-10) and its garden (Exhibit 2-11), which Treat depicted on his 1807 plan of the site (Map 8). In late 1805, however, Treat decided to move his government fur trading factory from the two-room, 15- by 30-foot, Frenchstyle house he had rented in the Post, to an two-and-a-half-acre lot on the "Publick Ground . . . adjoining to the Garrison." Treat began construction of his new factory, which he located approximately 100 yards northwest of Fort Esteban on his map, in 1806. This factory complex (Exhibit 3-14), however, was not completed until late 1809, only a year or so before it closed in September, 1810. Nevertheless, Samuel Treat, who had succeeded his brother John as factor, provided a detailed description of the

¹¹²John B. Treat Letter to Superintendent of Indian Trade Davy, July 1, 1806, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 28.

¹¹³John B. Treat Letters to Superintendent of Indian Trade Davy, October 6 and November 15, 1805, quoted in Bearss and Brown, pp. 23, 26. Fort Madison's garden is not depicted in *Exhibit 3* because it had probably largely eroded into the Arkansas River by 1820—the date selected to depict the river's course.

factory's house and other structures in a letter written to Secretary of Indian Trade John Mason that September. Treat wrote that the buildings included a one-story, 20- by 33-foot dwelling house with "pitched roof piazzas front and rear." In addition he noted that there was a 20- by 38-foot, two-story, "oak frame . . . Skin House" as well as a half-finished log stable and a "well of 45 feet depth in a bed with Cypress frame and a windlass." Moreover, "strong Oak posts and rails, 7 bars high" enclosed the buildings' lot. Treat's letter indicates that the trading factory consisted of a mix of French and American vernacular structures. Post carpenters built the French-style dwelling house in the traditional local form, while the log stable and post-and-rail fence (probably a snake or worm fence) reflected American traditions derived from the Upland South. 115

As with most buildings at the Post, the fate of Fort Madison and Treat's factory are unknown. The remains of the fort—almost certainly abandoned by ca. 1810—apparently were still standing in 1819 but probably eroded into the river during the 1820s or early 1830s. Unless they had already been razed or destroyed, the trading factory's buildings almost certainly experienced this same fate in the following years.¹¹⁶

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¹¹⁴Bearss and Brown, pp. 26-31 (the quotation on pp. 30-31 is contained in a September 30, 1810, letter from Samuel Treat to Superintendent of Indian Trade Mason).

¹¹⁵Alan G. Noble and Richard K. Cleek, *The Old Barn Book: A Field Guide to North American Barns & Other Farm Structures* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995), pp. 62- 68, 170-171; Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*, pp. 64-124, 225-228.

¹¹⁶Bearss and Brown, pp. 18-19.

Post of Arkansas

The Post of Arkansas village (Exhibit 3) occupied both the 60-70 acres comprising the southern half of the surveyed Post of Arkansas tract as well as additional acreage in the extreme northeastern portions of Spanish grants 2363 and 2432. Throughout the 1810s, 1820s, 1830s visitors to the Post as well as its residents regularly described the settlement as a town of several hundred people consisting of 20-30 houses and several businesses, including taverns, retail stores, and tailoring establishments. Although occasional non-French and a few so-called modern brick buildings were sporadically noted, observers repeatedly stated that most of the Post's buildings were built in the French style (Figure 3) and almost invariably claimed that they were in poor repair. 117 Thomas Nuttall, for example, noted in 1819 that the approximately 20 houses comprising the "insignificant village . . . [were] commonly surrounded with open galleries, destitute of glass windows, and perforated with numerous doors." This made them "well enough suited for summer shelter, but totally destitute of comfort in the winter."118 William Woodruff wrote in a similar vein later that year that there were "but few buildings, and those principally in the French style." He continued that "since the change of government from Spain to the United States many houses have been suffered to go to decay, and but few new buildings erected lately." The situation, moreover, had improved little thirteen years later when William Pope visited the Post. He

¹¹⁷Bearss and Brown, pp. 3-16.

¹¹⁸Nuttall, quoted in Bearss and Brown, pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁹William Woodruff, article in the first edition of the *Arkansas Gazette*, November 20, 1819, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 13.

observed that the bulk of the Post's buildings consisted of old French-style houses that "presented a sad but interesting picture to look upon." In many cases, Pope stated, "the tall chimneys had fallen down, and trees of considerable size were growing out though the roofs and chimneys below." He also noted that there were a "few modern buildings." Those buildings, which would have included Frederick Notrebe's brick store and warehouse and another brick building (presumably Hewes Scull's brick store and counting house), were "situated near the river." As detailed as these descriptions may be, they do not reveal the positions and descriptions of most buildings and structures.

Other sources, however, are more useful in identifying the approximate locations, functions, and/or architecture of about forty buildings. These other sources include land records, *Arkansas Gazette* articles, Brown's and Saulnier's maps (Maps 17 and 18), and archeological reports. The picture that emerges, moreover, corroborates contemporary observers' subjective narrative descriptions of the nineteenth-century town. These sources help to confirm that the settlement consisted of French vernacular and other miscellaneous residential and business buildings that were located on more than fifty-five individual lots. These lots were located along several streets, but especially along the Post's two main arteries, Main and Front Streets (Exhibits 3-1 and 3-

¹²⁰Pope, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 15.

2). This alignment is the same general pattern of development described by Spanish Captain Pedro Rousseau as early as 1793. 121

At least 14 major documented structures — over 35% of the total — were sited on lots that bordered Front Street. These buildings included James and Hewes Scull's dwelling house, brick store, warehouse, grist mill, and two-story, frame cotton gin and press¹²² (1820-1833) (Exhibit 3A-15, Lots 1 and 2); Abraham Lewis' house (1832) (Exhibit 3A-16, Lot 3); Eli and Abraham Lewis' skin house/warehouse or general store — probably the 50- by 32-foot, French-style structure constructed on Lot 3 or 4 in 1807 (Map 20) (1807-1832) (Exhibit 3A-17, Lot 4); the small, two-room, French vernacular house rented by William Woodruff as his first *Arkansas Gazette* printing office (1817-1820) (Exhibit 3A-18, Lot 5A); Joseph Cook's house (1820) (Exhibit 3A-56, Lot 5B); Samuel Wilson's blacksmith shop (1818-1819) (Exhibit 3A-19, Lot 6A — in 1826 this lot also contained improvements and roadways labeled as Exhibit 3A-20); the 50- by 32-foot, four-room, French-style dwelling and storehouse that served as Lewis and Thomas' Store (1819) and the residence of a doctor (1832) (Exhibit 3A-21, Lot 7); the building housing Francis

¹²¹Most of the information on the Post of Arkansas' individual lots and buildings contained in this section of the study is a distillation of the detailed primary and secondary accounts of these properties and structures contained in Bearss and Brown, pp. 175-232, and Walker, pp. 209-226. The lot numbering system has been adopted from Walker's Provisional Plan of the Post (Map 15). In the few instances where other sources have been consulted, these materials are specifically identified in the footnotes.

Vaugine's billiard parlor (1824), a site subsequently occupied by the old Peeler store house (possibly the former billiard parlor) and an adjacent house containing a cotton screw press¹²³ (1860) (Exhibit 3A-22, Lot 10); and Richmond Peeler's house and gristmill (1827-1832)—a building possibly converted to a lard-oil factory by 1845 (Exhibit 3A-23, Lot 11). Besides these buildings, another major structure—the steamboat landing (Exhibit 3A-24) was situated near Front Street in this part of the Post. Although the landing's exact position is not known, an August, 1833, notice advertising the sale of Hewes Scull's estate stated that Scull's "late residence at the Post of Arkansas situate[d] on the bank of the river . . . [and] embracing several lots of ground" (Lots 1 and 2), was located "near the landing."

Seventeen of the Post's major documented buildings—more than 40% of the total—were located on lots that fronted Main Street. The seventeen included a 30- by 20-foot, French-style structure that respectively served as Joseph Gravier's storehouse, Dr. Robert McKay's residence, and meeting rooms for the third session of the Arkansas territorial legislature (October 1820). This building also housed Elijah Morton's store,

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¹²²This two-story configuration was apparently the standard pattern for cotton gins. The upper floor housed the gin machinery and storage areas for harvested cotton, while the lower floor contained a so-called "save room" for the ginned cotton fiber and the usually mule-driven gear assemblage that powered the gin machinery. For a detailed description of cotton gins see John Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 124-125.

¹²³Cotton screw presses, which could be up 40 feet tall, were as essential as cotton gins to the large-scale commercial production of cotton. The mule-driven machines consisted of a large threaded screw that was turned to compress ginned cotton lint into 400-600 pound bales for shipment. See Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, pp. 123-124.

Daniel Brearly's residence, and possibly a blacksmith's residence (1818-1832) (Exhibit 3A-25, Lot 8). Also fronting Main Street were David Maddox's law office (1820) (Exhibit 3A-26, Lot 6B); and Frederick Notrebe's house and store (Exhibit 3A-27, Lot 22). Another French-style house enclosed by palisade-style fences probably first served as Louis Jordelas' residence and Jacob Bright's fur-trading house. It later housed Montgomery's Tavern – the site where the second (February, 1820) session of the Arkansas territorial legislature met – and subsequently served as James Hamilton's store (ca. 1804-1825) (Exhibit 3A-28, Lot 27). Other structures included Frederick Notrebe's cotton gin and presumably an associated outbuilding (1827-ca. 1835) (Exhibit 3A-29, Lot 24). 126 In addition there was a large, two-story, frame house built by Richmond Peeler that later served as James Hamilton and Company's store (1820-ca. 1832) (Exhibit 3A-30, Lot 25). Another house was occupied at various times (1819-ca. 1835) by William Drope and Francis and Catharine Mitchell (Exhibit 3A-31, Lot 26). A two-story house (ca. 1810?-1832) (Exhibit 3A-32, Lot 39) respectively served as Joseph Dardenne's residence, Johnson and Armstrong's store – the location where Territorial

¹²⁴This notice is reprinted in Bearss and Brown, pp. 192-193.

¹²⁵Besides the property's palisade-type fences, evidence for its French-style architecture is provided by John J. Audubon, who wrote that when he stayed at the Post in December, 1820, he lodged at Montgomery's tavern, a "large Building that formerly perhaps saw the great councils of the Spanish Dons." By 1832, however, the building had been razed because Saulnier's map shows a horse corral and Frederick Notrebe's small butcher or carpenter shop occupying the lot. For a detailed discussion of this property and its structures see Martin, "An Inquiry into the Locations and Characteristics of Jacob Bright's Trading House and William Montgomery's Tavern," especially pp. 1-14 (the quote from Audubon is on p. 5), 18-21, and 82-87.

¹²⁶Notrebe "improved" his gin several months after a February, 1828, fire caused by heat generated by friction from the machine's gears. The fire burned "a few bales of cotton" and caused "some slight injury to the buildings." See Bearss and Brown, pp. 217-217.

Secretary Robert Crittenden lodged in 1820-1821 — and James Hamilton and Company's store. Northwest of this structure was a house that was probably successively occupied by John Taylor, D. W. G. and Irene Leavitt, Luther Chase, and Charles and Julia Young. The same structure may have served as a Methodist Church after 1852 (ca. 1820-ca. 1852) (Exhibit 3A-33, Lot 41). Solomon Judd's and John Taylor's carpenter shop (1821-ca. 1840) (Exhibit 3A-34, Lot 42) was on Main Street, as was the residence (ca. 1830-1832) of Charles Robier, also spelled Robun or Robin, (Exhibit 3A-35, Lot 43). The brickmaker's house and brickworks (1832) (Exhibit 3A-36, Lot 44), which presumably provided the building materials for Notrebe's 1833 brick store as well as other brick structures, was located on Main Street. An additional Main Street building was a tavern (1832) (Exhibit 3A-37, Lot 45).

The Post's other major documented structures were sited on lots outlined by the grid of side streets northeast of Main Street. These buildings included the building used as a medical office (1846) by Doctors William Price and George Williams (Exhibit 3A-38, Lot 9). A house occupied by Francis Vaugine and Thomas Blocker (ca. 1830-1848) (Exhibit 3A-39, Lot 13) was in this area. Frederick Notrebe's brick store (1833-1846) apparently was built on or near the site of a house owned and occupied by Francois and Suzanne Grebert prior to 1811 (Exhibit 3A-40, Lot 21). Mr. Taylor, an American carpenter, occupied a house (1832) (Exhibit 3A-41, Lot 19) in this area as did W. Sims (1834) (Exhibit 3A-42, Lot 16). Another building in this part of the Post, the Arkansas Post

branch of the Arkansas State Bank (Exhibit 3-55), is the only Post structure that has been precisely located (1839-1863, Lot 27). The bank was a 31-by 61-foot, two-story, brick building (Figure 4 and Map 32) with a galvanized iron, shingle roof and cut stone trimming that possibly incorporated Greek Revival architectural details. There were also the Joseph Imbeau house (ca. 1800?-1840) (Exhibit 3A-43, Lot 30) and a blacksmith shop (1834) (Exhibit 3A-44, Lot 31). A structure used as a county jail (1813-1835) was also located in this area of the Post (Exhibit 3A-45, Lot 35F). The county and circuit courts met in private homes, taverns, and hotels during the 43 years that the village served as the Arkansas County seat; no courthouse was ever constructed. The jail remained the only non-Federal public building located inside the Post of Arkansas' boundaries.

These buildings and the Post of Arkansas' other undocumented large residential and commercial structures did not sit in isolation on their individual lots. Rather, they were the focal points of a number of individual vernacular landscape ensembles that encompassed smaller outbuildings, gardens and orchards, subordinate roads and paths, fences, and other improvements. For the most part, the Post's property records

¹²⁷Captain Henry F. Fitton of the 16th Indiana Infantry Regiment, who prepared the January 1863 sketch of the bank building contained in Map 32, incorrectly identified the brick building, which was then serving as a Confederate hospital, as the former Arkansas state capitol. For a detailed discussion of the bank building and its construction see John W. Walker, "Excavation of the Arkansas Post Branch of the Bank of the State of Arkansas," especially pp. 1-43.

generally note only unspecified "outbuildings" and/or "improvements" in the few instances when they mention these features.

The August, 1833, *Arkansas Gazette* notice advertising the sale of Hewes Scull's estate, however, provides a rare detailed description of one property. The notice advertised land (Lots 1 and 2) with "a frame dwelling-house with a spacious cellar and kitchen; a brick smoke-house; an excellent well of water enclosed, with meat cellar adjoining." The property included several tracts of ground, "improved and under fence, as garden and pasture lots." Besides the types of structures noted in this advertisement, other outbuilding types common at the Post almost certainly included slave quarters, barns and sheds, gristmills, and privies.

Most outbuildings and structures were probably of frame or log construction, but in some cases, like the prosperous Hewes Scull's smokehouse and the cistern on Frederick Notrebe's property (Figures 5 and 6) they were built of brick.¹²⁹ Furthermore, virtually all of these structures and the Post's other smaller-scale cultural features, like its major buildings, almost certainly reflected their builders' vernacular cultural heritages.

French residents of the Post probably constructed French-style outbuildings and palisade fences, and organized the gardens and other elements of their properties in

¹²⁸The notice is reprinted in Bearss and Brown, pp. 192-193.

accordance with French colonial tradition. American inhabitants, most of who hailed from the Upland and Lowland South, likely followed suit with their snake fences (Figure 3) and log and frame outbuildings. The Post's other ethnic and cultural groups possibly built in still different forms. Over time, facets of these traditions merged (Figure 3) and the American influences almost certainly became more predominant. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, however, the Post of Arkansas' landscape probably reflected the diverse vernacular design and building traditions of its residents.

Town of Rome and Town of Arkansas, 1818-1855

The towns of Rome and Arkansas, located north of the Post, remained undeveloped throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, as depicted on Civil Warera maps (Maps 29-32), virtually all of the towns' areas remained wooded or were incorporated into cultivated fields throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Rome, platted on a 38-acre tract carved from Spanish grant 2339, consisted of 44 lots, two of which (Lots 29 and 30) were reserved for a courthouse, jail, and other public

¹²⁹For a detailed description of Notrebe's cistern see the March 26, 1966, letter from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park to the NPS Regional Director, Southeast Region found in Box 2, File 21, HNMA Administrative Files.

¹³⁰For a discussion of the various ethnic outbuildings, fences, and other smaller-scale cultural features that were probably found at the early nineteenth-century Post, see Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 45-46; Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*, and the appropriate sections of Noble and Cleek.

buildings (Map 23).¹³¹ Documented structures, however, existed on only four of these tracts in the 1820s and 1830s. One structure, located on Lots 1 and 2, was a house known as "the Factory" (Exhibit 3A-46) that probably antedated the Town of Rome. From 1818-1820 this building was the apparently the site of William Craig's tavern and Stokeley Coulter's tailor shop. Two more structures (Exhibit 3-47) were located on Lots 21 and 22 across Rome's Main Street from the Factory. They were respectively used by Jacoy Ely as a grocery store (1840) and Stokeley Coulter and J. B. Burke as a tailor shop (1818-1820). The fourth documented structure, a fenced house (Exhibit 3-48) owned by a Mr. Barry and used by John O'Ragan as a tailor shop, was located on Lot 40 during the early 1820s. These structures, like their counterparts in the Post of Arkansas, presumably had outbuildings and other improvements.

Development in the Town of Arkansas, which was located on 35 acres of land in the eastern portion of Spanish grant 2307, was similarly stunted.¹³² Documented structures and their presumably-accompanying outbuildings, several of which probably were built before the settlement was platted, stood on only five of the town's 80 lots (Map 24) in the first decades of the 1800s. These buildings included a hewn log house (Exhibit 3-49) located on Lot 2 in 1827. There was probably a house (Exhibit 3-50) located on Lot 12 in ca. 1820. In addition, there was a "frame house" (Exhibit 3-51) on Lot 14 opposite

¹³¹The information on the Town of Rome's lots and buildings contained in this section of the study is summarized from Bearss and Brown, pp. 81-113.

the platted public square. William Woodruff used this building as the second office of the *Arkansas Gazette* in late 1821. The large frame Arkansas Hotel or tavern and its stable (Exhibit 3-52) stood on Lots 58 and 62 in the early 1820s. The hotel, apparently also known as the "garrison house," was probably a French-style structure with galleries and a hipped roof. ¹³³

Besides these structures located within the Town of Arkansas, two other groups of buildings stood immediately west across the north-south road to the Grand Prairie and Little Rock, and probably should be considered when analyzing the town's overall development pattern. These buildings occupied small tracts carved from Spanish grant 2307. In 1821-1822 David Brearly's general store (Exhibit 3-53) was located on a 1.78 acre parcel south of Jordelas Street. James Smith's house (Exhibit 3-54) was built on a 2.5-acre tract north of Jordelas Street in the late 1830s and 1840s. Along with the Factory (Exhibit 3-46), the buildings (Exhibit 3-47) used as Ely's grocery store and Coulter and Burke's tailor shop, and John Larquier's house and billiard parlor (Exhibit 3-57), were located on S.G. 2368. These structures anticipated a development pattern that predominated at the Post between the 1860s and 1950s (Exhibits 5 and 6). Instead

132The information on the Town of Arkansas' lots and buildings contained in this section of the study is summarized from Bearss and Brown, pp. 114-174.

of being scattered on lots in the interior of the Towns of Rome and Arkansas, residences and businesses were located in a line or strip running north and south along both sides of the major north-south road.

Farmsteads, 1804-1855

The final groups of structures found at the early nineteenth-century Post were the clusters of buildings dotting the area's farmsteads. Documented houses, domestic and agricultural outbuildings, and other various improvements, including fields and fences, were located on at least six and probably more of the area's Spanish land grants.

Besides the aforementioned house and billiard parlor (Exhibit 3A-57), additional "improvements" located on John Larquier's property (S.G. 2368) during the mid-1820s included "convenient out-houses," cultivated fields, and presumably fences. In 1835 another documented structure—the second Arkansas County jail (Exhibit 3-58)—was built on a small, approximately one-acre tract carved from this property. William Rainey's adjacent property, S.G. 2344, which he had purchased from Albert Berdue, encompassed similar improvements (Exhibit 3-59) during the same period. An 1830 notice in the *Arkansas Gazette* advertising the sale of this farm stated that there was "a

¹³³For a further discussion of the Arkansas Hotel or "garrison house" see Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas*, pp. 45 and 194 (Note 67). Arnold believes that the name "garrison house" implies that the structure was formerly the commandant's house or one of the other buildings of Fort San Esteban. However, this is highly unlikely. The fort and all of its buildings, as depicted in John B. Treat's 1807 map (Map 8), were all located near the river on the United States Military Reservation in the Post of Arkansas, not away from the river in Spanish land grant 2307.

¹³⁴Bearss and Brown, pp. 63-69.

¹³⁵Ibid., pp. 47, 74-75.

comfortable dwelling house, with a kitchen, stable, &c . . . [on land] of good quality and fit for cultivation . . . [located] near the center of the village." Hewes Scull's farm (S.G. 2305), which he had purchased from Jacob Bright, contained a house and barn (Exhibit 3-60) and was almost certainly cultivated and fenced. According to an article in the *Arkansas Gazette*, a January, 1821, fire on the property destroyed not only the barn, but also "an excellent horse, about 200 bushells of corn[,] a quantity of hay, several hogs, &c." ¹³⁷

Less is known about the structures on the Post's other rural properties. In ca. 1820 Eli Lewis reportedly established a "Tanning & Currying Business on his plantation adjoining the Post of Arkansas" (Exhibit 3-61) — a property (S.G. 2432) originally owned by Joseph Dardenne. John and Cecilia Jordelas presumably cleared and cultivated fields and built a house and outbuildings (Exhibit 3-62) on their land (S.G. 2307). Their house was most likely in the western portion of their land where a farmstead was located during the Civil War (Map 29) and for almost a century thereafter (Exhibits 4, 5, 6, and 7). Finally, in the early 1800s various improvements (Exhibit 3-63), including a house mill, other buildings, and fences were located on Joseph Bougy's tract (S.G. 2297), much of which probably remained wooded throughout the first half of the century.

¹³⁶Ibid., pp. 70-72.

¹³⁷Ibid., pp. 62-63.

¹³⁸Ibid., pp. 76-79.

¹³⁹Ibid., pp. 63-70.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 61-62.

As was the case in the Post of Arkansas, virtually all of these improvements would have been structures that reflected their builders' and owners' cultural traditions.

Period Summary

During the first half of the nineteenth century after the United States assumed control of Louisiana, the Post of Arkansas respectively served as a fur-trading center; the county seat of Arkansas County (1813-1855); the territorial capital of Arkansas (1819-1821); and an *entrepot* of the Arkansas River cotton trade. Four groups of buildings occupied the Post's landscape during this half-century period. They included Fort Madison (old Fort San Esteban) and the U.S. Trading Factory on the grounds of the United States Military Reservation; the buildings comprising the Post of Arkansas; structures in the towns of Rome and Arkansas; and clusters of farm buildings located on several Spanish land grants. With only a few exceptions, including Fort Madison and possibly the Arkansas State Bank branch, all buildings were vernacular structures that reflected the architectural traditions of the French and the American Upland and Lowland South, as well as other ethnic building vocabularies. The sites of Fort Madison and the U.S. Trading Factory had eroded into the continually encroaching Arkansas River by the 1820s and 1830s. The speculative towns of Rome and Arkansas, their prospects doomed by removal of the capital to Little Rock in 1821, never developed fully. Through most of this period, the Post of Arkansas village continued to exist as a small settlement developed along Front and Main streets – the two streets de Villiers platted in 1779. By

the time the county seat was transferred to DeWitt in 1855, the Post's prospects had dimmed.

1856 - 1865 (Exhibit 4: 1856 - 1865 Historic Period Plan)

Historic Context

On May 6, 1861, three weeks after the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter, Arkansas left the Union to join the southern Confederacy. This was accomplished by the efforts of dominant secessionist planter-politicians, who won the reluctant support of a majority of previously-Unionist Arkansans after President Lincoln used force to suppress the southern rebellion. Arkansas state troops seized Fort Smith and Little Rock's United States arsenal, and Arkansans enlisted in the Confederate Army by the tens of thousands. For the next four years the state was wracked by what one historian called Arkansas' "greatest" tragedy. A combination of Union and Confederate military operations, divided internal loyalties, and partisan violence "left the landscape dotted with gaunt and blackened chimneys, broken fences, shattered lives, and freshly dug graves." Invading Union armies defeated Confederate forces at Pea Ridge (March 7-8, 1862), Prairie Grove (December 7, 1862), and Arkansas Post (January 10-11, 1863). By September, 1863, the Union forces had occupied both Little Rock and all but the far southwestern corner of the state. Although guerilla warfare continued for the next two years, the state was effectively under Union control and a federal occupation that lasted until the end of Reconstruction in the 1870s.¹⁴¹

Site Chronology

Geomorphology

Throughout the late 1850s and early 1860s, the meandering western bank of the Arkansas River's oxbow continued to eat away the Post's landscape. By 1863 (Exhibit 4) parts of Spanish land grants 2297 and 2339 as well as a large portion of the United States Military Reservation and other sections of the Post of Arkansas had disappeared into the river. Additionally, as shown in Civil War-era maps of the site (Maps 29-31), a massive network of 20-foot-deep ravines had almost completely eroded a large portion of the Post. The area primarily affected was the former residential and business neighborhood located on the lots north of Main Street. Across from the Post, on the east bank of the Arkansas, the stream continued to build up a migrating point, or sandbar.

Historic Background

During the first fifteen months of the Civil War Arkansas Post experienced little change. It remained a small rural settlement with few businesses and several dozen houses and outbuildings—some of which had been abandoned. There were also several

December 2005

¹⁴¹Coleman, p. 103; Dougan, pp. 207-212, 231, 236-238; Tucker, pp. 27-42.

surrounding farmsteads. The population probably numbered a couple of hundred persons, with about half of that population white, and the other half black slaves. Has a This situation abruptly ended in July, 1862, when Confederate commanders, fearing a Union invasion of Arkansas and Little Rock via the Arkansas River valley, decided to build a fort at Arkansas Post. Confederate Colonel John W. Dunnington chose the Post as a fort site for the same reason Lieutenant de La Houssaye and Captain de Villiers had located French and Spanish works there 100 years before. Its prominent bluffs were the first high ground on the Arkansas River above the White River cut-off and commanded the river for more than a mile downstream. Federal gunboats could not steam up the river for an attack on Little Rock without passing under the fort's guns. Confederate troops and African-American slaves labored on the "Post of Arkansas" fort, which consisted of a square bastioned earthwork called Fort Hindman and a line of flanking rifle pits, for more than five months (Maps 28-33).

In early January, 1863, the Post's 5,000 Confederate defenders, under the command of Brigadier General Thomas J. Churchill, were attacked by Union troops. The Union Major General John A. McClernand commanded 32,000 Union troops, the ironclad

¹⁴²Unless otherwise stated, all the information contained in this section of the study is derived from these and other Civil War-era maps (Maps 28-33), which are identified both the bibliography and in the "List of Sources" used to prepare Exhibit 4: the "1856-1865 Historic Period Plan."

gunboats *Baron de Kalb* (Figure 7), *Louisville*, and *Cincinnati*; and several tinclad gunboats in his attack on the Post. A two-day federal naval and infantry attack on January 10-11 (Maps 25 and 26, Figures 8-11 and 16) severely damaged two of Fort Hindman's casemates and silenced its batteries (Figures 12-15). Churchill subsequently surrendered the Post to McClernand. The victorious Union troops leveled the fort and its adjoining rifle pits, reportedly burned all the Post's remaining buildings that had survived the Union bombardment, and departed downriver on January 16-17, leaving the small settlement completely desolated.¹⁴⁵

Village of Arkansas Post, 1856 - 1862

Historic Land Use and Site Arrangement
Patterns of land use and spatial organization found at the mid-nineteenth-century Post
before the battle were in some respects similar to those that existed during the
settlement's heyday. 146 Cleared areas and fields continued to include the uneroded

¹⁴³No detailed summary and analysis of the Post's 1860 population apparently exists. However, it was small and the proportions of black and white residents quite likely approximated those of Arkansas County, which had an 1860 population of 3923 whites, 4921 black slaves, and 0 free blacks. See Edwin C. Bearss, "The Post of Arkansas" (undated typescript paper located in Box 5, APNM Administrative Files), p. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Bearss, "The Post of Arkansas," pp. 1-8; Coleman, pp. 103-105.

¹⁴⁵Bearss, "The Post of Arkansas," pp. 8-41; Coleman, pp. 106-117; Dougan, p. 209; Halli Burton, pp. 147-150. Both Bearss' and Coleman's accounts include detailed tactical summaries of the battle.

¹⁴⁶These patterns and other known mid-nineteenth-century cultural features at the Post are depicted in Exhibit 4: the "1856-1865 Historic Period Plan." In many respects this plan is identical to Edwin C. Bearss' extremely informative "Historical Base Map Post of Arkansas, January 1863" (Map 27). Nevertheless, there are crucial differences. Bearss' map is incorrectly scaled and is not referenced to known features on the present-day APNM landscape, fails to depict some known cultural features (e.g., the 19th Arkansas Infantry Regiments barracks), and infers that some features (e.g., the Confederate cavalry's winter quarters) were located within APNM's boundaries when in actuality they were located outside of the park. All of these discrepancies have been rectified in the current historic period plan.

portions of the old Post of Arkansas, the small northeastern portions of Spanish land grants 2432 and 2363 lying atop the Grand Prairie bluffs, and all or significant parts of adjacent Spanish grants 2344, 2305, 2339, 2368, and 2307. The edges of this cleared tract, however, had almost certainly expanded and contracted over several decades. For example, Union commanders described the field north of the Confederate rifle-pits and Jordelas Street in their battle reports. The area was characterized as "cut by ravines lined by underbrush and fallen timber"; "slightly cut up by gullies and depressions and covered with standing trees and brush with a good deal of fallen timber and tree tops"; and covered with "scattered stumps and logs." Fields east of this area and north of Fort Hindman (tracts that lay partially within the boundaries of the unsuccessful Town of Arkansas) also were described as being covered with "stumps, logs, brush, and felled trees" (Map 32)¹⁵⁰ These descriptions probably indicate that all or most of these fields had been cleared and cultivated at one time, but had been abandoned and were overgrown with the beginnings of a second-growth forest that was cut down by the Post's Confederate defenders. Heavy rains, moreover, periodically made some of the Post's cleared tracts quite soggy and swampy. Captain

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¹⁴⁷Report of General McClernand, January 20, 1863, in Robert N. Scott, Ed., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume 17, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886 - 1971 Reprint by The National Historical Society, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), p. 705 (hereinafter cited as ORA, 1, 17, 1). In many cases, several commanders' battle reports repeat the same information and descriptions in an identical or only slightly different form. The quotations cited, therefore, should generally be considered as representative of this larger body of reports.

¹⁴⁸Report of General Sherman, January 11, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 756.

¹⁴⁹Report of Colonel Smith, January 12, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 776.

¹⁵⁰Report of Lieutenant Colonel Baldwin, January 13, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 736.

Henry Fitton of the 16th Indiana Infantry noted in his "Plan of the Battle of Arkansas Post" (Map 29) that a cleared field in the northern part of the Town of Arkansas was covered with "mud almost knee deep." Colonel Richard Owen of the 60th Indiana echoed this characterization when he described the open field as "swampy" and related that he and his men "sank over ankle deep" in mud. 151

The Post's forested areas experienced minimal change. All or most of the peninsula located opposite the Post of Arkansas, inside the river's horseshoe bend, continued to contain sycamores and a large number of cottonwoods. Forested areas also included the western portion of Spanish grant 2354 and the portions of Spanish grants 2363, 2432, 2344, 2333, and 2307 situated along the seasonally-flooded Post Bayou bottoms. At least a few of the lowlands were very heavily wooded. General William T. Sherman described the woods immediately north of the site, where the DeWitt Road (the western extension of Jordelas Street) crossed Post Bayou, as a "dark cypress swamp." Confederate Colonel James Deshler noted "heavy growth of timber and brush" south of this location. At least some of these wooded areas, however, were probably logged to provide materials for the Confederate fortifications and winter quarters during the weeks and months prior to the battle.

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¹⁵¹Report of Colonel Owen, January 12, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, pp. 733-734.

¹⁵²The reference to sycamores is contained in Frank Mason, *The Forty-Second Ohio Infantry: A History of the Organization of that Regiment in the War of the Rebellion* (Cleveland, Ohio: 1876), quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 276.

¹⁵³Report of General Sherman, January 11, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 756.

General McClernand's description captured the overall appearance of the site's landscape. He observed that the Post's generally cleared terrain, which was surrounded by belts of swamp and woods, formed a "dry . . . plateau . . . [on] elevated ground, above the reach of floods," covering approximately 1,000 yards square. Frank Mason, the historian of the 42nd Ohio Infantry Regiment, was even more specific. He described the site as a "cleared space" among the forests that occupied approximately 100 acres and harbored an orchard.

Arkansas Post's Civil War-era grid of dirt roads was an expansion and adaptation of the early nineteenth-century road system. The Post's major north-south artery continued to be the old road, possibly used as a postal route, which ran north from the Post of Arkansas and the Town of Rome to DeWitt and the Grand Prairie. It did not, however, extend directly south to the Post from the town of Rome as it had in the past. Instead, the road curved southwest and then southeast to avoid the system of deep ravines that had eaten into the northern part of the Post of Arkansas' landscape. The southeastward curve of this road probably ran between 100 and 200 feet north of the previous course of Main Street. The road, which was the Post of Arkansas' new main thoroughfare, wended its way among the town's remaining buildings until it intersected Front Street

¹⁵⁴Report of Colonel Deshler, March 25, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 792.

¹⁵⁵Report of General McClernand, January 20, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, pp. 705-706.

¹⁵⁶Mason, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 261.

(Exhibit 4-2) at the far southeastern corner of the Post. 157 Roads or paths following the routes of the Post of Arkansas' early nineteenth-century grid quite possibly extended from this road, but if these subordinate routes existed they do not appear on Civil War maps of the site. Arkansas Post's second major road ran east-to-west across the site. This road, presumably was the "Brownsville and Little Rock Road" noted by General McClernand. It intersected the main north-south road approximately 500 feet north of the boundary of the Town of Rome. 158 This road encompassed both the eastern part of the so-called River Road, which was parallel to the west and north banks of the Arkansas River northeast of the Post. It also encompassed an extended Jordelas Street, which ran west across the plateau, descended into the Post Bayou bottomlands, crossed the bayou on a bridge (probably the log bridge described by Union Colonel Warren Stewart) and finally turned into the DeWitt Road. ¹⁵⁹ Other roads extended from these two main thoroughfares. One, the western part of the River Road, dropped into the forested lowlands and crossed the bayou at a ford. Another, which began slightly east of the point where the west River Road dropped into the lowlands, curved northwest

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¹⁵⁷Front Street almost certainly still existed in the early 1860s. Union Captain Julius Pitzman's January, 1863, topographical map of the site (Map 29), which General Sherman judged to be "very accurate for the time allowed in making the survey," depicts a road following the course of Front Street. An 1860 deed for a lot (Post of Arkansas Lot 10 in Exhibit 3) stated that the property had a frontage of 112 feet on Front Street and extended back to a gully. See Report of General Sherman, January 13, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, pp. 758-759, and Bearss and Brown, pp. 194-195.

¹⁵⁸Report of General McClernand, January 20, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 706.

¹⁵⁹Arkansas Post and Fair Dale Arkansas Post Office Contract Record, August 1867, National Archives Microfilm M-1126, "Post Office Department Records of Site Locations, 1937-1950," Roll 22, National Archives, Washington, D.C; Report of Colonel Stewart, January 10, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 719.

and then northeast along the western edge of the bluffs and crossed the DeWitt Road. Two more roads, which descended into the bottomlands from Front Street (Exhibit 4-2) crossed Post Bayou on a "flat boat" bridge and a bridge made from an "old steamboat" (Map 29).¹⁶¹

Historic Buildings and Associated Features

Post of Arkansas and Farmsteads, 1856-1863

Arkansas Post's mid-nineteenth century buildings included the clusters of structures located at the Post of Arkansas and its surrounding farmsteads. According to Civil War-era maps, approximately 15 major structures stood in the old village. Most of them were almost certainly frame houses, or in a few cases businesses (Exhibits 4-64, 4-65, 4-66, 4-67, and 4-68), surrounded by a number of subordinate outbuildings, fences, and other smaller-scale features. W. H. Halli Burton, an early twentieth-century local Arkansas County historian whose family apparently briefly owned a small tract carved from Spanish grant 2307 north of the Post, describes a number of the buildings burned by the Union Army. He identified the burned buildings as French-style, vernacular structures that in some cases may have dated from the late 1790s. An illustration of the Post, "The Investment of Fort Hindman, Arkansas Post" (Figure 9), appeared in

¹⁶⁰Arkansas Post and Fair Dale Arkansas Post Office Contract Record, August 1867, National Archives Microfilm M-1126, "Post Office Department Records of Site Locations, 1937-1950," Roll 22, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹⁶¹ Julius Pitzman, "Plan of Fortification at Post Arkansas surrendered to U.S. Forces Jan 11th 1863." ¹⁶²Bearss and Brown, pp. 66-67 (information on Halli Burton family property at the Post); Halli Burton, p. 105.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper in February, 1862. This illustration shows a house of what appears to be vertical log, poteaux en terre construction with "galleries front and back," thereby providing further proof of French design at Arkansas Post. 163

Nevertheless, it is doubtful that all of the Post's wooden buildings were of French design, and many of them almost certainly reflected the vernacular building traditions of the American Upland and Lowland South.

Besides these frame structures, the Post's buildings also included what the 42nd Ohio's regimental historian described as several "large . . . old fashion brick buildings," some of which served as Confederate hospitals. One of these brick buildings would have been the two-story, brick building (Figure 4) used by the Arkansas Post Branch of the Arkansas State Bank (Exhibit 4-55). The bank was incorrectly identified as the former "State Capitol" on Captain Fitton's map (Map 32). The bank building, which was used as a Confederate hospital during the battle, was struck by Union artillery rounds and destroyed by fire. Although it is by no means certain, the other brick structures referenced by the 42nd Ohio's historian may have included Frederick Notrebe's brick store (Exhibit 4-40) and Hewes Scull's brick store and counting room (Exhibit 4-15). Captain Pitzman's map of the site (Map 29) depicts buildings on the sites occupied by

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¹⁶³Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, p. 46.

¹⁶⁴Mason, quoted in Bearss and Brown, pp. 261, 269.

 $^{^{165}} For a detailed discussion of the bank building, including its construction and destruction, see Walker,$

[&]quot;Excavation of the Arkansas Post Branch of the Bank of the State of Arkansas," especially pp. 1-43.

the structures, and it is quite possible that these substantial brick buildings dating from the 1830s survived until the Civil War period. 166

Several farmsteads and other structures surrounded the buildings clustered on the Post of Arkansas. These structures included a "steam mill" which most likely was a steampowered cotton gin (Exhibit 4-69). Two probable farm buildings (Exhibit 4-70) were located on Spanish grant 2363 immediately south of the flat boat bridge. A farmstead (Exhibit 4-71) and adjacent orchard (Exhibit 4-72) were located on Spanish grant 2305. There were probable farm buildings and a house (Exhibits 4-73 and 4-74) on Spanish grant 2344. Two log buildings probably occupied a lot in the Town of Rome¹⁶⁸ (Exhibit 4-75). There were probably farm buildings on Spanish grant 2307 (Exhibit 4-76). There was a white frame house (Exhibit 4-77) located at or near the intersection of the main north-south and east-west roads. To the northeast of this house, there was also a cluster of old farm buildings or cabins (Exhibit 4-78). The cluster likely consisted of a twostory, frame house with a fenced yard where the 60th Indiana Infantry's dead were buried, a log stable, two small, single-crib barns, and a possible sink house. 169 These structures are shown on Fitton's map (Map 32) and presumably are also the same structures depicted in the illustration of "The Investment of Fort Hindman, Arkansas

¹⁶⁶Bearss and Brown, pp. 190-193, 203-204.

¹⁶⁷Vlach, pp. 124-125.

¹⁶⁸Report of Lieutenant Wilson, January 13, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 753.

¹⁶⁹Report of Colonel Owen, January 12, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 734; Report of General Smith, January 16, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 726.

Post" (Figures 8 and 9). However, the architecture of the one and possibly two single-story, French-style houses in the illustration, and the designs of the white frame house and the two-story house shown on Fitton's map are different. This apparently indicates that at least one of the drawings is incorrect.

As was the case with the buildings at the Post of Arkansas, these vernacular farmhouses and other agricultural structures were certainly surrounded by a variety of features, including subordinate outbuildings, fields, gardens, and fences. Fences, most likely snake or worm rail enclosures, which presumably encircled a number of fields, gardens, and other fixtures on the mid-nineteenth century Post's landscape, are one of its hardest features to document. Besides the fence shown on Fitton's map, Union commanders' reports noted only one other fence—a barrier located on the northern and presumably eastern edges of the cleared and overgrown fields located northeast of Fort Hindman (Exhibit 4-79). The dearth of reported enclosures, however, can be explained. Frank Mason, historian of the 42nd Ohio, noted that since the night of January 10-11 was "sharp and frosty" and General "McClernand had no special object in concealing his numbers or position," the abundant fence rails were burned in fires. Given this policy and the possibility that the Post's Confederate defenders also demolished fences and

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¹⁷⁰Report of Lieutenant Colonel Baldwin, January 12, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 734.

¹⁷¹Mason, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 271. Some of McClernand's force, on the other hand, did not build fires the night before the battle. General Sherman reported that "night closed in" before his "preparations were complete," and the men of his corps "bivouacked without fires through that bitter cold night." See Report of General Sherman, January 13, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 755.

appropriated rails during the weeks and months prior to the battle, it is a wonder that any fences remained standing.

Confederate Fortifications and Associated Structures, 1862-1863
Confederate engineers built their 1862-1863 fortifications on the Post's preexisting rural landscape. Fort Hindman (Figures 8-16, Exhibit 4-79) was the centerpiece of their efforts. Captain W. L. B. Jenny depicted the approximately 400- by 400-foot-square, earthen fort in detail in his plan of the works (Map 33). Fort Hindman was located between what Union troops described as two "very deep" and "impassible" ravines on the edge of the bluffs in the eastern part of the former Town of Rome. The fort's low, 18-foot-wide walls had an infantry-firing step on their interior, a bastion at each corner, and were protected by a 20-feet-wide and 8-feet-deep ditch. Its gun emplacements mounted four 3-inch, rifled, Parrott guns, six 6-pound, iron, smoothbore cannon, and one 9-inch and two 8-inch Columbiads—large coastal defense guns that fired shells or solid shot. All three Columbiads faced the river. The two 8-inch guns were mounted in casemates constructed of oak walls between one and three feet thick and reinforced

¹⁷²Report of General McClernand, January 20, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 707 (source of quotation "impassible"); Report of General Osterhaus, January 14, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 747 (source of quotation "very deep"). The same information is also contained in Fitton's map (Map 32). Archeologist John W. Walker states that Fort Hindman was probably constructed in the northern part of the Fort Esteban/Fort Madison United States Military Reservation, which Arkansas troops presumably seized along with Fort Smith, the Little Rock arsenal, and other federal property following passage of the state's secession ordinance in May, 1861. Three factors, however, argue against this conclusion. First, from a military standpoint, locating the fort on the reservation would not have provided a maximum field of fire down the Arkansas River; second, when the location of the fort, which lay at the eastern end of the Confederates' line of rifle pits, is plotted from known spots along the line, its position is located in the eastern part of the former Town of Rome; and finally, it appears that by 1862 all or most of the northern and eastern parts of the Military Reservation had probably eroded into the Arkansas River. See Walker, pp. 21-22.

with railroad iron, while the 9-inch gun was mounted on a center-pintle barbette carriage in the southeastern bastion. The interior of the fort contained two magazines and four barracks, and a bridge led from the entrance on the fort's west side to a road that connected with the Post's main north-south artery.¹⁷³

Additional defenses augmented Fort Hindman. Immediately opposite the fort, stretching from the east bank of the Arkansas to the middle of the river, Confederate engineers planted a line of wooden piles (Exhibit 4-80), or a "chevaux-de-frise of heavy logs" in Admiral Porter's words. This served to channel all approaching river traffic immediately under the muzzles of the Columbiads. Downstream, towards their first two lines of defensive rifle pits, Porter wrote, they placed targets (Exhibit 4-81) to regulate the range of their guns.¹⁷⁴ To the west of the fort, between its northwestern bastion and Post Bayou, the Confederates, who had not expected a Union attack so soon or in such large force, built a third "hastily-constructed," three-quarter-mile-long line of rifle pits (Exhibit 4-82).¹⁷⁵ For the first 600-700 yards these dirt and log breastworks,

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¹⁷³The most complete description of the fort is contained in McClernand's report. See ORA 1, 17, 1, p. 705. For a brief discussion of Columbiads and their development as coastal defense guns, see Emanuel Raymond Lewis, *Seacoast Fortifications of the United States: An Introductory History* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1979), pp. 32-33, 58-59.

¹⁷⁴Report of Admiral Porter, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion, Series 1, Vol. 23, p. 399, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 273.

¹⁷⁵Coleman, pp. 104, 197. General McClernand and General Morgan, from whom McClernand apparently took his cue, incorrectly stated that this line of Confederate trenches ran "westerly 720 yards towards the bayou." General Sherman, on the other hand, correctly recorded the "three-quarters of a mile" length. See Report of General McClernand, January 20, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 705; Report of General Morgan, January 17, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 721; and Report of General Sherman, January 13, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 755 (source of quotation "hastily-constructed").

which mounted six cannon, ran 50-100 yards south of Jordelas Street. The trench line then turned southwest and ran along the route of the street or immediately parallel to it for another 400-500 yards, terminating about 200 yards east of Post Bayou. This left the Confederates' left flank completely open and their rear exposed. Confederate units spent the entire night of January 10-11 prior to the Union attack strengthening their rifle pits by cutting down trees and brush in the fields along their front and building an abatis. However, their work was "very much delayed . . . [for] want of tools, axes, spades, &c."¹⁷⁶

Besides Fort Hindman and its associated defenses, southern forces erected several other clusters of structures at the Post. Approximately one-half mile north of their main line of rifle pits, outside of the present-day APNM boundary, they built their "main cantonment." This consisted of 648 log houses (Map 32) that comprised the winter quarters of the cavalry regiments that formed the bulk of Churchill's force. Immediately in front of the left center portion of this line, the 19th Arkansas Infantry Regiment erected the log huts (Exhibit 4-83) that formed its winter quarters. On the night of January 10-11, Confederate Colonel Deshler recalled, "I had them torn down in

¹⁷⁶For various descriptions of the Confederate rifle pits see Report of Confederate General Churchill, May 6, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 780; Report of Confederate Colonel Deshler, March 25, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, pp. 790-791 (source of quotations); Report of Confederate Colonel Garland, ca. July 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, pp. 783-784; Report of General McClernand, January 20, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, pp. 705-706; Report of General Morgan, January 17, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 721; Report of General Sherman, January 12, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1.

¹⁷⁷Report of Colonel Stewart, January 10, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 719.

order to destroy the cover they would otherwise afford to the enemy, . . . [and] the logs were used in making breastworks." The Confederates laid out a wagon park and fenced corral (Exhibit 4-84, Maps 30 and 32) southwest of Fort Hindman on the edge of the site's 20-foot-deep ravine. Presumably the park and corral held a large proportion of the 170 wagons and 563 animals, mostly horses and mules, captured by McClernand's victorious army. 179

Union Operations at Arkansas Post, 1863

Although federal forces constructed one small artillery sedan or earthwork (Exhibit 4-85) approximately 600-700 yards northeast of Fort Hindman, 180 the Union army's impact on the Post's landscape was almost totally negative. McClernand's invading troops pulled down fences to build fires, 181 cut down trees to open vistas and fields of fire for their artillery (Exhibit 4-86), 182 filled up rifle pits, and demolished the fort. 183 In the long run, however, their most wanton act of destruction was the burning of the Post's surviving buildings, some of which had stood on their sites since the late 1700s.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁸Report of Confederate Colonel Deshler, March 25, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 791.

¹⁷⁹Report of General McClernand, January 20, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 708.

¹⁸⁰Report of Captain Blount, January 13, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 729; Report of Lieutenant Colonel Malmborg, January 12, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 778.

¹⁸¹Mason, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 271.

¹⁸²Report of General Sherman, January 13, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 755; Report of General Stuart, January 14, 1863, ORA, 1, 17, 1, p. 772.

¹⁸³Committee of the Regiment, Military History and Reminiscences of the Thirteenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry (Chicago, Illinois: Women's Christian Temperance Publishing Association, 1892), p. 293, quoted in Bearss and Brown, p. 284.

¹⁸⁴Halli Burton, pp. 147-150.

Period Summary

During the late 1850s and early 1860s the Post of Arkansas continued to exist as a small rural settlement with some abandoned and unused buildings and strucutures. There may have been a few businesses and there were several surrounding farmsteads.

During the Civil War, from 1862 to 1863, Confederate forces built Fort Hindman and other works on the Post's bluffs to guard against a feared Union invasion of Arkansas and Little Rock via the Arkansas River valley. Union forces attacked the southern fortifications in January 1863, and destroyed not only the works, but also all the buildings comprising the Post of Arkansas. When the war ended, the Post's population had to start over and build anew.

1866 - 1928 (Exhibit 5: 1866 - 1928 Historic Period Plan)

Historic Context

Arkansas suffered from the effects of economic depression and the political turmoil of Reconstruction for more than a decade following the Civil War. By the late 1870s, however, conservative white redeemer Democrats representing planter-merchant and business interests had gained control of the state government. Arkansas subsequently embarked on a new phase of economic expansion fueled by the renewed commercial production of cotton for American and global markets. Besides cotton, the state also produced large quantities of corn and wheat, primarily for local consumption. In the early 1900s Arkansas River delta farmers, some of who migrated from the Midwest,

began the large-scale commercial production of rice. Other major commodities produced by the state's overwhelmingly rural and agricultural economy included lumber and fish. More than two-thirds of Arkansas remained timbered in the late 1800s; the state rapidly rose to be the fourth-largest lumber producer in the country. Fisheries continued to provide employment in communities nestled along Arkansas' numerous rivers and streams. Railroads, which provided the foundation for this economic growth, eclipsed rivers as the state's predominant form of commercial transport, and connected Arkansas with the rest of the nation. Nevertheless, despite this economic expansion and development, Arkansas' renewed late nineteenth and early twentieth-century prosperity was tenuous. Cotton prices, never consistently high, peaked in 1919 on the crest of a wartime economic boom and then plummeted. This sent the state's overwhelmingly agricultural economy into a sharp decline that persisted throughout the 1920s and became more desperate during the Great Depression of the 1930s.¹⁸⁵

Arkansas' population, which numbered 484,471 in 1870, more than doubled to 1,113,775 in 1890, and continued to grow in the first decades of the twentieth century. As was the case before the Civil War, most of the state's population continued to live on farms or in small communities consisting of several houses, a few stores and businesses, and possibly a post office. Despite the state's integration into the national and world

¹⁸⁵Dougan, pp. 248-249, 281-282, 288-292, 362-369, 387-391; Tucker, pp. 35-42, 55-56, 64-70.

economies, most Arkansans remained small farmers living on tracts that averaged 70 acres in size in 1925. This figure was even lower in parts of the delta where plots of 10-20 acres were commonplace. Moreover, an increasing number of farmers, forced to mortgage their lands and future crops because of hard times, became cash-rent tenants and sharecroppers at the mercy of landlords and merchants.¹⁸⁶

Conditions were especially bad for Arkansas' African Americans, who numbered 30 percent of the population in 1910. Although 23 percent of the state's African Americans owned at least some land in ca. 1900, most did not; in fact, well over half were tenants or sharecroppers. In the delta this figure ran as high as 82 percent.¹⁸⁷

Site Chronology

Geomorphology

Between 1863 and the first years of the twentieth century, the meandering Arkansas River (Maps 34-38) eroded another 300-to-400-yard swath of the Post's landscape (Exhibit 5). The site of Fort Hindman (Exhibit 5-79) disappeared into the river during the 1870s. The fort site was soon followed by the eastern part of the Town of Rome,

¹⁸⁶Dougan, pp. 281-282, 288-294, 296, 362-369, 387-391; Tucker, pp. 42, 54-56, 67-68.

¹⁸⁷Dougan, pp. 237-239, 292-296, 369-370; Tucker, pp. 43-53.

¹⁸⁸According to a reporter from the *Arkansas Gazette* who visited the Post in 1900, a small corner of Fort Hindman was still visible in that year. However, this is highly improbable. Given the fort's location on the edge of the river and the apparent relatively uniform rate of erosion, Coleman's statement that the site of the fort had entirely disappeared by 1880 is almost certainly correct. The reporter quite likely confused some scattered remains of the 1862-1863 Confederate rifle pits, which he also noted to the northeast of the old town, with the remnants of Fort Hindman. See Bearss and Brown, p. 284 (source of information on the *Arkansas Gazette Reporter*); and Coleman, p. 119.

most of the Town of Arkansas, and the entirety of Spanish grant 2368—the property originally owned by John Larquier. Similarly, the network of deep ravines gnawing into the interior of the Post of Arkansas continued to expand, although apparently not at its previous rapid rate. In 1903 the erosion slowed and subsequently stopped. That same year the Arkansas River temporarily altered its course to a new channel between one-half and three-quarters of a mile east of the Post—a change that became permanent in 1912. Still, the river continued to wreak havoc on the site. In 1927 an especially devastating flood inundated the entire Post, and destroyed or badly damaged many of the settlement's post-Civil War structures. Furthermore, the term permanent is only relative in describing the Arkansas River's change in course. As soon as the river occupied its new channel, its oxbow once again began migrating to the northwest, and a new sandbar began accreting on its eastern shore (Maps 39 and 40, Exhibit 5).

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¹⁸⁹Mattison states that the "old Confederate entrenchments admitted the river to the town." This observation, however, is almost certainly incorrect. The Confederate entrenchments, which were located about one-half mile north of the Post of Arkansas, were shallow rifle pits located on the plateau well above the Arkansas and could not have been flooded by the river. Mattison, like other early and midtwentieth-century observers, apparently assumed the deep ravines leading to the old river bed from the Post's interior were the eroded remains of an inner line of trenches instead of a naturally-occurring feature of the Post's landscape. See W. H. Halliburton (presumably a relative of W.H. Halli Burton), "An Arkansan Visits Arkansas Post," "Sunday Magazine Section," *Arkansas Gazette*, January 22, 1939, p. 3, copy of article located in Arkansas Post Place File, Arkansas WPA Federal Writers Project Folder II, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas; P.C. Howson, "History of Arkansas Post" (ca. 1931), p. 24, attached to Letter from Dallas T. Herndon, Secretary, Arkansas History Commission, to the Arkansas State Park Commission, June 4, 1935, Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; and Mattison, p. 72.

The shift in the Arkansas' course also precipitated a change in Post Bayou's route (Exhibit 5). For more than 130 years it had emptied into the Arkansas several hundred yards south of the southeastern tip of the Grand Prairie bluffs. After the river changed its course, the bayou turned northward at the site of its former mouth and followed the old channel of the Arkansas River east of the Post. The bayou then joined the river about three-fourths of a mile east of the Town of Arkansas.

Historic Background

As one historian states, "Arkansas Post never recovered from the ill-effects of war and reconstruction." In 1865 the Post's planters and farmers were penniless, their buildings and properties were devastated, and their slave labor force had been freed. The community's misfortune was worsened by the failure of crops in 1866. By 1867 conditions necessitated that the Arkansas County Court order \$5,000 to be appropriated to buy corn for the needy. In addition, a St. Louis banker, James H. Lucas, a former resident of the area, shipped \$300 worth of relief supplies to the Post. The arrival of the railroad between the 1870s and 1890s, which included a line of the Stuttgart and Arkansas River Railroad terminating in nearby Gillette, magnified the Post's problems. The railroad served to undercut the Arkansas River cotton shipping trade that contributed to the Post of Arkansas' prosperity as a river port in the decades before the

¹⁹¹Coleman, p. 119.

Civil War. By the early 1900s, moreover, the small remaining portion of the river trade disappeared forever when the Arkansas River permanently changed its course. 192

Nevertheless, despite these continuing problems, by the early 1880s the Arkansas Post had at least partially recovered from its postwar slump and once again consisted of a small farming community of thirty to forty inhabitants. The revived community was centered about the intersection of Jordelas Street and the county Post road about one-half mile north of the old Post of Arkansas (Exhibit 5). Like many rural crossroads communities throughout the state, it consisted of several houses, a small number of businesses, and a post office. According to the 1880 United States Population Census, the only census that identified either the Post of Arkansas or Arkansas Post as a separate community, the Post had a total of thirty-seven inhabitants—all white. They included three farmers, three farm laborers, one farmer/merchant, a merchant, a dry goods merchant, a dry goods clerk, a physician, a boarding house operator, and a saloon keeper. 194

¹⁹²Coleman, p. 119; Dougan, p. 248; Mattison, p. 72; F. M. Quertermous, "Sectional Map of Arkansas County, Arkansas" (St. Louis, Missouri: Aug. Gast Bank Note & Litho. Company, 1896), copy of map (no call number) located in Arkansas County, Arkansas Map File, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

¹⁹³Mattison, p. 72.

¹⁹⁴1880 United States Population Census, Arkansas Post, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, p. 54, National Archives Microfilm T-9, *1880 United States Population Census*, Roll 38.

The Post's small population, however, increased to upwards of 100 if families residing in the Post of Arkansas and on farms on the Spanish land grants surrounding the crossroads community are included. Early twentieth-century landowners in the old Post of Arkansas included L. C. Jones, the Place family, Charley Morphis, and Fred Quandt, whose 20-acre tract encompassed most of the western part of the settlement. In 1912 the owners of the Post's major farms (Map 12, Exhibit 5) were Fred Quandt (S.G. 2363 and 2432), Ruth Jones (S.G. 2432), E. W. (probably Emmitt Williams, S.G. 2344), Mrs. M. E. Reeves (S.G. 2307), J. A. Hudson and J. M. Wolf (S.G. 2354), George W. Conine and Emmitt Williams (S.G. 2297), and R. Bass (S.G. 2305). R. Bass was probably Rena Bass—an African-American. During the first decades of the twentieth-century African American dwellings were largely concentrated in two areas. These dwellings were found on the 16 acres of Spanish grant 2305 owned by R. Bass and among the

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¹⁹⁵Coleman, p. 119. For late nineteenth and early twentieth-century census enumerations of Arkansas Post and the surrounding area see 1870 United States Population Census, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, pp. 8-9, National Archives Microfilm M-593, 1870 United States Population Census, Roll 47; 1880 United States Population Census, Arkansas Post, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, pp. 53-55, National Archives Microfilm T-9, 1880 United States Population Census, Roll 38; 1900 United States Population Census, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, pp. 13-14, National Archives Microfilm T-623, 1900 United States Population Census, Roll 49; 1910 United States Population Census, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, pp. 2-4, National Archives Microfilm T-624, 1910 United States Population Census, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, pp. 1-4, National Archives Microfilm T-625, 1920 United States Population Census, Roll 53.

¹⁹⁶"Deed is Given to Ark. Post Park: Five Hundred Attend Picnic on Tuesday When Deed is Presented to Commission," Typescript Paper, pp. 00445-00450 (page numbers assigned by Arkansas Archeological Survey Staff – no file number), Box 2, APNM Administrative Files; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 22; Interview with Charley Morphis, May 7, 1968, quoted in Walker, p. 202.

fields and eroded gullies of the Post of Arkansas.¹⁹⁷ African-American residents were often farm laborers, tenant farmers, and/or sharecroppers who provided the labor to operate many of the area's white-owned farms. The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Post was comprised of a mostly white community inhabiting the area around the crossroads, and a mostly African-American community living to the south in and around the old Post.

Village of Arkansas Post, 1866 - 1928

Historic Land Use and Site Arrangement

During the 65 years following the Battle of Arkansas Post, the settlement's patterns of land use and spatial organization changed significantly. Although key elements of previous arrangements persisted, the Post, as shown in a 1931 Army Corps of Engineers survey of the site (Map 39), became much more wooded and major portions of its road network were transformed. In the late 1920s the Post's cleared areas continued to encompass all or most of Spanish grant 2305 (owned by R. Bass); portions of Spanish

¹⁹⁷This conclusion is based upon analysis of several sources of information, including P.C. Howson's statement in his "History of Arkansas Post" (pp. 22-23) that in 1930 the tract once occupied by the Post of Arkansas, property owned by Fred Quandt and donated to the state for Arkansas Post State Park, was occupied by "a few old negro cabins, tenantless;" and a ca. 1964 or later hand-drawn sketch map (Map 47) showing locations, functions, and occupants of early twentieth century Arkansas Post buildings located within APNM boundaries, which was compared with the enumerations of the Post's inhabitants contained in 1910 census and other previously-cited United States census records.

grants 2354, 2297, and 2363; and parts of Spanish grant 2307, including tracts located in the vicinity of the Reeves farmstead (Exhibit 5-96) and the former early nineteenthcentury sites of David Brearly' General Store (Exhibit 3-53) and James Smith's residence (Exhibit 3-54). There were also several open spaces to the south at the old Post of Arkansas. P. C. Howson, the landscape architect who developed Arkansas Post State Park, described the open spaces. He stated that they were located within a "veritable wilderness of old oaks . . . [and] mulberry, pecan, and cedar" trees, as well as a "tangled mass of weeds and briars" that had grown up over the site. 199 With the exception of areas immediately surrounding buildings, almost all of these open tracts were probably completely or partially fenced, and cultivated and planted with cotton, corn, wheat, and possibly orchards. Most of the remainder of the Post was wooded or overgrown with brush and shrubs, a pattern that apparently became more pronounced after the mid-1880s (Map 34). Timbered tracts included the Post Bayou bottomlands—a traditionally forested area, previously open and cultivated portions of Spanish grants 2307 and 2339, and the newly wooded portions of the Post of Arkansas. The eight-acre network of gullies in the Post's interior was also covered with trees, brush, and stumps. To the east, with the exception of much of the area previously occupied by the U.S. Military

¹⁹⁸Unless otherwise stated, all the information contained in this section of the study is derived from the Army Corps of Engineers map (Map 39); F. M. Quertermous' 1912 "Sectional Map of Arkansas County, Arkansas" (Map 38); the 1964 hand-drawn sketch map showing Arkansas Post National Memorial buildings being considered for disposal (Map 46); the ca. 1964 hand-drawn sketch map (Map 47) showing locations, functions, and occupants of early twentieth-century Arkansas Post buildings located within APNM boundaries; and other maps included in the "List of Sources" used to prepare Exhibit 5: the "1866 - 1928 Historic Period Plan."

Reservation, most of the Arkansas River's former channel was covered with rapidly maturing stands of cottonwoods.²⁰⁰

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century changes in the Post's road network were even more dramatic than the transformations that occurred in the site's vegetation patterns. A number of old roads were eroded or abandoned, existing routes were improved, and new roads were built. These upgrades were part of a statewide program to upgrade what virtually everyone in Arkansas agreed were poorly maintained roads. The effort, stimulated by a dramatic increase in the numbers of cars and trucks on the roads during the pre-1919 cotton boom, began in the 1910s and gained momentum during the 1920s.²⁰¹

Throughout the entire period, the settlement's main north-south route continued to be the county-maintained Post road running north from the Post to Gillette and Dewitt

¹⁹⁹Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," pp. 22-23.

²⁰⁰"Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park, Arkansas Post, Arkansas, 1931," pp. 00462-00464 (page numbers assigned by Arkansas Archeological Survey Staff – no file number), Box 2, APNM Administrative Files; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 23. The absence of cottonwoods on much of the site occupied by the U.S. Military Reservation may possibly linked to previous vegetation patterns. Soils in the areas surrounding the government tract, including John Larquier's Spanish grant 2368 and parts of the Post of Arkansas, were heavily cultivated and presumably contained a high concentration of organic nutrients that would support rapid treee growth. In contrast, throughout much of the nineteenth century most of the area comprising the Reservation was a bowling green that was probably never cultivated and had less fertile soil.

²⁰¹Dougan, pp. 347-349; Tucker, pp. 70-73.

(Map 38). 202 By the late 1920s the portion of the road north of its intersection with Jordelas Street, which was rated as a graded and drained road on mid-1930s Arkansas state highway maps, may have been improved. 203 When compared to the largely structural upgrades to the Post's major north- south road, the changes to its major eastwest route were more radical. The eastern portion of this dirt road, the Civil War-era River Road (Exhibit 5), was washed away by the same annual rises in the Arkansas that claimed Fort Hindman. It was subsequently replaced by another unimproved county road that ran about one-quarter mile north of the original road trace. The western part of the east-west road, which consisted of Jordelas Street and the DeWitt Road (Exhibit 5), probably continued to follow its traditional alignment through the last years of the nineteenth century. Sometime around 1900, however, the portion of the road to the west of the Reeves farm (Exhibit 5-96) was abandoned. A new county road, which may have followed an earlier post-Civil War road trace, was built to the north to replace it. This road, which connected with Jordelas Street about 400 yards to the west of the Arkansas Post settlement, probably remained unimproved. In the late 1920s there was no bridge over Post Bayou (there had been one in 1907) and the roadbed apparently

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²⁰²C. Roeser, Jr., and the Post Office Topography Office, "Post Route Map of the State of Arkansas and of Indian and Oklahoma Territory with Adjacent Portions of Mississippi, Tenneesse, Missouri, Kansas, Texas, and Louisiana Showing Post Offices with the Intermediate Distances and Mail Routes in Operation the 1st of August 1891," Map 2 of 2, Record Group 28, Records of the Post Office Department, Series - Regional Postal Route Maps before 1894, Folder 26, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.
²⁰³Arkansas State Highway Commission, "General Highway and Transportation Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas" (Arkansas: 1936), copy of map (no call number) located in Arkansas County, Arkansas Map File, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Minutes of the October 15, 1930, Meeting of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission, Arkansas Department of Parks Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas.

remained dirt until it intersected with the main graveled highway about two miles from the Post. The third major road comprising the Post's circulation network was a dirt road that ran southwest from the junction of the two county roads at Arkansas Post.

This road followed the approximate course of the old River Road and crossed Post Bayou on a brick crossing. Branches off this road led to the farmsteads, fields, and houses clustered throughout the old Post of Arkansas and Spanish grants 2307, 2339, and 2305. With the exception of the western portion of the old River Road, few if any of these roads followed historic road traces. Since erosion and other natural forces were constantly altering the Post's geography, rerouting was probably even more common at the Post than in the rest of Arkansas. As one historian notes, "any time a tree fell or a washout or mudhole developed, [travelers] simply made a new track around the obstacle," a practice that remained standard well into the twentieth century. 2016

²⁰⁴"Map of Arkansas County Showing System of State Highways, Arkansas State Highway Department & County Primary Highway System" (1936), Copy of map in APNM Administrative Files; M. Maxwell, "Plat of Parts of Townships 7 & 8 South, Ranges 3 & 4 West North of Arkansas River Showing Survey made for L. C. Jones of 90 Acres off the South End of Spanish Land Grant No. 2428 with accretion thereto . . . , February 19 & 20 1907," copy of map in Tube A-60, APNM Map Files (source of information on 1907 bridge); Minutes of the February 11, 1930 Meeting of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission, Arkansas Department of Parks Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; October 15, 1930 Arkansas Post State Park Commission Meeting Minutes.

²⁰⁵M. Maxwell, "Plat of Parts of Townships 7 & 8 South, Ranges 3 & 4 West North of Arkansas River Showing Survey made for L.C. Jones of 90 Acres off the South End of Spanish Land Grant No. 2428 with accretion thereto . . . , February 19 & 20 1907," copy of map in Tube A-60, APNM Map Files. ²⁰⁶Dougan, p. 119.

Historic Buildings and Associated Features

Three major groups of buildings and structures were located on Arkansas Post's late nineteenth and early twentieth-century landscape. The three groups included the remains of the Post's pre-1863 structures and Civil War-era fortifications; the farmsteads and business establishments comprising the white settlement at Arkansas Post, and the houses and farms comprising the African-American community to the south. By the 1920s a few scattered and crumbling ruins were all that survived from the pre-1863 Post of Arkansas destroyed by McClernand's invading Union forces. The most prominent remains were the ruins of the Arkansas Post State Bank building (Exhibit 5-55). Its foundations and part of its walls remained intact although they were overgrown with what P. C. Howson described as sumac and briers. 207 Charley Morphis, who owned property at the Post and lived near the bank from 1915-1920, provided a particularly vivid description of the ruins. He recalled that when he arrived at the Post, all that remained of the bank building was "a big pile of bricks." Howson also described the remains of other scattered structures, such as the remains Frederick Notrebe's brick cistern (Exhibit 5-27/40),²⁰⁹ and an old well (Exhibit 5-88). The cistern was in disrepair, as was the well. Trees growing around the cistern had "sent their roots through the brick walls in search of water, causing the walls . . . to crack and fall in for at least 6 feet below ground level." The well also had caved in, necessitating a plank to be "laid over

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²⁰⁷Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 23.

²⁰⁸Interview with Charley Morphis, May 7, 1968, quoted in Walker, p. 202.

²⁰⁹The cistern, which apparently lies on the line between two of Notrebe's lots, may be associated with either his house and store (Exhibit 3-27) or his brick store (Exhibit 3-40).

the top to keep stock from falling in" to the well.²¹⁰ He also noted "sidewalks of brick that had sunk below the ground level and was [sic] overgrown with grass." In addition to these ruins on the site of the old Post, a small portion of the 1862-1863 Confederate rifle pit line (Exhibit 5-82), which Howson apparently confused with the site of Fort Hindman, also survived. It was located approximately one-half mile to the northwest of the old fort site.²¹¹

The second group of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century structures on the site were the clusters of buildings comprising the white settlement at Arkansas Post. As shown in Charles Taft's 1886 map of the area (Map 34), these buildings lined the margins of the north-south county-maintained Post road by the early 1880s. They had already assumed the characteristic spatial pattern they would display through the 1950s (Exhibit 6). None of these structures, however, can be positively identified until the first decades of the twentieth century. At that time they encompassed the buildings on Louis C. Jones' property (Exhibit 5-89), which included Arkansas Post's post office and a store (probably located in the same building); Clarence Owens' residence (Exhibit 5-90); the so-called Silcox Hotel (Exhibit 5-91) operated by Mine E. Silcox, wife of carpenter Charles Silcox; a house and several buildings occupied by Arkansas Post farmer and physician John Hudson (Exhibit 5-92); the residence of farmer George W. Conine (Exhibit 5-93); and a building known as the Quandt Store (Exhibit 5-94). Other

²¹⁰Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 23.

early twentieth-century structures located in the northern part of the Post included Frederick Quandt's residence (Exhibit 5-95); the buildings comprising the Reeves Farm (Exhibit 5-96), which were occupied by members of the Refeld family; and a house owned or occupied by Ina Hudson (Exhibit 5-97). In many cases, a number of additional smaller outbuildings were located near these major structures. It is likely that all or part of the building clusters' grounds were enclosed by wooden or barbed wire fences—an inexpensive form of fencing that had become increasingly widespread during the early twentieth century.

Little is known about Post architecture of this period. Without a doubt, almost all buildings and structures were certainly post-Civil War vernacular structures constructed following the destruction of the Post in 1863. Most probably embodied the building vocabularies of the Upland South, and were constructed of finished lumber, rough planks, or logs. Morris S. Arnold notes, however, that galleried French-style houses were still being constructed in Arkansas County as late as the 1880s. It is

²¹¹Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 23.

²¹²Mildred Barnes Hampton, "Return of a Post Office: Post Office at Arkansas Post, Second Oldest in Arkansas, Recently Was Re-Established at Site of State's Historic Former Capital," "Sunday Magazine Section," *Arkansas Gazette*, October 22, 1939, p. 3, Copy of article in Arkansas WPA Federal Writers Project Folder II, Arkansas Post Place File, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas; 1900 United States Population Census, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, p. 13, National Archives Microfilm T-623, 1900 United States Population Census, Roll 49; 1910 United States Population Census, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, pp. 2-4, National Archives Microfilm T-624, 1910 United States Population Census, Roll 43; 1920 United States Population Census, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, pp. 3-4, National Archives Microfilm T-625, 1920 United States Population Census, Roll 53.

²¹³Noble and Cleek, pp. 170-171, 174.

therefore possible that some of the Post's late nineteenth-century residences could have been built in this traditional form.²¹⁴ Another possibility is that one or more of the houses were "pattern book" houses, designed and fabricated by an early twentieth-century mail order builder. However, this is even more unlikely as it would have marked a break with the Post's tradition of vernacular building.

The houses and outbuildings of the Post's African-American community comprised the site's third major group of structures. During the first decades of the twentieth century these buildings included the homes of Richard Stovall (Exhibit 5-98), Rena Bass (Exhibit 5-99), Ambros Bass (Exhibit 5-100), and Emma Battles (Exhibit 5-101). Nothing is known about the appearance of the Stovall, Bass, and Battles houses. Presumably they were small, plain, frame or log structures that reflected regional building traditions. There were also African-American tenant houses or cabins with associated outbuildings located in the clearings, gullies, and woods of the Post of Arkansas. P. C. Howson provided several descriptions of African-American tenant houses at the old Post. He noted that these austere vernacular structures were log houses or cabins and were enclosed or adjoined by fences. However, by the late 1920s the tumbled down and

²¹⁴Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, pp. 46-47.

²¹⁵1910 United States Population Census, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, pp. 2-4, National Archives Microfilm T-624, 1910 United States Population Census, Roll 43; 1920 United States Population Census, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, pp. 3-4, National Archives Microfilm T-625, 1920 United States Population Census, Roll 53.

²¹⁶Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 23.

dilapidated buildings were in disrepair and their decaying fences littered the ground.²¹⁷ The most prominent structure in the Post's black community, the AME church located north of the Arkansas Post State Park gates between the 1930s and 1950s, does not appear on early twentieth-century maps (Maps 35-39). It may have been omitted from these plans, but more probably it was built after 1930.

In addition to the scattered remains of pre-1863 structures and the buildings comprising the Post's communities, several additional cultural features stood on the site between 1900 and 1928. There was a sawmill (Exhibit 5-106) operating in the western part of the Post of Arkansas in 1900. An unidentified farmhouse (Exhibit 5-107) was located in a field south of Post Bayou, on or near the site of two pre-1863 buildings (Exhibit 4-70). There were also two other unidentified buildings. One (Exhibit 5-108) was located on the east-west county road north of the Reeves Farm (Exhibit 5-96), and the other (Exhibit 5-109) was on the western bank of the Arkansas River's post-1912 channel southwest of the mouth of Post Bayou.

Period Summary

Arkansas Post never recovered from the effects of the Civil War. In 1865 the Post's planters and farmers were penniless, their buildings and properties were devastated,

²¹⁷Halliburton, "An Arkansan Visits Arkansas Post," p. 3; P. C. Howson, "Arkansas Post: Site of 246-year-old settlement becomes state park," "Your Home" (probably a section of an Arkansas newspaper, possibly the *Arkansas Gazette*), March 1932, p. 3, copy of article provided by Ms. Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum, Gillette, Arkansas; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 23.

and their slave labor force had been freed. The arrival of the railroad magnified the Post's problems by undercutting the Arkansas River cotton shipping trade that contributed to the Post of Arkansas' prosperity as a river port in the decades before the war. In the early 1900s, moreover, the small remaining portion of the river trade disappeared when the Arkansas River changed its channel. Nevertheless, by the early 1880s the Arkansas Post at least partially recovered from its postwar slump and once again consisted of a small farming community of about 100 inhabitants. Through early twentieth century there were three major groups of buildings and structures: scattered ruins from the Post's pre-1863 structures and Civil War-era fortifications; the farmsteads, stores, hotel, and post office comprising the white settlement at Arkansas Post in the north; and the African-American houses and farms comprising the community to the south, in and around the old Post of Arkansas. It is likely that these structures reflected the cultural traditions of the Upland South; it is not likely that any French influence in architecture remained.

1929 - 1963 (Exhibit 6: 1929 - 1963 Historic Period Plan)

Historic Context

The Great Depression and post-World War II agricultural consolidation and mechanization devastated Arkansas' traditional rural society of small farms and towns. During the Depression, the state's already-reeling agricultural economy hit rock bottom. Cotton, rice, and other farm prices fell even further from pre-Depression lows, reducing life in the Delta, the Ozarks, and other parts of the state to a "hardscrabble,"

hand-to-mouth existence."218 By the mid-1930s at least 60 percent of Arkansas' farmers were tenants, and for some plantation counties in the Delta this figure was more than 90 percent. Conditions were worst for the state's African-American sharecroppers, tenants, and small farm owners. Although federal programs such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) provided some relief and helped construct courthouses, post offices, parks, and other civic improvements, these initiatives only slightly diminished the want that plagued the countryside. Arkansans responded to the agricultural crisis through substantial migration to urban areas outside the region. Despite the return of more prosperous agricultural conditions following World War II, this migration accelerated in the postwar era as many small farms were consolidated into larger holdings. Tractors, cotton pickers, and other machinery reduced the demand for agricultural laborers. By the early 1960s the number of farmers in the state had decreased by more than two-thirds; as a result hundreds of small towns and crossroads communities that had served rural populations were abandoned as well. In the words of one writer, "as mechanization became increasingly common after 1950, . . . dry goods and grocery stores that had formed the heart of the small-town community rapidly closed." The symbol of Arkansas rapidly became the "abandoned rural store . . . surrounded by a weed patch."219

²¹⁸Dougan, pp. 428-430 (source of quotation); Tucker, pp. 77-78.

Although the Great Depression and its aftermath were a searing experience for Arkansas and Arkansans, one of the period's positive legacies was the expansion and improvement of the newly established State Park system. Arkansas acquired its first 80acre State Park in 1923, and by 1939 the system consisted of ten parks that encompassed more than 18,300 acres of land. These parks, defined as "area[s] within the state which, by reason of location, natural features, scenic beauty, or historical interest, possess[ed] distinctive physical, aesthetic, intellectual, creative, and social values," were administered by the Arkansas State Parks Commission. They included Arkansas Post State Park, established in 1929; Petit Jean, Craighead County, Crowley's Ridge, Lake Catherine, Buffalo River, Donaghey, Devil's Den, and Mount Nebo State Parks; and Watson State Park — a segregated state park for use by Arkansas' African-American population. 220 Some initial work at Arkansas Post and possibly other parks was funded by state appropriations, but the parks were developed primarily with federal Depression-era relief funds. The CCC and WPA performed the work under the supervision of National Park Service (NPS) technical personnel, in cooperation with the State Parks Commission. The CCC program, according to the Parks Commission's 1938 Annual Report, served a variety of purposes in Arkansas. It gave Arkansas the chance to have some of its "beautiful and interesting scenery" made available to all Arkansans, as

²¹⁹Dougan, pp. 421-425, 428-433, 438-439, 474-477 (quotation located on p. 477); Tucker, pp. 77-83.

well as "to our friends from other states," and further stimulated the state's economy through tourist spending.²²¹

Maintaining this federally funded park infrastructure was a state responsibility, 222 however, and by the mid-1950s Arkansas parks were considered to be in poor condition. A 1955 NPS report on the operation of the Arkansas State Park system stated that the "park plant" was in "substandard" physical condition and did not "warrant expressions of pride by citizens of the State." At several parks, including Arkansas Post, structures built by the CCC showed "signs of advancing age and need[ed] badly a comprehensive program of continuing maintenance which they deserve[d]" but had not received. Posts and rafter ends were "deteriorating," twenty-year old, hand-river shingles had "developed leaks," and some buildings damaged by fire had not been repaired, or replaced. The reason for the poor condition of the Arkansas parks, the NPS

²²⁰Arkansas State Planning Board in cooperation with the State Parks Commission and National Park Service, *Park, Parkway and Recreational Area Survey* (Little Rock, Arkansas: State Capitol, June 1940), pp. 31 (source of definition of a State Park), 35, 39, 43 - copy of report in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; Harold L. Reem Interview of Mr. Richard Davies, Executive Director of the Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism, Little Rock, Arkansas, June 23, 1998.

²²¹For discussions of the CCC's and WPA's development of the Arkansas State Park system see Arkansas State Park Commission, *Arkansas State Park Commission Second Annual Report - Fiscal Year Ending June 30*, 1938 (State Capitol: Little Rock, Arkansas, December 5, 1938), pp. 3-15 (quotations are found on p. 5) - copy of report in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; Arkansas State Park Commission, *Arkansas State Parks Commission Third Annual Report from July 1*, 1938 to June 30, 1939 (Little Rock, Arkansas, December 5, 1939), pp. 3-12 - copy of report in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; and the 1940 *Park, Parkway and Recreational Area Survey*, pp. 15-18, 31.

²²²Arkansas State Park Commission Second Annual Report, p. 5.

report concluded, was limited state funding with a "shoe-string" budget for parks.²²³ This report spurred some remedial action. A subsequent 1962 NPS follow-up report on the Arkansas park system noted that since the 1955 report was written there had been a "very marked increase in state park budgets." In addition "admirable progress" had been made in the rehabilitation of state park facilities.²²⁴ Nevertheless, the 1962 report concluded that the Arkansas Park Publicity and Parks Commission still needed to develop a statement of purpose for the park system as well as master plans for individual parks.

Site Chronology

Geomorphology

No significant erosion of the Post's landscape occurred between the late 1920s and the early 1960s. The Arkansas River, which occupied its channel a half-mile to the east of the site (Map 39, Exhibit 5) through the mid-1940s, did not border the site's bluff line, and there were no major floods. The river, however, did continue to change its meander pattern. In 1947 the channel abandoned the oxbow east of the Post, cut through the neck of its old horseshoe bend, and shifted to a new course. This largely

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²²³Allyn P. Bursley, Regional Chief, Division of Cooperative Activities, "Arkansas State Parks Under 1955 Conditions - A Confidential Report to the Arkansas Publicity and Parks Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas, By the United States Department of Interior, National Park Service, Region One Office," September 14, 1955, pp. 2-9, 25-26 (quotations are found on pp. 7-8) - copy of report in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas.

²²⁴"Arkansas State Parks Under 1961 Conditions - A Confidential Report Prepared by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Region One, Richmond, Virginia, for the Arkansas Publicity and Parks Commission," January, 1962, pp. 2-8, 10-13 (quotations are found on pp. 8 and 11) - copy of report in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas.

east-west course was located about one-quarter mile south of the extreme southeastern end of the Grant Prairie bluffs (Map 40, Exhibit 6). Following this change in course, the Arkansas' pre-1947 meander loop continued to exist as a stagnant backwater, and Post Bayou once again flowed into the river at a location several hundred yards south of the Post's southeastern bluff line.

Historic Background

Interest in commemorating Arkansas Post through establishment of a state park began in the early 1920s. In November 1923, Maude Bethel Lewis of Stuttgart, the president (or possibly the vice-president) of the district organization of the Arkansas Authors' and Composers' Society, first broached the project at a meeting of the organization held in her home. She urged Arkansas women's clubs, patriotic societies, and civic organizations to lobby to preserve the remains of the Post's old buildings. She also hoped to erect a fitting memorial at "Arkansas Post to DeTonti and his followers, who effected the first white settlement within the borders of the state." ²²⁷ Arkansas Gazette columnist, Fletcher Chennault, further publicized Lewis' idea following a 1926 visit to the site of the Post. Consequently, in 1929, Ballard Deane of St. Charles introduced a bill into the Arkansas state legislature proposing the establishment of an Arkansas Post State Park Commission. The legislature passed the bill and Governor Parnell signed it

 $^{^{225}}$ Thomas Strode, "Plat of P.S. 2363 Showing Changes in the Course of the Arkansas River and Ownership," 1947 - copy of map in Tube A-78, APNM Map Files.

²²⁶Czaya, p. 184.

into law on February 27, 1929. The bill created an independent eleven-member Arkansas Post State Park Commission, including one representative each from the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), to develop and manage the site. The legislation provided that the Commission could petition the Arkansas State Park Commission to assume its responsibilities and administer the park as part of the overall state park system.²²⁸

The Arkansas Post State Park Commission held its first meeting on February 11, 1930, and initiated planning for the park's development. On June 17, 1930, at a ceremony and picnic at the Post, the Commission accepted title to 20 acres of land on the site of the old Post of Arkansas donated by local farmer and merchant Frederick Quandt. Subsequent purchases and donations in 1931 expanded the Park's area to 41 acres (Map 41, Exhibit 6). The Commission initially developed and maintained the site with private funds and a \$5,000 appropriation from the 1931 Arkansas state legislature.²²⁹ By 1933, however,

²²⁷Dr. H. V. Glenn, "Arkansas Post State Park," Grand Prairie Historical Society Bulletin 4, No. 1 (1961), p. 9. ²²⁸Coleman, p. 121; Davies Interview; Glenn, pp. 9-10.

²²⁹Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 22; Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post Park Commission, February 11, 1930 - copy of minutes located in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; "Deed is Given to Ark. Post Park" - typescript copy of paper in APNM Administrative Files; Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post Park Commission, October 15, 1930 copy of minutes located in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post Park Commission, December 18, 1930 - copy of minutes located in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post Park Commission, January 10, 1931 - copy of minutes located in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; Minutes of Meeting of Arkansas Post State Park Commission in Session, April 7, 1931 - copy of minutes located in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; Ted R. Worley, "Arkansas Post as a Historical Site," Grand Prairie Society Historical Bulletin 9, No. 4 (1966), p. 16.

Arkansas State Park Board (Commission) to take control of and maintain the park. This was the Commission's only hope that the park could be "maintained and improved," especially since "the chances seemed favorable for the Park to share in certain Federal Funds for improvement, etc., if the Park were made a part of the general park system under the Park Board."²³⁰ The Arkansas State Park Commission assumed responsibility for the park later that year and managed it as part of the overall Arkansas State Park system for the next three decades. In August 1935, Arkansas Post State Park was designated as eligible for CCC relief funding, and the CCC and WPA completed development of the park during the following two years.²³¹ The park was established originally as a commemorative site, but by the mid-1950s its historical associations had been supplanted in the public mind by its use as a popular recreational park. Visitation to the park increased. Between 1938 and 1953 the number of annual visitors increased

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²³⁰Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post Park Commission, February 2, 1933 - copy of minutes located in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas; Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post Park Commission, July 19, 1934 (source of quotations) - copy of minutes located in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas.

²³¹Arkansas Post WPA Work Project Project Folder File (Project File No. 65-63-204), Microfilm A3112. Roll 151, Federal Works Agency, Works Progress Administration - Record Project, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Letter from William R. Hogan, Regional Historian, Region VII, National Park Service, to Mr. Dallas Herndon, Arkansas State Historical Commission, August 19, 1935, Box 2, No File Number, APNM Administrative Files; *Park, Parkway and Recreational Area Survey*, pp. 42-43; "Report of Arkansas State Parks Commission - 1936," Arkansas Post State Park Section - copy of report section located on Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas.

by more than eightfold from 3,000 to about 26,000 - a figure that was almost certainly even larger by the early $1960s.^{232}$

While Arkansas Post State Park developed into an increasingly popular tourist and recreational attraction, the small Arkansas Post farming community immediately north of the park and the old Post of Arkansas declined. Until the late 1930s the population of the crossroads village and adjacent area hovered around 100, and the settlement included farms, residences, several stores, and an AME church (Map 47). Twenty years later, however, the Post, like so many rural Arkansas communities, was largely abandoned. Most of its residents had moved away from the Post as a result of the Depression and agricultural consolidation and mechanization, or had been attracted by the promise of better opportunities elsewhere.

Arkansas Post State Park, 1929 - 1963

Historic Land Use and Site Arrangement

Landscape architect P. C. Howson, the manager of the Pine Bluff Nursery Company, developed the initial overall land use and development plan for Arkansas Post State Park. He conducted his first reconnaissance of the site in December 1930, and the

²³²Arkansas State Park Commission Second Annual Report, p. 10; Arkansas State Park Commission Third Annual Report, p. 7; "Arkansas State Parks Under 1955 Conditions," p. 24.

²³³Report on Establishment of Post Office at Arkansas Post, Arkansas, September 1939, National Archives Microfilm M-1126, *Post Office Department Reports of Site Locations*, 1937-1950, Roll 22, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Hampton, p. 3.

Arkansas Post State Park Commission formally retained him as consulting and supervising landscape architect for the project in April 1931, after Howson briefed them on his design. His three-year plan called for fencing and clearing the area, improving and expanding its road network, restoring the remains of the Post's historic buildings, and creating a landscaped recreation area centered around an artificial lake. 235 Volunteers who had received relief from the Red Cross cleaned part of the area in April 1931, but intensive work did not begin in earnest until May, after the Arkansas state legislature made its \$5,000 park appropriation. Over the next five months Howson's labor crew, which worked for a "reasonable wage," completed initial development of the site. They cleared remaining undergrowth and brush; trimmed or cut trees while preserving mature forest trees; blasted stumps from the sites of the lake bed and picnic grounds; and removed old fences and dilapidated, vernacular, African-American, tenant houses and their adjoining outbuildings (Exhibits 6-102, 6-103, 6-104, and 6-105). They also cleared a right of way for the park's perimeter fence (Exhibit 6-110, Figure 19). This fence was constructed of 48-inch "cattle and hog proof woven wire . . . [with] two

²³⁴Memorandum from Ovie Bradford to Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, August 1, 1964, Box 1, File 4, APNM Administrative Files; Mattison, p. 72.

²³⁵"Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00462; Howson, "Arkansas Post," p. 13; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 22; Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission, January 10, 1931; Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission, April 7, 1931.

strands of barb wire on top" and attached to steel fence posts.²³⁶ Cattle guards were installed at the park entrance, and the entrance was marked with four masonry columns (Exhibit 6-111, Figures 19 and 20) constructed with bricks salvaged from the ruins of the Arkansas State Bank building (Exhibit 6-55).²³⁷

Howson's crew formed the park's eight-acre lake (Maps 40-41 and 43-45, Figures 21, 22, and 23) by damming the neck of the deep network of ravines that had eroded much of the area of the old Post of Arkansas. The earthen dam (Exhibit 6-112, Figure 24), which had a concrete spillway or culvert (Exhibit 6-113 and Figure 24) subsequently rebuilt by the CCC and WPA, contained approximately 1650 cubic yards of dirt and was sodded with Bermuda sod. It was completed in August 1931 and by December of that year 10 inches of rainfall had covered the broken ground in the center of the park and filled the lake to one-third of its projected capacity. After it was full, the lake was stocked with

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²³⁶Unless otherwise stated, all information on the locations of buildings and structures in Arkansas Post State Park and the neighboring Arkansas Post farming community is derived from the from the maps and other materials identified in the "List of Sources" used to prepare Exhibit 6: the "1929-1963 Historic Period Plan." One of these sources, however, was especially critical and needs to be singled out for its usefulness—the July 1998, handdrawn draft map of the state park prepared by Lille Fuhrman, the Director of the Arkansas Post Museum.

²³⁷Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," pp. 00462-00463 (source of all quotations); Howson, "Arkansas Post," p. 13; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," pp. 23-24; Worley, p. 16.

game fish to make it, in Howson's words, "a Paradise for the sportsmen of Arkansas" (Figure 25). 238

Arkansas Post State Park's development also required major changes to both the site's and the surrounding area's road networks. Old roads were destroyed or upgraded, and several new roads were built. Inside the park boundaries, most of the old roads leading to the locations of the site's former cabins and tenant houses (Exhibits 6-102, 6-103, 6-104, and 6-105) were flooded or obliterated. However, a section of one farm road on the northeastern side of the lake was retained and formed part of a newly graded dirt road that eventually encircled the basin. In the southern portion of the park Howson laid out a circular earthen drive around the site of the Arkansas Post State Bank (Exhibit 6-55) and other portions of the early nineteenth-century Post. There was a concrete curb around the edge of the "historical circle." At the northern end of the site, workers constructed a road spur from the lake road to the location of the caretaker's lodge. In addition, a short entrance road (Figure 19) was built leading from Arkansas State

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²³⁸Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00463; Arkansas Post WPA Work Project Project Folder File (Project File No. 65-63-204), WPA Project Proposal, p. 3; Howson, "Arkansas Post," p. 3; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," pp. 23-24 (source of the quotation). Writers often state that the CCC formed the park's lake during the mid-1930s. Review of Howson's accounts and the WPA records, however, clearly indicate that the lake was created during initial work at the site in the summer of 1931.

1935-1936 – work that presumably included construction of a road and wooden bridge across the park's dam and rebuilding the dam's concrete spillway.²³⁹

As part of the site's overall development program, the state of Arkansas assumed responsibility for the access road leading to Arkansas Post State Park. The State Highway Department responded to Arkansas Post State Park Commission requests for road maintenance in ca. 1931. The department agreed to maintain the unimproved ca. 1912 east-west county road that partially followed the trace of Jordelas Street. The unimproved portion of the north-south road located between the park's entrance (Figure 19) and the road's intersection with the east-west county road were also to be maintained. The department redesignated these roads as Arkansas State Highway 169 and some improvements were made, including additional grading and graveling and probable construction of a new bridge over Post Bayou. Nevertheless, from the late 1930s through the mid-1950s Arkansas State Park Commission and National Park Service reports continued to cite poor conditions on the road as a factor in limiting

²³⁹"Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00463; Arkansas Post WPA Work Project Project Folder File (Project File No. 65-63-204), WPA Project Proposal, p. 3; Howson, "Arkansas Post," p. 3; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," pp. 23-24 (the quotation "historical circle" is contained in this account and the "Annual Report of Work Accomplished").

²⁴⁰Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission, February 11, 1930; Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission, April 7, 1931; Arkansas State Highway Commission, "General Highway and Transportation Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas (Arkansas: 1936) - copy of map (no call number) located in Arkansas County, Arkansas Map File, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Arkansas State Highway Commission, "General Highway and transportation Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas (Arkansas: 1947) - copy of map (no call number) located in Arkansas County, Arkansas Map File, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Arkansas State Park Commission Third Annual Report, p. 7.

visitation.²⁴¹ Rerouting of Route 169 in the late 1950s, moreover, only partially remedied this deficiency. The new 600-yard highway section extended from the western end of former Jordelas Street across the cultivated fields of Spanish grant 2339 to the park's entrance. It was more than a quarter of a mile shorter than the old route, but it continued to be substandard. An early NPS assessment noted decomposition of the asphalt-sealed road because it had been built to "minimal standards." By the late 1960s the road had "deteriorated beyond the point of rehabilitation by a leveling course and/or new surface treatment."²⁴²

P. C. Howson completed his development of Arkansas Post State Park's natural landscape with an ambitious program of plantings. Beginning in October, 1931, workers planted more than 670 deciduous trees, evergreens, and shrubs at various vantage points. Tree species planted included 18 tulip poplars lining the "historical circle" drive; a semi-circle of 20 Chinese elms (Exhibit 6-114, Figure 26) planted (probably west of the historical circle) as a UDC "memorial to the brave southern soldiers who fell at the battle of Arkansas Post;" 30 pecan trees; and 10 weeping willows. The hundreds of shrubs encompassed more than 90 spirea bushes, 75 assorted climbing roses, and almost 60 althea plants.²⁴³ WPA and CCC workers did not provide

²⁴¹"Arkansas State Parks Under 1961 Conditions;" *Park, Parkway and Recreational Area* Survey, p. 40. ²⁴²Memorandum "Project Requirements and Maintenance and Operation Instructions - Entrance Road Reconstruction, Arkansas Post National Memorial," ca. 1970, Box 1, File 3, APNM Administrative Files. ²⁴³Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00463; Howson, "Arkansas Post," pp. 13, 18; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 24 (source of quotation).

additional plantings to this impressive program. However, they did cut or trim approximately 50 trees in the park.²⁴⁴

Historic Buildings and Associated Features

Arkansas Post State Park's buildings, monuments, and other features dotted the site's landscape, which Howson described as "a beauty spot . . . worth traveling miles to see." These structures largely fell into two groups—those built during the initial period of the state park's development in 1931-1932, and those constructed between 1935 and 1937 during the years of WPA and CCC work.

Howson's workers constructed other features in addition to the park fence and entrance pillars (Exhibits 6-110 and 6-111, Figures 19 and 20). Other early structures installed by Howson's workers included a caretaker's lodge, picnic facilities, a well and pump, a bridge, rest rooms, the Lady of Justice statue, a stone marker commemorating the Arkansas State Bank, shelters protecting the park's restored nineteenth-century cistern and well, and (presumably) several small interpretive signs. The caretaker's lodge (Exhibit 6-115, Figures 19 and 27-30), which is better known as the Hinman or Quandt house, also served as park headquarters, a museum, and a post office. The log dogtrot house, which may resemble many Upland South, vernacular structures built at the Post during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, was built in ca. 1877 and was

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²⁴⁴Arkansas Post WPA Work Project Folder File (Project File No. 65-63-204), WPA Project Proposal, p. 3.

²⁴⁵Howson, "Arkansas Post," p. 13.

originally located near Hinman Bayou on the Quandt estate. During the summer of 1931 Howson's workers dismantled the house, hewed new logs to replace several of the structure's decayed timbers, and reassembled the extensively-repaired house at the entrance to the park. Structures in the area of the caretaker's lodge included the park flagpole and two small buildings—one of which was possibly the frame oil house described in a 1967 NPS memo.²⁴⁶ Howson located the site's picnic grounds (Exhibit 6-116, Figures 31, 32, and 33) along the lake road south of the caretaker's lodge. The picnic area was sited in a "large grove of native trees on the banks of the lake." The area consisted of seven concrete picnic tables and two outdoor ovens, and was enclosed with cedar posts to "prevent autos from driving on the grounds."²⁴⁷ A well and pump (Exhibit 6-117), which supplied water to visitors, were installed near the southern end of the lake. A wooden foot bridge (Exhibit 6-118, Figures 22 and 33) was built over the ravine between the picnic area and the well.²⁴⁸ The pit latrines (Exhibit 6-119), which

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²⁴⁶Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00463; Arkansas Post County Museum Staff, "Arkansas Post County Museum: Honoring Arkansas Post - Birthplace of Arkansas" (current edition of museum pamphlet containing background information on the Hinman or Quandt house); Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to John L. Peterson, November 28, 1967, Box 2, File 11, APNM Administrative Files; Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*, pp. 64-117; Halliburton, p. 3; Hampton, p. 3; Howson, "Arkansas Post" p. 13; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 24.

²⁴⁷Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00463 (source of quotation "prevent autos from driving on the grounds"); Howson, "Arkansas Post," p. 13 (source of quotation "large grove of native trees"); Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 24.

²⁴⁸Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00463; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 24.

were subsequently rebuilt or improved by the WPA and CCC in 1935-1936, were located at a distance from the well and picnic grounds on the north side of the lake.²⁴⁹

In addition to creating recreational facilities, Howson also preserved the remains of historic structures and created monuments commemorating "the most historical and interesting spot in Arkansas." The remains of Frederick Notrebe's brick cistern (Exhibit 6-27/40) and the site's nineteenth-century well (Exhibit 6-88) were restored and wooden protective shelters were built over both structures (Figures 5-6 and 17-18). The ruins of the Arkansas State Bank building (Exhibit 6-55), however, were excavated and scavenged for bricks to build the park's entrance columns (Exhibit 6-11, Figures 19-20). A commemorative marker on the site was carved from stone from the building. The Lady of Justice statue (Exhibit 6-120, Figures 21-23 and 34), which was probably erected with UDC funding, was installed at the south end of the lake. It was located on a promontory that "could be seen from nearly every angle in the park." The nineteenth-century statue, affectionately called the "Lady of the Lake," originally stood atop the old Arkansas County courthouse in DeWitt, and was placed in the park to remind

²⁴⁹Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00463; Arkansas Post WPA Work Project Project Folder File (Project File No. 65-63-204), WPA Project Proposal, p. 3.

²⁵⁰Howson, "Arkansas Post," p. 13.

²⁵¹Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00463; Howson, "Arkansas Post," p. 13.

²⁵²Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 004633; Howson, "Arkansas Post," p. 13; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 24.

Arkansans that the Post was once the capital of their "great state." In the mid-1930s several additional small, cast iron, historical markers were placed throughout the park, mostly in the vicinity of the historic circle (their exact locations are unknown). These markers commemorated the Post's brief history as Arkansas' territorial capital, as well as the establishment of the first French fort, the first meeting of the Arkansas legislature, the birth of the *Arkansas Gazette*, and the Battle of Arkansas Post. Besides these documented structures and markers, one additional undocumented commemorative structure may have stood on the site. Howson's original 1931 plan for the UDC area at the Arkansas Post State Park (Exhibit 6-114, Figure 26) called for the construction of a pagoda in the center of the semi-circular memorial grove of Chinese elms. Early NPS maps indicate that a building was standing on the probable location of the grove during the early 1960s, perhaps indicating that the pagoda or a similar memorial structure was built.

Howson's three-year program for developing Arkansas Post State Park was cut short when state and private funding ran out in 1932. Projected commemorative structures

²⁵³Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00463; Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Memorial, to Regional Director Southeast Region, July 28, 1964, Box 2, File 9, APNM Administrative Files; Note from Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum, to Harold L. Reem, Project Historian, September, 1998; Halliburton, p. 3; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 24; Harlan Hobbs, "Stirring Memories of State's Historic First Days Retained at Arkansas Post," *Arkansas Democrat*, June 6, 1937 - copy of article provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum.

²⁵⁴Ernie Deane, "Keep History in Mind When You Visit Arkansas Post," the *Arkansas Gazette*, May 8, 1963 - copy of article located in Arkansas Post History in Brief, Place File, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas; Worley, p. 16.

contained in his plan included a replica of Henri de Tonti's first Arkansas Post fort, a monument to de Tonti, and a replica of the log cabin that housed the first office of the *Arkansas Gazette*. However, these structures were never built.²⁵⁵ Instead, most of the park's remaining facilities were used for recreational purposes, and built by the WPA and CCC between 1935 and 1936 with monies provided by a \$9,194 federal emergency relief appropriation. The federal appropriation paid for rebuilding the park dam's concrete spillway (Exhibit 6-113, Figure 24), expanding and improving the rest rooms (Exhibit 6-119), upgrading the park's roads and paths, and improving its landscaping. In addition, the funds supported the construction of a number of new facilities.²⁵⁶ One such structure was a windmill (Exhibit 6-117) constructed by WPA and CCC workers. Presumably located on the site of the park's pump and well, the windmill served to "supply a constant stream of drinking water . . . [and] a supply of water to maintain [the] proper height of water in the lake."²⁵⁷

They also built four, single-room, 12- by 18-foot, log cabins (Exhibits 6-121, 6-122, 6-123, and 6-124, Figures 25, 33, and 35-37), which the state rented to overnight visitors. The cabins had no indoor water or toilet facilities, but were eventually lit by electric lights.

²⁵⁵"Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park," p. 00464; Howson, "History of Arkansas Post," p. 24; Minutes of the Meeting of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission, February 2, 1933.

²⁵⁶Arkansas Post WPA Work Project Project Folder File (Project File No. 65-63-204), WPA Project Proposal, pp. 1, 3.

²⁵⁷Arkansas Post WPA Work Project Folder File (Project File No. 65-63-204), WPA Project Proposal, pp. 1, 3 (quotations are found on p. 1).

Each cabin, moreover, had access to a WPA- and CCC-constructed outdoor oven and a picnic table (Figure 25).²⁵⁸ The WPA and CCC also constructed the park's swimming facilities (Exhibit 6-125, Figures 21-22) which were located on the west side of the lake near the picnic area. The facilities included a wading pool for children, a swimming platform, a water slide, a diving tower, and a diving board.²⁵⁹ A dozen brick and stone fishing benches, a baseball diamond, tennis courts, and a small golf course (locations all unknown) completed the WPA and CCC inventory of recreational facilities.²⁶⁰

Arkansas Post State Park's physical plant changed very little during the quarter-century after WPA and CCC laborers completed their work, and only a couple of additional structures were erected on the site's landscape. In 1961 Arkansas County Judge John Peterson sent the gallows (Exhibit 6-126, Figure 38) from the demolished county jail at DeWitt to the park, where it was installed along the lake road south of the caretaker's

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²⁵⁸Arkansas Post WPA Work Project Project Folder File (Project File No. 65-63-204), WPA Project Proposal, pp. 1, 3; Photos and annotations attached to Memorandum from Bernard Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs, National Park, to Ovie Bradford, Arkansas Post National Memorial, July 29, 1964, Box 2, File 9, APNM Administrative Files; Attachment to Memorandum from Ovie Bradford, Arkansas Post National Memorial, to Bernard Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, August 1, 1964, Box 1, File 4, APNM Administrative Files.

²⁵⁹Arkansas Post WPA Work Project Project Folder File (Project File No. 65-63-204), WPA Project Proposal, pp. 1, 3; "Report of Arkansas State Parks Commission - 1936," Arkansas Post State Park Section.

²⁶⁰Arkansas Post WPA Work Project Project Folder File (Project File No. 65-63-204), WPA Project Proposal, pp. 1, 3; "Report of Arkansas State Parks Commission - 1936," Arkansas Post State Park Section.

lodge.²⁶¹ Additionally, in 1963 a cast iron marker (Exhibit 6-127, Figure 39) was placed in front of the lodge to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Arkansas Post.²⁶² Indeed, if there was any significant transformation in the park during the 1940s and 1950s it was likely change for the worse due to the state's policy of deferring basic maintenance at most state parks.²⁶³ When the NPS assumed control of the site in 1964, the site's four log cabins (Exhibits 6-121, 6-122, 6-123, and 6-124, Figures 35-36) were in only "fair" condition. Moreover, the caretaker's lodge (Exhibit 6-115, Figures 19 and 27-30) required rehabilitation before it could be used as a temporary visitor center.²⁶⁴ Vandalism had also occurred at the park. "Rifle marksmen," an NPS official noted, had "delighted" in shooting at the Lady of Justice Statue, which had lost its upraised arm (Figure 34), and "was a sad symbol of anything other than malicious destruction."²⁶⁵

Village of Arkansas Post, 1929 - 1963

Historic Land Use and Site Arrangement

Between the 1930s and early 1960s only minor changes occurred to vegetation patterns

in the Arkansas Post farming community north of Arkansas Post State Park and in other

²⁶¹Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Memorial, to Regional Director Southeast Region, July 28, 1964; Note from Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum, to Harold L. Reem, Project Historian, September, 1998; Telephone conversation between Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum, and Harold L. Reem, Project Historian, September 11, 1998. ²⁶²Deane, "Keep History in Mind When You Visit Arkansas Post."

²⁶³"Arkansas State Parks Under 1955 Conditions," pp. 7-8.

²⁶⁴"Arkansas Post National Memorial Buildings Being Considered for Disposal," Appraisal attached to Memorandum from Ovie Bradford to Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, August 1, 1964; Memorandum from Chief Architect, NPS Eastern Office of Design and Construction, to Architect Carroll, Vicksburg, October 7, 1965, Box 1, File 4, APNM Administrative Files.

areas surrounding the site. Small areas of woods on the Reeves Farm (Exhibit 6-96) and Spanish grant 2339 were converted to fields, while other areas, most notably the lowlands comprising the Arkansas River's nineteenth-century channel, became increasingly forested. Moreover, the relocation and attempted upgrade of State Highway 169, associated with the park's development, was the only major change to the farming settlement's road network. The old county-maintained Post road, which by 1947 had been upgraded from a "graded and drained road" to a "metal surfaced" road, continued to run north from former Jordelas Street to Gillette and DeWitt. Other dirt roads also continued to follow their traditional courses among the area's fields, residences, and farmsteads. By the late 1950s, however, when most of the Post's population had departed, and its buildings were largely abandoned and deteriorating, it is likely that roads were becoming overgrown with vegetation as a result of disuse.

Historic Buildings and Associated Features

Throughout the 1930s and early 1940s, few changes occurred in the farming community's overall residential patterns. White families and business establishments continued to flank the north-south county road as they had for more than a century, while African-American families resided southwest on Spanish grant 2305 — the small tract owned by R. Bass in 1912. Barbed wire or other types of fences probably

²⁶⁵Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Memorial, to Regional Director Southeast Region, July 28, 1964.

continued to surround individual buildings or groups of vernacular structures. Major individual buildings or groups of vernacular structures included those on the Reeves Farm (Exhibit 6-96) located adjacent to the remains of the 1863 Confederate rifle pits (Exhibit 6-82); the Frederick Quandt house and its outbuildings (Exhibit 6-94); the buildings on Louis Jones' property, one of which was apparently known as the Hughes house by the 1950s (Exhibit 6-89); the Ina Hudson house (Exhibit 6-97); Clarence Owens' residence (Exhibit 6-90); the Silcox Hotel (Exhibit 6-91); George Conine's house and outbuildings (Exhibit 6-93); John Hudson's house and numerous outbuildings (Exhibit 6-92); the Quandt Store (Exhibit 6-94); and the residences of Richard Stovall, Rena Bass, Ambros Bass, and Emma Battles (Exhibits 6-98, 6-99, 6-100, and 6-101), all of which were clustered in a group on Spanish grant 2305. A few new structures, moreover, were probably constructed on the site after 1930. They included the Hudson Store (Exhibit 6-128), the Conine Store (Exhibit 6-129), and an AME church (Exhibit 6-130, Figures 20 and 40). The church, a 28- by 38-foot, single-story, frame structure, was built on a oneacre tract immediately north of the Arkansas Post State Park entrance, near the houses of the Post's black community. 267 Other structures had disappeared from the Post's landscape by ca. 1950, including the farmhouse located in the cleared field south of Post Bayou (Exhibit 6-107); the unidentified building located along the north side of State

²⁶⁶ Arkansas State Highway Commission, "General Highway and Transportation Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas" (Arkansas: 1936); Arkansas State Highway Commission, "General Highway and transportation Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas" (Arkansas: 1947).

Highway 169 (Exhibit 6-108); and the unidentified building (Exhibit 6-109) located east of the Post on the banks of the Arkansas River. It is likely that this last structure had eroded into the river. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, moreover, a significant percentage of the structures remaining on the site apparently were approaching a similar fate. Many of the Post's houses, its AME church, and other buildings, an NPS official observed, had been abandoned by their owners and occupants, and were rapidly rotting and deteriorating.²⁶⁸

Period Summary

Until the late 1930s the population of the Post's crossroads village and adjacent area hovered around 100 people, and the settlement continued to include farms, residences, and several stores as well as an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church. Soon thereafter, however, the settlement began to decline, and twenty years later the Post, like so many rural Arkansas communities, was largely deserted. Most of its residents had departed as a combined result of the Depression, agricultural changes, and the attraction of urban life, leaving the Post's vernacular houses, AME church, and other buildings to deteriorate.

²⁶⁷Warranty Deed for sale of AME Church building and lot, January 20, 1960, Box 2, File 12, APNM Administrative Files; "Buildings at Arkansas Post Considered for Disposal," Description attached to Memorandum from Ovie Bradford to Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, August 1, 1964. ²⁶⁸Memorandum from Ovie Bradford to Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, August 1, 1964, Box 1, File 4, APNM Administrative Files; Mattison, p. 72.

As the Post's farming community was declining, Arkansas Post State Park was established, and it became a popular tourist and recreational attraction. In 1929 the Arkansas state legislature, responding to a popular campaign to preserve and commemorate the historic Post of Arkansas site, created the park and placed it under the jurisdiction of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission. During the next several years the Commission, following a plan framed by Pine Bluff landscape architect and nurseryman P. C. Howson, developed the site both using private and state funds. These funds ran out in 1934, and the Commission transferred responsibility for the park to the Arkansas State Park Commission. The State Park Commission managed the site as part of the overall Arkansas state park system for the next thirty years, and completed its development using federal Depression-era Works Progress Administration (WPA) and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) relief funds. Facilities at the landscaped park, which hosted more than 25,000 visitors per year in the mid-1950s, included an eightacre lake; a caretaker's lodge; overnight tourist cabins; picnic, swimming, and fishing areas; and several historical monuments and markers. Despite the park's popularity, however, by the late 1950s it was beginning to deteriorate because of Arkansas' policy of operating its park system on a "shoestring" and deferring basic maintenance.

1964 - 1998 (Exhibit 7: 1964 - 1998 Historic Period Plan)

Historic Context

In June, 1939, following review by the National Historic Sites Survey, the NPS Region
Three Branch of Historic Sites prepared a special report on Arkansas Post

recommending its inclusion in the National Park System. The NPS National Advisory Board reviewed the study and on March 28, 1940, voted to classify Arkansas Post as a nationally-eligible site in accordance with the provisions of the Historic Sites Act. For the next fifteen years the question of the Post's national eligibility remained dormant. In 1956 Representative W. F. Norrell and Senator J. William Fulbright of the Arkansas Congressional delegation secured passage of the first of two bills authorizing the expenditure of \$47,000 for historical and archeological survey research to investigate the Post's eligibility as a National Historic Site. The subsequent studies — Raymond H. Mattison's "Report on the Historical Investigations of Arkansas Post, Arkansas" and Preston H. Holder's "Archeological Field Research on the Problem of the Locations of Arkansas Post, Arkansas, 1686-1804" — concluded that the site failed to meet the criterion of association with a great event.

The persistence of the Arkansas Congressional delegation, however, resulted in a NPS recommendation that Congress establish the Post as a National Memorial

²⁶⁹"Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," p. 1 – copy of plan located in Box 3, APNM Administrative Files; Cande, p. 14; Robert B. Kasparek, "Master Plan of Arkansas Post National Memorial" (October, 1964) Chapter 1, "Basic Information," p. 2 – copy of plan located in Box 2, File 5, APNM Administrative Files; Mattison, p. iv.

commemorating European exploration and settlement of the lower Mississippi valley. On March 26, 1959, Congressman Norrell introduced the bill to authorize establishment of the memorial, and on July 6, 1960, President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the act into law.²⁷¹ Over the next four years the State of Arkansas acquired property for the site, and on June 24, 1964, the park was formally established on land the state donated to the NPS²⁷²

Since 1964 the Arkansas Post National Memorial (APNM) has been administered and interpreted as a unit of the National Park System. The memorial originally consisted of 220 acres, which was expanded to 720 acres before it was fixed at its current 389.2 acres. It currently encompasses all the lands located in Spanish grant 2305; those parts of the old Post of Arkansas, the former United States Military Reservation, and Spanish grants 2307, 2339, 2344, 2354, 2363, and 2432 located over 162 feet in elevation above

²⁷⁰Kasparek, p. 1; Ted R. Worley, Untitled typescript of July 20, 1956, *Arkansas Gazette* article discussing the enactment and provisions of Senator Fulbright's 1956 Arkansas Post site survey bill, Arkansas Post Survey Correspondence Folder, Arkansas Post Place File, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas. There may or may not have been a direct connection between the Arkansas Congressional delegation's 1956 action to investigate the Post's eligibility as a National Historic Site and the NPS 1955 report on the Arkansas State Park system. The report concluded that the system's "park plant" was in "substandard" physical condition and "not such as to warrant expressions of pride by citizens of the State." The chronology of events, however, appears to be more than coincidental. See Bursley, "Arkansas State Parks Under 1955 Conditions," pp. 2-9, 25-26 (quotations are found on pp. 7-8).

²⁷¹Coleman, p. 121; Kasparek, Chapter 1, p. 3.

²⁷²"Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," p. 1; Memorandum from Elbert Cox, Regional Director, NPS Southeast Region, to R. E. Woods, Executive Director, Arkansas Publicity and Parks Commission, October 9, 1963, Box 2, File 11, APNM Administrative Files; "Governor Faubus Presents Deeds for Arkansas Post National Memorial," United States Department of Interior News Release, June 24, 1964, Box 2, File 16, APNM Administrative Files.

²⁷³The adjacent Menard-Hodges unit was authorized for inclusion in the memorial in 1998 but acquisition has not yet been initiated.

mean sea level (MSL); and a portion of Spanish grant 2333 situated above 162 feet MSL.²⁷⁴ The NPS initially developed the park at the end of its Mission 66 initiative, which was designed to meet the increased needs of an influx of post-World War II visitors to national parks. Much of the APNM infrastructure, however, postdates the Mission 66 period, although it does continue to reflect the Mission 66 goal of providing maximum public access to historic and natural resources and resource preservation.²⁷⁵

Site Chronology

Geomorphology

During the mid-1960s Arkansas Post's geomorphology was significantly transformed again—but this time by engineering rather than natural forces. Between 1965 and 1967 the Army Corps of Engineers constructed the Arkansas River Navigation System's Lock and Dam Number 2 on the river below the Post. Dam Number 2—the Wilbur D. Mills

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²⁷⁴" Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," pp. 23-24; Cande, p. 14; United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, National Park Service. "Proposed Acquisition – Arkansas Post National Memorial," Drawing 411/30.001A, October 1974 - copy of map in Box 2, File 11, APNM Administrative Files; Walker, p. 1. The Secretary of the Interior originally designated a tract of approximately 740 acres as the proposed area for the memorial on December 24, 1960. However, because the Army Corps of Engineers' Arkansas River navigation project was projected to inundate the 70% of the acreage located below 162 feet MSL, this area was subsequently reduced to 255 acres and later to 220 acres. The APNM Administrative files contain a voluminous correspondence (letters and memorandums, deeds, surveys and maps, etc.) covering acquisition and transfer of the property. For general information see: Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to C. C. Stuart, Department of Education, Arkansas County, Arkansas, January 24, 1969, Box 1, File 23, APNM Administrative Files; Memorandum from Cox to Woods, October 9, 1963; and Kasparek, Chapter 1, p. 2.

²⁷⁵Kasparek, "Master Plan of Arkansas Post National Memorial" (October, 1964) Chapter 2, "Area Objectives," pp. 1-8; *Questions and Answers: Mission 66* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, United States Department of Interior, ca. 1956), pp. 1-5; Fred B. Sarles, "Master Plan for the Preservation of Arkansas Post National Memorial - Mission 66 Edition" (March, 1961), Initial unnumbered page stating NPS and Mission 66 objectives.

Dam – became operational in 1967; and Navigation Pool 2, created by the dam, inundated all areas surrounding the Post below 162 feet MSL, including the Post Bayou bottomlands and the Arkansas River's pre-1912 channel east of the Post (Map 44, Figure 41). Portions of Post Bayou's flooded bottomlands became part of the Corps' popular Moore Bayou water recreation area and the 25-foot bluffs delineating the Post of Arkansas' southwestern boundary lost both their original prominence and part of their original form. Along the eastern boundary of the site, the western bank of Post Bend approximated the Arkansas' pre-1912 shoreline, but the bluffs and landscape were still transformed.²⁷⁶

Prior to construction, the Corps of Engineers consulted with the NPS regarding protection of the APNM site. The NPS concluded that the land to be flooded was wasteland and possessed no archeological remains of the very early, historic, de Tonti Arkansas Post nor of the successive posts of the first part of the 18th century. NPS concurred that the project could proceed as long as the Corps constructed "protective works" to prevent the remainder of the Post from eroding. One protective scheme, a

 $^{^{276^{\}prime\prime}}$ Arkansas Post National Memorial Environmental Assessment - 1975," p. 18 - copy of assessment located in File

levee system that would have introduced "an artificial element into the historic scene" and destroyed "its historical integrity" was rejected by both the Corps and the NPS as too costly. Instead the Corps elected to protect the Post's historical and archeological resources and "halt further erosion of memorial lands" by placing a stone revetment between elevations 160 and 165 along the shoreline of the peninsula. The system was not only affordable, but would also "permit Memorial development in keeping within conditions generally resembling the historical ones at Arkansas Post throughout the latter part of the 18th century and during the 19th century." NPS Assistant Director Ben H. Thompson approved this plan in June, 1962, and the Corps installed the park's protective rip-rap between 1965 and 1967. ²⁷⁷

Historic Background

The NPS developed APNM during two phases.²⁷⁸ The initial development phase, which lasted from 1964 through 1974, was funded by a \$125,000 authorization in the

ARPO 75-8438, APNM Administrative Files; Memorandum from H. Raymond Gregg, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Memorial, to Mr. Sam Dickinson, the *Arkansas Democrat*, August 14, 1962, Box 2, pp. 00598-00600 (No File Number), APNM Administrative Files; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, "McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System: Norrell through David D. Terry Dams" (Little Rock, Arkansas: Department of the Army, Little Rock District, Corps of Engineers, No Publication Date), entire pamphlet; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, "Site Survey - Dam No. 2 Site, Arkansas River, Arkansas," February, 1962, Map/Drawing Serial-AR8149, 53/11, Map 9-7, APNM Administrative Files; Memorandum from Lieutenant General W. W. Wilson, USA, to the Honorable Charles A. Buckley, Chairman, House Public Works Committee, June 20, 1962, Box 2, File 13, APNM Administrative Files. 277 "Arkansas Post National Memorial Environmental Assessment - 1975," pp. 26-27 (source of quotation "halt further erosion of memorial lands"); Memorandum from Ben H. Thompson, Assistant Director, NPS, to Major General R. G. MacDonnell, USA, Director of Civil Works, Office of the chief of Engineers, June 15, 1962, Box 2, File 13, APNM Administrative Files; Memorandum from Wilson to Buckley, June 20, 1962 (source of quotations "normal navigation pool," "protective works," and "an artificial element").

1960 bill to establish the memorial that was increased to \$550,000 in the 1966 legislation to amend the original act introduced by Arkansas Congressman Wilbur D. Mills. All but \$70,000 of the authorized sum was spent by July, 1974. Implementation included about one-fourth of the facilities considered essential to interpret and protect the site as a national memorial commemorating French and Spanish colonial settlement on the lower Mississippi Valley, early American settlement west of the Mississippi, and the January, 1963, Battle of Arkansas Post.²⁷⁹ Projects funded included clearance of post-Civil War, non-historical buildings and structures; improvements to roads, landscaping, and existing interpretation and support facilities; and construction of a combined visitor center and maintenance building, a new picnic area, an employee residence, a drilled well and sewage lagoon, and an interpretive trail and markers.²⁸⁰

The second development phase began in 1975 and lasted through the early 1980s.

During this period the memorial largely assumed its current form. Funds in excess of \$2,000,000 were used to develop facilities comparable "with those at other national

278Unless otherwise stated, all the information contained in this section of the study is derived from the sources used to prepare Exhibit 7: the "1964-Present Historic Period Plan."

²⁷⁹"Arkansas Post National Memorial Environmental Assessment - 1975," p. 11; "Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," pp. 1, 33-34 (copies of the 1960 and 1966 Congressional legislation regarding APNM are located on pp. 33-34); Memorandum from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior (name is illegible in signature block) to the Honorable Wayne H. Aspinall, Chairman, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, May 6, 1966, Box 1, File 18, APNM Administrative Files; Sarles, Volume I, Chapter 1, p. 3.

²⁸⁰"Arkansas Post National Memorial Environmental Assessment - 1975," pp. 11-12, 25-26; Arkansas Post National Memorial Highlight Briefing Statements 1967 Calendar Year," January 12, 1967, Box 2, File 1, APNM Administrative Files; "Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," p. 29; Memorandum from Campbell to Stuart, January 24, 1969.

historic or memorial areas with similar characteristics." Additional infrastructure constructed included a modified circulation network, a new visitor center, additional maintenance facilities, and a significantly expanded network of interpretive trails and exhibits.²⁸¹

Initial NPS Development, 1964 - 1974

Historic Land Use and Site Arrangement

During the first decade of NPS development, APNM's system of land use generally followed the arrangements developed during the State Park era. Although cultivation of remaining fields on the site ceased, the NPS made no significant changes to the park's vegetation patterns while it reviewed options for future development. Alternatives considered included reproduction of the landscape "at the height of . . . [the Post's] importance" (1819-1821), or perhaps at another time in the site's frontier history, and the "cultivation of historic crops." In the meantime, NPS work crews concentrated on maintenance of the existing landscape, including mowing open areas and restoring fields through brush removal and selective grass seeding. 283

²⁸¹"Arkansas Post National Memorial Environmental Assessment - 1975," pp. 9-11, 28-30; "Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," pp. 19-21, 29-30.

²⁸²Kasparek, "Master Plan of Arkansas Post National Memorial" (October, 1964) Chapter 2, "Area Objectives," p. 4; "Management Objectives - Arkansas Post National Memorial" (ca. 1969) - copy of objectives attached to Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, August 5, 1969, Box 2, File 5, APNM Administrative Files (source of quotations).

Indeed, until the second and most intense phase of the site's development began in the mid-1970s, the NPS's main achievement in managing the site's landscape was the establishment of zoned "land classification" areas. These zone designations would serve to guide the park's future evolution when debates about the exact form of vegetation patterns were resolved. Three categories of areas were identified – Class 2 "General Outdoor Recreation Areas," Class 3 "Natural Environment Areas," and Class 6 "Historic Areas" (Map 48). "Historic Areas," which occupied about 119 acres, were tracts "associated with history of sufficient significance to merit preservation or restoration." They encompassed most of the Spanish and American Arkansas Post settlements and the sites of the Town of Rome, the Town of Arkansas, and the 1863 Confederate rifle pits. Activities in these areas would be limited to sightseeing and historic interpretation, and access would be by trail. The "General Outdoor Recreation Areas" included another 107 acres that comprised the "man-made facilities outside the historic area." This area included all primary two-way park roads, parking areas, the memorial's picnic area, and the tracts occupied by the current and future visitor center, maintenance and support buildings, and employee residence. The "Natural Environment Areas" included a swath of land at the northern end of the park and the portions of Post Bend and Post Bayou located adjacent to the memorial's eastern and

²⁸³Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Management Assistant, Arkansas Post, April 19, 1966, Box 2, Page 00492 (No File Number), APNM Administrative Files; Memorandum from Campbell to Stuart, January 24, 1969.

western boundaries. These were "buffer" areas that provided a "setting" for the rest of the park. Development in these tracts would be "minimal." ²⁸⁴

Much of the early NPS work on roads consisted of resealing and paving the "historic loop" and other parts of the state park-era circulation system. However, NPS planners did initiate two major changes in the memorial's road network.²⁸⁵ The first change proposed in the 1964 APNM Master Plan called for the "development of a singular vehicular entrance to the park" to eliminate through traffic and permit "better management and protection of the area. "This proposal entailed relocation of State Highway 169 north of the park's original boundary and conversion of the old northsouth county Post road into the memorial's entrance road.²⁸⁶ Over the next year the NPS pursued this issue with the Corps of Engineers and the Arkansas State Highway Department. The Corps and the department were initially planning to reconstruct and raise Highway 169 on its existing site as part of their planning for construction of Arkansas River Lock and Dam Number 2 and its navigation pool. In April, 1965, the Corps and the Highway Department dropped their original plan, which would have necessitated a "complete change" in park development, and agreed to the NPS proposal. The new section of Highway 169 north of the park was completed in August,

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²⁸⁴"Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," pp. 15-19.

²⁸⁵See, for example, the Memorandum on "Road Repair" from Frank B. Hastings, Management Assistant, Arkansas Post National Memorial, to the Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, located in Box 1, File 1, APNM Administrative Files.

1966 (Figure 41). The north-south county Post road, resurfaced by the NPS, became the park's single entrance, and the portion of old Highway 169 located west of the memorial was subsequently flooded and obliterated.²⁸⁷

Five years after relocating the entrance road, NPS initiated its second major circulation pattern. In 1971 the service built a new curved road spur from the western end of old Highway 169 to the open field located west of the former site of the Reeves Farm buildings (Exhibit 7-96). The road, which terminated in a loop with four parking turn-offs, became the access route for the park's new picnic area and comfort facilities (Exhibit 7-135).²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶Kasparek, "Master Plan of Arkansas Post National Memorial" (October, 1964) Chapter 2, "Area Objectives," p. 3.

²⁸⁷The APNM Administrative files contain a large volume of correspondence discussing the relocation of the State Highway 169 and resurfacing of the old north-south county road. Most of these materials are filed in Box 1, Files 1 and 3; and Box 2, File 14. For representative correspondence and materials see: Memorandum from Assistant Superintendent Courtland T. Reid (Hot Springs National Park?) to Superintendent, September 8, 1964, Box 2, File 1, APNM Administrative Files (source of quotation "complete change"); Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Arkansas County Judge John L. Peterson, March 17, 1966, Box 1, File 1, APNM Administrative Files; Arkansas State Highway Minute Order (Number 65-115) Affecting Arkansas Post - copy attached to Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, April 30, 1965, Box 2, File 14, APNM Administrative Files; and State of Arkansas State Highway Commission, "Plan and Profile of Proposed State Highway 169 Alterations (Lock & Dam Number 2), Arkansas County," Map compiled by State of Arkansas in 1965 and published as National Park Service Drawing 411-40,005 in September, 1964, Map 9-9, APNM Administrative Files. ²⁸⁸Correspondence covering construction of APNM's picnic area loop road and the picnic area is located in Box 1, File 4, APNM Administrative Files; and Box 2, File 1, APNM Administrative Files. The most detailed description of the project is the NPS July 14, 1971, contract with C. J. Sutton Construction Company, the project contractor, contained in Box 1, File 4.

Historic Buildings and Associated Features

Before constructing APNM's interpretation and support infrastructure, the park service cleared away most of the memorial's "non-historical" post-Civil War buildings and structures. Between 1964 and 1966 NPS work crews removed the state park perimeter fence (Exhibit 6-110) and the wire fencing around or near the Reeves Farm buildings (Exhibit 7-96), the Conine house and store (Exhibits 7-93 and 7-129), the fields in the western portion of Spanish grant 2339, and other features.²⁸⁹ Other surviving buildings and structures were cleared away from the landscape, including the Hughes, Owens, John Hudson, Conine, Quandt, Ina Hudson, Richard Stovall, Ambros Bass, and Emma Battles houses and their outbuildings (Exhibits 7-89, 7-90, 7-92, 7-93, 7-95, 7-97, 7-98, 7-99, 7-100, and 7-101); the Quandt, Hudson, and Conine stores (Exhibits 7-94, 7-128, and 7-129);²⁹⁰ the Reeves Farm buildings (Exhibit 7-96); the AME church (Exhibit 7-130); the state park's WPA-constructed swimming facilities (Exhibit 7-125), log cabins (Exhibits 7-121, 7-122, 7-123, and 7-124), and outdoor ovens; the Lady of Justice statue (Exhibit 7-120); and the gallows (Exhibit 7-126). Arkansas County preservationists saved the

²⁸⁹Memorandum from Campbell to Arkansas Post Management Assistant, April 19, 1966; Memorandum from Campbell to Stuart, January 24, 1969.

²⁹⁰In the current 1998 edition of the Arkansas Post National Memorial Base Map provided to the Land and Community Associates project team by the NPS, some of these structures are identified by different names. For example, the former buildings on the site of George Conine's house (Exhibit 6-93) are identified as "Baner's and Cook's Residences," and the building on the site of the Quandt Store (Exhibit 6-94) is identified as "Baner's and Cook's." Although families by these names quite possibly occupied these structures at some point during their existence, their names have not been used to describe the buildings in the "1964 - 1998 Historic Period Plan." Instead, the names listed in the ca. 1964 hand drawn sketch map (Map 47) in the APNM Administrative Files have been used. This map, which corresponds to United States Census Records, shows locations, functions, and occupants of most major clusters of early twentieth-century APNM buildings, and is more comprehensive and presumably more reliable than the NPS base map.

gallows and Lady of Justice statue, which the NPS considered to be "intrusions" unrelated to NPS focus at the memorial.²⁹¹ The park service also declared eight buildings (Map 46), including three of the log cabins, the AME church, and the Jones, Hughes, Ina Hudson, and John Hudson houses, to be "surplus government property" and offered them for sale. Most of the site's structures, however, were apparently in such poor condition that they were simply razed.²⁹²

The only post-Civil War buildings exempted from the NPS sweep of the memorial's landscape were the state park caretaker's lodge (or Quandt or Hinman house) (Exhibit 7-115), one of the WPA log cabins, and the state park rest rooms (Exhibit 7-119). These structures were to be retained to support NPS operations until new infrastructure could be developed. In 1966 the NPS rehabilitated the caretaker's house as a temporary visitor center (Figure 42). NPS later donated the structure to the Arkansas Post County Museum near Gillett where it was moved (in two sections) in late 1967 (Figure 43)

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²⁹¹Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, July 28, 1964, Box 2, File 9, APNM Administrative Files (source of quotation "intrusions"); Memorandum from R. M. Lisle, Assistant Regional Director, Operations, Southeast Region, to Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, August 4, 1964, Box 2, File 9, APNM Administrative Files; Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to R. M. Lisle, Assistant Regional Director, Operations, Southeast Region, August 14, 1964, Box 2, File 9, APNM Administrative Files.

²⁹²The extensive correspondence describing disposal of the eight APNM buildings declared to be "surplus government property" is scattered throughout a number of individual folders in the APNM Administrative Files. The most thorough description is contained in the August 1, 1964, Memorandum from Ovie Bradford to Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs, located in Box 1, File 4; and the notice formally declaring the buildings to be "surplus government property" located in Box 2, Page 00544 (No File Number). Two of the WPA-built log cabins are still standing in nearby Gillett, Arkansas, where they were apparently moved in ca. 1964.

following completion of the new combined APNM visitor center and maintenance building.²⁹³ The NPS retained the log cabin for use as a tool and storage house until 1967 when the maintenance facility was finished and the cabin was dismantled and removed from the site.²⁹⁴ The state park rest rooms in the picnic area, which were described as "in poor repair" in a 1968 U.S. Public Health Service report, apparently remained in use as the park's only comfort facility through 1971. They were dismantled when a comfort station was constructed at the new picnic grounds (Exhibit 7-135) in 1971.²⁹⁵

The NPS replaced the buildings it cleared away with structures built primarily in the northern part of the park on a tract split between a "General Outdoor Recreation Area" and a "Natural Environment Area." These structures were grouped in a cluster on the west side of the memorial's entrance road. In 1966-1967 the NPS developed a single-story, frame visitor center and maintenance building (Exhibit 7-131, Figures 44-46) and adjacent parking lot in the cleared area formerly occupied by the Hudson Store (Exhibit 7-128). In the same year the NPS added a single-story, frame, three-bedroom

²⁹³Correspondence discussing the NPS rehabilitation, use, and disposal of the Quandt house (the NPS name for the structure) is filed in several folders in the APNM Administrative files, including Box 1, File 10; and Box 2, Files 11 and 17. See Memorandum from Acting Assistant Director, Operations, Southeast Region, to Director, July 30, 1965, Box 2, File 17; and the August 14, 1967, NPS News Release announcing donation of the Quandt House to the Arkansas Post County Museum, located in Box 1, File 10.

²⁹⁴Memorandum from Ovie Bradford, Arkansas Post National Memorial, to Bernard T. Campbell, Hot Springs National Park, August 31, 1964, Box 2, Page 00532 (No File Number), APNM Administrative Files; Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Arkansas County Judge John L. Peterson, November 28, 1967, Box 2, File 11, APNM Administrative Files.

²⁹⁵U.S. Public Health Service "Environmental Health Report, Arkansas Post National Memorial, Gillett, Arkansas," July 29, 1968, Box 1, File 12, APNM Administrative Files; July 14, 1971, NPS Contract with C. J. Sutton Construction Company for Picnic Area Construction, Box 1, File 4, APNM Administrative Files.

employee's residence (Exhibit 7-132) and accompanying access road immediately north of the visitor center/maintenance building. West of these structures in the wooded area of Spanish grant 2307, NPS replaced the 1931 "pump-handle surface well" dug by Howson's work crew with a new 600-foot drilled well (Exhibit 7-133). The new well and its adjacent sewage disposal lagoon (Exhibit 7-134), which were constructed in 1965-1966, were evaluated as "adequate in size" for not only the memorial's existing facilities, but also "for future development." These structures were temporarily supplemented by a house trailer (Figure 47) on loan to NPS by the Arkansas Publicity and Parks Commission for use as an administrative office until a permanent facility could be built. Parks 1986.

Construction of a new picnic ground and comfort station (Exhibit 7-135) — the last major facility constructed during the memorial's early phase of development — was delayed

²⁹⁶Construction of the visitor center/maintenance building and the employee residence is discussed in a large volume of correspondence contained in various folders in the APNM Administrative Files. See, for example, Arkansas Post National Memorial Highlight Briefing Statement, 1966 Calendar Year, Box 2, File 21, APNM Administrative Files; Arkansas Post National Memorial Highlight Briefing Statements, 1967 Calendar Year; and the Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to C. J. Sutton, Owner, Sutton Construction Company, November 2, 1966, which contains a detailed description of these buildings.

²⁹⁷Construction of the well and the sewage lagoon is discussed in a large volume of correspondence contained in various folders in the APNM Administrative Files. See, for example Memorandum from T. Reid Cabe, Management Assistant, Arkansas Post, to Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, September 4, 1965, Box 1, File 11, APNM Administrative Files; Arkansas Post National Memorial Highlight Briefing Statements, 1965 Calendar Year, Box 2, File 1, APNM Administrative Files (source of quotation "pump-handle surface well"); Arkansas Post National Memorial Highlight Briefing Statements, 1967 Calendar Year (source of quotation "for future development"); and the July 29, 1968, APNM Environmental Health Report.

until 1971. In that year, as part of the same contract that funded construction of the picnic area access road spur, these facilities were built in a portion of the memorial's "Natural Environment Area." They were located on the former site of the Reeves Farm (Exhibit 7-96) in the tract enclosed by and surrounding the picnic loop road. The picnic area included 25 picnic tables, 15 fireplaces, and two water fountains. The comfort station was served by the memorial's sewage disposal lagoon (Exhibit 7-134).²⁹⁹
Following construction of the new picnic facility, the NPS dismantled the site's forty-year-old state park-era picnic facilities located in the memorial's "Historic Area."

Early NPS development also included upgrade and expansion of the interpretive facilities and trails in the "Historic Area." The NPS performed additional maintenance on the remains of Frederick Notrebe's cistern (Exhibit 7-27/7-40) and the site's nineteenth-century well (Exhibit 7-88).³⁰⁰ In addition, some state park interpretive signs, including the Battle of Arkansas Post Civil War Centennial marker (Exhibit 7-127), were retained as part of the NPS interpretive program. The NPS replaced most state park markers with its own signs interpreting the Post's history and wildlife. New NPS wayside exhibits, which were completed in 1966, included a temporary park entrance sign (Exhibit 7-136) and interpretive signs covering "European Settlement," "The Post

²⁹⁸Loan of the trailer by the Arkansas Publicity and Parks Commission is discussed in several pieces of correspondence contained in various folders in the APNM Administrative Files. The agreement between the Commission and NPS governing use of the trailer is contained in Box 1, File 20. ²⁹⁹NPS Contract with C. J. Sutton Construction Company, July 14, 1971.

of Arkansas," "The French Period," "The Post Under Spain," "The American Era," "Wildlife," "The Birds of Arkansas Post," and "The Restless River." The signs were sequentially placed (exact locations are unknown) along the memorial's lake and/or "historical" loop roads and allowed visitors driving along the routes "to get an immediate perspective of the historic significance of the area." "301

Besides installing wayside interpretive signs in ca. 1966-1967, the NPS also developed a gravel historical loop trail from the southern end of the historical loop road through the sites of the eighteenth-century French and Spanish posts. This trail, which incorporated an old dirt farm road running northwestward from the southern tip of the memorial along its southwestern boundary, furnished an "exceedingly lovely view of the river and eventual lake" and combined "esthetics and history." The NPS provided two interpretive signs along the historic trail (apparently signs moved from the loop roads). In 1970 NPS installed a "Great Cross" exhibit commemorating Henri de Tonti and the foundation of the first Arkansas Post settlement along the eastern part of the trail

³⁰⁰Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Southeast Regional Director, March 23, 1966, Box 2, File 1, APNM Administrative Files.

³⁰¹Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Director, December 1, 1966, Box 1, File 10, APNM Administrative Files (source of interpretive sign titles); Arkansas Post National Memorial Highlight Briefing Statement, 1967 Calendar Year; Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Director, January 30, 1967, Box 1, File 25, APNM Administrative Files (source of quotation "to get an immediate perspective"); Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Management Assistant, Arkansas Post, March 2, 1967, Box 1, File 12, APNM Administrative Files.

adjacent to Post Bend (Figure 48).³⁰² The NPS, however, was not satisfied with this interpretive "mini-program" and felt that the park needed additional interpretive services. As APNM's 1971 "Interpretive Prospectus" noted, there "was little for the visitor to see or do" while touring the memorial, forcing visitors to "rely heavily upon ... imagination to fill in the story."³⁰³

Later NPS Development, 1975 - Present

The NPS attempted to remedy these interpretive shortcomings and deficiencies in the park's infrastructure during the second phase of the site's development. This phase began around 1975 with the publication of a new park "Master Plan" and "Environmental Assessment" and continued through the early 1980s. These documents guided development of the park to what it is today.

Historic Land Use and Site Arrangement
During this second and more intense stage of development, overall NPS planning and
construction activities continued to be guided by the zoned land classifications

³⁰²Historic Trail Project Construction Proposal, August 24, 1964, Box 4, File 22, APNM Administrative Files; Memorandum from Campbell to Director, January 30, 1967; Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, February 10, 1967, Box 2, File 5, APNM Administrative Files (source of quotations); Arkansas Post National Memorial Interim Master Plan Drawing NMEM-AP 3007 (this ca. 1967 undated drawing depicts the dirt farm road incorporated into historic loop trail) - Copy of drawing attached to Memorandum from Campbell to Southeast Regional Director, February 10, 1967; "Sketch Map - Arkansas Post National Memorial," ca. 1970 - copy of map located in Box 2, File 11, APNM Administrative Files.

established during the initial phase of park operations. The northern portion of the park, including the 80-acre addition from the Hudson estate, was used primarily as a Class 3 "Natural Environment Area" and wildlife refuge. The sites of the eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Post of Arkansas, the towns of Rome and Arkansas, and the Civil War rifle pits were developed as "Historic Areas." Finally, the areas on the northern and eastern sides of the memorial's lake and other scattered tracts were treated as "General Outdoor Recreation Areas."

Initially NPS planners considered restoring vegetation patterns to their appearance during the brief period when the Post served as Arkansas' territorial capital. By the mid-1970s, however, NPS decided that there would be "no attempt to restore the tree cover of any area in the park to a specific historic period." Instead, the "open park-like setting" would be "maintained" in the "historical area" and other tracts where it was already established, existing open fields would be mowed, and the remainder of the Post would be maintained in its contemporary wooded state. The sole exceptions to this rule were the "residence and maintenance" area at the northern end of the park and the area surrounding the Civil War entrenchments (Exhibit 7-82). In the residence and maintenance area, which would be solely devoted to these functions after the new

³⁰³Memorandum from Frank E. Hastings, Management Assistant, Arkansas Post National Memorial, to Chief, I&RM, Hot Springs National Park, January 25, 1971, Box 1, File 25, APNM Administrative Files (source of quotation "mini-program"); "Arkansas Post National Memorial Interpretive Prospectus - 1971," p. 4 - copy of prospectus located in File ARPO 75-8438, APNM Administrative Files (source of quotations "was little for" and "rely heavily upon").

visitor center was built, "screening . . . [was] required to establish privacy." In the vicinity of the Confederate rifle pits, the woods in the vicinity of the earthworks would be "opened up enough to invite visitors to walk along them."

Over the next three decades the NPS largely adhered to this plan. In the southern part of the park the wooded and mowed park-like areas and open fields encompassing the Post of Arkansas Historic Area and the lake largely retained their vegetation patterns from the state park era. Similarly, in the northern portions of the site large tracts of previously wooded terrain retained their forests, which matured into stands of large hardwoods. Nevertheless, there were some exceptions to the plan, several of which were particularly noteworthy. Northeast, east, and south of the memorial's 1971 picnic area (Exhibit 7-135) a large tract was cultivated as a "restored prairie"—a development directly contrary to the 1975 Master Plan's policy that there would be no vegetative restorations. Other areas, including the open fields in Spanish grants 2305 and 2339, were allowed to grow up in "young trees" or "second growth hardwoods." Finally, a large area of woodland in the western portion of Spanish grant 2354 apparently was cleared during the rerouting of new State Highway 169 in 1965-1966.

The NPS also significantly changed the park's circulation patterns to conform to its land use classification system. Public vehicles were confined to three roads: the realigned

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³⁰⁴"Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," p. 20.

State Highway 169; the park entrance road running south from Highway 169 to the new 38-car parking lot and visitor center (Exhibit 7-137) on the northeast side of the lake; and a new road extending west from the entrance road along the course of former Jordelas Street and connecting with the picnic loop road built in 1971. NPS contractors built the road paralleling or following Jordelas Street in 1975, 305 and constructed the new visitor center parking lot and an short adjoining realigned segment of the entrance road several years later in ca. 1980. Other park roads were obliterated and/or incorporated into the memorial's significantly expanded trail network. These roads included both the lake and historic loop roads as well as the 1,900 foot section of old State Highway 169 running from the picnic loop road to the former state park entrance.

These changes to the circulation system limited and controlled public access to the park's Historic and Natural Environment areas, the two portions of the site the park service was most anxious to preserve. Traffic to the memorial's recreational picnic area no longer passed through the Historic Area but instead traveled there directly via the new east-west road. Furthermore, the public could visit the location of the historic Post of Arkansas, the Civil War rifle pits (Exhibit 7-82), and other sites in the Historic and

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³⁰⁵Several documents discussing the road that paralleled former Jordelas Street and separated the Historic Area from the Recreation Area (picnic area) are located in Box 1, File 20, APNM Administrative Files. The detailed construction requirements for the road are contained in the undated "Specifications" for "Road Construction Separating Historic and Recreation Areas, Project No. 7310-4399" contained in this file

³⁰⁶"Specifications" for "Road Construction Separating Historic and Recreation Areas, Project No. 7310-4399," Box 1, File 20, APNM Administrative Files.

Natural Environment areas only via the trail network. These trails began at the main General Outdoor Recreation Area's new visitor center and other carefully selected locations throughout the park.

Historic Buildings and Associated Features

Additional construction during the second phase of park development occurred primarily in the General Outdoor Recreation Areas, which were zoned to include most of the park's non-historic man-made facilities. In the early 1980s the NPS built the new visitor center (Exhibit 7-137) on the northeast side of the lake near the former sites of two of the state park's log cabins (Exhibits 7-123 and 7-124). William Westbury's 1974 archeological investigations (Map 45), which found the remains of one of the cabin's brick outdoor ovens, concluded that this site was devoid of significant remains associated with the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Post of Arkansas. The completed visitor center included interpretive exhibits, a theater, and administrative offices, which were moved from the loaned house trailer (Figure 47). Another structure built in the vicinity of the visitor center was a fishing deck (Exhibit 7-138). A boat dock that would have allowed visitors travelling the Arkansas River to approach the Post by water along the route used by the settlement's French and Spanish founders

³⁰⁷Cande, pp. 44-47; Westbury (1975), pp. i, 1, 12-26.

³⁰⁸Arkansas Post National Memorial Interpretive Prospectus - 1971," pp. 7-10; United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, "Specifications for Visitor Center and Boat Dock, Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas County, Arkansas," November 24, 1975, Various pages, Box 6, APNM Administrative Files.

was planned but never built. Indeed, public boat launching and landing was subsequently prohibited within the memorial.³⁰⁹

The park's residential and maintenance support area was also expanded in the second phase of park development. Following construction of the new visitor center (Exhibit 7-137), the original combined visitor center and maintenance building (Exhibit 7-131) was used solely for maintenance support. This facility was supplemented, moreover, by additional maintenance and storage buildings (Exhibit 7-139) constructed during the 1980s. Plans to build one or more additional employee houses were not funded; a house trailer (Figure 49) moved from Mammoth Cave National Park in ca. 1970 continued in use as a second employee residence.

As projected in APNM's 1971 "Interpretive Prospectus," the second phase of park development included significant expansion of the memorial's systems of interpretive

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³⁰⁹"Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," p. 29; "Specifications for Visitor Center and Boat Dock, Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas County, Arkansas," Various pages; United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Arkansas Post site plan narrative contained in "Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas" park brochure (Government Printing Office, 1993 - additional printing of 1991 Reprint); current ca. 1998 edition of the NPS "Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas" park brochure.

³¹⁰"Arkansas Post National Memorial Environmental Assessment - 1975," p. 11; "Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," p. 29.

³¹¹"Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," p. 29. For examples of correspondence justifying additional employee housing at APNM see Memorandum from Frank E. Hastings, Arkansas Post National Memorial, to Director, Southeast Region, August 24, 1971, Box 1, File 20, APNM Administrative Files; and Memorandum from B. T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs, to Director, Southeast Region, August 19, 1971, Box 1, File 4, APNM Administrative Files. Materials describing the trailer, including the shipping document transferring the structure from Mammoth Springs to Arkansas Post, are located in Box 1, File 7, APNM Administrative Files.

foot trails and wayside exhibits. In the Historic Area encompassing the site of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century village, the original 1966-1967 historic loop trail (subsequently converted to a nature trail) was supplemented by an additional network of paved trails. These new trails approximated the course of Main Street and other portions of the Post of Arkansas' street grid. These routes were complemented by an additional foot trail that circled the lake and followed the course of the obliterated Arkansas Post State Park lake loop road.

After these trails were built, the NPS discontinued use of the existing Historic Area interpretive route "with its assortment of metal plaques and markers following no historical path." The NPS then developed a "new tour trail" designed to be in "relationship to the historic streets of 18th century Arkansas Post." After reviewing various alternatives for the topics and locations of interpretive stops, the NPS installed a number of wayside exhibits discussing prominent events, buildings, and individuals in the Post's eighteenth and early nineteenth-century history. The exhibits included markers discussing the "Arkansas River," "The Arkansas Post," the "Colbert Incident," the Post "Townsite," the United States "Trading Factory," the "Arkansas Gazette," "Montgomery's Tavern," the Arkansas "State Bank," and "Frederick Notrebe" and "Notrebe's Gin." However, an exhibit marking the positions of de La Houssaye's fort

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³¹²"Arkansas Post National Memorial Environmental Assessment - 1975," pp. 10, 29; "Arkansas Post National Memorial Interpretive Prospectus - 1971," pp. 10-11; "Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," p. 21.

and Fort San Carlos III was deleted from the program. This presumably is because the NPS concluded that Preston Holder's 1956-1957 archeological excavations had not located the actual sites of the works. 313 As part of this development program, the de Tonti "Great Cross" exhibit (Figure 48) was also moved from its original site to its current location southeast of the visitor center. Additionally, during American Revolution bicentennial celebrations, the Daughters of the American Revolution financed partial reconstruction of Fort San Carlos III (Exhibit 7-140) to commemorate the 1783 Colbert raid as part of the "Colbert Incident" interpretive exhibit. 314 To the north in the Historic Area encompassing the Post's Civil War rifle pits and the Towns of Rome and Arkansas, the NPS developed a second interpretive program that focused on the Battle of Arkansas Post. Visitors reached the Civil War area either by car or via two foot trails leading north from the park's lake. The first path was a nature trail that ran northwest along the Post's former southwestern bluff line before turning northeast towards the park's picnic area (Exhibit 7-135) and the Civil War rifle pits. The second path was a connector trail that followed the course of obliterated State Highway 169 and led directly to the trenches and the surrounding thinned vegetation. NPS marked the site of the rifle pits with an interpretive sign and cannon. To the southeast, at a turnoff along the park's entrance road, additional exhibits explained the

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³¹³Arkansas Post National Memorial Interpretive Prospectus - 1971," pp. 11-16; "Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," p. 29. The titles of the interpretive signs are derived from the wayside exhibits identified on the APNM site plan included in the ca. 1998 edition of the NPS "Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas" park brochure.

"Confederate Fort" and the "Battle of Arkansas Post." East of these signs in the waters of Post Bend, the NPS placed a marker indicating the "Approximate Location of Fort Hindman."

Period Summary

In 1956 the Arkansas Congressional delegation began a campaign to establish Arkansas Post as a national historic site. Four years later Congress and President Dwight D. Eisenhower authorized creation of Arkansas Post National Memorial as a site commemorating European exploration and settlement of the lower Mississippi valley. In 1964 the park was formally established on the site of Arkansas Post State Park and other lands donated to the federal government by the State of Arkansas. Since that date, the memorial has been administered and interpreted as a unit of the National Park System.

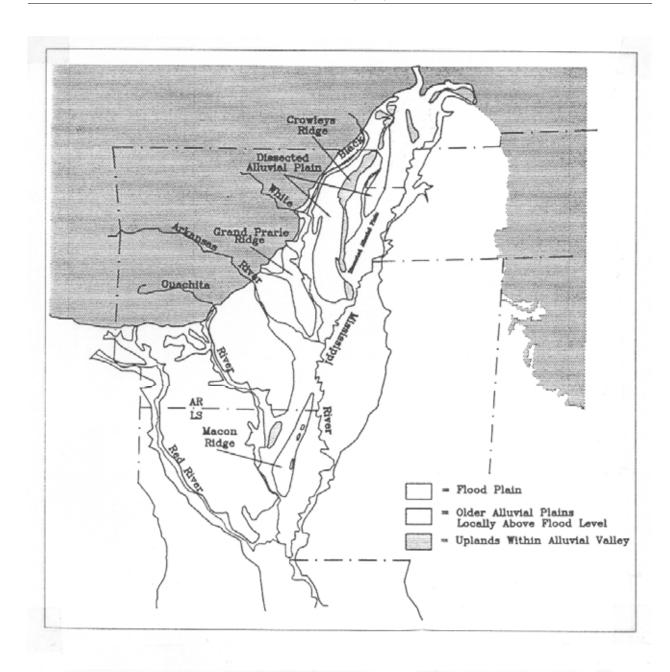
The National Park Service (NPS) has developed the memorial, which is bordered on its eastern and western sides by the waters of the Arkansas River Navigation Pool 2, in two phases. During the first phase of development, which lasted through the mid-1970s, NPS constructed about one-fourth of the facilities required for proper interpretation and protection of the site. It cleared the Post's deteriorating post-Civil War non-historical

³¹⁴Bearss, *The Colbert Raid*, pp. 1-3, 92-93; Memorandum from A. R. Mortensen, Acting Chief Historian, Southeast Region, to Mrs. J. Clayton Johnson, October 8, 1970, Box 1, File 12, APNM Administrative Files.

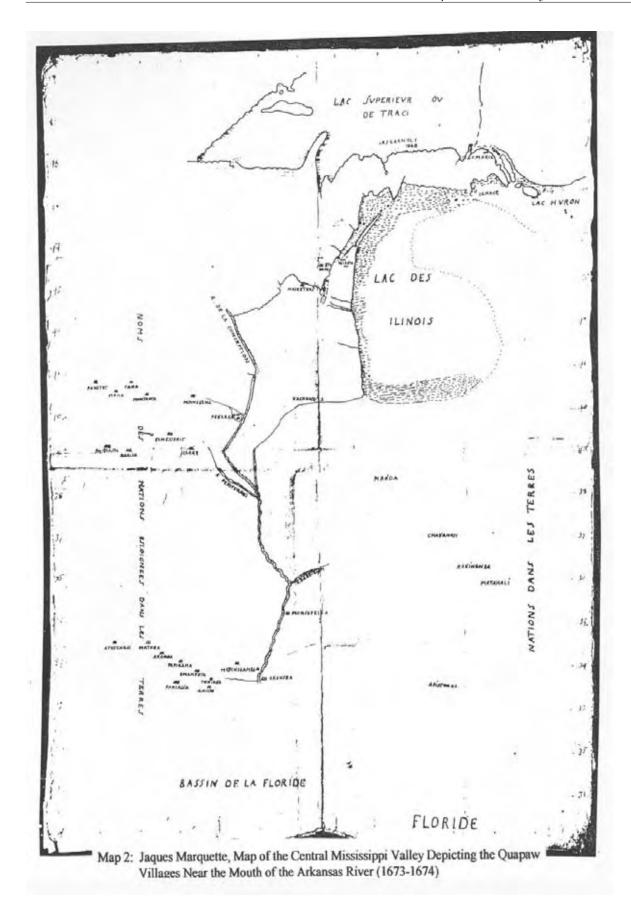
buildings and structures, improved roads and landscaping, and constructed a temporary, combined visitor center and maintenance building, a new picnic area, and a new interpretive trail and markers. Equally important, the park service developed land use classifications and other guidelines to complete development of the site.

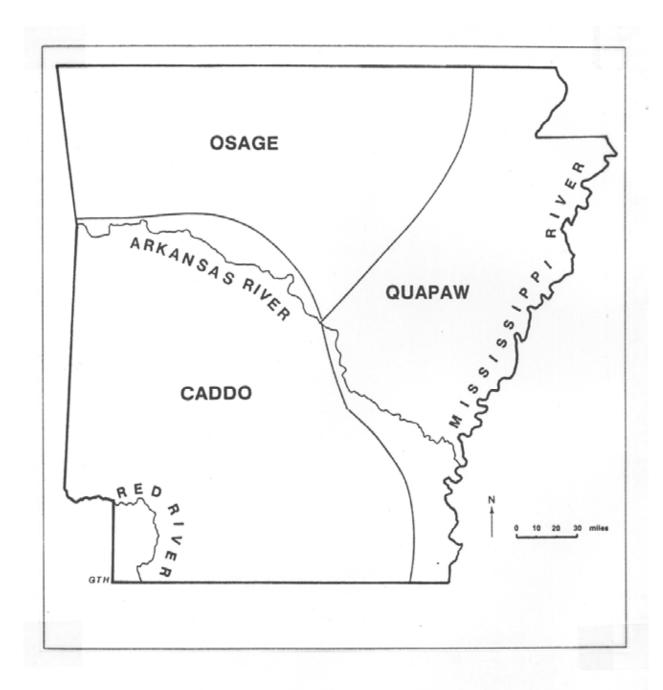
These plans were implemented in the second development phase, which began in 1975 and transformed the park into its current form. The NPS built a new visitor center in the General Outdoor Recreation Area located northeast of the park's lake. North and south of the visitor center in the portions of the memorial classified as Historic Areas, NPS constructed a significantly expanded network of interpretive trails. Exhibits located along the trail explained the history of the French, Spanish, and American Arkansas Post settlements and the Post's role in the Civil War. The remainder of the park has been developed and preserved as a Natural Environment Area and wildlife refuge.

³¹⁵Arkansas Post National Memorial Interpretive Prospectus - 1971," pp. 16-17. The titles of the interpretive signs are derived from the wayside exhibits identified on the APNM site plan included in the ca. 1998 edition of the NPS "Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas" park brochure.

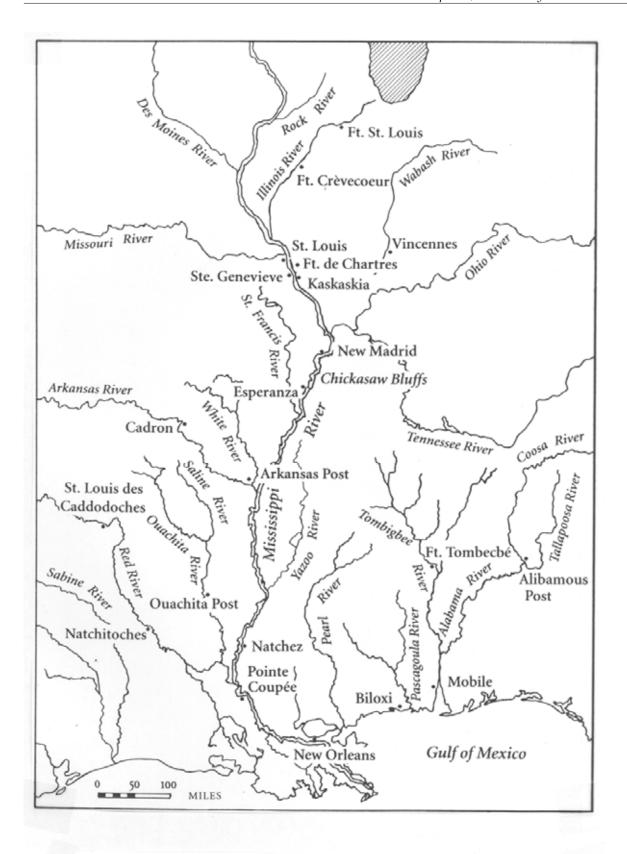


Map 1: Jami Lockhart, Courtney Waugh, and Michael Evans. "Portion of the Lower Mississippi River Valley Showing Locations of Grand Prairie Ridge and Macon Ridge"

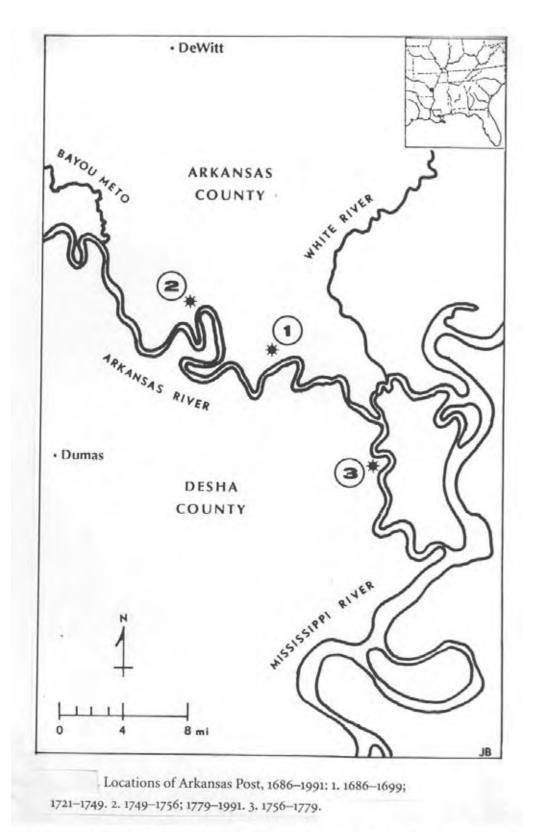




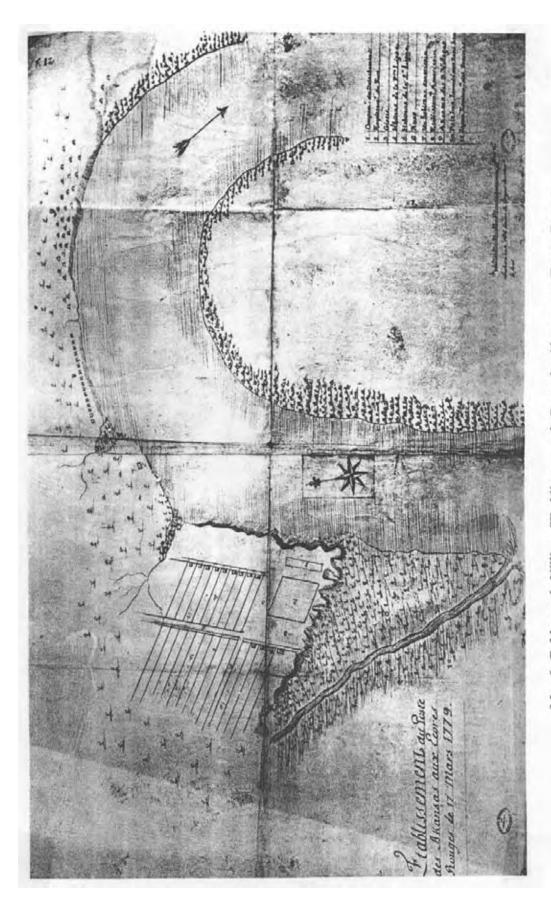
Map 3: Gerald T. Hanson, "Indian Tribes of Arkansas, 1690"



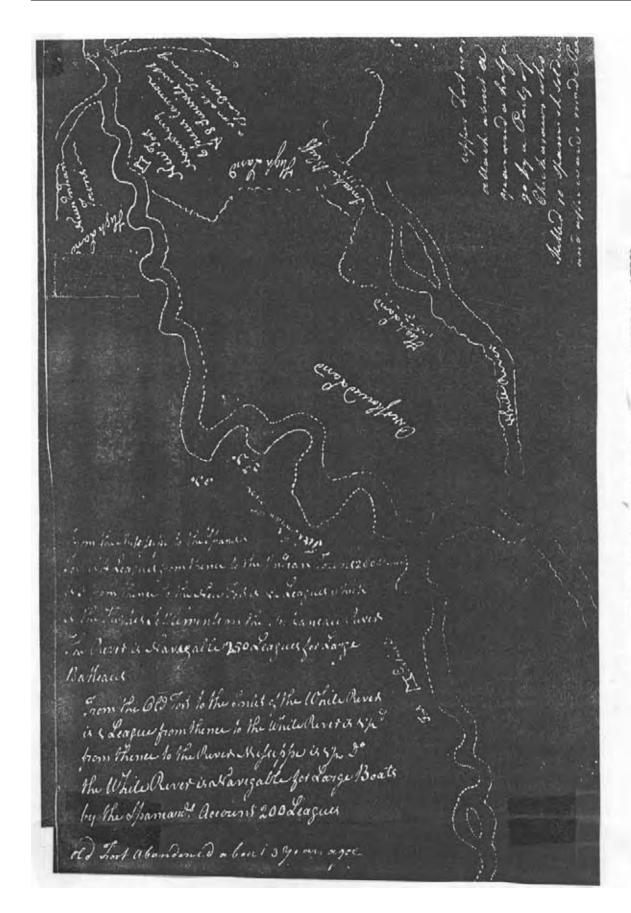
Map 4: Morris S. Arnold, "Map of the Arkansas Region in Colonial Times"

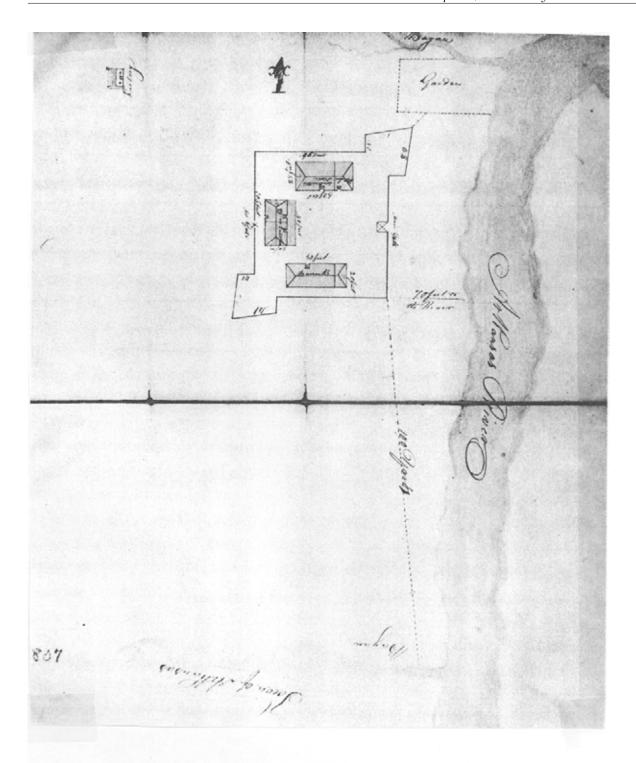


Map 5: "Locations of Arkansas Post, 1686-1999" (Adapted from Morris S. Arnold's Map "Locations of Arkansas Post, 1686-1991") 1. 1686-1699; 1721-1749. 2. 1749-1756; 1779-1999. 3. 1756-1779

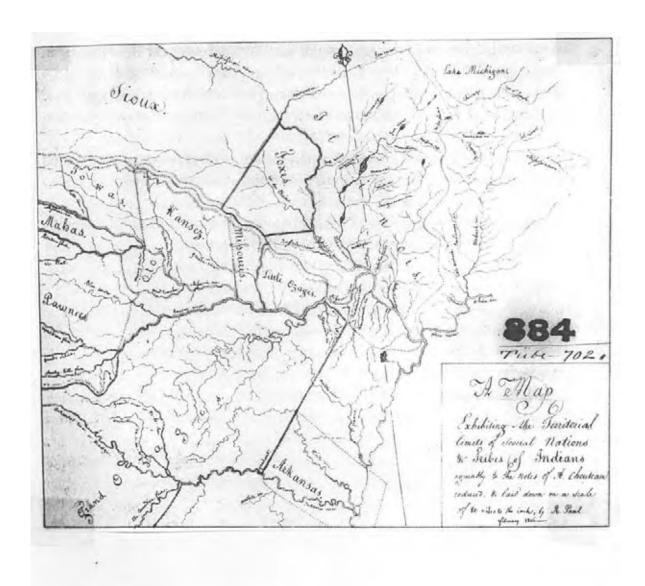


Map 6: Balthazar de Villiers, "Etablissement du Poste des Akansas aux Ecores Rouges de 17 Mars 1779" ("Establishment of Arkansas Post at Red Bluffs on 17 March 1779") (1779)

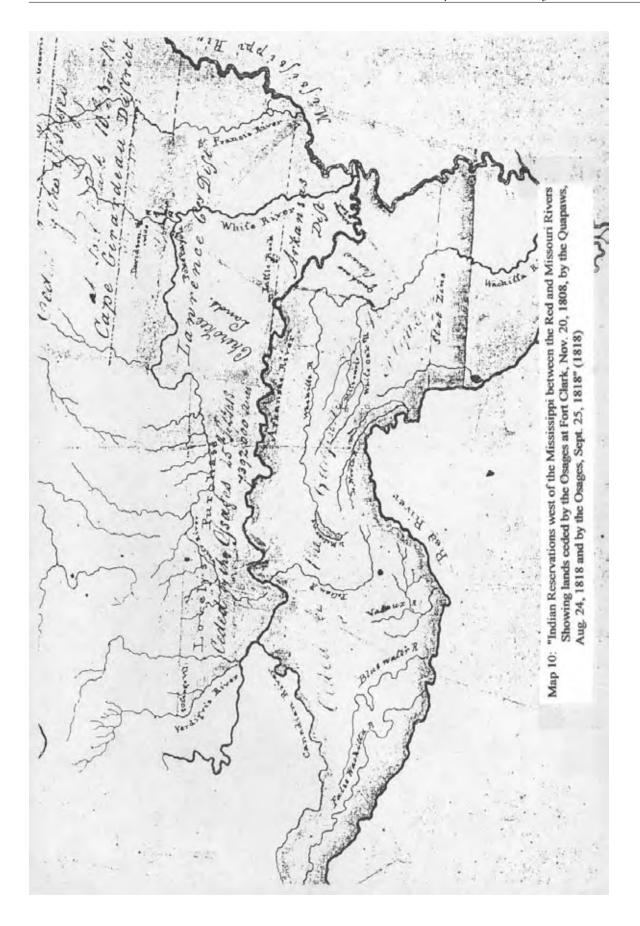


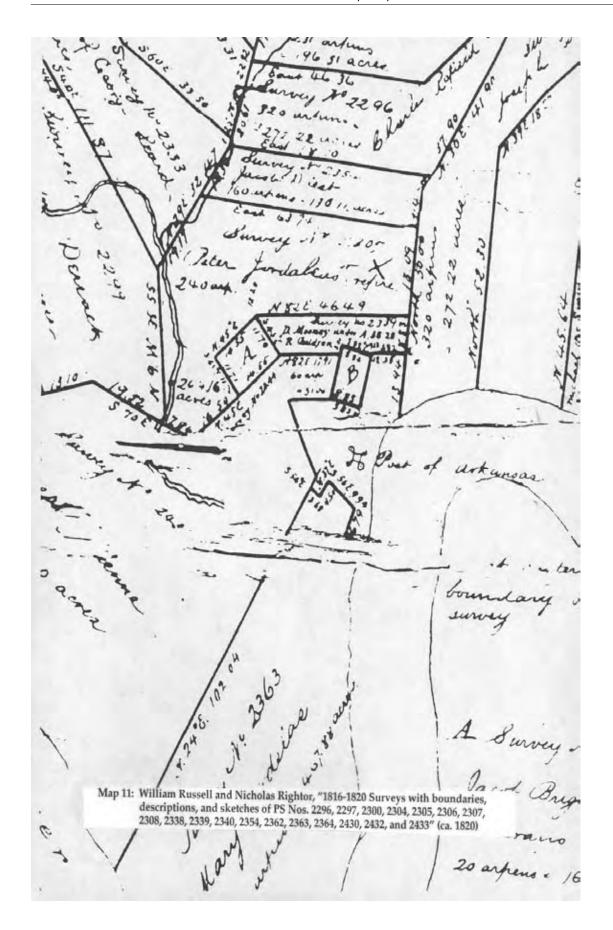


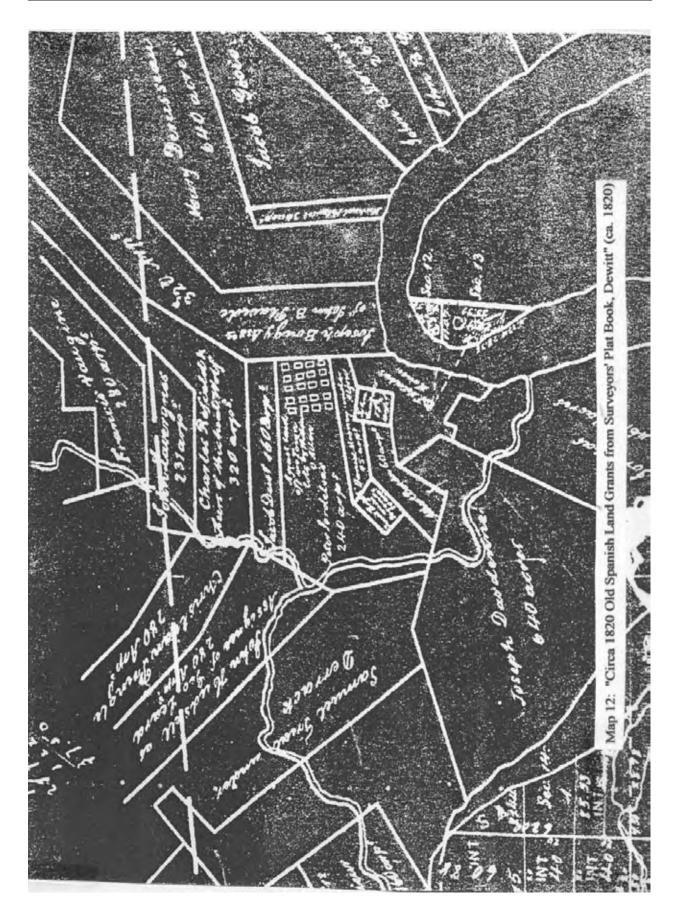
Map 8: John B. Treat (?), "Map of the Fort of the Post of Arkansas in 1807" (1807)

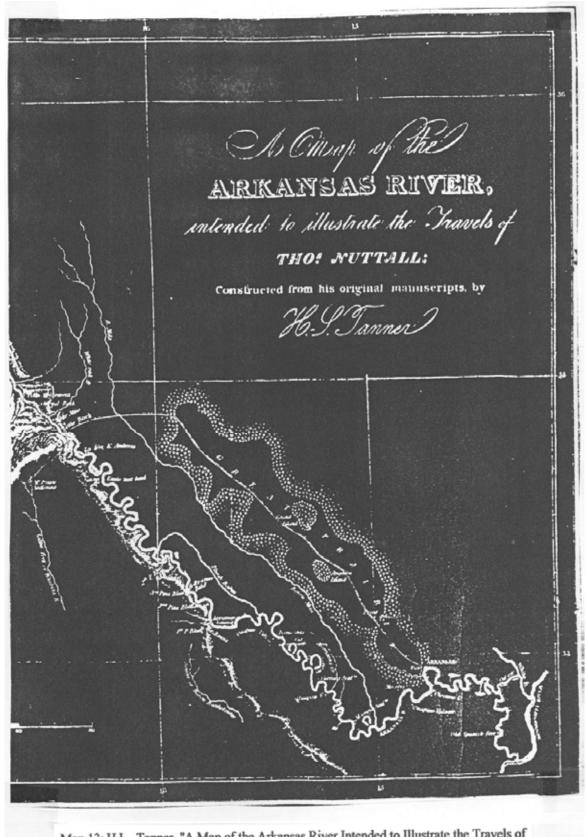


Map 9: Auguste Chouteau, "A Map Exhibiting the Territorial Limits of Several Nations and Tribes of Indians" (1816)

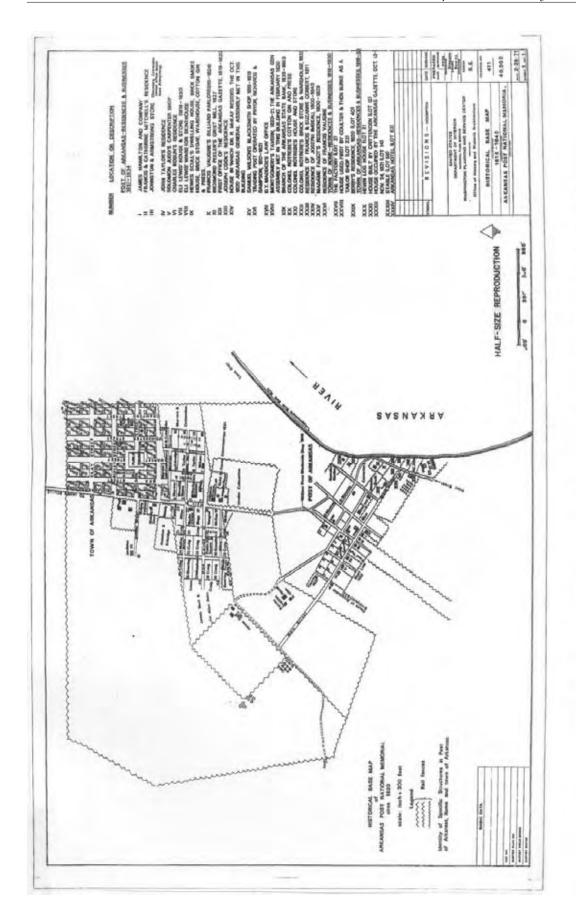




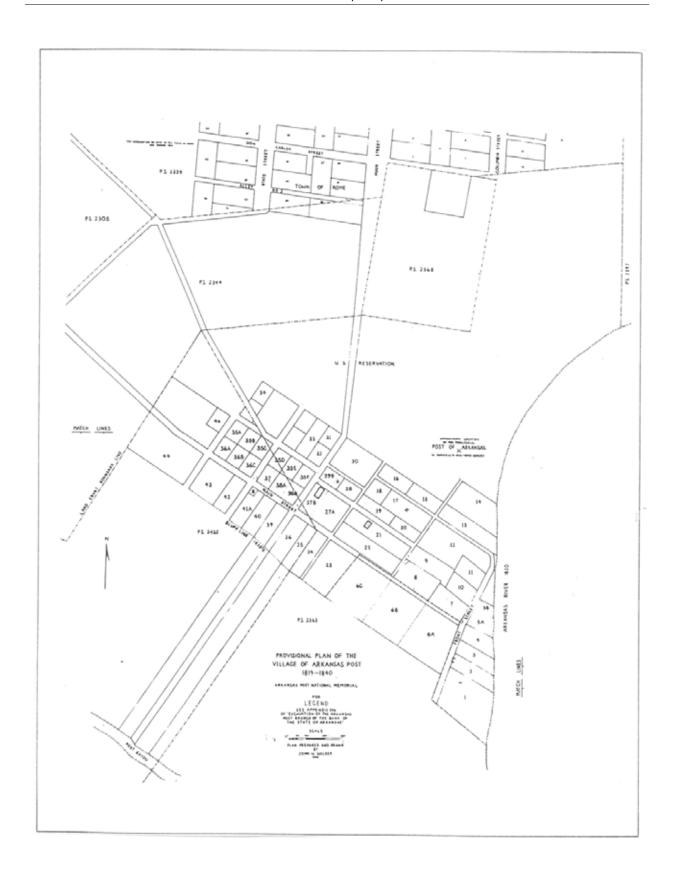




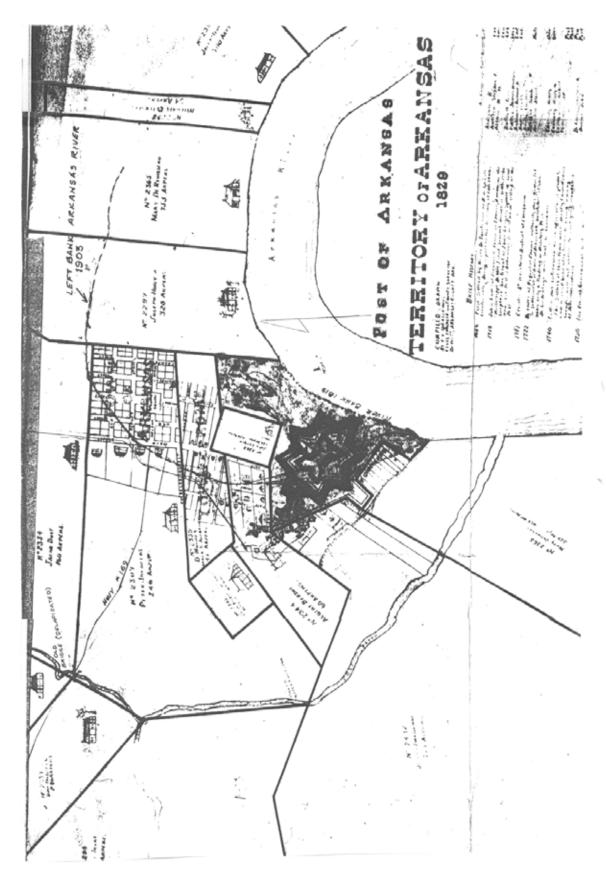
Map 13: H.L. Tanner, "A Map of the Arkansas River Intended to Illustrate the Travels of Thos. Nuttall" (ca. 1821)



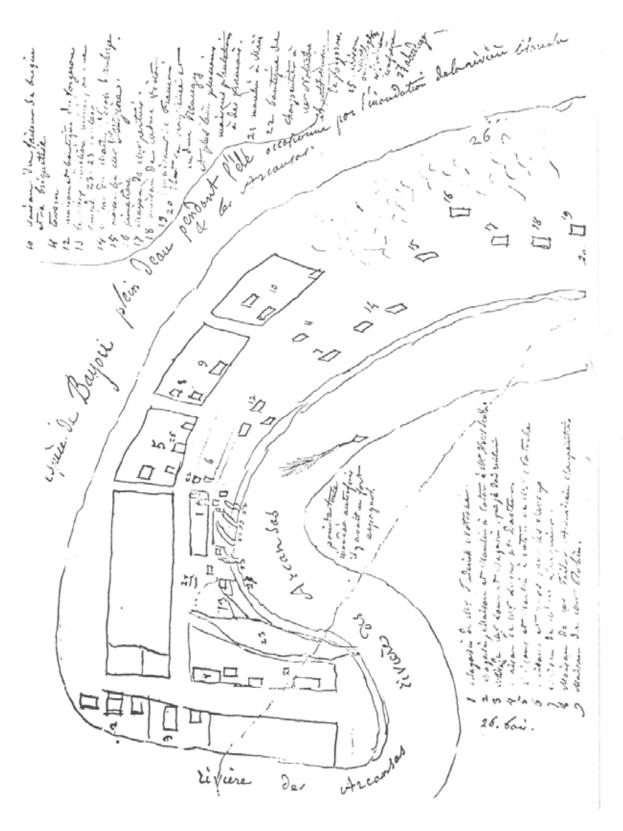
Map 14: Edwin C. Bearss, "Historical Base Map Arkansas Post National Memorial, 1818-1840"



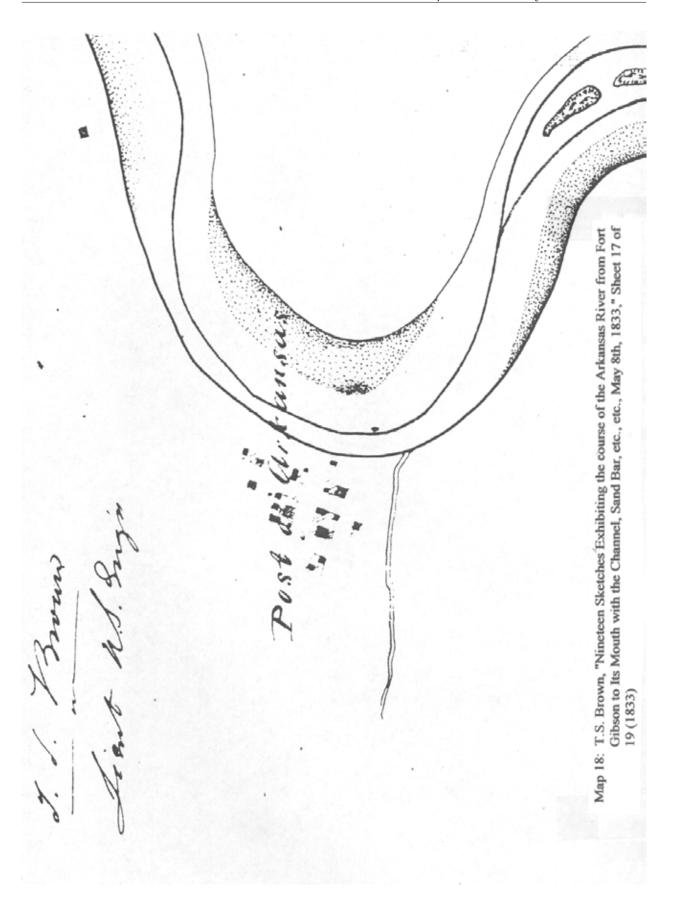
Map 15: John W. Walker, "Provisional Plan of the Village of Arkansas Post, 1819-1840"

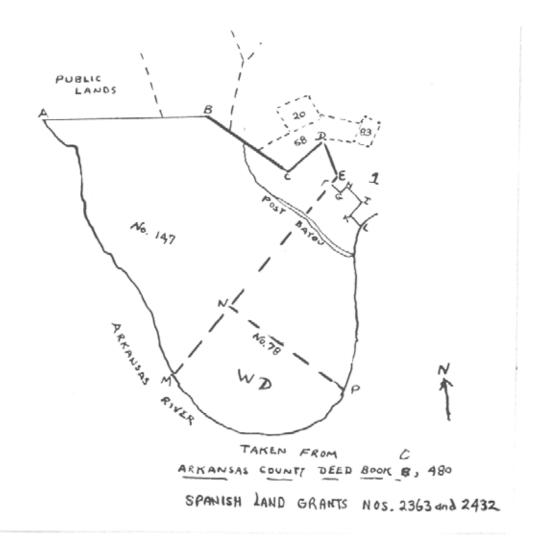


Map 16: F.M. Quertermous, "Post of Arkansas, Territory of Arkansas, 1829"



Map 17: Edmond Saulnier, "Map of Arkansas Post, January 13, 1832" (1832)

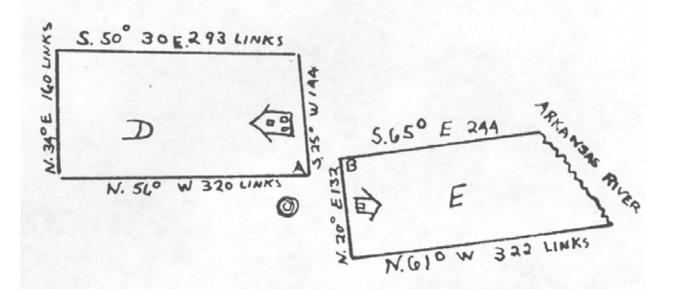




On this plat, No. 1 represented the land on which the Post of Arkansas was located. No. 83 the $13\frac{1}{2}$ arpens confirmed and occupied by John Larquire. The 60 arpens owned by Albert Berdue is No. 58. Jacob Bright's 20 arpens is No. 20. At this time they were occupied by Hewes Scull. No. 14 marked the 416 arpens confirmed to Samuel Treat. No. 78 represented the 550 arpens originally owned by Mary Jordelas. The 752 arpens confirmed to Joseph Dardenne is marked No. 147.

Map 19: "Plat Prepared by Nicholas Rightor of Spanish Land Grants 2363 and 2432" (ca. 1819)

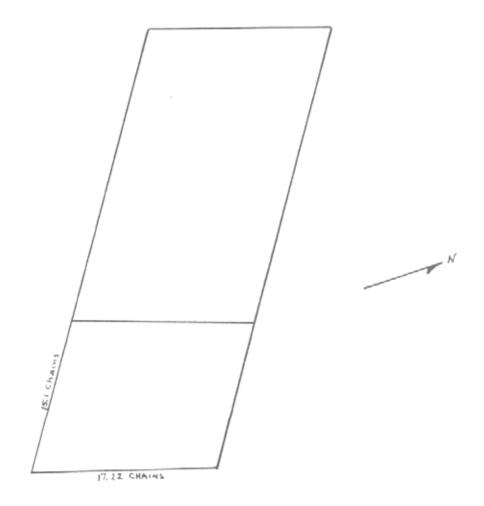




ELI LEWIS' LOTS, PURCHASED FROM JAMES SCUIL
TAKEN FROM ARKANSAS COUNTY DEED BOOK C, SO.

Surveyed in March 1818 by William Russell for Eli Lewis. The area marked "E" encloses the ware (or skin) house owned by Lewis and is Roman numeral 8 on the historical base map. The lot marked "D" is the site of Lewis's house and store from 1818 to 1830.

Map 20: "Lots Purchased by Eli Lewis from James Scull in Post of Arkansas" (1818)



PLAT OF LAND SOLD BY

ALEXIS JORDELAS AND WIFE TO NATHANIEL PRYOR,

SAMUEL RICHARDS, AND GEORGE SAMPSON.

IN JANUARY 1921, IN ACCORDANCE WITH A

COURT ORDER FOUR COMMISSIONERS MET

AND DIVIDED THE LOT TO GIVE HARD STILLWELL

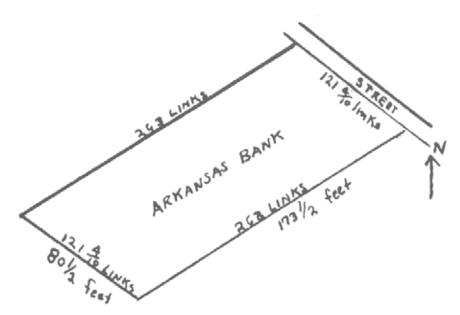
THE 43 OF THE LOT HE MAD ACQUIRED FROM

RICHARDS.

PLAT TAKEN FROM ARKANSAS COUNTY DEED BOOK C- 447

The full lot measured four acres and the commissioners granted one third of it to Harold Stillwell in January 1821. Stillwell had acquired Richards' interest in the lot two years earlier.

Map 21: "Plat of lot Owned by Pryor, Richards, and Sampson divided by four commissioners in January 1821" (1821)



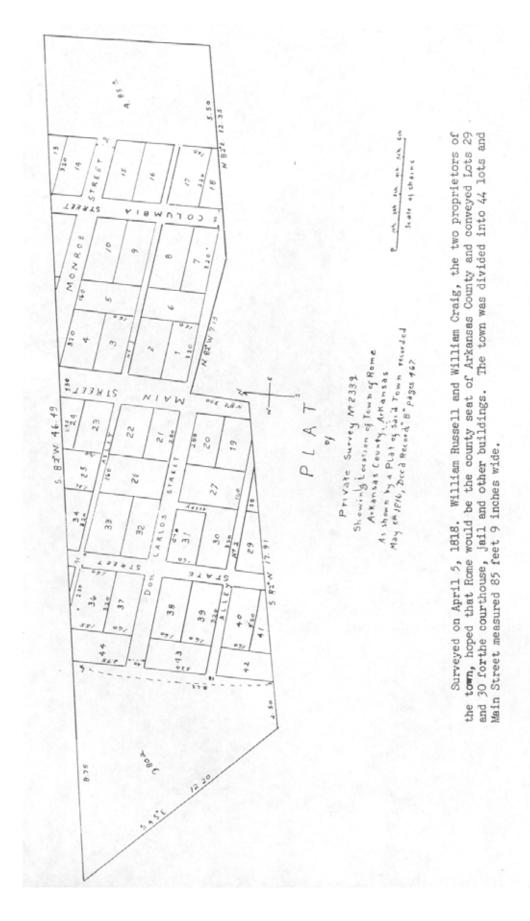
LOT GIVEN TO THE BANK OF ARKANSAS BY COL. NOTREBE
TAKEN FROM SURVEYORS RECORD

ARKANSAS COUNTY

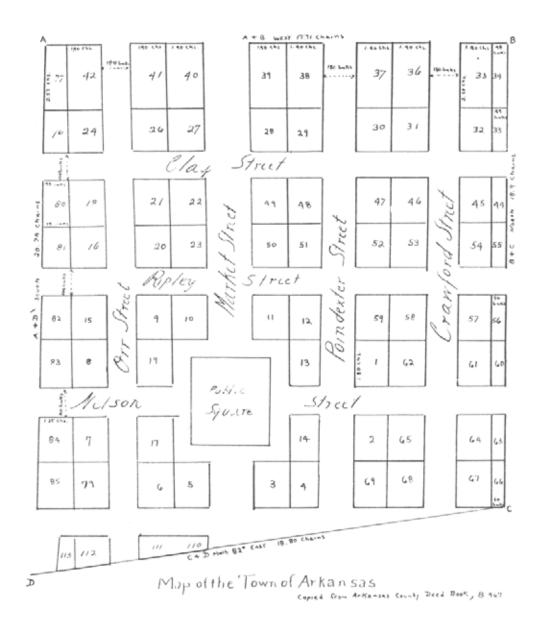
PLAT #3

On April 4, 1840, Frederic and Felicite Notrebe sold to the Bank of the State of Arkansas for \$1 a lot in the Post of Arkansas. This lot was located at the corner of Main and Cross streets in the town.

Map 22: "Lot Given to the Bank of Arkansas by Colonel Notrebe" (1840)

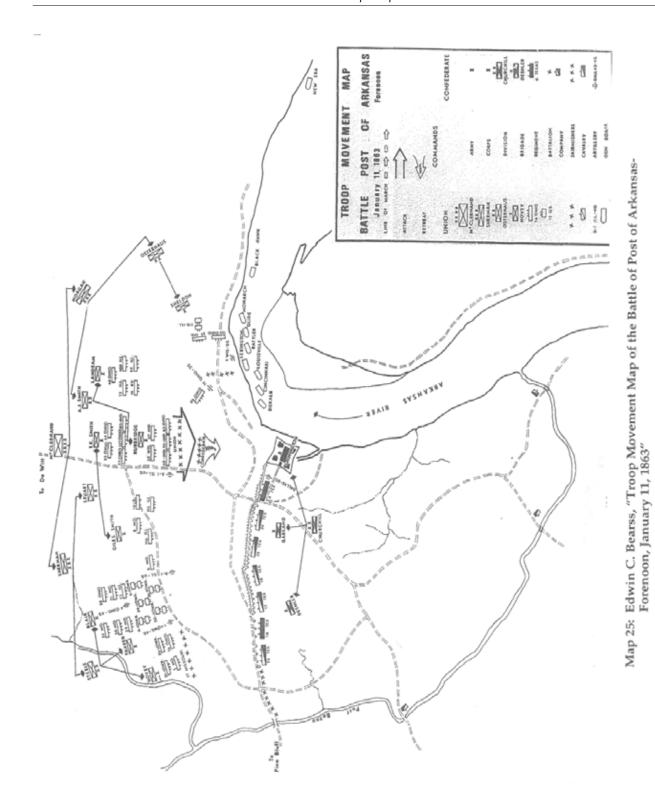


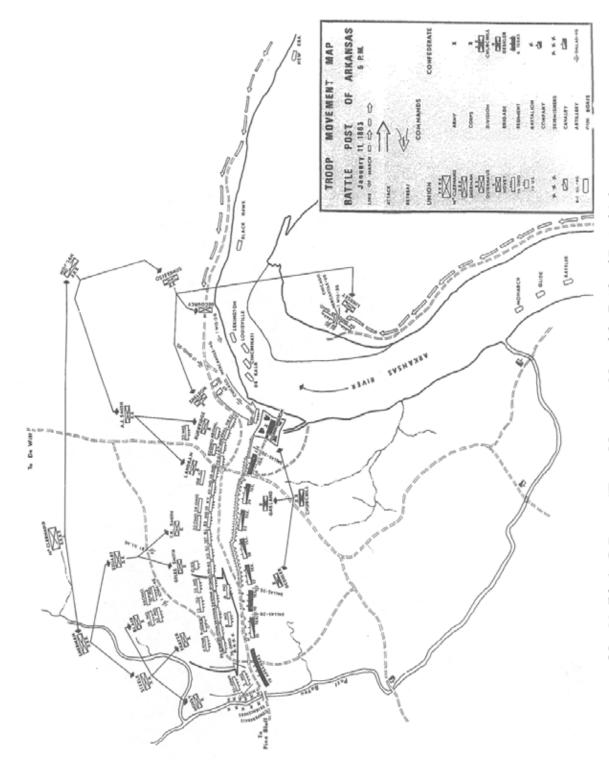
Map 23: "Plat of Private Survey 2339 showing location of the Town of Rome" (1818)



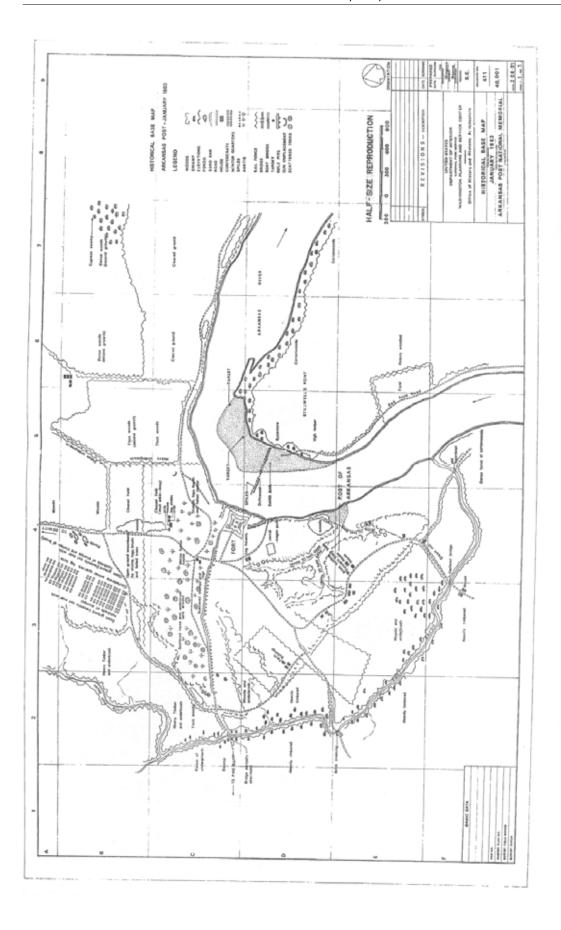
The town of Arkansas was laid out in 1819. There were more than 80 lots within the town. The three north-south streets were 118 feet wide, while the east-west streets were 66 feet wide.

Map 24: "Map of the Town of Arkansas, 1819" (1819)

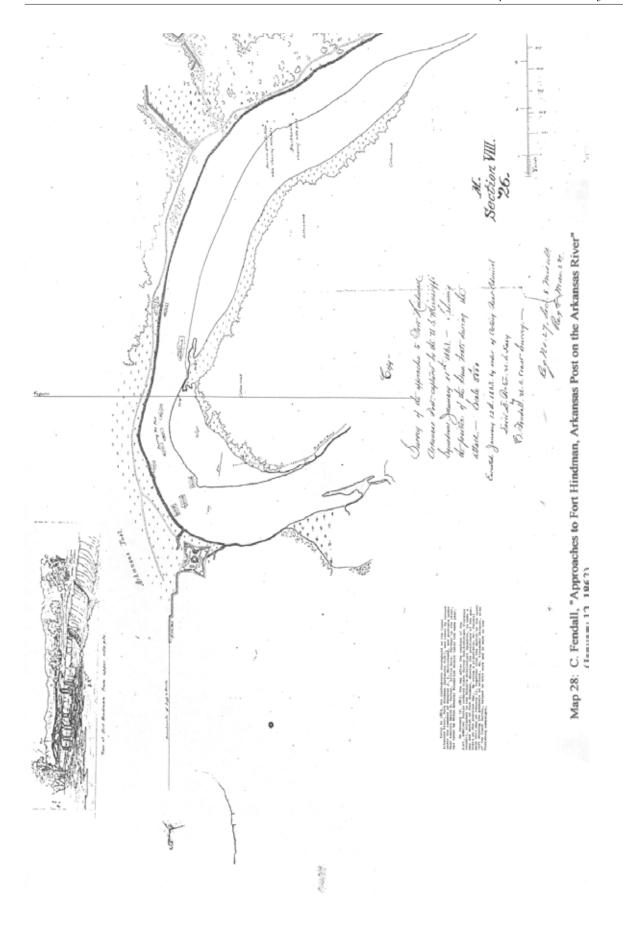


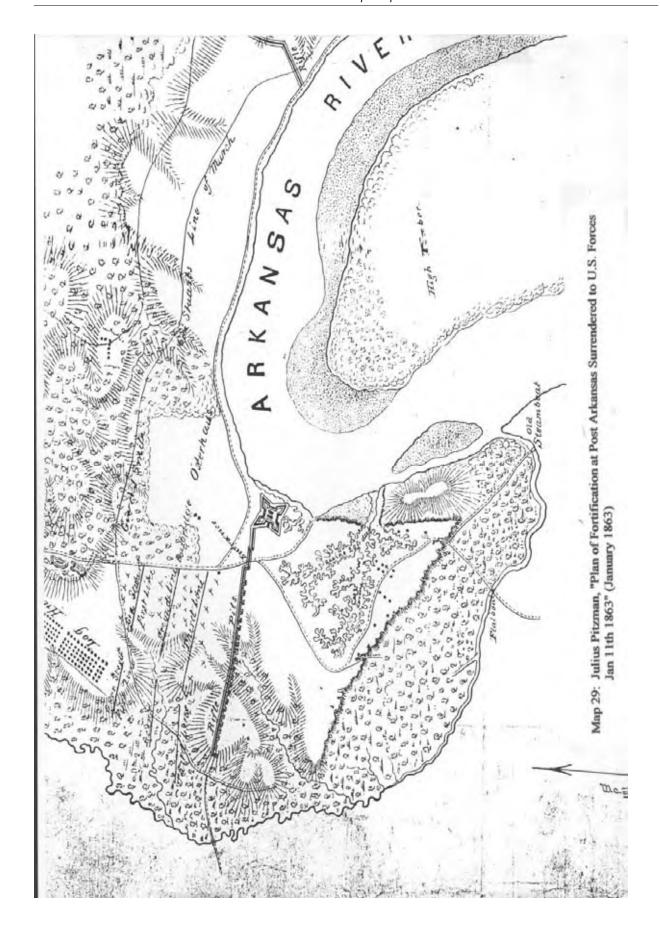


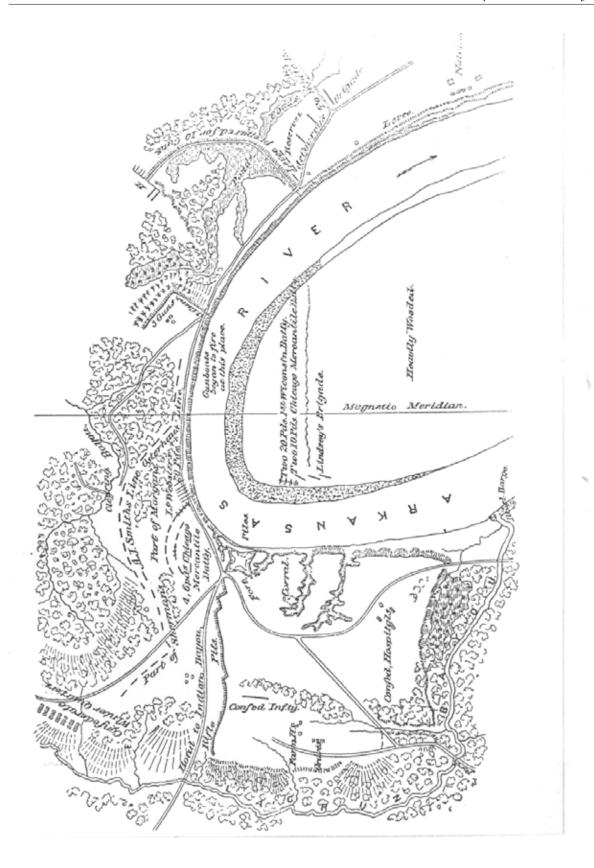
Map 26: Edwin C. Bearss, "Troop Movement Map of the Battle of Post of Arkansas-5 P.M., January 11, 1863"

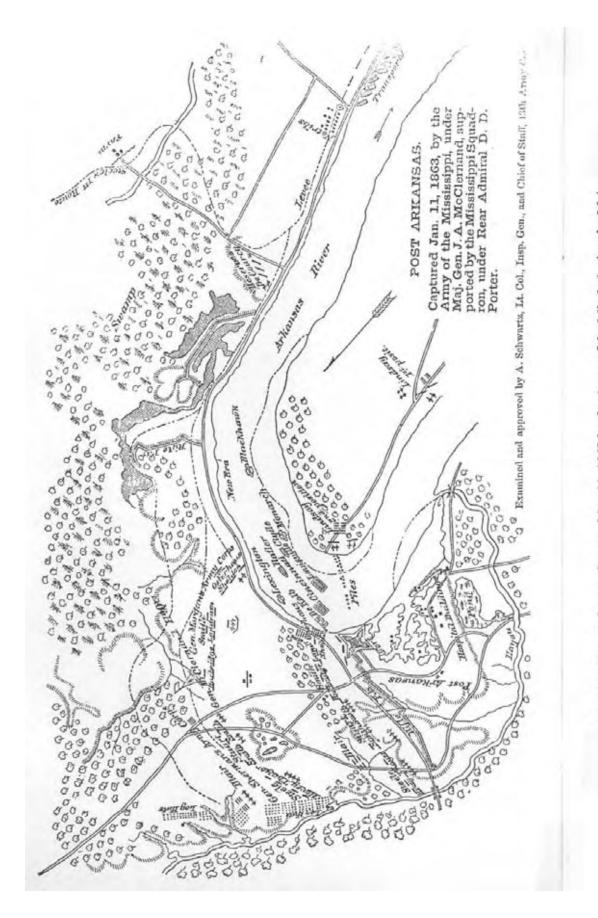


Map 27: Edwin C. Bearss, "Historical Base Map Post of Arkansas, January 1863"

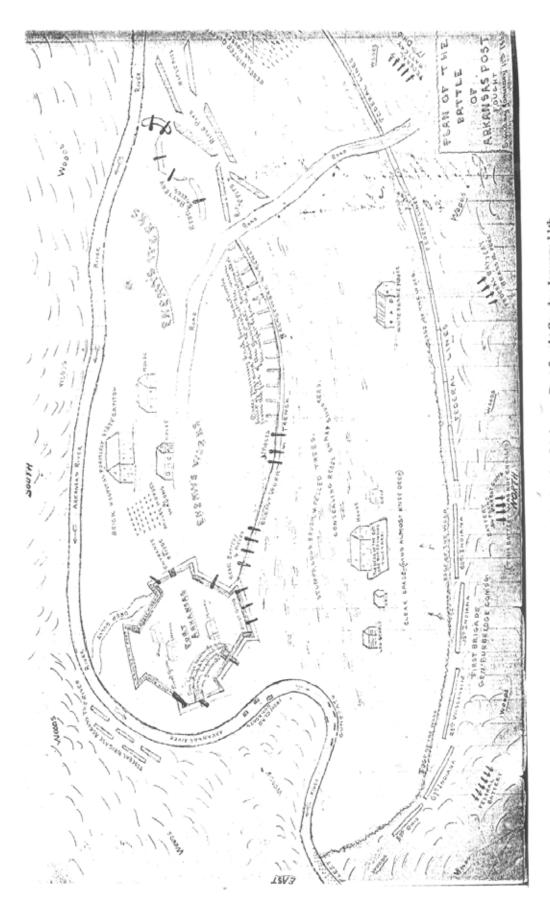




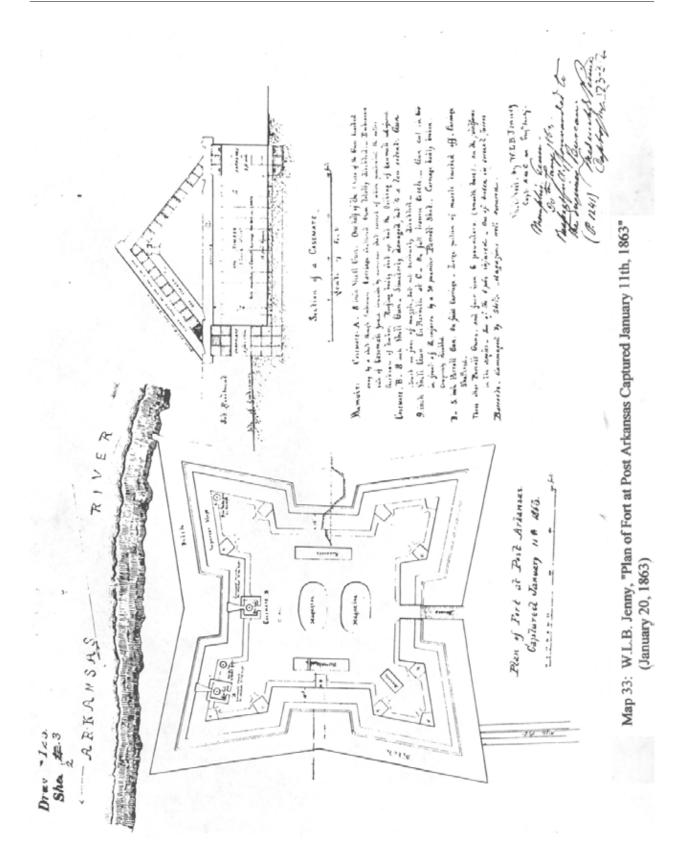


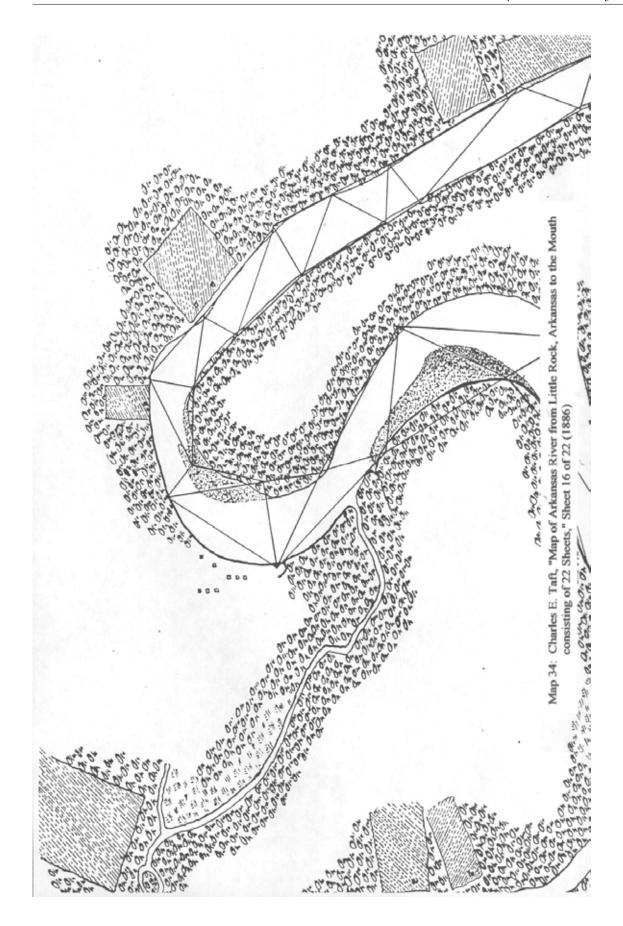


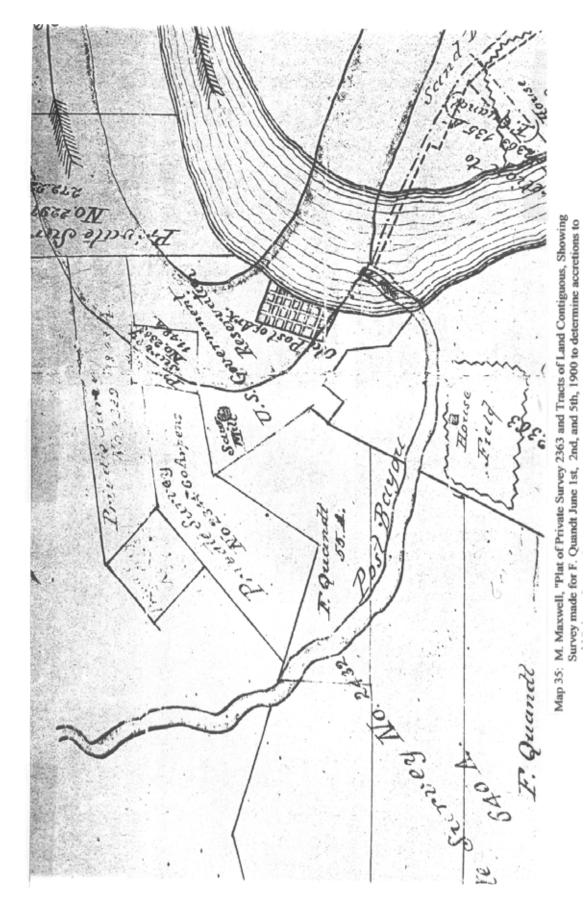
"Post Arkansas Captured Jan 11, 1863 by the Army of the Mississippi under Maj Gen. John A. McClernand" (ca. January 1863) Map 31:



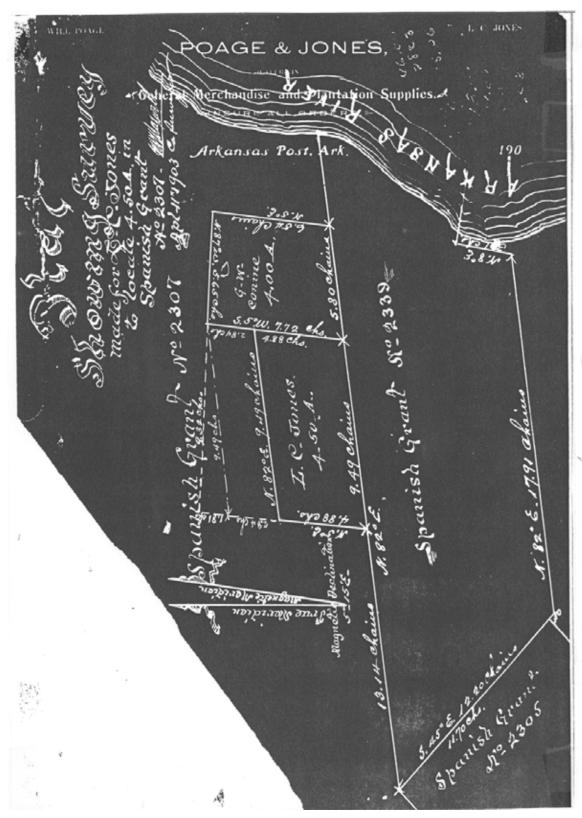
Map 32: Henry F. Fitton, "Plan of the Battle of Arkansas Post fought Sunday January 11th 1863" (ca. January 1863)

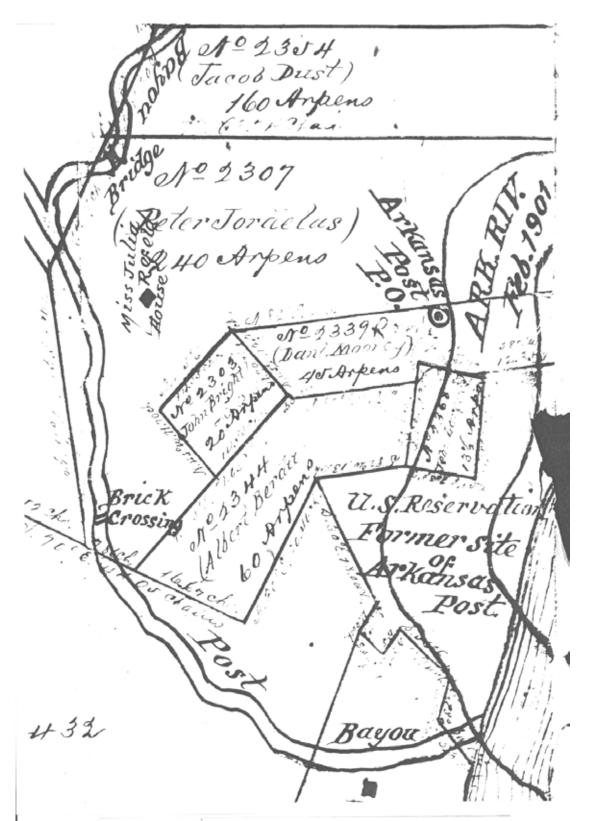




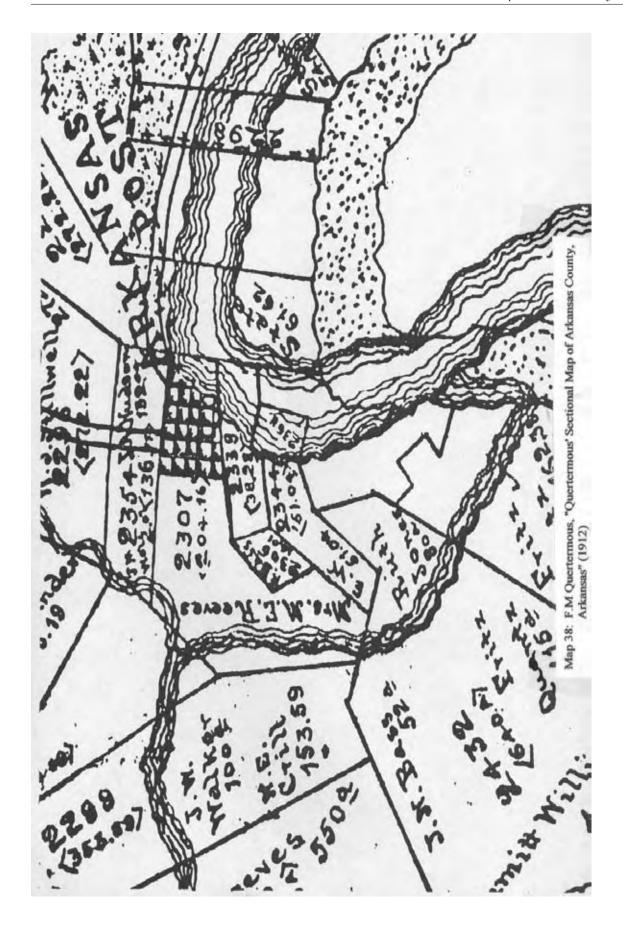


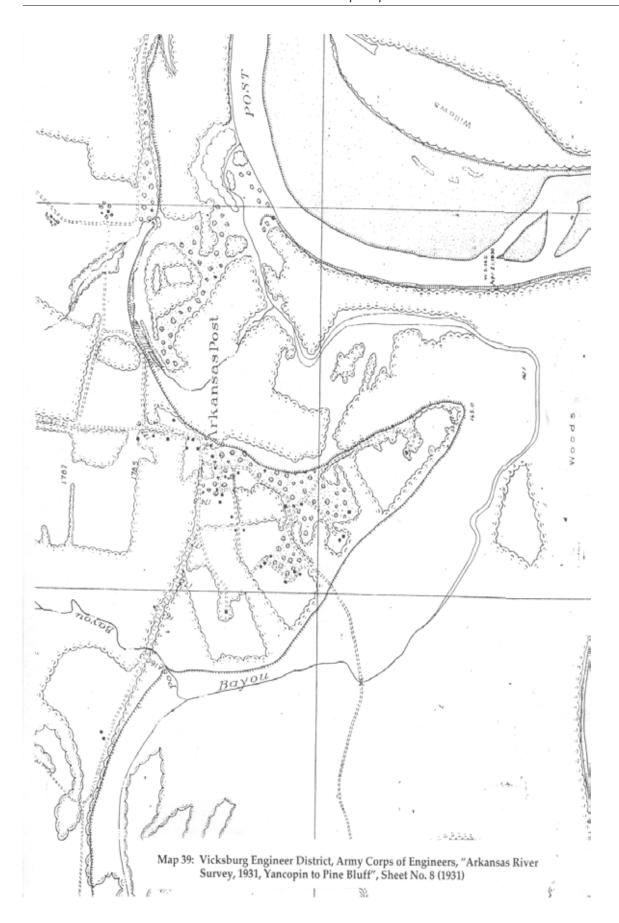
December 2005



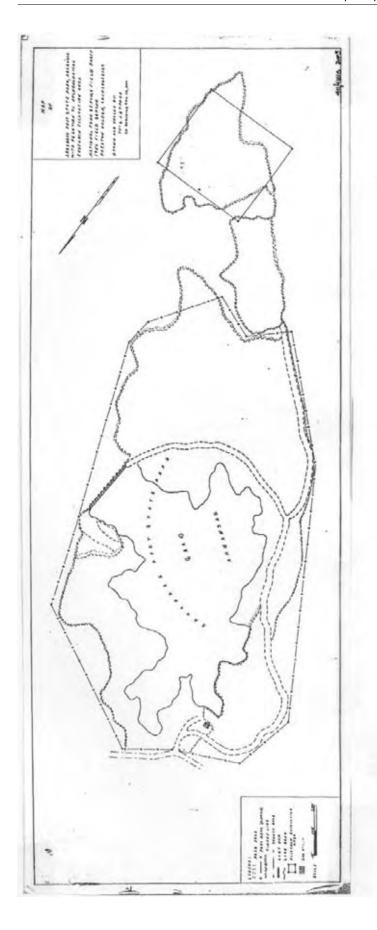


Map 37: M. Maxwell, ""Plat of Parts of Townships 7 & 8 South, Ranges 3 & 4 West North of Arkansas River Showing Survey made for L.C. Jones of 90 Acres off the South End of Spanish Land Grant No. 2428 with accretions thereto . . . , February 19 & 20, 1907" (1907)

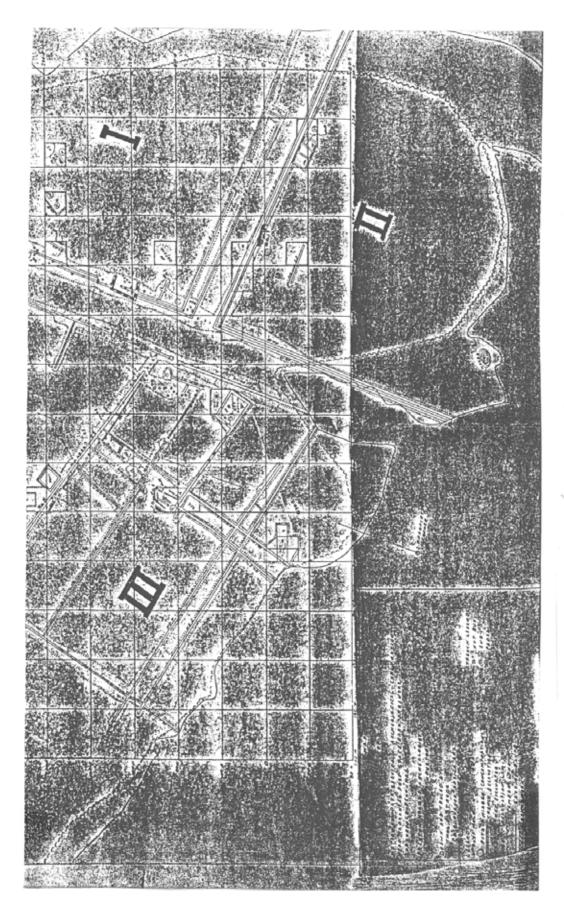




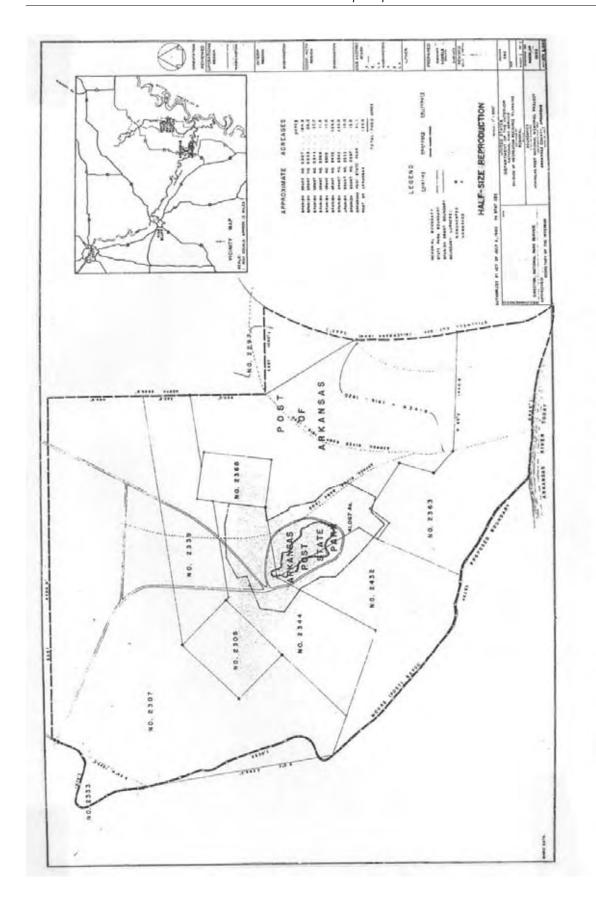




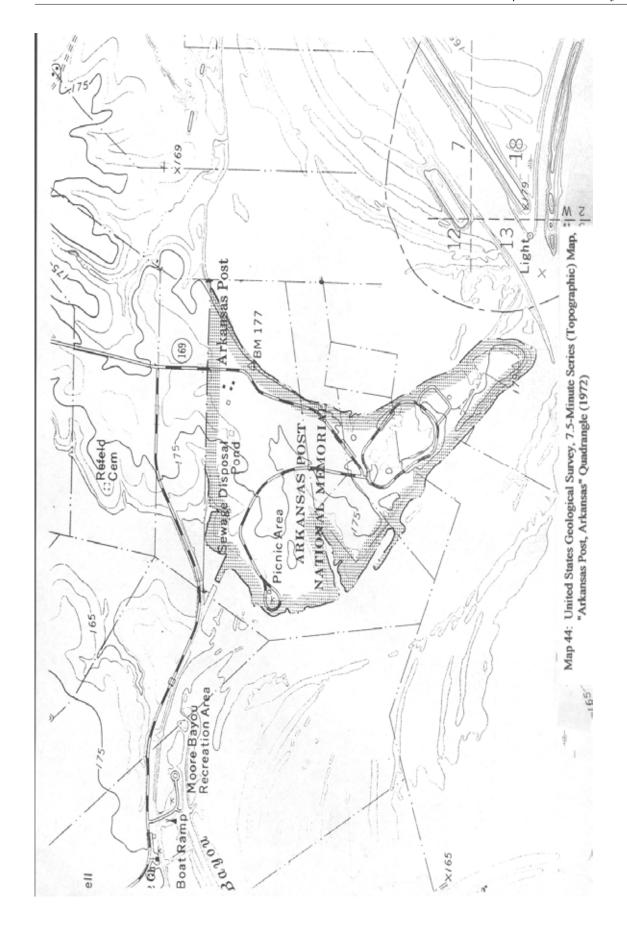
Map 41: Thomas Strode, "Map of Arkansas Post State Park with Relation to Archeological Research Area" (September 15, 1957)

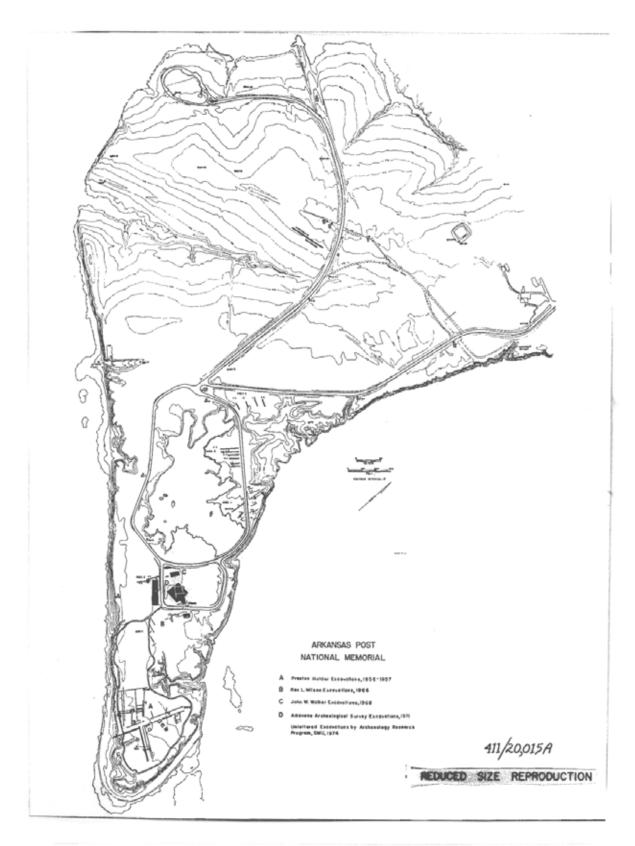


Map 42: Thomas Strode, "Map of National Park Service Archeological Explorations Near Arkansas Post State Park, Arkansas" (September 15, 1957)

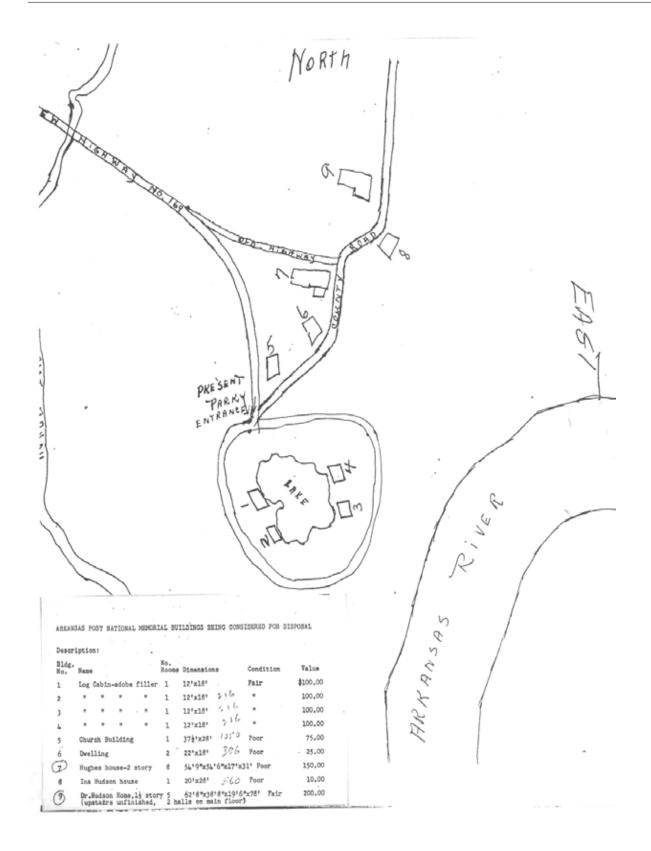


Map 43: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Boundaries, Arkansas Post National Memorial Project" (1960)

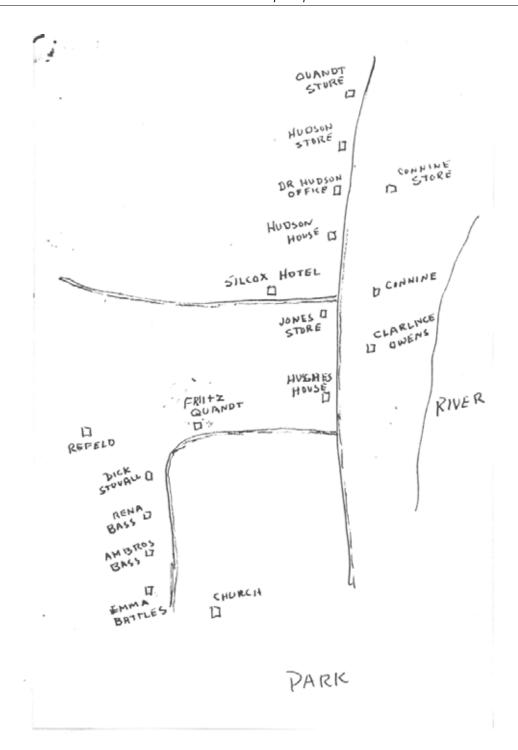




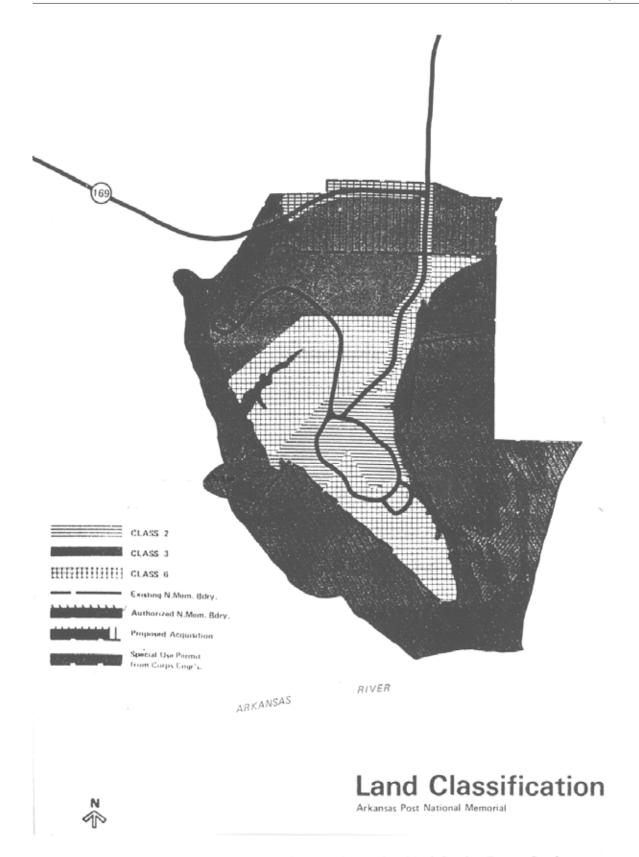
Map 45: William Westbury, "Arkansas Post. Broad lines and blocks indicate excavated areas, trenches, and features" (1976)



Map 46: Bradford, Ovie. "Buildings at Arkansas Post for Proposed Disposal" (hand drawn sketch) (1964).



Map 47: Map (hand drawn sketch) showing locations, functions, and occupants of early twentieth-century Arkansas Post buildings located within APNM boundaries (1964 or later)



Map 48: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center. "Arkansas Post National Memorial Land Classification" (June 1973)

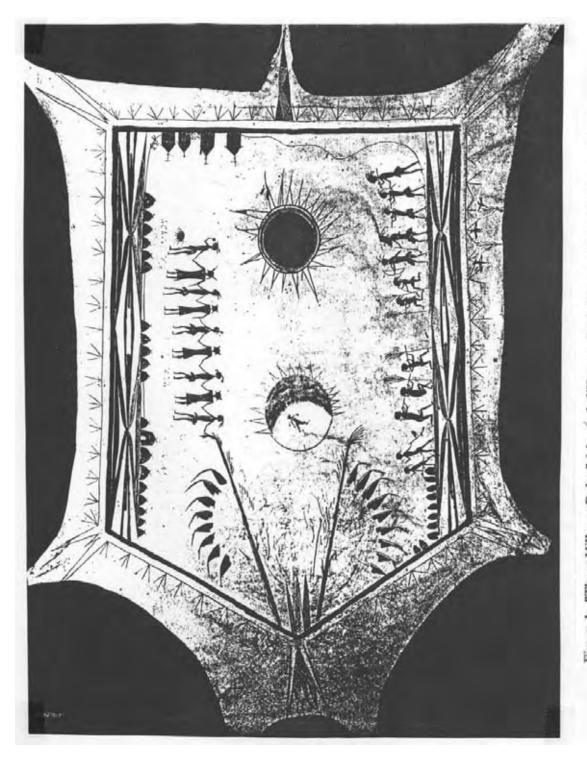


Figure 1: "Three Villages Robe," Musee de l'Homme, Paris France. Photo of robe contained in George P. Horse Capture et al, Robes of Splendor: Native American Painted Buffalo Hides (New York: The New Press, 1993), p. 137.

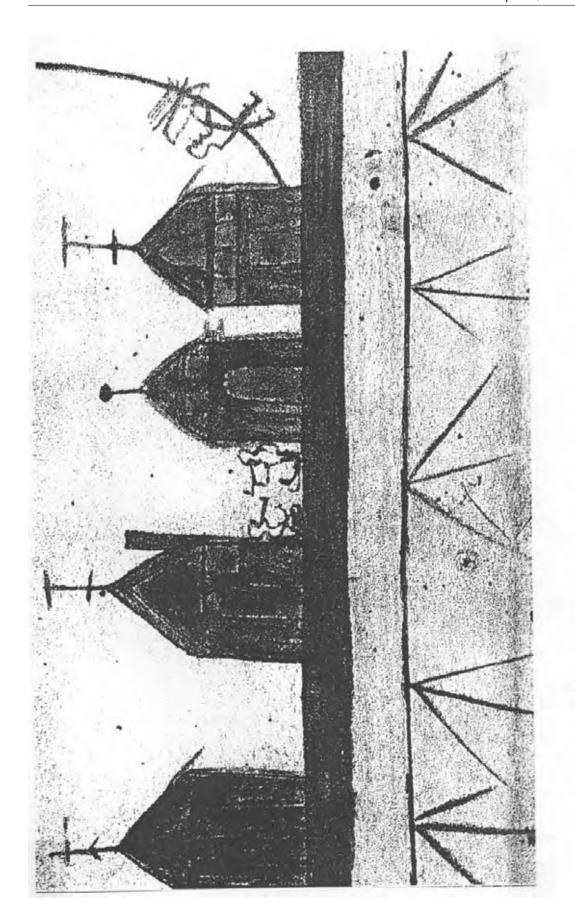
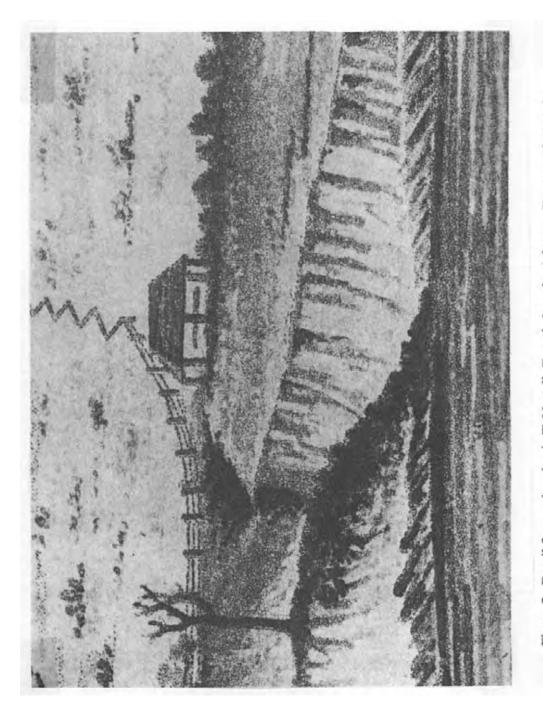
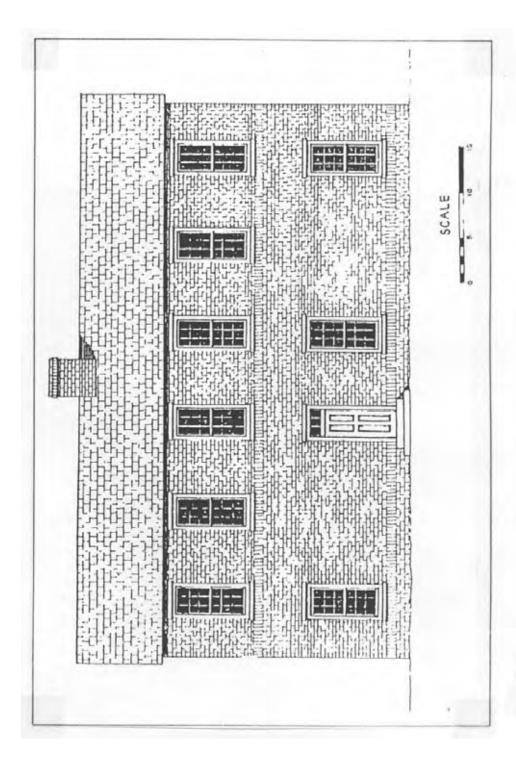


Figure 2: Detail from "Three Villages Robe," Musee d l'Homme, Paris France. Photo of robe contained in George P. Horse Capture et al, Robes of Splendor: Native American Painted Buffalo Hides (New York: The New Press, 1993), p. 22.



1804: A Social and Cultural History (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1991), p. 46. Arnold states that this "crude likeness of what may be a house with a hip roof and gallery" sketched by Nuttall in Arkansas in 1819 may be typical Figure 3: Detail from a drawing in T. Nuttall, Travels Into the Arkansas Territory during the Year 1819 (1821). Copy of drawing in Morris S. Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, 1686. of the houses found at the Post.



Post, Arkansas, Figure 5 in John W. Walker, "Excavation of the Arkansas Post Branch Figure 4: "Conjectural Drawing of the Northeast Elevation of the Bank Building," Arkansas of the Bank of the State of Arkansas" (United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, Division of Archeology Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 1971), p. 38

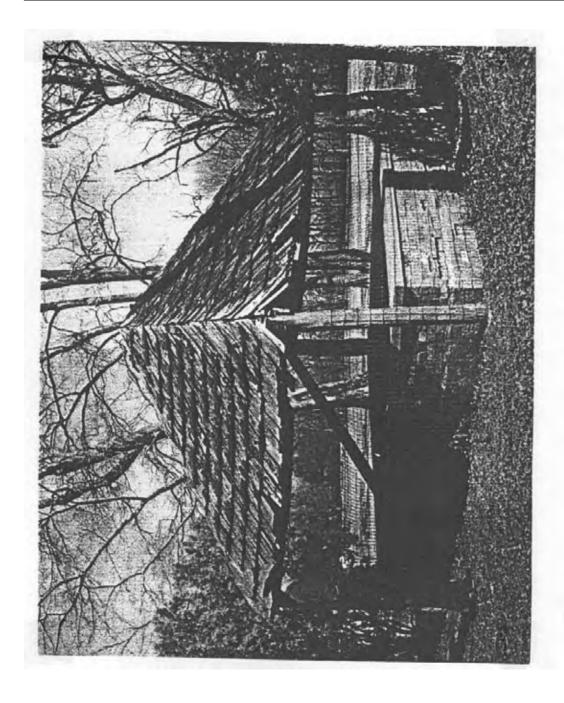


Figure 5: Notrebe Cistern-Exterior. Photo attached to March 23, 1966 Letter from Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Southeast Regional Director, Box 2, File 1, APNM Administrative Files

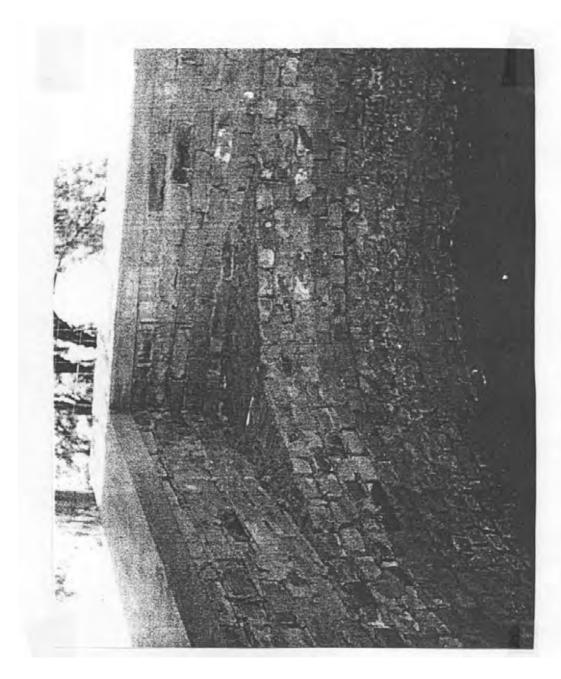


Figure 6: Notrebe Cistern-Interior. Photo attached to March 23, 1966 Letter from Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Southeast Regional Director, Box 2, File 1, APNM Administrative Files

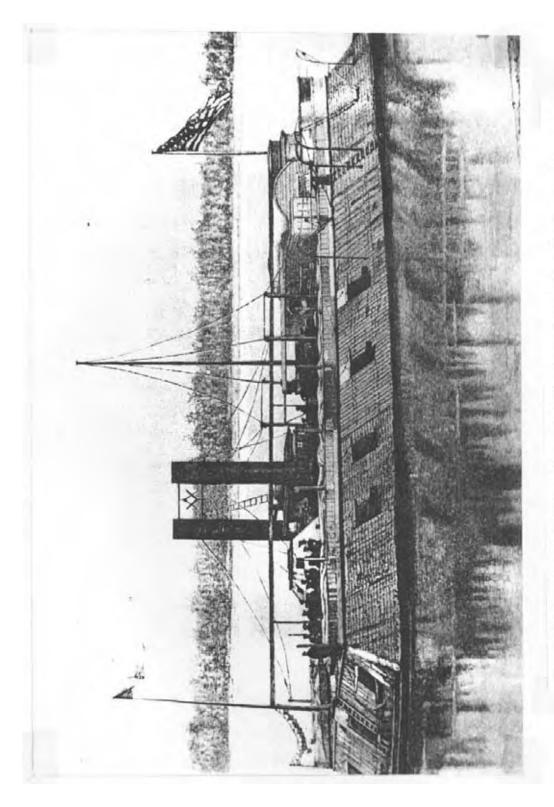
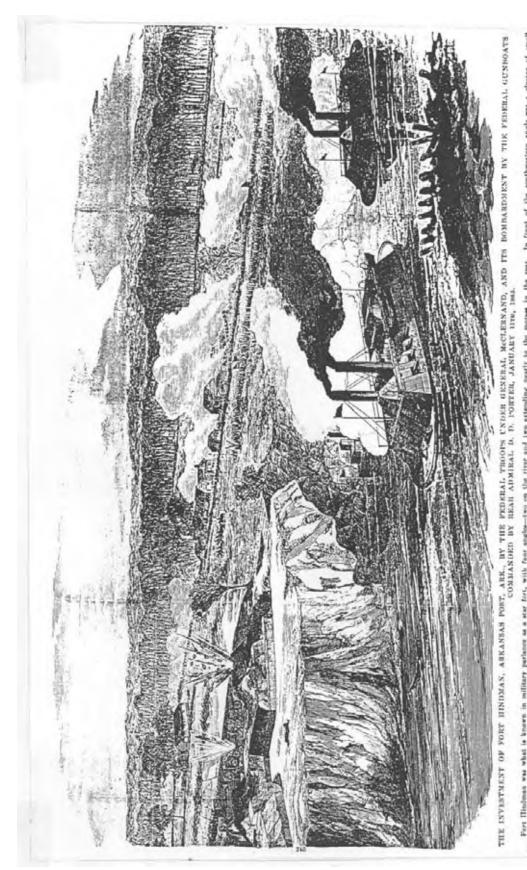


Figure 7: Union Ironclad Gunboat Baron de Kalb. Copy of photo from The Century Magazine, National Memorial (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Division of History, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Southwest Region, National Park Service Department of the January 1865, in Roger E. Coleman, The Arkansas Post Story: Arkansas Post Interior, Professional Papers No. 12, 1987), p. 112.



Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, February 14, 1863. Photo/illustration 4809, Photo Files, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas. Figure 8: "The Investment of Fort Hindman, Arkansas Post, Ark." Illustration from Frank

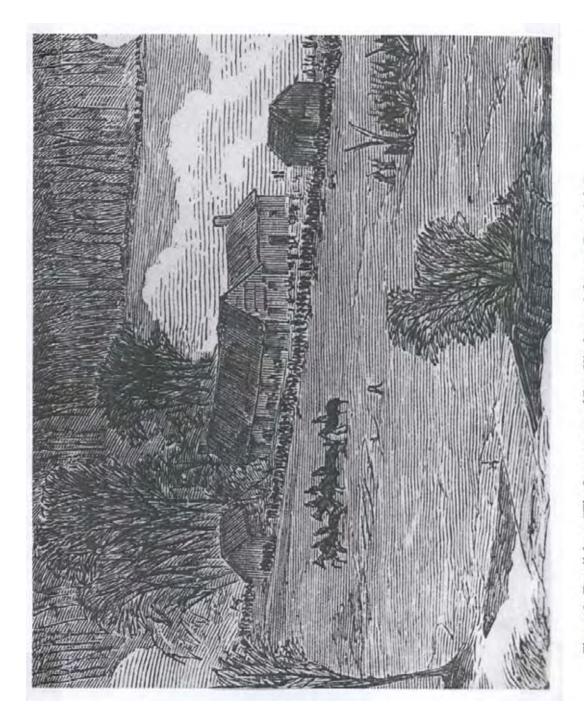


Illustration from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, February 14, 1863, in Morris S. Arnold, Colonial Arkansas, 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1991), p.48 Figure 9: Detail from "The Investment of Fort Hindman, Arkansas Post, Ark."

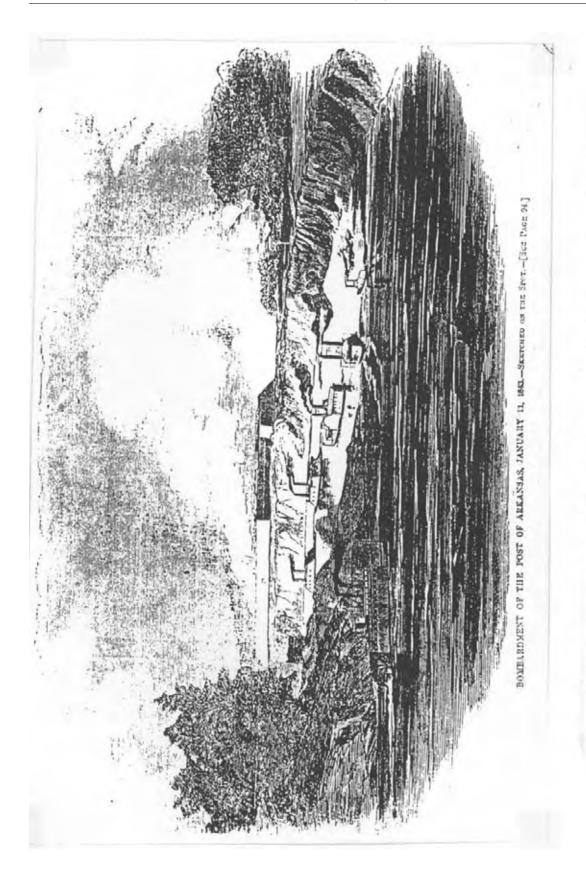
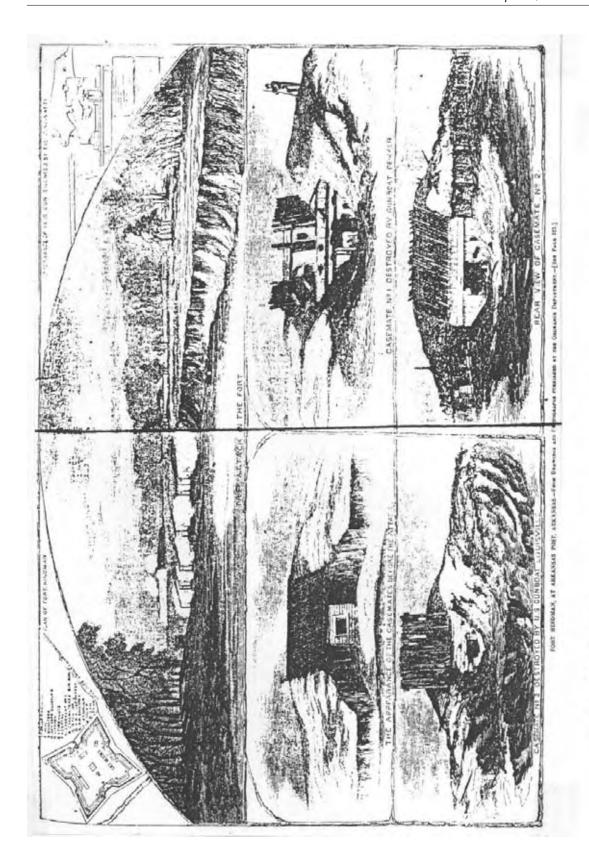
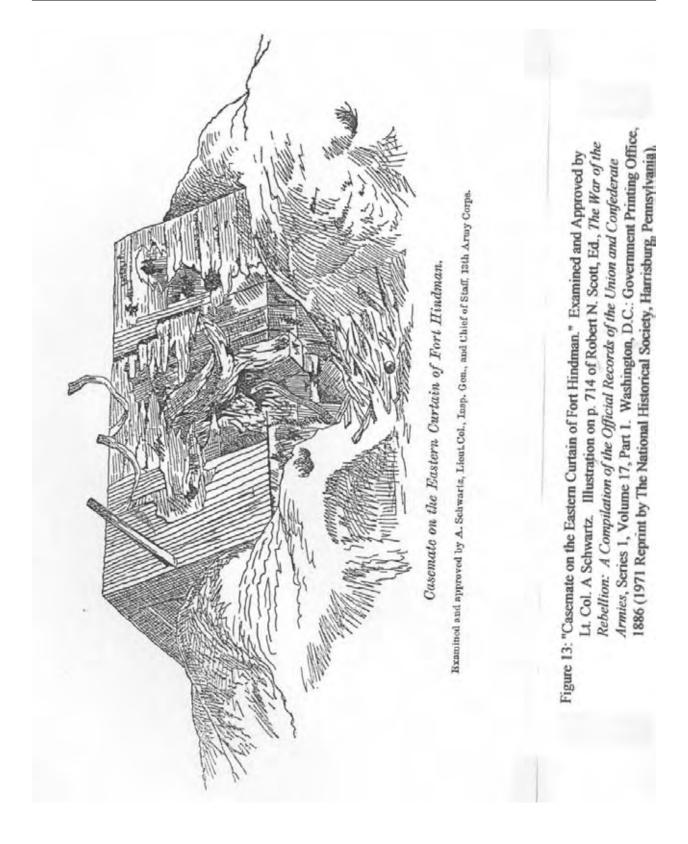
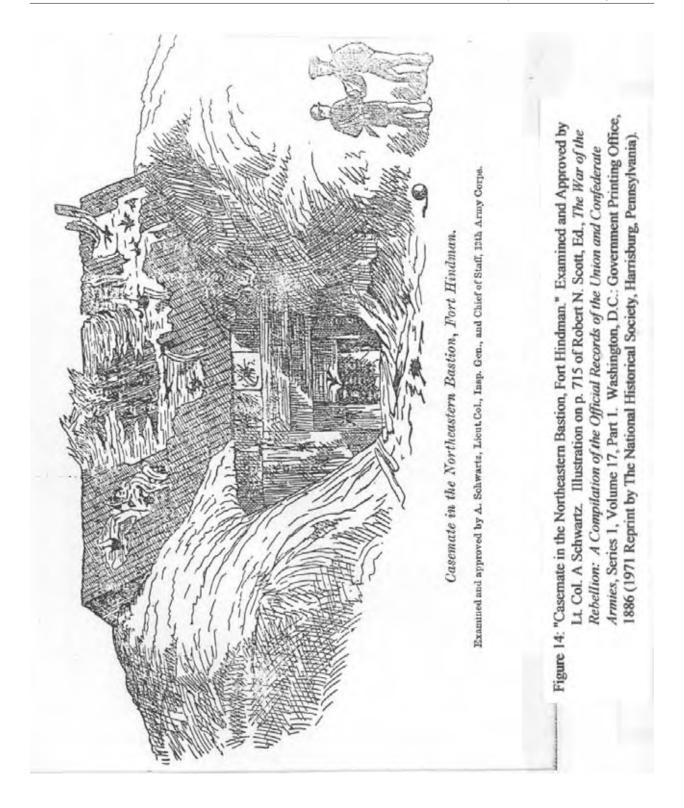


Figure 11: "Bombardment of the Post of Arkansas, January 11, 1863." Illustration from Hurper's Weekly, February 7, 1863. Photo/illustration 4799, Photo Files, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas.

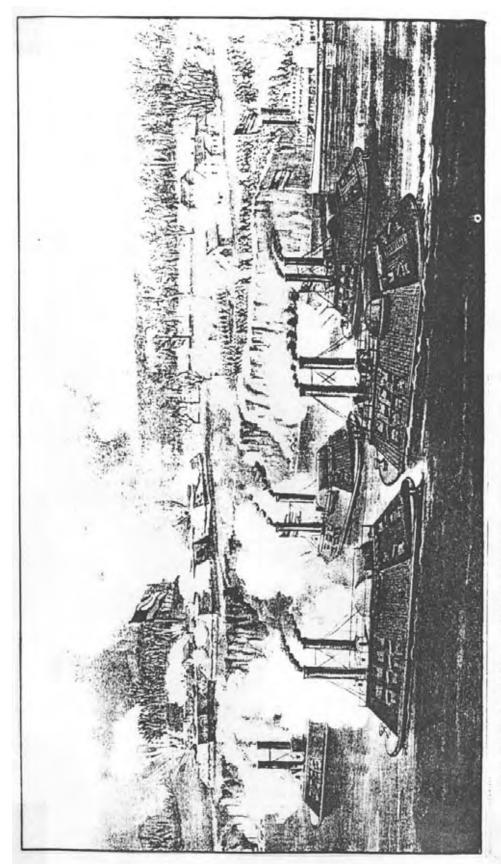


 11, 1863. Photo/illustration/1179, Photo Files, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas. Figure 12: "Fort Hindman at Arkansas Post." Six illustrations from Harper's Weekly, February









THE BOMBARDMENT AND CAPTURE OF FORT HINDMAN, ARKANSAS POST, ARK, JAN' 11:" 1863

Public Library. Copy of print contained in Figure 20 of Edwin C. Bearss and Lenard Movement Maps, January, 1863." Washington, D.C.: United States Department of E. Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas, 1804-1863, and Civil War Troop Figure 16: The Bombardment and Capture of Fort Hindman, Arkansas Post, Ark., Jany 11th 1863." Currier and Ives print in the Arkansas Room of the Little Rock, Arkansas the Interior, National Park Service, Office of History and Historic Architecture,



Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to Southeast Regional Director, Box 2, File 1, APNM Administrative Files Figure 17: Nineteenth-Century Well. Photo attached to March 23, 1966 Letter from

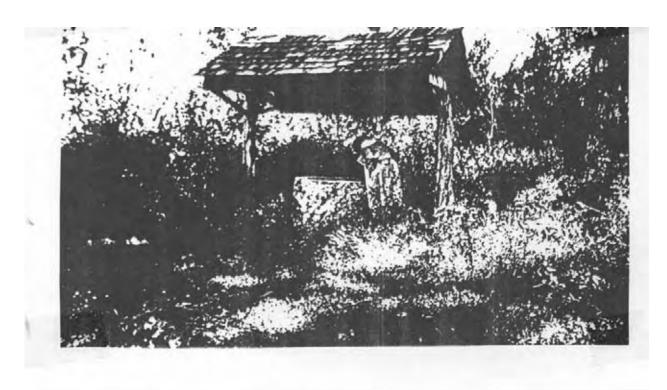


Figure 18: Nineteenth-Century Well-Exterior following restoration showing protective shelter constructed in 1931. Photo taken in 1937 by S.G. Davies, Director of State Parks -Photo found in H.V. Glenn Papers and copy provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director of the Arkansas Post Museum.



Figure 19: Arkansas Post State Park Entrance- Mid-1950's view from north showing entrance columns, woven wire perimeter fence, caretaker's lodge ("Hinman" house), flagpole, and mailboxes. Copy of photo provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director of the Arkansas Post Museum.



Figure 20: Arkansas Post State Park Entrance - Ca. 1932 view from south showing entrance columns and AME church in background. Photo contained in P.C. Howson, "Arkansas Post: Site of 246-year-old settlement becomes State Park," "Your Home" (probably a section of an Arkansas newspaper, possibly the Arkansas Gazette), March 1932, p. 3 - Copy of article provided by Ms. Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum.

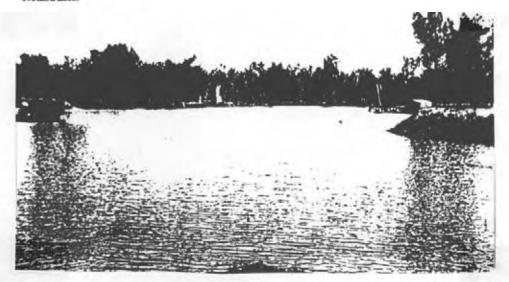
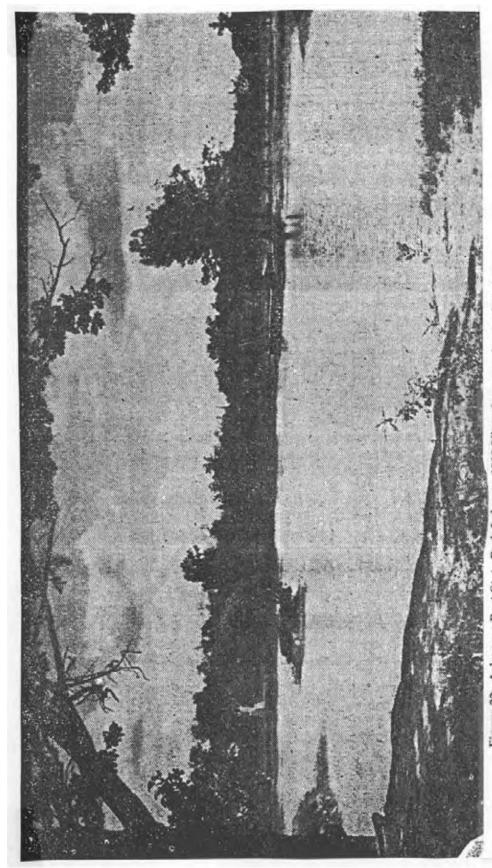


Figure 21: Arkansas Post State Park Lake - 1937 view from north showing the "Lady of Justice" statue and (right center of photo) swimming facilities constructed by the WPA and CCC. Photo taken in 1937 by S.G. Davies, Director of State Parks - Photo found in H.V. Glenn Papers and copy provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director of the Arkansas Post Museum.



"Lady of Justice" statue, foot bridge across ravine, and swimming facilities constructed by the WPA and the CCC. Photo contained in Mildred Barnes Hampton, "Return of a Post Office", "Sunday Magazine Section", Arkansa Gazette, October 22, 1939, p. 3- Copy of article located in Arkansas Post Pla File, Arkansas WPA Federal Writers Project Folder II, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas. Hindman, Arkansas Post, Ark."

Illustration from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, February 14, 1863, in



Figure 23: Arkansas Post State Park Lake- 1937 View from east showing "Lady of Justice" statue and log cabin constructed by the WPA and the CCC. Photo taken in 1937 by S. G. Davies, Director of State Parks- Photo found in H.V. Glenn Papers and copy provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director of the Arkansas Post Museum.

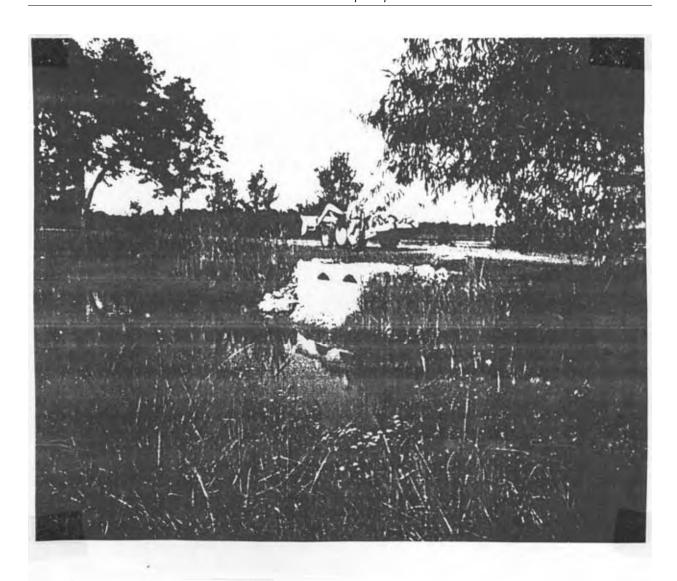


Figure 24: Earth dam and culverts at Arkansas Post Park Lake - 1968 NPS photo taken during repairs to culverts - Photo located on p. 00486 (No File Number), Box 2, APNM Administrative Files.

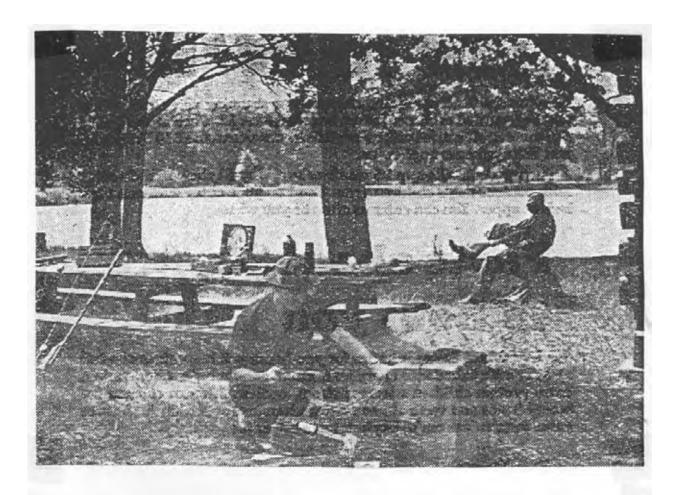
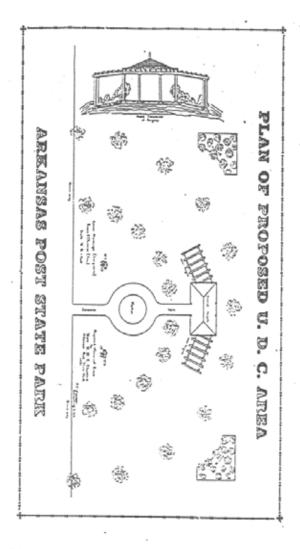


Figure 25: Fishermen at Arkansas Post State Park - Ca. 1954 view showing outdoor oven and edge of log cabin constructed by the WPA and CCC. Photo contained in Anna Nash Yarbrough, "Along the Highways and Byways," Arkansas Democrat, May 2, 1954, no page number - Copy of article located in Arkansas Post Place File, Arkansas History in Brief, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas.



ARKANSAS POST STATE PARK

The Arkansas Post State Park Was Greated by an Act of the Legislature 1929. Bill Introduced by Ballard Deane, Representative Arkansas County, and Signed by Harvey Parnell, Governor.

COMMISSIONERS:

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P. G. HOWSON, PINE BLUFF, ARK., CONSULTING L. S. A.

Figure 26: P.C. Howson, "Plan of Proposed U.D.C. Area, Arkansas Post State Park," 1931. Copy of plan located in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas.

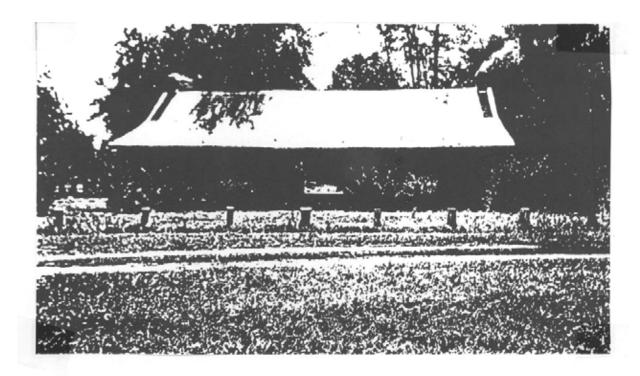


Figure 27: Caretaker's lodge ("Hinman house"), Arkansas Post State Park - 1937 view from north. Photo taken in 1937 by S.G. Davies, Director of State Parks - Photo found in H.V. Glenn Papers and copy provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director of the Arkansas

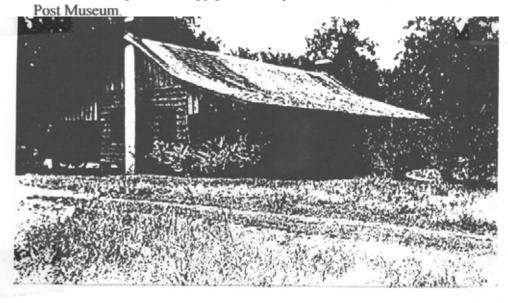
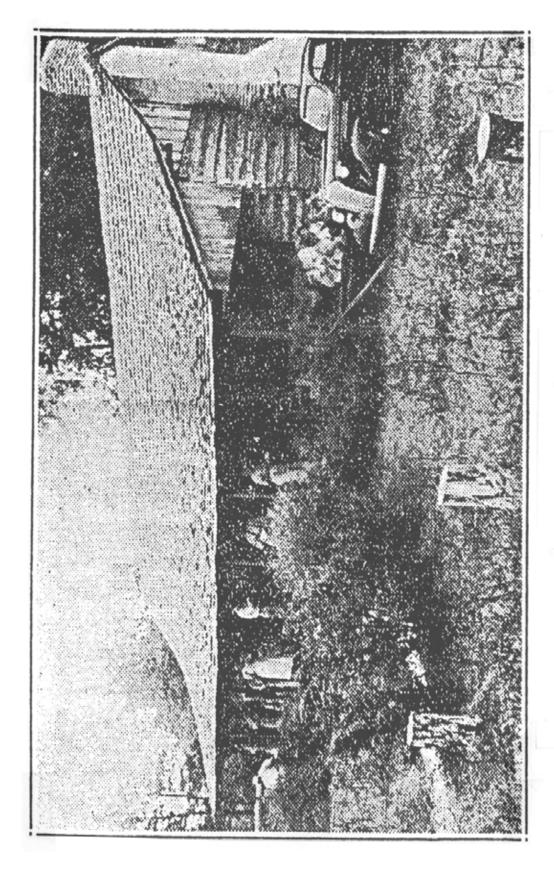


Figure 28: Caretaker's lodge ("Hinman house"), Arkansas Post State Park - 1937 view from northeast. Photo taken in 1937 by S.G. Davies, Director of State Parks - Photo found in H.V. Glenn Papers and copy provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director of the Arkansas Post Museum.



the northwest. Photo contained in W.H. Halliburton, "An Arkansas Visits Arkansas article located in Arkansas Post Place File, Arkansas WPA Federal Writers Project Post," "Sunday Magazine Section," Arkamsas Gazette, January 22, 1939 - Copy of Figure 29: Caretaker's lodge ("Hinman house"), Arkansas Post State Park- 1930s view from Folder II, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas.

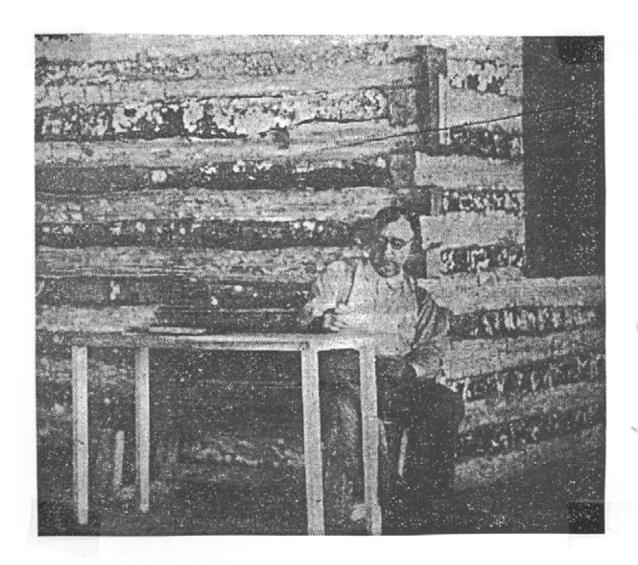


Figure 30: Caretaker's lodge "(Hinman house"), Arkansas Post State Park - Ca. 1939 view showing Postmaster W.E. Chadwick on the veranda of the lodge. Photo contained in Mildred Barnes Hampton, "Return of a Post Office," "Sunday Magazine Section," Arkansas Gazette, October 22, 1939, p. 3 - Copy of article located in Arkansas Post Place File, Arkansas WPA Federal Writers Project Folder II, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas.



Figure 31: Picnic grounds, Arkansas Post State Park - Ca. 1932 view from south. Photo contained in P.C. Howson, "Arkansas Post: Site of 246-year-old settlement becomes State Park," "Your Home" (probably a section of an Arkansas newspaper, possibly the Arkansas Gazette), March 932, p. 3 - Copy of article provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum.

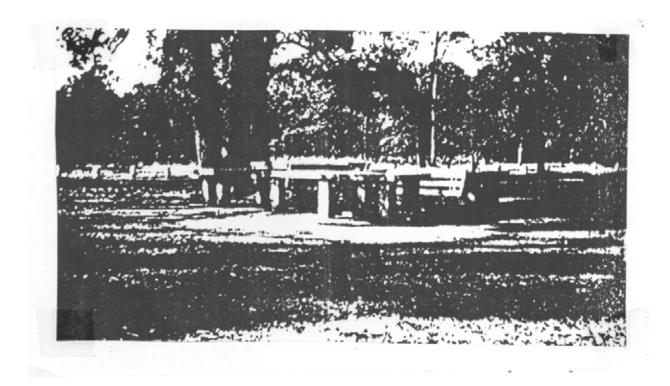


Figure 32: Picnic grounds, Arkansas Post State Park - Ca. 1932 view showing concrete picnic table. Photo contained in P.C. Howson, "Arkansas Post: Site of 246-year-old settlement becomes State Park," "Your Home" (probably a section of an Arkansas newspaper, possibly the Arkansas Gazette), March 1932, p. 12 - Copy of article provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum.



Figure 33: Footbridge across ravine, Arkansas Post State Park - Ca. 1940 view from southeast showing lake in background. Arkansas State Planning Board, State Parks Commission, and National Park Service, Park, Parkway and Recreational Area Survey (Little Rock, Arkansas: State Capitol, June 1940), p. 31 - Copy of report in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas.



Figure 34: "Lady of Justice" statue, Arkansas Post State Park - 1964 NPS photo showing missing arm and other damage inflicted by vandals. Copy of photo attached to memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent Hot Springs National Park, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, July 28, 1964, Box 2, File 9, APNM Administrative Files.



Figure 35: Log cabin constructed by WPA and CCC, Arkansas Post State Park - 1964 NPS photo. Copy of photo attached to memorandum from Ovie Bradford, Arkansas Post National Memorial, to Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, July 29, 1964. Photo located p. 00567 (no file number), Box 2, APNM Administrative Files.

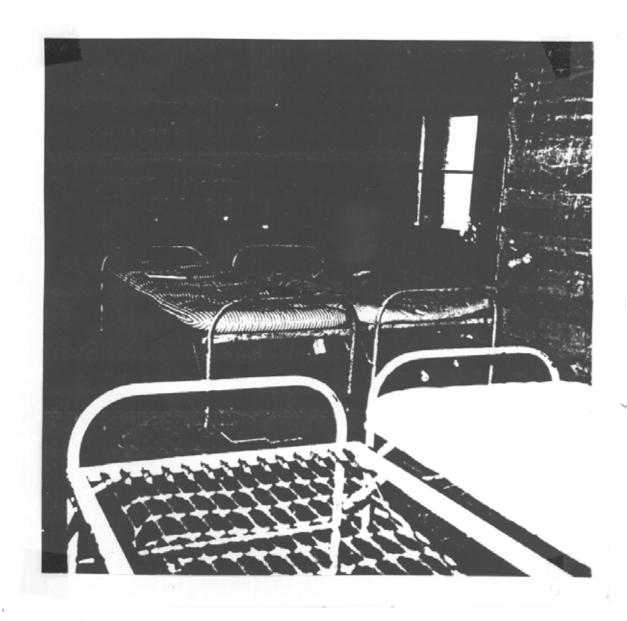


Figure 36: Interior of log cabin constructed by WPA and CCC, Arkansas Post State Park - 1964 NPS photo showing beds—the only furnishings in the cabin. Copy of photo attached to memorandum from Ovie Bradford, Arkansas Post National Memorial, to Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, July 29. 1964. Photo located on p. 00567 (no file number), Box 2, APNM Administrative Files.



Figure 37: Log cabin constructed by WPA and CCC, Arkansas Post State Park - 1937 view probably taken from southwestern or northwestern boundary of park. Photo taken in 1937 by S.G. Davies, Director of State Parks - Photo found in H.V. Glenn Papers and copy provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director of the Arkansas Post Museum.

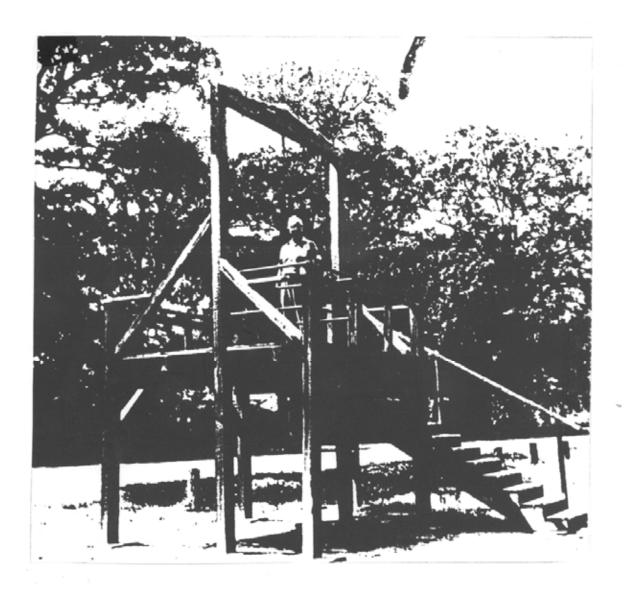


Figure 38: Gallows, Arkansas Post State Park - 1964 NPS photo. Copy of photo attached to memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent Hot Springs National Park, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, July 28, 1964, Box 2, File 9, APNM Administrative Files.



Figure 39: Dedication of Battle of Arkansas Post Centennial Marker, Arkansas Post State Park - 1963 Arkansas Gazette staff photo. Photo contained in Ernie Deane, "Keep History in Mind When You Visit Arkansas Post," Arkansas Gazette, May 8, 1963 - Copy of article contained in Place File, Arkansas Post History in Brief, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas.



Figure 40: African-American children in front of Arkansas Post building - 1937 view probably showing the Post's AME church from the south. Photo taken in 1937 by S.G. Davies, Director of State Parks - Photo found in H.V. Glenn Papers and copy provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director of the Arkansas Post Museum.

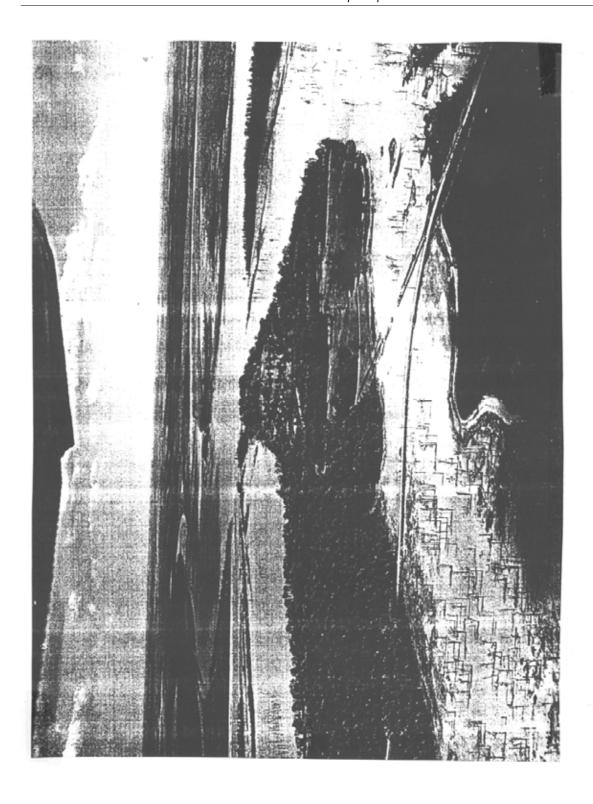


Figure 41: Arkansas Post National Memorial - Ca. 1970 aerial view from the north taken by NPS photographer Fred Meng. Box 5, No File Number, APNM Administrative Files.

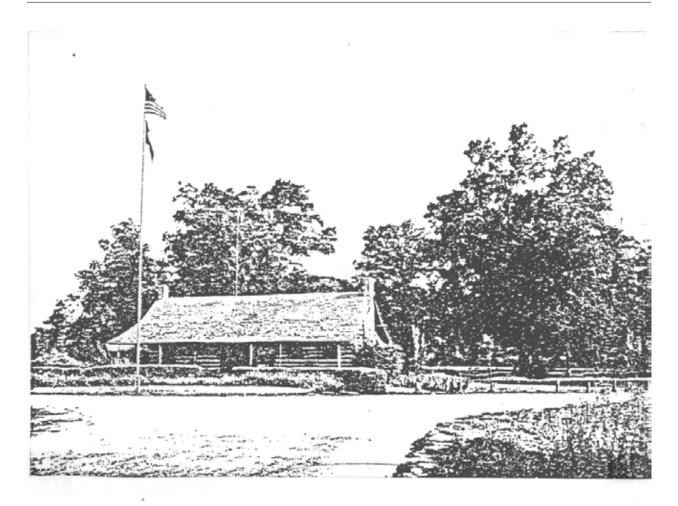
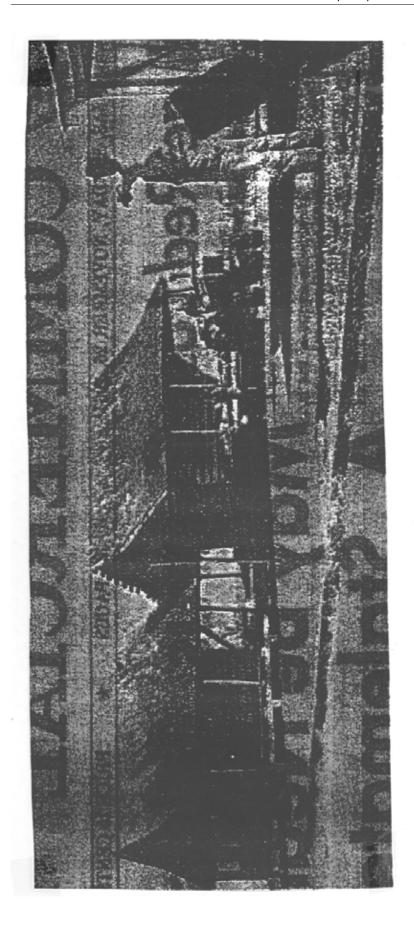


Figure 42: "Quandt" House (Arkansas Post State Park caretaker's house or "Hinman House") Ca. 1966 view from the north taken while the house was serving as APNM's.
temporary visitor center. Photo 1180, Photo Files, Arkansas History Commission,
Little Rock, Arkansas.



Pine Bluff Commercial, November 26, 1967 - Copy of article contained in Box 2 Photo contained in Gamer Allen, "Arkansas Post's Log Cabin Finds a Home," Figure 43: Removal of "Quandt" ("Hinman") House to Arkansas Post Museum - 1967. p. 00489 (No File Number), APNM Administrative Files.

Figure 44: APNM Visitor Center and Maintenance Building (constructed 1966-1967) - Ca. 1970 view from the northeast taken by NPS photographer Fred Meng. Box 5, No File Number, APNM Administrative Files.

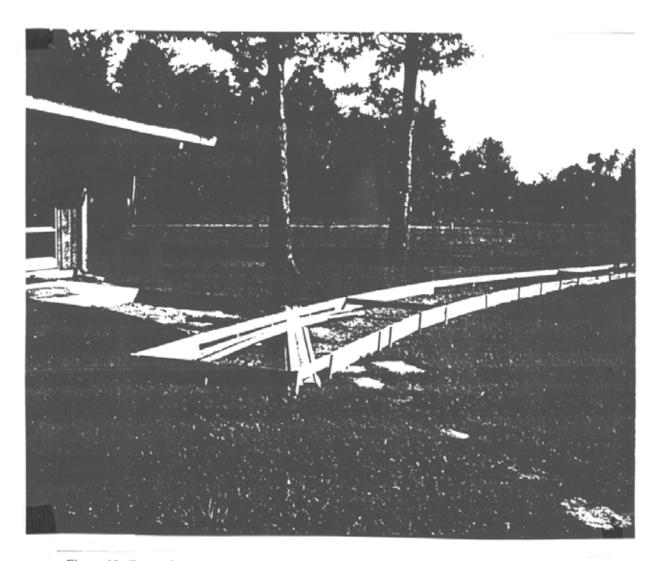


Figure 45: Forms for walk to APNM Visitor Center and Maintenance Building - Ca. 1967 view from the south. Photo located in Box 2, File 1, APNM Administrative Files.

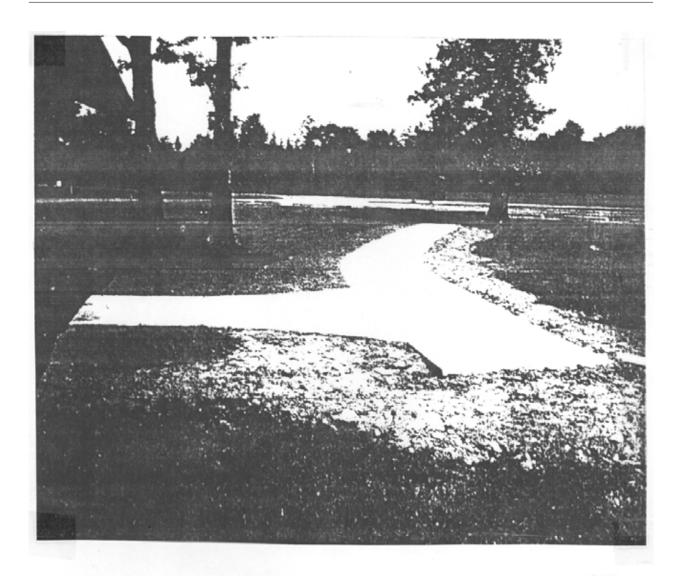


Figure 46: Walk from front door of APNM Visitor Center and Maintenance Building to Parking Lot - 1968 view from the south. Photo located on p. 00486 (No File Number), Box 2, APNM Administrative Files.

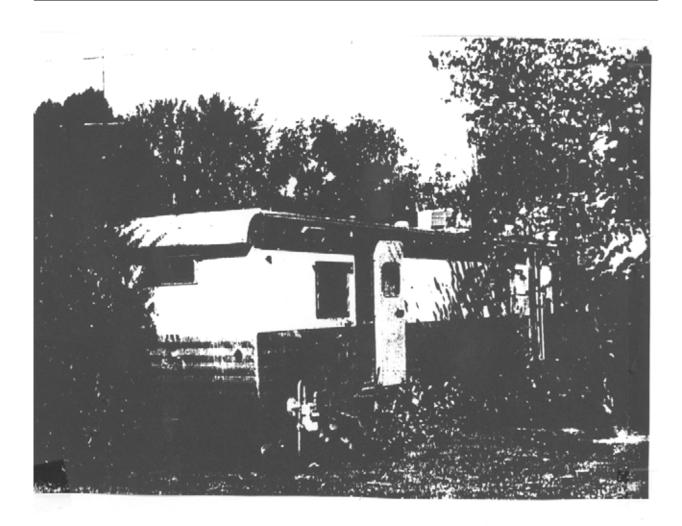


Figure 47: House trailer loaned to APNM by Arkansas Publicity and Parks Commission for use as an administrative facility - Ca. 1964 Photo. Photo attached to 1964 "Agreement" between the NPS and Arkansas Publicity and Parks Commission governing use of the trailer - "Agreement" filed in Box 1, File 20, APNM Administrative Files.

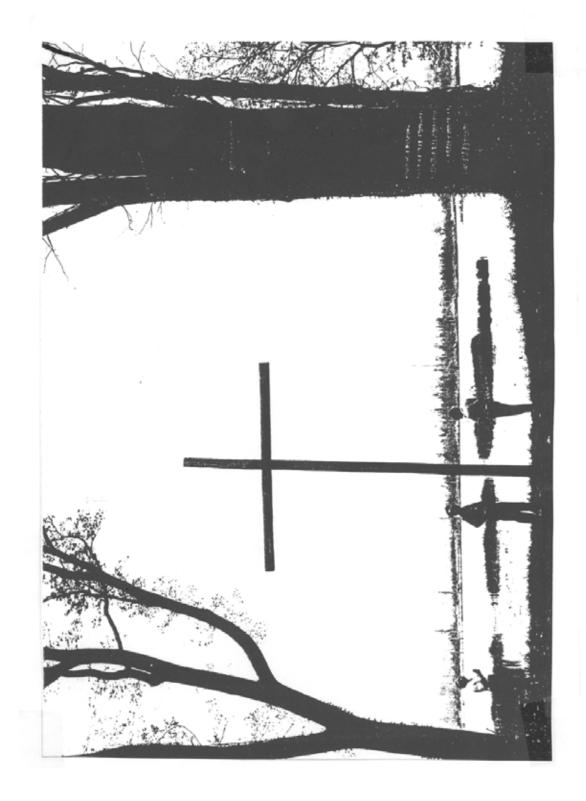


Figure 48: DeTonti "Great Cross" Exhibit - Ca. 1970 view from the southwest taken by NPS photographer Fred Meng. Box 5, No File Number, APNM Administrative Files.



Figure 49: House Trailer Residence - Arkansas Post National Memorial - 1969 photo attached to September 1969 NPS Individual Building Data form describing the structure, Box 1, File 7, APNM Administrative Files.

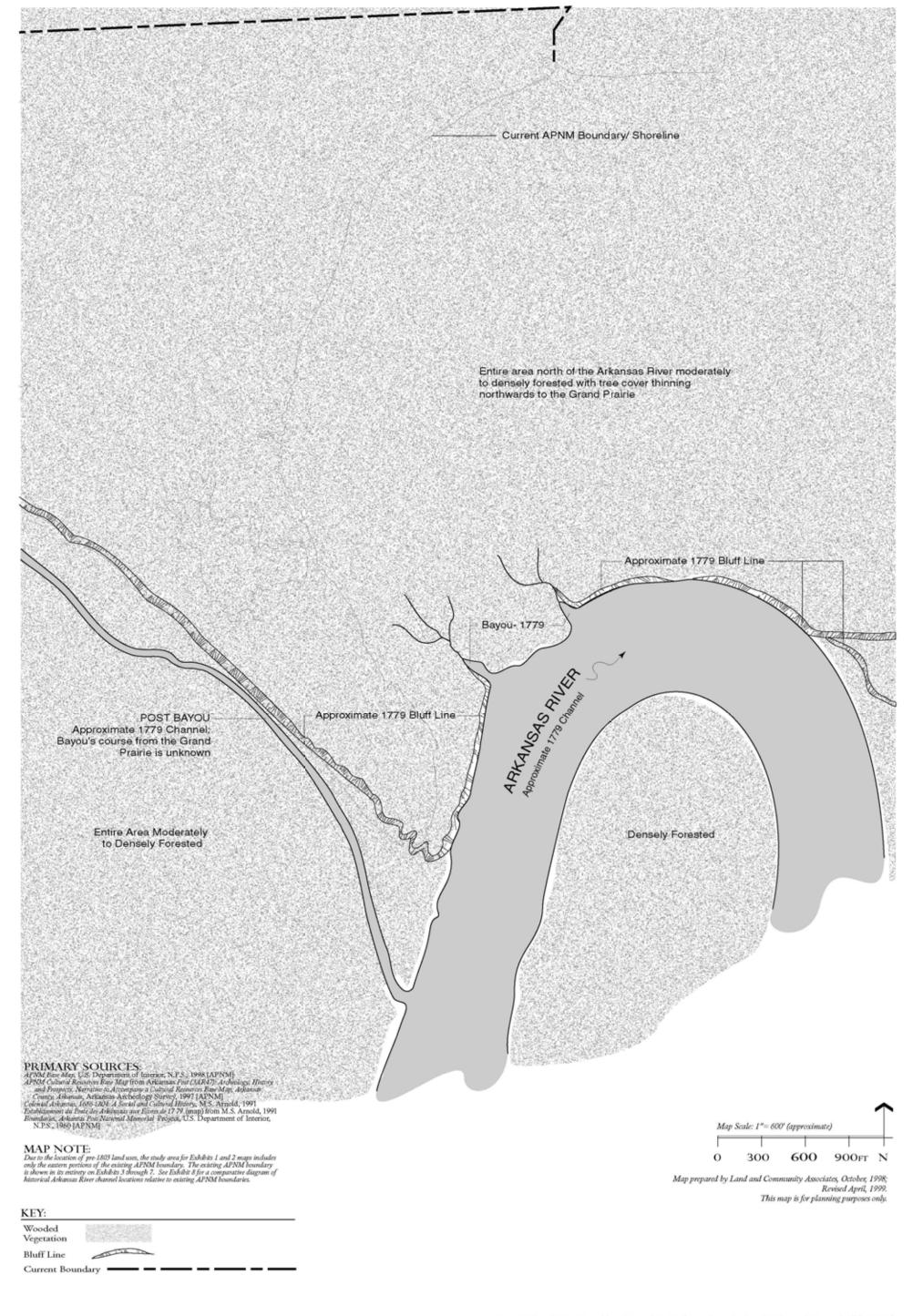


EXHIBIT 1: PRE 1673 PRE-CONTACT PERIOD

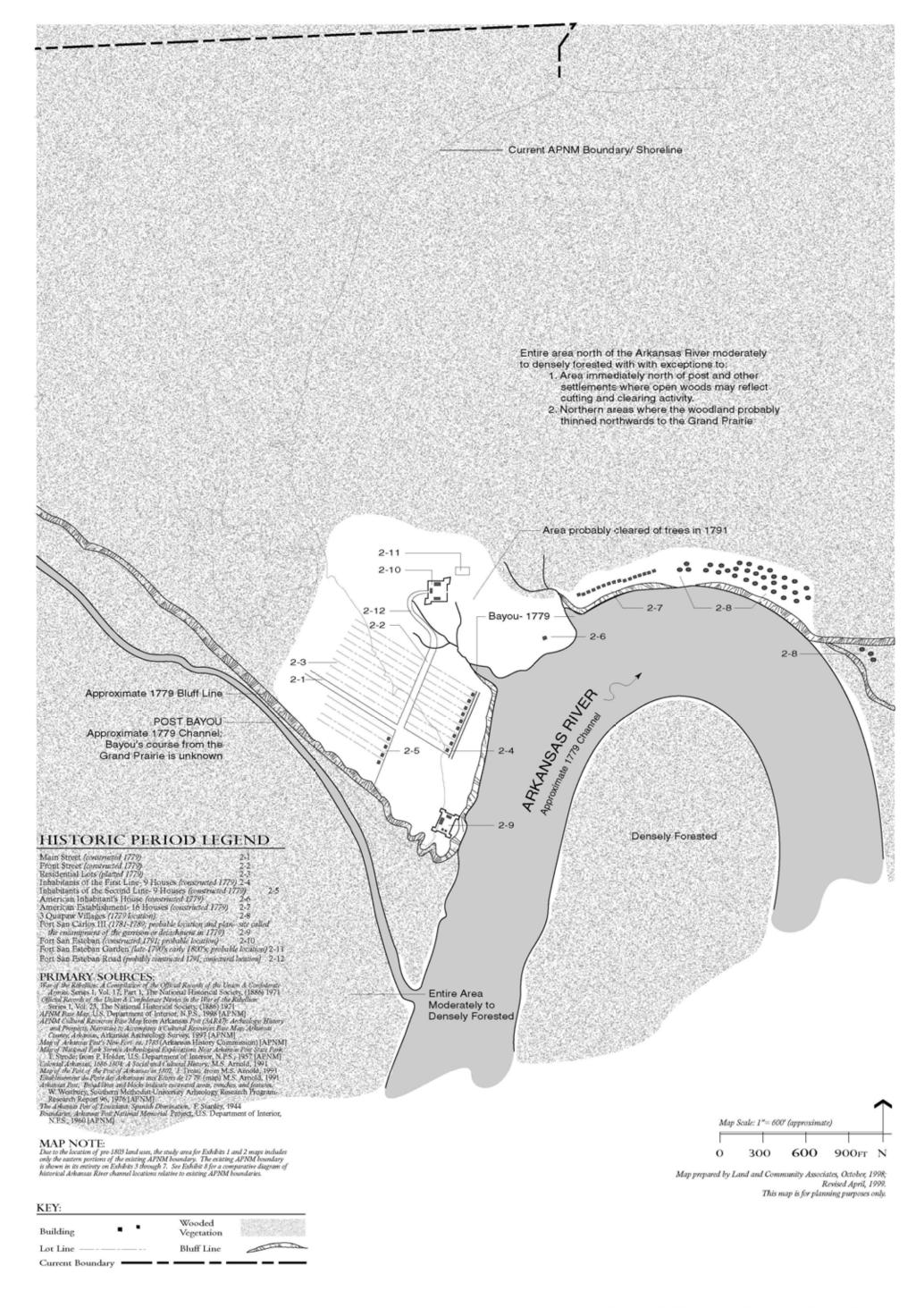


EXHIBIT 2: 1673-1803 COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

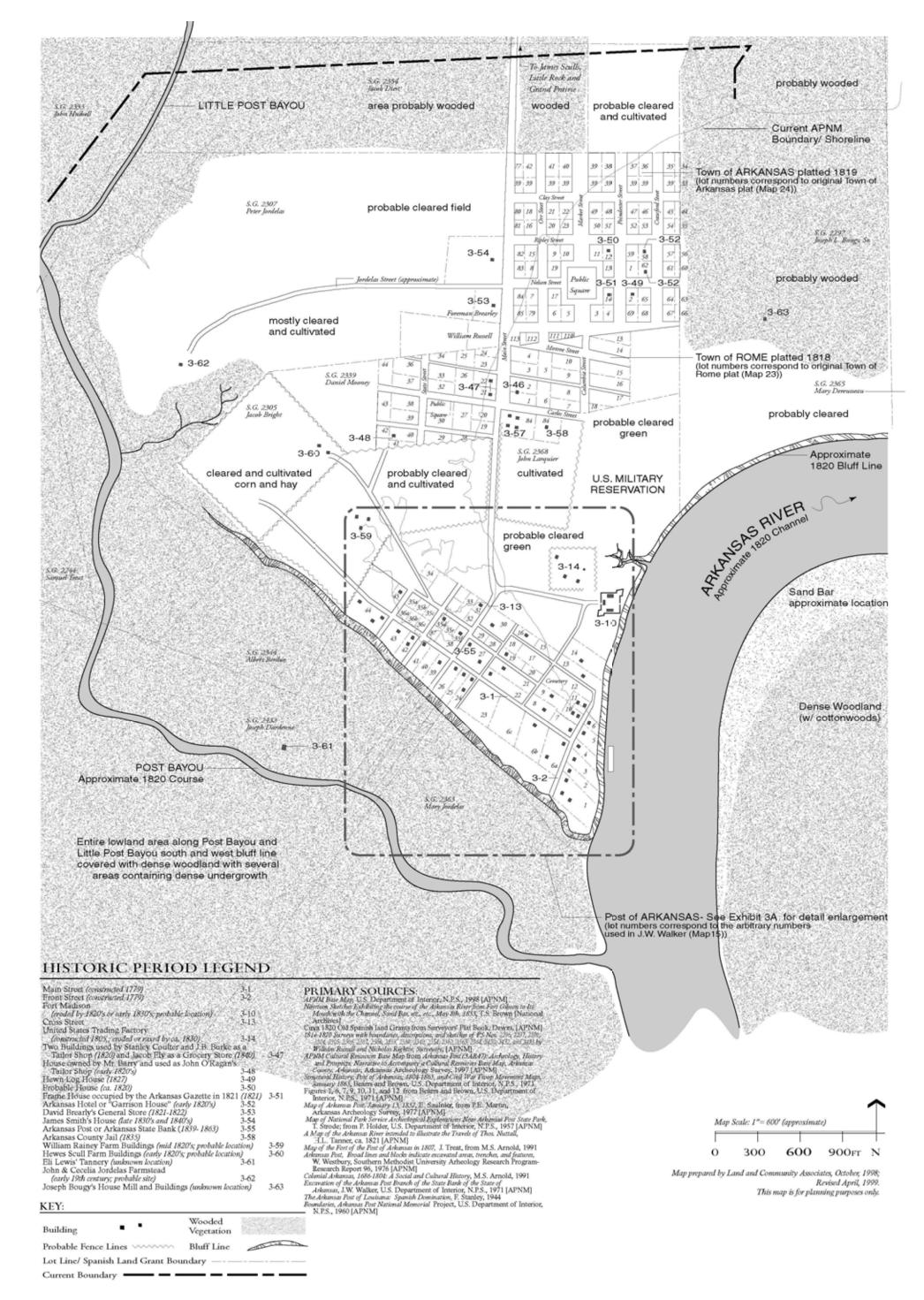


EXHIBIT 3: 1804-1855 SETTLEMENT/ EARLY STATEHOOD PERIOD

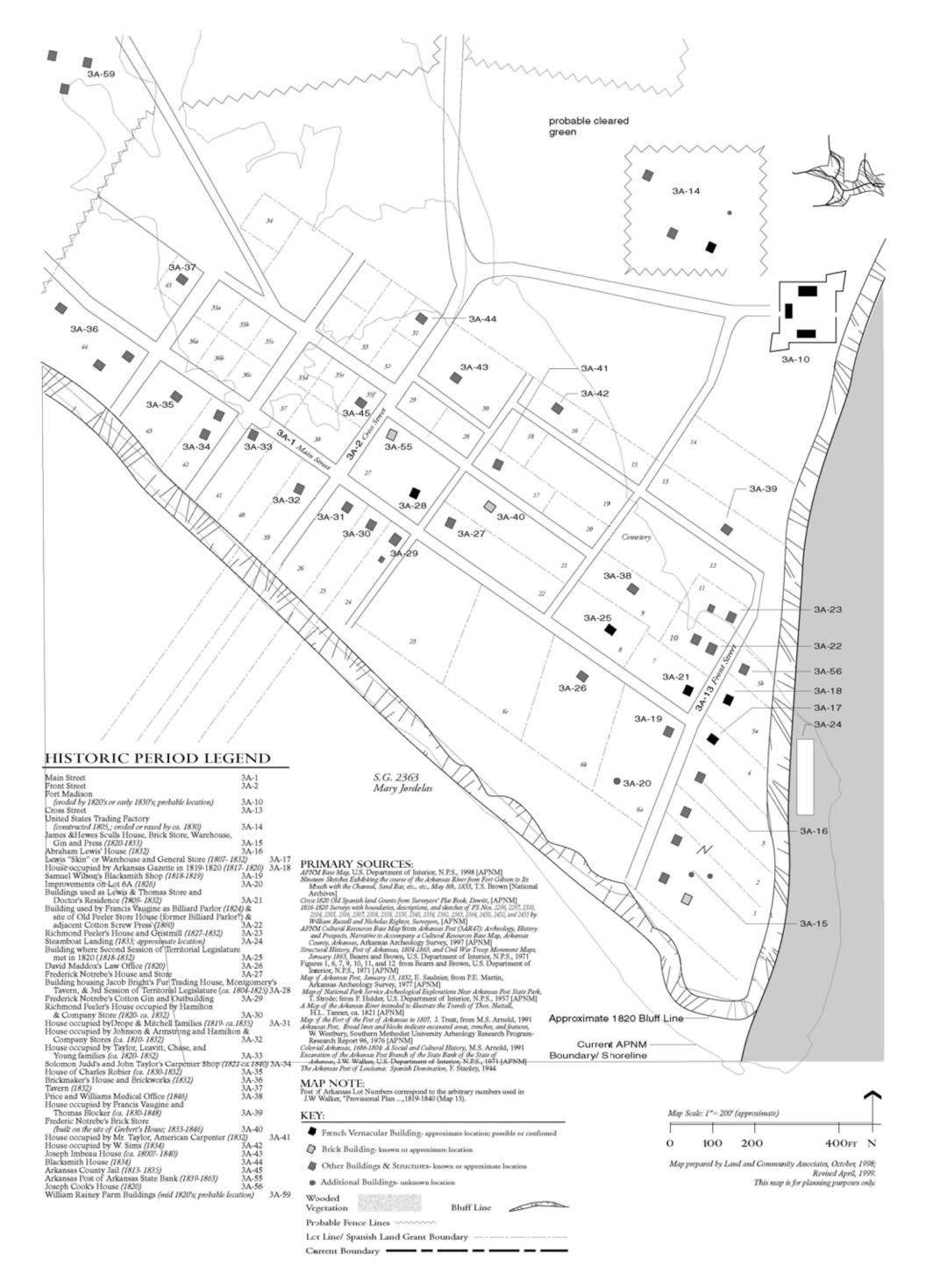


EXHIBIT 3A: 1804-1855 DETAIL ENLARGEMENT OF POST OF ARKANSAS SETTLEMENT/ EARLY STATEHOOD PERIOD

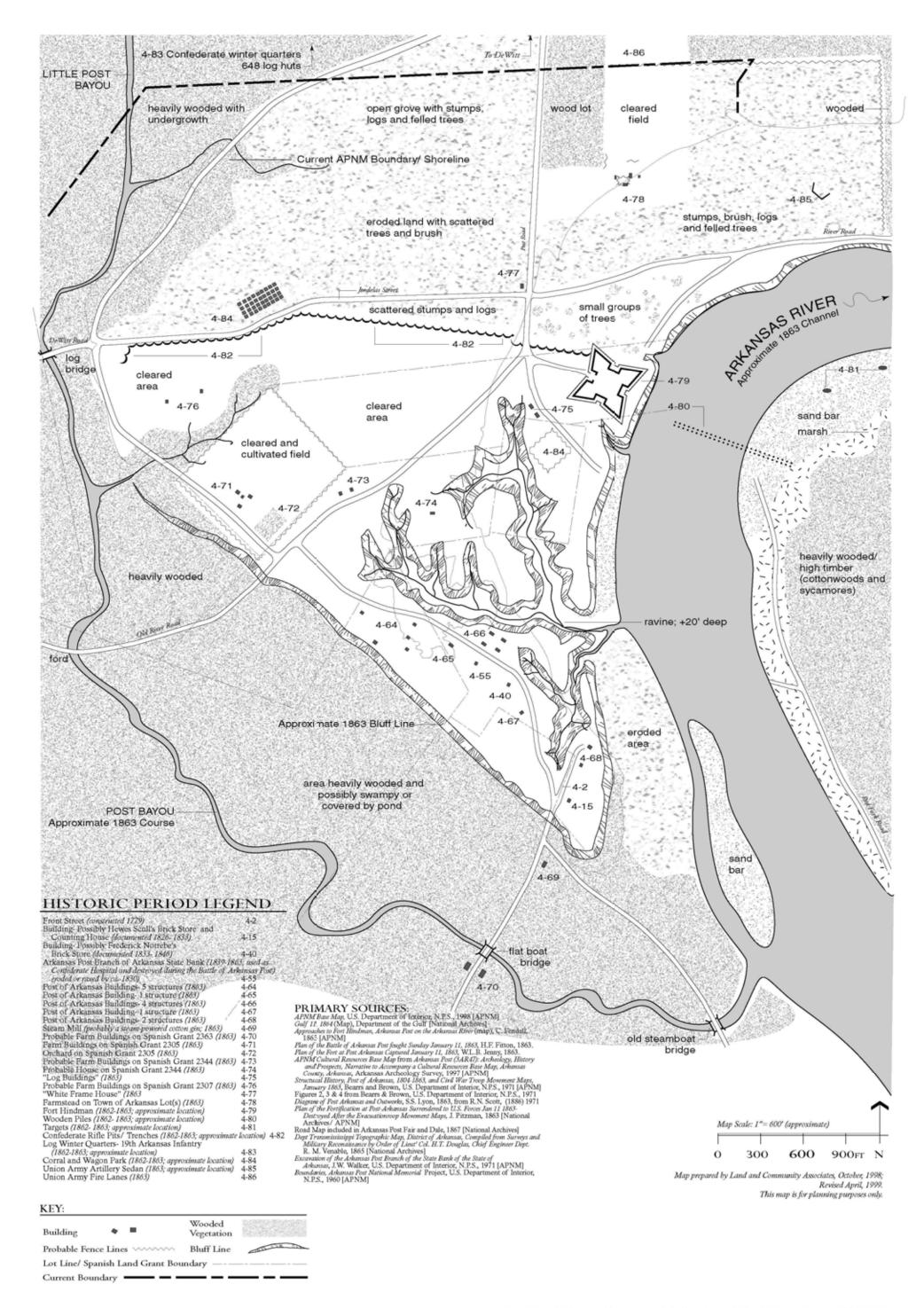


EXHIBIT 4: 1856-1865 CIVIL WAR PERIOD

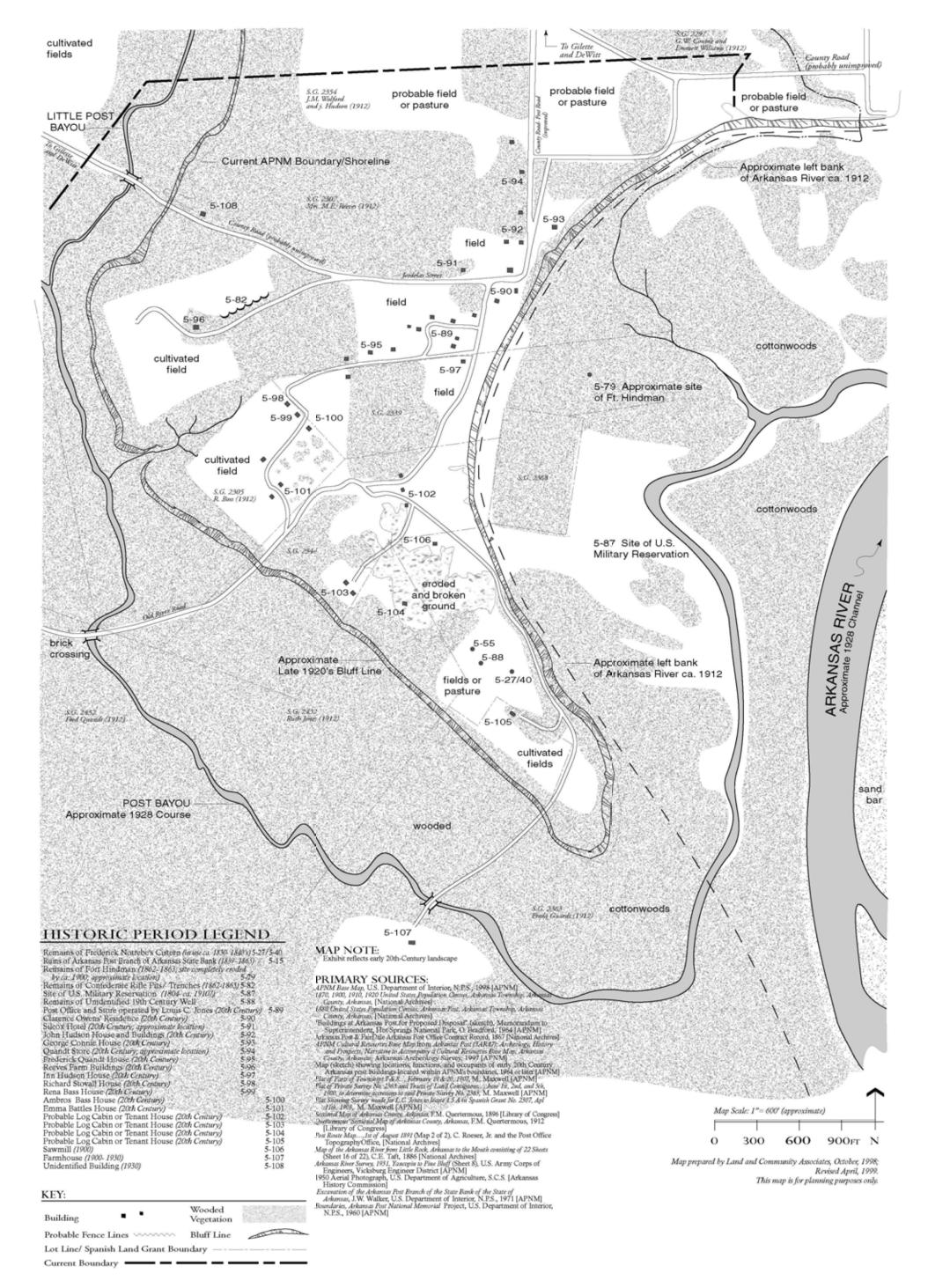


EXHIBIT 5: 1866-1928 LATE 19TH & EARLY 20TH-CENTURY PERIOD

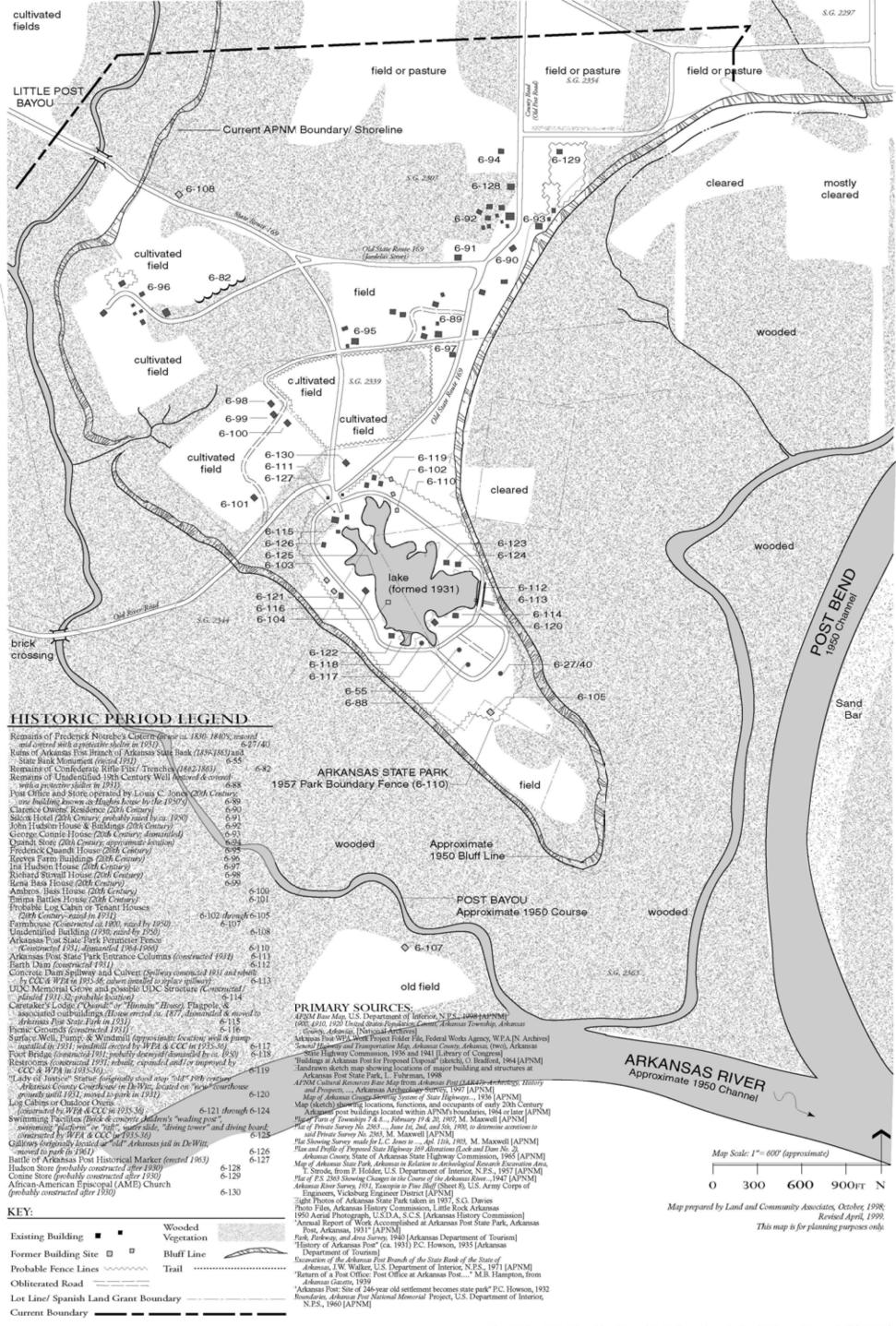


EXHIBIT 6: 1929-1963 20TH CENTURY/ STATE PARK PERIOD

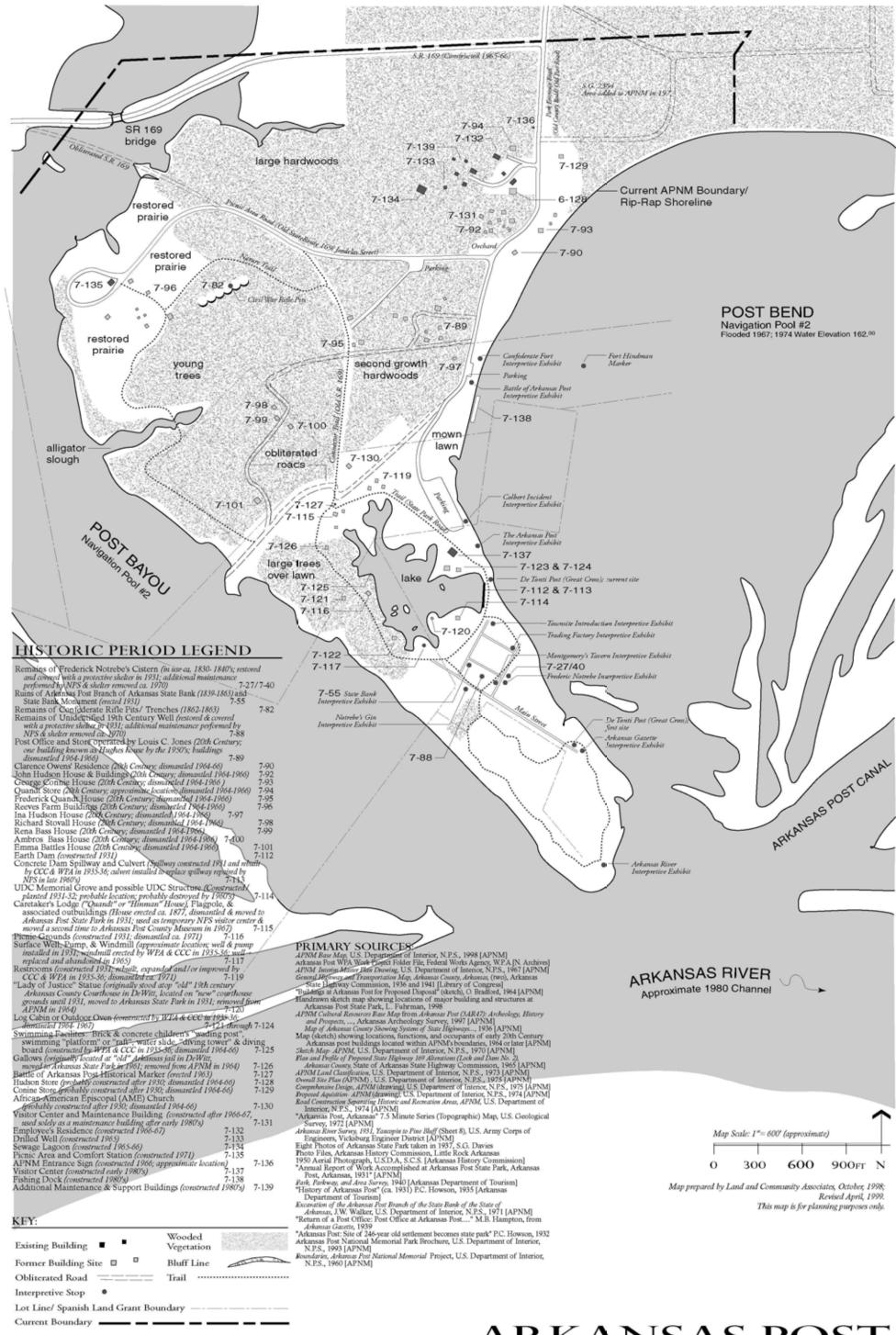


EXHIBIT 7: 1964-1998 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE DEVELOPMENT PERIOD

4. EXISTING CONDITIONS

4. EXISTING CONDITIONS

This chapter describes existing conditions of the Arkansas National Memorial cultural landscape. It includes discussions of the site's major landscape characteristics, builds on site research, and is based on site surveys, including onthe-ground observations and documentation of site features. The chapter focuses on identifying extant cultural landscape features associated with the historical periods of the site's development, such as vegetation patterns, the locations of historic roads, and the locations of historic structures, building clusters, existing land use, and spatial organization. The chapter also includes descriptions of natural and contemporary features and functions that affect cultural landscape analysis, evaluation, and treatment as well as surviving historic landscape features and characteristics.

Site Location

Arkansas Post National Memorial (APNM) is situated on a peninsula elevated above and overlooking the Arkansas River in the southern portion of Arkansas County. Its location on the Arkansas River made the site desirable historically as a strategic military fortification and commercial center. The Memorial, located in

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³¹⁶ The chapter addresses existing cultural landscape characteristics and the factors shaping them using the guidance of Linda Flint McClelland, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Z. Melnick, *National Register Bulletin 30, Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service; Interagency Resources Division, Interagency Resources Branch, U.S. Government Printing Office), pp. 3-8.

southeastern Arkansas within the Mississippi-Arkansas Rivers Delta region, is located at the most southerly portion of the Grand Prairie, the flat terrace that extends from the Mississippi River to the Arkansas River (*Exhibit 9*). Erosion of the Mississippi River more than 5,000 years ago was responsible for the formation of the alluvial fan of the Grand Prairie in which the APNM is located.

The landscape setting for the Memorial is rural with most land in either agricultural or forestry uses. There are also substantial wetlands in this vicinity that contribute to the setting of the Memorial. Rice farming is a major agricultural land use in the region. Located 7 miles (11.2 kilometers) south of Gillett, Arkansas, and 18 miles (29 kilometers) northeast of Dumas, Arkansas, APNM is accessible to motorists travelling on Arkansas State Highway 169 (AR 169). Pedestrians and cyclists use the same state highway access although no provisions have been made to accommodate the specific use of either. Although watercraft can pass through and adjacent to the APNM, boats and other water vessels are prohibited from launching or landing at the Memorial. The APNM often experiences extreme climactic conditions that range from extremely hot weather during the summer months to rare but substantial snow and ice storms in the winter. 317 NPS publications recommend site visitation between September

³¹⁷ Such a storm occurred during fieldwork in February 2000 and is documented through site photography undertaken at that time.

and May to avoid the heat, humidity, and insects associated with summer visits to the site.

Methodology

The existing conditions discussed in this chapter and evaluated in the following chapter were developed through field investigation and informed by the historical research discussed in previous chapters of the CLR. This research provides numerous narrative discussions and graphic depictions of the area currently within the park boundaries. Ongoing natural resource studies that build on earlier efforts provide information that informs the cultural landscape investigation concerning biotic and biocultural issues. These include an ongoing research project (began in 1999) focused on impacts to vegetation by white-tailed deer (Odicoileus virginianus); a vegetation survey of the Memorial conducted by the University of Arkansas-Monticello (data was collected during April through September 1997); an informal vegetation survey by the University of Arkansas-Monticello (conducted in July 2000); the Cultural Landscape Inventory prepared by NPS staff; and data from observations made by the CLR staff during February through May of 2000.

Aerial photographic coverage over the last fifty years was also extremely informative (Maps 40, 49, 50, and 51). This photographic coverage also highlights the physical evolution of the site and its dramatic changes in landform

due to both natural and deliberate human actions. The absence of an accurate base map documenting these specific (and often dramatic) changes makes identifying site-specific locations difficult. In order for accurate base maps to be developed it is necessary for permanent benchmarks to be established on site and recorded with Global Positioning System (GPS). Once accurate base maps are produced, existing maps, including hose in this CLR, should be revised accordingly.³¹⁸

The CLR methodology was developed to inventory general landscape features and components including environmental setting, spatial organization, management land use, circulation, structures, vegetation, and small-scale features. The existing conditions field investigations began with LCA conducting reconnaissance surveys in February and March 2000. These investigations were directly informed by the NPS List of Classified Structures (LCS), the Cultural Base Map prepared by the Arkansas Archaeological Survey³¹⁹, the CLI, the historic period plans prepared in the previous portion of the CLR and the series of flora and fauna studies undertaken in the 1970s and

1990s, up to and including current ongoing studies. The School of Forest Resources of the Arkansas Forest Resources Center at the Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Arkansas, Monticello under the direction of Dr. Phillip Tappe worked with LCA in documenting and analyzing the vegetation of the APNM. Subsequent field surveys in April and May and vegetation sampling completed the multi-season field examination of the cultural landscape of APNM. The February field investigation was affected by an unusually heavy snowstorm that provided an opportunity to observe the rarely snow-covered landscape. The March and April field surveys each extended over a five-day period and took the field investigators into all sectors of the park unit. Special attention was given to above ground cultural landscape features, including extant vegetation. Several component landscapes possessing aboveground cultural resource concentrations as well as areas of known and predicted belowground cultural resource concentrations were identified and investigated during the May fieldwork. Summer vegetation was also observed during those investigations.

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³¹⁸ The need for establishing permanent benchmarks and recording them with a GPS was also identified by Kathleen Cande, Arkansas Post (3AR47): Archeology, History and Prospects, Narrative to Accompany a Cultural Resources Base Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas, AAS project 961 Draft Report, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville, Arkansas, September 30, 1997, p. 59.

³¹⁹ Kathleen Cande, Arkansas Post (3AR47): Archeology, History and Prospects, Narrative to Accompany a Cultural Resources Base Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas, AAS project 961 Draft Report, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville, Arkansas, September 30, 1997, p. 59. Please note that this document is still in evaluation.

Identification of Vegetative Stand Types

Vegetative stand types at APNM were identified and mapped using a digital orthoquad (DOQ) and field-collected data.³²⁰ The DOQ, at scale of 1:12,000, was based on a 1994 USGS aerial photograph. Vegetative stand types were delineated by heads-up digitizing of vegetation boundaries using ArcView[®] v.3.1.³²¹

In the field, each vegetative stand type was sampled to determine dominant tree species composition. A coefficient of variation for basal area (BA) by species was estimated in each delineated vegetation type by sampling preliminary variable-radius plots with a 10-factor prism. Basal area reflects stand density by quantifying the cross-sectional area of all trees in a stand. This is done on a per acre basis. A high basal area is an indication that an area has a high density of trees whereas a low basal area indicates low density in a forest stand.

The estimated coefficients of variation of basal area combined with an allowable error of 20% were used to determine the appropriate number of plots to sample in each delineated vegetation type. Using this field-collected data in conjunction

December 2005

³²⁰ The project consultants coordinated and worked closely with personnel from the School of Forest Resources, Arkansas Forest Resources center, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Arkansas, Monticello to identify vegetation communities and plant alliances through their combined field investigations and research.

³²¹ "Heads-up" digitizing does not involve the use of a digitizing tablet. Instead, features are drawn on the computer using some type of existing digital reference or background theme, such as an aerial photograph.

with the information gained from the aerial photograph allowed determination of the composition and spatial extent of each vegetative stand type. Using this approach, 15 vegetative stand types were defined based on the dominant occurring tree species and mapped using ArcView[®] v.3.1.

The methodology applied overlaps the methodology defined by the National Vegetation Classification system (NVCS) that was developed by The Nature Conservancy for use by the National Park Service. Once the vegetation stand types for APNM were defined, an attempt was made to classify each vegetation type using the National Vegetation Classification System (NVCS). Because it is not complete for all areas of the U.S., the NVCS proved inadequate for describing existing vegetation types occurring at APNM. Specific plant alliances exist at APNM that are either not defined by the NVCS, or are not adequately described by the NVCS. Therefore, the fifteen types described herein provide a more accurate and appropriate categorization of the vegetative stand types at APNM than could be presented if categories were limited to those currently defined by the NVCS.

One other data source was investigated for use in classifying vegetation types on APNM. The Biological Resource Division of the U.S. Geological Survey completed the Arkansas GAP Analysis Project in 1998. However, based on the 100 ha aggregated dataset available from this project, only two vegetation types

were identified on APNM, thus providing little useable information for resource managers. Finally, special attention was given to identifying vegetation associated with Native Americans, threatened and endangered species, and invasive exotic species.

Identification of Vegetative Species Present at APNM
Data collected as part of an ongoing study at APNM, documentation from a
previous vegetation survey at APNM, and incidental observations by the
Cultural Landscape Report team, as well as data collected while delineating
vegetation communities, were used to identify plant species associated with
defined vegetation communities.

A research project investigating white-tailed deer (Odicoileus virginianus) impacts on vegetation at APNM was initiated in January 1999 and is currently ongoing. As part of this project, four exclosures were randomly placed in each of five sampling areas at APNM. All exclosures are at least 50-m apart. In addition, each exclosure has an unfenced check plot which is located 25-m either due north or due west from the exclosure. Thus, vegetation is being sampled at a total of 40 locations. Each exclosure and check plot is divided into 16 1-m² sampling quadrats. All vegetation was identified to the genus or species level in a randomly chosen quadrat for each plot during June, July, August, September, and October of 1999.

Three other sources of information on plant species occurrences are available for APNM: data collected during April – September, 1997 as part of a vegetation survey of APNM conducted by the University of Arkansas – Monticello, data obtained from an additional informal vegetation survey collected during July 2000 by the University of Arkansas – Monticello, and data from the LCA observations during February – May 2000. All data were combined to document known plant species occurrences at APNM (*Table 1*). Species recorded as part of the deer study, while conducting field sampling for vegetation community delineation, or recorded by LCA were spatially referenced to the 15 identified vegetation types occurring at APNM. When sampling locations were documented, species recorded during the previous 1997 vegetation survey were also spatially referenced to the 15 identified vegetation types.³²²

The information collected through the field investigations discussed above has been used to inform the analysis, treatment recommendations and the implementation guidelines.

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³²² Vegetation types were labeled A through P. After further analyses, type H was combined with other types due to similarities in composition. However, vegetation types were not relabeled and type H was omitted from vegetation maps in order to conform to other ongoing studies and to avoid future confusion. Therefore, there is no vegetation type H in this CLR.

Landscape Characteristics and Features (Exhibit 10)

Site Description, Land Use, and Landscape Organization

The 389.2-acre site is composed of a slightly elevated, flat peninsular site, with a steep shoreline along the Arkansas River. Over time the meanders of the Mississippi, Arkansas, and White Rivers created highly defined river bluffs in this region. The bluffs today are low in relation to the historic water level; prior to the navigation project the Arkansas Post plateau stood much higher above the water than it does currently. The Arkansas River bluffs, however, still provide the APNM site with a distinct visual and physical water/land edge that provides protection from flooding for the site's elevated plateau. The site currently includes wooded areas, open lawns, an area planted in prairie in the 1990s, roads and trails, a manmade lake, parking areas, and areas that have been developed for visitor and interpretive services, administration, and support operations, such as NPS housing and maintenance.

The APNM landscape is comprised of several identifiable component landscapes, some historic and some not, such as former town and farm sites and visitor amenity areas. In most instances, historic component landscapes retain some aboveground features, such as remnant vegetation (*Exhibits 11-17*).

The current APNM landscape reflects the effects of major navigation and flood control projects on the Arkansas River implemented in the 1960s. Between 1965 and 1967 the Army Corps of Engineers constructed the Arkansas River McClellan-Kerr Navigation System's Lock and Dam Number 2 on the river below the Post. Navigation Pool 2, created by the Wilbur D. Mills Dam, inundated all areas surrounding the Post below 162 feet mean sea level (MSL), including the Moore's Bayou (Post Bayou) bottomlands and the Arkansas River's circa-1911 channel east of the Post. Portions of Post Bayou's (Moore's Bayou) flooded bottomlands became part of the current Moore's Bayou water recreation area³²³ and the 25-foot bluffs delineating the Post of Arkansas' southwestern boundary lost both their original prominence and part of their original form. Although the western bank of Post Bend near the eastern boundary of the site approximated the circa-1911 shoreline, the character of the bluff landscape that exists today was changed substantially.

Overall land use for the APNM is dedicated to the Memorial, conservation, recreational, interpretive, and educational uses of the site. APNM currently includes wooded areas, open lawns, and portions of several bodies of water as well as developed areas for visitor services, recreation, Memorial administration and operations. Recreational uses include fishing, hiking, walking, bicycling,

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³²³The Army Corps of Engineers changed the name of Post Bayou to Moore's Bayou after the inundation. Both the historic and the current names are used when referencing the bayou in Part

rollerblading, birdwatching, and picnicking. A series of interpretive and nature trails link various parts of the site that are of historical or natural resource interest. The lake originally developed as a component of the state park is located in the southern portion of the peninsula near the current eastern shoreline.

The major concentrations of NPS-developed land uses are located in the central and southern sections of the Memorial with the picnic area the only major development in the northern third of the Memorial. All visitor services are concentrated near the picnic and visitor center areas. Maintenance operations and employee housing are located in a distinct cluster west of the Memorial entry road in an area of hardwoods. The picnic area, which was developed at the western promontory adjacent to Post Bayou, (Moore's Bayou) on the former Reeves Farm site to replace the state park-era picnic facilities near Park Lake, provides restrooms and is adjacent to a recently planted prairie area to the east and south.

Administrative operations have been incorporated into the visitor center northeast of Park Lake in an area where log cabins from the state park era were removed. The visitor center also provides space for exhibits, book sales, a

II. However, the historic name of Post Bayou was used in Part I.

theater, and restrooms. Areas of forest separate the three distinct use areas; none is visible from another. Parking areas have been developed for the picnic, maintenance and visitor center areas, and all three areas are accessible to vehicles. The APNM provides no overnight facilities for visitors.

The existing land use and site organization largely reflects adherence to the 1975 NPS Master Plan for the APNM. The plan outlined a land use policy based on a zone approach oriented toward managing the Memorial to protect and interpret its cultural and natural resources and provide for the outdoor recreational needs of visitors. The northern portion of the park, identified in the plan as a natural environment area and wildlife refuge, is mostly forested. The sites of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Post of Arkansas and the Civil War rifle pits have been preserved and interpreted as historic areas. Finally, the areas on the northern and eastern sides of the Memorial's lake and other scattered tracts have been identified and treated as general outdoor recreation areas.

Response to Natural Features and Land/Water Relationship

The APNM site, both historically and currently, has been defined by its relationship with water although these relationships have changed during different historical periods. The site developed as a military, governmental and mercantile center because of its strategic Arkansas River location. Both historically and today, only the Memorial's northern boundary is land-based.

APNM's current offshore boundaries on all other sides extend into Post Bend on the east, Little Post Bayou on the northwest, Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou) on the southwest, and the Arkansas River to the south. Most of the current NPS boundaries are offshore with portions of the historic site no longer visible above water. The meander of the Arkansas River has influenced both land use and the physical character of the site throughout its history.

The APNM currently includes all the lands located in Spanish grant 2305; those parts of the old Post of Arkansas, the former United States Military Reservation, and Spanish grants 2307, 2339, 2344, 2354, 2363, and 2432 located over 162 feet in elevation above mean sea level (MSL); and a portion of Spanish grant 2333 situated above 162 feet MSL.³²⁴ The elevation of the Memorial ranges from 162 feet MSL to 179 MSL. The highest points are along the northeast shoreline and the southwest shoreline. The majority of the site ranges from 170 feet MSL to 175 MSL, making it approximately 15 feet above the water line in most places. The

elevation tapers off to close to the water level in the northwest portion of the Memorial between Alligator Slough and the northern property boundary. In that area, the outer edge of the peninsula slopes down to wetlands.

The late twentieth-century U.S. Army Corps of Engineers construction of the Arkansas Post Canal east of the Memorial site planned in combination with levees and dams to improve navigation and control the river, however, is responsible for the current land/water configuration and water levels. The actual Arkansas River channel is not visible today due to a higher water level that currently covers both the channel and the adjacent historic flood plain. The increased water elevation also affects the western side of the peninsula by covering the traditional flood plain associated with Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou).

324" Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," pp. 23-24; Cande, p. 14; United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, National Park Service. "Proposed Acquisition – Arkansas Post National Memorial," Drawing 411/30.001A, October 1974 - copy of map in Box 2, File 11, APNM Administrative Files; Walker, p. 1. The Secretary of the Interior originally designated a tract of approximately 740 acres as the proposed area for the Memorial on December 24, 1960. However, because the Army Corps of Engineers' Arkansas River navigation project was projected to inundate the 70% of the acreage located below 162 feet MSL, this area was subsequently reduced to 255 acres and later to 220 acres. The APNM Administrative files contain a voluminous correspondence (letters and memorandums, deeds, surveys and maps, etc.) covering acquisition and transfer of the property. For general information see: Memorandum from Bernard T. Campbell, Superintendent, Hot Springs National Park, to C. C. Stuart, Department of Education, Arkansas County, Arkansas, January 24, 1969, Box 1, File 23, APNM Administrative Files; Memorandum from Cox to Woods, October 9, 1963; and Kasparek, Chapter 1, p. 2.

The water area of the bayou is much wider than it was historically.³²⁵ While the current land area edge appears as low bluffs adjacent to wide water bodies, historically those bluffs would have overlooked wide flood plains and a relatively narrow river channel on the eastern side of the peninsula and a narrow bayou on the west. Cultural resources may be present in the inundated areas since there was limited disturbance prior to flooding.³²⁶ Many experts, however, believe that this is unlikely since extreme flood conditions often characterized the Arkansas River historically, and the area would have been ravaged by floodwaters. Constant erosion of the stream banks and floodplain has probably removed most cultural resources from their original sites. In stabilizing the peninsula in 1968 when the area surrounding the park was inundated, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers built a protective dike of rock up to elevation 165. At the same time, the Corps flattened slopes and installed a quarry run stone riprap between elevation 160 and 165 along the shoreline of most of the remaining park boundary.³²⁷ Approximately 1,500 feet of the shoreline are not covered by riprap; severe erosion has occurred in some of this area. A project intended to mitigate these effects is underway.

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³²⁵ Historical accounts give the width of the bayou as only 8 to 12 feet.

³²⁶ Cande, Archeological Report.

³²⁷ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Arkansas Post Master Plan, 1975, p. 13.

Throughout the site, especially at its periphery, there are many opportunities for water views of either the Arkansas River though the tree-covered edges to the east and south and across marsh and swamp areas to the west. There is a slough (believed to be unnamed) in the northwestern portion of the site that empties into Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou) about midway between AR 169 and the picnic area entry drive. South of the picnic area, Alligator Slough, which is watered by an intermittent spring that develops in the center of the site, flows west to empty into Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou). Park Lake, a manmade lake that dates from the State Park era and was constructed on the site of historic ravines, is a major water feature located in the southern portion of the site and is adjacent to the NPS visitor center.

Soils (Exhibit 20)

Five soil types occur within the APNM: the Immanuel Silt Loam (20A, 20B) and the Stuttgart Silt Loam (37A) are the dominant soil types. A small area of Ethel Silt Loam (6) is located in the center of the site; soils in the northeast corner of the site along the water line belong to another type of Immanuel Silt Loam (20C) as does a small area along the northwestern boundary. This soil type is characterized by soils ranging from 3% to 8% slopes while all the others fall in the 0% to 1% or 1% to 3% slopes.

The Immanuel series consists of very deep, moderately well drained soils that formed in silty alluvium and are found in areas of the Grand Prairie of Arkansas. Runoff from Immanuel soils can be negligible to very high. Permeability is moderate above the fragic layer and slow in the fragic layer.³²⁸ Water is perched above the fragic layer at a depth of 1.5 to 3 feet during high rainfall periods in late winter and early spring. Immanuel soils are suitable for growing rice, soybeans, and wheat and for uses as pastures. They are also supportive of oak, hickory elm, and shortleaf pine species. They generally are geographically associated as they are at APNM with Stuttgart and Ethel soils.³²⁹

Stuttgart soils consist of very deep, moderately well to somewhat poorly drained, slowly permeable soils that formed in silty and clayey alluvium. These level to gently sloping soils are on found on the Grand Prairie terraces of Arkansas in the Lower Mississippi Valley, and typically contain an abrupt texture change. The terraces are thought to be made up of sediments from the Arkansas River system with a silty mantle from the Mississippi River system.

³²⁸ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome, 1998, 84 World Soil Resources Reports, International Society of Soil Science, SSS-AISS-IBG, International Soil Reference and Information Centre, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. The fragic horizon is a subsurface diagnostic soil horizon with a "porosity pattern such that roots and percolating water penetrate the soil only along interped faces and streaks."

³²⁹ National Cooperative Soil Survey, "Established Series LBW, Location Immanuel" University of Arkansas Soil Characterization Laboratory, 1997.

The upper mantle may be mixed with loess in some places. Runoff is negligible to high, depending on the slope. Permeability is slow. Stuttgart soils are appropriate for rice, soybeans, corn, and small grains. They generally support such native vegetation as tallgrasses and hardwood species of oak, gum, ash, and shortleaf pine.³³⁰

Ethel soils, which occur on level to depressional landscapes are in a fine-silty particle size family, are poorly drained and do not have fragic properties. They do not have an abrupt texture change. The Ethel series consists of level, poorly drained, slowly permeable soils that formed in alluvium. They occur on Grand Prairie terraces in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Runoff is negligible to low. These soils have an apparent water table within 12 inches of the soil surface in late winter and spring. Ethel soils are generally used for such crops as rice, soybeans, and wheat and support naturally occurring hardwood species such as water oak, willow oak, and sweetgum.³³¹

Habitat

Wildlife is abundant within the APNM and both enhances the visitor experience, especially for bird watchers and anglers, and plagues visitors who are disturbed by biting insects and poisonous snakes. Species-both native to the region and

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³³⁰ National Cooperative Soil Survey, "Established Series LBW, Location Stuttgart" University of Arkansas Soil Characterization Laboratory, 1997.

³³¹ National Cooperative Soil Survey, "Established Series LBW, Location Ethel" University of Arkansas Soil Characterization Laboratory, 1997.

introduced-that benefit from the interrelationship of land and water are frequently observed within the APNM and surrounding areas. The APNM provides a habitat supportive of diverse species, such as deer, nutria, alligators, ticks, chiggers, mosquitoes, biting flies, snakes (including three poisonous species-water moccasin or cottonmouth, copperhead, and pigmy rattlesnake), turkey, racoon, and migratory birds, including bald eagles and waterfowl.

Two wildlife species that are listed as either threatened or endangered are known to inhabit APNM and the surrounding area. These are the bald eagle and American alligator. Because of its known distribution and nesting habits, the endangered least tern could also potentially use areas on or near APNM. Two State species of special concern, the least bittern (Ixobrychus exilis) and bewick's wren (Thryomanes bewickii) have been observed within the Memorial boundaries. In addition, the prairie mole cricket (Gryllotalpa major) and paddlefish (Polyodon spathula) occur within Arkansas County.

From the western portions of the Memorial, there are frequent opportunities to observe bald eagle nests visible on the eastern shore of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers property. Occasionally, alligators are observed swimming and sunning offshore; there are alligator nests within the park and they are also observed in land areas of the Memorial. The State of Arkansas reintroduced

alligators to the area in the 1980s; the largest concentrations in the state may exist at the Memorial.³³² The swamp areas near the bayous and sloughs provide a welcoming habitat for such species.

Deer are often evident in both wooded and open areas as well as along their edges. Ducks swim and feed in the lake, the visitor center pond, and the bayous west of the Memorial, as do herons and other waterfowl. Nutria, a small mammal introduced from South America, and beaver, which were present historically, are also numerous near the bayous and in nearby swamp areas. Nesting by these animals is probable in the Post area. Both burrow into the clay soils of the banks, and contribute to erosion. There are frequent sightings of nutria, and less common sightings of beaver, swimming and sunning in the bayous and sloughs. Armadillos have migrated into the area and also damage banks along the bayous.

Several studies related to vegetation and animal species are underway at the present time. The three studies cover a) ticks, vegetation, and tick-borne disease; b) alligator populations, movement, nesting sites, and size classes; and c) deer vegetation, movement patterns, and their interactions.

Buildings, Structures and Small-Scale Features The APNM retains no intact historic buildings aboveground; in general historic buildings and structures have not survived the ravages of abandonment, war, weather, impoundment, and public administration. Although it is unlikely, there may be remnants of structures and other construction artifacts underwater in the impounded area immediately offshore, within the NPS boundaries.333 After it assumed operation of the site in 1964, NPS removed the few aboveground structures that remained from the previous late nineteenth and early twentieth century periods because they did not relate to the Memorial mission of the site.334 The Notrebe cistern, the cistern north of the superintendent's residence, and two nineteenth-century wells are the only surviving non-military structures that predate the NPS period. The Notrebe cistern has an outside diameter of 13 feet and 5 inches, an inside diameter of 10 feet and 5 inches, and a depth of 14 feet and 4 inches. Built originally of brick produced in the Arkansas Post community, bricks from the foundation of the State Bank of Arkansas were reused in the restoration. The NPS also has stabilized an early nineteenth-century brick in the townsite. Originally

constructed of dry laid brick, the well has been stabilized above ground with the use of cement mortar. In addition, there are the earthworks developed by Confederate forces during the Civil War. The earthworks are a series of generally linear, low depressions ranging from approximately a foot-and-a-half- to threefeet in depth. The NPS has placed the cannons in this vicinity to help interpret the 1783 Colbert Raid and the Civil War history of the site. There are also twentieth-century agricultural survivors, including a cattle dipping vat (Exhibit 11), concrete piers in the vat vicinity, and metal fence fragments.335 A cast iron well pump also remains on the former Hughes property as does a concrete foundation for a small structure, probably an auxiliary outbuilding. A number of former house sites have concentrations of scattered bricks that appear to have been used in building foundations or chimneys. A cut stone property boundary marker, which dates from the 1930s, also survives in the northern portion of the site; others may exist, but may be covered by earth. A concrete culvert north of

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³³³ In addition to the dwellings, wells, cisterns, and other structures that may have been located in the water-covered area, fragments of the bridges that once crossed Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou) may be extant below water.

³³⁴ The buildings and structures NPS cleared from the landscape included the Hughes, Owens, John and Ina Hudson, Conine, Quandt, Richard Stovall, Ambros Bass, and Emma Battles houses and their outbuildings; the Quandt, Hudson, and Conine the Reeves Farm buildings; the AME church; the state park's WPA-constructed swimming facilities, log cabins, restrooms, and outdoor cooking facilities; the Lady of Justice statue from Park Lake. Nine structures, including log cabins from the state park era, the caretaker's lodge, the AME church, and the Jones and Hughes houses were relocated from the Memorial.

³³⁵ NPS removed the state park perimeter fence and the wire fencing around or near the Reeves Farm buildings, the Conine house and store, the fields in the western portion of Spanish grant 2339.

Park Lake and the earthen dam at the southeastern end of the lake are structural survivors from the state park era.³³⁶

There are three distinct areas of NPS development: the maintenance/housing area (Exhibit 18), visitor center area (Exhibit 19), and the picnic area. After 1964, NPS added several late twentieth-century buildings and structures to meet operational, maintenance, and interpretive needs. The maintenance/employee housing area, was developed originally to include a visitor center/maintenance building, and is located in the northwestern part of the Memorial. The original NPS visitor center was constructed in 1966–1967, and is a one-story, wood-clad structure immediately south of the site of the former Hudson House. This building has been adapted to accommodate offices and a work area. The complex includes several other buildings and structures, as well as a water tank, a sewage lagoon, and a well. Although mobile units were used previously by NPS in this cluster, their use has been discontinued and the units were removed. A onestory, wood-clad, ranch-style employee residence typical of the NPS Mission 66 era dates from 1965-1966, and is located immediately northwest of the former visitor center/maintenance building. Another residence of brick veneer (west of the original residence) was constructed as the superintendent's residence in 1998–1999. The maintenance/housing cluster also includes an equipment shop, a

 $^{\rm 336}$ The culvert originally was constructed beneath the state park entry road.

pump house, a hazardous waste structure, a gas tank, a diesel tank, a maintenance storage structure, a hazardous materials storage structure, a lift structure, and three structures to house fire hoses and hydrants.³³⁷ The 600-foot drilled well and sewage disposal lagoon, which were also developed in the 1960s soon after NPS assumed operation of the site, are located west of the maintenance cluster in a wooded area.

The picnic area was developed in 1971, and includes a one-story, brick, wood-shingled restroom that replaced an earlier structure from the state park era, as well as 25 picnic tables, 15 brick and metal fireplace rings, plastic trash containers, and two water fountains.

The focal point of the existing visitor center area is the one-story brick visitor center, which was built northeast of the lake in the early 1980s. The center incorporates enclosed space for fire hoses and hydrants, a water pump, and air conditioning equipment.

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³³⁷ A privately owned boat storage structure is being removed.

Circulation

The existing circulation system at the Memorial represents the post-1963 NPS roads and trails that were developed to provide access to specific interpretive, recreational, and operational areas of the Memorial. Remnants of earlier circulation systems also survive including; observable historic roads, remnant walks, and paths within the site. Historical research indicates that other nonextant circulation systems existed during one or more historic periods. The NPS significantly changed the APNM circulation patterns to conform to its land use pattern and to link service, interpretive, and recreational areas. The NPS has restricted vehicular circulation to three roads: the realigned State Highway 169; the park entrance road that extends south from Highway 169 to the visitor center; and a new road extending west from the entrance road along the course of former Jordelas Street which extends from the former town of Arkansas site and connects with the picnic area loop road. Some pre-NPS roads were abandoned and others, including both the lake and historic loop roads as well as 1,900 feet of old State Highway 169 between the picnic area and the former state park entrance, were incorporated into the Memorial's trail network.³³⁸

The APNM existing circulation patterns reflect implementation of the 1964

Master Plan that called for relocation of State Highway 169 and the conversion of

³³⁸"Specifications" for "Road Construction Separating Historic and Recreation Areas, Project No. 7310-4399," Box 1, File 20, APNM Administrative Files.

the old north-south county road as the Memorial's entrance road. The vehicular entrance to the park originates at the northwest corner of the Memorial with AR 169 crossing an earthen dam and concrete bridge over Little Post Bayou. Roads and trails link distinct uses and areas within the APNM, and parking areas have been developed for visitor and employee use. AR 169, a two-way, asphalt-paved road extending east-west from AR 165 to the Memorial, serves as the park entry road. The entry road makes an abrupt perpendicular turn to a north-south orientation to continue as the primary park road leading to the maintenance and NPS housing area, the picnic area access drive, the visitor center, and interpretive areas adjacent to the eastern shore line. The road providing access to the maintenance and NPS housing area is primarily asphalt-paved. There is a parking area near the entry road and a small pull-in parking area adjacent to the combination maintenance/office building. Most of the parking in this area is asphalt-paved.

The picnic area access drive is also a two-way asphalt-paved road-with four parking turn-offs-that meanders through woodland towards Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou) and follows an elliptical loop through the picnic area. Trails link the picnic area with both the nearby Civil War interpretive sites and Alligator Slough; a portion of trail borders the prairie. Wooden bridges facilitate pedestrian crossings of Alligator Slough and the adjacent wetland, allowing the trail to continue as a nature trail south of the slough. This nature trail along Post

Bayou (Moore's Bayou) connects with the major north-south connector trail between a point north of the Confederate trench to the territorial townsite in the southern portion. The connector trail is paved in concrete with brick detailing, and is handicapped-accessible. The nature trail and the connector trail intersect northwest of Park Lake. The connector trail also intersects with a concrete-paved walk delineating the historic linear grid street pattern of the territorial town south of the visitor center. The linear grid serves as an interpretive walk through the historic town site and links with a nature trail extending from the historic Main Street of the town to an overlook at the southernmost point of the peninsula.

From the overlook, the nature trail continues on to the *Arkansas Gazette* site overlooking Post Bend at the historic terminus of Front Street. This asphalt-paved nature trail reconnects with the historic street pattern of the town at this point, allowing the visitor to return to the visitor center. Designated asphalt-paved parking areas have been developed northeast of the visitor center (38 spaces), in the picnic area, near the wayside area north of the Confederate trench, and adjacent to the Confederate Fort and Battle of Arkansas Post waysides. Road traces are observable in forested areas of the site.

Archeological Resources (Exhibit 21)

The APNM is known to possess archeological resources from a number of its occupied time periods, including the Spanish colonial era, the nineteenth century town development, the Civil War, its dispersed agrarian sites, and the Arkansas State Park period. In some places there is aboveground evidence to indicate historic building locations. Archeological investigations and historical research have identified historic building sites and other historic resources. It is also likely that there are resources that have not been identified during archeological investigation although the major concentrations have probably been identified for the pre-Civil War periods.

The most recent archeological report, *Arkansas Post (3AR47): Archeology, History, and Prospects, narrative to Accompany a Cultural Resources Base Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas,* recommended making geomorphological research and mapping a high priority because of the lack of comprehensive archeological information concerning the APNM vicinity, especially the lower channel of the Arkansas river and the Grand Prairie Ridge. For conclusive archeological evaluations, archeologists believe it will be necessary to correlate historic descriptions of geographic features with their present geographic locations to

compensate for changes resulting from the Arkansas Post Canal construction and related shoreline erosion.³³⁹ For example, the historic locations of the La Houssaye Fort, Fort Carlos, and Fort Esteven del Arkansas/Fort Madison were located on the bluff above the former Arkansas River channel, and the bluff has since eroded away as a result of ravaging floods in this area. Continued investigations and studies related to late nineteenth- and twentieth-century dispersed rural settlement sites might reveal information related to rural life and African-American culture in the Arkansas delta region.

Vegetation (Exhibits 23-39) Overview of Vegetation

Trees cover approximately 80% of APNM. The APNM possesses distinctly different areas of vegetation that include maturing hardwood forests, younger forests in successional growth, mowed lawns–some with deciduous shade trees, a late twentieth-century prairie plantation, and wetland vegetation. A total of 162 plant species belonging to 63 families have been recorded. The northern portions of APNM consist of tree species similar to those found along a terrace while the more southern portions consist of primarily bottomland hardwood species. Interspersion of more upland species such as loblolly pine, post oak, and eastern red cedar occurs throughout APNM. The remainder of APNM

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³³⁹ Cande, p. 59. It should be noted that the current Arkansas Post location was occupied in 1749

vegetation types consists mostly of manicured lawns, some semi-aquatic vegetation, and a small area of restored tall grass prairie. The young prairie, which was planted in the 1990s, grows adjacent to the picnic area although it is not in an area where there was a naturally occurring prairie.

Mowed lawn areas, with some portions open and other portions shaded by large deciduous trees, occur in the southern portion of the site near the visitor center. There are also mowed areas adjacent to the entry road, near the maintenance and NPS housing area, and adjacent to interpretive waysides. In the vicinity of the Confederate rifle pits, the woods in the vicinity of the earthworks have been thinned so that they were "opened up enough to invite visitors to walk along them" in accordance with the 1975 master plan. In the southern part of APNM the wooded and mowed park-like areas and open fields near the lake and encompassing the Post of Arkansas Historic Area have largely retained the vegetation patterns that existed during the state park era (1929–1963). Similarly, in the northern portions of the site large tracts of previously wooded terrain have retained their forests, which have matured into stands of large hardwoods. The extreme southern end of the APNM is covered with a light post-World War II hardwood forest cover. The site's swamp and marsh areas occur along its western shore, Alligator Slough and the northern slough near the vehicular

although formal fortifications may not have been completed until 1752. ³⁴⁰" Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975," p. 20.

bridge over Little Post Bayou. A Loblolly Pine community, predating 1975, was planted immediately north of the oak-shaded lawn north of the lake and is intended to evolve through vegetative succession into a shade-tolerant climax community of hardwood oaks.

Older trees that originally grew up along tree lines or as shade trees in fields or adjacent to residences are found throughout the site. It is of interest to note that these very large diameter deciduous and evergreen trees appear to have grown rather quickly at APNM. Informal tree ring counts of fallen trees indicate that they are 100-years old, or older.³⁴¹ The oldest and largest deciduous trees extant onsite–less than a dozen with circumferences in the six foot range–appear to be no more than 200 years old (*Exhibit* 22).

Remnants of domestic landscape vegetation dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries and associated with the dispersed rural house sites of that period survive in the central section of the Memorial. Characteristic remnant vegetation includes examples of Osage orange, pecan, apple, privet, mock orange, arum italicum, cottonwoods, trifoliate orange, periwinkle, daffodils, and other plants associated with domestic clusters (*Exhibits 12-17*). The placement and arrangement of much of this surviving vegetation are consistent

with domestic clusters although no structures survive. These remnant vegetative features occur in the midst of, and in some cases, are being displaced by naturalizing understory plants and invasive exotic vegetation.

Since 1964, the NPS has managed vegetation by retaining wooded areas, and has followed a policy of avoiding vegetative restoration of any historical period. NPS has selectively removed brush and debris, and has also employed prescribed burning as a vegetation management tool. The 1975 master plan stated that there would be "no attempt to restore the tree cover of any area in the park to a specific historic period."342 In many places, the site's vegetative character is unlike that of any single historic period. There are certain similarities and continuities with historic periods, however, particularly where hardwood forests have become reestablished. The older hardwood forest occurs primarily in the northern portion of the site and is intersected by the entry road. A review of aerial photography indicates that the central part of the peninsula was mostly open and in cultivation in 1950 (Map 40). Younger hardwoods have grown in succession in this area's previously cultivated fields since World War II (*Map* 51).

³⁴¹ APNM personnel related that they have counted the rings of fallen trees. These informal counts place the trees in the 100-year or more range.

³⁴²U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Arkansas Post master plan, 1975, p.20.

One prescribed burn occurred in 1994 in major portions of the site. An extremely hot fire that produced 12-foot flame scars, this burn damaged large oaks and hickories, perhaps because the older trees, which were not accustomed to periodic burning, were fire intolerant.³⁴³ The practice of burning was discontinued as a result of the high tree mortality in forested areas of the APNM. Prior to the 1994 burn, the non-burn policy was believed to have contributed to increased woody vegetation density, lower forest floor light levels, lower herbaceous vegetation diversity, and an increase in aggressive non-native plant species, such as privet, Japanese honeysuckle, and trifoliate orange. The resulting gaps in the canopy from the high tree mortality may have actually led to an increase of these invasive exotic species. Field investigations and field sampling appear to support this thesis since invasive exotics are widespread throughout the Memorial.

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³⁴³ Park personnel attribute the decline of large oaks in adjacent areas to the burns.

Descriptions of Vegetative Stand Types

There are fifteen vegetative stand types that have been identified within APNM.

They are defined based on the following criteria:

- Vegetative Stand Type A: Occurs in the interior of APNM and mostly consists of cherrybark oak (BA = 23.8 ft2/acre), post oak (BA = 16.3 ft2/acre), water oak (BA = 23.8 ft2/acre), and sweetgum (BA = 6.3 ft2/acre). This area is also interspersed with more upland associated species such as loblolly pine and eastern red cedar. The average basal area for this vegetation type is 97.5 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed and diverse, with herbaceous species such as smartweed, bedstraw, and sanicle being characteristic. Midstory species in this vegetation type typically consists of trifoliate orange, Japanese privet, and numerous other sapling sized tree species. (Exhibit 25)
- **Vegetative Stand Type B:** Includes mixed oak species (BA= 42.0 ft2/acre) and sweetgum (BA = 7.5 ft2/acre), with some interspersed eastern red cedar. Average basal area is 57.5 ft2/acre. This type occurs in the northern portion of APNM. The understory is well developed, with numerous, dense stands of French mulberry. Other understory species that occur in this vegetation type include muscadine, blackberry, and several species of grasses. The midstory component of this vegetation type consists of eastern red cedar, deciduous holly, and other sapling sized tree species that are also found in the overstory. (*Exhibit 26*)
- Vegetative Stand Type C: Consists of typical bottomland hardwood tree species such as pecan hickory (BA=11.3 ft2/acre), and water oak (BA=33.8 ft2/acre) and occurs in the southern portions of APNM. Type C has an average basal area of 135.0 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed and diverse. Characteristic plants include rattan vine, blackberry, Elephant's foot and several species of grasses. The midstory in this area is rather dense, and consists mostly of deciduous holly, Japanese privet, and other tree saplings that also commonly occur as trees in the overstory. (Exhibit 27)

- Vegetative Stand Type D: Mixed oak species (BA=32.0 ft2/acre) and sweetgum (BA=13.0 ft2/acre), with some interspersed eastern red cedar, makes up vegetation type. The average basal area for this vegetation type is 53.0 ft2/acre. This type occurs mostly in the northern portion of APNM. The understory is less developed than vegetation type B, although some areas have fairly well developed stands of French mulberry. Other understory species that occur in these vegetation types include muscadine, blackberry, and several species of grasses. The midstory component of these vegetation types consists of eastern red cedar, deciduous holly, and other sapling sized tree species that are also found in the overstory. (Exhibit 28)
- Vegetative Stand Type E: Consists of typical bottomland hardwood tree species such as pecan hickory (BA=13.8 ft2/acre), green ash (BA=2.5 ft2/acre), and water oak (BA=12.5 ft2/acre) and occurs in the southern portion of APNM. This vegetative stand type has an average basal area of 45.0 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed and diverse. Characteristic plants include rattan vine, blackberry, Elephant's foot and several species of grasses. The midstory in this area is rather dense, and consists mostly of deciduous holly, Japanese privet, and other tree saplings that also commonly occur as trees in the overstory. (Exhibit 29)
- Vegetative Stand Type F: Mixed oak species (BA=24.4 ft2/acre) and sweetgum (BA=22.2 ft2/acre), with some interspersed eastern red cedar, make up vegetation type F. It is largely tree density that separates this vegetation type from other similar vegetation types. This type occurs on the north-eastern portion of APNM and has an average basal area of 72.2 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed and consists largely of rattan vine, French mulberry, and blackberry. Other understory species that occur in this vegetation type include muscadine, poison ivy, bedstraw, and several species of grasses. The midstory component of this vegetative type consists of eastern red cedar, deciduous holly, and other sapling sized tree species that are also found in the overstory. (Exhibit 30)
- Vegetative Stand Type G: Sweetgum (BA=51.0 ft2/acre) and mixed oaks (BA=4.0 ft2/acre), with some interspersed eastern red cedar, makes up vegetation type G. The average basal area is 60.0 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed and diverse. Common understory species that occur in this vegetation type include muscadine, blackberry, Beggar's lice, and several species of grasses. The midstory component of this vegetation type consists of eastern red cedar, deciduous holly, and other sapling sized tree species that are also found in the overstory. (Exhibit 31)

- Vegetative Stand Type I: Cherrybark oak (BA=14.3 ft2/acre) and sweetgum (BA=2.9 ft2/acre), along with other mixed oak species, make up vegetative stand type I. It is largely tree density that separated this vegetation type from similar vegetation types. The average basal area for this vegetation type is 25.7 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed. Common understory species include blackberry, Partridge pea, and several species of grasses. The midstory component of this vegetative stand type is sparse and includes some sweetgum and other sapling sized tree species that also occur in the overstory. (Exhibit 32)
- **Vegetative Stand Type J:** Consists mostly of sweetgum, with a basal area of 160 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed with many species of herbaceous plants. Common species include sanicle, Virginia creeper, elephant's foot, and geum. Also, several species of grass are found in this vegetation type. The midstory component of this vegetative stand type is sparse and consists of sweetgum, winged elm, and other sapling sized tree species. (*Exhibit* 33)
- Vegetative Stand Type K: Occurs in the interior of APNM and mostly consists of cherrybark oak (BA=16.3 ft2/acre), sweetgum (BA=26.3 ft2/acre), water oak (BA=26.3 ft2/acre), and other mixed oaks. It has an average basal area of 93.8 ft2/acre. This area is also interspersed with more upland associated species such as post oak and eastern red cedar. The understory is well developed and diverse, with herbaceous species such as smartweed, bedstraw, and sanicle being characteristic. Midstory species in these vegetation types typically consist of trifoliate orange, Japanese privet, and numerous other sapling sized tree species. (Exhibit 34)
- Vegetative Stand Type L: Occurs on the western edge of APNM and consists mostly of sweetgum (BA=30.0 ft2/acre), pecan hickory (BA=4.0 ft2/acre), and black locust with a well developed, diverse understory. Average basal area for this vegetation type is 34.0 ft2/acre. Common herbaceous plants include longleaf sunflower, goldenrod, blackberry, and ragweed. The midstory component in this vegetative stand type is sparse and only occurs in localized areas. It consists mostly of sapling sized sweetgum and black locust. A small portion of type L is a restored tall grass prairie consisting of a variety of grass species. (Exhibit 35)

- **Vegetative Stand Type M:** Primarily post oak with an average basal area of 57.5 ft2/acre and an undeveloped understory. It occurs on the western portions of APNM. Selected areas of this vegetation type are regularly mowed. A midstory component is not present in this vegetation type. (*Exhibit 36*)
- **Vegetative Stand Type N:** Semi-aquatic vegetation such as cattail, typifies vegetation type N and occurs primarily along the edge of water on the northwestern portion of APNM. (Exhibit 37)
- *Vegetative Stand Type O:* Primarily eastern red cedar with an average basal area of 102.0 ft2/acre and an undeveloped understory and midstory. This type occurs in the western interior of APNM. (*Exhibit 38*)
- *Vegetative Type P:* Mowed areas of the APNM. (*Exhibit 39*)

Summary of Vegetative Stand Types

Vegetation types C and E consist of typical bottomland hardwood tree species such as pecan hickory, green ash, and water oak and occur in the southern portions of APNM. The understory is well developed and diverse. Vegetation types A and K occur in the interior of APNM and mostly consist of cherrybark oak, sweetgum, and other mixed oaks. These areas are also interspersed with more upland associated species such as loblolly pine, post oak, and eastern red cedar. The understory is well developed and diverse. Mixed oak species and sweetgum, with some interspersed eastern red cedar, make up vegetation types B, D, F, G, and I. These types occur mostly on the northern areas of APNM. The understory is slightly less well developed than the previous vegetation types. Vegetation type J contains sweetgum and is located adjacent to Alligator Slough

in the west-central portion of the park. Vegetation type L occurs on the western edge of APNM and consists mostly of sweetgum, pecan hickory, and black locust with a well developed, diverse understory. A small portion of type L is a restored tall grass prairie consisting of a variety of grass species. Vegetation type M consists of mowed areas with interspersed large trees, primarily post oak, and exists throughout the park with the exception of the northernmost areas. Semi-aquatic vegetation typifies vegetation type N and occurs primarily along the edge of water on the northwestern portion of APNM. Vegetation type O is primarily eastern red cedar with an undeveloped understory and occurs in the western interior of APNM.

It is difficult to evaluate and compare APNM vegetation structure and understory composition with surrounding forested areas without knowing those areas past management histories and current management objectives. Acreage surrounding APNM is primarily agricultural fields and small woodlots to the north. The south, east, and west are immediately surrounded by bayous and the Arkansas River. Beyond the bayous and river are primarily bottomland hardwood forests. Tree composition of these forests likely resembles the more southern areas on APNM, such as vegetation types C and E. However, forested areas on APNM are typically smaller and less contiguous than surrounding tracts of larger expanse.

Vegetation Analysis

Forested vegetation types on APNM roughly follow a gradient from composition resembling bottomland forest types that typically occupy more mesic sites to upland forest types that occupy more xeric sites. The following graphic illustrates these relationships as well as similarity between vegetation types. Types grouped together are more similar to each other than to types in other groupings (e.g., type C is more similar to type E than to type A). Also, types are most like other types that occur near each other along the moisture gradient (e.g., type C is more similar to type B).

<u>Vegetation Type</u>	Site Condition
C, E	most mesic
A, K	
B, D, F, G, J, I	
L	
M, O	most xeric

Most vegetation types (excluding types I, G, and L) are currently in midsuccessional seres, though several types are interspersed with gaps or other areas
that are in earlier successional stages. If left alone and undisturbed, canopy
closure would likely increase, thus resulting in a decrease in understory biomass,
diversity, and structure. However, gaps resulting from natural disturbances
would ensure an interspersion of early- to mid- successional areas throughout
APNM. Composition on the more mesic sites would likely consist of species
such as pecan hickory, green ash, and sugarberry, while composition on the
more xeric sites would likely consist of species such as post oak and other mixed
oak species.

Vegetation types I, G, and L, are in relatively early successional stages. Types I and G, if left undisturbed, would likely resemble vegetation type F in 30 - 40 years. Vegetation type L, if left undisturbed, would be populated by sweetgum until other mixed hardwoods begin to compete, ultimately resulting in vegetation similar to that found in types B, D, or K.

The interspersion and juxtaposition of a variety of vegetation types along with maintained lawns, trails, and roads, provide for a landscape with numerous edges and little continuity. Thus, because of extensive edge effects, a wide diversity of wildlife occurs at APNM. Generalist species thrive throughout. However, these conditions may also foster habitat sinks that can negatively influence area-sensitive wildlife such as several neotropical bird species.³⁴⁴

Plants Traditionally Used by Native Americans
All recorded plants were checked against a list of species compiled by the
National Park Service that identified plants traditionally utilized by Native
Americans (see *Appendix B*).³⁴⁵ A total of 39 of these species, representing 25
families, occur within the APNM (Table 1 – Flora of Arkansas Post National
Memorial). When their location was documented, these species were spatially
referenced to the 15 identified vegetation types at APNM (*Exhibits 25-39*).

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³⁴⁴ A habitat sink is defined as a habitat within which mortality exceeds reproduction for a given species. Conversely, a habitat source is defined as a habitat within which reproduction exceeds mortality for a given species. Without species-specific information on reproductive rates and mortality rates, identification of sources and sinks is not possible.

³⁴⁵ Ethnographer Michael J. Evans of the NPS Midwest Regional Office compiled a list of plant species used by Native Americans. However, this plant usage may not have been by peoples indigenous to the APNM area. Dr. Evans researched historical documentation for direct references to use by specific plant by tribe or nation. His list, therefore, documents usage recorded in printed anthropological literature. Because knowledge of plant uses was and is so widespread among Great Plains and Midwest Native American cultures, uses by one tribe correspond into similar uses by other tribes. However specific documentation on continuing traditional plant use has not been researched for the indigenous peoples specifically affiliated with APNM.

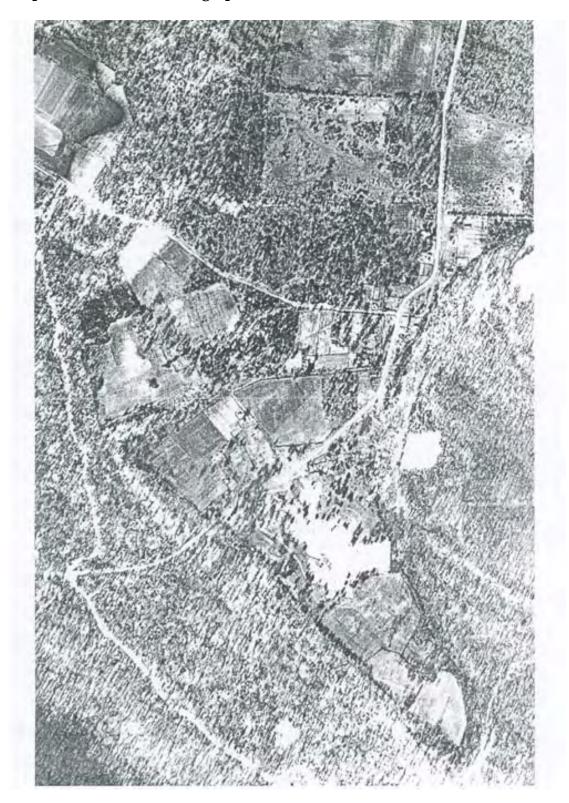
Threatened and Endangered Plant Species

No nationally listed threatened or endangered plant species have been identified as extant within the APNM. In fact, no federally listed threatened or endangered species are known to occur in Arkansas County. However, two state-listed threatened species, Oenothera pilosella ssp. Sessilis (prairie evening primrose) and Thalictrum arkansanum (Arkansas meadow rue) exist within the APNM. Hairy water fern (Marsilea vestita) occurs in the Memorial and is listed a as an Arkansas state species of special concern as SU (uncertain). One state-listed endangered species, Platanthera nivea (snowy orchid), is known to occur in Arkansas County, although it has not been observed at APNM.

Exotic Plant Species

A total of 11 invasive exotic plant species representing 9 families and 11 noninvasive exotic plant species representing 7 families were recorded at APNM (*Table 1 – Flora of Arkansas Post National Memorial*). When their location was documented, these species were spatially referenced to the 15 identified vegetation types at APNM (*Exhibits 25 – 39*). The status of plant species as invasive or noninvasive exotics is by the Plant Conservation Alliance's listings. One invasive exotic species, Lonicera japonica (Japanese Honeysuckle), is also identified as a plant traditionally used by Native Americans.

Map 49: 1955 Aerial Photograph



Map 50: 1964 Aerial Photograph





Map 51: 1981 Aerial Photograph

Map 52: 1994 Aerial Photograph

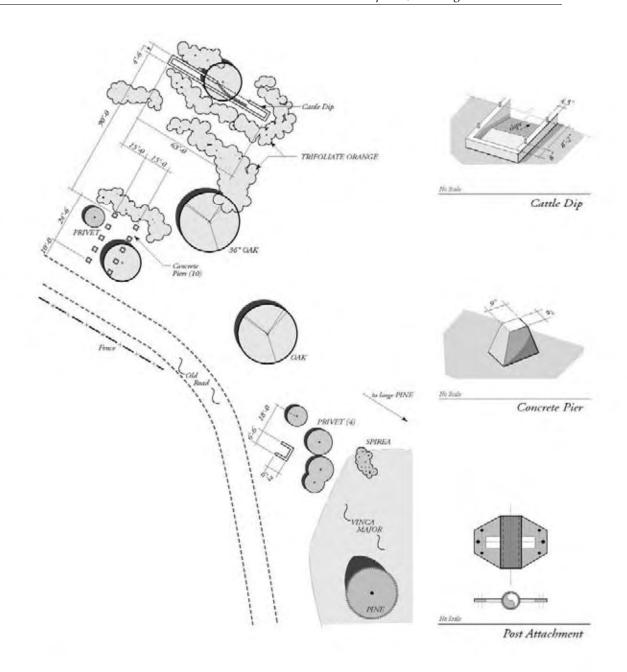




Cultural Landscape Report



EXHIBIT 10 EXISTING CONDITIONS



Map Scale 1"= 50"
0 10 25 50

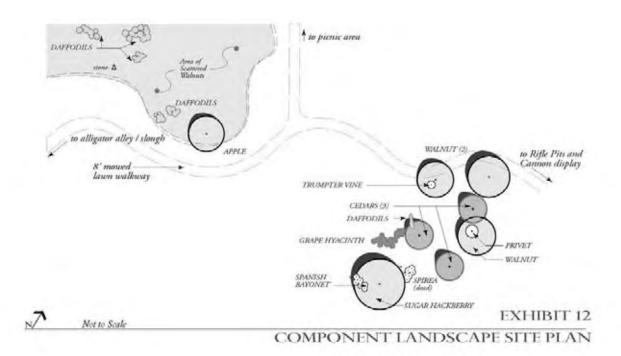
Cattle Dip Component Landscape Site Plan

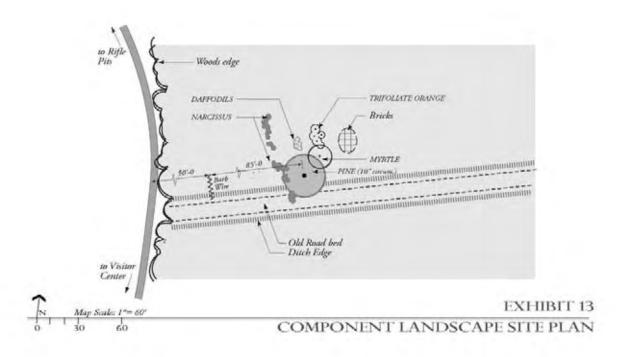
ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

EXHIBIT 11

May prepared by Land and Community Associatio, Asly, 2000. Revised by Quitm Evans, Architecti, May 2004. This may is fee planning purposes only

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT

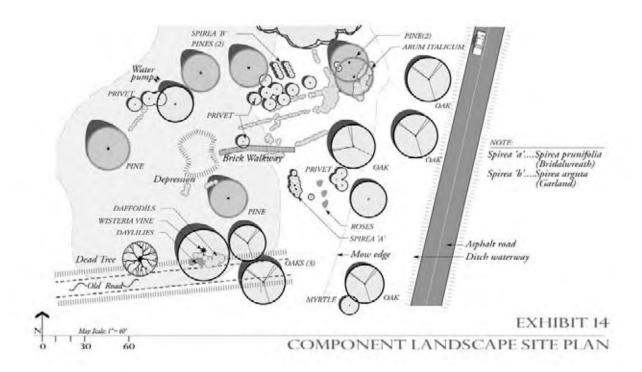


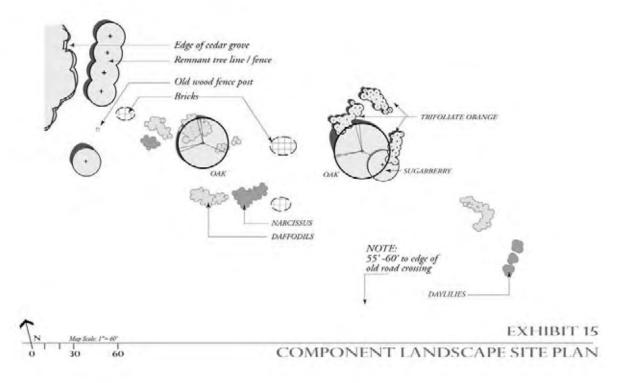


EXHIBITS 12 & 13

May prepared by Land and Community Associates; July, 2000. Revised by Queen Evans [Architects; May 2004. This may is fix planning purposes only.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT

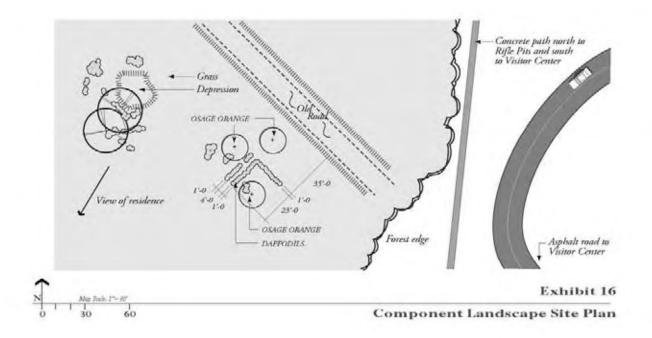


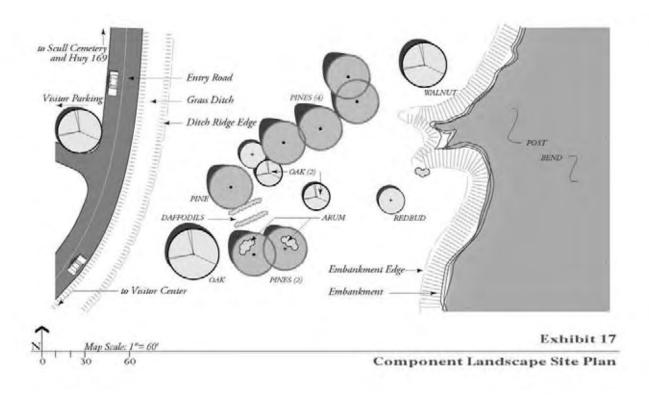


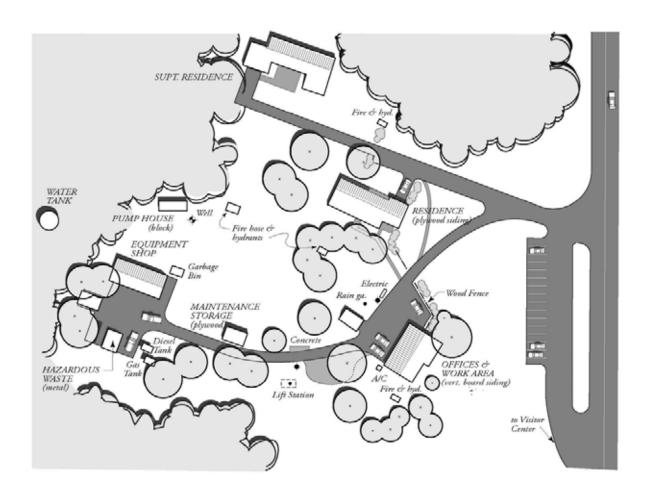
EXHIBITS 14 & 15

Map prepared by Land and Community Associates, July, 2000. Revised by Quien Erans Architects, May 2004. This map is for planning prepares only.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT



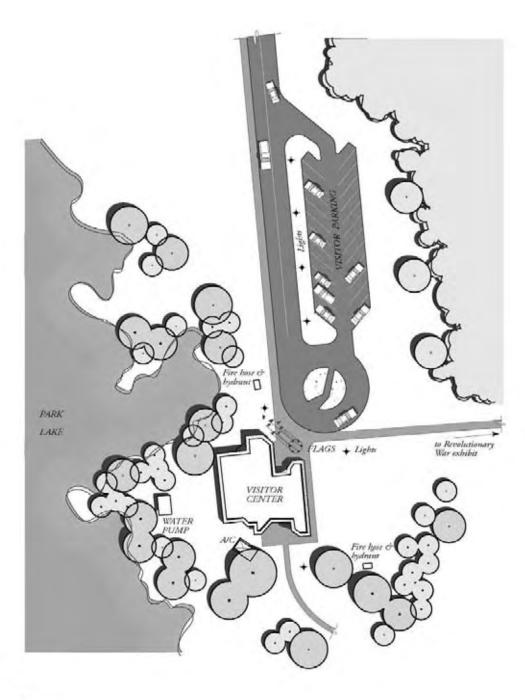




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MAINTENANCE FACILTY





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VISITOR CENTER

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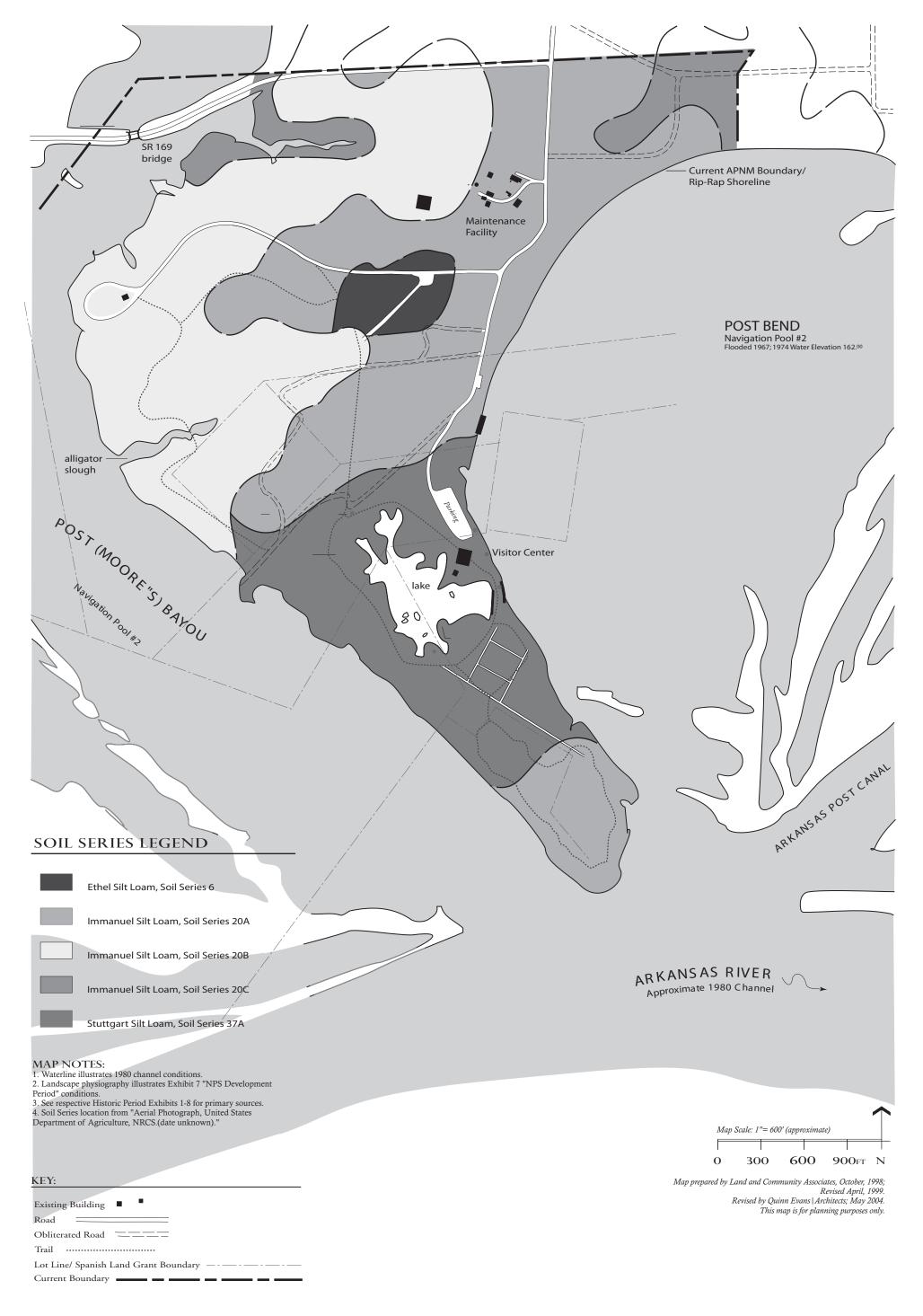


EXHIBIT 20 SOILS SURVEY

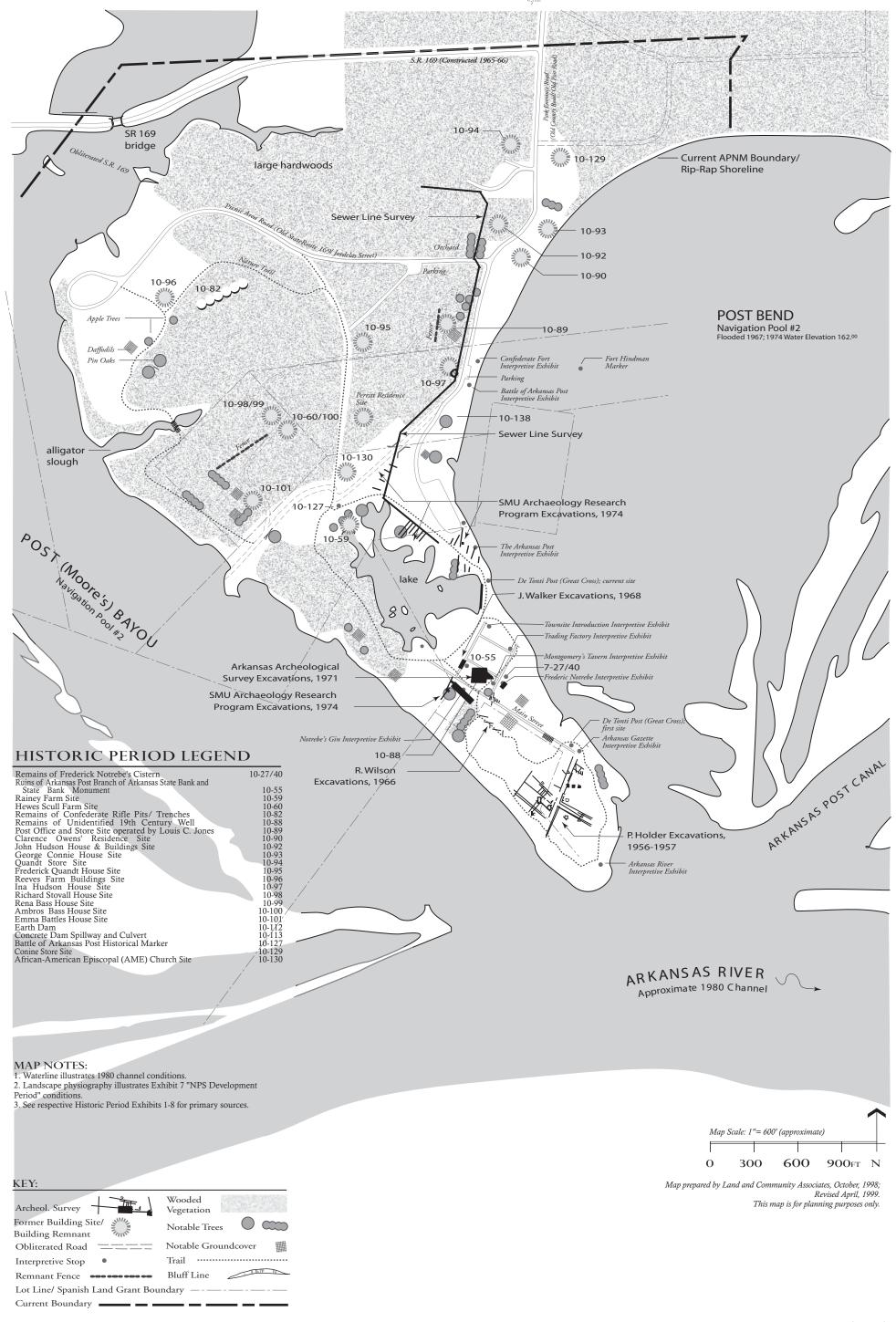


EXHIBIT 21
ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

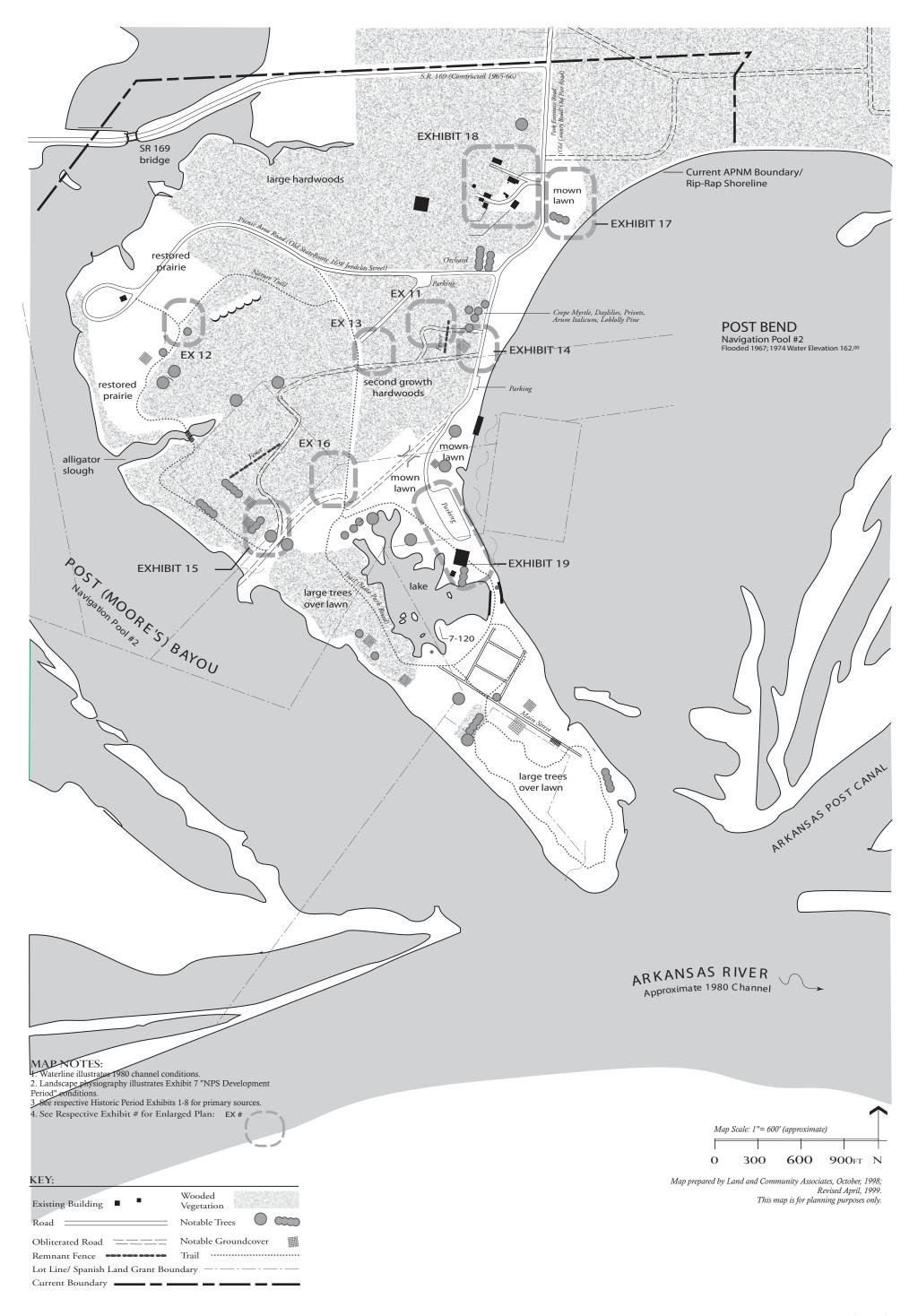


EXHIBIT 22 LARGE DIAMETER TREES

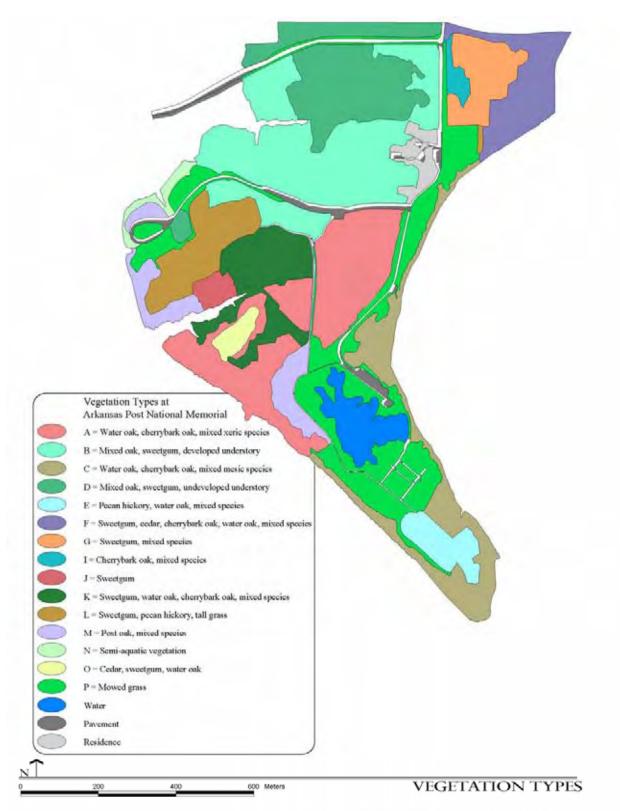
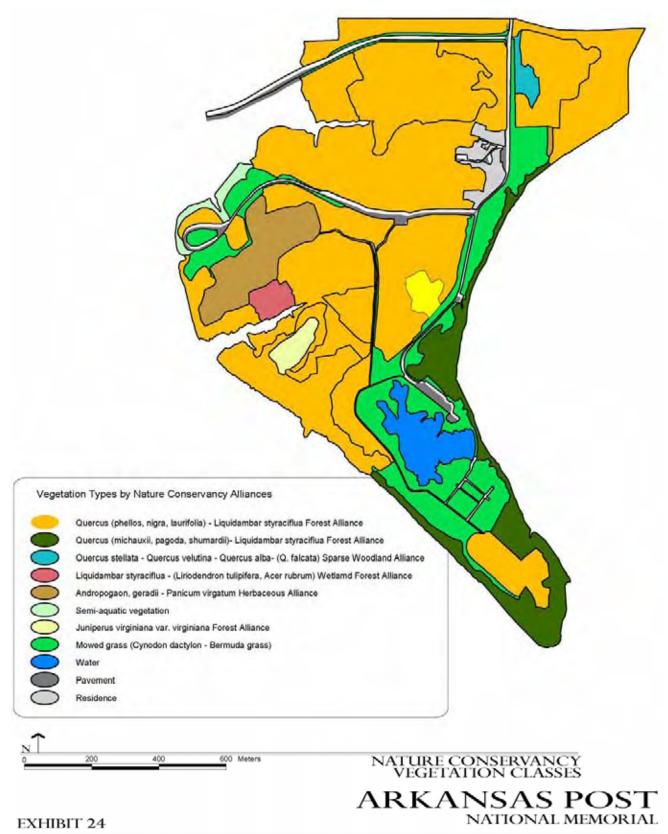


EXHIBIT 23

Map created by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe, University of Arkansas, Monticello; May 2000. Revised by Quinn Ewans Architects; May 2004.



Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Evans | Architects; May 2004.

Albizzia julibrissin* Ambrosia artemisifolia Ampelopsis arborea Ampelopsis cordata Arum italicum** Asplenium platyneuron Baccharis halimifolia Berchemia scandens[^] Callicarpa americana[^] Celtis laevigata[^] Cocculus carolinus Cornus drummondii Cryptotaenia canadensis Dicentra canadensis Dicentra sp. Diospyros virginiana Elephantopus carolinianus Eupatorium coelestinum Euthamia leptocephala Galium circaezens Gleditsia triacanthos^ Gratiola neglecta Hemerocallis sp.** Hypericum hypercoides llex decidua Iris sp.* Juniperus virginiana^ Lagerstriema indica Ligustrum japonicum* Liquidambar styraciflua[^] Lonicera japonica*^ Maclura pomifera^ Morus rubra^ Narcissus sp.**

Parthenocissus quinquefolia^

Passiflora incarnata Pinus taeda[^] Podophyllum peltatum[^] Polygonum hydropiperoides Polystichum acrosticoides Poncirus trifoliata* Prunus serotina Quercus falcata^ Quercus nigra[^] Quercus pagoda Quercus phellos^ Quercus stellata[^] Rosa sp.* Rubus argutus Sanicula canadensis Smilax bona-nox[^] Smilax rotundifolia Solanum carolinense Solidago canadensis Spiraea arguta** Spiraea prunifolia** Ulmus alata Ulmus americana[^] Ulmus rubra^ Vinca major* Vitis rotundifolia[^] Wisteria sinensis* Yucca aloifolia[^] Zanthoxylum clava-herculis * Exotic invasive ** Exotic non-invasive ^ Used by Native Americans

Vegetative Stand Type A: Occurs in the interior of APNM and mostly consists of cherrybark oak (BA = 23.8 ft2/acre), post oak (BA = 16.3 ft2/acre), water oak (BA = 23.8 ft2/acre), and sweetgum (BA = 6.3 ft2/acre). This area is also interspersed with more upland associated species such as loblolly pine and eastern red cedar. The average basal area for this vegetation type is 97.5 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed and diverse, with herbaceous species such as smartweed, bedstraw, and sanicle being characteristic. Midstory species in this vegetation type typically consists of trifoliate orange, Japanese privet, and numerous other sapling sized tree species.

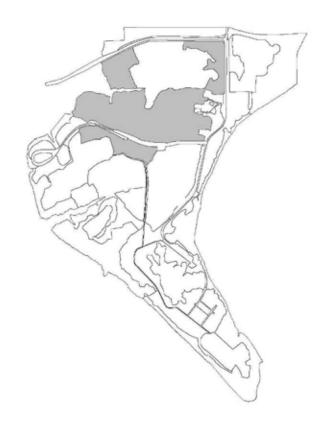


VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE A

(Water oak, Cherrybark oak, mixed xeric species)

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Callicarpa americana[^] Carya tomentosa Celtis laevigata[^] Elephantopus carolinianus Elephantopus tomentosus Galium circaezans[^] Gleditsia triacanthos^ Juniperus virginiana[^] Liquidambar styraciflua[^] Panicum laxiflorum Parthenocissus quinquefolia[^] Potentilla canadensis Quercus falcata[^] Quercus michauxii Quercus nigra[^] Quercus nuttallii Quercus pagoda Quercus phellos[^] Quercus stellata[^] Rubus argutus Sanicula canadensis[^] Smilax bona-nox Smilax rotundifolia Toxicodendron radicans Trachelospermum difforne Ulmus alata Vitis rotundifolia^



- * Exotic invasive
- ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans

Vegetative Stand Type B: Includes mixed oak species (BA= 42.0 ft2/acre) and sweetgum (BA = 7.5 ft2/acre), with some interspersed eastern red cedar. Average basal area is 57.5 ft2/acre. This type occurs in the northern portion of APNM. The understory is well developed, with numerous, dense stands of French mulberry. Other understory species that occur in this vegetation type include muscadine, blackberry, and several species of grasses. The midstory component of this vegetation type consists of eastern red cedar, deciduous holly, and other sapling sized tree species that are also found in the overstory.



Not to Scale

VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE B (Mixed Oak, Sweetgum, developed understory)

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Acer negundo Allium canadense Berchemia scandens[^] Campsis radicans Carya illinoensis Carya tomentosa Celtis laevigata[^] Cocculus carolinus^A Gleditsia triacanthos[^] llex decidua Juniperus virginiana^ Ligustrum japonicum* Liquidambar styraciflua[^] Lonicera japonica*^ Parthenocissus quinqefolia[^] Quercus michauxii Quercus nigra[^] Quercus nuttallii Quercus pagoda Quercus stellata⁴ Robinia pseudoacacia Rubus argutus Sanicula canadensis Sassafras albidum Smilax rotundifolia Taxodium distichum[^] Toxicodendron radicans Trachelospermum difforne Trifolium dubium** Ulmus alata Vitis rotundifolia^



- Vitis rotundifolia^

 * Exotic invasive

 ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans
- **Vegetative Stand Type C:** Consists of typical bottomland hardwood tree species such as pecan hickory (BA=11.3 ft2/acre), and water oak (BA=33.8 ft2/acre) and occurs in the southern portions of APNM. Type C has an average basal area of 135.0 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed and diverse. Characteristic plants include rattan vine, blackberry, Elephant's foot and several species of grasses. The midstory in this area is rather dense, and consists mostly of deciduous holly, Japanese privet, and other tree saplings that also commonly occur as trees in the overstory.



Not to Scale

VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE C

(Water oak, Cherrybark oak, mixed mesic species)

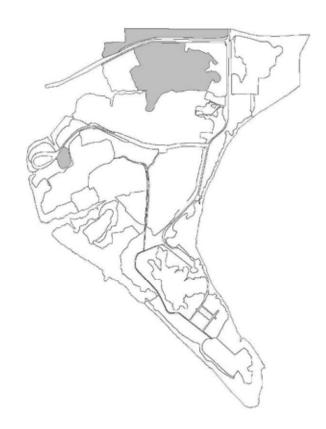
ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

EXHIBIT 27

Map prepared by Chris I. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Evans | Architects; May 2004.

Berchemia scandens^
Callicarpa americana
Carya illinoensis
Juniperus virginiana^
Liquidambar styraciflua^
Parthenocissus quinquefolia^
Quercus falcata^
Quercus nigra^
Quercus pagoda
Quercus phellos^
Quercus stellata^
Smilax rotundifolia
Toxicodendron radicans
Ulmus alata
Vitis rotundifolia^

- * Exotic invasive
- ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans



Vegetative Stand Type D: Mixed oak species (BA=32.0 ft2/acre) and sweetgum (BA=13.0 ft2/acre), with some interspersed eastern red cedar, makes up vegetation type. The average basal area for this vegetation type is 53.0 ft2/acre. This type occurs mostly in the northern portion of APNM. The understory is less developed than vegetation type B, although some areas have fairly well developed stands of French mulberry. Other understory species that occur in these vegetation types include muscadine, blackberry, and several species of grasses. The midstory component of these vegetation types consists of eastern red cedar, deciduous holly, and other sapling sized tree species that are also found in the overstory.



Not to Scale

VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE D

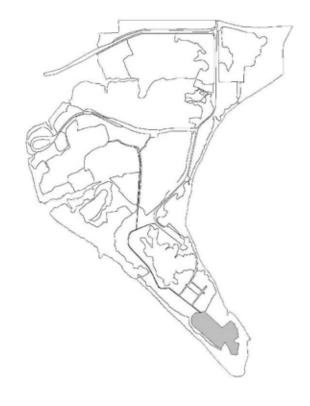
(Mixed oak, Sweetgum, undeveloped understory)

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EXHIBIT 28

Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Evans | Architects; May 2004.

Acer negundo Campsis radicans Carya illinoensis Carya tomentosa Celtis laevigata[^] Elephantopus carolinianus Fraxinus pennsylvanica[^] Ligustrum japonicum* Liquidambar styraciflua[^] Lonicera japonica*^ Maclura pomifera[^] Parthenocissus quinquefolia[^] Platanus occidentalis^ Populus deltoides[^] Quercus nigra[^] Quercus pagoda Quercus phellos[^] Quercus stellata[^] Rubus argutus Rubus trivialis Sanicula canadensis Toxicodendron radicans Trachelospermum difforne Ulmus alata Ulmus americana[^] Vitis rotundifolia[^]



- * Exotic invasive
- ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans

Vegetative Stand Type E: Consists of typical bottomland hardwood tree species such as pecan hickory (BA=13.8 ft2/acre), green ash (BA=2.5 ft2/acre), and water oak (BA=12.5 ft2/acre) and occurs in the southern portion of APNM. This vegetative stand type has an average basal area of 45.0 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed and diverse. Characteristic plants include rattan vine, blackberry, Elephant's foot and several species of grasses. The midstory in this area is rather dense, and consists mostly of deciduous holly, Japanese privet, and other tree saplings that also commonly occur as trees in the overstory.



VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE E

(Pecan hickory, Water oak, mixed species)

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EXHIBIT 29

Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Ewas | Architects; May 2004.

Acmella oppositifolia Aesculus pavia[^] Berchemia scandens[^] Bidens aristosa Boltonia diffusa Callicarpa americana[^] Campsis radicans Carex flaccosperma Carex oxylepis Carya tomentosa Chasmanthium laxum Cirsium altissium Cirsium horridum Clitoria mariana Cocculus carolinus[^] Elephantopus carolinianus Smilax rotundifolia Elephantopus tomentosus Erigeron philadelphicus[^] Eupatorium perfoliatum Eupatorium serotinum Galium aparine[^] Juniperus virginiana[^] Liquidambar styraciflua[^] Lonicera japonica*^

Myosotis verna Nyssa sylvatica Panicum anceps Panicum commutatum Panicum dichotomiflorum Parthenocissus quinquefolia^ Podophyllum peltatum[^] Polygonum hydropiperoides Prunus serotina Quercus falcata[^] Quercus nigra[^] Quercus pagoda Rubus argutus Salvia lyrata[^] Sassafras albidum



Vitis rotundifolia[^] * Exotic invasive

Ulmus alata

** Exotic non-invasive

Vernonia missurica

Stylosanthes biflora[^]

Tracheospermum difforne

Toxicodendron radicans

^ Used by Native Americans

Vegetative Stand Type F: Mixed oak species (BA=24.4 ft2/acre) and sweetgum (BA=22.2 ft2/acre), with some interspersed eastern red cedar, make up vegetation type F. It is largely tree density that separates this vegetation type from other similar vegetation types. This type occurs on the north-eastern portion of APNM and has an average basal area of 72.2 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed and consists largely of rattan vine, French mulberry, and blackberry. Other understory species that occur in this vegetation type include muscadine, poison ivy, bedstraw, and several species of grasses. The midstory component of this vegetative type consists of eastern red cedar, deciduous holly, and other sapling sized tree species that are also found in the overstory.



Not to Scale

VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE F

(Sweetgum, Cedar, Cherrybark oak, Water oak, mixed species)

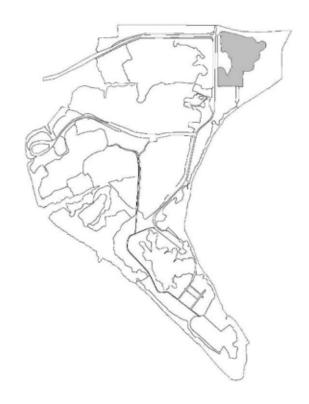
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EXHIBIT 30

Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe, University of Arkansas, Monticello; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Evans | Architects; May 2004.

Berchemia scandens[^] Campsis radicans Desmodium panicualtum Diospyros virginiana Elephantopus tomentosus Fraxinus pennsylvanica[^] llex decidua Juniperus virginiana^ Ligustrum japonicum* Liquidambar styraciflua[^] Lonicera japonica*^ Panicum scoparium Parthenocissus quinquefolia^ Prunus serotina Quercus falcata[^] Quercus nigra[^] Quercus pagoda Quercus phellos[^] Rubus argutus Smilax bona-nox[^] Smilax rotundifolia Toxicodendron radicans Ulmus alata Vitis rotundifolia[^]

- Exotic invasive
- ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans



Vegetative Stand Type G: Sweetgum (BA=51.0 ft2/acre) and mixed oaks (BA=4.0 ft2/acre), with some interspersed eastern red cedar, makes up vegetation type G. The average basal area is 60.0 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed and diverse. Common understory species that occur in this vegetation type include muscadine, blackberry, Beggar's lice, and several species of grasses. The midstory component of this vegetation type consists of eastern red cedar, deciduous holly, and other sapling sized tree species that are also found in the overstory.



VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE G (Sweetgum, mixed species)

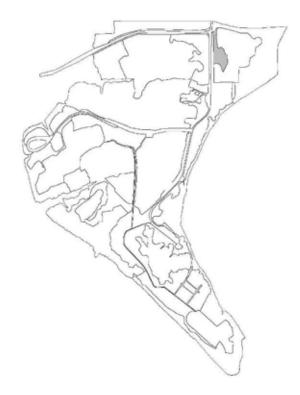
ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

EXHIBIT 31

Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe; May 26, 2000. Revised by Ostinn Evans | Architects; May 2004.

Chamaecrista fasciculata Juniperus virginiana^ Liquidambar styraciflua^ Quercus falcata^ Quercus nigra^ Quercus pagoda Quercus phellos^ Quercus stellata^ Rubus argutus

- Exotic invasive
- ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans



Vegetative Stand Type I: Cherrybark oak (BA=14.3 ft2/acre) and sweetgum (BA=2.9 ft2/acre), along with other mixed oak species, make up vegetative stand type I. It is largely tree density that separated this vegetation type from similar vegetation types. The average basal area for this vegetation type is 25.7 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed. Common understory species include blackberry, Partridge pea, and several species of grasses. The midstory component of this vegetative stand type is sparse and includes some sweetgum and other sapling sized tree species that also occur in the overstory.

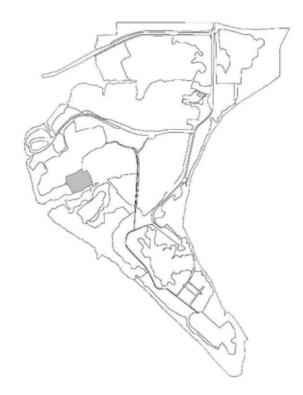


VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE I (Cherrybark oak, mixed species)



Berchemia scandens^
Celtis laevegata
Cornus florida^
Elephantopus carolinianus
Geum canadense
Liquidambar styraciflua^
Parthenocissus quinquefolia^
Quercus falcata^
Quercus nigra^
Rubus argutus
Sanicula canadensis
Smilax bona-nox^
Smilax rotundifolia
Toxicodendron radicans
Ulmus alata

- * Exotic invasive
- ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans



Vegetative Stand Type J: Consists mostly of sweetgum, with a basal area of 160 ft2/acre. The understory is well developed with many species of herbaceous plants. Common species include sanicle, Virginia creeper, elephant's foot, and geum. Also, several species of grass are found in this vegetation type. The midstory component of this vegetative stand type is sparse and consists of sweetgum, winged elm, and other sapling sized tree species.



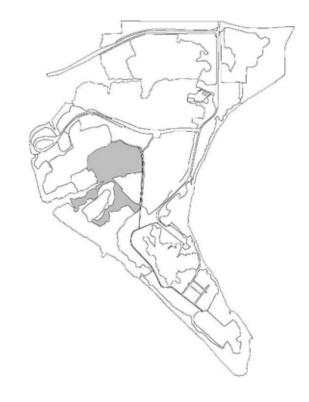
VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE J (Sweetgum)



EXHIBIT 33

Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Evans | Architects; May 2004.

Aristolochia serpentaria Berchemia scandens[^] Carya illinoensis Celtis laevigata[^] Cornus florida[^] Diospyros virginiana Elephantopus carolinianus llex decidua Juniperus virginiana[^] Ligustrum japonicum Liquidambar styraciflua[^] Lonicera japonica*^ Parthenocissus quinquefolia[^] Platanus occidentalis[^] Quercus nigra[^] Quercus pagoda Quercus phellos[^] Quercus stellata[^] Rubus argutus Rubus trivialis Sanicula canadensis Smilax rotundifolia Toxicodendron radicans Triodia flava Ulmus alata Ulmus americana[^]



- * Exotic invasive
- ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans

Vegetative Stand Type K: Occurs in the interior of APNM and mostly consists of cherrybark oak (BA=16.3 ft2/acre), sweetgum (BA=26.3 ft2/acre), water oak (BA=26.3 ft2/acre), and other mixed oaks. It has an average basal area of 93.8 ft2/acre. This area is also interspersed with more upland associated species such as post oak and eastern red cedar. The understory is well developed and diverse, with herbaceous species such as smartweed, bedstraw, and sanicle being characteristic. Midstory species in these vegetation types typically consist of trifoliate orange, Japanese privet, and numerous other sapling sized tree species.



VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE K

(Sweetgum, Water oak, Cherrybark oak, mixed species)

ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

EXHIBIT 34

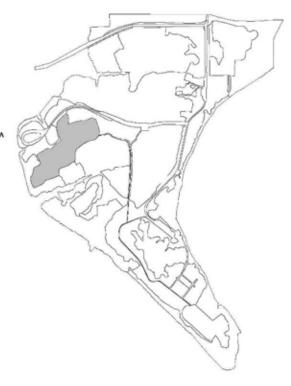
Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Evans | Architects, May 2004.

Allium canadense Ambrosia artemisifolia Briza minor* Broussonetia papyrifera* Campsis radicans Carya illinoensis Carva tomentosa Celtis laevegata Desmodium paniculatum Diospyros virginiana Elephantopus carolinianus Elephantopus tomentosus Erigeron strigosus[^] Euthamia leptocephala Geranium carolinianum Geum canadense[^] Gleditsia triacanthos[^] Hedeoma hispidum[^] Helianthus angustifolius Juglans nigra Juniperus virginiana^ Krigia sp. Liquidambar styraciflua[^]

Lobelia appendulata

Lonicera japonica*^

Mikania scandens Muscari sp. Narcissus sp.** Oenothera linifolia Oxalis dillenii Panicum dichotomiflorum Parthenocissus quinquefolia⁴ Phacelia hirsuta Prunella vulgaris^ Ptilimnium nuttallii Quercus falcata[^] Quercus nigra[^] Robinia pseudoacacia Rubus argutus Rubus trivialis Rumex hastatulus



* Exotic invasive ** Exotic non-invasive

Solanum carolinense

Solidago canadensis

Toxicodendron radicans

Spiraea prunifolia**

Ulmus alata

Yucca aloifolia[^]

Used by Native Americans

Vegetative Stand Type L: Occurs on the western edge of APNM and consists mostly of sweetgum (BA=30.0 ft2/acre), pecan hickory (BA=4.0 ft2/acre), and black locust with a well developed, diverse understory. Average basal area for this vegetation type is 34.0 ft2/acre. Common herbaceous plants include longleaf sunflower, goldenrod, blackberry, and ragweed. The midstory component in this vegetative stand type is sparse and only occurs in localized areas. It consists mostly of sapling sized sweetgum and black locust. A small portion of type L is a restored tall grass prairie consisting of a variety of grass species.



Not to Scale

VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE L (Sweetgum, Pecan hickory, Tall grass prairie)

ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

Carya illinoensis Celtis laevigata^ Quercus nigra^ Quercus pagoda Quercus phellos^ Quercus stellata^ Ulmus americana^

- Exotic invasive
- ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans



Vegetative Stand Type M: Primarily post oak with an average basal area of 57.5 ft2/acre and an undeveloped understory. It occurs on the western portions of APNM. Selected areas of this vegetation type are regularly mowed. A midstory component is not present in this vegetation type.



Not to Scale

VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE M (Post oak, mixed species)

ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

EXHIBIT 36

Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Evans | Architects; May 2004.

Ampelopsis arborea
Carya tomentosa
Celtis laevegata
Diospyros virginiana
Fraxinus pennsylvannica
Liquidambar styraciflua^
Lonicera japonica^^
Passiflora incarnata
Polygonum hydropiperiodes
Quercus stellata
Rubus argutus
Taxodium distichum
Typha latifolia

- Exotic invasive
- ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans



Vegetative Stand Type N: Semi-aquatic vegetation such as cattail, typifies vegetation type N and occurs primarily along the edge of water on the northwestern portion of APNM.



Not to Scale

VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE N (Semi-aquatic vegetation)

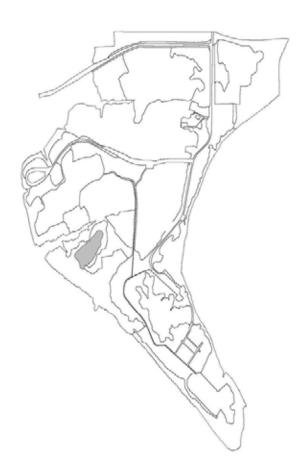
ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

EXHIBIT 37

Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe, University of Arkansas, Monticello; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Evans | Architects; May 2004.

Berchemia scandens[^] Celtis laevigata[^] Galium circaezans llex decidua Juniperus virginiana[^] Ligustrum japonicum* Liquidambar styraciflua[^] Parthenocissus quinquefolia[^] Polystichum acrostichoides Quercus nigra[^] Quercus phellos^ Rubus argutus Sanicula canadensis Toxicodendron radicans Trachelospermum difforne Ulmus alata

- * Exotic invasive
- ** Exotic non-invasive
- ^ Used by Native Americans



Vegetative Stand Type O: Primarily eastern red cedar with an average basal area of 102.0 ft2/acre and an undeveloped understory and midstory. This type occurs in the western interior of APNM.



VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE O

(Cedar, Sweetgum, Water oak)

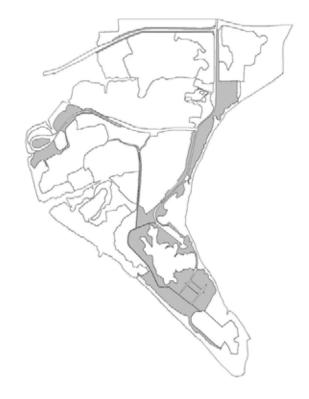
ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

EXHIBIT 38

Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe, University of Arkansas, Monticello; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Evans | Architects; May 2004.

Arum italicum** Cynodon dactylon Oxalis dillenii

- * Exotic invasive ** Exotic non-invasive
- Used by Native Americans



Vegetative Type P: Mowed areas of the APNM.



VEGETATIVE STAND TYPE P (Mowed area)

ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

EXHIBIT 39

Map prepared by Chris L. Watt, David G. Peitz, and Philip A. Tappe, University of Arkansas, Monticello; May 26, 2000. Revised by Quinn Evans | Architects; May 2004.

TABLE I: FLORA OF ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAMES	E	XOTIC ¹	USED BY
		Invasive	Noninvasive	NATIVE AMERICANS ²
ACERACEAE Acer negundo (L.)	Boxelder; Ash-leaved maple, Three-leaved maple.			
*Echinodorus cordifolius (L.)	Bur-head.			
AMARYLLIDACEAE ***Narcissus sp.	Jonquil, Daffodil, Narcissus		X	
*Alternanthera philoxeroides (Mart.)	Chaff flower.	X		
ANACARDIACEAE Toxicodendron radicans (L.)	Poison ivy.			
**APIACEAE **Chaerophyllum tainturieri (Hook) **Cryptotaenia canadensis (L.) **Ptilimnium nuttallii (DC.) **Sanicula canadensis (L.) **Trepocarpus aethusae (Nutt.)	Wild chervil. Honewort; Wild chervil. Mock bishop's weed. Black snakeroot; Sanicle.			X
APOCYNACEAE Trachelospermum difforne (Walt.) *Vinca major (L.)	Climbing dogbane. Large periwinkle.	X		

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAME	E	XOTIC	USED BY
		Invasive	Noninvasive	- NATIVE AMERICANS
AQUIFOLIACEAE **Ilex decidua (Walt.)	Possumhaw; Deciduous holly, Winterberry.			
ARACEAE ***Arum italicum (Rafin)	Italian Arum		X	
ARECACEAE Sabal minor (Jacq.)	Dwarf palmetto.			X
*Aristolochia serpentaria (L.)	Virginia snakeroot.			
BERBERIDACEAE Podophyllum peltatum (L.)	May apple; Mandrake.			X
BIGNONIACEAE ** Campsis radicans (L.)	Trumpet creeper; Trumpet vine, Devil's shoe laces, Shoe strings, Hell vine.			
BORAGINACEAE *Myosotis verna (Nutt.)	Forget-me-not.			
CAMPANULACEAE				
*Lobelia appendulata (A.)	Lobelia.			
CAPRIFOLIACEAE Lonicera japonica (Thunb.)	Japanese honeysuckle.	X		X

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAME	F	EXOTIC	USED BY
		Invasive	Noninvasive	- NATIVE AMERICANS
COMMELINACEAE				
*Tradescantia occidentalis (Bitt.)	Spiderwort.			
*Acmella oppositifolia (Lam.)				
Ambrosia artemisifolia (L.)	Common ragweed			
Baccharis halimifolia (L.)	Groundsel-tree; Sea-myrtle, Baccharis.			
COMPOSITAE (ASTERACEAE)				
*Bidens aristosa (Michx.)	Tickseed-sunflower.			
*Boltonia diffusa (Ell.)	Doll's daisy			
*Cirsium altissimium (L.)	Plumed thistle; Tall thistle.			
*C. horridum (Michx.)	Yellow thistle.			
**Elephantopus carolinianus (Willd.)	Elephant's foot.			
*E. tomentosus (L.)	Tobacco-weed; Devil's grandmother.			
Erigeron philadelphicus (L.)	Philadelphia fleabane; Daisy fleabane.			X
*E. strigosus (Muhl.)	Fleabane; Daisy fleabane, Whitetop			X
	fleabane.			
*Eupatorium coelestinum (L.)	Mist-flower; Blue boneset.			
*E. perfoliatum (L.)	Thoroughwort; Boneset.			
*E. serotinum (Michx.)	Late boneset.			
*Euthamia leptocephala (T.&G.)	Narrow-leaf goldenrod.			
*Gnaphalium purpureum (L.)	Purple cudweed.			
**Helianthus angustifolius (L.)	Narrow-leaved sunflower.			
*Krigia dandelion (L.)	Potato-dandelion.			
*Mikania scandens (Willd.)	Climbing hempweed.			
*Rudbeckia hirta (L.)	Black-eyed Susan.			
*Senecio glabellus (Poir.)	Butterweed.			
**Solidago canadensis (L.)	Goldenrod.			
*Vernonia missurica (Raf.)	Ironweed.			

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAME	F	EXOTIC	USED BY
		Invasive	Noninvasive	- NATIVE AMERICANS
CORNACEAE				
Cornus drummondii (Meyer)	Rough-leaved dogwood.			
Cornus florida (L.)	Flowering dogwood; Dogwood, Cornel, Arrow wood.			X
Nyssa sylvatica (Marsh.)	Blackgum; Black tupelo, Sour and Tupelo gum, Gum tree, Pepperidge.			
CUPRESSACEAE				
Juniperus virginiana (L.)	Eastern red cedar; red cedar.			X
Taxodium distichum (L.)	Baldcypress; Southern cypress, Swamp cypress.			X
CYPERACEAE				
*Carex flaccosperma (Dewey)	Sedge.			
*C. oxylepis (Torr.&Hook.)	Sedge.			
EBENACEAE				
**Diospyros virginiana (L.)	Common persimmon; Persimmon, Possum wood.			
ERICACEAE				
Vaccinium arboreum (Marsh.)	Farkleberry; Sparkleberry.			
FAGACEAE				
**Quercus falcata (Michx.)	Southern red oak; Spanish, Finger, and Red oak.			X
Q. michauxii (Nutt.)	Swamp Chesnut oak; Cow oak, Basket oak.			
**Q. nigra (L.)	Water oak; Duck, Possum, and Pin oak.			X

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAME	F	EXOTIC	USED BY
		Invasive	Noninvasive	- NATIVE AMERICANS
Q. nuttallii (Palmer)	Nuttall oak.			
**Q. pagoda (Raf.)	Cherrybark oak; Swamp red oak, Swamp, Spanish oak.			
Q. phellos (L.)	Willow oak; Pin and Swamp willow oak.			X
**Q. stellata (Wang.)	Post oak.			X
FUMARIACEAE				
***Dicentra sp.	Dutchman's breeches			
***D. canadensis	Squirrelcorn			
GERANIACEAE				
*Geranium carolinianum (L.)	Crane's-bill.			
HAMAMELIDACEAE				
**Liquidambar styraciflua (L.)	Sweetgum; Red gum, Gum, Gum tree, Sap gum, American sweetgum.			X
HIPPOCASTANACEAE				
Aesculus pavia (L.)	Red buckeye.			X
HYDROPHYLLACEAE				
*Phacelia hirsuta (Nutt.)	Scorpion-weed.			
HYPERICACEAE				
*Hypericum hypericoides (L.)	St. Andrews Cross			
*H. punctatum	St. John's Wort.			

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAME	F	EXOTIC	USED BY
		Invasive	Noninvasive	- NATIVE AMERICANS
IRIDACEAE				
*Sisyrinchium angustifolium (P.)	Blue eyed-grass.			
***Iris sp.	Iris	X		
JUGLANDACEAE				
*Carya illinoensis (Wang.)	Pecan hickory; Sweet pecan.			
**C. tomentosa (Nutt.)	Mockernut hickory; White, White heart, Big bud, and Red hickory, Bull nut.			
**Juglans nigra (L.)	Black walnut; Walnut, American walnut, Gunwood.			
JUNCACEAE				
*Juncus balticus (Willd.)	Baltic rush.			
*J. tenuis (Willd.)	Path rush; Slender rush.			
LAMIACEAE				
*Hedeoma hispidum (Pursh.)	Mock pennyroyal.			X
*Perilla frutescens (L.)	Beef-steak plant.		X	
*Prunella vulgaris (L.)	Self-heal; Heal-all.			X
*Pycnanthemum albescens (T.&G.)	Mountain-mint.			
*Salvia lyrata (L.)	Lyre-leaved sage; Cancer weed.			X
LAURACEAE				
Sassafras albidum (Nutt.)	Sassafras; Common sassafras.			
LEGUMINOSAE (FABACEAE)				
*Albizzia julibrissin (Durazz.)	Silktree; Mimosa.	X		
*Chamaecrista fasciculata (Michx.)	Partridge pea.			

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAME	F	EXOTIC	USED BY
		Invasive	Noninvasive	- NATIVE AMERICANS
*Clitoria mariana (L.)	Butterfly-pea.			
**Gleditsia tricanthos (L.)	Honeylocust.			X
*Lathyrus pusillus (Ell.)	Vetchling; Wild pea.			
*Mimosa strigillosa (T.&G.)	Powder-puff.			
*Robinia pseudoacacia (L.)	Black locust; Locust, Yellow, White, Red,			
	and Green locust, False acacia.			
*Stylosanthes biflora (L.)	Pencil flower; Sidebeak pencilflower.			X
*Trifolium dubium (Sibth.)	Little hop clover; Small hopclover.		X	
*T. repens (L.)	White clover; Clover.		X	
*Vicia sativa (L.)	Common vetch; Vetch.		X	
***Wisteria sinensis (Sims)	Wisteria, Chinese wisteria	X		
LILIACEAE				
*Allium canadense (L.)	Garlic, Onion, Leek.			
***Hemerocallis sp.	Day lily		X	
***Muscari sp.	Grape Hyacinth			
Smilax bonanox (L.)	Greenbrier; Bullbrier, Catbrier, Saw			X
	greenbrier.			
*S. rotundifolia (L.)	Common greenbrier; Catbrier.			
***Yucca aloifolia (L.)	Yucca, soapweed, spanish bayonet			X
MALVACEAE				
*Hibiscus laevis (Allioni)	Rose Mallow.			
MENISPERMACEAE				
Cocculus carolinus (L.)	Carolina moonseed.			X

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAME	F	EXOTIC	USED BY
		Invasive	Noninvasive	- NATIVE AMERICANS
MORACEAE				
*Broussonetia papyrifera (L.)	Paper mulberry.	X		
*Maclura pomifera (Raf.)	Osage orange; Bois d'ark, Mock orange, Bow wood, Hedge, Hedge apple.			X
*Morus rubra (L.)	Red mulberry; Common mulberry.			X
NYMPHACEAE				
*Nelumbo lutea (Nutt.)	American lotus, Yellow lotus, Yanquapin, Water Chinquapin, Lotus lily.			
OLEACEAE				
**Fraxinus pennsylvanica (Marsh.)	Green ash; Water ash.			X
**Ligustrum japonicum (L.)	Common privet.	X		
**L. sinense (Lour.)	Chinese privet; Privet.	X		
ONAGRACEAE				
*Oenothera linifolia (Nutt.)	Evening primrose; Sundrops.			
OXALIDACEAE				
Oxalis dillenii (Jacq.)	Yellow wood sorrel; Wood sorrel.			
PASSIFLORACEAE				
**Passiflora incarnata (L.)	Maypops; Apricot vine, Passion flower.			
PINACEAE				
***Pinus taeda (L.)	Loblolly pine			X

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAME	F	EXOTIC	USED BY
		Invasive	Noninvasive	- NATIVE AMERICANS
PLATANACEAE				
Platanus occidentalis (L.)	American sycamore; Sycamore,			X
	Buttonwood, Buttonball tree, Plane tree,			
	American planetree.			
POACEAE				
*Briza minor (L.)	Little quaking grass.		X	
*Chasmanthium laxum (L.)	Inland sea oats.			
Cynodon dactylom (L.) Pers.	Bermuda grass			
*Eragrostis spectabilis (Pursh)	Lovegrass.			
*Hordeum pusillum (Nutt.)	Barley.			
*Panicum anceps (Michx.)	Panic; Panicum, Dichanthelium.			
*P. boscii (Poir.)	Panic; Panicum, Dichanthelium.			
*P. commutatum (Schult.)	Panic; Panicum, Dichanthelium.			
*P. dichotomiflorum (L.)	Panic; Panicum, Dichanthelium.			
*P. laxiflorum (Lam.)	Panic; Panicum, Dichanthelium.			
*P. malacophyllum (Nash)	Panic; Panicum, Dichanthelium.			
*P. scoparium (Lam.)	Panic; Panicum, Dichanthelium.			
*Paspalum dilatatum (Poir.)	Paspalum.		X	
*P. floridanum (Michx.)	Paspalum			
*Setaria geniculata (Lam.)	Foxtail; Bristlegrass			
***Triodia flava				
POLYGONACEAE				
*Polygonum hydropiperiodes (Michx.)	Smartweed			
*Rumex hastatulus (Baldw.)	Dock			

POLYPODIACEAE Polystichum acrostichoides (Michx.) RANUNCULACEAE **Ranunculus sardous (Crantz) Buttercup; Crowfoot. RHAMNACEAE **Berchemia scandens (Hill) ROSACEAE *Geum canadense (Jacq.) *Potentilla simplex (Michx.) *Prunus serotina (Ehrh.) **Rubus argutus (Link.) R. trivialis (Michx.) Southern dewberry; Blackberry. Invasive Noninvasive Namerical Americal Americal Avens; White avens, Red root. Cinquefoil; Five-finger. Black cherry; Rum cherry. High-bush blackberry. Southern dewberry; Blackberry.	
Polystichum acrostichoides (Michx.) Christmas fern. RANUNCULACEAE *Ranunculus sardous (Crantz) Buttercup; Crowfoot. RHAMNACEAE **Berchemia scandens (Hill) Supple-jack; Rattan vine. X ROSACEAE *Geum canadense (Jacq.) Avens; White avens, Red root. X *Potentilla simplex (Michx.) Cinquefoil; Five-finger. Black cherry; Rum cherry. *Prunus serotina (Ehrh.) Black cherry; Rum cherry. **Rubus argutus (Link.) High-bush blackberry; Blackberry.	NS
RANUNCULACEAE *Ranunculus sardous (Crantz) Buttercup; Crowfoot. RHAMNACEAE **Berchemia scandens (Hill) Supple-jack; Rattan vine. X ROSACEAE *Geum canadense (Jacq.) *Fotentilla simplex (Michx.) *Prunus serotina (Ehrh.) **Rubus argutus (Link.) Buttercup; Crowfoot. X Supple-jack; Rattan vine. X Avens; White avens, Red root. Cinquefoil; Five-finger. Black cherry; Rum cherry. High-bush blackberry; Blackberry.	
**Ranunculus sardous (Crantz) RHAMNACEAE **Berchemia scandens (Hill) Supple-jack; Rattan vine. X ROSACEAE *Geum canadense (Jacq.) *Potentilla simplex (Michx.) *Prunus serotina (Ehrh.) **Rubus argutus (Link.) Buttercup; Crowfoot. X Avens; White avens, Red root. Cinquefoil; Five-finger. Black cherry; Rum cherry. High-bush blackberry; Blackberry.	
RHAMNACEAE **Berchemia scandens (Hill) Supple-jack; Rattan vine. X ROSACEAE *Geum canadense (Jacq.) *Potentilla simplex (Michx.) *Prunus serotina (Ehrh.) **Rubus argutus (Link.) Supple-jack; Rattan vine. X X X Linguefoil; Five-finger. Black cherry; Rum cherry. High-bush blackberry; Blackberry.	
**Berchemia scandens (Hill) ROSACEAE *Geum canadense (Jacq.) *Potentilla simplex (Michx.) *Prunus serotina (Ehrh.) **Rubus argutus (Link.) Supple-jack; Rattan vine. X Avens; White avens, Red root. Cinquefoil; Five-finger. Black cherry; Rum cherry. High-bush blackberry; Blackberry.	
ROSACEAE *Geum canadense (Jacq.) *Potentilla simplex (Michx.) *Prunus serotina (Ehrh.) **Rubus argutus (Link.) Avens; White avens, Red root. X Cinquefoil; Five-finger. Black cherry; Rum cherry. High-bush blackberry; Blackberry.	
*Geum canadense (Jacq.) *Potentilla simplex (Michx.) *Prunus serotina (Ehrh.) **Rubus argutus (Link.) Avens; White avens, Red root. Cinquefoil; Five-finger. Black cherry; Rum cherry. High-bush blackberry; Blackberry.	
*Potentilla simplex (Michx.) *Prunus serotina (Ehrh.) **Rubus argutus (Link.) Cinquefoil; Five-finger. Black cherry; Rum cherry. High-bush blackberry; Blackberry.	
*Prunus serotina (Ehrh.) **Rubus argutus (Link.) Black cherry; Rum cherry. High-bush blackberry; Blackberry.	
**Rubus argutus (Link.) High-bush blackberry; Blackberry.	
R. trivialis (Michx.) Southern dewberry; Blackberry.	
***Spiraea prunifolia (Sieb. & Zucc.) Bridal wreath X	
***S. arguta (Zabel) Bridal wreath X	
***Rosa sp. Rose X	
RUBIACEAE	
*Galium aparine (L.) Cleavers; Bedstraw, Goose grass. X	
*G. circaezans (Michx.) Wild licorice; Bedstraw. X	
*G. concinnum (T.& G.) Bedstraw	
RUTACEAE	
Poncirus trifoliata (L.) Trifoliate orange, bitter orange X	
Zanthoxylum clava-herculis (L.) Hercules' club, toothache tree	

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAME	1	EXOTIC	
		Invasive	Noninvasive	NATIVE AMERICANS
SCROPHULARIACEAE				
*Gratiola neglecta (Torr.)	Hedge-hyssop; Clammy hedge-hyssop.			
SOLANACEAE				
Solanum carolinense (L.)	Horse nettle; Bull nettle.			
ТҮРНАСЕАЕ				
Typha latifolia (L.)	Cattail			X
ULMACEAE				
**Celtis laevigata (Willd.)	Sugarberry; Southern hackberry.			X
Ulmus alata (Michx.)	Winged elm; Cork elm.			
Ulmus americana (L.)	American elm.			X
*Ulmus rubra (Muhl.)	Slippery elm; Red elm.			X
VALERIANACEAE				
*Valerianella radiata (L.)	Corn Salad.			
VERBENACEAE				
**Callicarpa americana (L.)	French mulberry; Beauty berry.			X
VIOLACEAE				
Viola rafinesquii (Green)	Johnny jump-up.			

SCIENTIFIC NAME (AUTHOR)	COMMON NAME; LOCAL NAME	E	EXOTIC	USED BY NATIVE
		Invasive	Noninvasive	AMERICANS
VITACEAE				
**Ampelopsis arborea (L.)	Pepper vine.			
Ampelopsis cordata (Michx.)	Raccoon grape; False grape, Heartleaf ampelopsis.			
Parthenocissus quinquefolia (L.)	Virginia creeper; Woodbine.			X
**Vitis rotundifolia (Michx.)	Muscadine; Scuppernong.			X

¹ Status of plant species as invasive or noninvasive exotics is by the Plant Conservation Alliance's listings.

NOTE:

Species not marked with an (*) were recorded by Chris Watt in 1999 (June – October).

State listed Threatened (T) and Endangered (E) species located in Arkansas County, Arkansas:

Oenothera pilosella ssp. sessilis (Prairie evening primrose) – T.

Thalictrum arkansanum (Arkansas meadow-rue) – T.

Platanthera nivea (Snowy orchid) – E.

There are no federally listed Threatened (T) and/or Endangered (E) species located in Arkansas County, Arkansas.

² Traditional plant use by Native Americans is based on research conducted and summarized by Ethnographer Michael J. Evans (National Park Service, Midwest Region). Dr. Evans researched historical documentation for direct references to use by specific plant by tribe or nation. His list, therefore, documents usage recorded in printed anthropological literature. Because knowledge of plant uses was and is so widespread among Great Plains and Midwest Native American cultures, uses by one tribe correspond into similar uses by other tribes. However, specific documentation on continuing traditional plant use has not been researched for the indigenous people's specifically affiliated with APNM.

^{*} Species marked with one (*) were recorded by Dustin Rodgers and Ricky O'Neill in 1997 (April – September).

^{**} Species marked with two (*) were recorded by Chris Watt (1999) and Dustin Rodgers and Ricky O'Neill (1997).

^{***} Species marked with three (*) were contributed by Harlan Groe (2000)

5. ANALYSIS

5. ANALYSIS

Criteria for Evaluating Significance

The evaluation of significance of the APNM historic landscape presented herein adheres to standards set by the National Register and guidelines for their application provided by the National Park Service.³⁴⁵ According to these standards, a cultural landscape must possess significance in at least one of the four aspects of cultural heritage defined by the National Register criteria *and* retain integrity. The four aspects of cultural heritage include properties that:

- are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history (Criterion A); or
- are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past (Criterion
 B); or
- embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high

³⁴⁵ The analysis within utilizes guidelines presented in National Register Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior; National Park Service; Interagency Resources Division, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991), and Page, Robert R., Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program, 1998).

artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction (Criterion C); or

 have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history (Criterion D).³⁴⁶

The significance of the APNM landscape was determined by relating findings from the site history and existing conditions analysis to the historic context.

Assessment of the historic integrity of the APNM landscape was conducted to determine if the landscape characteristics and associated features are present in much the same way as they were historically. The historic integrity of a landscape is "determined by the extent to which the general character of the historic period is evident, and the degree to which incompatible elements obscuring that character can be reversed." The level of historic integrity of the NPNM landscape is directly related to the ability of the combined extant physical features to convey the site's historical significance. 348

³⁴⁶ National Register Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior; National Park Service; Interagency Resources Division, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991).

³⁴⁷ Page, Robert R., Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program, 1998), pp. 71-73.

Significance of the Arkansas Post Historic Landscape

The landscape at APNM does not retain sufficient integrity in relation to the applicable aspects of cultural heritage, and therefore it does not possess significance as a historic landscape.

Historically, the APNM site's topography and natural resources made the landscape an important location in European colonial development. Its elevation, high above the frequently flooded Arkansas River lowlands, contributed to its desirability for military and commercial uses. The site's strategic location on the Arkansas River made it an important site for defense and military operations, commerce, transportation, communication, and government in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and a portion of the nineteenth centuries.

The APNM landscape also played an important role in French and Spanish colonial, early American and Arkansas territorial and statehood, and Civil War history. The Arkansas Post area, which had declined in state and national significance by the 1860s, evolved into a rural backwater of small, dispersed,

348 Page, Robert R., Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, Park Historic Structures and Cultural

agrarian developments following the Civil War. During this period, the site's geography contributed to its isolation rather than its strategic importance. In the twentieth century, the State of Arkansas established a state park at Arkansas Post to take advantage of the site's compelling early history and opportunities for outdoor recreation. The landscape played a major role in all of these historical periods and reflected developments associated with land uses established at Arkansas Post.

The combined forces of nature, war, abandonment, state and federal acquisition, and water control projects, have covered, removed, relocated, or obscured most of the landscape features associated with the historical periods and addressed in the Chapter 3 site history. As a result the landscape no longer retains a sufficient number of landscape features associated with these periods to adequately portray those historical periods.

Instead, the APNM retains isolated landscape features, remnant component landscapes, and archeological concentrations that through interpretation may be

Landscapes Program, 1998), pp. 71-73.

used to enhance public understanding of the site's cultural landscape and its changes over time.

Historical Periods

Although the existing landscape does not maintain integrity, three periods of history at the APNM relate to National Register criterion A, events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history:

- 1673-1803 for French and Spanish colonial history (1673-1763 and 1800-1803 for French colonial history and 1763-1800 for Spanish colonial history);
- 1803–1830s for early American history;
- and 1862–1864 for the Civil War.

The documentation and research undertaken for the CLR do not indicate that the APNM is a significant landscape for any of the post-Civil War periods discussed in the site history. There is not a sufficient historic context to use in evaluating the significance of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century agrarian settlements although several fragmented component landscapes from this period have been identified (Exhibits 11–17). Moreover, it is likely that other more

intact sites in this region would provide more information about rural life and prove to be more representative of this period of local and state history. In addition, it does not appear that the state park period at Arkansas Post was a significant example of twentieth-century state park design. NPS assumed operation of the site, altering much of the state park plan. NPS began to develop its own construction and management programs at the end of its Mission 66 initiative although most NPS construction and installations postdate the Mission 66 period. Consequently, the APNM is not believed to possess significance as either an exemplary or representative Mission 66 landscape.

Archeological Analysis

Archeological investigations to date have revealed some information about the history of the APNM landscape. Future investigations can be expected to yield additional information concerning the history and perhaps the prehistory of the site. Several concentrations of archeological resources exist at the APNM (Exhibit 47). This CLR has been prepared without benefit of an archeological component and relies on the 1997 Draft Arkansas Post (3AR47): Archeology, History and Prospects, Narrative To Accompany A Cultural Resource Base Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas as the most recent and consolidated source of archeological

information. The findings of this archeological report are consistent with the historical research undertaken for the CLR Part 1 and the cultural landscape field investigations undertaken for the CLR Part 2. There is currently no completed, comprehensive ethnographic study of the APNM to inform this analysis. It is anticipated that ethnographic information may contribute to the archeological analysis of the site in the future and may be used to refine and revise this analysis as it becomes available.

Landform changes due to riverbed meanders, erosion, and navigational engineering have complicated archeological documentation and analysis. The findings of some reports and investigations have proven inaccurate due to the lack of accurate spatial recordation technologies, such as Geographic Information Systems and Geographic Positioning Systems that are available today, but were not available when earlier investigations were conducted. In addition, archeological research methodologies have improved considerably since the early studies were conducted. Finally, many of the more reliable archeological findings have been related primarily to NPS compliance requirements for sites, which were investigated prior to their disturbance for construction of current buildings and facilities. As a result, the archeological information available for

the APNM is not only dated, but also incomplete, and in some cases inaccurate for site-specific locations.

Despite these inadequacies in archeological documentation, there are definitive concentrations of archeological resources within the APNM. These concentrations, which are identified in *Exhibit 47*, possess known or potential resources from the various periods of APNM landscape development. These major concentrations are related to Spanish and French colonial settlement, early American settlement, and Civil War engagement on the site (*Exhibit 47*).

No significant prehistoric resources have been identified at APNM however (*Exhibit 40*).³⁴⁹ Known to Native Americans for thousands of years prior to European exploration and settlement, native Americans from several cultures ranging from the Archaic through the late Mississippian periods would have used the site periodically for hunting and gathering for almost 10,000 years. While there have been several attempts to locate Native American village sites, none have been identified within the APNM. At present it appears unlikely that

any of the four known Quapaw villages on the Arkansas River mentioned by the first Europeans would have been located within the boundaries of the area addressed in the CLR. It does, however, appear possible that the town sites visited by the de Soto entrada would have been located within the Menard-Hodges site, which is being added to the APNM. Although future investigations may reveal information about the prehistory of the area included in the CLR boundaries, at this point it appears more prudent to concentrate archeological investigations on the new addition of the Menard-Hodges site and to focus the APNM's Native American interpretation on that portion of the memorial.

The APNM possesses three main areas of archeological resource concentrations. These include the area south of Park Lake to the bluffs adjacent to the Arkansas River, the area west and north of Park Lake and the portion of site between Post Bend to the east and Post Bayou the west in the area south of the maintenance facility and north of Alligator Slough.

349 The relative dearth of Indian cultural materials may be attributed to the relatively limited extent of archeological investigations and the likelihood that periodic flooding and the shifting course of the Arkansas River have eroded away many artifacts and structural remains. In addition, at the time of primary Native American habitation, the current peninsula area of the modern Post was quite a distance from the river. In addition, the current peninsular area of the modern APNM was wilderness during the primary period of Indian habitation, and was actually located at quite a distance from the water.

Archeological resources dating from the earliest era of European habitation exist primarily in the southern portion of the APNM south of Park Lake and the visitor center. The various archeological investigations to date have confirmed the French and Spanish presence in this portion of the site during the early eighteenth-century and the early American settlement in the early nineteenth century. Analysis of the pottery and other artifacts found in the southern part of the site are consistent with the historical documentation of French and Spanish use during this period. Below-ground structural remains have also been identified in these investigations. Future archeological investigations combined with accurate GPS mapping may be able to determine the extent to which these resources still exist in light of the extensive erosion that has occurred since the earliest archeological work was conducted in the 1950s. Regardless of resource survival, twentieth-century archeological findings can be used to interpret this important period of the French and Spanish colonial experience at the APNM and updated to reflect the most current historical information available. Evidence of early American use in the period 1803 to 1863 has also been found in the southern portion of the APNM. Evidence of two brick structures as well as other artifacts helped to identify the locations of early American activity on the site.

Civil War

Resources related to the American Civil War period from 1856 through 1865 are concentrated in the area between Post Bend to the east and Post Bayou the west, bounded on the north by the maintenance facility and on the south by Alligator Slough (*Exhibit 47*). There was extensive development and activity at the site during this period (Exhibit 4). Recent trench excavations for a new electrical system throughout the park exposed some materials that are potentially related to the Civil War period. The area includes the historic location of the battle lines of the Union Army during its assault on the Confederate Fort Hindman. The existing picnic ground access road represents the division line between the Union and Confederate positions. The Union position was on the north side of the road, while the Confederate position was on the south side of the road. During trenching items were observed and collected that "suggest a multiple component historic site which incorporates an early 1830s to circa 1900 occupation," and "circa 1860-1920 occupation area t the southern portion of the site." 350 The quantity of objects observed during this linear excavation suggests that a preponderance of archeological artifacts are likely to exist in the area. A

greater understanding of these resources would add to the interpretive program at the APNM.

Analysis of Landscape Integrity

The analysis and evaluation of landscape integrity provided herein follows guidelines provided by the National Park Service and National Register standards. In particular, National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes was used as a guide. Cultural landscape integrity is present when a landscape retains the ability to convey its historical significance because historic landscape characteristics and features are present in much the same way as they were historically. No portion of the APNM landscape appears to possess substantial integrity for the historic periods identified for the memorial. In most instances, integrity can be found primarily in individual remnant features that survive from a historical period, but not in any holistic sense.

350 Hunt, Bill, Memorandum: Trip Report, Archeological monitoring of electrical line excavation trenches at Arkansas Post National Memorial (11 April 2003, MWAC A2624, addressed to the Manager of the Midwest Archeological Center), pp. 1-3.

³⁵¹McClelland, Linda Flint, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Z. Melnick, National Register Bulletin 30, Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service; Interagency Resources Division, Interagency Resources Branch, U.S. Government Printing Office).

While the potential for archeological resources is substantial, the loss of aboveground landscape features has diminished overall landscape integrity in most areas. The landscape possesses some surviving landscape features with varying degrees of integrity that may help to represent or interpret the sequential significant historical periods associated with the site. Surviving historic landscape features function primarily as placeholders that allow the landscape to be better understood because they exist. In assessing integrity, both the degree to which historical landscape character is present has been considered as well as the reversibility of landscape changes that have diminished integrity.

All seven aspects of integrity-association, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and setting-have been considered in the context of the landscape's ability to represent the several historical periods discussed in the Chapter 3 Site History.

Association is the strongest aspect of the APNM landscape because there are direct links between the historical events that occurred on the site and the landscape. The APNM is the actual site of the French and Spanish colonization, served as the territorial capital of Arkansas, and played a significant role in the

Civil War. Integrity of *location* is severely diminished because of the many changes to the shape of the land itself, the widening of adjacent water bodies, the alteration of the historic land/water edge, the physical loss of significant built structures, and the loss of even the town where the historical events occurred. The features that gave the landscape its character during each successive historic period survive only as faint fragments of the historic landscape.

There are few visible points of historic identity that facilitate site orientation and promote an understanding of the site's layout during its various historic periods. Landscape integrity is diminished further by the loss of most of its historic fabric since examples of historic design, materials, and workmanship are largely absent from the site. There are only a few indications of how landscape features were constructed, planted, or installed; how they were combined to create fortifications, towns, and farmsteads; and the techniques that were used in the crafting and care of the landscape. Even integrity of feeling is affected since there is so little landscape expression of the aesthetic or historic values evident within the memorial site. Views from land to water and even across water have changed considerably. Familiar structures and small-scale features have disappeared from the landscape, imparting the site with a feeling unlike that

present during any historic period. In fact, it is difficult to imagine people using the landscape in their everyday lives at Arkansas Post. Historic land use is rarely evident or observable and there is little sense of the landscape organization that characterized the site historically. The APNM *setting* has changed considerably with the loss of its broad flood plains and the widening of the historic waterways that were so significant in the establishment and development of Arkansas Post for most of its history. Its physical environment and cultural landscape have been altered irrevocably with a corresponding loss of historic landscape integrity.

Effects of Invasive Vegetation on Integrity

With each subsequent period, new vegetative species have been introduced to the APNM. Exotic species, also known as alien, introduced, or non-indigenous vegetation, have joined native vegetation on the site. In most instances, this introduced vegetation has remained localized or has disappeared over time. Three species–trifoliate orange, Japanese honeysuckle, and privet –have become invasive and now appear in major concentrations throughout the site, threatening indigenous vegetation or other vegetation that may possess cultural or natural value within the APNM. Although there are other examples of invasive species (some are native), including but not limited to grapevine,

greenbriar, poison ivy, and poison oak, these three species are the most threatening at the present time. During field investigations, both the UAM team and LCA personnel have observed these species throughout the APNM and found them interspersed within various vegetative types. They are major threats to vegetative integrity of other site vegetation.

Integrity Evaluation

Landscape integrity can best be evaluated in the context of archeological significance with surviving landscape features associated with significant periods of history considered in much the same way as are archeological artifacts that may enhance archeological significance. Since few historic landscape features, other than remnant vegetation, remain within the APNM boundaries, the role of site vegetation is being evaluated according to National Register criteria by assessing how vegetative features contribute to the significance of the landscape. While vegetation has always been a part of the APNM landscape, it appears that the site's strategic location on the Arkansas River has been the singlemost important factor through most historical periods, whether the site was being developed and used as a defensive fortification, a territorial capitol, or a state park. Existence during a historical period may not necessarily indicate

that a single plant or even an aggregation of plants contributes to the significance of the site.

Vegetation appears to have the strongest association with historic use, perhaps, during the less well-documented agricultural settlement period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This period does not appear to meet National Register criteria for significance. Even during those periods, however, it is not the vegetation itself or the nature of the vegetation that characterized the settlements but rather their agricultural land uses, cluster arrangements, and perhaps cultural traditions that contribute to significance under criterion C of the National Register. Despite the fact that this vegetation may not be significant, where vegetation that was associated with cultural uses does survive, it contributes to cultural interest and enhances historical associations.

An integrity evaluation has been made for each historic period, whether it is considered a significant period or not. These evaluations have been made to provide continuity between periods and to facilitate understanding of the site's chronology. A preliminary list of extant features follows each integrity discussion. The lists of extant features are cumulative, listing all features from

the earliest period that survived through each succeeding period and remain today. These features may have the potential to contribute to significance and integrity in later periods as well as in the period in which they were first established or known to exist.

Contributing Features from Pre-1673 Period

The lack to date of discovery of archeological resources dating from pre-1673 weakens integrity of cultural associations. The intensive uses of the site in later periods, periodic flooding, and the subsequent Army Corps of Engineer flooding have substantially altered the character of the APNM and its natural ecology. Although plant materials with possible ethnographic associations exist within the APNM landscape, their locations, concentrations, and vegetative associations are likely to differ from those present in the pre-1673 period. Since original locations cannot be documented, integrity of location cannot be determined. There is no integrity of design or workmanship since no artifacts or aboveground landscape features survive from this period. There is some integrity of setting and feeling since the site is still surrounded by water and there are some densely forested areas. The character of the bluff landscape that exists today, however, varies substantially from its appearance during the prehistoric period. Without a

similar but undisturbed geographic context for comparison, however, it is difficult to evaluate the integrity of the regenerated forested areas.

Contributing Features (Exhibit 40)

- peninsular landform³⁵³
- moderate-dense forest north of the picnic area entry drive³⁵⁴
- ethnographic-associated vegetation³⁵⁵
- potential pre-1673 archeological resources identified through future research

Contributing Features from 1673–1803

The APNM retains few landscape features associated with the French and Spanish colonial periods. The present landscape does little to evoke the feeling of either period although two intersecting streets may be the Spanish predecessors of the nineteenth-century Main and Front Streets that are interpreted today. The potential for archeological resources related to this period may strengthen integrity of association. The loss of landscape features combined with erosion, flooding, and navigation projects diminishes integrity of location

³⁵² Furthermore, the absence of a complete ethnographic study makes determining cultural associations difficult and imprecise.

³⁵³ The terms "peninsula" and "peninsular" are used to describe a site almost entirely surrounded by water throughout its history. The peninsular formation survives although modified through late twentieth-century erosion and navigation and flood control projects. The southern end of the peninsula retains more of the shape of the pre-1673 period than the northern portions of the peninsula.

³⁵⁴ While there are no virgin stands of forest surviving and the visual character would differ from the pre-1673 period, this primarily hardwood forest may provide something of a "wilderness" feeling that is evocative of the pre-1673 period.

for this period and also integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. There is some integrity of feeling in a portion of the southern part of the memorial where there is open land. The existing vegetation at the extreme southern end of the APNM detracts from the ability of the memorial to represent this period since this area was open historically. The increased width of the adjacent waterways, the loss of the historic floodplain, and the associated altered relationship of bluff and lowground diminish integrity of setting for this period.

Contributing Features (Exhibit 41)

- Spanish and French colonial archeological resources
- cleared land in southern portion of the site

Contributing Features from 1804–1855

Although the APNM retains few landscape features associated with the Arkansas territorial and early statehood period, the present landscape possesses integrity of association and location as the first Arkansas capitol. Specific sites, such as the Bank of Arkansas, associated with this use have been documented and identified but there is little sense of the density and dynamics of this

355 Ongoing field investigations, research, and analysis of vegetation will be used to determine if extant vegetation believed to have been associated with this period is significant and if integrity is present based on location, concentrations, rarity, and strength of association.

community. The potential for archeological resources related to this period may strengthen integrity of association. The restored cistern and well contribute somewhat to integrity of design, workmanship, and materials but as restorations and rare survivors of auxiliary structures from this period, they cannot compensate for the loss of other more substantial structures that would help define landscape organization if they were still present. The interpreted street grid contributes to landscape integrity although the loss of buildings and structures from this period seriously diminishes overall integrity. The loss of landscape features combined with erosion, flooding, and navigation projects diminishes integrity of location for this period. There is some integrity of feeling in a portion of the southern part of the memorial where there is open land. The encroaching vegetation at the extreme southern end of the APNM detracts from the ability of the memorial to represent this period. The increased width of the adjacent waterways, the loss of the historic floodplain, and the associated altered relationship of bluff and lowground diminish integrity of setting for this period. Although the northern portion of the site was forested during this period, the majority of the present memorial was open land used for either cultivation or pasture. Since the majority of the site today is forested, integrity of setting and

feeling is altered. The present site character gives little indication of the density of settlement and land use present historically.

Contributing Features (Exhibit 42)

- territorial townsite grid layout³⁵⁶
- Frederick Notrebe cistern
- well
- several deciduous trees that may date from this period
- archeological concentrations associated with Post of Arkansas
- archeological concentrations associated with Town of Rome
- archeological concentrations associated with Town of Arkansas
- archeological concentrations associated with the Hewes Scull farm buildings
- archeological concentrations associated with the John and Cecelia Jodelais

farmstead

- other potential 1804–1855 archeological resources to be identified through future research
- possible north-south road trace fragments

³⁵⁶ A portion of the town grid has been approximated and paved to represent the layout of the town.

- possible east-west road trace fragments leading from Jodelai farmstead to

 Town of Arkansas and intersection with north-south road trace (later Jodelais

 Street)
- possible north-northwest/south-southeast road trace fragments leading from Post of Arkansas to Hewes Scull farm
- possible northwest-southeast road trace fragments from the Post of Arkansas to Alligator Slough and then on to the Jordelais farmstead

Contributing Features from 1856–1865

The memorial's well-documented Civil War history contributes to integrity of association, as does the site line to the Fort Hindman location. The increased width of the adjacent waterways, the loss of the historic floodplain, and the associated altered relationship of bluff and lowground especially diminish integrity of setting for this period because the site's defensive location and character were integral to its role in Civil War history. The Confederate rifle pits contribute to integrity of design, material, and workmanship although it is possible that they have been altered as a result of agricultural uses. The full extent of the earthwork is not visually apparent, nor do the pits reflect their historic depth. The earthworks, however, contribute to integrity of feeling for

the Civil War period although their historic setting would have differed from present conditions. During this period, the area south of the rifle pits was cleared and cultivated, and the area to the north was eroded land covered with scattered stumps, logs, trees and brush. Today it is a mature, deciduous, hardwood forest. The ravine was filled with water during this period, giving it an appearance not totally unlike that of today's lake although undoubtedly the water levels would not have been similar and its configuration would have fluctuated. There is some integrity of feeling in a portion of the southern part of the memorial where there is open land. The encroaching vegetation at the extreme southern end of the APNM detracts from the ability of the memorial to represent this period.

Contributing Features (Exhibit 43)

- views east to approximate Fort Hindman location
- Confederate trench and rifle pits³⁵⁷
- water-filled ravine (future Park Lake location)
- archeological concentrations associated with the Civil War

³⁵⁷ It is possible that these rifle pits could have been reconstructed or modified during the State Park era.

- central road trace fragment of Old River Road running southwest-northeast from north-south road across Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou)
- road trace of Jordelais Street extension to Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou)
- fragment of southwest-northeast road trace from west Jordelais Street (near Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou)) linking the APNM to points further north
- road trace running northwest-southeast from Old River Road to southern end of the site and forking (in flood plain currently underwater) to two southern routes crossing Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou) at Flatboat Bridge and Old Steamboat Bridge

Contributing Features from 1866–1928

Some individual farm and house sites are identifiable because of surviving vegetation or small-scale features, but very little of the site's dispersed rural settlement character during this period is apparent today. Although there are a few remnants of agricultural and domestic life, the historic mosaic of cultivated fields and pastures is no longer apparent, and no major structures survive from this period. Consequently, there is little integrity of association or location. The loss of the vernacular rural architecture of this period detracts from integrity of design and workmanship although some architectural materials survive as

width of the adjacent waterways, the loss of the historic floodplain, and the associated altered relationship of bluff and lowground diminish integrity of setting for this period as they do for earlier periods. Since the ravine was not water-filled during most of this period when it was referred to as eroded ground, there is little integrity of feeling and setting in the lake vicinity for this period. The loss of the activity and variety associated with daily living, however, is probably the most serious impediment to integrity of setting and feeling for this period. Although they postdate the period of significance, remnant landscape features from this period do represent human habitation and serve as markers for sites of domestic life and activity in the pre-park and memorial era.

Contributing Features (Exhibit 44)

- moderate forest cover north of existing picnic area entry drive
- small clearing along existing north-central boundary
- open, unwooded land (for cultivation) in existing prairie south of existing picnic area
- open, unwooded land in southern part of site in the Post of Arkansas vicinity

- archeological concentrations in the central section of the memorial, associated with late nineteenth and early twentieth-century rural life
- road trace extending through existing site beginning at the old Jordelais Street alignment and extending northwest to cross Little Post Bayou and continuing outside the existing boundaries toward Gillett and Dewitt
- possible fragments of road trace extending north-south near eastern shoreline between the old north-south road and the road to Flatboat Bridge
- fragments of road traces in extreme northeastern corner of the existing memorial
- fragments of interior road traces in the area north of existing Park Lake and south of the existing picnic area entry drive (in the area north and west of the former Town of Rome)
- remnants of domestic, commercial, and agrarian life in central APNM that include but are not limited to portions of building foundations, brick walks, house yard and field fences, fenceline and boundary vegetation, shade and fruit trees, the cattle corral and dipping vat site, cisterns and wells, and ornamental

vegetation, such as daffodils, lily of the valley, dragon wort, crepe myrtle, privet, and daylilies³⁵⁸

• State Bank Monument

Contributing Features from 1929-1963

Although it was the site of an Arkansas State Park, the current memorial retains few of the earlier park features, apart from the lake on the site of the old ravine. There are few features that survive from the state park period to contribute integrity although there is gross-scale integrity of association and location, particularly the continued use of the name Arkansas Post. Land use, spatial organization, and even a substantial portion of the circulation, however, has changed. State park buildings and structures no longer survive on site, and there is no integrity of design, materials, and workmanship for the state park period. Although traces of road alignments from this era are discernible in places, they no longer link park functions and possessed diminished integrity as a result. In addition, the increased width of the adjacent waterways, the loss of the historic floodplain, and the associated altered relationship of bluff and lowground diminish integrity of setting for this period as they do for earlier periods.

358 There are believed to be remnants associated with the Clarence Owens Residence, John Hudson House and Buildings, George Connie House, Quandt House, Reeves Farm Buildings, Ina Hudson House, Richard Stovall house, Rena Bass house, Ambros Bass house, Emma Battles House,

Contributing Features (Exhibit 45)

Park Lake

Earth dam

Concrete spillway

Alignment of park road (basis for elliptical trail around Park Lake)

Road trace of park road linking lake area with AR 169 during state park era

Civil War Centennial marker and other state park interpretive signs

Non-Contributing Features (Exhibit 46)

Features that appeared on the site, or were constructed and installed following NPS acquisition of the property, are assumed to postdate any potential period of significance, to be non-contributing features, and to possess no cultural landscape significance at this time. Non-contributing features also include those that changed considerably after 1966, or that threaten resources related to the mission of the APNM. All NPS features date from the period 1964–1999 and may be reevaluated in the context of NPS planning and design in the future. Most NPS projects were planned either at the end of or following the NPS Mission 66 planning and design initiative. Although APNM reflects the Mission 66 goal of

Hudson Store, Conine Stoe, and AME Church.

providing maximum public access to historic and natural resources, APNM does not appear to possess significant Mission 66 features.³⁵⁹

List of Non-Contributing Features

Visitor center

Maintenance building

Superintendent's residence

Staff residence

Drilled well

Sewage lagoon

Picnic area and comfort station

APNM entrance sign

Fishing Pad

Auxiliary sheds and support structures

Concrete culvert

Interpretive waysides

Trails and trail bridges

³⁵⁹Kasparek, "Master Plan of Arkansas Post National Memorial" (October, 1964) Chapter 2, "Area Objectives," pp. 1-8; Questions and Answers: Mission 66 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, United States Department of Interior, ca. 1956), pp. 1-5; Fred B. Sarles, "Master Plan for the Preservation of Arkansas Post National Memorial - Mission 66 Edition" (March, 1961), Initial unnumbered page stating NPS and Mission 66 objectives.

Parking areas

Prairie plantation

Shoreline revetment and riprap

Invasive exotic vegetation (trifoliate orange, privet, Japanese honeysuckle)

Wooden cross

DAR exhibit

Summary of Analysis and Evaluation

Change has been such a significant factor affecting the Arkansas Post National Memorial landscape that its landscape is most appropriately evaluated as a layered landscape archeological site that retains remnant features from several historic periods (*Exhibit 47*). Some concentrations of archeological resources relate more specifically to the site's history and possess value in illustrating historical contexts and interpretive themes. Archeologists believe that future investigations may reveal significant archeological resources. The memorial, however, does not retain adequate aboveground features to represent even one historic period landscape adequately. Despite its significant associations with the French and Spanish colonial experience in the Mississippi-Arkansas river delta, the territorial capitol of Arkansas, and the Civil War, the site retains little

landscape integrity for any of these periods. Further research and archeological investigations would be necessary to evaluate the significance of the dispersed rural home sites that developed between the Civil War and the period of state park development. Even if further research and analysis using appropriate contexts for evaluation would reveal significance, this significance would be at the local level and not at the state and national levels associated with the earlier periods. Furthermore, the fragmented nature of survivals from this post-Civil War period has resulted in a loss of integrity, even to represent this relatively recent historical period. It is also likely that other, better preserved, and more intact rural sites exist in the region that better represent rural life between the Civil War and the Great Depression. Similarly, it does not appear that the state park development that occurred would have been an exemplary design of national significance. As with other periods, the state park layer does not survive intact and major features associated with its development have been removed.

In addition, major changes associated with navigation and flood control projects have altered the significant land/water configuration associated with the APNM throughout its history. The property remains surrounded by water on three

sides but has lost its traditional wide flood plains and narrow river and bayou channels.

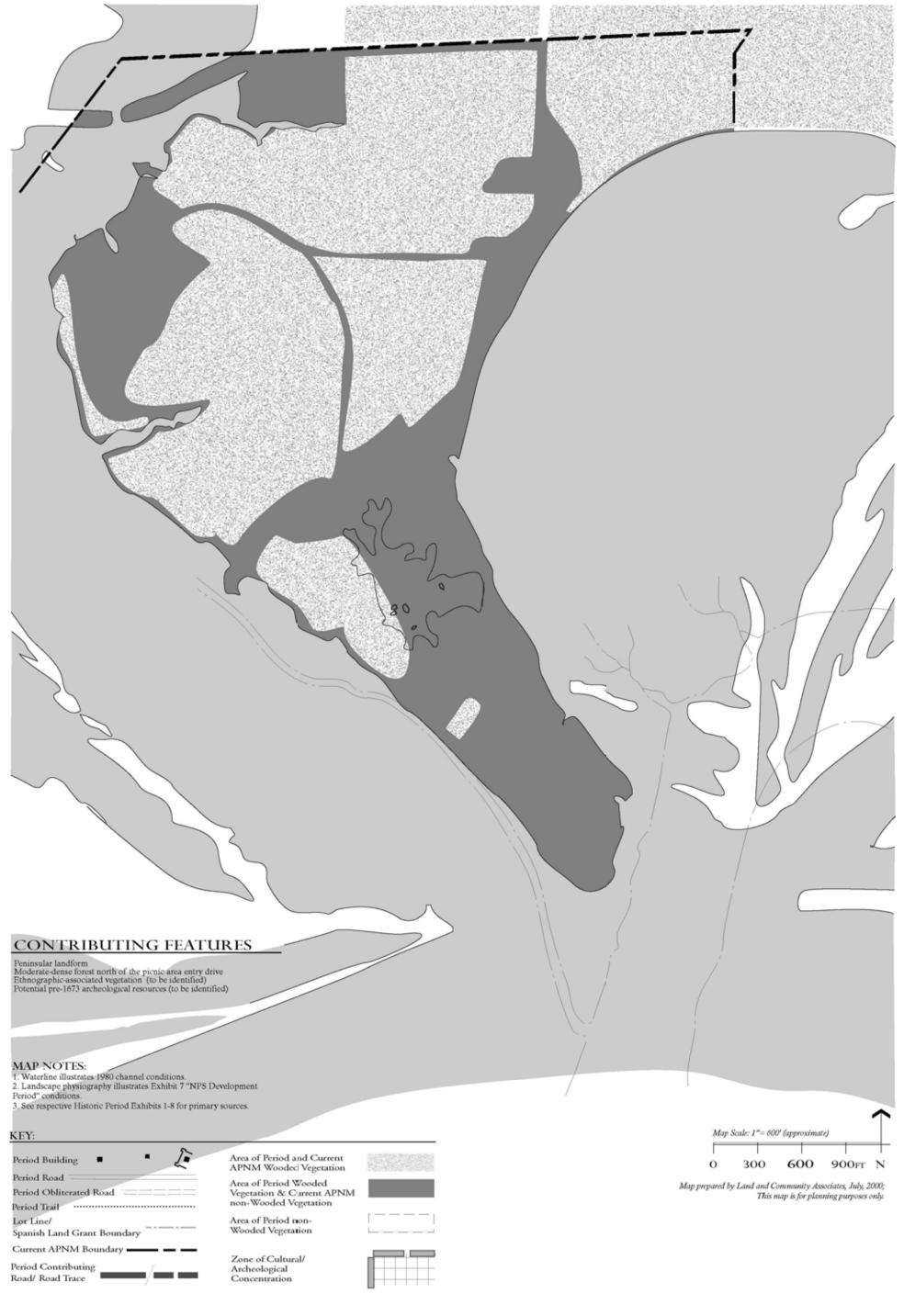


EXHIBIT 40: PRE-1673
PRE-CONTACT PERIOD CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

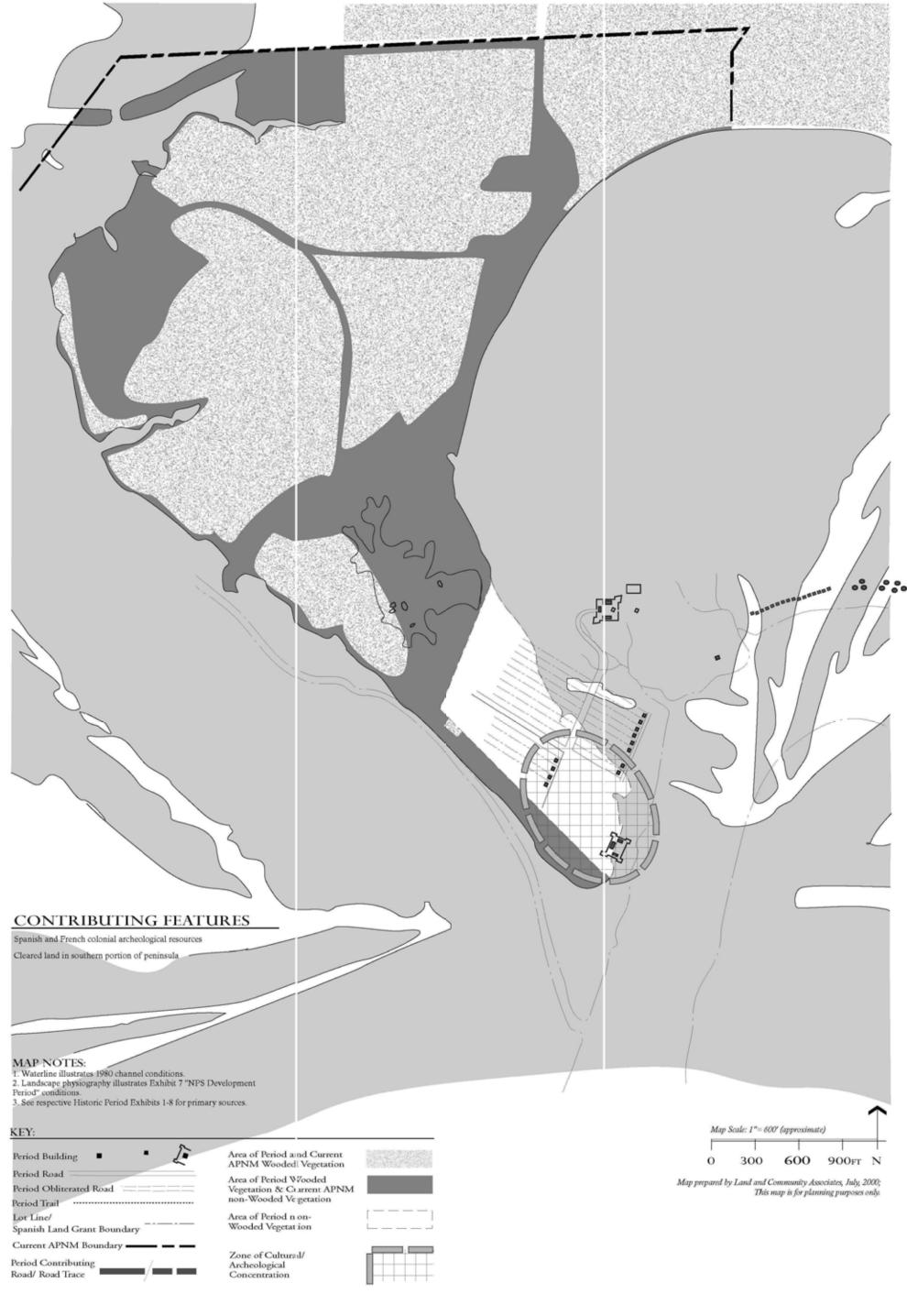


EXHIBIT 41: 1673-1803 COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

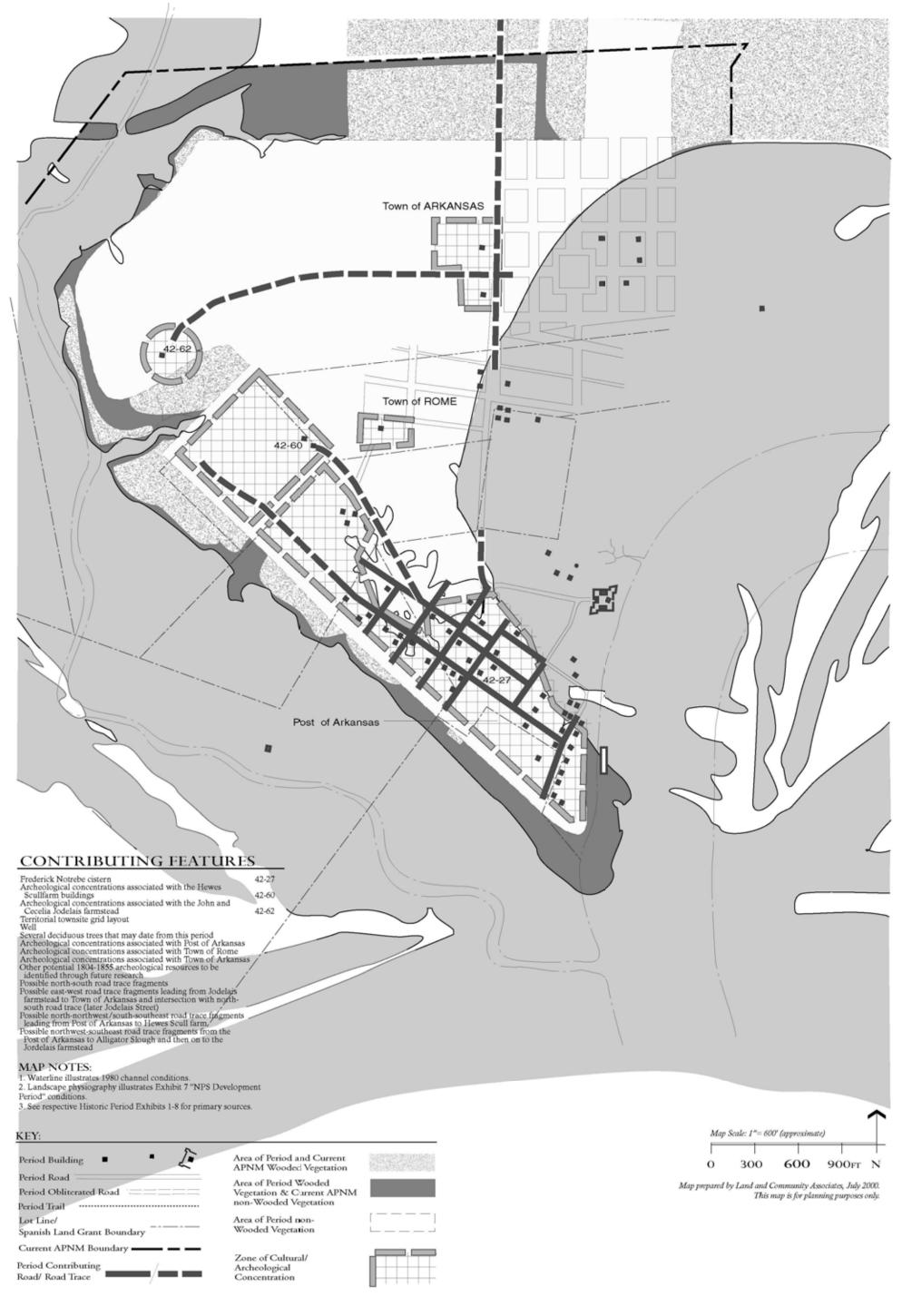


EXHIBIT 42: 1804-1855
SETTLEMENT/ EARLY STATEHOOD PERIOD CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

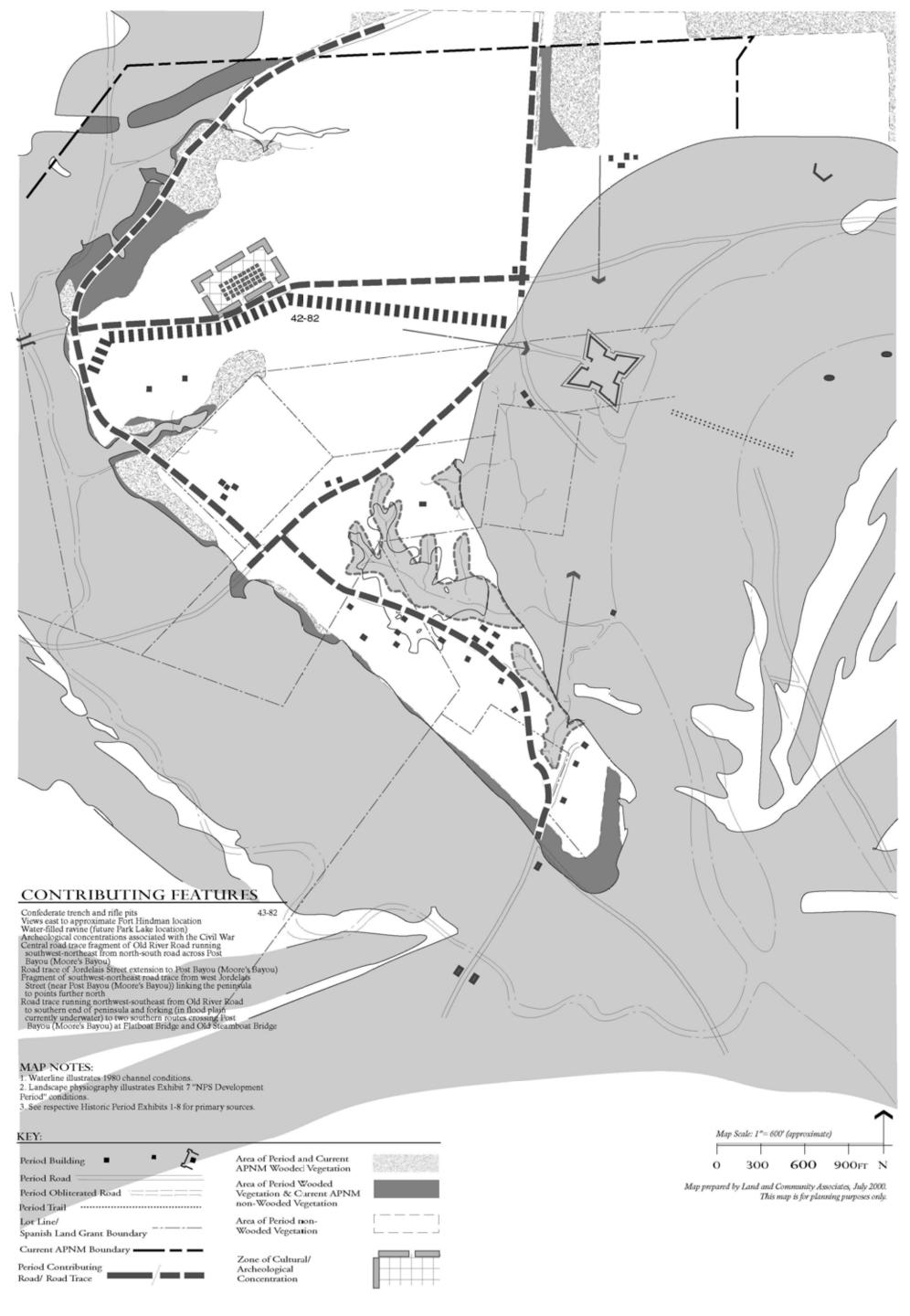


EXHIBIT 43: 1856-1865 CIVIL WAR PERIOD CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

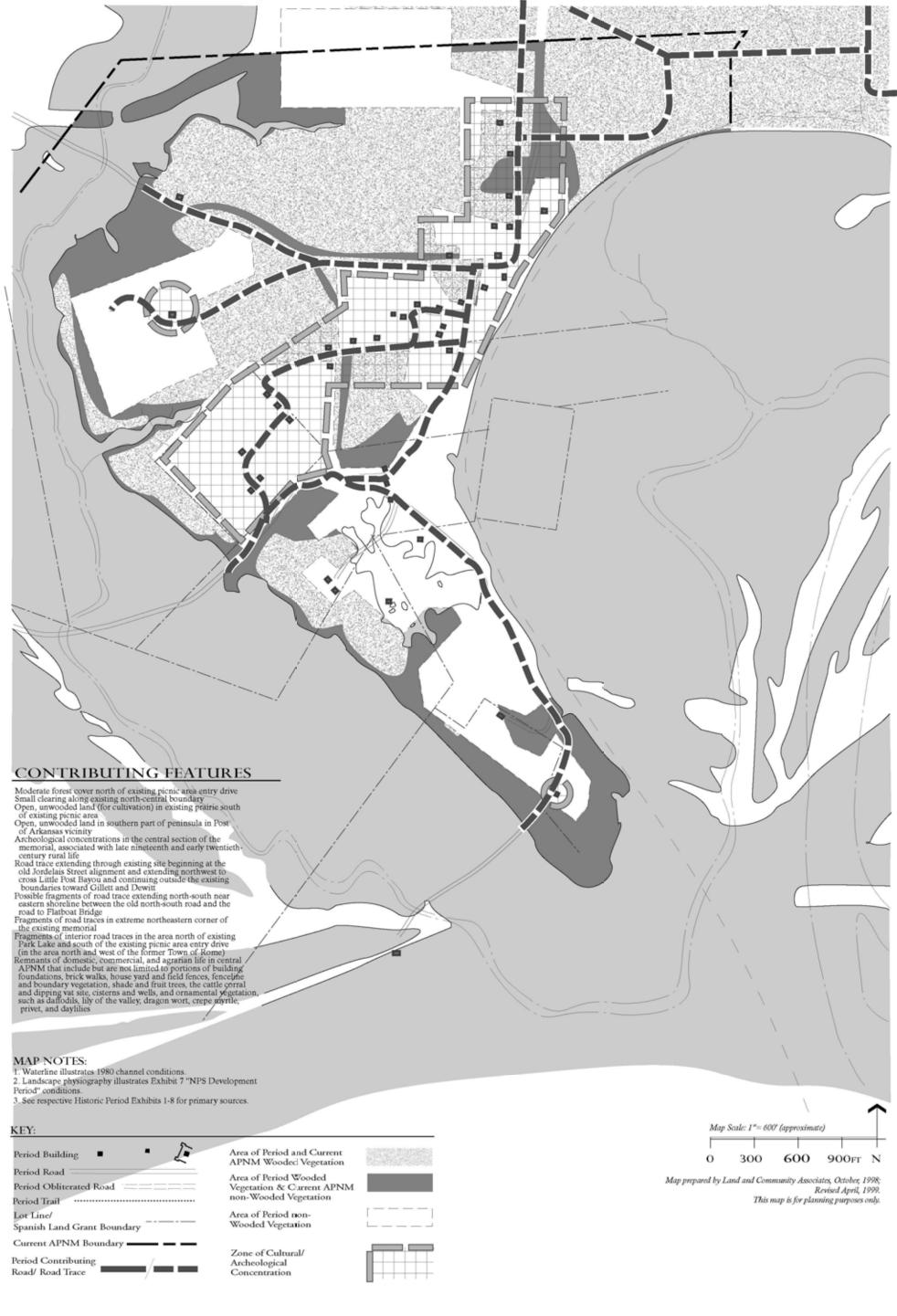


EXHIBIT 44: 1866-1928 LATE 19TH & EARLY 20TH-CENTURY PERIOD CONTRIBUTING FEATURES



EXHIBIT 45: 1929-1963 EARLY 20TH-CENTURY PERIOD CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

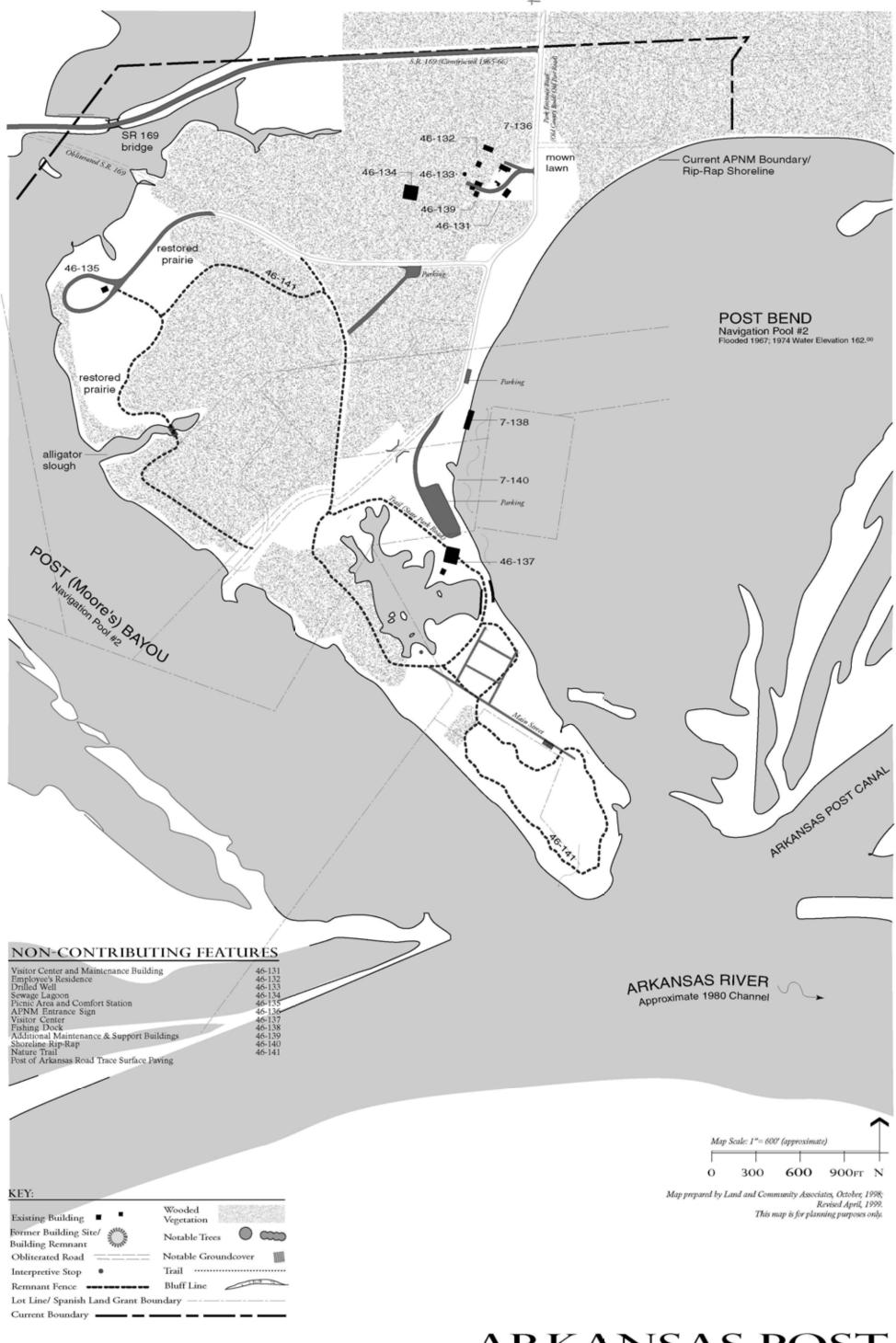


EXHIBIT 46 NON-CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

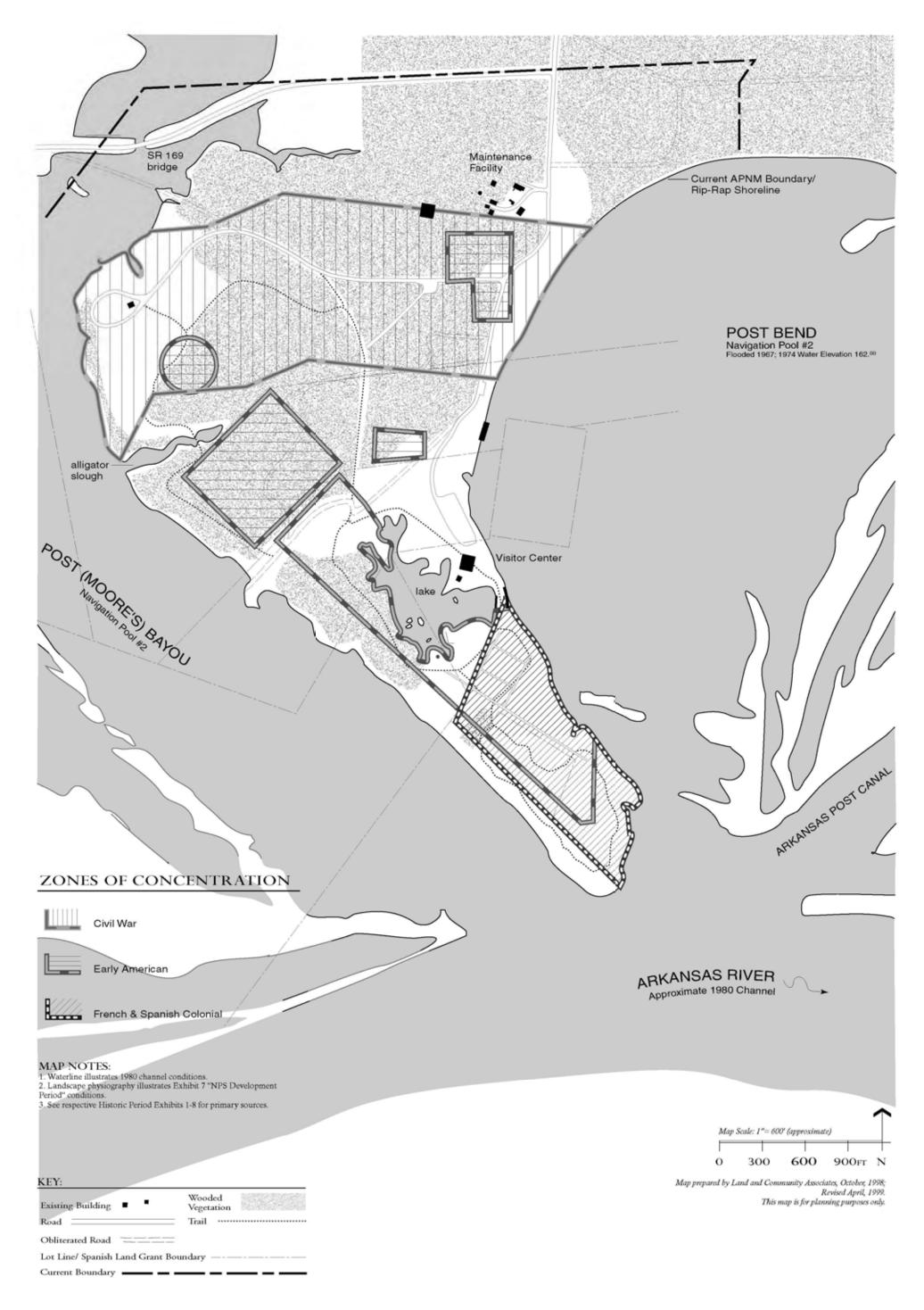


EXHIBIT 47 ARCHEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

6. TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

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6. TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter includes overall preservation treatment recommendations for the Arkansas Post National Memorial landscape and also proposes specific recommendations for implementing those treatments. The treatment plan is illustrated in a conceptual design/development plan (*Exhibit 48*). Recommendations address the management issues introduced in Chapter 2 and in the existing conditions and analysis discussions in Chapters 4 and 5. All recommendations are in keeping with the constraints of applicable laws and NPS policies, guidelines, and standards. Chapter 7, which follows, includes specific project statements and Class "C" cost estimates for each.

During the time that this CLR has been in progress, a GMP was prepared for the park. The treatment recommendations herein reflect the GMP preferred alternative for the Memorial Unit of the park (Alternative B—Maximize understanding of cultural diversity and interaction while ensuring historic integrity, protection of resources, recreational opportunities, and visitor enjoyment). The GMP authorizes the acquisition and management of an additional unit to the memorial, the Osotouy Unit. This CLR does not address management at the Osotouy Unit.

Treatment Approach

The findings of the completed research, existing conditions assessments, and analysis considered in tandem with identified management issues support cultural landscape treatment recommendations based on a rehabilitation approach. This CLR treatment approach is resource-based and is intended to facilitate aspects of implementation of other NPS plans, such as the General Management Plan. Rehabilitation is a flexible treatment intended to accommodate landscape alterations that are desirable to enhance the visitor experience, and yet still preserve those features of the landscape that help to convey the history of the APNM. Rehabilitation is defined in *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* as appropriate

when repair and replacement of deteriorated features are necessary; when alterations or additions to the property are planned for a new or continued use³⁵⁹

The rehabilitation recommendation is informed by extensive site-related research, field investigations, the findings presented in the previous chapters, reviews of other NPS documents, as well as discussions with NPS personnel. The implications of treatment were discussed on site during a meeting in November 1999 attended by representatives

December 2005

³⁵⁹ NPS recognizes four approaches for treatment of a cultural landscape; they include preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction. Charles Birnbaum with Christine Capella Peters, ed., *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1966), p. 46.

of NPS from the APNM and the Midwest Regional Office, and the consultant team Quinn Evans | Architects, and LCA.

The absence of many of the cultural landscape features associated with the identified historic periods precludes an overall restoration treatment approach. In addition, research indicates that there is not adequate documentation to reconstruct most of the missing features from these periods. Given the extent of cultural resource loss, restoration to any historical period is not feasible. Moreover, reconstruction is not a realistic alternative since there is an absence of accurate historical documentation of physical features. Finally, a preservation approach is not desirable since that approach would eliminate possibilities for enhanced interpretation, desired recreational uses, future management needs, and visitor services and amenities. It is unlikely that future research and archeological investigations will produce information that would make restoration or reconstruction feasible.

The absence of a critical mass of surviving significant historical landscape resources suggests that rehabilitation with enhanced interpretation of well-documented missing features is the preferred course of action. The large site size, the remoteness of some significant areas, and the unwillingness of many visitors to endure extreme temperatures and the risks and inconveniences associated with biting insects suggest that landscape interpretation relying on digital media, audio-visual presentations,

printed media, and traditional interior exhibits and displays may be more realistic than outdoor landscape interpretation.

Rehabilitation will accommodate increased and enhanced interpretation of both the landscape and of its rich and diverse site history and meet management needs and objectives. Finally, rehabilitation is consistent with the site's legislative mandate as a memorial commemorating the events associated with the site, accommodates visitor recreational uses, facilitates improved interpretation, ensures protection for the site's surviving significant cultural resources, and respects the scientific and interpretive value of the site's natural resource values. Rehabilitation will enhance stewardship of the site's historic and natural resources, facilitate efficient management, and improve site operations. Rehabilitation will allow removal of invasive exotic species that threaten other cultural and natural features.

Treatment Plan (Exhibit 48)

The intent for the treatment plan to provide a rehabilitation plan for the landscape that allows the APNM site to represent better the diverse cultures that contributed to the development of the site over time and the natural, economic, and other forces that contributed to the character of the site today. To achieve this, several primary goals have been addressed:

- 1) Enforce the site's legislative mandate as a memorial by commemorating the events associated with the site.
- 2) Cultural Resources: Preserve the extant features and qualities that survive from significant historical periods or possess the ability to evoke those eras and contribute to integrity of the APNM.
- 3) Cultural Resources: Increase appreciation and awareness of the extant features by expanding interpretive approaches to educate visitors about these resources.
- 4) Natural Resources: Protect the scientific and interpretive value of the site's natural resources.
- 5) Natural Resources: Remove invasive exotic species that threaten other natural and cultural features.
- 6) Interpretation: Enhance and expand interpretation to emphasize the role of the landscape in both historic site selection and outmigration from the site to Little Rock and other areas. To do this,
 - a. Interpret the cultural groups significant in APNM's history and the significant events associated with the site.
 - b. Interpret the natural ecology of the site, particularly in relation to natural, political, and cultural changes over time.
 - c. Create an environment in which even the most casual recreational user can become better acquainted with and understand the events associated with this landscape and its role in the history of the state, nation, and local community while using the site for outdoor enjoyment.

- 7) Accommodate visitor recreational uses.
- 8) Facilitate efficient management of the site and improve site operations.

The plan includes some recommendations that apply to the overall APNM Memorial Unit as well as others that address particular areas of the site, specific issues, or groups of interrelated resources. The physical aspects of the plan recommend improved and enhanced interpretation, retention of the existing vehicular circulation, minor expansion of the pedestrian trail system, expansion of visitor facilities on the current visitor center site, expansion of the existing maintenance and employee housing area as the administrative/operations center of the APNM, preservation of vegetation that helps to identify historic component landscapes, protection of native plant species, control of invasive exotic vegetation, and continued archeological investigations that would inform future management, interpretive, and treatment decisions. (Exhibit 48).

Recommendations

Recommendations have been developed to address management issues and existing conditions addressed in the CLR. In general those issues and conditions are related to the following topical areas: overall site management and operation, circulation, vegetation and wildlife management, archeology, and interpretation. The following recommendations have been grouped below with management actions preceding those most closely associated with physical treatments for each topical area. In addition,

Table 6.1 provides a list of all of the contributing landscape features to be preserved, and Table 6.2 provides recommended treatments for each of the non-contributing features identified in Chapter 4.

Overall Site Management and Operation

- Monitor and participate in other governmental planning or development processes that are likely to have an effect on the APNM, particularly those affecting adjacent areas.
- Preserve the contributing landscape features identified in Chapter 4 and itemized in Table I of this Chapter.
- To the greatest extent possible, adopt sustainable landscape practices and management policies.
- Expand and rehabilitate the visitor center to better highlight the park's cultural and natural resources as directed in the GMP.
- Continue to present the "maintained" appearance the public expects of the NPS adjacent to the entry road, and in the visitor center, maintenance and employee housing, and picnic areas.
- Continue a utilitarian and standard NPS approach to design, avoiding designs that attempt to replicate or imitate historical styles and periods. Consider siting new facilities and vehicular and pedestrian systems to take advantage of natural

characteristics that may help to visually absorb new construction. Continue in a design tradition that is compatible within a rural environment.

- Employ a careful site planning process that exploits the potential for views and vistas, and other characteristics that would encourage visitors to engage in outdoor recreation to become actively involved in and aware of the cultural landscape, even if visiting the site for other purposes. Encourage an understanding of the cultural landscape.
- Update existing site furnishings as necessary with a coordinated, contemporary system, in keeping with the rural character of the site. Avoid trying to portray a historic appearance.

Circulation

- Retain existing vehicular and pedestrian circulation since the existing system provides
 continuity and physical linkages with historic site circulation and historic land uses.
 While the system itself is not historically accurate, it incorporates historic alignments in
 places and provides either physical or visual access to areas of the site that are
 associated with significant historic uses and resources.
- Retain existing trail surfaces to provide accessibility to the most visited portions of the site. Where these trails approximate historic routes, interpret the character of the historic streets and walks.
- Retain existing parking areas.

- Develop an informal overflow parking area for use during special events. Avoid developing additional parking where there are cultural resource concentrations or known or likely archeological resources.
- Consider extending the trail system to link with and include the historic alignment of the historic rural road that extended from the existing entry road west to its intersection with the north-south concrete trail and that continues west and south to the cleared area north of the lake. This alignment provides access to the several late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century dispersed rural sites, including the cattle dipping vat vicinity.
- Consult with a qualified archeologist before implementing the trail extension to evaluate the effects of existing and future compaction associated with trail usage.

 Develop and undertake mitigation measures to safeguard archeological resources that may be present on or adjacent to the trail alignment. Design the specific alignment to avoid resource damage. Interpret any known component cultural landscapes, landscape features or fragments associated with those landscapes, and any in-progress archeological activities adjacent to the trail.
- Consider new trail surfaces that will be appropriate in a rural setting and that
 facilitate an enjoyable walking experience for visitors. The trail experience should feel
 much like walking a country road.
- Keep the proposed trail width and crown consistent with the conditions and character of the early twentieth century. Avoid clearing a wide right-of-way adjacent to the trail, and allow vegetation to grow to the trail edge. If no archeological evidence is available

to confirm the historic width, maintain the trail at the observable width of the road/trail traces.

Consider adopting a recognizable logo, such as a motif based on a Civil
 War era canon for identifying all Civil War associated sites and/or views both adjacent
 to roads, trails, and visitor use areas, and on printed media to identify these sites.

Vegetation Management

- Acknowledge and interpret the natural resource value of native species and
 undertake management practices designed for their protection. Undertake appropriate
 methods of eliminating or reducing the incidences of invasive exotic vegetation where
 they threaten to overwhelm native species.
- Reduce mowed areas by establishing meadows consisting of native grasses and forbs in areas indicated on *Exhibit 48*. Continue to mow within four feet of all trails and roads, and in areas that are currently mowed and not indicated for establishment of meadows. Discontinue routine mowing in these areas and instead mow only one or two times during the season to discourage the growth of woody plants. Monitor the growth of exotic invasive species. If exotic invasive species become a problem, use proven methods to eliminate them (different methods apply to different species) and consider planting native grasses and forbs to replace invasive species.
- Manage woodland areas to retain or improve vegetative diversity and protect native plant species.

• Acknowledge that vegetation occurred in different locations and in different concentrations at various times during the identified periods of significance.

Plants Traditionally Used by Native Americans

- Continue to investigate and conduct research related to identifying plant species traditionally used at the APNM by affiliated Native American groups. It is difficult to suggest actions to protect these plant species when the specific species and their uses have not been documented definitively; such information is necessary prior to implementing management decisions designed to protect this resource.
- Until and unless such information becomes available, retain, protect, and interpret vegetative species traditionally used by Native Americans (See Chapter 4, Table 1).

Invasive and Noninvasive Exotic Plant Species

- Evaluate the relative value of exotic vegetation associated with identified cultural landscape component areas. Identify areas where preservation of vegetation with cultural associations is feasible and warranted in the context of relative resource value, the extent of projected threat to native vegetation, and relative maintenance burden. Adopt a vegetative management policy that identifies in priority order vegetation with cultural associations warranting preservation.
- Control light infestations of Ligustrum japonicum (common privet), Lonicera japonica (Japanese honeysuckle), and Poncirus trifoliata (trifoliate orange) by clearing with a shovel or grubbing hoe, provided the entire root system is removed. Larger scale

clearing or burning may provide short-term control, but without continual repeated treatments, growth of these species will likely increase.

• For the most probable effective method of controlling large scale infestations of invasive exotic vegetation, consider applications of a glyphosate herbicide immediately following cutting in order to kill rootstock. Glyphosate herbicides are recommended because they are biodegradable and begin to break down into harmless components on contact with soil. However, these herbicides are not selective, and will affect all green vegetation on which they are applied.

Vegetative Burns

- Conduct research to determine and document responses of understory, overstory, and exotic vegetation to fire at the park. Do not initiate a burning policy in the wooded areas of the park until a better understanding of these responses is developed. Burning in the wooded areas at APNM has potential serious consequences that need to be carefully considered.
- If fire is used to help maintain existing forest communities, a burning cycle longer than 2-3 years would probably not aid in control of exotic, invasive species, and could have the reverse effect of increasing their growth, thus effectively encouraging their spread. Historically, fires at APNM were probably a result of drought-related burns moving from prairies and upland forest into bottomlands, and possibly occurred every 5 8 years. This is longer than that necessary for aiding in the control of exotic species. However, fires mimicking historical burn cycles in combination with an aggressive use of other exotic species control methods mentioned above may be an alternative for

maintaining existing forest communities while controlling exotic species. Without periodic burns, fire-intolerant species are expected to increase, and herbaceous plant species abundance and diversity will likely decrease. Without control of invasive exotic species, their dominance will increase. Periodic burns mimicking historical burn cycles combined with a very aggressive control of invasive exotic plants could lead to more open understories, an increase in native herbaceous plant diversity and abundance, and a decrease or at least a moratorium, on spread of invasive exotic species.

- Because of the potential serious consequences of burning at APNM, undertake the necessary research prior to initiating a burn plan to evaluate appropriate burning cycles and associated responses of understory, overstory, and exotic vegetation to fire.
- Undertake cool winter burns to enhance understory structure, plant diversity, and wildlife habitat, but pay particular attention to potential invasions of exotic species. Any indication of increased spread of invasive exotic species should be controlled immediately.
- Avoid hot summer burns. Trees on APNM have not been subjected to fire on a regular, sustained basis and should not be subjected to severe conditions. Burn cycles should mimic historical fire occurrences at the APNM area, possibly every 5 - 10 years.
- Acknowledge that this cycle is not often enough to control invasive plant species, and may serve to increase their growth and spread unless they are aggressively controlled.
- Allow areas that have been burned by a hot fire in the last few years to recover before being burned again. Areas to be targeted for future burning depend directly on the desired future conditions of APNM.

Prairie

- Reevaluate and modify prairie management practices based on scientific
 consultations. Reconsider the appropriateness of maintaining the existing prairie since
 it has no historical precedent and has not achieved significance for scientific value.
 Consider the following questions to determine the appropriateness:
 - Is the prairie management achieving stated goals?
 - What was the basis for establishing the prairie at this site?
 - Was the basis for establishing the prairie at this site consistent with management goals for the Memorial?
 - What are the positive and negative aspects related to maintaining the existing prairie?
- Define the desired future conditions for the site based on information provided within this CLR, as well as the information gained from the prairie management program.
- If the prairie is retained, interpret it as a recent development without historical precedent and clarify its scientific and interpretive intent.
- If the prairie is maintained, prairie management should continue to evolve. Continue to study and stay current with prairie management philosophies, practices, and technologies. Modify prairie management to control invasive woody species and exotic species through prairie management techniques, as new scientific information becomes

available. Develop a monitoring program to determine if the prairie is progressing toward the goals.

- Ensure human safety and protect other cultural and natural resources and NPS infrastructure and facilities during prairie burns (see above).
- Address areas where land uses contribute to compaction and erosion.

Archeology

- Continue to take advantage of opportunities for archeological investigations that will reveal information related to the cultural landscape. Interpret ongoing archeological investigations while they are in progress and incorporate the findings of these investigations into the APNM interpretive program.
- Continue to protect all known and potential archeological sites.
- Coordinate treatments with a qualified archeologist. Undertake archeological investigations prior to any proposed ground-disturbing activities.

Interpretation

- Explore and implement opportunities to provide expanded and improved landscape interpretation.
- Interpret the landscape evolution of the APNM as an illustrative example of the many cultures, institutional uses, individuals, and families that have inhabited the site during successive historical periods.

- Enhance interpretation of resources associated with the Civil War.
- Expand the interpretive focus to include the major cultural groups represented at the APNM over time, including but not necessarily limited to American Indians, and French, Spanish, British, and Americans settlers, including African-Americans.

 Make as many interpretive linkages as possible to the continuities and connections between and among these groups and the APNM landscape.
- Interpret the role of governmental, economic and social change on the cultural landscape of the APNM.
- Explore opportunities to expand interpretation to include the history of the everyday rural landscape of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- Develop cultural landscape interpretation based on historic land uses. Facilitate an understanding of historic ways of life, and the relationships to circulation and movement patterns, density, layout, and spatial arrangements. In developing interpretive plans, use each historic landscape component site as part of a coordinated interpretation that covers each landscape period of significance and varied land uses.
- Undertake archeological studies of these sites to inform their interpretation and modify cultural landscape treatments as new information becomes available.
- Emphasize the role of geography and natural resources in the political, economic, military, and social history of the APNM. Interpret the role of the environment and the site's geography as instrumental in both its selection and abandonment as a center of commerce and government. Link natural resource interpretation to the story of site

selection and development by clarifying the role that the site's natural resources played in making site development and use desirable during different historical periods.

- Interpret the evolved land/water relationship that has resulted in a current landscape that differs substantially from the landscape of any identified historic period.
- Promote an understanding of land use, land development, and conservation.
- Explore innovative interpretive opportunities to decrease dependence on traditional outdoor interpretation and interpretation based on physical treatments. Strive to interpret more of the relationship between the natural and cultural history of the site. Interpret the interrelationships between plant and animal communities and the significance of both native and introduced vegetation in understanding the history and the ecology of the site.
- Coordinate the interpretation of the above sites with the existing and expanded pedestrian trail network linking them together. Use the interpretive sites located adjacent to pedestrian trails to illustrate cultural landscape responses to this environment.
- Develop more mapping or waysides to locate the visitor to the physical environment ("you are here") and to relate the place to the historic periods.
- Explore opportunities for expanded landscape interpretation in conjunction with visitor center expansion. Concentrate on ecological change, historic land use change, and changes in the land/water configuration over time. Interpret the changing role of the river and its historical role in commerce, transportation, and defense. Interpret the

Corps of Engineers changes in the context of twentieth-century water management, politics, and outdoor recreation.

- Explore innovative electronic/digital and other interpretive alternatives that would have fewer permanent visual effects on the landscape. Such alternatives also would facilitate greater landscape understanding among visitors who do not have adequate time to explore the large site or who are unwilling or unable to explore remote areas.
- Consider the needs of all handicapped visitors, including the visually and hearing impaired when planning cultural landscape interpretation. Address the unique sensory aspects of the APNM's bayou and riverine setting, including the sights and sounds of adjacent bodies of water, the light quality, and the presence of wildlife.

Future Studies

- Continue to conduct archeological studies and investigations to provide more accurate information regarding the site's history and physical development. While such studies are almost always desirable, they are particularly critical for the APNM since so few aboveground historic resources survive. In addition, there are differences of opinion concerning what may or may not survive underwater in inundated areas. Undertaking archeological studies in and adjacent to areas that were once above water would help to resolve such conflicts.
- Conduct research to determine a long-term burn plan that addresses appropriate burning cycles and associated responses of understory, overstory, and exotic

- vegetation to fire. Research is necessary as there is potential serious consequences of burning at APNM.
- Conduct research providing information on snag dynamics (recruitment, decay rates, and mortality) and their utilization by wildlife to enhance the understanding of the role dead, standing trees play on the APNM landscape.
- Conduct research to develop and test tick control strategies. A current study at APNM is evaluating tick abundance, their vegetation associations, and the prevalence of tick-borne diseases. Using this project, provide baseline data to begin developing strategies to control tick populations.
- Conduct additional research to evaluate the health and population dynamics of the APNM deer heard. The white-tailed deer herd on APNM potentially impacts native vegetation. An ongoing study is addressing this concern. However, through this study, additional concerns have been raised over overall deer herd health and associated moralities.
- Conduct research to provide information on species composition and roosting habitat to provide important baseline data for understanding this resource and its value to APNM. Several bat species potentially occur at APNM. Their ecological value for controlling insects is high, particularly in an area such as APNM that is mostly surrounded by water.
- Establish baseline inventories by vegetation type for avian, mammal (including bats), amphibian, and reptile communities. Use this information to evaluate the effect of APNM management activities on wildlife populations.

- Conduct projects to document, evaluate, and interpret vegetative communities and land use change over time. Use this information to develop a more complete picture relative to how relationships between land use and historical vegetation have shaped the history of APNM.
- Conduct further research to better understand alligator ecology in this area and potential implications for visitors at APNM. A current study of the American alligator population in and around APNM will provide some information on abundance and habitat utilization.
- Conduct research to gather information on abundance, distribution, movements, and food habits for furthering understanding of the functions wildlife species play at APNM. Because of a variety of interspersed vegetation types and an established system of trails and roads all encompassed within a relatively small area, a diversity of these species occur throughout APNM. This diversity is a result of the combination of edge effects and habitat distribution. This condition also benefits predator species because of the abundance of prey. Mid-sized carnivores, such as skunks and bobcats, can play an important role in ecological systems such as that found at APNM. Yet, little information is available for these species at APNM.
- Consider conducting research to further understand the human dimension in regards to the interaction with wildlife populations and natural areas. The manner in which visitors perceive and interact with the natural environment directly influences their experiences at APNM. This understanding can aid in planning management activities to help enhance visitors' experiences.

Table 6.1: Contributing Features to be Preserved and their Related Historic Periods

Peninsular landform Moderate-dense forest north of the picnic area entry drive. Spanish and French colonial archeological resources Cleared land in southern portion of the site 1673-1803 Territorial townsite grid layout Frederick Notrebe cistern 1804-1855 Frederick Notrebe cistern 1804-1855 Well 1804-1855 Deciduous trees that may date from this period Archeological concentrations associated with Post of Arkansas, Town of Rome, Town of Arkansas, Hewes Scull farm buildings, and John and Cecelia Jodelais farmstead Contributing Feature Confederate trench and rifle pits Park Lake (was the water-filled ravine during this period) Archeological concentrations associated with the Civil War Archeological concentrations associated with the Civil War Central road fragment of Old River Road running southwest-northeast from north-south road across Post Bayou Road trace of Jordelais Street extension to Post Bayou Fragment of southwest-northeast road trace from west Jordelais Street (near Post Bayou) linking the APNM to points further north Road trace running northwest-southeast from Old River Road to southern end of the site and forking (in flood plain currently underwater) to two southern routes crossing Post Bayou at Flatboat Bridge and Old Steamboat Bridge Contributing Feature Historic Period Moderate forest cover north of existing picnic area entry Historic Period	Contributing Feature	Historic Period
Spanish and French colonial archeological resources Cleared land in southern portion of the site 1673-1803 Territorial townsite grid layout Frederick Notrebe cistern Well 1804-1855 Well 1804-1855 Deciduous trees that may date from this period Archeological concentrations associated with Post of Arkansas, Town of Rome, Town of Arkansas, Hewes Scull farm buildings, and John and Cecelia Jodelais farmstead Contributing Feature Views east to approximate Fort Hindman location Confederate trench and rifle pits Park Lake (was the water-filled ravine during this period) Archeological concentrations associated with the Civil War Central road fragment of Old River Road running southwest-northeast from north-south road across Post Bayou Road trace of Jordelais Street extension to Post Bayou Road trace of Jordelais Street extension to Post Bayou Road trace running northwest-southeast from Old River Road to southern end of the site and forking (in flood plain currently underwater) to two southern routes crossing Post Bayou at Flatboat Bridge and Old Steamboat Bridge Contributing Feature Historic Period Moderate forest cover north of existing picnic area entry Historic Period		
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Moderate forest cover north of existing picnic area entry 1866-1928	bayou at Flatboat bridge and Old Steamboat bridge	+
Moderate forest cover north of existing picnic area entry 1866-1928	Contributing Feature	Historic Period
	8	
unve	drive	1300 1720
Small clearing along existing north-central boundary 1866-1928		1866-1928
Open, unwooded land (for cultivation) in existing prairie 1866-1928		
south of existing picnic area	-	

	10111000
Open, unwooded land in southern part of site in the Post of	1866-1928
Arkansas vicinity	
Archeological concentrations in the central section of the	1866-1928
memorial, associated with late nineteenth and early	
twentieth-century rural life	
Contributing Feature	Historic Period
Road trace extending through existing site beginning at the	1866-1928
old Jordelais Street alignment and extending northwest to	
cross Little Post Bayou and continuing outside the existing	
boundaries toward Gillett and Dewitt	
Fragments of road traces in extreme northeastern corner of	1866-1928
the existing memorial	
Fragments of interior road traces in the area north of existing	1866-1928
Park Lake and south of the existing picnic area entry drive	
Remnants of domestic, commercial, and agrarian life in	1866-1928
central APNM that include but are not limited to portions of	
building foundations, brick walks, house yard and field	
fences, fenceline and boundary vegetation, shade and fruit	
trees, the cattle corral and dipping vat site, cisterns and	
wells, and ornamental vegetation such as daffodils, lily of	
the valley, dragon wort, crepe myrtle, privet, and daylilies	
State Bank Monument	1866-1928
Contributing Feature	Historic Period
Park Lake	1929-1963
Earth dam	1929-1963
Concrete spillway	1929-1963
Alignment of park road (now the trail around Park Lake)	1929-1963
Road trace of park road linking lake area with AR169 during	1929-1963
the state park era	
Civil War Centennial marker and other state park	1929-1963
interpretive signs (consider removal of signs if they contain	
inaccurate or confusing information)	

Table 6.2: Non-Contributing Features

Non-Contributing Feature	Treatment Recommendation
Visitor center	Expand (see Chapter 7)
Maintenance building	
Superintendent's residence	
Staff residence	
Drilled well	
Sewage lagoon	
Picnic area and comfort station	Maintain
APNM entrance sign	Maintain
Fishing Pad	Maintain
Auxiliary sheds and support structures	
Concrete culvert	
Interpretive waysides	
Trials and trail bridges	
Parking areas	
Prairie plantation	
Shoreline revetment and riprap	
Invasive exotic vegetation (trifoliate	
orange, privet, Japanese honeysuckle)	
Wooden cross	
DAR exhibit	

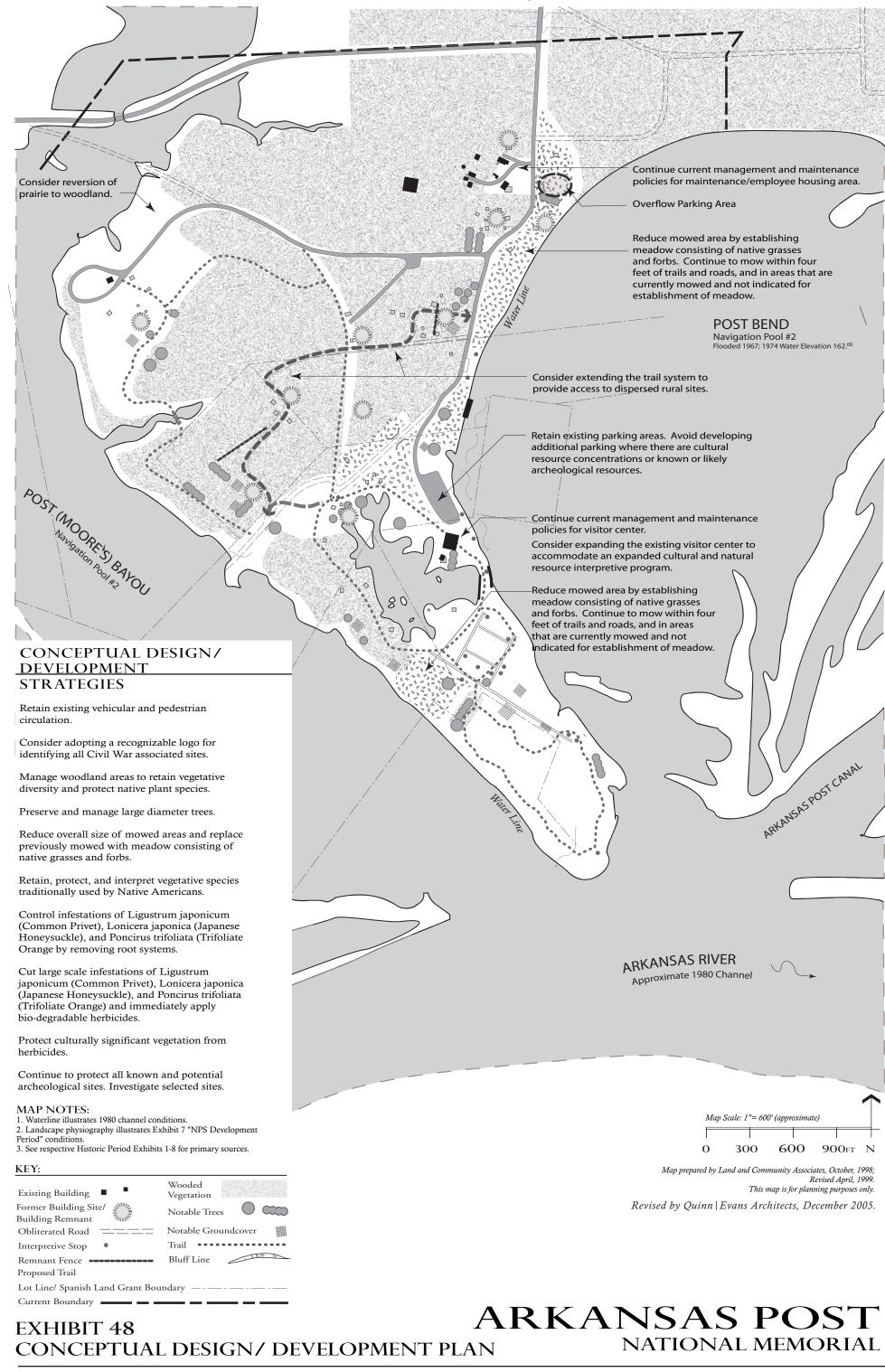




EXHIBIT 49
INTERPRETIVE LANDSCAPE FEATURES

ARKANSAS POST NATIONAL MEMORIAL

7. IMPLEMENTATION GUIDELINES

7. IMPLEMENTATION GUIDELINES

This chapter is comprised of general recommendations for phasing the cultural landscape treatments recommended in Chapter 6. It also includes project statements (also known as Resource Management Plan statements) as well as "Class C" cost estimates for implementing the recommended discrete phases or packages of the cultural landscape report. These project descriptions are presented so they may be easily developed as budget request statements.

The CLR proposes an overall landscape rehabilitation intended to provide additional resource information from further archeological study, enhance the rural qualities of the site, strengthen connections between natural and cultural resources, guide maintenance decisions, particularly as related to historic and invasive exotic vegetation, and provide visitor interpretation. Implementation of the CLR treatment recommendations can be accomplished incrementally and coordinated with implementation of the General Management Plan (GMP) and interpretive plan revisions. Implementation can be assisted also through additional natural resource, archeological, and hydrological studies. The treatment plan presented and outlined in Chapter 6 *Treatment Plan* has been divided into several discrete projects for implementation.

These projects are discussed in this chapter with a project description, justification, accomplishment, and budget detailed for each. These recommendations can be accomplished through a combination of APNM personnel, regional NPS personnel, and NPS contractors. Some work may be accomplished with volunteer assistance from the local community or through cooperative agreements with colleges and universities. Some projects can be implemented independently; others require at least partial implementation of the GMP before they can be accomplished. Management recommendations set forth in Chapter 6 that can be accomplished with existing staff and operations are not itemized with costs in Chapter 7.

Overall Site Management and Operation

• Expand the Visitor Center

Description

Landscape Rehabilitation Related to Visitor Center Expansion. Areas adjacent to the visitor center that are disturbed during construction activities need to be returned to their pre-construction condition. Maintaining a manicured lawn in this vicinity is consistent with traditional APNM practices and compatible with the design of the visitor center.

Estimated Cost: This cost should be determined as a part of the design package for the expansion of the Visitor Center. The cost of this project should be included in the construction project. The overall cost of the project as estimated in the GMP is \$983,000.

• Update Existing Site Furnishings

Description

Replace existing furnishings with coordinated, contemporary furnishings that are in keeping with the rural character of the site, but do not attempt to portray a historic appearance. Consider benches such as Dumor Bench no. 165, with black powdercoat finish and recycled plastic timbers, or Landscape Forms Plainwell Bench with black powdercoat finish. Alternately, consider Dumor Bench no. 118 with a black powdercoat finish. Consider Landscape Forms Scarborough trash can for a refuse container.

Estimated Cost: \$1,000.00 per bench, \$800.00 per refuse container



Dumor Bench no. 118

1



Dumor Bench no. 165



Landscape Forms: Plainwell Bench



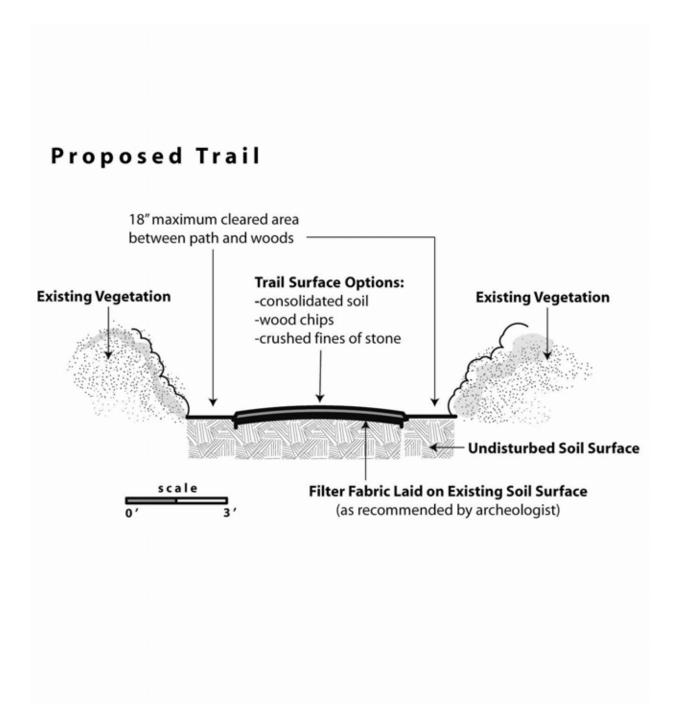
Landscape Forms: Scarborough Trash Can

December 2005

Circulation

• Expansion of the Existing Pedestrian Trail System Description

Conduct site preparation and construct approximately one mile of additional pedestrian trail. The trail should be "unpaved," utilizing compacted earth as a surface. If this surface is not desirable, consider using wood chips or crushed fines of limestone for the trail surface. Design the trail to avoid erosion impacts and treat it like a nature trail. Determine the trail width by conducting archeological investigations of the historic width of the route. Also, consult with an archeologist to determine possible impacts from compaction and visitor use. The main cost associated with this project is the archeological investigations. This total project can be implemented independently of other recommendations. Operational costs will be associated with the development of a new trail segment. There will be a net increase of approximately one mile of trail that will require maintenance. There may be indirect costs, such as increased maintenance, security associated with making largely inaccessible areas of the APNM more available for visitation. Work can be accomplished by a combination of APNM personnel, volunteers, and/or contractors.



Estimated Cost of the Project: \$45,000 - \$60,000 (Cost depends greatly on archaeological monitoring and potential resource protection. \$25-\$35K should cover monitoring given the limited excavation that would be involved. However, the Arkansas SHPO might require more investigation at known site locations, such as the house sites.)

• Develop an Informal Overflow Parking Area Description

Designate an area on the east side of the entrance road, immediately before the entrance gate and across from the park housing/operations area as an overflow parking area. This site will be maintained as a meadow when not in use for overflow parking. When necessary for parking, walk the area to determine if the soil is dry and stable. If the soil is dry and stable, mow the meadow before the event. Delineate the parking area with temporary/reusable markers and signs. Assign necessary personnel to direct traffic during the event. Patrol the site after the event to remove any refuse and repair damage from vehicles. This project can be accomplished by NPS personnel or contractors at any time. If the soil is not dry and stable, do not mow or use for parking.

Estimated Cost of the Project: Cost associated with establishment of the project: \$500.00 for purchasing temporary/reusable parking lot markers and signs. In addition, each event will require staff time and machinery for mowing, setting up signs and markers, directing traffic, and clean-up.

Vegetation Management

• Establish Meadow Vegetation in Currently Mowed Areas Description

Establish meadow in areas that are currently mowed, as indicated on *Exhibit 48*. The area delineated on the plan is between approximately 18 acres in size. Discontinue routine mowing in these areas and instead mow only one or two times during the season to discourage the growth of woody plants.

Estimated Cost of the Project: **No initial cost.** Implementation of the immediate recommendation will result in a savings in park operations cost, due to the reduction of mowing. (However, if invasive exotic species become a problem, removal of exotics and planting of native plant seed will need to occur. The cost will vary based on the type of exotic species that are problematic. A rough cost of \$7,000 to \$10,000 per acre may be applicable to areas needing this additional treatment.)

• Site Planning for views and vistas

Description

Employ a careful site planning process that exploits the potential for views and vistas, and other characteristics that would encourage visitors to engage in outdoor recreation to become actively involved in and aware of the cultural landscape. Develop a plan addressing views and vistas. This could be accomplished by staff at the memorial with assistance provided by regional historical landscape architects. The estimate below represents project cost if an outside consultant is hired to develop the plan. The cost of implementing the plan will need to be developed as a part of the plan.

Estimated Cost: \$20,000

• Conduct Research to Determine Responses of APNM Woodland Vegetation to Fire

Description

Conduct research to determine and document responses of understory, overstory, and exotic vegetation to fire at the park.

Estimated Cost of the Project: The cost of this project should be estimated based on a detailed scope of work prepared by the researchers.

• Evaluate Prairie Management Practices Description

Evaluate the appropriateness of the management of constructed prairie at APNM. Address the following research questions: Is the prairie management achieving stated goals? What was the basis for establishing the prairie at this site? Was the basis for establishing the prairie at this site consistent with management goals for the Memorial? What are the positive and negative aspects related to maintaining the existing prairie? Estimated Cost of the Project: The cost of this project should be estimated based on a detailed scope of work prepared by the researchers.

Archeology

• Archeological Studies and Investigations Description

Archeological studies and investigations are necessary as the foundation for the APNM's interpretive and education programs and are essential to inform treatment decisions. All major areas of historical development that have not been investigated need to be addressed through a phased implementation over the course of several years. The project can be accomplished by NPS archeologists, private subcontractors, or through cooperative agreements with colleges and universities or other non-profit archeological research entities. Investigations can take place over several years in conjunction with planned physical projects involving ground disturbance or preceding major initiatives such as upgrading interpretation.

Estimated Project Cost: Unable to estimate cost.

Interpretation

• Prepare an Interpretive Plan that Enhances Cultural Landscape Interpretation

Project Description

Prepare an interpretive plan that incorporates information from the CLR and includes a comprehensive landscape interpretation component. Address the interrelationships of the APNM's natural and cultural features and historic land uses. Provide recommendations for using innovative technologies that are less intrusive than waysides.

Consider interpreting individual landscape features by explaining their relationship to specific historic periods and themes associated with the history of the Memorial.

Chapter 5 includes descriptions of contributing features related to six historic periods and Exhibits 40 through 45 illustrate their locations within the Memorial. Following is a list of the known extant features that relate to each historic period and interpretive suggestions:

Extant Landscape Features Related to Pre-1673 Period:

- 1. Peninsular landform.
- 2. Moderate-dense forest north of the picnic area entry drive.
- 3. Ethnographic-associated vegetation.

Interpretive Suggestions for Extant Features Related to the Pre-1673 Period:

 Interpret these elements using exhibits in the visitor center, walking tour brochures, and interpretive presentations or other interpretive techniques.

- Interpret the changes that have occurred to the peninsular landform throughout the site's history.
- Consider developing presentation graphics that utilize Exhibits 1 through 8 and 40 through 45 to help visitors understand the development of the landscape over time, and the association of the extant features to the historic significance of the site.

Extant Landscape Features Related to 1673-1803 Period:

- 4. Spanish and French Colonial archaeological resources.
- 5. Cleared land in southern portion of the site.

Interpretive Suggestions for Extant Features Related to the 1673-1803 Period:

- Interpret these elements using exhibits in the visitor center, walking tour brochures, and interpretive presentations, or other interpretative techniques.
- Consider developing presentation graphics that utilize Exhibits 2 and 41 to help visitors understand the conditions of the landscape during the historic period, and the association of the extant features to the historic significance of the site.

Extant Features Related to 1804-1855 Period:

- 6. Territorial townsite grid layout.*
- 7. Frederick Notrebe cistern.*
- 8. Well*
- 9. Several deciduous trees may be associated
- 10. Archaeological concentrations associated with; Post of Arkansas, Town of Rome, Town of Arkansas, Hewes Scull farm, John and Cecelia Jodelais farmstead.

Interpretive Suggestions for Extant Features Related to the 1804-1855 Period:

- Consider interpreting all of these elements using exhibits in the visitor center, walking tour brochures, interpretive presentations, or other interpretative techniques.
- Continue to identify the locations of the Territorial townsite grid layout, the Frederick Notrebe cistern, and the former location of the Post of Arkansas in the park brochure on the park map.
- Consider identifying the location of the well, the Towns of Rome and Arkansas, Hewes Scull Farm, and John and Cecelia Jodelais farmstead, on the map.
- Interpret these elements using exhibits in the visitor center, walking tour brochures, and interpretive presentations, or other interpretative techniques.

• Consider developing presentation graphics that utilize Exhibits 3 and 42 to help visitors understand the conditions of the landscape during the historic period, and the association of the extant features to the historic significance of the site.

Extant Features Related to 1856-1865:

- 11. Views east to approximate former location of Fort Hindman*
- 12. Confederate trench and rifle pits*
- 13. Water-filled ravine (Park Lake)*
- 14. Archaeological concentrations associated the Civil War*
- 15. Central road trace fragment of Old River Road running southwest-northeast from north-south road across Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou)
- 16. Road trace of Jordelais Street extension to Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou)
- 17. Fragment of southwest-northeast road trace from west Jordelais Street linking the APNM to points further north
- 18. Road trace running northwest-southeast from Old River Road to southern end of the site and forking to two southern routes crossing Post Bayou (Moore's Bayou) at Flatboat Bridge and Old Steamboat Bridge.

Interpretive Suggestions for Extant Features Related to the 1856-1865 Period:

- Continue to identify the approximate location of Fort Hindman in the park brochure on the map.
- Consider establishing a permanent marker in the bayou to indicate the former location of the fort.
- Continue to interpret the former site of the fort with an interpretive sign at the overlook site.
- Manage vegetation to preserve the view between the overlook and the former Fort location.
- Consider increasing the interpretation of the Fort using exhibits in the visitor center, walking tour brochures, and interpretive presentations, or other interpretative techniques.
- Consider changing the interpretative sign at the Civil War rifle pits to more clearly indicate the location of the pits and Confederate trench, and their significance.
- Continue to show the locations of these features in the park brochure on the map.
- Consider increasing the interpretation of the Fort using exhibits in the visitor center, walking tour brochures, and interpretive presentations, or other interpretative techniques.

- Consider limiting growth of woody vegetation at the rifle pits and Confederate trench by using hand tools to cut seedlings and saplings before they grow large enough to impact the below-ground resources. Consult with an archaeologist before removing any large woody plants from the area. Allow growth of herbaceous species as long as they do not visually obscure the resources.
- Monitor visitor use in this area to ensure that trampling of the resources does not occur.
- Consider indicating the locations of road remnants in an interpretive exhibit or brochure.
- Consider preserving the road remnants by discouraging the growth of woody vegetation in these areas. Utilize hand tools to cut young woody vegetation. Allow established trees to remain unless they are impacting archaeological resources. Allow growth of herbaceous species according to natural resource management goals.
- Consider developing presentation graphics that utilize Exhibits 4 and 43 to help visitors understand the conditions of the landscape during the Civil War, and the association of the extant features to the historic significance of the site.

Extant Features Related to 1866-1928 Period:

- 19. Moderate forest cover north of existing picnic area entry drive.
- 20. Small clearing along existing north-central boundary.
- 21. Open, unwooded land in existing prairie south of existing picnic area.
- 22. Open, unwooded land in southern part of site in vicinity of Post of Arkansas.
- 23. Archaeological concentrations in central section of Memorial, associated with late nineteenth and early twentieth-century rural life.
- 24. Road trace through existing site beginning at the old Fordelais Street alignment and extending northwest to cross Little Post Bayou.
- 25. Fragments of road traces in extreme northeastern corner of the Memorial.
- 26. Fragments of interior road traces in the area north of existing Park Lake and south of the existing picnic area entry drive.
- 27. Remnants of domestic, commercial, and agrarian life in central APNM.
- 28. State Bank Monument.*

Interpretive Suggestions for Extant Features Related to the 1866-1928 Period:

 Consider interpreting all of these elements using exhibits in the visitor center, walking tour brochures, interpretive presentations, or other interpretative techniques.

- Consider developing presentation graphics that utilize Exhibits 5 and 44 to help visitors understand the conditions of the landscape during the Civil War, and the association of the extant features to the historic significance of the site.
- Consider indicating the locations of road remnants in an interpretive exhibit or brochure.
- Consider preserving the road remnants by discouraging the growth of woody vegetation in these areas. Utilize hand tools to cut young woody vegetation. Allow established trees to remain unless they are impacting archaeological resources. Allow growth of herbaceous species according to natural resource management goals.
- Continue to identify the location of the State Bank Monument in the park brochure on the park map.

Extant Features Related to 1929-1963 Period:

- 29. Park Lake*
- 30. Earth dam*
- 31. Concrete spillway*
- 32. Alignment of park road*
- 33. Road trace of park road linking lake area with AR 169 during state park era
- 34. Civil War Centennial and other state park interpretive signs.

Interpretive Suggestions for Extant Features Related to the 1929-1963 Period:

- Consider interpreting all of these elements as they relate to the historic period, using exhibits in the visitor center, walking tour brochures, interpretive presentations, or other interpretative techniques.
- Consider developing presentation graphics that utilize Exhibits 6 and 45 to help visitors understand the conditions of the landscape during the historic period, and the association of the extant features to the historic significance of the site.

Estimated Cost of Project (Preparation of Interpretive Plan): \$80,000

Develop a Logo for identifying Civil War Sites

Project Description

Develop a logo and that can be used for identifying Civil War sites in several different formats (on-site signage, walking-tour brochure, maps, etc...).

Estimated Cost of Project: \$5,000

• Develop Mapping or Waysides to interpret the Historic Landscape Project Description

Develop exterior exhibits and brochures to help visitors understand where they are in relation to the historic periods and events that have occurred at the site.

Estimated Cost of the Project: Development of signs/exterior exhibits and/or brochures or maps: \$40,000. Fabrication and installation: \$100,000.

• Develop Electronic/Digital alternatives to Interpretation Project Description

Develop electronic/digital alternatives to interpretation to help to minimize the impacts of exterior exhibits on the landscape. These should facilitate greater landscape understanding among visitors who do not have adequate time to explore the large site or who are unwilling or unable to explore remote areas.

Estimated Cost of the Project: Unable to estimate. This cost should be included in the cost of exhibit designs for the expansion/rehabilitation of the visitor center as directed by the GMP.

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Keller, Genevieve P., and Harold L. Reem. Oral Interview of Ms. Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum, Gillett, Arkansas, at Arkansas Post Museum Headquarters, March 1998.

Reem, Harold L. Oral Interview of Judge Morris S. Arnold, Little Rock, Arkansas, June 22, 1998. Judge Arnold reviewed primary and secondary materials available for research on Arkansas Post, including the strengths and weaknesses of some of the major sources; and offered excellent suggestions regarding avenues of research.

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Reem, Harold L. Oral Telephone Interview of Judge Morris S. Arnold, February 5, 1999. Judge Arnold provided information about Arkansas Post's Spanish land grants, including the range of dates during which the grants were made, the requirements for receiving a grant, and a reference that might contain descriptions of the Spanish grants similar to the land and vegetation descriptions contained in General Land Office surveyors' field notes.

Reem, Harold L. Oral Interviews of Ms. Kathleen H. Cande, Senior Project Archeologist, Sponsored Research Program, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville, Arkansas, June 24-27, 1998. Archeologist Cande provided an excellent orientation to the materials contained in the Arkansas Post National Memorial Administrative Files, which were being inventoried and microfilmed at the Arkansas Archeological Survey. She also reviewed the state of existing archeological work at the site, and offered suggestions for research on the Quapaws and other Native American tribes associated with Arkansas Post's history.

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Frank, H.L. "Grant # 2339, T8S, R3W." May 30, 1938. Box 2, File 12, APNM Administrative Files.

Fuhrman, Lille. Handdrawn sketch map showing locations of major buildings and structures at Arkansas Post State Park. July 1998. The buildings and structures are plotted on a copy of the National Park Service's November 8, 1960 map "Boundaries, Arkansas Post National Memorial Project" that the project historian provided to Ms. Fuhrman. This map was invaluable for preparation of the "1929-1963 Historic Period Plan" that depicts the Post during the State Park period.

"Indian Reservations west of the Mississippi between the Red and Missouri Rivers Showing lands ceded by the Osages at Fort Clark, Nov. 20, 1808, by the Quapaws, Aug. 24, 1818, and by the Osages, Sept. 25, 1818, compiled in the General Land Office." Map IR 19, Record Group 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Headquarters Map File, National Archives, College Park, Maryland. This map shows the boundaries of the 1818 Quapaw reservation to the west of the Post.

Jenny, W.L.B. "Plan of Fort at Post Arkansas Captured January 11th 1863." January 20, 1863. Sheet 2.3, Drawer 123, Record Group 77, National Archives, College Park, Maryland. Copy of Map is also located in Tube A-8, APNM Map Files. Jenny's map is a detailed architectural plan of Fort Hindman.

"Lot given to the Bank of Arkansas by Colonel Notrebe" (copied from Plat #3 in the Arkansas County Surveyor's Record). 1840. Figure 12 in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas." The lot plotted on this map encompasses the remains of the Bank of Arkansas—one of the few precisely-located sites on Arkansas Post's landscape. When combined with the material contained in other maps and in property records, it provides information to reconstruct the Post's early nineteenth-century street grid.

"Lots purchased by Eli Lewis from James Scull in Post of Arkansas" (copied from plat in Arkansas County Deed Book C, p. 50). 1818. Figure 10 in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas." When combined with the information contained in the map of Preston Holder's archeological investigations and additional cartographic and documentary sources, this map provides information to reconstruct the Post's early nineteenth-century street grid.

Lyon, Sidney S. "Diagram of Post Arkansas and Outworks." Ca. January 1863. Published copy of map on p.713 of Robert N. Scott, Ed., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume 17, Part 1. Reprint, The National Historical Society, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania [1886], 1971. Lyon's map depicts vegetation patterns and the locations of roads, buildings, the Confederate fortifications, and other features on the Post's January 1863 landscape.

"Map of Arkansas Post's New Fort - ca. 1783." Map 2195, Map Files, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas. This map shows the probable configuration of Fort

San Carlos III, and includes notes describing the fort and the adjacent Post of Arkansas village.

"Map of the Town of Arkansas, 1819" (copied from Arkansas County Deed Book B, p. 467). 1819. Figure 9 in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas." This map, the original plat of the Town of Arkansas, shows the location of all lots in the town.

"Map of Arkansas County Showing System of State Highways, Arkansas State Highway Department & County Primary Highway System." 1936. Copy of map in APNM Administrative Files.

Map (hand drawn sketch) showing locations, functions, and occupants of early twentieth-century Arkansas Post buildings located within APNM's boundaries. 1964 or later. Copy of map in Box 2, File 2, APNM Administrative Files. In conjunction with other cartographic and documentary sources, including census records, this map provides a wealth of information for reconstructing the Post's early twentieth-century landscape.

Marquette, Jaques. Map of the Central Mississippi Valley Depicting the Quapaw Villages near the Mouth of the Arkansas River, 1673-1674. Copy of map contained on pp. 22-23 of Jim Merritt. *The Arkansaw Indians in Desha County, Arkansas*. Dumas, Arkansas: Clarion Publishing Company, 1980. Marquette's map shows the location of the Quapaws during the first part of the European contact period.

Maxwell, M. "Plat of Parts of Townships 7 & 8 South, Ranges 3 & 4 West North of Arkansas River Showing Survey made for L.C. Jones of 90 Acres off the South End of Spanish Land Grant No. 2428 with accretion thereto . . . , February 19 & 20 1907." Copy of map in Tube A-60, APNM Map Files.

Maxwell, M. "Plat of Private Survey No. 2363 and Tracts of Land Contiguous, Showing Survey made for F. Quandt June 1st, 2nd, and 5th 1900, to determine accretions to said Private Survey No. 2363." Copy of map in Tube A-78, APNM Map Files.

Maxwell, M. "Plat Showing Survey made for L.C. Jones to locate 4.50A in Spanish Grant No. 2307, Apl 11th 1903." Copy of map in Tube A-4, APNM Map Files.

Pitzman, Julius. "Plan of the Fortification at Post-Arkansas Surrendered to U.S. Forces Jan. 11th 1863 - Destroyed After the Evacuation." January 1863. Record Group 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Fortifications Map File, National Archives, College Park, Maryland. A copy of this map also located in Tube A-8, APNM Map Files. Pitzman's scaled plan, which Major General William T. Sherman judged to

be "very accurate for the time allowed in making the survey," depicts vegetation patterns and the locations of roads, buildings, the Confederate fortifications, and other features on the Post's January 1863 landscape.

"Plat of lot owned by Pryor, Richards, and Sampson divided by four commissioners in January 1821" (copied from plat taken from Arkansas County Deed Book C, p. 647). 1821. Figure 11 in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas." When combined with the information contained in the map of Preston Holder's archeological investigations and other cartographic and documentary sources, this map provides information to reconstruct the Post's early nineteenth-century street grid.

"Plat of Private Survey 2339 showing location of the Town of Rome" (copied from Arkansas County Deed Book B, p. 467). 1818. Figure 7 in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas." This map, the original plat of the Town of Rome, shows the location of all lots in the town.

"Plat prepared by Nicholas Rightor of Spanish Land Grants 2363 and 2432" (copied from plat taken from Arkansas County Deed Book C, p. 480). Ca. 1819. Figure 6 in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas."

"Post Arkansas Captured Jan. 11, 1863 by the Army of the Mississippi under Maj. Gen. J.A. McClernand." Ca. January 1863. Map examined and approved by Lt. Col. A Schwartz. Published copy of map on p.713 of Robert N. Scott, Ed., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume 17, Part 1. Reprint, The National Historical Society, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania [1886], 1971. Schwartz's map depicts vegetation patterns and the locations of roads, buildings, the Confederate fortifications, and other features on the Post's January 1863 landscape.

Quertermous, F.M. "Quertermous' Sectional Map of Arkansas County, Arkansas." St. Louis, Missouri: Gast Bank Note Company, Map Publishers, 1912. Arkansas County, Arkansas Map File, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Quertermous' map identifies the names of major landowners at early twentieth-century Arkansas Post.

Quertermous, F.M. "Sectional Map of Arkansas County, Arkansas." St. Louis, Missouri: Aug. Gast Bank Note & Litho. Company, 1896. Arkansas County, Arkansas Map File, Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Road Map included in Arkansas Post and Fair Dale, Arkansas Post Office Contract Record. August 1867. National Archives Microfilm M-1126, "Post Office Department Records of Site Locations, 1837-1950," Roll 22. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Roeser, C., Jr. and the Post Office Topography Office. "Post Route Map of the State of Arkansas and of Indian and Oklahoma Territory with Adjacent Portions of Mississippi, Tennessee, Missouri, Kansas, Texas, and Louisiana Showing Post Offices with the Intermediate Distances and Mail Routes in Operation the 1st of August 1891." Map 2 of 2. Record Group 28, Records of the Post Office Department, Series - Regional Postal Route Maps before 1894, Folder 26, National Archives, College Park, Maryland. This map provides information on Arkansas Post's late nineteenth-century road network.

Saulnier, Edmond. "Map of Arkansas Post, January 13, 1832." Copy of map and translation from French on pp. 84-85 of Patrick E. Martin. "An Inquiry into the Locations and Characteristics of Jacob Bright's Trading House and William Montgomery's Tavern." Arkansas Archeological Survey Publications on Archeology, Research Series No. 11. Fayetteville, Arkansas: Arkansas Archeological Survey, 1977. Saulnier's map provides detailed information on the locations of streets, buildings, and other features at the 1832 Post. However, the information in this plan, which is neither drawn to scale nor correctly oriented, cannot be completely reconciled with the data on the Post's buildings and streets contained in T.S. Brown's map of the Post, which was prepared in 1833.

"Sketch Map - Arkansas Post National Memorial," ca. 1970. Copy of map located in Box 2, File 11, APNM Administrative Files. This map contains information on the configuration of Arkansas Post National Memorial during the early phase of National Park Service development.

State of Arkansas State Highway Commission, "Plan and Profile of Proposed State Highway 169 Alterations (Lock & Dam Number 2), Arkansas County," Map compiled by State of Arkansas in 1965 and published as National Park Service Drawing 411-40,005 in September 1964. Map 9-9, APNM Administrative Files.

Strode, Thomas. "Map of Arkansas Post State Park, Arkansas with Relation to Archeological Research Excavation Area." Map in Preston Holder. "Archeological Field Research on the Problem of Locations of Arkansas Post, Arkansas, 1686-1804." Richmond, Virginia: The National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Region One, September 15, 1957. Strode's map contains an accurate depiction of the boundaries of Arkansas Post State Park.

Strode, Thomas. "Map of National Park Service Archeological Explorations Near Arkansas Post State Park, Arkansas." Map in Preston Holder. "Archeological Field Research on the Problem of Locations of Arkansas Post, Arkansas, 1686-1804." Richmond, Virginia: The National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Region One, September 15, 1957. When combined with the material contained in other maps, property records, and architectural studies, Strode's map of Holder's archeological

investigations provides information to reconstruct the Post's late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century street and lot patterns.

Strode, Thomas. "Plat of P.S. 2363 Showing Changes in the Course of the Arkansas River and Ownership." 1947. Copy of map in Tube A-78, APNM Map Files.

Taft, Chas. E. "Map of the Arkansas River from Little Rock, Arkansas to the Mouth consisting of 22 Sheets," Sheet 16 of 22. Made under the direction of H.S. Taber, Captain, U.S. Corps of Engineers, by Chas. E. Taft, Asst. Engineer, U.S. Engineer Office, Little Rock, Ark, March 1st, 1886. Map Q541-16, Record Group 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, National Archives, College Park, Maryland. Taft's map depicts the location of the Arkansas River and its sandbar opposite Arkansas Post, shows the Post's late nineteenth-century vegetation patterns, and identifies the locations of several buildings.

Tanner, H.L. "A Map of the Arkansas River intended to illustrate the Travels of Thos. Nuttall." Ca. 1821. Copy of map in Tube A-1, APNM Map Files. Tanner's map depicts the road running northwest across the Grand Prairie from Arkansas Post to Little Rock.

Treat, John B. (?). "Map of the Fort of the Post of Arkansas in 1807." Record Group 107, War Records of the Office of the Secretary of War, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Copy of map contained on pp. 14-15 of Morris S. Arnold. *Colonial Arkansas, 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History*. Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1991. Treat's scaled map depicts the buildings and structures comprising Fort San Esteban (Fort Madison) and shows the location of the United States Trading Factory.

United States Army Corps of Engineers. "Site Survey - Dam No. 2 Site, Arkansas River, Arkansas," Map/Drawing Serial-AR8149,53/11, February 1962. Map 9-7, APNM Administrative Files.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. "Boundaries, Arkansas Post National Memorial Project," Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, November 8, 1960. Map 5-10, APNM Administrative Files. The boundary of Arkansas Post State Park shown in this map is inaccurate. The map's Spanish land grant boundaries, however, more accurately depict the historic grant boundaries used to demarcate property boundaries on the Post's nineteenth- and twentieth-century landscape than the land grant boundaries shown on the current United States Geological Survey map of the site. Consequently, an adjusted version of the grant boundaries depicted on this 1960 NPS map was used to calculate the approximate locations of many of APNM's cultural resources shown in the historic period plan exhibits. For a full discussion of this issue see pp. 3-7 and 3-8 of the text and accompanying explanatory footnote.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center. "Arkansas Post National Memorial Land Classification." Drawing 411/20,005, June 1973. Copy of Map contained on p. 17 of the "Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975." This map shows the zoned land classification system that guided work at Arkansas Post National Memorial during the later phase of National Park Service development.

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United States Geological Survey. 7.5-Minute Series (Topographic) Map, "Arkansas Post, Arkansas" Quadrangle. Washington, D.C.: 1972. The presumably correct Spanish land grant boundaries shown on this current USGS map do not correspond to the historic land grant boundaries used to identify the locations of cultural resources at APNM. Consequently, an adjusted version of the more accurate grant boundaries shown on the NPS 1960 plan "Boundaries, Arkansas Post National Memorial Project" was used to calculate the approximate locations of the historic features shown in the

historic period plan exhibits. For a full discussion of this issue see pp. 3-7 and 3-8 of the text and the accompanying explanatory footnote.

Venable, Richard M. "Dept Transmississippi Topographical Map, District of Arkansas, Compiled from Surveys and Military Reconnaissance by Order of Lieut' Col H.T. Douglas, Chief of Engineer Dept." Ca. July 1865. Sheet 1 of 2. Drawer 123-15, Record Group 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, National Archives, College Park, Maryland. This map provides information on Arkansas Post's Civil War-era road network.

Vicksburg Engineer District, Army Corps of Engineers. "Arkansas River Survey, 1931, Yancopin to Pine Bluff." Sheet No. 8. File ARPO 75-8431, APNM Administrative Files. This invaluable map shows vegetation patterns and the locations of roads and structures at early twentieth-century Arkansas Post.

Villiers, Balthazar de. "Etablissement du Poste des Akansas aux Ecores Rouges de 17 Mars 1779" ("Establishment of Arkansas Post at Red Bluffs on 17 March 1779"), Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. Copy of map contained on pp. 14-15 of Morris S. Arnold. *Colonial Arkansas*, 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History. Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1991. When combined with the material contained in other maps, property records, architectural studies, and Holder's archeology report, de Villiers' scaled plan provides information to reconstruct the Post's late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century street and lot patterns.

Westbury, William. "Arkansas Post. Broad lines and blocks indicate excavated areas, trenches, and features." Figure 1 on p. 2 of William Westbury. "Archeological Assessment of Arkansas Post." Southern Methodist University Archeology Research Program – Research Report 96, 1976. Westbury's map depicts the locations of all archeological investigations conducted at the Post through the mid-1970s.

Photography

Most photographs used in the CLR are contained in various materials cited in the bibliography, and their sources are identified in the annotations accompanying their figure numbers. However, the following photographic collections and individual photographs were especially useful.

S.G. Davies, Director of Arkansas State Parks. Eight photos of Arkansas Post State Park taken in 1937. Photos found in H.V. Glenn Papers and copies provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director of the Arkansas Post Museum.

Photo Files, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas. The Arkansas History Commission's photo files contain several photos and illustrations of Arkansas Post from the time of the Civil War through the mid-twentieth century.

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service. Aerial photo of Arkansas Post State Park and surrounding area, February 17, 1950. Frame CCB-1F-47. Arkansas Post Photo File, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas. This extremely useful photo provides an excellent view of the Post's landscape during the state park period.

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service. Aerial photo of Arkansas Post State Park and surrounding area, November 7, 1955. Frame CFG-2P-?. Map 141, Map Files, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service. Aerial photo of Arkansas Post in 1969. Figure 5 in Edwin C. Bearss and Lenard E. Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas, 1804-1863, and Civil War Troop Movement Maps, January 1863." Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, April 1971.

Secondary Sources

Books

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Arnold, Morris S. *Unequal Laws Unto a Savage Race: European Legal Traditions in Arkansas*, 1686-1836. Fayetteville, Arkansas: The University of Arkansas Press, 1985.

Baird, W. David. *The Quapaw Indians: A History of the Downstream People*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980. Baird's book is the single best work on the history of the Quapaws.

Bearss, Edwin C. *Special History Report: The Colbert Raid, Arkansas Post National Memorial*. Denver, Colorado: Denver Service Center, Historic Preservation Team, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, November 1974. Bearss' study provides a detailed narrative of the 1783 Colbert Raid.

Bevington, Deirdre, et al. *National Geographic Historical Atlas of the United States*. Revised Edition. Washington, D.C.: The National Geographic Society, 1993.

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Committee of the Regiment. *Military History and Reminiscences of the Thirteenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry*. Chicago, Illinois: Women's Christian Temperance Publishing Association, 1892. Excerpt contained in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas," p. 284.

Czaya, Eberhard. *Rivers of the World*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1981. This book contains an analysis of the hydrodynamics of meandering rivers such as the Arkansas, and examines how these forces shape a landscape like that found at Arkansas Post.

Davis, Hester A. Ed. *Arkansas Before the Americans*. Fayetteville, Arkansas: Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series No. 40, 1991. The essays in Davis' work discuss the question of Quapaw ethnogenesis and other issues in Arkansas' Native American past.

Dougan, Michael. *Arkansas Odyssey: The Saga of Arkansas from Prehistoric Times to Present*. Little Rock, Arkansas: Rose Publishing Company, Inc., Publishers, 1994. An excellent general history of Arkansas that provides context for Arkansas Post's development from the prehistoric period through the mid-twentieth century.

Edwards, Jay D. Louisiana's Remarkable French Vernacular Architecture, 1700-1900. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: The Fred B. Kniffen Cultural Resources Laboratory, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, 1988. Edwards' work describes the various forms of French vernacular architecture that were quite likely found at eighteenth and nineteenth-century Arkansas Post.

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Noel Hume, Ivor. *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1970. Reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

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Reports, Studies, and Dissertations

"Annual Report of Work Accomplished at Arkansas Post State Park, Arkansas Post, Arkansas, 1931." Report located in Box 2, pp. 00462-00464 (page numbers assigned by Arkansas Archeological Survey Staff, no file number), APNM Administrative Files. This invaluable report, which was quite likely prepared by P.C. Howson, the landscape architect who designed the state park, contains a detailed chronological summary of development work at the park in 1931.

"Arkansas Post National Memorial Interpretive Prospectus - 1971. Copy of prospectus located in File ARPO 75-8438, APNM Administrative Files. The interpretive prospectus discusses the background and development of the interpretive program that was implemented during the later phase of Arkansas Post National Memorial's development.

"Arkansas Post National Memorial Environmental Assessment - 1975." Copy of assessment located in File ARPO 75-8438, Box 3, APNM Administrative Files. The assessment describes both Arkansas Post National Memorial's early evolution and various elements of the master plan implemented during its later phase of development.

"Arkansas Post National Memorial Master Plan - 1975." Copy of plan located in Box 5, APNM Administrative Files. The plan includes a detailed discussion of the park development program implemented during the late 1970s and early 1980s, including a discussion of the zoned land classification system that governed the site's evolution.

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Kasparek, Robert. "Master Plan of Arkansas Post National Memorial," Chapter 1, "Basic Information." October 1964. Copy of plan located in Box 2, File 5, APNM Administrative Files.

Kasparek, Robert. "Master Plan of Arkansas Post National Memorial," Chapter 2, "Area Objectives." October 1964. Copy of plan located in Box 2, File 5, APNM Administrative Files. Kasparek's plan presents early NPS thinking on the development of Arkansas Post National Memorial.

Martin, Patrick E. "An Inquiry into the Locations and Characteristics of Jacob Bright's Trading House and William Montgomery's Tavern." Arkansas Archeological Survey Publications on Archeology, Research Series No. 11. Fayetteville, Arkansas: Arkansas Archeological Survey, 1977. Martin's report, which summarizes much of the previous historical and archeological work on the site, presents research models for distinguishing the archeological remains of the Post's French and American vernacular structures, and for positively identifying the various uses of the site he investigated. Based upon his models, he concludes that his excavations located the sites of Bright's trading house and Montgomery's tavern.

Mattison, Ray H. "Report on the Historical Investigations at Arkansas Post, Arkansas." Omaha, Nebraska: National Park Service, Region Two, September 25, 1957. Mattison's

discussion of the locations of Arkansas Post has been superseded by subsequent work, including Judge Morris S. Arnold's recent analysis of the question, but the report does contain useful contextual information on the French and Spanish posts. Perhaps the most valuable portion of Mattison's study are the appendices containing transcripts of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century descriptions of the Post's forts. However, Arnold notes that the translation of the Louisiana chief engineer's description of the 1751-1756 fort "is not entirely reliable."

"Report of Arkansas State Parks Commission - 1936." Arkansas Post State Park Section. Copy of report section located in Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism Files, Little Rock, Arkansas. The report section describes facilities at Arkansas Post State Park in 1936, including improvements constructed by the WPA and CCC.

Sarles, Fred B. "Master Plan for the Preservation of Arkansas Post National Memorial - Mission 66 Edition." March 1961. Copy of plan located in Box 2, File 5, APNM Administrative Files. Sarles' draft of the memorial's master plan, which may have never been formally approved, presents the Park Service's earliest thinking on development of the site and includes a number of concepts implemented over the next two decades.

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. "McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System: Norrell through David D. Terry Dams." Little Rock, Arkansas: Department of the Army, Little Rock District, Corps of Engineer, No Publication Date. This pamphlet provides a brief description of the Arkansas River Navigation System, including Lock and Dam Number 2 and the navigation pool bordering Arkansas Post National Memorial.

U.S. Public Health Service. "Environmental Health Report, Arkansas Post National Memorial, Gillett, Arkansas." July 29, 1968. Box 1, File 12, APNM Administrative Files.

Walker, John W. "Excavation of the Arkansas Post Branch of the Bank of the State of Arkansas." United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, Division of Archeology, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 1971. Walker's study provides a detailed discussion of the architecture, construction, and destruction of the bank building. The thoroughly-researched and documented "Provisional Plan of the Village of Arkansas Post, 1819-1840" contained in the study was used as one of the base maps for the "1804 - 1855 Historic Period Plan."

Westbury, William. "Archeological Assessment of Arkansas Post." Southern Methodist University Archeology Research Program - Research Report 96, 1976. This report, which contains much useful historical background information, summarizes pre-1975 archeological work at the site, and makes recommendations for future excavations.

Westbury, William. "Investigations at Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas." National Park Service Archeology Research Program, 1975. Westbury's report summarizes his 1974 archeological excavations on the site of the current park visitor center, which concluded that the location was devoid of significant remains associated with the eighteenth or nineteenth-century Post.

Periodicals, Anthology Articles, and Newspapers

Arkansas Post County Museum Staff. "Arkansas County Museum: Honoring Arkansas Post - Birthplace of Arkansas." Current Edition of Museum Pamphlet. The pamphlet contains historical data on the museum's "Quandt" or "Hinman" house, which formerly served as park headquarters at Arkansas Post State Park and (briefly) at Arkansas Post National Memorial.

Arnold, Morris S. "Eighteenth Century Arkansas Illustrated." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1994), pp. 119-136. Arnold's excellent article analyzes the eighteenth-century painted Quapaw buffalo hide in Paris' *Musee de l'Homee* (Museum of Man) that depicts one of France's Arkansas Post settlements and its buildings.

Arnold, Morris S. "The Relocation of Arkansas Post to Ecores Rouges in 1779." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Winter 1993), pp. 317-331. Arnold examines the various sites of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Post of Arkansas, including the settlement's final move to the Post's current location in 1779.

Deane, Ernie. "Keep History in Mind When You Visit Arkansas Post." *Arkansas Gazette*, May 8, 1963. Copy of article located in Arkansas Post History in Brief Place File, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Din, Gilbert. "Arkansas Post in the American Revolution." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1981), pp. 3-30.

Din, Gilbert . "Spanish Fort on the Arkansas, 1763-1803." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 42 (Autumn 1983), pp. 271-293.

Faye, Stanley. "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: French Domination." *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 26, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 633-721. Faye's article provides contextual background information on the French post.

Faye, Stanley. "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination." *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 27, No. 3 (July 1944), pp. 629-716. Faye's article provides contextual

background information on the Spanish post, and includes several passages describing the settlement's military and civilian architecture.

Glenn, H.V. "Arkansas Post State Park." *Grand Prairie Historical Society Bulletin* 4, No. 1 (1969), pp. 9-10. Glenn's article discusses the creation of the state park.

Halliburton, W.H. "An Arkansan Visits Arkansas Post." "Sunday Magazine Section," *Arkansas Gazette*, January 22, 1939, p. 2. Copy of article located in Arkansas Post Place File, Arkansas WPA Federal Writers Project Folder II, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas. Halliburton's article describes Arkansas Post State Park's facilities, and notes the architectural types of some of the residences found in the early twentieth-century Arkansas Post farming settlement.

Hampton, Mildred Barnes. "Return of a Post Office: Post Office at Arkansas Post, Second Oldest in Arkansas, Was Recently Re-Established at Site of State's Historic First Capital." "Sunday Magazine Section," *Arkansas Gazette*, October 22, 1939, p. 3. Copy of article located in Arkansas Post Place File, Arkansas Federal WPA Writers Project Folder II, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Hobbs, Harlan. "Stirring Memories of State's Historic First Days Retained at Arkansas Post." *Arkansas Democrat*, June 6, 1937. Copy of article provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum.

Howson, P.C. "Arkansas Post: Site of 246-year-old settlement becomes state park." "Your Home" (probably a section of an Arkansas newspaper, possibly the *Arkansas Gazette*), March 1932, pp. 3, 12-13, 18. Copy of article provided by Lille Fuhrman, Director, Arkansas Post Museum, Gillett, Arkansas. In this invaluable article Howson, the landscape architect who designed Arkansas Post State Park, describes the state park's development. Four photos of the park facilities are interspersed throughout the text.

Johnson, Boyd W. "Frederick Notrebe." *Grand Prairie Historical Society Bulletin* 5, No. 2 (1962), pp. 26-34. Johnson's article is a biography of one of Arkansas Post's leading early nineteenth-century citizens.

Peterson, Charles E. "The Houses of French St. Louis," in John Francis McDermott, Ed. *The French in the Mississippi Valley*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965, pp. 17-40.

"The *Arkansas Gazette*, Saturday, November 20, 1819 (Vol I, No. 1). Excerpt published in the *Grand Prairie Historical Society Bulletin* 11, No. 2 (1968), pp. 5-6.

Wilson, Samuel, Jr. "Colonial Fortifications and Military Architecture in the Mississippi Valley," in John Francis McDermott, Ed. *The French in the Mississippi Valley*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965, pp. 103-122.

Woodruff, William. Article in the first edition of the *Arkansas Gazette*,, November 20, 1819. Excerpt contained in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas," p. 13. Woodruff describes Arkansas Post and its landscape as they appeared in 1819.

Worley, Ted R. "Arkansas Post as a Historical Site." *Grand Prairie Historical Society Bulletin* 9, No. 4 (1966), pp. 14-16. Worley's article describes the history of the Post and its development as a state park.

Worley, Ted R. Untitled typescript of July 20, 1956 *Arkansas Gazette* article discussing the enactment and provisions of Senator Fulbright's 1956 Arkansas Post site survey bill. Arkansas Post Survey Correspondence Folder, Arkansas Post Place File, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Maps and Plans

Arnold, Morris S. "Locations of Arkansas Post, 1686-1991." Figure 4 on p. 13 of Morris S. Arnold. *Colonial Arkansas, 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History.* Fayetteville, Arkansas: The University of Arkansas Press, 1991. The definitive map depicting the Post's several locations throughout more than 300 years.

Arnold, Morris S. "Map of the Arkansas Region in Colonial Times." Figure 1 on p. 4 of Morris S. Arnold. *Colonial Arkansas, 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History*. Fayetteville, Arkansas: The University of Arkansas Press, 1991.

Bearss, Edwin C. "Historical Base Map Post of Arkansas, January 1863." Figure 2 in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas." This map, which provides much of the information for the "1856-1855 Historic Period Plan" is extremely informative, but it does have some shortcomings. It is incorrectly scaled, fails to depict some cultural features, and infers that other features were located within Arkansas Post National Memorial's boundaries when they were actually located outside the park.

Bearss, Edwin C. "Historical Base Map Arkansas Post National Memorial, 1818-1840." Figure 1 in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History, Post of Arkansas." A generally comprehensive and accurate map that depicts most of the cultural features at Arkansas Post during the 1820s and 1830s. The plan has been supplemented with a few additional features in the "1804-1855 Historic Period Plan."

Bearss, Edwin C. "Troop Movement Map of the Post of Arkansas - Forenoon, January 11, 1863." Figure 3 in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History: Post of Arkansas." An excellent map that depicts the locations of Union and Confederate units during the Battle of Arkansas Post, and provides the basis for a description of the Post's January 1863 landscape based upon these troops' writings.

Bearss, Edwin C. "Troop Movement Map of the Post of Arkansas - 5 P.M., January 11, 1863." Figure 4 in Bearss and Brown, "Structural History: Post of Arkansas." An excellent map that depicts the locations of Union and Confederate units during the Battle of Arkansas Post, and provides the basis for a description of the Post's January 1863 landscape based upon these troops' writings.

Cande, Kathleen H. Draft "Cultural Resources Base Map," Arkansas Post National Memorial (August 1998 version). Map prepared as a companion to Kathleen H. Cande. "Arkansas Post (3AR47): Archeology, History, and Prospects, Narrative to Accompany a Cultural Resources Base Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas" AAS Project 961 Draft Report. Fayetteville, Arkansas: Arkansas Archeological Survey, September 30, 1997. This Geographical Information Systems product precisely plots the positions of several historic cultural features on the Post's landscape, including the location of the Arkansas Post branch of the Arkansas State Bank and the network of trenches that delineate historic lot lines and part of the Post's historic street grid. The draft map, however, incorrectly identifies several of APNM's NPS-era roads and trails as Arkansas Post State Park roads/trails. It also mistakenly labels the NPS paved network of interpretive trails on the site of the early nineteenth-century American Post, which only approximates parts of the settlement's street grid, as "Historic Road Trace[s]." Cande's draft map was used in conjunction with the NPS 1998 APNM base map to produce the base map used for the historic period plan exhibits.

Hanson, Gerald T. "Indian Tribes of Arkansas, 1690." Map on p. 27 of Michael B. Dougan. *Arkansas Odyssey: The Saga of Arkansas from Prehistoric Times to Present*. Little Rock, Arkansas: Rose Publishing Company, Inc., Publishers, 1994.

Lockhart, Jami, Courtney Waugh, and Michael Evans. "Portion of the Lower Mississippi River Valley Showing Locations of Grand Prairie Ridge and Macon Ridge." Figure 1 on p. 2 of Kathleen H. Cande. "Arkansas Post (3AR47): Archeology, History and Prospects, Narrative to Accompany a Cultural Resources Base Map, Arkansas County, Arkansas" - AAS Project 961 Draft Report. Fayetteville, Arkansas: Arkansas Archeological Survey, September 30, 1997.

Quertermous, F.M. "Post of Arkansas, Territory of Arkansas, 1829." Dewitt, Arkansas: ca. 1929. Map 5-10, APNM Administrative Files. Quertermous' map, which was apparently distributed to members of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission during the ceremonies marking the establishment of Arkansas Post State Park, contains

numerous errors. It incorrectly identifies the Post's Main Street as Front Street, erroneously depicts the location of the Arkansas Post branch of the Arkansas State Bank, and shows a large European-style bastioned star fort—a structure that was never built—occupying virtually the entire southeastern tip of the site.

Quertermous, F.M. "Post of Arkansas, Territory of Arkansas, 1829" with Arkansas Post State Park and Arkansas River overlay data. Little Rock, Arkansas: Arkansas Publicity and Parks Commission, ca. 1955. Copy of map in Tube A-16, APNM Map Files. This map, which includes an overlay showing the state park and Arkansas Post's mid-1950s road network, perpetuates the numerous errors contained in Quertermous' original ca. 1929 historical map.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Arkansas Post site plan contained in "Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas" park brochure. Government Printing Office, 1993 (additional printing of 1991 Reprint).

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. "Arkansas Post National Memorial Base Map," 1998. This map, which has an incorrect scale, was used in conjunction with Kathleen H. Cande's draft APNM "Cultural Resources Base Map" to produce the base map used for the historic period plan exhibits.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Arkansas Post site plan contained in "Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas" park brochure. Ca. 1998.

Walker, John W. "Provisional Plan of the Village of Arkansas Post, 1819-1840, Arkansas Post National Memorial." Figure 33 on p. 205 of John W. Walker. "Excavation of the Arkansas Post Branch of the Bank of the State of Arkansas." United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, Division of Archeology, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 1971. This excellent and well-documented map was used as one of the base maps for the "1804 - 1855 Historic Period Plan."

9. APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Archival Collections Consulted During Site History Research

Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville, Arkansas

Research at the Arkansas Archeological Survey focused solely on Arkansas Post National Memorial's administrative files, which were temporarily located at the Survey for inventorying and microfilming. Documents contained in this rich collection span the period from the 1930s to the early 1980s. The collection consists of fragmentary materials on Arkansas Post State Park, including copies of some Arkansas Post State Park Commission meeting minutes and a detailed report on work accomplished at the park in 1931; copies (including several drafts) of all or most of the memorial's early master plans, environmental assessments, and interpretive prospectuses; a vast correspondence (mostly letters and memorandums) discussing the site's roads and trails, buildings, and interpretive exhibits; numerous photos; a large number of historic and site planning maps; and copies of all archeological reports on the Post.

Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism, Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Richard Davies, the Executive Director of the Arkansas Department of Parks and Tourism, opened the Department's archives for research, and collected materials on Arkansas Post State Park and the operation of the Arkansas state park system. Materials included a complete or almost complete set of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission's meeting minutes; several other documents discussing establishment of the park, including landscape architect P.C. Howson's unpublished "History of Arkansas Post"; the Arkansas State Parks Commission's annual reports on the operation of the park system between 1936 and 1940; and copies of 1955 and 1962 National Park Service reports evaluating the operation of the Arkansas state park system.

Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock Arkansas

Research at the Arkansas History Commission included review of the Arkansas Post materials contained in the Commission's photo, map, and Arkansas Post place files. The photographic files contained several useful illustrations and photographs of the Post from the Civil War and twentieth-century periods. A number of useful items were also archived in the map files, including a copy of a ca. 1783 map of the Post's new fort and Captain Henry Fitton's original January 1863 map of the Battle of Arkansas Post. The folders located in the Commission's Arkansas Post place file contained a partial set of the Arkansas Post State Park Commission's meeting minutes as well as several helpful newspaper and magazine clippings, a few of which included photographs of Arkansas Post State Park.

Arkansas Post Museum, Gillett, Arkansas

Ms. Lille Fuhrman, the Director of the Arkansas Post Museum, culled several invaluable sources of information on Arkansas Post State Park from the museum's files. These materials included P.C. Howson's published 1932 "Arkansas Post" article; S.G. Davies' 1937 photos of the state park, which are filed in the H.V. Glenn Papers; and several additional photographs and articles.

Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas County, Arkansas

Sources consulted at Arkansas Post National Memorial headquarters included the park's map files, slide files, books, and periodicals in the memorial's library, and several microfilm collections. The park's map files, which are extensive but not exhaustive, contained a number of useful charts dating from the early nineteenth century through the twentieth century, including plat maps, Civil War-era plans, maps of the Arkansas River, and several historic period plans. The library's files encompassed a number of

books and periodicals, including the *Grand Prairie Historical Society Bulletin*, as well as copies of Bearss' and Brown's indispensable "Structural History, Post of Arkansas" and several other reports. Other park collections consulted included the memorial's microfilm copies of the *Arkansas Gazette*; "Letters Received by the Superintendent of Indian Trade, 1806-1824"; "Letters Received by the Office of the Secretary of War Relating to Indian Affairs, 1800-1812" (National Archives Microcopy No. 271); the Arkansas "Territorial Papers" (National Archives Record Group 59); the "Letter Book of the Arkansas Trading House, 1805-1810"; materials from the "Papeles de Cuba" in the Library of Congress; and various eighteenth-century French materials located at the Chicago Historical Society. Because of limited time and research hours, however, review of these microfilm collections was cursory. Nevertheless, as Judge Morris S. Arnold notes, most (although not necessarily all) of these collections' documents describing Arkansas Post's landscape have been cited both in his work and/or other secondary sources reviewed for the project, including Bearss' and Brown's "Structural History," and the material should therefore be reflected in the site history.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

In addition to review of books and periodicals in the library's general collections, research at the Library of Congress included examination of maps contained in the Arkansas County, Arkansas file in the Geography and Maps Division. This file contained a number of useful items, including twentieth-century Arkansas County highway and transportation maps, and late nineteenth and early twentieth-century county plat maps depicting farm property boundaries and (in the case of a 1912 map) the names of Arkansas Post's major landowners.

National Archives, College Park, Maryland

Research at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland was limited to review of several maps in the Archives' cartography section. These plans included an 1818 map of Native American land cessions in Arkansas, Civil War-era maps of Arkansas Post and the surrounding region, postal route maps, and nineteenth-century Army Corps of Engineers Arkansas River survey maps, which depict not only the river but also Arkansas Post's streets, buildings, and vegetation patterns. According to both National Archives and National Park Service archivists, none of Arkansas Post National Memorial's records are included in Record Group 79, the National Park Service's Central Classified Files, which are archived at College Park. Instead, because the park is relatively new, all of its records are still maintained on site in the memorial's administrative files — a conclusion verified by the research conducted in these records.

National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Research at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. encompassed review of several applicable microfilm collections. These collections included United States population census records, especially those covering late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Arkansas Post; Post Office Records of Site Locations, which provided information on the Post's road network and population; and the Works Progress Administration's (WPA) project records, which included a detailed record of all WPA work performed at Arkansas Post State Park.

APPENDIX B

Plant List with Tribal Affiliation

Scientific Name	Common Name	Tribal affiliation
Acalypha virginica	Virginia threeseed mercury	Cherokee
Acer rubrum ssp. drummondii	Drummond's maple	Koasati (southeastern tribe)
Aesculus pavia	Red buckeye	Cherokee
Agrostis perennans	Upland bentgrass	Klamath
Ammannia coccinea	Valley redstem	Mohave; Yuma
Andropogon virginicus	Broomsedge bluestem	Cherokee
Asclepias tuberosa	Butterfly milkweed	Cherokee; Delaware; Iroquois; Menominee; Mohegan; Navajo; Omaha; Ponca; Rappahannock
Berchemia scandens	Alabama supplejack	Choctaw; Houma; Koasati; Seminole
Bignonia capreolata	Crossvine	Cherokee; Choctaw; Creek; Houma; Koasati
Callicarpa americana	American beautyberry	Alabama; Choctaw; Koasati; Seminole
(Carex sp.)	Sedge	Cherokee; Gosiute; Klamath; Navajo; Montana Indians; Thompson (Canada); Blackfeet; Mendocino Indians; Pomo; Salish; Jemez Pueblo; Paiute
Carex vulpinoidea	Fox sedge	Iroquois
Carya cordiformis	Bitternut hickory	Iroquois; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Omaha
Celtis laevigata	Sugarberry	Houma; Comanche; Seminole
Cercis canadensis	Eastern redbud	Alabama Indians; Cherokee; Delaware; Kiowa
Cirsium discolor	Field thistle	Cree; Iroquois; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki)
Claytonia virginica	Virginia springbeauty	Iroquois; Quebec Algonquin
Cocculus carolinus	Carolina coralbead	Houma
Cornus florida	Flowering dogwood	Cherokee; Delaware; Houma; Iroquois; Rappahannock
Croton monanthogynus	Prairie tea	Comanche
Cynodon dactylon	Bermuda grass	Acoma & Laguna Pueblos
Cyperus esculentus	Chufa flatsedge	Navajo; Pima; Northern Paiute; Pomo
Desmodium paniculatum	Panicledleaf ticktrefoil	Houma
Erigeron philadelphicus	Philadelphia fleabane	Cherokee; Blackfeet; Houma; Iroquois; Sac 4 Fox (Meskwaki); Ojibwa; Okanagan- Colville
Erigeron strigosus	Prairie fleabane	Catawba; Ojibwa
Fraxinus pennsylvanica	Green ash	Algonquin; Ojibwa; Omaha; Cherokee; Cheyenne; Havasupai; Omaha; Ponca; Potawatomi; Dakota; Lakota; Pawnee; Winnebago
Galium aparine	Stickywilly	Cherokee; Ojibwa; Cowlitz; Gosiute; Iroquois; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Micmac; Nitinaht; Penobscot
Galium circaezans	Licorice bedstraw	Cherokee
Geum canadense	White avens	Ojibwa; Iroquois
Glechoma hederacea var.	Groundivy	Cherokee
micrantha	H	
Gleditsia triacanthos	Honeylocust	Cherokee; Creek; Delaware; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Rappahannock; Acoma & Laguna Pueblos
Hedeoma hispida	Rough falsepennyroyal	Dakota
Juncus bufonius	Toad rush	Iroquois
Juncus effusus	Common rush	Cherokee; Karok; Mendocino Indians; Okanagan-Colville; Ojibwa; Karok; Pomo; Yurok
Juncus tenuis	Poverty rush	Cherokee; Iroquois

Scientific Name	Common Name	Tribal affiliation
Juniperus virginiana	Eastern redcedar	Cherokee; Ojibwa; Cree (Hudson Bay); Dakota; Delaware; Iroquois; Kiowa; Lakota; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Omaha; Pawnee; Ponca; Rappahannock; Salish; Thompson (Canada)
Lepidium virginicum	Virginia pepperweed	Cherokee; Houma; Menominee
Lindera benzoin	Northern spicebush	Cherokee; Creek; Iroquois; Ojibwa; Rappahannock
Liquidambar styraciflua	Sweetgum	Cherokee; Choctaw; Houma; Koasati; Rappahannock
Lonicera japonica	Japanese honeysuckle	Cherokee
Lycopus americanus	American waterhorehound	Sac & Fox (Meskwaki)
Lythrum alatum	Winged lythrum	Cherokee
Maclura pomífera	Osage orange	Comanche; Kiowa; Pima; Kiowa; Omaha; Pawnee; Ponca; Seminole; Tewa
Morus rubra	Red mulberry	Alabama Indians; Cherokee; Creek; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Rappahannock; Comanche; Iroquois; Omaha; Seminole
Nyssa sylvatica	Blackgum	Cherokee; Creek; Houma; Koasati; Chippewa
Oenothera fruticosa	Narrowleaf eveningprimrose	Cherokee
Oxalis violacea	Violet woodsorrel	Cherokee; Pawnee; Mescalero & Chiricahua Apache; Omaha; Ponca
Parthenocissus quinquefolia	Virginia creeper	Cherokee; Iroquois; Ojibwa; Kiowa
Phyla lanceolata	Lanceleaf fogfruit	Mahuna
Physalis pubescens var. glabra	Heartleaf groundcherry	Cherokee; Hualapai; Iroquois
Pinus taeda	Loblolly pine	Cherokee
Plantago aristata	Largebracted plantain	Cherokee
Plantago patagonica	Woolly plantain	Hopi; Acoma & Laguna Pueblos; Navajo; Okanagan-Colville; Zuni; Havasupai; Pima
Plantago virginica	Virginia plantain	Kiowa
Platanus occidentalis	American sycamore	Cherokee; Creek; Delaware; Iroquois; Mahuna; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki)
Podophyllum peltatum	May apple	Cherokee; Delaware; Iroquois; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Ojibwa; Menominee
Populus deltoides	Eastern cottonwood	Choctaw
Prunella vulgaris	Common selfheal	Quebec Algonquins; Bella Coola; Blackfeet; Catawba; Cherokee; Ojibwa; Cree; Delaware; Iroquois; Mohegan; Menominee; Quileute; Quinault; Salish; Thompson
Pyrus communis	Common pear	Cherokeë; Hopi; Iroquois; Seminole
Quercus alba	White oak	Cherokee; Delaware; Houma; Menominee; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Micmac; Mohegan; Ojibwa; Penobscot;; Shinnecock;
Quercus falcata	Southern red oak	Cherokee
Quercus marilandica	Blackjack oak	Choctaw; Comanche
Quercus nigra	Water oak	Choctaw; Kiowa
Quercus phellos	Willow oak	Seminole
Quercus stellata var. mississippiensis	Bottomland post oak	Cherokee; Choctaw; Creek; Kiowa
Ranunculus abortivus	Littleleaf buttercup	Cherokee; Iroquois; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki)
Ranunculus hispidus	Bristly buttercup	Iroquois
Rumex acetosella	Common sheep sorrel	Aleut; Cherokee; Mohegan; Squaxin; Anticosti; Bella Coola; Chehalis; Delaware; Hanaksiala; Hesquiat; Iroquois; Miwok;Okanagan-Colville; Saanich;

Scientific Name	Common Name	Tribal affiliation
		Thompson
Rumex crispus	Curly dock	Blackfeet; Cherokee; cheyenne; Ojibwa; Costanoan; Dakota; Delaware; Iroquois; Isleta Pueblo; Mohegan; Navajo; Nevada Indians; Paiute; Northern Paiute; Rappahannock; Shoshoni; Thompson; Yavapai; Yuki; Havasupai; Kawaiisu; Mendocino Indians; Mohave; Montana Indians; Omaha; Pima; Choctaw
Rumex obtusifolius	Bitter dock	Ojibwa; Delaware; Iroquois; Saanich
Sabal minor	Dwarf palmetto	Houma
Salix nigra	Black willow	Cherokee; Houma; Iroquois; Koasati; Micmac; Papago
Salvia lyrata	Lyreleaf sage	Catawba; Cherokee
Sanicula canadensis	Canadian blacksnakeroot	Ojibwa
Sisyrinchium angustifolium	Narrowleaf blueeyed grass	Cherokee; Iroquois; Mahuna
Smilax bona-nox	Saw greenbrier	Choctaw; Creek; Houma; Comanche
Sorghum halepense	Johnson grass	Kiowa
Stachys tenuifolia	Smooth hedgenettle	Sac & Fox (Meskwaki)
Stellaria media	Common chickweed	Ojibwa; Iroquois
Stylosanthes biflora	Sidebeak pencilflower	Cherokee
Taraxacum officinale	Common dandelion	Aleut; Quebec Algonquins; Bella Coola; Cherokee; Ojibwa; Delaware; Hoh; Iroquois; Kiowa; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Mohegan; Papago; Potawatomi; Quileute; Rappahannock; Shinnecock; Apache; Micmac. Okanagan-Colville; Ute; Hesquiat; Navajo; Tewa
Taxodium distichum	Bald cypress	Choctaw
Tilia americana	American basswood	Quebec Algonquins; Cherokee; Iroquois; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Micmac; Ojibwa; Lakota; Menominee; Omaha; Ponca; Pawnee; Potawatomi
Tradescantia bracteata	Longbract spiderwort	Lakota
Trifolium repens	White clover	Cherokee; Iroquois; Mohegan
Typha latifolia	Broadleaf cattail	Quebec Algonquins; Mescalero Apaches;
Ulmus americana	American elm	Cheyenne; Delaware; Houma; Iroquois; Koasati; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Mohegan; Montana Indians; Ojibwa; Penobscot; Potawatomi; Dakota; Lakota; Omaha; Pawnee; Ponca; Winnebago
Ulmus rubra	Slippery elm	Alabama Indians; Catawba; Cherokee; Ojibwa; Creek; Dakota; Iroquois; Kiowa; Mahuna; Menominee; Sac & Fox (Meskwaki); Micmac; Mohegan; Omaha; Pawnee; Ponca; Potawatomi; Winnebago
Verbascum thapsus	Common mullein	Abnaki; Atsugewi; Catawba; Cherokee; Creek; Delaware; Hopi; Iroquois; Menominee; Micmac; Mohegan; Nanticoke; Navajo; Ojibwa; Penobscot; Potawatomi; Rappahannock; Shinnecock; Thompson
Vicia americana	American vetch	Troquois; Acoma and Laguna Pueblos; Navajo; Okanagan-Colville; Squaxin; Mendocino Indians; Montana Indians; Thompson; Yuki
Vitis rotundifolia	Muscadine	Cherokee
Xanthium strumarium	Rough cockleburr	Costanoan; Lakota; Northern Paiute